

POVERTY ALLEVIATION AND UPAZILA SYSTEM
A Case study of Nabinagar Upazila
Brahmanbaria

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CHAPTER-I

1. Introduction

Upazila system was introduced in Bangladesh in 1982 with much enthusiasm to mitigate the inadequacies of the existing administrative system and to build up an appropriate and effective system for ensuring larger participation of the people. In essence these reformative changes were made to uplift the condition of the rural masses, to effect changes in their living condition and to alleviate poverty through increased interventions.) Upazila system has passed about eight years by now and a considerable amount of resources have been channelised through this system for the development of the rural masses. But the country is yet to experience any remarkable improvement in the poverty situation. Landlessness of the rural masses have apparently increased, large scale migration of the people from rural to urban areas is taking place. At the same time the number and percentage of people under the poverty line is also increasing. There is much scope for cherishing scepticism regarding the achievement made through the introduction of the upazila system in respect of poverty alleviation.

Assigning the responsibilities of rural poverty alleviation to the Upazila Parishad apparently might seem incongruous since the architects of the upazila system perhaps did not have exactly this idea in mind when they submitted the report of "Administrative Reorganisation and Reform" or when the government took different measures to reorganise the field administration. (But within the eight years of experience of the upazila system, the perspective of development efforts have radically changed; Upazilla Parishad -a grass root level organisation for rural development of the government have been assigned many responsibilities which are directly related to poverty alleviation. Bangladesh has acquired much experience in this regard; many poverty alleviation programmes/projects have successful stories and they have been

accomplished by both public and private sectors. NGOs like Grammen Bank, BRAC, Proshikha, Dhamsona project and many others have shown institutional capabilities for successful poverty alleviation efforts. ✓ But Upazilla Parishad remains to be the major institution in the government at the grass root level. This structure has pursued programmes related directly to poverty stricken groups and which in future also can design and pursue programmes of this type. Hence it is essential to study the institutional arrangement of Upazilla Parishad, its achievements, failure and potentialities in respect of poverty alleviation. ✓

Keeping in conformity with the previous Five Year Plans (FYP), the 4th FYP has stated "alleviation of poverty and generation of employment opportunities through human resource development" are the 3 major objectives of the plan. Majority of the poverty stricken people live in the rural areas and poverty alleviation efforts have to be channelised in the rural areas. The only major institution through which the government is able to pursue this pious hope is Upazila Parishad. ✓ The existing poverty scenario of the country has made it more imperative to study the issue in depth.

In this paper efforts have been taken to study the extent of interventions made by the government through decentralised administration for affecting changes in the lives of the rural masses, especially the extent of employment generated, people enlisted in the programmes through the system and above all the impact the project/programmes of poverty alleviation have been able to keep. ✓ In other words, this study is an attempt to assess the achievements, failures and potentialities in respect of poverty alleviation efforts which are implemented through Upazila Parishads. The impact and effects of different poverty alleviation programmes at the grass root level have been studied in this paper. ✓ The linkages of the upazila parishad with the macro level organisations have also been shown.

The First chapter of this paper is an introductory explanation of the essence of the study delineating the outline of the contents of the paper.

The Second chapter is devoted to describe objectives and methodology of the study. This chapter also explains the scope and limitations of the study.

The Third chapter gives the concept of poverty with particular reference to Bangladesh. Poverty has been viewed and measured from a variety of angles. The particular method that was used in this study has been described in this chapter.

The fourth chapter discusses the present poverty scenario of Bangladesh. The trend of poverty situation in Bangladesh is described in this chapter.

The Fifth chapter is devoted to depict the process of development of Upazila Parishad. Local government existed in Bangladesh since the British regime. A remarkable shift in the structure, as well as missions of this organisation have taken place over the past long span of time. After the emergence of Bangladesh, the process of reorganising the administrative system and for giving momentum to the developmental process started in 1982 through the creation of the upazila system. This chapter includes the description of the goals and objectives of the decentralised upazila system particularly with regard to poverty alleviation.

The Sixth chapter gives an outline of the theoretical framework through which this study is made. In doing so, the graduation status of different poverty alleviation programmes have been analysed. The conceptual framework of the poverty alleviation programmes e.g. dole, conscientization, asset distribution and capability building formulated by a study group of BPATC in a paper entitled "Poverty Alleviation Programmes and Alternative Delivery System".

have been taken into account to analyse the graduation status of different poverty Alleviation programmes.

