Dynamics of Implementation of 100 Days Employment Generation Programme:
A Study of Mouchak and Holdia Union Parishads

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2010

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Dedicated.....

To my divined mother who inspired me to walk on the path of knowledge.

Acknowledgement

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BBS	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
BD	Bangladesh
DEGP	Days Employment Generation Programme
EC	European Commission
EGS	Employment Generation Schemes
FFW	Food For Work
GOB	Government of Bangladesh
HIES	Household Income and Expenditure Survey
MCHT	Ministry of Chittagong Hill Tracks
MOFDM	Ministry of Food and Disaster Management
MoLGD	Ministry of Local Government Divisions
NREGP	National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme
PKSF	Palli Karma Sahayak Foundation
REOPA	Rural Employment Opportunities for Public Assets
SSN	Social Safety Net
TR	Test Relief
UNO	Upazila Nirbahi Officer
UP	Union Parishad
WPF	World Food Programme

ABSTRACT

The 100 Days Employment Generation Programme was launched by the government of Bangladesh to address the crisis situation caused by the price hike in the year of 2008. During that period, the purchasing power of the people was severely affected by the sky rocketing prices of food items, rice in particular. The survival of the poor, especially the extreme poor, was at stake. The access to food by low income, poor and extreme poor people was challenged. In response, the Government reacted swiftly and took the strategy of scaling-up existing food-based safety net programmes both in terms of benefits and coverage, and introducing additional targeted scheme including the 100 DEGP. The purpose of this programme was to increase the purchasing power of extreme poor rural people, create wealth both for the people and the nation and to develop and maintain small scale rural infrastructure and communication system by providing employment to extreme poor rural unemployed people. The programme covered all 64 districts of Bangladesh. It is estimated that the programme would be able to reach 2 million people with an amount of Taka 2000 crore.

This study has been initiated to examine the extent the extreme poor people were addressed through this programme and how the programme affected their socio-economic conditions by analyzing the dynamics of implementation of 100 DEGP. On the whole this is a qualitative research which used quantitative data. Primary data were the main source of information to get a comprehensive picture of reality. Primary data were collected through questionnaire survey. For this study two Unions have been selected. One is "Holdia" and another one is "Mouchak". These two Unions have been chosen considering their geographical location and economic status. "Holdia" belongs to the remote char area of Sughatta Upazila in Gaibandha district. It is prone to different natural calamities like, flood, river erosion etc. People of this area are more vulnerable than any other parts of Bangladesh. On the other hand "Mouchak" is an industrial area. It is very close to "Dhaka". This Union has a need of labourers. As a result it receives large numbers of migrants from different parts of the country. To gather information, programme beneficiaries and implementation officers of two Union Parishads were contacted. Secondary data were acquired from different sources including news papers, reports, books and journals.

The empirical evidence suggests that, the programme targeting was quite effective. It addressed the poorest segment of the country. It also had a significant positive effect on the

food accessibility of the beneficiaries. It was revealed from the field survey that both the quality and quantity of food of the beneficiaries improved and increased owing to the programme intervention. But it did not affect considerably other socio-economic conditions like, asset creation or reduction of indebtedness. As a time specified programme it was very difficult to achieve any greater objectives other than ensuring food security. A number of factors like- objectives, policy stability, socio economic conditions of the beneficiaries, adherence of the implementing officers towards the policy etc. acted as variables to get the desired result of the programme as well as this study. The accomplishment of these variables portrayed the diversified outputs of 100 Days Employment Generation Programme.

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Background

The concept of "Social Safety net" is derived from the broader concept of "social protection". Social Safety Nets are non-contributory transfer programmes seeking to prevent the poor or those vulnerable to shocks and poverty from falling below a certain poverty level. Safety nets are part of a broader poverty reduction strategy interacting with and working alongside of social insurance; health, education, and financial services; the provision of utilities and roads; and other policies aimed at reducing poverty and managing risk. In other words, the safety net programmes are methods through which poverty is expected to fall through investment in human capital.

Bangladesh remains a poor country with an estimated 56 million people living in poverty, including 35 million who are living below poverty line (World Bank 2008). With about 40 per cent of its population living below the poverty line and an increasing number of population being added below the lower poverty line, safety net programmes in Bangladesh are more than a necessary element in fighting poverty.

In Bangladesh, social safety net programmes are dominant in reducing short term deprivation and vulnerability among the poor. Indeed, a high concentration of people around the poverty line characterises the income distribution in Bangladesh, which implies that many are vulnerable to falling into poverty and/or become food insecure following small shocks (NFPCSP, BRAC 2009).

In a context where access to food by many low income, poor and extreme poor people was challenged, the strategy of the Government has been to scale-up existing food-based safety net programmes both in terms of coverage and benefits, and to introduce additional targeted schemes to meet the needs of those vulnerable segments of the population which are not currently covered by any safety net. One of the new schemes is the 100-Days Employment Generation Programme (DEGP).

Employment generation is recognized as a significant instrument for reducing poverty in developing and least developed countries. These countries are characterised not only by high

unemployment leading to high poverty. Moreover natural disasters and economic & political inabilities affect the effort towards economic development. This includes natural shocks such as flood, cyclone and drought, global economic shocks such as commodity price hikes and recession, and domestic political shocks such as lack of democracy and conflicts (CPD 2009). In addition, less resources and high budget deficits constraint the efforts of these countries to ensure livelihoods for all. The creation of wage employment programmes for these people has been proved to be successful to alleviate poverty and advance the rural economy in some of these countries (CPD 2009).

The Government of Bangladesh (GoB) took a number of initiatives to create employment for the rural poor in the mid 1970s. Some of those are the Food for Works Programme (FFW), Rural Maintenance Programme (RMP), Vulnerable Group Development (VGD) and Test Relief (TR). The activities in which the landless and marginal rural population are engaged are rural road construction and maintenance, digging, irrigation channels, flood control and embankments etc. all these programmes have usually been playing a crucial role in the social protection of the vulnerable groups in Bangladesh.

With this background and in the backdrop of high inflationary pressure and seasonal unemployment during September to November, particularly in the areas which are prone to river erosion, flood and monga, the initiation of the 100-Day Employment Generation Porgramme (100-DEGP) by the GoB in FY2008-09 is a commendable step to address poverty. The 100-DEGP was initiated to reduce poverty by providing employment to the extreme poor during the lean season or by giving cash to them in case of failure to provide employment. Extreme poor people from all 64 districts were intended to be covered under this programme which was planned to be implemented in two phases in a year. The first phase is the slant period that is between mid-September to end of November and the second phase is between March to end of April. An amount of 20 billion taka had been allocated in the budget of FY2008-09 for the programme targeting 2 million people for employment. Two major objectives of this programme were to guarantee employment and income in the short run and building rural infrastructure to develop rural economy in the long run. The achievement of such goals can be portrayed by the implementation efficacy of the programme. Therefore, this study will be conducted to assess the implementation effectiveness of the programme through the dynamics of implementation with a view to make policy suggestions for more useful application of such programme.

1.2 Statement of the Problem:

Bangladesh has made considerable progress in expanding and refining its wide range of social safety net programmes over the past three decades. The recent 100 day employment generation programme is an important addition to the government's existing set of safety net programmes. At present, it is the country's largest social protection programme. It targeted the geographical pockets with high poverty rate. This programme also helped to alleviate the worst outcomes in Monga[1] in the northern region. The programme covered the poorest of the poor with 37% of the beneficiaries from bottom quintile. It seems to reach the extreme poor and having a positive effect on household welfare. But from the very beginning this programme seemed to have some loop holes and there are some areas regarding implementation that needs attention to further improve its performance.

1.3 Illustration of the Problem

The 100-DEGP is the largest and first of its kind initiated by the government of Bangladesh to alleviate poverty and hunger. It had been designed to guarantee employment and income as well as building rural infrastructure in Bangladesh. Hence, as stated earlier the efficiency of the programme is the most important determinant to achieve the goals.

The significant effort of EGP towards expanding coverage of employment generation, was welcomed and praiseworthy. But news like "Corruption in Employment Generation Programme" draws the attention of the social researcher. A report on Rangpur district said, "Allegations of massive irregularities have been reported against a large number of local body leaders in listing names of beneficiaries under the government's '100 Days Karmo Srijon Karmosuchi' in Rangpur. The programme was launched on September 15 to provide employment to ultra poor people in northern districts during monga, a pre-harvest lean period when there is not work in rural areas. Names of people who really do not deserve such benefit have been listed, depriving the needy. Allegations have it that many of the local body leaders took Tk 1000 to Tk 1500 from each for listing them under the programme. In Rangpur, 55020 ultra poor people are supposed to be listed for the benefit. As per the government criterion, one member of each ultra poor family not covered under any support programme is eligible

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[1] Monga is seasonal food insecurity in ecologically vulnerable and economically weak parts of north-western Bangladesh, primarily caused by an employment and income deficit before *aman2* is harvested. It mainly affects those rural poor, who have an undiversified income that is directly or indirectly based on agriculture.

for the benefit and each such person will get Tk 100 a day for work mainly infrastructure development. They will get the support for 100 days."(The Daily Star, October 21, 2008)

This is not a unique story. All over the country 77 reports regarding the irregularities, corruption, misappropriation of money and other events of 100 DEGP has been published in different news papers (Table 1.1). These irregularities were depriving the poor economically which also affected their social life.

Table 1.1: Cluster of Reporting about 100 DEGP	
Types of Reporting	**Number of Reports**
Irregularities	17
Corruption	12
Misappropriation of Money	18
Unproductiveness	10
Lack of Monitoring	3
Miscellaneous	17
Total	**77**

Source: (MoF&DM)

Therefore, it is evident that problem occurred during the implementation of the programme and it became obvious to assess the implementation efficacy of the programme to achieve its goal.

1.4 Content Analysis:

100 days employment generation programme is a very recent initiative to combat poverty at large and increase the purchasing power of hardcore poor specifically. So far very little research has been conducted on this programme. A policy note namely, "An Assessment of the First Phase of the 100-Day Employment Generation Programme in Bangladesh" has been prepared in June 2009 by South Asia Economic Policy and Poverty Unit (SASEP) and South Asia Human Development Unit (SASHD) in response to the request of the Government of Bangladesh to the World Bank for technical advice on the programme. The paper reviews the first phase of programme, examining aspects of its coverage, targeting, design, and governance issues. It also provides the context within which the Government of Bangladesh initiated the 100 DEGP including some background information related to poverty and vulnerability in Bangladesh and the extent to which pre-existing safety nets programmes covered such populations. Finally the paper intends to inform the Government of Bangladesh's efforts to asses EGP's performance and improve its programme design.

Another similar type work titled as," Study on the first phase of the 100-Day Employment Generation Programme(EGP)" has been done together by The National Food Policy Capacity Strengthening Programme (NFPCSP), BRAC Research and Evaluation Division (RED) and BRAC Development Institute (BDI) of BRAC University worked together. The objective of the study was to provide feedback to the Government on the implementation and preliminary results of the programme by the end of the first phase, to allow for fine tuning of the modalities and implementation of the second phase of the programme. Thus, the focus was on the design and implementation, with a preliminary investigation of the early impacts of the programme on beneficiaries. More specifically, the objectives of this study were:

a) to review the design and implementation of the programme;

b) to acquire a sense of the beneficiaries' and other stakeholders' perception of the impacts of the programme;

c) to provide recommendations for fine tuning the programme design and enhancing implementation during the second phase

d) to prepare for the impact study following the closure of the programme with among other things, the establishment of a baseline. (NFPCSP, BRAC 2009)

The objectives and the insights of these studies create the base of the present study.

The basic idea about the safety net programmes of Bangladesh and their strength in poverty and risk reduction was found in a study named, "Strengthening Social Safety Nets in Bangladesh". This study highlighted that there is hardly any programmes for the people who fall in various troubles at various stages of the life. This study suggested that Safety Nets can play an important role in alleviating poverty and promoting long-term growth by providing households with the protection. Here a more recently identified role for safety nets was identified as to help households to manage risk. This study helped to positioning 100 DEGP within the safety net programmes of Bangladesh.

One of the inspiring content to initiate this study is a report called " Employment Guarantee in Rural India", published by G.B Pant Social Science Institute of Allahabad University. It is actually a bundle of 12 different reports on employment generation/guarantee programmes. These reports basically put light on the loop holes of the programmes and suggested the way out.

As the employment generation programme in Bangladesh seems to be inspired by the Indian ones, this study is tended to find the draw backs of 100-DEGP by analyzing different dynamics of programme implementation with an perceived idea having from the reports on "Employment Guarantee in Rural India".

A very recent study has been done on, "The Management of Social Safety Net Programmes and Role of Local Government (Union Parishad)" by "Democracy Watch[2]". They conducted the study on twenty eight Union Parishads. The findings of the study showed that almost all the Safety Net Programmes in Bangladesh are suffering from improper targeting, illicit political influence, corruption, lack of coordination among implementation agencies, lack of monitoring and evaluation etc. Newly launched programmes are also not free from these problems. To overcome the problems all the aspects of programme implementation need to be addressed. With this view the present study had been initiated.

The basic content of this study is news paper reporting. As stated earlier, from the beginning of the programme number of reports were published (Table 1.1) regarding the anomalies of the programme. Some news said that a huge amount of money is going to wrong hands in a wrong way, some said beneficiary selection or targeting was not proper, some argued it had very little impact on Poor's life etc. all these reports created room to investigate the ground reality and look into the achievement of the programme.

1.5 Scope of the Research

The research focused on the micro level implementation effectiveness of the programme in different circumstances. It basically dealt with implementation dynamics of two specific Unions - Mouchak & Holdia. These two Unions have been chosen for their different geographic and economic conditions. "Mouchak" is situated at Kaliakoir Upazila of Gazipur district and it is economically well off. On the other hand "Haldia" is a char area in Sughatta Upazila of Gaibandha district which is known as a poverty stricken area.

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[2] Democracywatch is a development and educational institution working to promote and strengthen democracy and good governance by creating awareness about rights and values through research, training for leadership, advocacy and mobilization of media to fight against injustice and human rights violation.

1.6 Objectives of the Research

The general objective of this study is to examine the implementation process of 100 Days Employment Generation programme. The specific objectives are:

- To explore the main dynamics for proper implementation of 100 Days Employment Generation Programme (DEGP) in Bangladesh.
- To examine the programme outputs (addressing the poor, access to food, asset creation, reduce indebtedness) focusing on assessing the extent of success or failure programme implementation.
- To study the perceptions of the programme beneficiaries.

1.7 Research Questions:

In order to fulfill the above objectives, this study addressed the following questions –

- How effectively has the 100 Days Employment Generation Programme been implemented to reach the poor?
- Whether or not the programme had any significant effect on the socio economic conditions of the beneficiaries?

1.8 Significance of the Research

Social Safety Nets can play an important role in alleviating poverty and promoting a long-term growth by providing households with the protection that markets and informal networks may not supply (Kabir 2004). With the changing pattern of family structures safety net support from the extended family for the weak and vulnerable is decreasing rapidly. This situation has drawn the attention of the government to provide increased revenues to finance the expansion of the social safety net programmes to sustain inclusive economic growth.

Since independence the government of Bangladesh has taken a number of initiatives to bring poor people under social safety net. But no specific programme was taken for extreme and unemployed poor. For that reason, 100-days employment generation programme has been initiated for the rural extreme poor, especially for capable unemployed people in specific areas of the country. The main objective of the 100-day employment generation programme was to help the hardcore people retain purchasing capacity in the face of high inflation rate by creating job opportunities for them.

This initiative has been appreciated by different scholars of the country. Some of them suggested making the 100-days employment generation programme a long- term strategic plan for ensuring permanent livelihood for the hardcore poor. Considering the suggestions the Government of Bangladesh continued the programme named as "Employment Generation Programme for Hardcore Poor". So, this programme seems to be a vital one. But, as a new concept of social safety net it has been facing many hurdles to implement and having loop holes like- ineffective targeting, misuse of funds, bribery, nepotism etc. To address these complains and ensure proper and effective implementation of the programme no comprehensive study has been done. Therefore, the present study is an effort to reveal the dynamics that affected successful implementation of the programme at micro level.

This study may add new knowledge to the policy implementers as well as policy makers about the ground level realities and help them to find solutions to get positive outcomes and for the sustainability of the programme.

1.9 Conceptual Framework

There are number of theories to describe the policy implementation process. The present study has drawn concepts from the "**Top-Down approach"** of policy implementation and come up with an analytical framework of its own. Daniel Mazmanian and Paul Sabatier are the scholars of top–down approach. Top down approach of policy implementation is an approach which started with a policy decision and examined the extent to which its legally mandated objectives are achieved over time. This approach place greater emphasis on the factors affecting policy outputs and programme outcomes.

Top-down approach is useful, first, in cases where there is a dominant public programme in the policy area under consideration or where the analyst is solely interested in the effectiveness of a programme. It is also useful in a situation where the researcher is interested in the policy outcomes. The identification of specific variables and causal relationships makes this approach more appropriate for analyzing policy implementation process.

The present study is based on 100 DEGP implementation guideline which stated the objectives of the programme and how to implement it to get desired outcomes. The study focused on how effectively the stakeholders of the programme interact in a specific environment to fulfill programme objective that is targeting, infrastructure building, enhancing economic capacity etc.

1.10 Overview of Methodology

The present study explored the dynamics of implementation of 100 Days Employment Generation Programme. It is exploratory in nature and utilizes both quantitative and qualitative approach. The study is based on primary and secondary sources of information The main data collection tools used in course of the study were questionnaire and interviews.

1.11 Organization of the thesis

The thesis is organized in seven chapters.

Chapter one explains the background to the study, states the research problem, and highlights the conceptual and theoretical framework. It specifies research objectives and research questions. Further, it also focuses on the rationale and significance of the study.

Chapter two – Conceptual Framework – explains the policy implementation approach, its applicability to present study, clarify variables and indicators, gives operational definitions of related terms, develops an analytical framework based on conceptual framework and puts a table of variables and indicators.

Chapter three - Methodology - contains the description of methodology used in the study. It gives an account of limitations and challenges encountered in the field.

Chapter four – Safety Net Programmes In Bangladesh: An Overview- focuses on major safety net programmes in Bangladesh, allocations for safety net programmes and allocation for employment generation programmes including 100DEGP.

Chapter five – An Overview of 100 Days Employment Generation Programme- describes the major features of 100 DEGP, tries to find its position regarding other safety net programmes in Bangladesh and also compared it with similar programmes in other countries like India and Argentina.

Chapter Six - Research Findings and Analysis- presents the survey data and analyses them in accordance with the research questions, relates the variables (Clear and consistent objectives, Stability of the policy, Socio economic conditions constituency groups, Commitment and leadership skill of implementing officials) with findings.

Chapter Seven - Conclusion - the final chapter ends up the study by suggesting some recommendations and finally draws attention to the scope of further research.

Chapter Two
Conceptual Framework

2.1 Introduction:

The concept of cash based social safety net programme is not new in Bangladesh. It emerged in a new form of "100 Days Employment Generation Programme" in the FY 2008-2009. As it launched it has to face a lot of criticism from different perspectives. It made a scope to look into how far the programme being successful to achieve its goals. The present study is a mere attempt to find out the real scenario by analyzing the implementation process and dynamics. The core objective of this chapter is to develop an analytical framework depending on conceptual framework to carry out the research. This chapter started with conceptual issues of policy implementation. Explaining about the approaches of policy implementation it ended up with an analytical framework for the present study.