The Seventh chapter gives the poverty scenario of the study area- Nabinagar upazila in Brahminbaria district. Here the socio-economic data/indicators as well as basic upazila statistics have been used.

Performances of different programmes, projects, activities, etc. aimed at alleviating poverty in the upazila have been analysed in Chapter Eight.

The Ninth chapter discusses the issues emanated from the analysis in the previous chapters. This chapter has been devoted to identify the basic issues that have been either the impediments or the facilitators of poverty alleviation efforts.

CHAPTER-II

Objectives, Scope and Methodology of the Study

Objectives:

Main objectives of this study would be to analyze the effectiveness of the Upazila System to alleviate poverty. Within the framework of the overall objective, specific objectives would be to :

- (1) Visualize the poverty scenario in Bangladesh through an ex-ante and ex-post analysis of the Upazila System;
- (2) Analyze the nature & effectiveness of different programmes/projects taken by the upazila administration for poverty alleviation;
- (3) To suggest measures for making the upazila system effective as a mean and machinery for poverty alleviation.

Scope of the Study

The Scope of the study was very limited, for resource and time constraints. Only one upazila has been brought under the purview of this study. As such finding of the study may not be sufficient to depict the overall poverty scenario of Bangladesh and impact of upazila system on it. However, by this study attempts would be made to make some general remarks on the effectiveness of upazila system as a vehicle for poverty alleviation. The study may suffer from the limitations of coverage of sufficient areas of the country, less reliable data, respondents' non objectivity, lack of trained and professional manpower for research, etc.

Methodology

✓ In this case-study on Nabinagar Upazila Parishad projects/programmes related to targetted poverty alleviation have been studied. Performances of the following programmes/projects directly related to the poverty alleviation of the targetted people (assetless, poor, disadvantaged, distressed women) have been assessed. ✓

- Projects under Annual Upazila Development Plan (AUDP) related to Poverty alleviation. (Resources received from the government and locally generated resources)
- FFW programme.
- Rural Poor Programme (RPP).
- Cluster Village Programme.
- V.G.D. Programme
- Works Programme
- Activities /Programmes of M/O. Social Welfare
- Test Relief.
- NGO Programmes

Organizational arrangement, linkages of upazila Parishad with macro and micro level organizations have also been studied.

✓ Documents of the upazila parishads regarding projects and programmes related to poverty alleviation have been consulted. Discussions were held with officials/ peoples' representatives and general people of Nabinagar Upazila. ✓

Opinion Survey :- Opinions of the Chairman of Union Parishads and Officers of Upazila Parishads were collected through 2 structured questionnaires (Annexure 1 and 2).

Annual Upazila Development Plan

1. Efforts were taken to find out how much allocation (Yearwise from 1984-85 to 1989-90) have been made from the Upazila Annual Development Plan for direct poverty alleviation, like income generation of the poor, employment, dole, off-farm activities, distribution of assets etc.
2. Specific projects related to the above programme were examined in the light of their pre-determined target and achievement. Ratio analysis was also done between total allocation and allocation for poverty alleviation projects/programmes.
3. Coverage of the poverty alleviation projects in comparison with the total population and the population receiving the benefits of the programme was studied.
4. Individual project/programmes have been evaluated by examining their graduation status.

FFW Programme

- Data have been collected on annual allocation and utilization of resources, projects completed through FFW Programme from 1985-86 to 1989-90 from Upazila Parishad (Annexure-3).
- Data have been collected from 100 beneficiaries of FFW projects who were working in 3 ongoing earth work projects of Nabinagar (during January, 1991). (Annexure-4). Through this questionnaire efforts have been made to assess the socio-economic status of the beneficiaries, scope of graduation of the programme, quantity of resources received, opinion of the beneficiaries about the programme.

Rural Poor Programme

- Data have been collected from the UCCA regarding the performance of BSSs and MBSSs, (Annexure-5).
- Data have also been collected from the BSSs and MBSSs regarding their performances, (12 BSS - 46.15% of the total; 6 MBSS 100% of the total) (Annexure-6).
- To assess the impact of the programme on the lives of the beneficiaries data have been collected through a structured questionnaire from 63 BSS and 30 MBSS members (6.90% and 13.33% of the total members. (Annexure-7).

Cluster Village Programme

- Data on Cluster village -Uddipan regarding allocation of resources, utilization, progress have been collected from Upazila Revenue Office, Nabinagar. (Annexure-8).

- To assess the impact of the programme on the beneficiaries, data and opinion have been collected from 14 (out of 15) beneficiaries of the cluster village Uddipan in Nabinagar Upazila (Annexure-9).

VGD Programme

- Data have been collected from Upazila Parishad regarding the performance of VGDP (1985-86 - 1989-90). (Annexure-10).
- To assess the impact of the programme on the beneficiaries, data were collected from 44 (6.06% of the total number of beneficiaries) women who received from the programme. (Annexure-11).

Works Programme and Test Relief

Data have been collected from the Upazila parishad office to assess the performance of these programmes from 1985-86 to 1989-90.

NGO Programme

Data have been collected from NGO prosika regarding their programmes and performance.

CHAPTER-III

Concept of Poverty:

Rich and poor, poverty and wealth, have and have-nots have been viewed from a variety of dimensions though these are as ancient as the civilization itself. The multi-dimensional perception of poor and poverty sometimes gives rise to a distorted scenario of poverty status of a particular society on a particular point of time. This is more true where poverty grasps the society with all its engulfing hunger.

To have an appropriate perception about the concept of poverty, let us first see who is poor? Again the answer to this question will be multidimensional. Poverty has been defined by the social scientists in a number of ways. Both spatially and intertemporally, poverty is very difficult to classify. One considered as poor in the U.S.A. would be amongst the reasonably well to do middle class in Bangladesh and Nepal. Likewise poverty has its relativity with regard to its time dimension. A person or an individual classified as poor in 1990 poverty indicator might not be poor in 1975. Thus in the simplest way and broad terms, an individual who lacks the means to fulfil basic needs is poor. The commonly accepted basic needs are food, clothing, shelter, medicare and education. Thus the most transparent meaning of poverty is low income per capita with malnutrition, poor health, low literacy and primitive shelter. Mr.R.C. Arora in his book "Integrated Rural Development" viewed poverty in human terms means little to eat and wear.

In the analysis of the actual state of poverty, we find mainly two distinct states,

- a) Absolute poverty and
- b) Relative poverty.

Absolute poverty may be defined as the lack of means in relation to need. ✓ Absolute poverty is usually understood as a condition of falling below the minimum standard of subsistence appropriate to each society. ✓ Relative poverty or inequality may be defined as the situation where an individual or a community, though not poor in the absolute sense, yet feel poor in relation to those who are in a better situation. Here it is worthwhile quoting Karl Marx,

"A house may be large or small: as long as the surrounding houses are equally small, it satisfies all social demands for a dwelling. But let a palace arise beside the little house, and it shrinks from a little house to hut". (Karl Marx and Engels, selected works Vol. 1 PP 93-94). Both absolute and relative poverty depicts an unjust and uneven society.

The bottom stratum of absolute poverty can be termed as extreme and abject poverty. An individual may not be in an absolute state of poverty but may still feel poor because he has not as much access to consumption as his neighbour has. This is the state of relative poverty. In an underdeveloped society all people are seen in a hierarchy of income groups. (The rock bottom layer or the poorest of the poor being in absolute poverty while the middle layers may feel poor in comparison to the top layers.

Categorisation of poor has been done by grouping them into 'severe destitution', 'destitution' and 'poor', on the basis of their per capita income and per capita calorie intake. With regard to the magnitude of poverty, it is generally agreed that the problems of poverty in Bangladesh and other development countries is essentially "rural poverty" which is in general in the absolute state of poverty. The 'urban poor' are only an overflow of the "rural poor" into the cities and towns.

There are other concepts of poverty also. These are : (a) subjective

poverty; (b) externality; (c) natural versus artificial poverty; (d) mass poverty versus minority; (e) moral poverty; (f) material versus non-material poverty; etc.