2.2 Conceptual Issues of Policy Implementation

Policy implementation refers to the activities that are carried out in the light of established Policies (Adamoleskun 1983). According to Pressman and Wildavsky (1973: xiii-xv), "implementation means just what Webster [dictionary] and Roget [thesaurus] say it does: to carry out, accomplish, fulfill, produce, complete." According to their seminal book on the subject: "Policies imply theories... Policies become programmes when, by authoritative action, the initial conditions are created... Implementation, then, is the ability to forge subsequent links in the causal chain so as to obtain the desired result."

A more specific definition is provided by **Van Meter and Van Horn** (1974: 447-8): "Policy implementation encompasses those actions by public or private individuals (or groups) that are directed at the achievement of objectives set forth in prior policy decisions." They make a clear distinction between the interrelated concepts of implementation, performance, impact and stress.

The literature on implementation is arbitrary not necessarily in any sequence, but there are certain highlights that can be identified. Three generations of research into policy implementation exists. The very first or classical generation of thinking on the subject began

with the assumption that implementation would happen 'automatically' once the appropriate policies had been authoritatively proclaimed.

The second generation set out to challenge this assumption, to explain Implementation 'failure' in specific cases, and to demonstrate that implementation was a political process no less complex (and often more so) than policy formulation. The third or analytical generation, by contrast, has been less concerned with specific implementation failure and more with understanding how implementation works in general and how its prospects might be improved (Elson R.P 2006).

2.3 Approaches to Implementation

Varied opinions exist as to the most appropriate approaches to policy implementation. Although various prominent paradigms are debated and practiced internationally, every country adopted their own approaches in executing the vast range of policies in Government. Naturally, the consequence is also varying degrees of success of policy implementation.

It is noted that early scholars of policy science saw implementation merely as an administrative choice which, once policy had been legislated and the institutions mandated with administrative authority, would happen of and by it. This view has, however, been exposed. While the complexity inherent in implementation processes has been amply demonstrated, we are still nowhere near a widely accepted causal theory with predictive or prescriptive powers. Scholars such as Wildavsky began implementation research in the 1960s and 1970s; however, a common theory is still lacking. There is still some confusion about when implementation begins, when it ends, and how many types of implementation there are. In the literature on policy implementation several obstacles were identified in the way of successful policy implementation. However, there is also a surprising number of common findings as well as suggestions between scholars of implementation literature. As implementation research evolved, two schools of thought developed as to the most effective method for studying and describing implementation:

(1) top-down and
(2) bottom-up.

Top-down supporters see policy designers as the central actors and concentrate their attention on factors that can be manipulated at the national level. Bottom-up supporters emphasis target groups and service deliverers. Presently most theorists agree that some convergence of the two perspectives exists. The present study has been conducted under the concept of top-down approach.

As expressed earlier top-down approach of policy implementation is an approach which started with a policy decision and examined the extent to which its legally mandated objectives are achieved over time. Paul Sabatier and Daniel Mazmanian are known as top-downer. They developed their "top-down" theoretical framework/approach for analyzing policy implementation in the early 1980s.The framework applies a number of statutory and non-statutory variables to five identified stages in the policy implementation process (Figure 1) (Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1980) .

The Policy Implementation Framework (PIF) of Paul Sabatier and Daniel Mazmanian addresses particular policy implementation issues such as:

 (1) The extent to which implementing officials and target groups act consistently with the objectives and procedures outlined in the policy decision;
 (2) The extent to which policy objectives are attained;
(3) The principal factors affecting policy outcomes and impacts; and
(4) The policy's reformulation, if any. In addition, the PIF conceptual framework provides a broader socioeconomic context in which policy implementation issues can be addressed.

According to Mazmanian and Sabatier, the crucial role of implementation analysis is to identify the variables that affect the achievement of the policy objectives throughout the process. These variables can be divided into three broad categories:

(1) the material variables associated with the problem(s) being addressed,

(2) the structural dimensions that influence the implementation process, and

(3) the net effect of a variety of contextual variables to support the policy.

Mazmanian and Sabatier in turn apply these three independent variables to five stages of policy implementation namely- (1)policy output of implementing agencies, (2) compliance with policy output by target groups, (3) actual impacts of policy outputs, (4) perceived impacts of policy outputs and (5) major revision in policy.

Figure 2.1

Policy Implementation Framework (PIF)

Material Variables

1. Technical difficulties
2. Diversity of target group behaviour
3. Target group as a percentage of the population
4. Extent of behaviour change required

Structural Variables

1. Clear and consistent objectives
2. Incorporation of adequate causal theory
3. Hierarchical integration within and among implementing institutions
4. Decision rules of implementing agencies
5. Recruitment of implementing officials
6. Initial allocation of financial resources
7. Formal access by outsiders

Contextual Variables

1. Socioeconomic conditions and technology
2. Public support
3. Attitudes and resources of constituency groups
4. Support from legislators
5. Commitment and leadership skill of implementing officials

Five Stages (Dependent variables) in the Implementation Process

| Policy outputs of Implementing Agencies | → | Compliance with policy outputs by target groups | → | Actual impacts of policy outputs | → | Perceived impacts of policy outputs | → | Major revision in policy |

Modified from Mazmanian and Sabatier 1983. *Implementation and Public Policy*. Used from Elson R. Peter 2006.

Material Variables

Material variables reflect the core intent of the policy. On the one hand, small and well-defined policy changes are easier to support, politically, and have a greater chance of success (Mazmanian & Sabatier 1983). On the other hand, significant and complex changes require less-focused regulations and allow implementing officials much greater discretion.

Structural Variables

Seven structural variables influence policy implementation: (1) clear and consistent objectives, (2) incorporation of an adequate causal theory, (3) hierarchical integration within and among implementing institutions, (4) decision rules of implementing agencies, (5) recruitment of implementing agencies, (6) access by outsiders, and (7) the initial allocation of financial resources (Mazmanian & Sabatier 1983) .

Hierarchical integration within and among implementing institutions is determined by two factors: the number of veto/clearance points involved in implementing the policy objectives, and the extent to which those who support the policy objectives have both incentives and sanctions to advance compliance. Veto/clearance points are defined as occasions when an intermediary has the capacity (though not necessarily the authority) to impede progress (Mazmanian & Sabatier 1981, 1983) . This is a critical variable, as it reflects both institutional support and the commitment and leadership of implementing officials.

Successfully implementing the policy also requires that external stakeholders have formal opportunities to influence implementation, and that independent entities undertake evaluation studies. If the policy is formalized in statute, then legal challenges are available. Otherwise, much depends on the commitment and skill of implementing officials, and the organized support of external stakeholders and legislators to keep the implementation process moving forward (Mazmanian & Sabatier 1989a).

Contextual Variables

Legislators support policy implementation by controlling the nature and extent of oversight, the availability of financial resources, and the introduction of new and possibly conflicting policies (Mazmanian & Sabatier 1983).

Another key variable is leaders recruited for the implementing agencies. These leaders must possess substantial managerial and political skill and must be committed to the policy goals. As policy "fixers," they must ensure that the policy is implemented to the fullest extent possible – a responsibility beyond what we might normally expect in light of their positions and resources.

Beyond the material and structural aspect of policy implementation, a policy needs a periodic political boost to maintain its visibility and relevance in a changing socioeconomic climate. Policy objectives should not be undermined by the emergence of conflicting public policies (Mazmanian & Sabatier 1983). Further, a decline in the resources or the commitment of external stakeholders can weaken implementation (Mazmanian & Sabatier 1983). Intermediary organizations need the membership, resources, and expertise to position themselves as strong, legitimate, essential, and continuing participants in the policy implementation process.

Under the broad headings of above mentioned three independent variables Sabatier and Mazmanian identified a variety of legal, political variables affecting the different stages of the implementation process. They then sought to synthesize this large number of variables into a shorter list of six sufficient and generally necessary conditions for the effective implementation of legal objectives. They are-

(1) Clear and consistent objectives: Clear legal objectives were viewed as providing both a standard of evaluation and important legal resources to implementing officials.

(2) Adequate causal theory: Borrowing the fundamental insight of Pressman and Wildavsky (I973) that policy interventions incorporate an implicit theory about how to effectuate social change, Sabatier and Mazmanian pointed to the adequacy of the jurisdiction and policy levers given implementing officials as a means of ascertaining those causal assumptions.

(3) Implementation process legally structured to enhance compliance by implementing officials and target groups.

(4) Committed and skillful implementing officials. Recognizing the unavoidable discretion given implementing officials, their commitment to policy objectives and skill in utilizing available resources were viewed as critical.

(5) Support of interest groups and sovereigns: This simply recognized the need to maintain political support throughout the long implementation process from interest groups and from legislative and executive sovereigns.

(6) Changes in socio-economic conditions which do not substantially undermine political support or causal theory. This variable simply recognized that changes in socio-economic conditions could have dramatic repercussions on the political support or causal theory of a programme.

In short, the first three conditions can be dealt with by the initial policy decision (e.g. a statute), whereas the latter three are largely the product of subsequent political and economic pressure during the implementation process.

2.4 Applicability of the Concept of Top-down Approach to Present Study

The present study is an attempt to look into the outputs of 100 Days Employment Generation Programme. The objects are based on the implementation guideline of 100 DEGP. The outputs of this programme will portrait the achievement of the objectives. The concept goes with the main spirit of top-down approach, where it has been stated that top-down approach started with a policy decision (the implementation guideline) and examined the extent to which its legally mandated objectives (outputs) are achieved. The present study focused on the issues like-

(1) The consistent act of implementing officials and target groups with the objectives and procedures outlined in the programme implementation guideline;
 (2) The extent to which policy objectives are attained;
(3) The principal factors affecting policy outputs; and
(4) Socioeconomic context to address policy implementation issues.

All the above mentioned issues seem like the issues of top-down policy implementation framework described by Paul Sabatier and Daniel Mazmanian. They identified a number of variables under the broad head of material, structural and contextual variables. The variables acted as independent variables and are applied to five stages of policy implementation.

Having the concept of top-down policy implementation framework the present study has used some statutory and contextual variables to get actual output of the programme. The statutory variables included:

(1) Clear and consistent objectives;

(2) Stability of policy.

The contextual variable included:

(1) Socio-economic conditions of target groups;

(2) Adherence of implementing officials towards the policy.

(3)

The above variables acted as independent variables which have interacted altogether to get the outputs of the programme. In this study, output is dependant variable.

Depending on the above theoretical discussion an analytical framework for this study has been drawn as below:

2.5 Analytical Framework
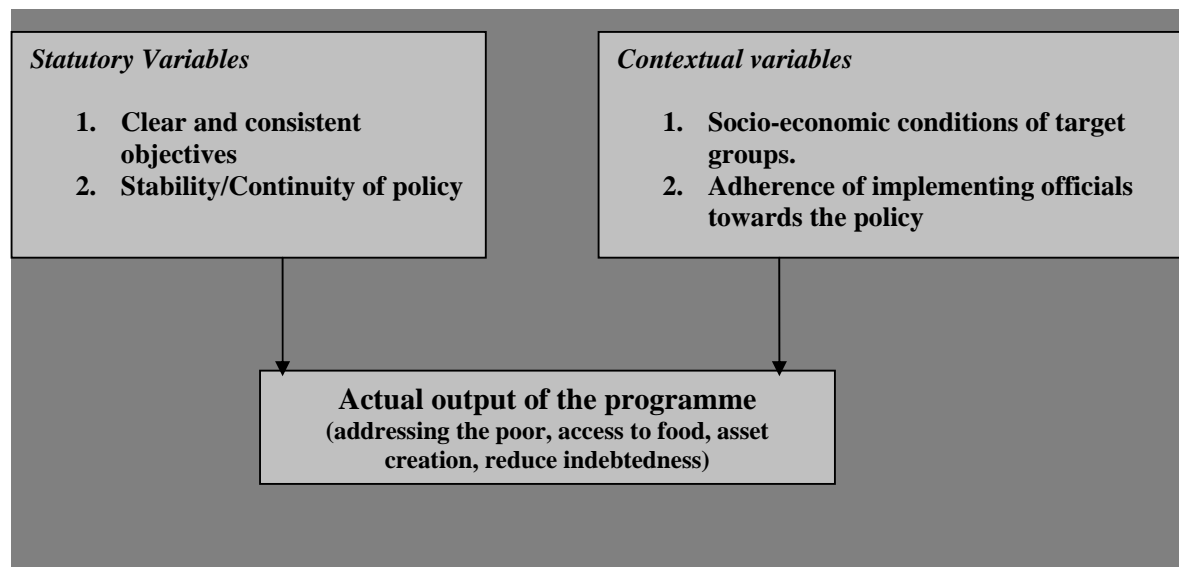
Soruce: Modified from Sabatier and Mazmanian (1980: 542), Cited in Top-down and Bottom-UP approaches to implementation research: A critical analysis and suggested systhesis.

2.6 Clarification of the Variables:

In this part the variables have been explained in the light of the indicators used in this study.

2.6.1 Clear and Consistent Objectives:

The main objective of this programme is 'to bring rural extreme poor and capable people including marginal farmers under social safety net during the time they remain unemployed'. As per the programme implementation guideline there are four more clear and consistent objectives of 100 Days Employment Generation Programme. Those are:

(a) To create employment for extreme rural poor unemployed people.

(b) To increase purchasing power of the extreme poor people affected by the price hike.

(c) To create wealth for the people and the nation.

(d) To develop and maintain small scale rural infrastructure and communication system. (GoB 2008).

The study is primarily based on these objectives. To fulfill the objectives, first step is to select extreme poor unemployed people. These objectives provided the standard to examine the outputs. These specific objectives are used as indicators for this variable.

2.6.2 Stability of Policy:

This is another variable which affects the actual output of a programme. If the policy does not remain consistent and decisions are changed after starting of the programme, then sometimes it affects the outputs adversely. The stability of the policy can be measured through resolutions/circulars/orders of the concerned ministry and department.

2.6.3 Socio-Economic Conditions of Target Groups:

The main target of the 100 Days Employment Generation Programme was the ultra poor people who, remained unemployed during September to November and march to April. Whether the targeting was proper or not, it can be found by looking into the socio economic conditions of the programme beneficiaries. In this study, socio-economic conditions of the target groups included housing condition, electricity availability and sanitation.

2.6.4 Adherence of the Implementing Officials towards the Policy:

Sabatier and Mazmanian has expressed that the commitment or adherence of the implementing officials in utilizing available resources are crucial. In this study the implementing officials refers to Upazila Nirbahi Officers, Project Implementation Officers and local government representatives that is Union Parishad Chairmen and UP members of respective Upazilas and Union Parishads. Records of following the proper procedure of beneficiary selection would portrait the adherence of implementing officials towards the policy.

2.6.5 Actual Outputs:

Output is the result of a process. In other words, what pops out at the end of a process is an output. Here actual output refers to the immediate result of the implementation process of 100 DEGP. In this study it is considered as dependant variable. Under this heading this study has tried to look into the targeting effectiveness that is addressing the extreme poor, access of the beneficiaries to food, getting assets by the beneficiaries and reduction of indebtedness of the beneficiaries. To operationalize the research the indicators have been determined as per the implementation problems identified during the implementation of the programme.

The variables and the indicators of this study at a glance are as below:

Table-2.1: Table of Indicators

Variables	Indicators
1. Clear and consistent objectives	Selecting extreme rural poor unemployed people as per the guideline, create employment to increase purchasing power, create wealth
2. Stability of the policy	Resolutions/circulars/orders of the concerned ministry and department.
3. Socio economic conditions of target groups.	Housing condition, electricity availability, sanitation.
4. Adherence of implementing officials towards the policy	Following Selection procedure of beneficiaries.
5. Actual output of the programme	Address the extreme poor, access to food, asset creation and reduction of indebtedness.

The above mentioned variables and indicators helped the researcher to achieve the research objectives.

2.7 Operational Definitions of Some Related Concepts:

To understand the research better some terms needed to be clarified. Operational definition of some related important terms are as below-

(a) Dynamics of Implementation:

According to oxford dictionary dynamics means the way in which people or things behave and react to each others in a particular situation. The present study is based on a specific programme called 100 Days Employment Generation Programme. In the implementation of this programme different factors and actors were involved. Here the term dynamics refers to the way in which those factors and actors acted during implementation. It also refers to different dimensions of output.

(b) Effectiveness:

Effectiveness basically means targeting effectiveness. According to implementation guideline there are some criteria to qualify as a beneficiary of this programme. There is also a procedure to select beneficiaries. The main purpose of these is to reach the extreme poor people. In this study effectiveness refers to the extent of reaching extreme poor people by maintaining the selection criteria and procedure.

(c) Socio-Economic Conditions:

In research question the term socio economic condition of the beneficiaries goes with the output of the programme. It included the accessibility to food, creation of wealth and debt status of the beneficiaries.

(d) Asset:

Usually asset refers to any item of economic value owned by an individual or corporation, especially that which could be converted to cash. Examples are cash, securities, accounts receivable, inventory, office equipment, real estate, a car, and other property (http:// www. investor words. com/ 273/ asset.html). In the present study the term asset is used in a very micro form. Here it refers to cultivable land, domestic animals, trees, things of livelihood like shop, fishing net plough etc, house hold things like mosquito net, fan, radio, television, ornaments etc. As this study is dealing with the poorest segment of the population it narrowed down the definition of asset.

2.8 Conclusion:

For the purposes of this research a working definition of policy implementation has been developed. In this study policy implementation means the accomplishment of policy objectives through the planning and programming of operations and projects so that desired outputs are achieved.

From the view of Sabatier and Mazmanian, it is clear that the top-down approach is useful, first, in cases where there is a dominant public programme in the policy area under consideration or where the analyst is solely interested in the effectiveness of a programme. It is also useful in a situation where the researcher is interested in the policy outputs. The identification of specific variables and causal relationships makes this approach more appropriate for analyzing policy implementation process.

The present study focused on how effectively the stakeholders of the 100 DEGP interact in a specific environment to fulfill programme objectives that is targeting the extreme poor, enhancing purchasing capacity etc. Hence the concept of top down approach is obviously the best suited approach to conduct this study.

Chapter Three
Methodology

3.1 Introduction

Every type of empirical research has implicit, if not explicit, research design. In the most elementary sense, the design is a logical sequence that connects empirical data to a study's initial research questions and ultimately, to its conclusions. In a sense the research design is a blueprint of research, dealing with at least four problems: what questions to study, what data are relevant, what data to collect, and how to analyze the results (Yin 1994). It is much more than a work plan because the main purpose is to help to avoid the situation in which the evidence does not address the initial research questions. Hence the research design deals with a logical problem and not a logistical problem, and also specifies how the researcher will address the two critical issues of representation and legitimization.

Furthermore, a research design describes a flexible set of guidelines that connects theoretical paradigms to strategies of inquiry and methods for collecting empirical material. It situates researchers in the empirical world and connects them to specific sites, persons, groups, institutions, and bodies of relevant interpretive material, including documents and archives. This chapter covered the methods of the study. In the main, it dealt with data collection and covered how data is derived from primary and secondary sources, sampling, validation of data and data analysis plan.

3.2 Research Method

Research method is the functional action strategy to carry out the research in the light of the theoretical framework and guiding research questions and or the proposed hypotheses (Aminuzzaman 1991).

According to Creswell there are three types of methodology to carry out any research. They are- quantitative method, qualitative method and mixed method.

A quantitative approach collects quantitative data based on exact measurement applying structured as well as validated information collection. It is used to explore accurate concepts about the phenomenon. It helps to organize, categorize, interpret, identify, synthesize, and generalize the data collected during research. It is much more focused on the collection and analysis of numerical data and statistics.

A qualitative component uses qualitative information. For instance, interview, field notes, open-ended questions etc. This approach considers a researcher to be the major means of information collection. At the end of a research this approach supposes a narrative report with context description, quotations taken from research material. It helps to explore, discover, and explain new phenomena and provide an opportunity to assess and build reality in an inductive approach.

A mixed research method is a general type of research that includes quantitative and qualitative research methods. A mixed method uses both deductive and inductive scientific method, has multiple forms of data collecting and produces eclectic and pragmatic reports. Therefore a mixed research method is a research in which quantitative method is used for one stage of a research study and qualitative method for a second stage of a research.

In the present study data was collected using quantitative method through structured questionnaire. After analyzing the data interpretation had made by using qualitative method. Hence, to accomplish this study both quantitative and qualitative approach had used.

3.3 Sources of Data:

The data for this study had collected basically from two sources:

      a) primary and

      b) secondary sources.

a. Primary Data

The primary data were collected from programme beneficiaries, policy implementers such as Upazilla Nirbahi Officer, Project implementation Officer, Chairman of Union Parishad, member of Union Parishad etc. The data from the beneficiaries provided the information about the actual output of the programme. The information of the implementation officials helped to measure the implementation of the programme.

Some case studies were conducted during the course of data collection.

b. Secondary Data

Secondary resources were mainly used to understand the concept of policy implementation by analyzing definitions offered by various scholars. Moreover, the literatures reviewed facilitated in chalking out the theoretical framework for this study.

The basic secondary source of data for this study was the government implementation guideline of 100 Days Employment Generation Programme. It gave the detail idea about the programme objectives and implementation process. There were some other secondary sources which helped to determine the objectives of the study like newspaper reports, seminar papers, reports on the programme etc. previous studies, websites and a few official publications to get the background and general information about various aspects of 100 Days Employment Generation Programme.

3.4 Data Collection Technique:

To collect data, mainly survey method was used. In survey research, the researcher selects a sample of respondents from a population and administers a standardized questionnaire to them. In the present study, same procedure was followed. Sample of respondents were selected from the population of programme beneficiaries and they were interviewed through structured questionnaire. The officials were also interviewed through structured questionnaire.Two sets of questionnaire were developed- one set for programme beneficiaries, one for programme implementers.

3.5 Sampling

3.5.1 Sampling Method

Mixed sampling method was used to select samples. At first Unions were selected purposively on the basis of geographic and economic condition. As the 100 Days Employment Generation Programme was aimed to reach the ultra poor specially in the Monga and disaster prone area, the "Holdia" Union of Gaibandha district was being selected fulfilling the criteria to be poverty stricken and disaster prone. Considering the coverage of the programme, that is 64 districts of Bangladesh this study tended to select another Union namely "Mouchak" of Gazipur district which is an economically better off Union. Between the two Unions "Holdia" is far away from Dhaka. It is typically agriculture based backward Union. The communication system is also very poor. Most of the people here live in poverty.

So, it is very difficult to target specific number of people for a programme. On the other hand "Mouchak" Union is very close to Dhaka. It is within the industrial belt of Dhaka. The communication of this Union with the capital is remarkably good. People lives here are better off than many other parts of the country. Therefore, with a view to get different views of implementation dynamics these two Unions have been chosen as study area.

Programme beneficiaries, implementing officials and policy making officials have been chosen as population. Sample respondents among beneficiaries were chosen by random sampling.

3.5.2 Sample Size

A total of 56 programme beneficiaries (respondents) were interviewed. Thirty beneficiaries were selected from Holdia Union Parishad and twenty six from Mouchak Union Parishad. Among the implementers five from each study area were interviewed which included- UNOs and Project Implementation Officers of the respective Upazilas, Chairmen of the Union Parishads and two Union Parishad members from each Union Parishad.The sample had been selected considering the manageability of the study.

3.6 Validation of Data

The collected data were validated through cross checking with each other and with the secondary sources.

3.7 Data Analysis Plan

Data analysis is where the researcher continually reflects on collected data, moving deeper for understanding and representing the data, and deriving an interpretation of the larger meaning of the data (Creswell: 2003: 190).The essence of this study is to convert large quantities of data into condensed forms to facilitate easy interpretation and understanding for readers. The data collected were articulated in tabular form, analyzed both manually and statistically, presented by charts and transcribed into texts. A relationship between data and variables was established by interpreting statements. Results are presented through narrative text, simple computations and logical reasoning.

3.8 Limitations and Challenges

Through a single research all the aspects of an issue cannot be addressed. The present study is not an exception. It also has some limitations and those are as follows.

(a) Study Area:

The most mentionable limitation of this study is that, it was conducted only on two Unions from which it is very difficult to have a macro view of 100 Days Employment Generation Programme. This study will deal only with a few aspects of implementation not with the whole programme. So, there may be some crucial area which should have been addressed but because of time constraints those aspects could not be addressed.

(b) Getting Proper Information:

The focus of this study is basically the people who are very poor, deprived and illiterate. Managing them and having correct information from them were very challenging.

(c) Non Availability of Documents:

Getting documented data was another challenge. The government offices are very much conservative to disclose information. So, it was an obstacle to the study. Moreover, as the programme is a relatively new one proper documentation has not been developed as yet.

(d) Limited Time:

Time was another constraint in the field work. The time allowed for data collection was not enough. During the field work the researcher had to deal with difficulties such as communication problem, non cooperation, non supportive weather etc. All these cut down the fixed time of the field survey. Moreover during analysis, there were some new development and the researcher needed to restructure the research design. To manage all difficulties some extra time was needed. Further, for doing qualitative studies researcher requires more time to analyze data while gathering information. So, conducting study within the fixed time was a great challenge.

(e) Limitation of Sample Size:

Due to time constrain the study was conducted on a limited number of beneficiaries. Even the non-beneficiaries were not covered in the study. Therefore, a holistic picture of the programme could not be captured.

Chapter Four

Safety Net Programmes in Bangladesh: An Overview

4.1 Introduction

Bangladesh is known as highly poverty stricken country. The size of vulnerable population is large in Bangladesh. In fact a large number of populations in Bangladesh are living between Upper and lower poverty lines. It indicates that even a small negative shock can send a large number of individuals who are already poor, into extreme deprivation (World Bank 2008). Having this reality, safety net programmes assumed to be a useful means to reduce the vulnerability. This chapter focused on major safety net programmes in Bangladesh, allocations for safety net programmes and allocation for employment generation programme including 100DEGP.

4.2 Major Safety Net Programmes in Bangladesh

While addressing poverty in Bangladesh, it is viewed from two broad perspectives, namely income poverty and human poverty. Employment generating programmes and direct transfers for the poor are used as a tool to address income poverty. Programmes focusing on areas such as education, health, nutrition and water and sanitation are targeted to mitigate human poverty.

Social Protection' programmes are an important component of Bangladesh's antipoverty strategy. I-PRSP documents identify social protection strategies as one of the pillars of poverty reduction, which include: (i) ensuring macroeconomic stability to ensure pro-poor growth; (ii)improving governance for sustaining growth and poverty reduction; (iii)investing in human development to enhance human capabilities; and (iv) implementing social protection programmes to reduce vulnerabilities and improve income-generating opportunities(World Bank 2005).

Safety nets programmes are the basis of the country's social protection strategy and are the mainstay of the poverty alleviation strategy. Numerous safety net programmes have been implemented, aimed at helping different groups within the population cope with adverse shocks that are either idiosyncratic or aggregate in nature. These programmes are intended to (i)improve the living standards of the weakest segments o f the population (as defined economically, socially, by gender, by location, and by religion), (ii) help in income and

consumption smoothing for households that have been impacted with negative shocks, and (iii) prevent and mitigate the impact of economic and natural shocks. Successive governments have recognized the importance of well-functioning safety nets, both for groups that are chronically poor and for those at risk of falling into poverty. Well functioning safety nets also provide the transient poor an opportunity to climb out of poverty (ibid).

The modality of support under social safety net programmes can be direct cash transfer and support through creating opportunity for income. Programmes such as old-age allowance, allowance for the widowed, deserted and destitute women, honorarium for insolvent freedom fighters, assistance to the fully retarded, fund for mitigating risk due to natural disaster, fund for rehabilitation of the acid burnt women and physically handicapped, and maternity allowance for the poor lactating mother are among the few to be mentioned in the direct support category. There are also programmes for the seasonally unemployed poor which are undertaken under the social safety net programmes. Some of these include 100-DEGP, FFW, VGD, TR, Rural employment Opportunities for Public Assets (REOPA), Employment Generation for Hard Core Poor, and Rural Employment and Rural Maintenance Programme (RMP)(CPD 2009).

The main safety net programmes can be divided into two broad categories - those that provide cash transfers and those that provide food in-kind transfers. Major safety net programmes in Bangladesh are as below (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Major Safety Net Programmes in Bangladesh

Cash Transfer Programmemes			
Name of the Programme	**Major objectives of the Programme**	**Targeting criteria**	**Administration/Financers**
Primary Education Stipend Project (PESP)	▪ Increasing the number of children into primary school from poor family ▪ Increasing attendance to and	▪ Destitute[3] woman headed family. ▪ Principal occupation of household head is day labour ▪ Family of low	▪ Department of Primary Education, Ministry of Education ▪ Financed by GoB

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[3] Destitute includes widowed, separated from husband and divorced women

Name of the Programme	Major objectives of the Programme	Targeting criteria	Administration/Financers
	reduce dropout from the primary school ▪ Increasing the rate of completion of primary education cycle ▪ Controlling child labour and reducing poverty ▪ Increasing the quality of primary education	income professionals (such as: fishing, pottery, blacksmithing, weaving and coblling). ▪ Landless or households that own 0.50 acres of land (marginal or share cropper).	
Female Secondary School Assistance Programme (FSSAP)	▪ Increasing the number of students in the secondary school ▪ Increasing their prospect as employees and of self employment ▪ Controlling under age marriage	▪ All unmarried girl students studying in recognized institutions at secondary level	▪ Ministry of Education ▪ Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education ▪ Financed by GoB, USAID, Asia Foundation, NORAD, World Bank, ADB
Old Age Allowances	▪ Providing old age cash allowances to the poor	▪ At least 65 years of age ▪ Income not more than TK.2000 per year ▪ Must not have worked in the formal sector ▪ Based Upon the category of the Union, number of beneficiary is identified ▪ 50% men and 50%	▪ Department of Social Services ▪ Financed by GoB

Name of the Programme	Major objectives of the Programme	Targeting criteria	Administration/Financers
		women	
Rural Maintenance Programme (RMP)	▪ Empowerment of Women ▪ Maintaining rural infrastructure	▪ Less than 30 decimals of land ▪ Destitute family circumstances. ▪ Female heads of households of 18-35 years of age. Widowed or separated at least one year, with priority to those with more dependants. ▪ No other income and not be participating in other targeted programme.	▪ Department of Local Government and Engineering, CARE Bangladesh ▪ Financed by GoB, EC, CIDA, Union Parishads
Fund for Rehabilitation of Acid Burnt Women and the Physically Handicapped	▪ Assisting acid burnt women and disabled through provisions of credit and skills training ▪ Creating opportunities for IGA ▪ Raising social awareness	▪ Installation of facility. ▪ Generally based upon case.	▪ Ministry of Women and Children's affairs ▪ Financed by GoB
Food transfer Programmes			
Food for work (FFW)	▪ Employment Generation for the poor, mainly in the dry season through infrastructure creation and maintenance ▪ Developing and	▪ Functionally landless. ▪ Lack of productive assets. ▪ Generally women headed households where women are widowed, deserted	▪ Department of Local Government Engg. Dept; ▪ Department of social Services; ▪ Other Departments. ▪ Financed by GoB, ADB, WFP

Name of the Programme	Major objectives of the Programme	Targeting criteria	Administration/Financers
	maintaining rural infrastructure	and destitute. ▪ Day labour or temporary worker ▪ Income less than tk.300 per month.	
Vulnerable Group Development (VGD)	▪ Increasing the marketable efficiency of women through training, motivating savings for initial capital accumulation and providing scope for availing credit ▪ Building social awareness on disaster management and nutrition through training in groups.	▪ Household with not more than15 acres of land. ▪ Training totaling about 150 hours. ▪ Monthly household income less than tk.300; dependent upon seasonal wage employment. ▪ Women of reproductive age (18-49). ▪ Day labour or temporary worker. ▪ Lack of productive assets.	▪ Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs ▪ Directorate of Relief and Rehabilitations ▪ Financed by GoB, WFP, EC, Canada, and Australia.
Vulnerable Group Feeding (VGF)	▪ Provide calamity related emergency needs ▪ Short term relief to disaster victims in terms of food and basic necessities.	▪ Generally a location is targeted based on the occurrence of natural disaster.	▪ Ministry of Food and Disaster Management ▪ Financed by GoB and some Development Partners
Test Relief (TR)	▪ employment for the poor in the rainy season ▪ developing and maintaining rural infrastructure ▪ compared to FFW	▪ Generally a location is targeted.	▪ Ministry of Food and Disaster Management ▪ Financed by GoB and some Development Partners

Name of the Programme	Major objectives of the Programme	Targeting criteria	Administration/Financers
	lighter labour equipment		
Gratuitous Relief (GR)	▪ Provides in calamity related emergency needs ▪ Short term relief to disaster victims in terms of food and basic necessities.	▪ Generally a location is targeted based on the occurrence of natural disaster.	▪ Ministry of Food and Disaster Management ▪ Financed by GoB and some Development Partners

Source: World Bank, 2008

Among these programmes some are employment generating programmes like Food For Work, Vulnerable Group Development, Test Relief etc.

4.3 Allocation for Social Safety Net Programmes

In Bangladesh the allocation for social safety net programmes is gradually increasing over the years. But its share in total public expenditure has diminished since 1998-99 till 2007. On average, during 1996-97 to 2004-05 periods, the share of expenditure on these programmes was 0.8 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP) and 5.7 percent of the total public expenditure (World Bank 2008). Still, during FY2006-07 and FY2007-08, higher allocations were made for social safety net programmes. In FY2006-07, total allocation for safety net programmes was 9.3 percent of the budget and 1.4 percent of the GDP, which increased to 13.32 percent of the revised budget of FY2007-08 and 1.8 percent of total GDP. In FY2008-09, the share has been increased further to 16.94 percent of the total budget and 2.76 percent of the GDP. Table 4.2 presents the trend in government expenditure on social safety net programmes in Bangladesh during 1996-2007 (CPD 2009).

Table 4.2: Average Expenditure on Allocation of Social Safety Net Programmes

(In Crore Taka)

1996-2000-01	2001-02-2004-05	2006-07-2007-08
1947	2270	7053

Source: World Bank, (2008); Budget documents, GoB.

The trend of increasing budget for social safety net programmes is still working. In the revised budget of FY2007-08 allocation for total safety net programmes was 11467.4 crore taka. In the budget of FY2008-09 it increased to 16931.6 crore taka (Table 4.3) excluding 100 DEGP.

Table 4.3: Allocation for Social Safety Net Programmes in Bangladesh

Programme	Allocation in FY2007-08 (RB) (Tk. crore)	Allocation in FY2008-09 (Tk. crore)
1. Employment Generation	1635.0	3064.9
FFW	503.0	1577.6
VGD	721.0	855.8
TR	411.0	6315.5
2. Cash Transfer Payments	834.5	818.0
Stipends for Primary Education	468.0	468.0
Stipend for Secondary and Higher Secondary (female student)	340.0	340.0
GR	26.5	10.0
3. Non-cash Transfer Payments	2704.0	3383.0
VGF	855.0	708.1
Open Market Sale (OMS)	1849.0	2675.0
4. Others	6293.9	9665.7
Total safety net (1+2+3+4)	11467.4	16931.6

Source: Food Planning and Monitoring Unit (FPMU), Ministry of Food and Disaster Management

4.4 Allocation for Employment Generation Programmes

In FY2007-08 about 8.6 per cent of total safety net expenditure in Bangladesh was spent to create employment opportunities for the poor and vulnerable. An amount of Tk. 47,370 million has been allocated in the budget of FY2008-09 of which more than 42 percent has been allocated for the 100-DEGP. In the budget FY2008-09, Tk. 3,064.9 crore was allocated for the employment generation programmes including 2000 crore taka for 100 Days Employment Generation Programme.

4.5 Conclusion

Risks are part of everyday life. But the impact on the poor and other vulnerable groups, such as the elderly and disabled, are often more immediate and threatening than those faced by others in society. The adverse effect of risks are more damaging to the poor than those better-off in terms of income, physical and mental well being and long term human development. Social Safety Net programmes can play an important role in helping households to manage the risks and cope with losses. Hence the main strength of national budget should be combined with social safety net programmes for mainstream growth.

Chapter Five

An Overview of 100 Days Employment Generation Programme

5.1 Introduction

Employment Generation Programmes, as safety net programmes are not new in Bangladesh. There are several numbers of employment generation programmes like Food For Work, Test Relief, Vulnerable Group Development etc. In spite of having all these programmes 100 Days Employment Generation Programme was launched following the price hike and food insecurity in the year 2007-2008. The main target of this programme was the extreme poor people of the country. Before assessing the achievement of this programme, it is very important to have a clear idea about the programme. This chapter attempted to put light on the overview of 100 DEGP, try to find its position regarding other safety net programmes in Bangladesh and also compared it with similar programmes in other countries.

5.2 An Overview of 100 DEGP in Bangladesh

5.2.1 Background of the Programme

In Bangladesh people of Monga prone, river erosion and Char areas are more vulnerable and face seasonal unemployment during 3 months from September to November and 2 months from March to April, totaling 5 months in a year. These people belong to extreme poverty quintile of the country. These ultra-poor people were leading precarious lives because of their reduced earning capacity resulting from unemployment on the one hand and the price hike on the other.

To bring poor people under social safety net, government has initiated a number of programmes. Although the poor people are brought under social safety net through different programmes, no specific programme was taken for extreme and unemployed poor. For that reason, in the FY2008-09 budget 100-days employment generation programme has been planned to start for the rural extreme poor, especially for capable unemployed people in specific areas of the country.

5.2.2 Objectives of 100 DEGP

The main objective of this programme is to bring rural extreme poor and capable people including marginal farmers under social safety net during the time they remain unemployed. The specific objectives are:

a) To create employment for extreme rural poor unemployed people.

b) To increase purchasing power of the extreme poor people affected by price hike.

c) To create wealth for the people and the nation.

d) To develop and maintain small scale rural infrastructure and communication system (100 DEGP implementation guideline, GOB 2008).

5.2.3 Duration of the programme

The programme was prepared to be implemented in two phases of lean period -2 months 15 days from mid September to end November and 2 months from March to April totaling 4 months 15 days. Depending on the local demand and area-wise working pattern, the programme assumed to be started 15 days earlier or later and will continue for 100 days ,(20 working days per month over 5 months period). If necessary, with the approval of the government the beginning and ending time of this programme could be changed. At times of natural calamities and emergency this programme could be launched at any time other than the above mentioned 5 months in a year.

5.2.4 Programme area

All 64 districts in the country were under this programme. Priority had been given to river erosion, flood affected, Monga prone, Haor Baor and Char areas.