An individual having much access to consumption may still consider himself to be poor. This is a situation of **subjective poverty** when an individual has enough means to satisfy his needs and his sense of poverty has no relation with objective conditions. The view that people must not be allowed to become so poor that they offend or hurt the society is called **externality**. Natural versus artificial poverty has been conceived by making a distinction between natural poverty, associated with underdeveloped productive forces and artificial poverty, associated with man's growing control over nature. In the developing countries, poverty prevails in a large and massive scale. This situation is called as a situation of mass poverty. On the other hand, small scale poverty prevailing in some developed countries is termed as **minority poverty**. When poverty is placed in the value system of a society, concept of **moral poverty** arises. It takes into account whether poverty is morally acceptable, and what status it confers on or prevents the poor from enjoying. When sufficient means lack to satisfy the material needs, the situation of **material poverty** arises. These material needs may be food, clothing, shelter, etc. Poverty arising out of non-material factors is termed as **non-material poverty**. These non-material factors may be lack of security, underprivileged, powerless, etc.

Poverty Situation in Bangladesh

Bangladesh gained its independence in December, 1971 through a protracted peoples war. The cause which led the people of this country to take a violent path was the dream of an exploitation and poverty free society. The dream did not materialise even after a long time of liberation of the country from the colonial power. The severe economic crisis faced by the country during the first few years of independence was regarded as the outcome of widespread destruction caused by the national liberation war. Normal living conditions of the people were expected to rise with the rehabilitation of the war-torn economy. Unfortunately this did not happen and the poverty situation continued to deteriorate intertemporally after years of independence.

To analyse the status of poverty in Bangladesh, the idea of poverty line is to be conceived first. The concept of poverty line is by and large normative. A threshold level of income, provision of diet which would guarantee a certain level of physical strength or an income level that ensures a tolerable level of living, etc. can form the hyperplane of a poverty line.(1).

Generally, three methods can be used for measurement of poverty (Atiq Rahman and T. Haque, May, 1988). Though each method suffers from certain limitations, yet those can be suitably used for the measurement of poverty. However, which method would be appropriate in any particular situation will depend on judgement being used. The methods are described below in brief:

i) The method of income measurement: In this method, a minimum food consumption satisfying certain nutritional requirement is taken into consideration. Value of this food consumption together with the amount spent on

non-food consumption constitutes the poverty line. In other words, the total value of minimum food and non-food essentials is taken as the poverty line. If per capita income falls below this poverty line, it indicates that there exists poverty. However, the magnitude of poverty would be dependent on the assumption of minimum consumption of food and non-food essentials.

ii) Calorie income graph: In this method, a calorie-income graph based on primary or grouped data is constructed. It then deduces an income at which calorie intake is just adequate to meet a minimum calorie requirement(2).

iii) Method of direct estimate: In this method, actual calorie intake of the individuals is estimated. This provides poverty estimate based on such enumeration. This method does not relate poverty measures to the question of ability to consume. Thus individuals having higher income consuming less could be considered to be poor. On the other hand, individuals having lower income showing higher level of consumption (above the minimum level) would not be considered poor.

✓ As described above, each of the above methods have certain limitations over the others. Direct method and calorie-income graph method have more demanding data requirements. The income method needs an appropriate estimate of poverty line which needs accurate judgement on minimum nutritional requirement which is again normative. However, the income method is more convenient to be used for analysing the poverty status. ✓

The FAO recommended a normal dietary pattern of Bangladesh population which alongwith the findings of the household expenditure survey (HES) can be used to estimate the incidents of absolute poverty in Bangladesh. The FAO recommendation is for a minimum 2332 K.Calorie per capita daily consumption. The FAO minimum consumption was adjudged to have a composition close to the pattern

of consumption of the poor in Bangladesh(3).

World Bank (1987) estimates the poverty line at 2122 K.Calorie/person/day and 1805 K. Calorie/person/day for poverty line I and II respectively. Q.K. Ahmed and Mahbub Hossain of BIDS made an alternative estimate of daily 2087 K.Calorie intake per person/day as the minimum subsistence level requirement as per dietary practice in Bangladesh.

There is no consensus on the minimum per capita requirement of calories for a population. The joint Expert Group of the FAO/WHO has recommended a minimum of 2223 K.Calorie/ person/ day for the people in Asia and Far East. There could be many other opinions.