5.2.5 Target group
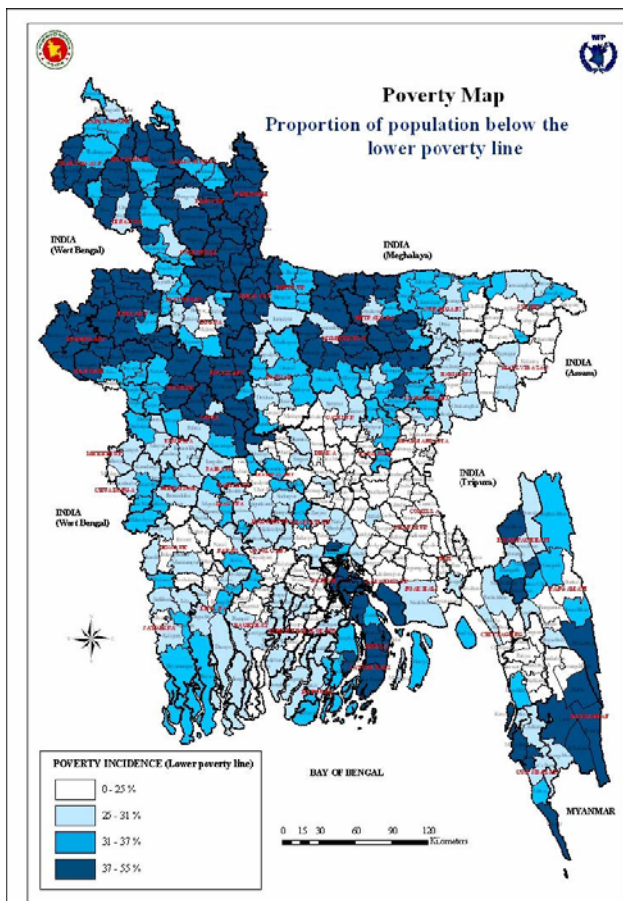
The target group for this programme was mainly the extreme poor people and marginal farmers in the country including extreme poor of Monga prone, river erosion, Char and Haor Baor areas, who remain unemployed during above mentioned 5 months. For determining beneficiaries, any duplication of this programme with any other social safety net programme was to be avoided through proper coordination.

5.2.6 No. of beneficiaries to be determined

Roughly it was decided that 20 lakh people will be brought under this programme. Priority list of river erosion, Haor Baor, Char and flood prone districts has been prepared on the basis of poverty map (Figure 5.1)   in consultation with the Ministry of Food and Disaster Management (MoFDM), Finance Division and Bangladesh Bureau of' Statistics (BBS). The Upazila-wise beneficiaries selected initially would be re-fixed based on evaluation of first phase by the Ministry of Food and Disaster Management.

Figure 5.1:GoB/WFP poverty map

Source:BBS,WFP

The concerned Upazila Nirbahi Officer (UNO) was assigned prepare ward-wise no. of beneficiaries based on concentration of poverty and unemployment and the Upazila-wise card issued by the MoFDM. Besides, Upazila-wise number of poor based on the works accomplished was reevaluated through BBS.

5.2.7 Criteria to be followed to select the beneficiaries:

Government set some criteria to qualify as a beneficiary of the programme. The stated criteria were as follows:

a) Extreme poor and permanent capable resident and marginal farmers in rural areas including river erosion, Monga

prone, Haor Baor and char areas.

b) Eager to work but unemployed and unskilled poor person. Unskilled means such day labour or farm labour who is not a mason, carpenter, electrician, gas mechanic or mill worker or the person who has no alternative employment opportunities. Permanently or temporarily or semi-permanent labour of a farmer or solvent family were not be allowed to register under this programme.

c) Nationally issued identity card were to be considered as their identity card.

d) 18 to 50 years old capable person.

e) Irrespective of male or female, only one person from a family was eligible to get work.

f) Landless (having 0.5, acre or less land excluding homestead), low income person (Male or female) who had no pond for fish culture and had mentionable animal resources.

g) Persons receiving benefits from other on going social safety net programmes of the government were not eligible for this programme (GoB 2008).

5.2.8 Types of activities:

Giving priority to activities supportive of agricultural production, the works undertook through the programme included pond/canal excavation/re-excavation, road/barrage construction/reconstruction, canal/irrigation canal construction/reconstruction for removing water logging, earth filling of compound and field of different people's welfare organizations, removal of sweepings and waste materials from different places, making/re-making of soil heaps, pond excavation, afforestation and vegetable/grass cultivation in government land, preparation of compost heap and its application to cultivated land, repair of house affected by natural calamities, programme of preventing fishermen from catching Jatka (fingerlings) etc. If a government organization faces difficulties to implement any work due to fund constraint, proposal to implement the same had to be sent to Upazila committee of this programme. Additionally, any activities approved by the ministry or steering committee might also be included in future (ibid).

5.2.9 Implementation procedure of the programme:

One of the major objectives of this programme was to enhance purchasing power of the beneficiaries. Keeping this in mind, the wage for the beneficiaries was fixed at Tk 100 per day. To make the programme a success the implementation guideline of the programme provided some directions. Some of the important directions are as follows:

a) A Joint Secretary of the Ministry of Food and Disaster Management will remain responsible for the implementation, monitoring and reporting of the programme;

b) For implementation of the programme, Union-wise appointment of supervising officer, list of works/projects and labourers should be finalized and in the selection of beneficiaries attachment of NGOs involved in poverty alleviation in the Upazila concerned should be ensured;

c). Upazila Nirbahi Officer will select one supervising officer for each Union from government officers of different departments/organizations at Upazila level. The supervising officer will declare the prepared list of projects and capable persons in an open ward meeting in the presence of beneficiaries;

d) Objection on the list, if any, should be submitted to the UP chairman concerned. He will submit the report to the Upazila Nirbahi Officer, who will make the final decision in this matter;

e) Unemployment allowance is to be paid to the registered persons who are not given any work. But during the time of paying unemployment allowance if any employment can be arranged, no unemployment allowance will be paid from the date of employment.

f) All selected unemployed male/female will have to come to Union Parishad office for registration;

g) Ward members will prepare projects based on proposal and recommendation from all categories of people in the society and UNO will approve and issue implementation order based on recommendation from Union disaster management committee. More than one project can be undertaken in each area;

h) The UNO will be responsible for monitoring, examining, inspecting the implementation works of the approved projects by appointing any officer or respectable person as his or her representative;

i) If necessary, in the greater interest of the society, initiative may be taken to implement a big project with the coordination of several wards or Unions. If it is necessary to use materials to maintain in the slope of road or barrage, its cost may be incurred from Upazila development fund. In this case Upazila disaster management committee will approve the cost after selection of projects and estimation of their costs;

j) A brief description and final report of the project will be prepared in a simple way. For each work, separate implementation report will have to be produced.

k) The registered person may be engaged in any area of his or her own district.

l) The district disaster management committee will take decision regarding accepting a bigger project (canal digging/re-digging, road/barrage construction/reconstruction, earth fortress erection/re-erection etc.) in which more person can be employed within more than one Upazila in flood, cyclone, river erosion etc natural calamities prone area.

m) Necessary order/direction may be issued from ministry concerning eliminating ambiguity of any matter in the guideline, providing explanation or any other matter that is not included in the guideline.

n) Under this programme if a registered person cannot be given any work within 15 days of registration, he or she will be paid unemployment allowance. For the first thirty days each will be paid Tk 40 per day as unemployment allowance and for the rest of the period the payment will be made at Tk 50 per day. But total number of days for which allowance is paid will not exceed 100 days. Payment of unemployed allowance will be stopped if he or she can be provided a job. The government reserves the right to not pay unemployment allowance to any person due to following reasons:

- If the applicant remains absent from the works for which he or she is registered.

- If a capable person of the family gets job in some other place.

- The Union and Upazila disaster management committees will take necessary punitive action including return of unemployment allowances for the person providing false information and accepting unemployment allowances instead of availing employment opportunity provided to him or her.

o) Upazila project implementation officer will maintain the list (name, signature etc.) and other necessary information of beneficiaries approved by Upazila disaster management committee in a register (ibid).

5.3   100-DEGP Compared with Other Social Safety Net Programmes in Bangladesh

At present the government of Bangladesh is running about 45 safety net programmes based on different criteria like income, occupation, physical ability, regional disparity etc. Still a large number of eligible population are remaining outside the coverage of any social safety net programme. The coverage of eligible individuals by SSNs is low with only 13% of households in Bangladesh benefiting from at least one safety net programme (World Bank, 2008). According to the HIES (2005) survey, only 22% of households in the bottom quintiles are covered by targeted programmes. This points to the targeting errors both inclusion and exclusion. Indeed 41% of targeted programme beneficiaries are non-poor (World Bank 2008). There is also overlapping regarding targeting. Some households participate in more than one programme. At the same time the benefits provided by the social safety nets are small. For example, the food benefit

from vulnerable group feeding is just 21% of the lower poverty line (World Bank 2008). Besides, in spite of regional disparity dimension, a number of backward areas such as certain chars hardly benefited from any SSN (GOB, 2008b). Geographical coverage of safety nets also does not tightly correlate with division wise poverty rates. For instance, Khulna has the second highest poverty rate (45.7%) after Rajshahi, but the lowest SSN coverage (11%), especially among the lowest income decile (World Bank 2008).

Considering the above mentioned criteria the 100 DEGP represents a major breakthrough towards expanding coverage of employment generation focused safety nets. With an estimated two million households or about 10 million beneficiaries, the 100 DEGP is the largest GoB SSN programme focused on employment generation. It distinguishes itself from others by its scale and its intended focus on the extreme poor and unemployed poor. It also exhibits its uniqueness through the exclusion of households benefiting from any other SSN.

The table below exhibits the position of 100 DEGP in compare to other employment generation programmes.

Table 5.1: Coverage of and Allocation for Employment Generation Programmes

Programme	Objectives	Targeting/ Eligibility Criteria	Coverage in FY2008-09	Budget Allocation in FY08-09 (Tk million)	Implementation
100- DEGP	▪ Employment for extreme rural poor unemployed people; increasing purchasing power of extreme poor affected by price hike	▪ Labourers; Not benefiting from other ongoing SSNPs	200 million person days	20,000	MoFDM
FFW	▪ Employment	▪ Landless,	4.7 million	15,776	GoB/ADB/WFP and

Programme	Objectives	Targeting/ Eligibility Criteria	Coverage in FY2008-09	Budget Allocation in FY08-09 (Tk million)	Implementation
	generation for the poor in slack season; Development and maintenance of rural infrastructure	female-headed households, day labourers and temporary workers, people with income less than Tk. 300 month	person months		MoLGD, MSW and MWR
TR	• Employment generation for the poor in slack season; Development and maintenance of rural infrastructure	• Poverty stricken areas	1.9 million person months	6,315	GOP/DPs/MoFDM
Food Support for Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT)	• Employment generation; Infrastructure development	-	0.74 million person months	2,379	GoB/MCHT
REOPA	• Empowerment of women; Rural infrastructure maintenance	• Households with less than 0.3 ha of land, female-headed households; Households with on other income and not participation in other targeted programmes	24.000 women	400	GoB/EC/MoLGD
Employment Generation for Hardcore Poor	-	-	0.1 million individuals	1,000	PKSF
RERMP	-	-	5 million individuals	1,900	MoLGD

Source: FPMU, Ministry of Food and Disaster Management

5.4 100-DEGP Compared with Similar Programmes in Other Countries

One of the most successful programmes in ensuring employment and income to the poor is the National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme (NREGP) in India which has been initiated after the encouraging performance of Employment Guarantee Scheme (EGS) in Maharashtra in the 1970s. Not only India, some other country like Argentina also has same type of programme called TRABAJAR.

Though the 100-DEGP in Bangladesh is different from the NREGP in many aspects, the experience of EGS, NREGP and other successful programmes around the world can be useful for Bangladesh. The table below presents a comparison of the Bangladesh 100-DEGP, Indian NREGP and Argentine social protection project TRABAJAR.

Table 5.2: Comparison among the 100 DEGP of Bangladesh the NREGP of India and TRABAJAR of Argentina

Criteria	100 DEGP, Bangladesh	NREGP, India	TRABAJAR, Argentina
Strategic goals	▪ Create employment for extreme/unemployed poor in rural areas; ▪ Increase purchasing power of extreme poor people affected by price hike; ▪ Develop/maintain small-scale infrastructure;	▪ Enhance the livelihood security of people in rural areas ▪ Create durable assets and sustain livelihood resource.	▪ Provide temporary income support to poor and unemployed workers.
Coverage	▪ Targeted to physically and mentally able poor/unskilled unemployed poor; ▪ No gender target; ▪ Excludes persons covered by other social safety nets; ▪ Only one member per household; ▪ Age range; 18 to 50;	▪ Every household adult member willing to perform unskilled manual work; ▪ One-third of the employed has to be women; ▪ More than one member of a household can apply; ▪ No restriction regarding participation in other safety nets; ▪ Age range: minimum 18, no Upper age limit;	▪ Targeted to poor, unemployed workers; ▪ No gender target
Implementation aspects	▪ Nationwide: 64 districts 480 Upazilas, in two phases, matching to lean periods.	▪ Piloting; Matarashtra EGS in 1972; ▪ Two Phases: ▪ Phase I: 200 districts in 2006. ▪ Phase II: 130 districts in 2007-08 others from April onward; ▪ Act notified in 2005 to cover whole country by 2010;	▪ Geographically targeting poverty prone areas;
Implementation period	▪ 100-days during lean seasons (mid-September to end-November) and March-April;	▪ 100- days per household at any time throughout the year.	▪ Throughout the year. ▪ Face of the undertaken projects must be completed

Criteria	100 DEGP, Bangladesh	NREGP, India	TRABAJAR, Argentina
	▪ In case of natural disasters, programme can be launched any time;		within 4-6 months and can employ no more than 100 persons;
Past experiences with public Rural Employment Schemes	▪ Limited;	▪ Long; Rural Manpower Scheme (1960); Crash Scheme for Rural Employment (1971-72); Maharashtra programme initiated in 1972; Food for Work Programme (1977); transformed into National Rural Employment Programme; National Food for Work Programme (2005);	▪ In the 90s series of short-term public employment programmes named PIT (intensive work programme); ▪ TRABAJAR replaced the old programme in March 1996.
Provision of legal obligations	▪ No statutory work guarantee;	▪ Scheme backed by Parliament NREG Act emphasizing the right to work and guaranteed employment;	▪ No statutory work guarantee;
Budgetary commitments	▪ Project-wise allocations fixed within the limits of the funds; ▪ Administrative expenses borne by the government;	▪ Central government bears entire wage costs of projects for unskilled workers; ▪ Funds released based on project appraisal;	▪ Initially funded by the government, later the government sought external assistance
Institutional settings	▪ Four-tier set-up of: central government district, upazila and UP;	▪ Multi-tier set-up of: Central government; State District Panchayat, District Programme Officer; Intermediary Panchayat, Block Programme Officer; Gram Panchayat (execute 50 per cent of works);	▪ Multi-tier set-UP of : Ministry of Labor and Social Security (MTSS), Municipalities, Provinces, national agencies, NGOs and/or private organizations;
Beneficiary selection procedure	▪ Consultations to be held with stakeholders at Union level, which would be approved at Upazila level by the UNO.	▪ Interested households have to apply for registration to the local Gram Panchayat;	▪ Targeting mechanism in the low wage rate, lower than market rate; ▪ Considered to be self-selection;
Type of work	▪ Preparation of compost heap for cultivated land, road/barrage Construction; repair of houses affected by natural calamities, pond/canal excavation;	▪ Water conservation and harvesting, drought proofing (afforestation, tree planting); irrigation facilities for households belonging	▪ Minor construction, repair, expansion or remodeling of schools, health facilities, basic sanitation facilities, small roads and

Criteria	100 DEGP, Bangladesh	NREGP, India	TRABAJAR, Argentina
	afforestation and vegetable grass cultivation on government land; canal irrigation/ construction for removing water logging; removal of sweeping and waste materials- other agricultural production activities, as approved by the national steering committee, MoFDM	to scheduled castes or scheduled tribes, renovation of traditional water bodies, land development, flood control, rural connectivity (all weather roads); any other work notified by the Central Government.	bridges, small dams and canals, community kitchens and centres, tourist centers, and low-cost housing;
Works selection	Preparation: ▪ UP/ward members, based on consultation with identified stakeholders, final work list to be approved by UNO;	Preparation: ▪ Annual plan for the village by each Gram Panchayat, in consultation with Gram Shabhas, which are ultimately consolidated and approved at District level. ▪ Work proposals to be implemented by agencies (in most cases by Gram Panchayat) as designated by the state or by the centre;	Preparation: ▪ A participatory approach incorporated into the operations; ▪ Projects can be proposed by local government, community groups or NGOs; ▪ All sub-projects applications are to be evaluated by professionals according to a methodology which involves a comprehensive review of each proposals,
	Selection criteria: ▪ To be consistent with the guidelines; no minimum labour requirements and/ or minimum labour intensity ratio; more than one project can be taken in one area;	Selection criteria: ▪ Work proposals to be consistent with the list of permissible works under the Act.	Selection criteria: ▪ Project selection process places emphasis on targeting poor areas to receive projects; ▪ This geographical targeting mechanism is part of a points system used in sub-projects prioritization; ▪ Neighborhoods and municipalities of the target are promoted as potential recipients for projects that in turn provide opportunities for self selection;
Allocation and implementation of	▪ Work have to be completed within 90 and	▪ Time frame is specific to each	▪ Sub projects must be completed within 4-6

Criteria	100 DEGP, Bangladesh	NREGP, India	TRABAJAR, Argentina
work	60 days of receiving fund for the first and second phase; ▪ UNO to supervise officers, disseminate publicly declare list of projects/capable persons in open ward meeting; ▪ Project Implementation Committee (PIC), formed by Union Committees are responsible for execution of all projects; ▪ Relevant government agencies are to provide technical assistance;	approved work; ▪ Works allocated to any applicants by Gram Panchayat and Block implementation officer; ▪ Priority to old work within the plan; ▪ New works initiated only if there are at least 10 labourers (formerly 50);	months and can employ no more than100 persons; ▪ The initial step after sub project approval and funding is for the executing agency to present the Provincial Manager of Employment and Training Programmes with a list of workers for the project; ▪ Approved and prioritized sub projects are funded UP to the limit set by the available funds.
Technical assistance support	▪ Guidelines do not contain any such provisions;	▪ Central Government supports administrative expenses; ▪ Training of stakeholders at all levels;	▪ The MTSS provides promotional and training activities;
Wage and disbursement	▪ Uniform wage of Tk. 100/day/person; ▪ Wages are to be disbursed on daily basis payment by Union Committee through government scheduled banks at the Upazila level;	▪ Minimum wage rates for agricultural labourers, (set in the Minimum Wage Act 1948, not less than Rs 60/day); ▪ Wages can be paid in cash or kind but 25 percent at least in cash; ▪ Wages are to be paid on weekly-basis;	▪ Wage in lower than average market wage rate and it is paid through cheques ▪ Cheques are issued to each worked once a month for the previous month's work; ▪ Depending on the location of the sub-project, workers either receive their cheques at a bank, or the post office;
Employment guarantee vs. employment generation	▪ No legal guarantee to provide job within 15 days of registration/issue of card;	▪ Jobs to be provided by Gram panchayat within 15 days from application receipt date, as stated by the Act;	▪ No such provisions
Unemployment allowance	▪ Eligibility:15 days after registration, if no employment provided; ▪ Amount: Tk. 40/day for first 30 days and Tk. 50/day for the remaining period; ▪ Payment by Union Committee through	▪ Eligibility: If no employment is provided within 15 days after submission of application; ▪ Amount: no less than one-fourth of the wage rate for the first 30 days after a person	▪ No such provision.

Criteria	100 DEGP, Bangladesh	NREGP, India	TRABAJAR, Argentina
	government schedule bank at upazila level; • Conditionality: • Payment stopped if work can be made available; • Allowance is not given, if applicant is absent from works for which he registered;	becomes eligible for unemployment allowance and no less than one-half of the wage after that; • Conditionality : • Applicants have to report for work within 15 days of being informed by Gram Panchayat; • Not applicable if time period for which work is sought runs out;	
Provision of worksite facilities and other social facilities;	• Not specified;	• Mandatory provision of facilities such as drinking water, shade for children, etc. • Entitlement to free medical treatment for injury, a payment to legal heirs of deceased/disabled workers; • A person may be entrusted (and paid by the programme) if more than 5 children are brought on worksites with their parents	• Not specified;
Physical access to jobs	• No limit distance to worksites;	• Work to be provided within 5 km of the village, if not, wage premium of 10 percent;	• Projects were selected and implemented within the locality.
Communication process	• Registration notice may be hanged in open space; • Union supervising officer nominated by UNO declare list of projects and capable persons in open-ward meeting in presence of beneficiaries;	• Various information education and communication (IEC) strategies; • Gram Shabha are responsible to inform key features of the Act;	• Not specified;
Monitoring and financial auditing	Monitoring responsibilities • Upazila Disaster Management Committees, District Committees	Institutions: • National level monitors, independent monitors; Processes; • Special monitoring scheme by national level monitors, local	Monitoring; • Previously formulated monitoring indicators are used by MTSS • Implementing organizations the World Bank, and the Inter American Development Bank

Criteria	100 DEGP, Bangladesh	NREGP, India	TRABAJAR, Argentina
		monitors and vigilance committees; ▪ Programme reviews by Ministry of Rural Development ▪ Regional performance Review Committees;	(IDB); ▪ The programme also has a built-in monitoring device;
	Audit: ▪ Generic provision that the government will take necessary arrangement for auditing the programme in consultation with Controller and Auditor General;	Audit: ▪ Financial audit is mandatory and must be carried out by each district at the end of the final year either by local fund auditors of chartered accounts;	Evaluation: ▪ As projects are evaluated and completed, a database on prices of materials as well as unit costs is built up in order to be used as a basis for comparison with subsequent sub-project proposals; ▪ As part of the overall programme evaluation a survey instrument is being used to determine the direct benefits of a random sample of TRABAJAR workers for particular sub-projects. These survey results are compared with those of a control group selected from the population at large; ▪ The indirect benefits of the projects financed through TRABABAR will be measured by ex-post evaluations of a random sample of projects;
Accountability and transparency	▪ Guidelines and monitoring sheet are available on the Internet; ▪ Implementation Guidelines do not contain specific provisions regarding public disclosure of monitoring information ▪ Grievance remedy: ▪ District Committee responsible for grievance redress; no clear	▪ People can ask for copies of all records and accords and accents as will as muster rolls; ▪ Implementation followed-up by NGO and other independent groups; ▪ On line access to monitoring information; ▪ Annual reports on outcomes submitted	▪ Not specified;

Criteria	100 DEGP, Bangladesh	NREGP, India	TRABAJAR, Argentina
	mechanism;	to the Parliament ▪ Grievance remedy: ▪ District programme coordinator is responsible for disposal of grievances setting up of grievance redressal cells at programme offices; ▪ Grievances are to be reviewed on a monthly basis;	
Source: Adopted from G.B.SSI (2008), Government of India (2005); GoB (2008); Ministry of Rural Development India (2008); BRAC (2009); and Eisenstadt (1998), collected from CPD, 2009.			

5.5 Conclusion

100 DEGP is a new type of employment generation programme in Bangladesh. It is not fully home grown. The idea has been taken from other country and policy makers try to modify it according to the country context. As a new programme and considering the then economic situation of the country it might face a lot of hurdles in implementation. Nevertheless, it seems to be a time worthy step to protect extreme poor people from the shock of price hike and food insecurity.

Chapter Six

Research Findings and Analysis:

6.1 Introduction:

To answer the research questions mentioned in chapter one, data have been collected from 56 programme beneficiaries and ten implementing personnel of two different Union Parishads. In this chapter the findings of field survey have been analyzed to demonstrate how the dynamics of 100 DEGP influenced the targeting effectiveness and output of the programme.

6.2 Analysis of Targeting Effectiveness:

The selected programme is a target oriented programme. It was expected to be implemented in a fixed time period to help a certain group of beneficiaries. The strength of the programme lies with its targeting effectiveness. In this study targeting effectiveness has been measured from two perspectives-

(1) beneficiary selection criteria

(2) beneficiary selection procedure.

6.2.1 Beneficiary Selection Criteria:

The main purpose of 100 Days Employment Generation Programme is to reach the poorer segment of the population. Two variables are related with the proper selection of beneficiaries as per the aim of the programme. Those are:

(1) Socio-economic conditions of target groups

(2) Clear and consistent objectives;

1. Socio-Economic Conditions of Target Groups:

There are several characteristics that are well established to correlate socio-economic conditions and poverty in Bangladesh. The programme participants deemed to have worse housing condition (e.g., worse material of house walls, lower electricity connection rate, worse sanitation system etc).

The field data show that ; none of the beneficiaries used bricks for the walls of their houses. About 66.07% had the houses made of tin. Among others 17.85% had the houses made of

other materials like leaves of long grass, 10.71% had mud houses and 5.35% had the houses made of bamboo (Fig 1).

Figure 6.1: Main Material of House's Wall
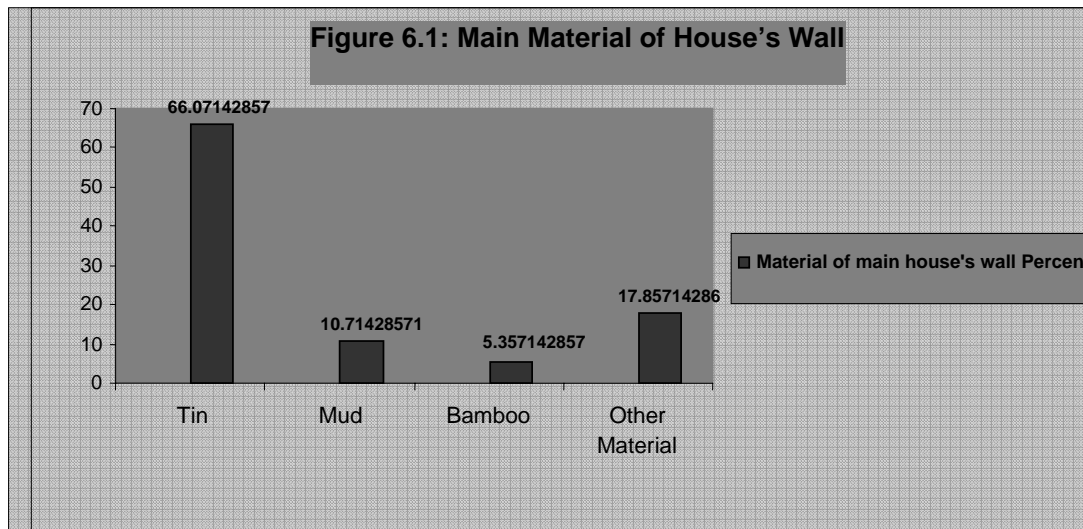
According to the normal trend of Bangladesh it is assumed that well off people make their houses with tin. Therefore, the figure above may give an impression that most of the beneficiaries of the programme do not belong to extreme poor quintile. But the reality is totally different. Most of the beneficiaries live in the government khash land and their houses are either provided by government or built by themselves borrowing money from formal or informal sources. In Holdia Union Parishad 33% of selected beneficiaries live in the Adarsha Gram[4] offered by government. In Mouchak Union Parishad most of the beneficiaries made their houses taking loans or having government incentives. With two exceptions (see figure 6.8) these people do not have any house or land of their own. So, it is evident that they belong to the poorer segment of the respective Union Parishads.

Another criterion to measure worse housing condition is "availability of electricity connection". In a country like Bangladesh it is a symbol of status, as well as a matter of affordability. It is being assumed that only economically sound people can afford it. Therefore, the existence of electricity connection is a useful means to measure socio economic conditions.

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[4] Adarsha Gram is a specialized project of the government of Bangladesh to provide houses to poor homeless people.

From the field survey it was found that 87% respondents did not have any electricity connections (Figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2:Availability of Electricity
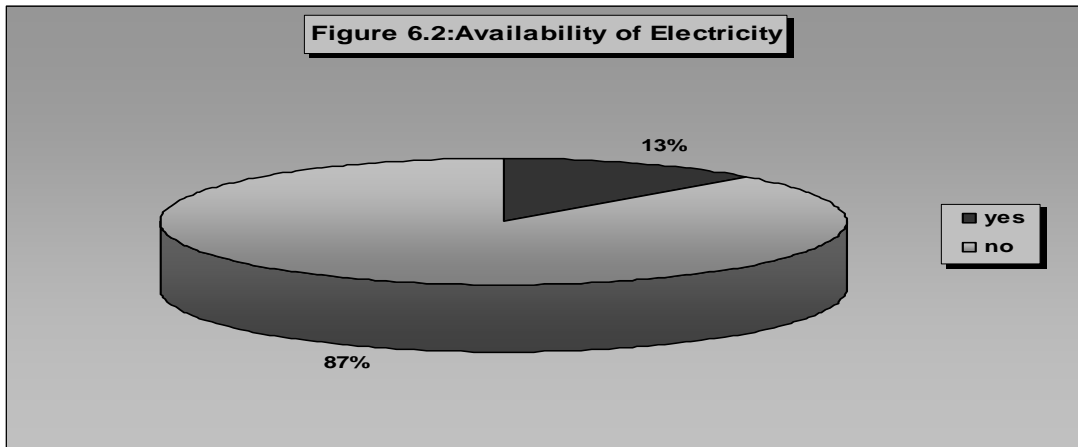
Source: Survey Data

Among those 87% respondents majority belonged to Holdia Union Parishad. Respondents of this UP live in char area where electricity is not available. No respondent of Holdia had electricity connection. In Mouchak 7 persons had connections of electricity (Fig.6.3).

Figure 6.3: Union wise Availibility of Electricity
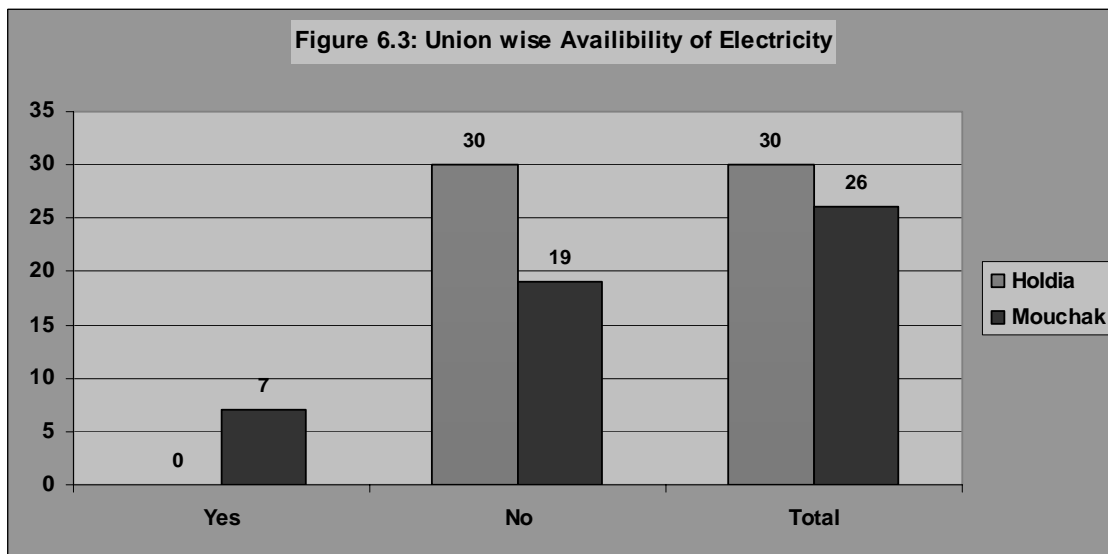
Source: Survey Data

Comparatively the respondents of Mouchak UP had a better position. The 7 respondents who had electricity connection seemed to have better socio-economic conditions than the others. As most of the respondents did not have electricity connection, it meant that they belonged to

lower social status. It also indicated that they were not economically sound enough and were more poverty stricken.

To determine socio-economic conditions from the household perspective another indicator is sanitation system. This study looked into the types of latrines the respondents used. The survey data showed that about 44.64% of the total respondents used "Kacha" latrine, 41.07% used "Sanitary" latrine and 14.28% used open space as latrine (Figure 6.4).

Figure 6.4: Types of Latrine
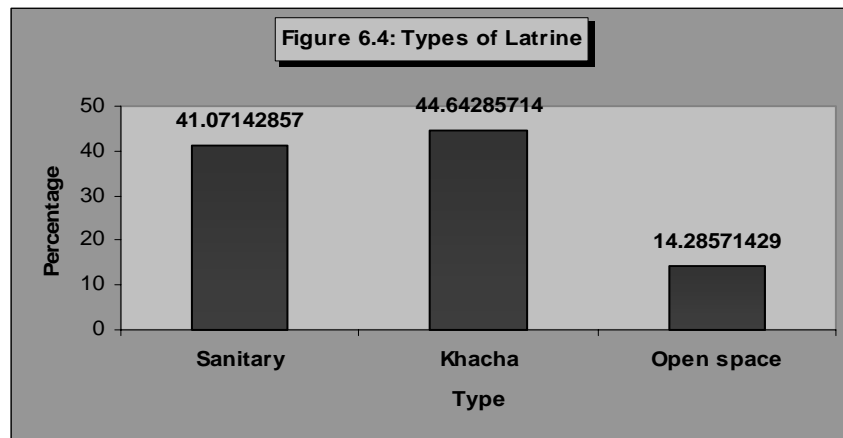
Source: Survey Data

From the figure above it may appear that a good number of people are using sanitary latrine and if it is an indicator to measure socio-economic condition then it can be said that almost half of the respondents are living in good socio-economic conditions. It would be a wrong observation. Because, the government of Bangladesh had a separate programme to bring the whole country under sanitation coverage. Under this programme, all the households were persuaded to have sanitary latrines. Though the objective was not achieved by 100% but a mentionable number of households had sanitary latrines. Despite government initiative, more than 50% respondents were using "Kacha" latrine or "Open space" which represented the worse socio-economic status of the respondents.

The Extreme Poverty Survey 2008-2009 correlates extreme poverty with household conditions. According to that survey, poorer household have worse household conditions in respect of material of main house's walls, connectivity of electricity, type of latrine used etc. So, from the data analyzed above it can be concluded that the beneficiaries of the 100 DEGP

belonged to the poorer segment of the population. In other words targeting was appropriate in respect of socio economic condition.

2. Clear and Consistent Objectives:

This is the variable which played most important role in selecting beneficiaries. The variable refers to the implementation guideline of 100 DEGP. As per Section 2 of the Guidelines, the main objective of this programme was 'to bring rural extreme poor and capable people including marginal farmers under social safety net during the time they remain unemployed'. In Section 9.0 of the Guidelines, the terms and qualifications to become a beneficiary were further refined. The qualifications defined in the guideline are as follows :(GoB 2008)

a) The extreme poor including marginal farmers who are capable and permanent residents of rural areas including river erosion, *monga* prone, *haor baor* and c*har* areas.

b) Those eager to work but unemployed and unskilled poor person. Unskilled poor persons mean day labourers or farm labourers who are not trained as masons, carpenters, electricians, gas mechanics or mill workers, or persons who have no alternative employment opportunities. Those permanently, temporarily or semi-permanently labour of a farm or solvent family are not allowed to register under this programme.

c) Nationally issued identity card will be considered as their identity card.

d) 18-50 years old capable person.

e) Irrespective of male or female, only one person from a family will be eligible to get work.

f) The landless (with 0.5 or less acres of cultivable land) who have a low income and have no pond for fish culture and no animal resources.

g) Persons receiving benefits from other on going social safety net programmes of the government will not be eligible for this programme (GoB 2008).

In this study considering the above mentioned criteria the following factors have been analyzed to determine targeting effectiveness. Those are:

    a. Age

    b. Employment status

    c. Landlessness

    d. Number of family member in the programme

    e. Coverage of other safety net programmes.

a. Age

To qualify as a beneficiary the official age range was 18-50 years. The field data revealed that 93% beneficiaries of this study belonged to the age group of 18-50 (Figure 6.5).

Figure 6.5: Age of the Beneficiaries

4, 7%

☐ Age between 18-50
☐ More than 50

52, 93%
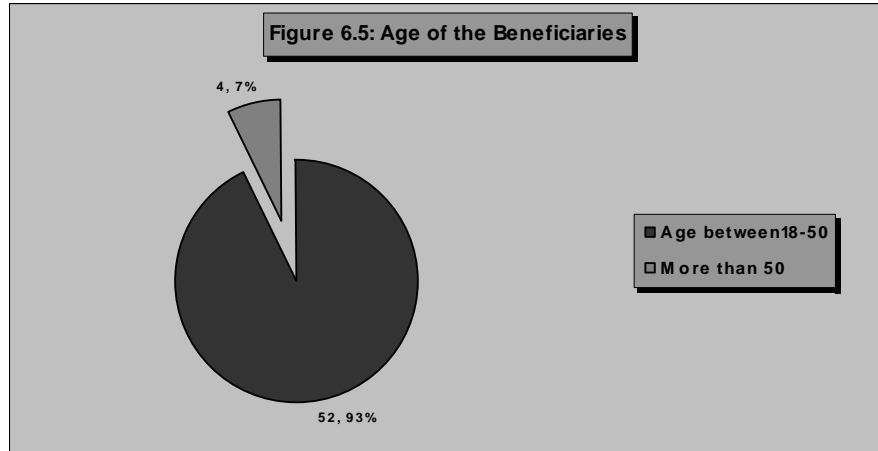
Source: Survey Data

On the whole, the age range officially set (18-50) was respected in the selection of beneficiaries: only 7% of those that is 4 persons were outside this range. The qualitative study revealed, among the 4 persons who were found to be over aged, 2 were not even aware of their age. The other two had different realities. Both of them belonged to better economic conditions and had good terms with Union Parishad chairman. So, it could be concluded that the age level envisaged by the government had been maintained in most of the cases. The inclusion error regarding the age was nominal. Therefore, selection of beneficiaries were near about perfect.

b. Employment Status:

As per the implementation guideline the beneficiaries should have been those who were eager to work but unemployed and unskilled poor persons. Unskilled poor persons meant day labourers or farm labourers who were not trained as masons, carpenters, electricians, gas mechanics or mill workers, or persons who had no alternative employment opportunities. Those permanently, temporarily or semi-permanently work in a farm or those who were from the solvent families were not allowed to register under this programme.