Considering the FAO recommendation of daily 2332 K. Calorie/person/day intake, 75 percent of the rural population in Bangladesh remained below the poverty line in FY 1963/64 as against 82.6 percent in FY 1977/78. As per Bangladesh dietary practices of daily 2087 K. Calorie intake per person/day, in FY 1963/64, 52 percent of Bangladesh rural population remained below the poverty line as against 67.9 percent in FY 1977/78(4). Some recent studies show the following trends in absolute poverty in Bangladesh.

Table-1
Trends in poverty and poverty line

Year	Poverty line (minimum expenditure in Taka/Person/day)		Percent of Population below poverty line		
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Weighted average
FY 73/74	1438	1150	76.4	77.3	77.21
FY 81/82	3253	2602	55.6	77.8	75.58
FY 83/84	3960	3168	48.6	52.1	51.58
FY 85/86	4941	3953	39.2	49.9	48.20

Source : Hossain ,Mahbub (May,1988)

Weights : Urban - 0.1

Rural - 0.9

From the above table, it appears that the situation of poverty trend over the years from FY 73-74 through FY 85/86 has improved significantly. In FY 73-74, the percentage of population below poverty line (weighted) was 77.21 which experienced a gradual decline to 75.58 percent in FY 81/82, 51.58 percent in FY 83/84 and 48.20 percent in FY 85/86.

Table-2
Proportion of population below poverty line of income
(Absolute and Extreme Poverty)

Year	<u>Incidence of absolute Poverty</u> 2200 K.Calorie/person/day			<u>Of extreme poverty</u> 1800 K.Calorie/person/day		
	Urban	Rural	Weighted Average	Urban	Rural	Weighted Average
FY 1974	62.50	65.27	64.99	46.82	49.67	49.39
FY 1982	50.66	79.12	76.27	35.45	66.44	63.34
FY 1984	39.52	49.81	48.78	24.83	32.02	31.30
FY 1986	29.11	47.08	45.28	16.05	28.36	27.13

Source : Rahman,Atiq and Haq,Trina (May,1988)

As the above table depicts, both urban and rural poverty as well as absolute and extreme poverty have experienced a gradual and steady decline over the years FY 1982 through FY 88. The declining trend in absolute and extreme poverty level was maintained in FY 86 though urban poverty declined at a faster rate than rural poverty.

Table-3
World Bank estimates of poverty in Bangladesh

Year	<u>Poverty line I:2122 k.</u> calorie/person/day		<u>Poverty line II:1805 k.</u> calorie/person/day	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
FY 1974	81.4	82.9	28.6	44.3
FY 1982 (a)	69.0	90.0	30.7	66.0
FY 1982 (b)	66.0	73.8	30.7	52.2

Note : a) Based on the pattern of consumption of the 1973-74 HES

b) Based on the pattern of consumption of 1981-82 HES

Source: World Bank (1987)

HES : Household Expenditure Survey.

The above estimates of poverty by the World Bank has been done at two poverty lines, one at 2122 and the other at 1805 k. calorie/person/day for the period FY 74-82. For poverty line I (2122 k. calorie/person/day) percentage of urban poor is reported to have come down from 81.4 ('74) to 69 ('82) but rural poverty seems to have gone up from 82.9 to 90 for the period FY 74-82. These estimates are based on the pattern of consumption of the 1973-74 HES. On the otherhand, based on the pattern of consumption of the 1981-82 HES, the percentage of urban poor went down from 81.4 to 66 and the percentage of rural poor also went down from 82.9 to 73.8. Absolute poverty trends in Bangladesh for rural and urban population is thus found to vary according to methods of measurement and sources of data, but show a common downward trend.

Poverty Alleviation: Review of Interventions by the Government

All the plan documents of Bangladesh have mentioned poverty alleviation to be one of the major objectives; deteriorating poverty situation have led the planners to keep this objective in the priority list. The First Five Year Plan (1973-1978) stated reduction of poverty to be one of basic objectives of the plan. Terming reduction of poverty as the foremost objective of the plan, it went on to say that, "It requires an expansion of employment opportunities for the unemployed and underemployed. It also requires an acceleration in the rate of growth of national income, as well as effective fiscal and pricing policies for equitable distribution."(5)