According to HIES 2005, the employment category is a very strong correlate of poverty in rural Bangladesh (World Bank 2008). The incidence of poverty among households whose heads were daily wage workers was extremely high. Among those 68% were poor and 48% were extremely poor. In the present study, 42.9% respondents answered that they did nothing before joining the programme, 26.8% said, they worked as daily labour; 16.1% replied that they were house maid and 12.5% worked as agriculture labourer on the basis of daily wage and only 1.8% talked about doing business (Figure 6.6).
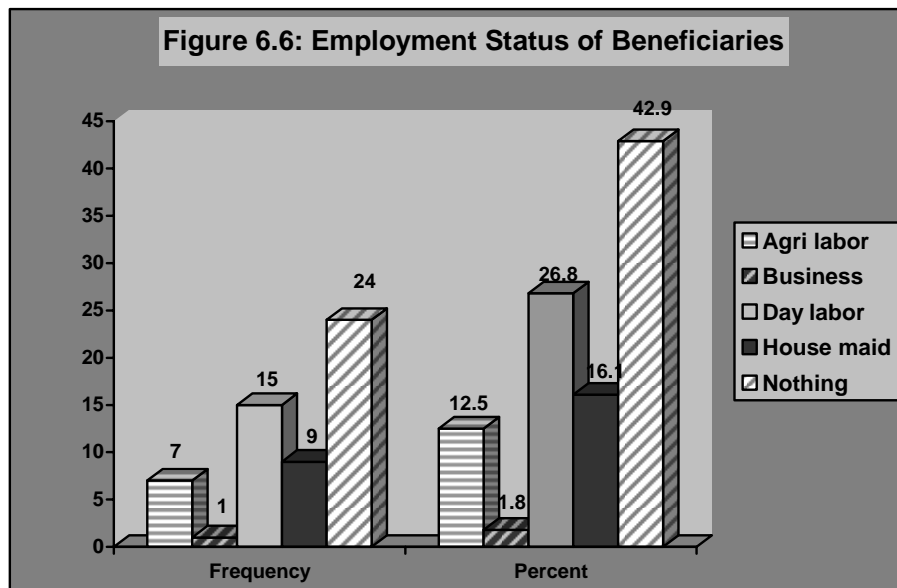
Source: Survey Data

As per HIES 2005 correlation of poverty, the beneficiaries of 100 DEGP belonged to poor and extreme poor segment of the country. Between the two Union Parishads (Holdia and Mouchak), Holdia was found to be more vulnerable.

In Holdia Union Parishad, 18 respondents that is more than 50% respondent were unemployed before joining the programme. Where as, in Mouchak Union Parishad only 6 respondents were unemployed (Figure 6.7).

Figure 6.7: Compararive Occupational Status
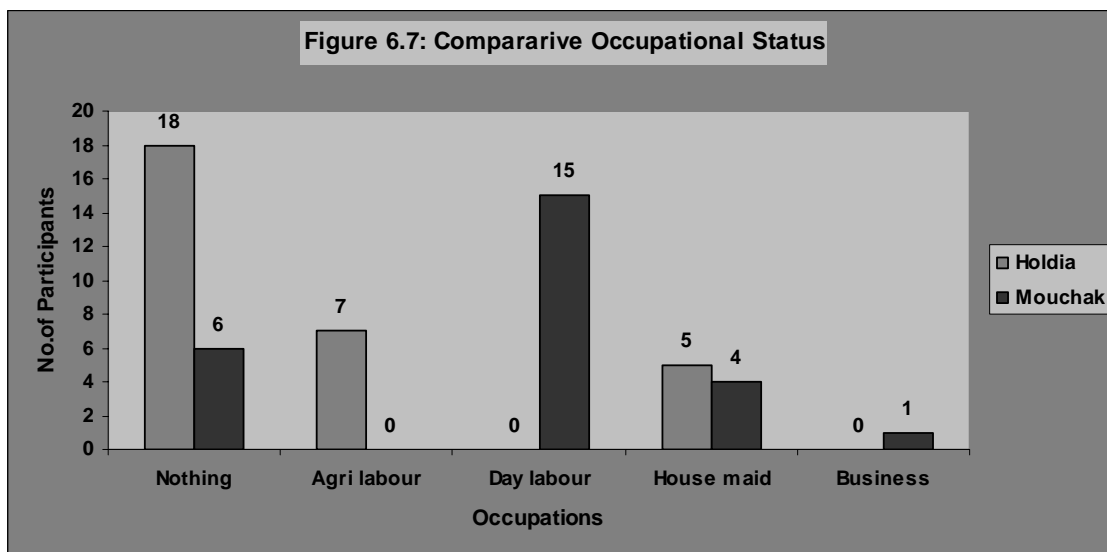
Source: Survey Data

The in-depth interviews revealed that among the 6 persons 4 were housewives. They never did anything and when this opportunity came about they availed it. The other two did not do anything but had the opportunity to work as a daily labourer .

In case of Holdia Union the respondents who did nothing had no opportunity to do anything. From the data above, it is clear that the people of char area live in more vulnerable condition than the people who live near the capital city Dhaka.

Overall assessment shows that in targeting beneficiaries, poverty and unemployed criterion were followed properly.

c. Landlessness:

A strong correlate of poverty in rural areas is ownership of cultivable land. Data from the HIES 2005 suggests that about 55% of the rural population with cultivable land below 0.5 acres live in poverty, while 38% live in extreme poverty.

One of the stated criteria for beneficiary selection of 100 DEGP was selecting households with less than 0.5 acres of land. The survey data shows that 96.4% of EGP member households had less than 0.5 acres of cultivable land (Figure 6.8). In most of the cases they did not have any land.

Figure 6.8: Ownership of Cultivable Land
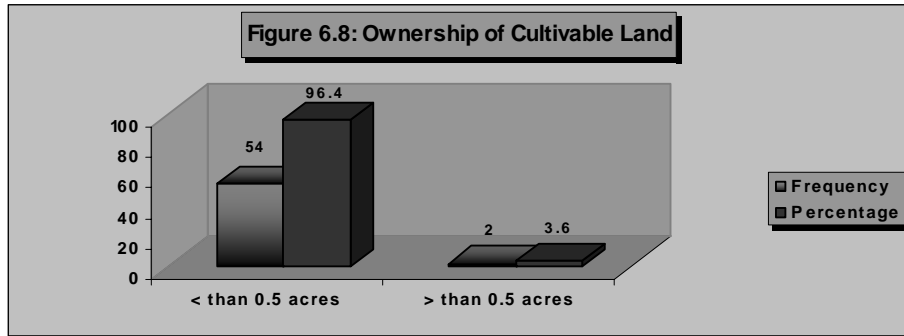
Source: Survey Data

From the above analysis and data it apprears that the leakage to unintended beneficiaries were moderate and the programme came out to reach its intended group of beneficiaries.

d. Number of Family Member in the Programme

One other criteria of beneficiary selection for 100 Days EGP was, "irrespective of male or female, only one person from a family will be eligible to get work" (GoB 2008). In this survey it was found out that 96.4% beneficiaries were selected by strictly following the criterion (Figure 6.9).

Figure 6.9: Number of Family Members Involved in the Programme
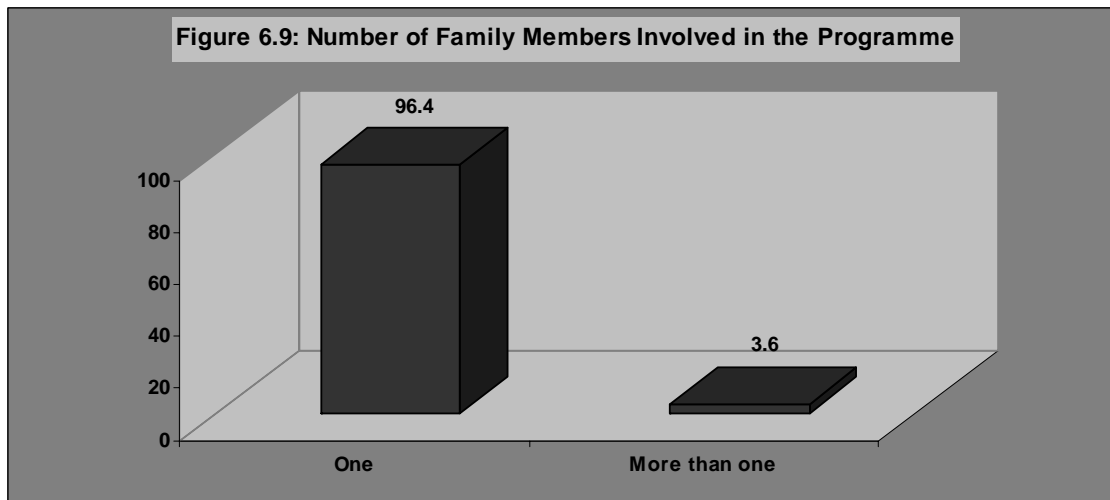
Source: Survey Data

Again, as the inclusion error was nominal, it could be said that programme beneficiaries had been selected properly.

e. Coverage of Other Safety Net Programme

Another criterion for EGP participant selection was to exclude the person who was enrolled in other government safety net programmes. This criterion appears to have been followed strictly. In the present survey no respondents had been found to have received assistance from other social safety net programmes of the government.

6.2.2 Selection Procedure of Beneficiaries:

Following selection procedure of beneficiaries was an indicator which would measure the adherence of the implementing officers towards the policy. Here, the hypothesis is, if the implementing officers followed the procedure, they were adhered to the policy or committed to the programme. By following the proper procedure they could select proper beneficiaries. Therefore, it would prove their leadership skills.

As per the guidelines the identification of the two million beneficiaries was to be finalised by the 31st of August. The MoFDM, in close collaboration with WFP, BBS and other Ministries identified the methodology to decide on the number of cards to be distributed per Upazila . This information was then to be communicated to the Deputy Commissioners who transmitted the information to the UNO's. The latter then had to decide on the number of beneficiaries per ward based on poverty/employment concentration. In cases where the UNO failed to do this, the Union Parishad carried out this task. The Union Parishad members then decided on a list of names of potential beneficiaries based on their knowledge of the ward population and in consultation with the community. This was put to the Union Disaster Management Committee which conducted interviews with people from the list and based on this, recommended selected names for approval of registration. The Union level Supervising Officer then reviewed the list of beneficiaries and ensured the publication of the list. The final list was communicated to the Upazila Disaster Management Committee which approved the list. Once finalised, the selected beneficiaries had to register with the Union Parishad offices. At the district level, the Deputy Commissioner carried out a final check to ensure no beneficiary availed of any other safety net (Figure 6.10).

Figure 6.10: Selection procedure of beneficiaries of 100 Days EGP
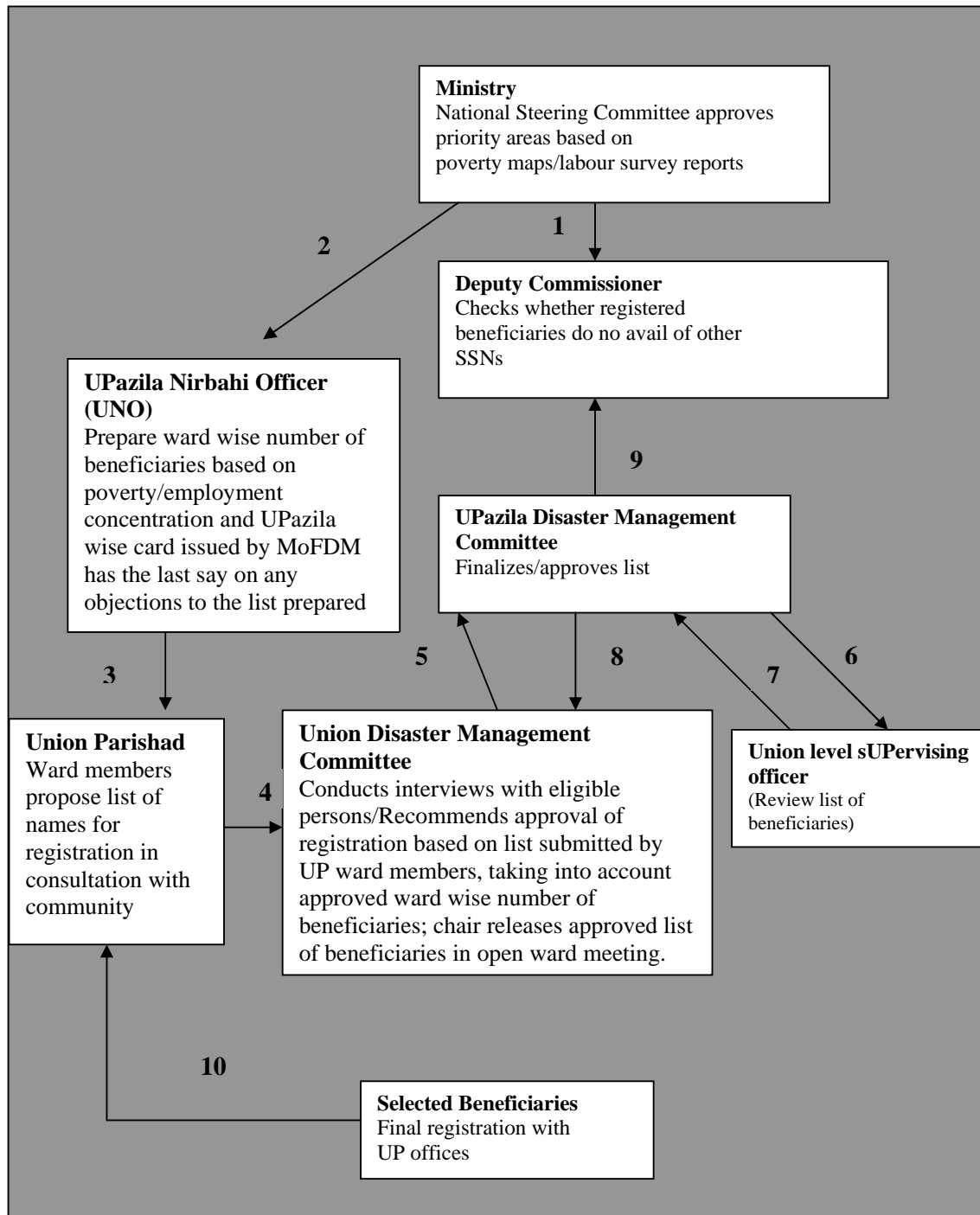
Source: Ministry of Food and Disaster Management

The guideline also refers to the NGO involvement in the selection process of beneficiaries. As per the guideline the selection process seems very organized. But in reality it was found

that in most of the cases the selection procedure was not followed properly. The field survey shows, among 56 respondents as many as 42 said that they were informed as well as inducted in the programme by Union Parishad member. Other 11 persons informed that they had to request the UP member to be included in the programme. Amid remaining three, two were referred by the local influential persons. Only one said that he was being selected to join the programme following the formal procedure (Figure 6.11).

Figure 6.11: Way of Inclusion in the Programme
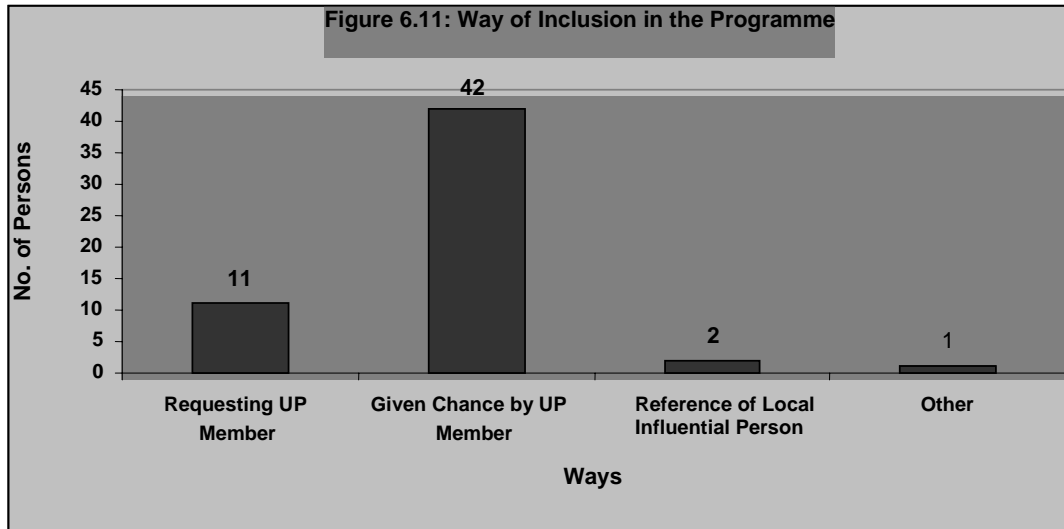
Source: Survey Data

From the figure above it is evident that the selection procedure was not followed properly. In selecting beneficiaries, UP members played vital role. Why the UP members selected the specific persons among many others having the same status? The answer was found from the response of the beneficiaries (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1: Relation With UP Member	
Relation with	**No. of respondents**
None	6
Respondents	33
Other member of the family	17
Total	56

Source: Survey Data

Above table shows that out of 56, 33 respondents themselves have relations with the UP members. In case of 17 respondents, they themselves did not have any relations with UP

members but some of their family members had connection with UP members. All of these led to the result of irregularities (Box 1, Case1). These also portrait the lack of adherence of the implementation officers towards the policy. But, in this regard, beneficiaries' perceptions were different. About 42.9% respondents said that the implementation offices had full adherence to the programme, others commented moderately while no one commented negatively.

Box 1:

Case 1: Most needy remained out of the programme

Sahana (30) was struggling with her 6 daughters and sick husband in the days of price hike. She had to live hand to mouth working as a maid servant irregularly. She and her family did not get two full meals a day. She was badly looking for work. At that time she found that her neighbour Anoara who have four family members in total and whose husband works as an agricultural labourer was doing something and getting better off than previous days. When she inquired she found that Anoara is working in a government programme called 100 days employment generation programme with a daily wage of 100 taka. After asking about the joining process in the programme, Anoara answered that the UP member selected her. She was well known to the UP member beforehand. Some people like Sahana even do not know about the programme. There was no such notification so that everyone could be aware of the programme. As a result, at times, most needy people remained outside the safetynet of 100 DEGP.

It is clear from the description of the process that the intention of the Government was to leave the responsibility of selecting the beneficiaries to the community. But in reality, the influential members of the community were found to be instrumental on this front.

A number of in-built mechanisms were put in place to try and ensure that the right people were targeted. An important observation is that the description of the process in the Guideline did not follow a step-by-step approach. This made it very difficult to understand and left wide scope for misunderstanding and misinterpretation. In the absence of any training or additional instructions, the Guideline constituted the only tool for field officers to understand the process which might have some differences from place to place.

6.2.3 Summary of the Findings and Analysis of Targeting Effectiveness:

Overall the results of this study show that in the two selected Union Parishads EGP followed its own eligibility criteria which were reasonably sound. Two critical eligibility criteria that are important correlates of poverty were followed well: an overwhelming majority of beneficiaries who had less than 0.5 acres of cultivable land, were mostly employed as unskilled day-labourer. So, in terms of beneficiary selection criteria it was evident that the targeting was effective.

Regarding the selection process, in spite of all the external factors influencing the process of the beneficiary selection the effectiveness of the targeting turned out to be satisfactory.

6.3 Effect on the Socio-Economic Conditions:

In this part of the study attempt has been made to asses the output of the programme on the basis of the effect on the socio-economic conditions of the beneficiaries. Basically socio-economic condition is a huge term. In this study, it will refer to access to food, asset creation and reduction of indebtedness. Two variables which are linked with the effect of socio-economic condition are:

1. clear and consistent objectives; and
2. stability of policy.

The above variables have impact on the income; therefore, they influenced the socio-economic conditions of the beneficiaries (Figure 6.12).