The First Five Year Plan did not pursue any direct interventions for the poverty stricken people. It was presumed that creation of employment opportunities and growth of overall national income will alleviate poverty. Consequently Agriculture, Water resources and Rural Institutions sector was mainly entrusted with the responsibility of poverty alleviation. One of the

objective of the sector was "to reduce rural poverty and promote equality of income distribution"(6). But the planners apprehended that, "It is possible for agricultural growth to be accompanied by a continuation of acute poverty. This happens when technological innovations flow only to a relatively small number of big farmers and some specific regions as exemplified by green revolution in many contemporary societies. Increase in agricultural production has in fact, made rural incomes more unequal in many countries than they were before"(7). The planners cherished their pious hopes that, "This can not be allowed to happen in Bangladesh. Rising rural incomes, must therefore, be accompanied by improved income distribution which then will reduce rural poverty"(8).

Much of the cherished goals of the First Five Year Plan remained unrealised and specifically the situation of poverty aggravated. The Two Year Plan (1978-80) could not also improve the situation in any way. Assessing the performance of the First Five Year Plan, it was stated in the 2nd Five Year Plan that "targets of GDP, employment and investment in all major aspects remained largely unrealised as the required action programmes could not be supported by adequate domestic and external resources, required institutional support and skilled manpower"(9). It portrayed the situation to be devastating showing that four-fifths of the people lived under poverty line in respect of calorie intake. ✓

Second Five Year Plan was formulated from the basic needs approach. It stated that, "the main focus of the plan is on the reduction of poverty through growth of income and employment"(10). It declared that by the end of the century poverty will be eliminated from the country. But the 2nd plan also suffered the same fate; same pessimistic expression was given while describing the performance of the 2nd plan. During the second plan as well as in earlier period a number of development programmes were executed to alleviate rural poverty; but their impact was not strong enough to stem the deteriorating

poverty level and ensure common man access to basic needs. The proportion of rural households falling below the minimum standard nutrition(2273)k.cals.) increased from 59% in 1975/76 to 76% in 1981/82....." The second plan experience clearly demonstrated the fact that production also was not sufficient to ensure consumption. In a situation of pervasive poverty and widespread unemployment, employment and income generation and distribution are as important as production"(11).

The experiences of the 1st and 2nd plan taught the planners to be more cautious about the use of rhetoric. Fifteen years of planned interventions could not only alleviate poverty but intensified the poverty situation. So the 3rd plan stated that,"..... poverty, unemployment, rapid population growth, malnutrition, illiteracy all are so interactive that they all need to be addressed simultaneously in the national plan to establish their relative priority critically in a broader and longer term perspective taking into consideration resource constraints, institutional capability and cultural characteristics of the society"(12). But it defined that poverty alleviation will have to continue as the primary objective of the Third Plan"(13).

Full fledged evaluation of the Third Plan is yet to be made, but the poverty trend indicates that much progress could not be achieved in respect of poverty alleviation through interventions of the 3rd plan. During the 3rd plan the development perspectives also took new directions. It was realized that only growth could not do distributive justice to the poor. Hence separate project/programmes were formulated and implemented for the poor. Project /programmes were designed exclusively for the poor and separate delivery system was also created. So far not much head-way could be made in this. Many causes can be cited for poor performance in this regard. A recent study on Targetted Poverty Alleviation programme in the Third Plan states that, even though focused plan, it

has not allocated, ex-ante, enough investible resources for poverty alleviation programmes. Directly targetted poverty alleviation programmes do not constitute even 10 percent of the planned outlays and the largest such programmes (FFWP & VGDP) of an approximate value of Tk.4500 crore for the 5 year period (nearly 12 per cent of the third plan outlay) are now outside the plan and the budget (ADP) of the government. Poverty alleviation goal thus does not yet constitute the objective function of the plan----"(14)

This seems to be the crux of the problem. Although successive plans have off and on repeated poverty alleviation to be its main objective rational appropriate strategy backed by sufficient allocation of resources was not undertaken by the government. The draft Fourth Five Year Plan, inter-alia described some other basic causes. It conceded that "much effort could not be made to take the industrialization process to the doorsteps of the poor, " the service delivery system seems to be significantly biased against the poor and the disadvantaged," and the public sector projects in the social sector designed primarily to benefit the poor could not make satisfactory impact on the beneficiary groups, since, "project have not provided for adequate involvement of the local community"(15).

Development of Upazila Parishad as an
Institution of Poverty Alleviation

Local governments at different levels- District, Thana and Union existed in Bangladesh since the British period, but they were mostly dominated by the government officials. For ensuring more and effective participation of the people and their representatives in the development and decision making process Upazila Parishads were created at the thana level in 1982 .

The Administrative Reorganization and Reform Committee was constituted at the early part of 1982 to review the existing inadequacies of the administrative system. They were assigned with the following responsibilities :-

(a) "To review the structure and organization of the existing civilian administration with a view to identifying the inadequacies of the system for serving the people; and

(b) To recommend an appropriate, sound and effective administrative system based on the spirit of devolution and objectives of taking administration nearer to the people"(1).

They observed that the existing administrative structure was absolutely inadequate for meeting the aspirations of the people and inappropriate for achieving the developmental goals and objectives. Among other things they recommended the upgradation of the Thana Parishads and its creation as the focal point for development at the grassroot level. They also recommended devolution of a lot of functions and powers to the Upazila Parishads for carrying out development activities (Thana Parishads were renamed as Upazila parishads).

Accordingly, the government took a resolution for the reorganization of administration at the thana level (2). The resolution that "Under this

reorganizaed set-up thana will be the focal point of all administrative activities. Responsibility for all devellopment activities at the local level shall be transferred to the Thana Parishads."(3)

Before the upgradation of the Thana Parishads process started in November, 1982 and ended in February, 1984. They also used to carry out developmetnal function, but those were carried out mainly as a design of government plans.

The functions of former Thana Parishads were as follows :-

- a) Coordination of all development activities of the Thana
- b) Implementation of all development projects given by the government
- c) Formulation of Thana Development Plan in the light of Union Development Plan.
- d) Encouraging Union Parishads in their activities.
- e) Development of Family Planning.
- f) Management of Environment
- g) Training of Union Parishad Chairmen and Secretaries.

A revolutionary step was taken for developing the Upazila Parishad when the government issued "The Local Government Ordinance, 1982, and devolved huge numbers of functions and activities to the Upazila Parishads. The functions which have been transferred to the Upazila Parishads are as under :-

- 1) All development activities at the Upazila level; formulation of Upazila level development plans and programmes and implementation, monitoring and evaluation thereof;
- 2) Preparation of Upazila Development Plans on the basis of Union Development Plans;
- 3) Giving assistance and encouragement to Union parishads in their activities;
- 4) Prmotion of health, family planning and family welfare;
- 5) Provision for management of environment;

- 6) Training of Chairmen, Members and Secretaries of Union Parishads;
- 7) Implementation of Government policies and programmes within the upazila;
- 8) Supervision, control and co-ordination of functions of officers serving in the Upazila except Munsifs, Trying Magistrates and Offices engaged in regulatory functions;
- 9) Promotion of socio-cultural activities;
- 10) Promotion and encouragement of employment generating activities;
- 11) Such other functions as may be specified by the Government from time to time;
- 12) Promotion and extension of co-operative movement in the Upazila;
- 13) Assistance to Zilla parishad in development activities;
- 14) Planning and execution of all Rural Public Works Programme;
- 15) Promotion of agricultural activities for maximising production;
- 16) Promotion of educational and vocational activities;
- 17) Promotion of livestock fisheries and forest.

A simple comparison of the functions of the former Thana Parishad and present Upazila Parishad will show that dramatic changes have been made. In the organizational structure also changes were made; officers and staff related to developmental functions were transferred to the Parishad and arrangements were made for horizontal coordination among the development agencies. Elected representatives of the people became Chairmen of the Upazila Parishads and Chairmen of the Union Parishads become their voting members.

In the present arrangement of Upazila Parishad, development and other activities are carried out by the Parishad with the help of officials and staff. The parishad is constituted of voting and non-voting members; voting members are Chairman, Upazila Parishads, Chairmen of Union Parishads, Commissioners of Pourashava (in case there is pourashava in the upazila), 3 nominated female members, Chairman UCCA, and one representative of the freedom fighters nominated

by the government. Non-voting members are the officials of department related to development. They are Upazila Nirbahi Officer (UNO), Upazila Health and Family Planning Officer (UHFPO), Upazila Education Officer (UEO), Upazila Agriculture Officer (UAO), Upazila Cooperative Officer (UCO), Upazila Livestock Officer (ULO), Upazila Fishery Officer (UFO), upazila Social Welfare Officer (USWO), Upazila Rural Development Officer (URDO), Upazila Engineer, Upazila Family Planning Officer, Upazila Food Officer, Upazila Statistical Officer, Asstt. Commissioner (Land) and Officer-in-charge of the Thana Parishad has control over the officials of the departments which deals with subjects transferred to the Upazila Parishads.