Figure 6.12: Effect on the socio economic conditions
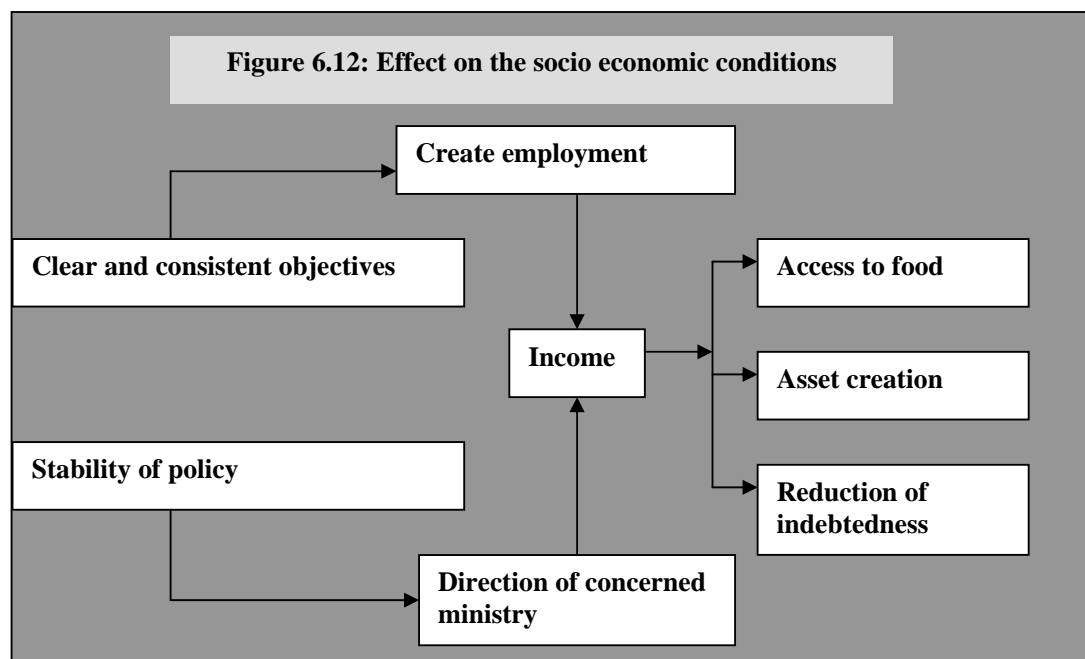
Here the hypotheses are if the income increases:

   a) the ability accessibility to food will increase;

   b) some asset will be created; and

   c) indebtedness will be reduced.

Before going into details, it is important to examine how the variables are linked with "income".

1. Clear and Consistent Objectives and Income

As per the implementation guideline, one of the objectives of 100 DEGP is to create employment opportunity for the extreme poor. The field data show that the success rate of this objective is high. As high as 60.7% respondents said that the project was successful in creating job opportunities, 28.6% said the objective was 'almost achieved' while 10.6% said that it was achieved 'to some extent'. The last group hailed from Holdia where more jobs were needed. Newspaper reports like, "100 day work creation project creates jobs, but shortage of farm hands also" (The Independent, 21.10.2008) shows that the aim to create employment opportunities has been achieved.

Beneficiaries were selected to work under different projects at a wage rate of Tk 100 per day. Among the beneficiaries, 42.9% were totally unemployed, 26.8% were day-labourers, 16.1% worked as domestic helps and 12.5% were agriculture labourers. Only one person said that he was doing business. So, it is clear that the EGP was successful in generating income. The survey data also say the same (Figure 6.13).

Figure 6.13: Impact on Income
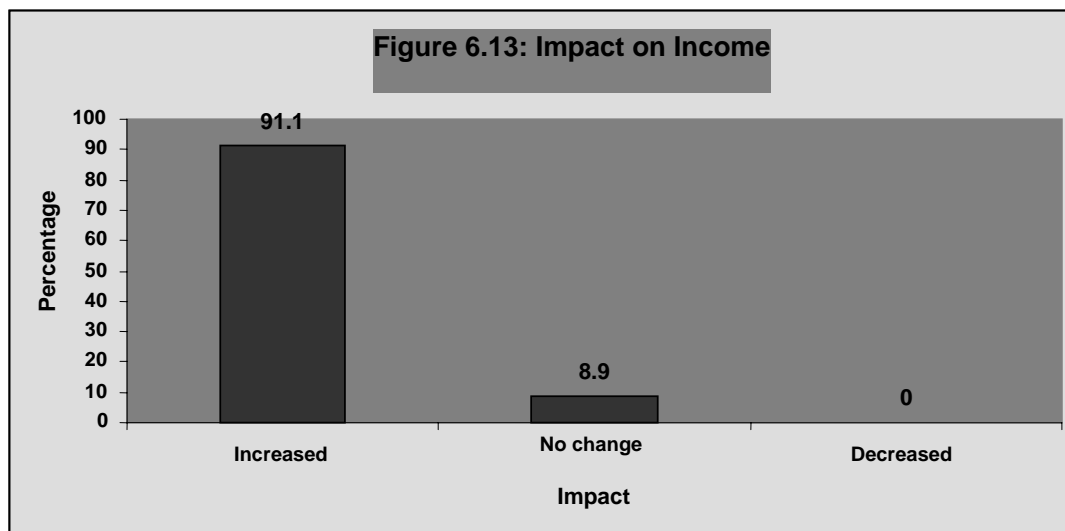
Source: Survey Data

Staggeringly high 91.1% beneficiaries said that their income increased because of their involvement in this programme while only 8.9% said their income did not increase. These people argued that their expenditure increased with price hike of essentials. So, the wage of this programme did not add any extra value to their income. Overall assessment represents that the 100 Days Employment Generation Programme had a positive effect on the income of most of the beneficiaries.

2. Stability of Policy and Income:

Stability of policy refers to consistency of the guideline during the implementation of 100 DEGP. Usually changes during the continuation of a project hamper the output. The question is whether any decisional change took place after the 100 DEGP began.

The 100 Days Employment Generation Programme was launched with a view to providing the extreme poor with employment opportunities during the lean period[5]. It was divided into two phases - September to November and March to April. The first phase had 60 working days while the second had 40, making it a total of 100 days.

However, the survey data revealed that no one worked for 100 days, not even for 60 days. In most of the cases they worked for only 40 days while the highest in the surveyed areas was 45 days. It happened because of a direction of the ministry. The Chairmen of concerned UPs said that in the middle of the project a direction came from the Ministry of Food and Disaster Management to stop work. It not only hampered the project, but also had an adverse effect on the income of the beneficiaries.

Income is perceived as the influencing factor of changes in socio-economic conditions which includes:
   a. Access to food;
   b. Asset creation; and
   c. Reduction of indebtedness.

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[5] Lean period is the period when no agricultural works are available and people suffer from seasonal poverty especially in Monga prone, River erosion and Char areas.

a. Access to Food:

One of the major objectives of 100 Days Employment Generation Programme was to ensure food security of the extreme poor during price hike. The data gathered from the field presented a positive trend. While answering to the question "Did this programme bring any changes in your food intake?" as high as 62.5% respondents said both the quality and quantity of their food intake increased since they were earning more. Among the respondents, about 19.6% said it increased the quality of their food intake, 7.1% said it increased quantity while 10.7% said it brought no change.

A comparative study of food intake of the beneficiaries before and after the programme supplements the above statement. Data on affordability of two full meals a day, intake of fish/meat, days of starvation etc. portrait the real scenario.

The survey data show that before joining the program about 37.5% of the beneficiaries did not have the ability to have two full meals once or twice a week. Whereas after working in the programme, the ratio went down to 5.35 % (Figure 6.14). Before the programme was launched, there were people who did not have the ability to have two full meals three, four or even five days a week.

Figure 6.10: Not Having Two Full Meals A Day
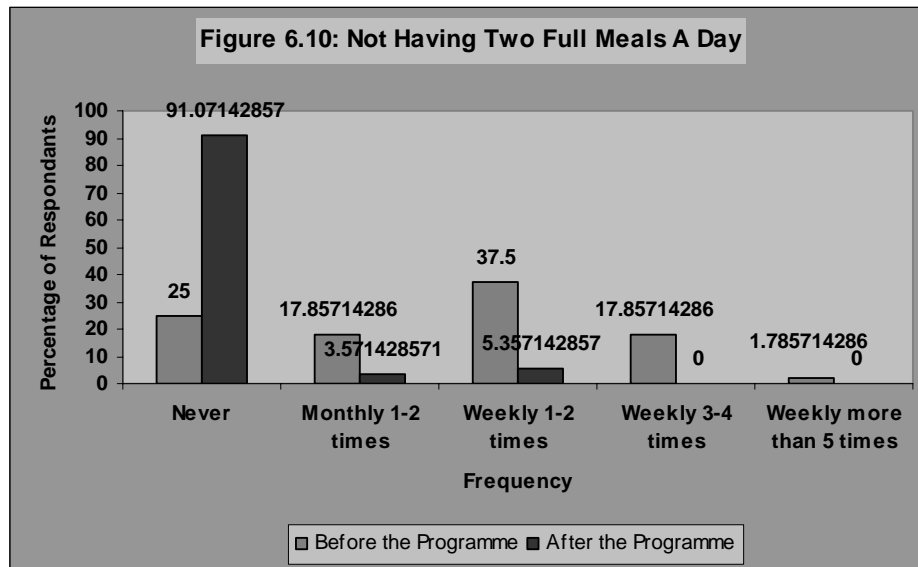
Source: Survey Data

But after the programme was launched, the situation improved. Before joining the programme, only 25 percent beneficiaries had the ability to have two full meals a day, but after working in the programme the ratio rose to 91.07%. The figure itself shows that food intake of respondents increased after they joined the programme.

Another indicator to asses the ability to have food was "the number of days the beneficiaries had to starve". The beneficiaries of the 100 Days Employment Generation Programme were the most poverty-stricken people of the country. To improve their condition, programme like 100 DEGP have been undertaken.

About 35.71% respondents said that before joining the programme they had to starve once or twice in a month, 17.85% said they had to starve once or twice in a week while 7.14% said they had to starve three to four times a week. However, 100% respondents said that after joining 100 DEGP they did not have to starve even for a single day. (Figure 6.15).

Figure 6.15: Days of Starvation
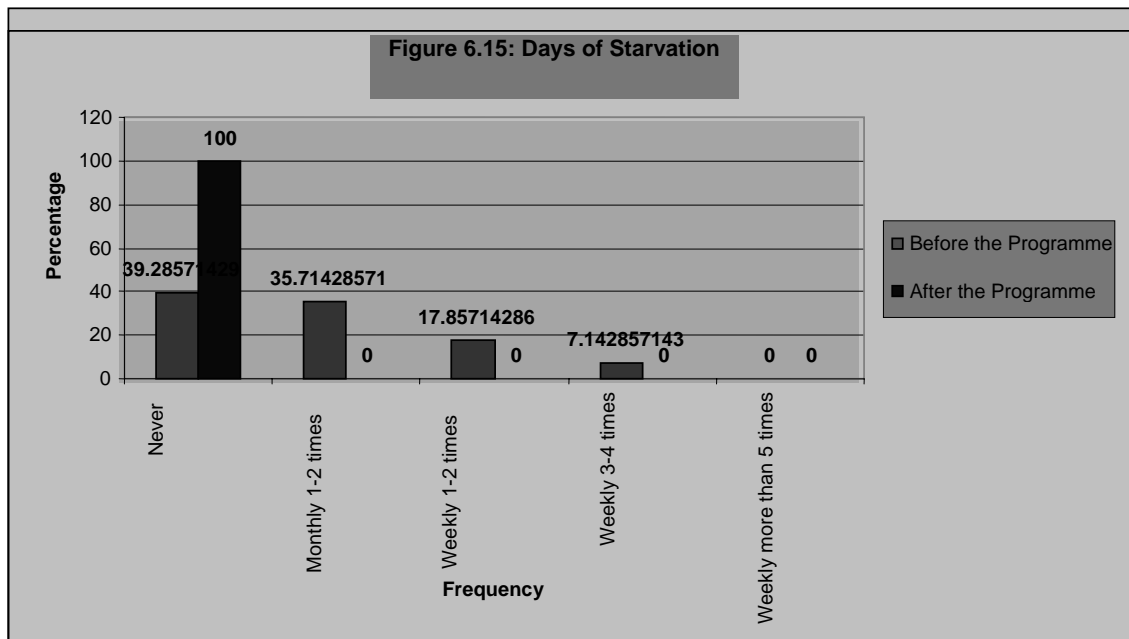
Source: Survey Data

The response of the beneficiaries clearly sketched the positive effects of increased income and thus the effect of 100 DEGP in ensuring the beneficiaries' access to food.

This study observed that 100 Days Employment Generation Programme not only brought quantitative changes in food intake of the beneficiaries but also brought qualitative changes. The consumption rate of meat/ fish increased in terms of frequency and also in terms of number of consumers. The survey data indicated that before the programme 33.9% respondents never had meat/fish. After working in the programme the condition improved and the number of participants who never had meat/fish decreased by 8.9% (Figure 6.16) while the number of people who had the ability to consume meat/fish only once or twice a month decreased from 44.6% to 28.6%. Before the programme was launched, about 19.6% participants used to have meat/fish once or twice a week, but the number increased to 33.9% after the programme. The number of people who consumed meat or fish three or four times a week increased from 1.8% to 25%. Before the programme was launched there was no one who can avail meat/fish more than five times a week. But after joining the programme, about 3.6% beneficiaries had the ability to have meat/fish more than five times a week.

Figure 6.16: Meat/Fish Intake
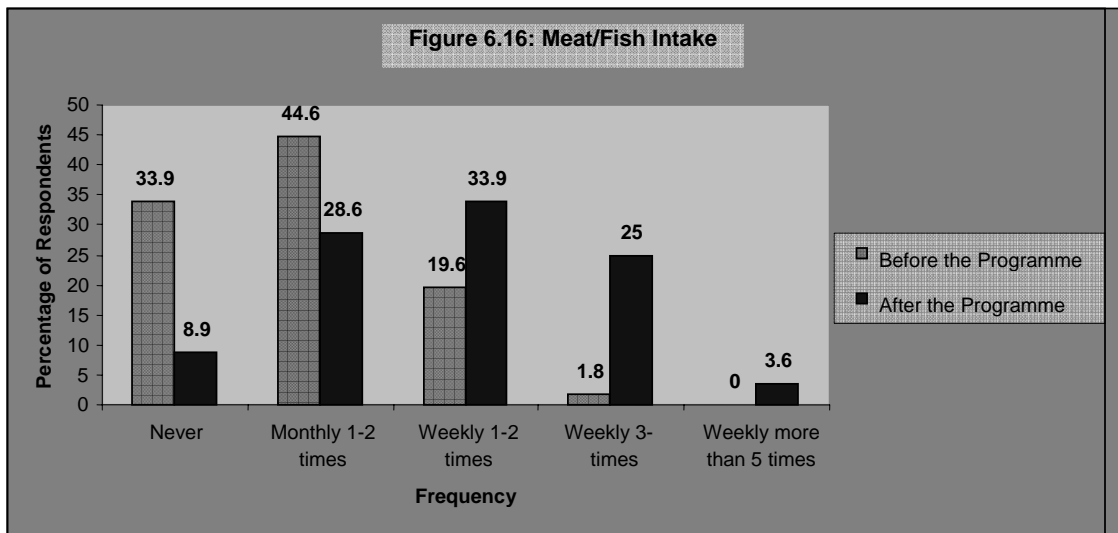
Source: Survey Data

The data reflect improved socio-economic conditions of the beneficiaries. During the days of price hike when everything was going out of reach of the poor, the 100 Days Employment Generation Programme provided safety to its beneficiaries. Although the geographical and economic condition of the surveyed areas were not the same, regarding food security the result was almost the same. According to the implementation officers and local representatives, the reason is that the programme was aimed to address the poorest segment all over the country. So, the situation was almost the same in different places.

The analysis of survey data indicated that 100 DEGP beneficiaries were able to achieve increased food security following assistance from the programme. They did not report any glaring episodes of scarcity like begging or sending the children away from home for food. Hence, the data proved the hypothesis that, because of the programme the income of the beneficiaries increased and it led to their increased accessibility to food.

b. Asset Creation

As the programme dealt with the extreme poor, the definition of asset is confined to micro assets. Here it refers to cow, goat/sheep, chicken/duck, plough, shop, boat, fishing net, trees (worth over Tk. 100), radio/cassette, television, fan, fridge, mobile phone, bicycle, mosquito net, and ornaments.

During the early days of 100 Days Employment Generation Programme's implementation, many beneficiaries had hoped to be able to repair their houses and invest in livestock with the money they expected to earn from the programme. The hypothesis of this part is that increased income will lead to asset creation. The study revealed whether the beneficiaries were able to procure assets because of joining the programme or not.

Table 6.2: Status of Assets of the Beneficiaries			
Asset	No. of owners before the Programme	No. of owners after the Programme	No of persons who never had
Cow	10	2	44
Goat/Sheep	4	2	50
Chicken/Duck	8	2	46
Plough	2	0	54
Shop	0	1	55
Boat	1	0	55
Fishing Net	1	0	55
Trees (valued more than 100 tk.)	16	3	37
Radio/Cassette	2	0	54
Television	5	0	51
Fan	6	0	50
Fridge	1	0	55
Mobile Phone	11	2	43
Bicycle	4	0	52
Mosquito Net	29	4	23
Ornaments	2	0	54
Source: Survey Data			

Table 6.2 shows that most of the beneficiaries never had any assets. The beneficiaries who had assets owned them before the programme was launched. After joining the programme only 16 people acquired the ability to buy things, but without one exception (Box 2) in most of the cases those things were not worth mentioning. Among those 16 beneficiaries, four were able to buy mosquito nets, two bought mobile phones, three bought trees; one bought a shop while the rest of the six bought cow, goat or chicken. The data itself looks insignificant. While replying to the question, "Whether this programme helped to create any assets"- as high as 69.6% respondents replied, "not at all"; 17.9% said, "little bit"; 7.1% answered, "to some extent"; 3.6% replied "almost" and only 1.8% that is only one person said that the programme helped to create asset fully. These data show the perceptions of beneficiaries about asset creation following the programme. Most of the respondents replied negatively regarding this matter. The beneficiaries argued that at that time day to day expenditure was very high and in respect to that the income provided by 100 DEGP was poor. So, it was not possible to create any asset with the income of 100 DEGP. Field survey revealed that those who had some assets had already been owning them before the programme was launched.

Box 2

Case 2: Wealthy Person became more Wealthy

Shamsul Hoque (53) is a permanent resident of Majukha village in Mouchak Union Parishad. A beneficiary of 100 Days Employment Generation Programme, he has been living in that area for about 20 years. He owned 5 decimals of land and a house that has with electricity connection with two tinned rooms, separate kitchen and sanitary latrine. He was the only person who had a savings of Tk 70000. His outstanding loan amount was Tk 20000-25000. He never experienced scarcity of food and he was the only beneficiary who had a cassette, television, three ceiling fans, a fridge, two mobile phones and ornaments before joining the programme. After joining the programme he was able to buy a shop for his son. It shows that wealthy people became wealthier.

There are also some differences between the beneficiaries of Mouchak and Holdia UP. The beneficiaries of Mouchak seemed better 'off than those of Holdia. People who had ornaments or mobile phones all belonged to Mouchak Union Parishad. However, the effect of the programme was almost the same regardless of their location. It did not bring any significant changes regarding creation of micro assets. Therefore, the hypothesis that the programme will increase income and increased income will help create more assets was proved wrong.

c. Reduction of Indebtedness

With increased micro-credit activities of different NGOs, taking loans became a regular phenomenon in the rural areas. People take loan sometime for their survival and sometime for a better life. To meet certain urgencies people in rural areas also borrow money from mohajons[6], relatives, friends or neighbours. In such a situation it was being assumed that 100 DEGP will reduce dependency on loans.

The survey revealed that most of the beneficiaries were not loan-dependant (Figure 6.17). As high as 81% of the beneficiaries did not take any loan before 100 DEGP was launched. It was also observed that the programme did not reduce their indebtedness. Moreover, in some cases the loan amount increased after the programme was launched.
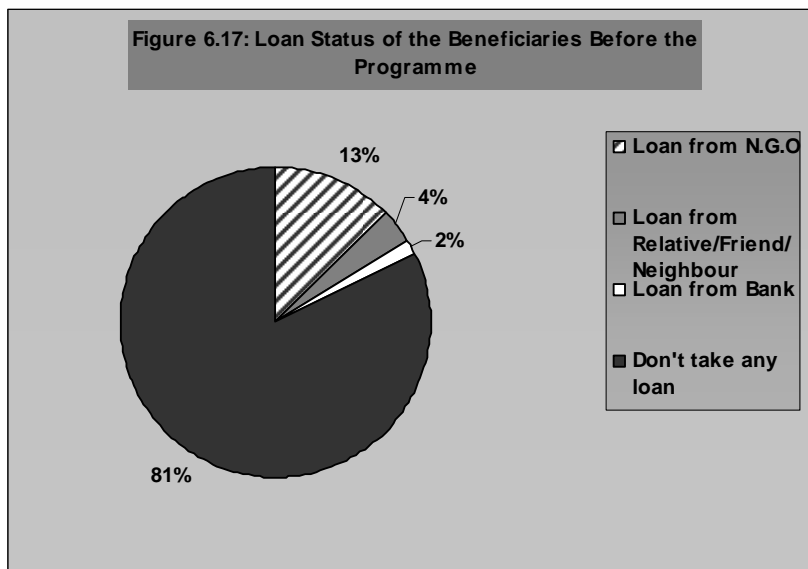
Figure 6.17: Loan Status of the Beneficiaries Before the Programme

- Loan from N.G.O
- Loan from Relative/Friend/Neighbour
- Loan from Bank
- Don't take any loan

13%
4%
2%
81%

Source: Survey Data

For instance, one beneficiary had an outstanding loan amount of Tk 50,000 before the programme. After joining the programme it rose to Tk 70,000. While replying to the question "whether the increased loan amount has any connection with the 100 DEGP", the beneficiary said there is no relation between those two. Even in those cases where the amount of loan decreased, the beneficiaries expressed the same opinion. Hence, it is evident that the income earned from 100 DEGP had no impact on indebtedness. Therefore, the hypothesis that increased income from 100 DEGP will reduce indebtedness was proven wrong.

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[6] Mohajans are local rich people who used to lend money with high interest rate.

6.4 General Perception about the Programme

The 100 Days Employment Generation Programme was launched all over the country mainly to help the extreme poor to cope with price hike of essentials. Although Bangladesh is basically a poverty-prone country, the situation is not the same all over the country. Considering this fact, two different Unions had been chosen from two different geographic and economic backgrounds for this study. Interestingly, the perceptions of the people in these two areas about 100 DEGP also differed.

6.4.1 Perception of the Respondents of Mouchak Union Parishad

The programme got the vote of confidence from the beneficiaries as well as the local government representatives of Mouchak Union Parishad. However, the beneficiaries pointed out the fact that as Mouchak is an industrial area which is not far from Dhaka, the day-to-day expenses here are considerably high. Saying that Tk 100 per day was helpful but not good enough, they suggested the wage rate should be increased. The UP Chairman and Members also expressed the same opinion. They said that the standard wage rate at Mouchak is Tk 200 or more. So, sometimes it becomes difficult to find any worker for government projects with such low pay. They suggested increasing the wage rate for programmes like 100 DEGP.

6.4.2 Perception of the Respondents of Holdia Union Parishad

Holdia is a remote char area far away from the capital. People in this area experience flood or river erosion almost every year and they are more vulnerable than the people of Mouchak Union Parishad. In contrast to the respondents of Mouchak Union Parishad, people at Holdia underscored the need for extending the purview of the programme and suggested that more of such programmes should be launched since many were left out of the programme, which help them a lot in fighting poverty. It happened not because of irregularities, rather because of the limited number of beneficiaries to be selected for the programme. They said that the number of beneficiaries in their area should be increased. The local government representatives said that as per the direction only 20 people could be chosen from a ward. The number was too insignificant since it covered only very little portion of the extreme poor.

Although there are different views on different aspects of the 100DEGP, everyone said that it was a time-befitting initiative that protected a large number of people from starvation.

6.5 Conclusion

The data presented and analyzed in this chapter explained the role of different factors or variables in achieving the objectives of the study. In the first part of analysis, three variables were examined -- clear and consistent objectives, socio-economic condition of target groups, and adherence of implementing officers towards the policy.

Both the variables- 'clear and consistent objectives' and 'socio-economic condition of target groups' dealt with a number of criteria for selecting beneficiaries such as age, employment status, landlessness, coverage of other safety net programmes, number of family members in the programme, household conditions, employment status etc. The intention was to find out, whether the beneficiary selection criteria were followed properly or not. The survey data revealed that with minor exceptions the selection criteria were followed accordingly and the target was achieved.

The variable 'adherence of implementing officers towards the policy' was measured through the observation of following the selection procedure. Exceptionally, the status of selected beneficiaries showed that although the selection procedure was not followed accordingly, the selection error was negligible. Hence, overall result of targeting effectiveness showed that the 100 DEGP was implemented effectively to reach the poor.

To measure the socio-economic conditions of the beneficiaries two variables – 'clear and consistent objectives' and 'stability of policy' – played important role. These two variables affected the income status of the beneficiaries. As a whole the income of the beneficiaries increased and accessibility to food was ensured. Unpredictably, the programme did not have any significant effect on asset creation and reduction of indebtedness of the beneficiaries.

However, the programme was a great success in benefiting the poor by providing employment and income to ensure food security. Consequently, it made its own place among other safety net programmes of Bangladesh.

Chapter- Seven

Conclusion

7.1 Concluding Remarks and Recommendations

100 Days Employment Generation Programme was introduced in 2008 during the regime of the immediate past caretaker government in the wake of worldwide price hike of food grains, particularly rice. It is an addition to the existing Employment Generation Programmes under the Social Safety Net programme framework. This programme is still at a nascent stage and has completed only one cycle while the study was being conducted. It is difficult to assess its impact within this short period. Having the implementation guideline in place and visiting the field, it is evident that this type of programme is imperative to enhance the poor people's capacity to cope with shocks such as sudden price hike. However, there are rooms for improvement in the entire process for increasing the effectiveness and efficiency of the 100 Days Employment Generation Programme. Nonetheless, it would be worth mentioning that the programme was introduced during the non-political government which had less influence at local level. On the contrary, it has posed an extra challenge during the political government regime in terms of influence-free targeting to provide the benefit to the extreme poor. Given the context, the recommendations are put forwarded for enhancing the performance of the 100 days employment generation programme.

Clarification of the Guideline

The implementation guideline has used certain terminologies like extreme poor and permanent residents, which need further clarification. It is recommended that a glossary is included with the implementation guideline for people who are responsible for implementing the project at the ground level.

Revising the Programme Objectives

100 Days Employment Generation Programme is aimed at creating employment opportunities during the period for ensuring food security for the rural poor and the disadvantaged. The programme also aspires to create wealth for the rural poor and the nation. Given the time and scale of the programme, objective related to wealth creation is too ambitious. It is recommended to review the objective based on the implementation experience and make it SMART- S-Specific, M- Measurable, A-Achievable , R- Realistic and T- Time bound.

Rethinking the Coverage:

The programme covered the whole of Bangladesh. However, the poverty scenarios are not the same all over the country. There are pockets which are highly food insecure, as reflected in the poverty map developed by the Government of Bangladesh and the World Food Programme. These highly vulnerable locations should be prioritized.

Reconsider Age Limit

As mentioned in the implementation guideline, age limit for a beneficiary is 18-50 yrs. However, during field investigation it was found that people aged up to 60 years are capable enough of performing the jobs offered by 100 DEGP. And due to lack of appropriate social protection mechanism, the aged people represent the vulnerable segment of population. Considering the situation, it would be more effective if the programme re-fix the age limit and allow more aged people to be part of the this process. At the same time, a positive discrimination policy needs to be applied for the aged people and they should get less tiring and laborious jobs.

Ease Selection Procedure

There are instances that the complex and tiresome beneficiary selection process hindered timely commencement of the programme. The beneficiary selection process needs to be simplified. At the same time, it is recommended that Union-wise distressed people should be updated with all kinds of social safety net programmes with a regular interval. And central database can be developed for avoiding duplication and manipulation.

Increasing Wage Rate

Considering the fact that the cost of living is going upwards day-by-day, a daily wage of Tk 100 seems inadequate to meet the need for food. So, it is recommended that wage rate for the programme should be increased.

Allow Time for More Circulation

It was found that because of lack of preparatory time, information of the programme was not well circulated. It provided the space for manipulation in selection of beneficiaries. Therefore, it is suggested that a campaign should be launched at the rural level to create awareness among the rural poor about the programme.

Avoid Inclusion/Exclusion Error

During field survey it was found that some beneficiaries were selected who did not meet the criteria while some of the eligible people were left out. To reach people who are in need, a proper monitoring mechanism involving all concerned needs to be established and followed.

Deploy Additional Human Resources

The tag officers who were in charge of supervising the projects were overburdened. Moreover, in some of the areas lack of communication and transportation network also hampered the supervision of the programme. To ensure efficient supervision and effective implementation of the programme, more people should be deployed equipped with appropriate logistic support.

Proportionate Distribution of Administrative Costs

It was reported that administrative costs for all of the Unions were same. However, the actual cost differed based on the location of the union. Unions located in remote areas required more administrative cost compared to unions close to upazila headquarters. As a result, some of the unions ran out of money. Considering this experience, administrative cost needs to be allocated based on the needs rather than a blanket allocated across all the unions.

Strengthen Monitoring

A strong monitoring system is an integral part of a successful programme. It helps eliminate irregularities and anomalies as well as increasing effectiveness. Therefore, it is advised that a monitoring system should be developed in consultation with all concerned for such a cash intensive programme like 100 days employment generation.

The 100 Days Employment Generation Programme was a timely intervention to reduce the vulnerability of the rural poor who have traditionally been affected by chronic poverty and natural calamities, with their vulnerabilities further aggravated by price hike of essentials. With all its positive effect, the programme suffered because of some limitations, which include inappropriate beneficiary selection, lack of supervision owing to limited human and financial resource. This study put forwarded recommendations to addresses those limitations. Despite all the limitations, the programme was able to address the need of the poor during crisis and given all the draw backs of 100 DEGP, it is suggested that the programme should continue with appropriate implementation guideline, proper monitoring mechanism to reach the poor and the vulnerable for ensuring food security during the lean period.

7.2 Implications for Future Research

This study has explored different aspects of 100 DEGP. The data and findings have identified the areas where further improvements are required for an effective programme. Therefore, it is recommended that an in-depth research based on the study can be commissioned. This will lead to the development of a pragmatic guideline for the implementation of EGP. Future research may also be conducted to expose some of the important issues like management of fund, which affects implementation of the programme.

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ANNEXES

Annex.1 Survey Questionnaire for participants

I.   Beneficiary's name:………………………………………........
II.   Father's Name: …..………………….……..……
III.   **Mother's Name:** …………………………………………………
IV.   District………………………… Upazila…………………Code:
        Union: ……………………………… Ward……………………………
        Village: …………………………………

Date of registration to the programme: _ _ _/__ _/__ _
Scheduled date to start the work

1. **Which of the following assets does your household own?**

SL no	Asset	Number/amount of assets (in the case of land write in decimal, for others write number of assets)	Before the programme	After the programme
1	Own land, homestead, cultivation (decimal)			
2	Cows			
3	Goats/ sheep			
4	Chicken /ducks			
5	Power pump			
6	Plough			
7	Tractor			
8	Mowing machine			
9	Shop			
10	Boat			
11	Fishing net			
12	Rickshaw /Van/car			
13	Trees (at least valued Tk. 100			
14	Radio/Cassette Player			
15	Television			

SL no	Asset	Number/amount of assets (in the case of land write in decimal, for others write number of assets)	Before the programme	After the programme
16	Electric Fan			
17	Refrigerator			
18	Cellular Phone			
19	Bicycle			
20	Motorcycle			
21	Sewing machine			
22	Mosquito net			
23	Jewellery (Tk.)			

Others:

2. Housing Condition

Sl. No	Question	Answer
1	How many rooms does your household use as a dwelling?	
2	Main materials of your main house's wall Cement **;** wood **;** Mud **;** Bamboo ; other materials	
3	Does your household have a separate kitchen?	
4	Do you have electricity supply in your house**?**	
5	What type of latrine does your household use? (Sanitary; kacha latrine; open space)	

3. Savings

	Savings at home	Bank/post office/insurance	NGOs	Savings to others
Before the programme				
After the Programme				

4. **Does your household have any outstanding loan?**

	Sources of borrowing	Loan amount (present outstanding (Tk))
Before the programme		
After the Programme		

Sources of borrowing: Bank ; Mohajon ; Shop-keeper ; Relative ; Friend/Neighbour ; NGOs ;

5. Food Security for all members in household

Sl no.	Food Consumption	Before the programme	After the programme
1	How many times did your household members purchase rice?		
2	How many times has it happened that you could not eat two fulfilling meals in a day?		
3	How many days did your household members eat fish/ meat?		
4	did your household members take any other food like biscuit, puffed rice, cake between two meals?		
5	How many times had it happened that your household could not manage enough food?		

Sl no.	Food Consumption	Before the programme	After the programme
6	How many times did it happen that you could not cook because you did not have anything to cook?		
7	How many times did your household members eat rice only? (With salt, onions, chili etc.)		
8	How many times you have to borrow rice?		

Never   ; 1-2 times a month   ; 1-2 times a week   ; 3-4 times a week   ; More than 5 times a week

6. Factors of participation

6.1 Do you or any member of your household have contact with the Chairman of the local Union Parishad?

None [ ]; Respondent [ ]; Any other member of the HH [ ];

6.2 Do you or any member of your household have contact with the member of the local Union Parishad?

None [ ]; Respondent [   ]; Any other member of the HH [   ];

6.3 Is any member of the Union Parishad a relative of yours (or any other household member)?

Yes [   ], close relative [   ]; Yes [   ], not so close relative [   ]; No [   ]

6.4 Did any member of your household participate in any government programme like food for work (excluding 100-Day EGP)

Yes [   ]; No [   ]

6.5 How many members of your family had joined this programme?

7. Process of participation and knowledge about programme

7.1 How did you come to know about this programme?

Radio/TV [   ]; Newspaper [   ]; From a member of the Union Parishad [   ]; Local advertisement [   ]; Someone from the village [   ];
Others (specify)

7.2 How did you join this programme?

You requested the ward member [   ]; Member/chairman themselves selected
You [   ]; With the help of other village elite member [   ], Others (specify)

7.3. Selection Procedure

The selection process of the beneficiaries for this programme has been unbiased. Do you agree?	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
The selection of 'works' under this programme have been appropriate. Do you agree?				

7.4 What is the wage rate offered in this programme? (Write in Taka)

Correct answer [   ]; Wrong answer [   ]; Do not know [   ] .

7.5 How much would you get as unemployment benefit?

Correct answer [   ]   ; Wrong answer [   ]; Do not know [   ] .

7.6 How much would you get as unemployment benefit if you are not provided
employment for more than 30 days.

Correct answer [   ]; Wrong answer [   ]; Do not know [   ]

8. Types of works

8.1. For what type of work you were assigned for?

8.2. How many days you worked?

8.3. Had the work of your project been completed?

9. To what extent do you think the following programme objectives have been achieved?

Programme objectives	1	2	3	4	5
Create employment for extreme poor rural unemployed people					
Increase purchasing power					
Create wealth					
Develop infrastructure					

[1= Not achieved at all; 2= Achieved little bit; 3= Achieved to some extent; 4= Almost achieved; 5= Fully achieved]

10. To what extent the implementing officers are devoted to the programme?

1 [   ]; 2 [   ]; 3 [   ]; 4 [   ]; 5 [   ]

[1= Not at all; 2= little bit; 3= to some extent; 4= Almost; 5= Fully]

11. Perceived impact (To be asked to the participants only)

11.1. How was your income affected by this programme?

 Income increased=   ; Neither increased nor decreased=   ; Decreased=

11.2. How was your food intake affected by this programme?

 Improved quality [   ]; Increased amount [   ]; Improved quality and quantity [   ]; No change [   ]; Reduced quality [   ]; Decreased amount [   ]; Reduced quality and quantity [   ]

12. What did you do before joining the programme?

13. What you could have done if the programme had not been there?

Annex 2. Questionnaire for officials

Name: Designation

Official Address:

1. Who is the focal point at Union/ Upazila/ MoFDM
2. Frequency of visits by national team member to Upazila. Frequency of reporting from field? Is there any irregularities?
3. Is there any provision in the monitoring to help to differentiate the beneficiaries from those covered under other safety net programmes?
4. How those were involved instructed on how to select the beneficiaries?
5. How those were instructed who were involved in the selection of beneficiaries?
6. What were the instructions for the selection of works?
7. Any linkage of the work identified with development needs of that village or Upazila?
8. What types of works have been selected for this Union? how was the work been selected?
9. For how many days the selected work continued?
10. How much of the work had been completed?

    100% [   ]; <100%> 50% [   ]; 50% [   ]; less than 50% [   ]

11. How the works were distributed? Who took decision about this? Did the participants had any opinion? Did the work distributed as per the skill of the beneficiaries?
12. Was there any fixed time to complete the work? What were the working hours?
13. Who was in charge of supervision of the work?
14. Has any orientation or preparatory training been given to national, district, Upazila and Union level functionaries on the programme for running and monitoring the programme?
15. How many times the work had been supervised?
16. Did any changes of implementation guideline occurred during the programme? Why? How those changes communicated to field level?

17. To what extent do you think the following programme objectives have been achieved?

Programme objectives	1	2	3	4	5
Create employment for extreme poor rural unemployed people					
Increase purchasing power					
Create wealth					
Develop infrastructure					

[1= Not achieved at all; 5= Fully achieved]

Annex 3. List of Officials and Local Representatives interviewed in Sughata and Kaliakoir

List of Officials and Local Representatives interviewed in Sughata

Md. Khorshed Alam, UPazila Nirbahi Officer, Sughata, Gaibandha.

Mehedi Hasan, Project Implementation Officer, Sughata, Gaibandha.

Md. Khayruzzaman, Chairman, Holdia Union Parishad, Sughata, Gaibandha.

Md. Halim, Member, Holdia Union Parishad, Sughata, Gaibandha.

Md. Lutfar Rahman Sarker, Member, Sughatta Union Parishad, Sughata, Gaibandha.

List of Officials and Local Representatives interviewed in Kaliakoir

Mahmudul Kabir Murad, UPazila Nirbahi Officer, Kaliakoir, Gazipur.

Md. Akbar Ali, Project Implementation Officer, Kaliakoir, Gazipur.

Md. Nurul Islam Sikder, Chairman, Mouchak Union Parishad, Kaliakoir, Gazipur.

Pran Kumar Sarker, Mouchak Union Parishad, Kaliakoir, Gazipur.

Md. Labibuddin, Member, Mouchak Union Parishad, Kaliakoir, Gazipur.