Historically rural development and poverty alleviation programmes and projects have been implemented by the local governments. With the creation of Upazila Parishads a large-number of activities have been devolved to the Upazila Parishad. Some of the programmes indirectly help the poor for their socio-economic development and some are direct programmes. Some of these direct programmes are in the forms of doles; in some programmes the poor are conscientized and they become entitled to get some resource. In some programmes efforts are made to build the capacity of the poor. Upazila Parishad as the focal point of development activities at the grass-root level which plays the most vital role in administering, implementating and in some cases planning these projects and programmes.

Upazila Parishad is invovled in most of the cases related to pvoerty alleviation. Hence, it is felt worthwhile to study the projects/programmes of poverty alleviation, which are planned, monitored and implemented by the Upazila Parishad. In this study the major programmes and projects that have been studied are AUDP of UZP, FFW, RWP, VGDP, Cluster village Programme, RPP, Programmes, Projects of Social Welfare Department.

Performance of Upazila Parishad as an institution of poverty alleviation is dependent upon the performance of these projects and programmes. All these programmes did not start at the same time, but as time progressed different new projects and programmes have been assigned for the Upazila Parishads. For example AUDP was introduced from the inception of Upazila Parishad system. FFW , RWP & VGD (later renamed as VGDP) were previously implemented by Thana Development Committees but the main responsibility of monitoring them lied with the Sub-Divisional administration. Cluster village is a new programme introduced in 1988. Rural Poor Programme started in 1984 and Upazila Parishad is intensely related to this programme. Social Welfare preogrammes are being implemented by the Upazila Parishads after the introduction of Upazila System. By now institutional capacity of the Upazila Parishad have grown to a significant extent due to the implementation of the aforementioned projects and programmes. Hence, it has been felt necessary to study their performances which at the same time is helpful for assessing the institutional capacity of the Upazila Parishad regarding poverty alleviation.

"Regional Dialogue on Poverty Alleviation Programmes and Alternative Delivery Systems" recently held at Philippines (May 28-June 1990), which tried to summarize the poverty alleviation experiences of regional countries-India, Pakistan, Nepal, Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, Srilanka and People's Republic of China and indicated some very pertinent issues and major problems faced by these countries in poverty alleviation. It mentioned that, (1) In spite of greater target orientation, government programmes fail to clearly lay down practicable criteria for identification of the poor; (2) Development of the disadvantaged social gdroups is perceived more as a technical process, (3). Authentic decentralization - in contrast to nominal or inauthentic decentralization involving effective devolution of power to peripheral and local level institutions remains a much cherished but an illusory goal. (4) Conventional poverty programmes have emphasized dole or subsidized delivery of resources which failed to promote sustained development; (5) In spite of much investment in PAP, coverage and scope of PAP remains very limited and sectorally fragmented; (6) Providing access to productive assets, particularly through comprehensive land reforms have hardly been achieved; (7) Delivery system of credit programmes from the poor are not designed to meet the poor; (8) Little emphasis has been put on urban poverty (12).

It does not need to be stressed or further explained that all the above mentioned traits and limitations are prevalent in Bangladesh-in its poverty alleviation effort. Studies revealed that Comilla model cooperatives, main vehicle of rural development in Bangladesh is dominated by the middle farmers, leaving insignificant or no place for the poor, marginal and landless peasants. This induced, BRDB to launch programmes specifically for the poor-the RPP programme. The major local level institutions Upazila Parishad and Union

Parishad are dominated by the rural elites. Scepticism can be voiced how far the interventions through these institutes involve and benefit the poor.

Although in different discussions seminars, workshops attended by the bureaucrats the issue of empowerment of the people's is discussed, in reality The bureaucrats are not attuned to this idea and the government sponsored projects/ programmes are not designed in this line. The Governments institutions also do not pursue effectively to empower the poor. From 1982 onwards the government have taken and implemented massive decentralization, programmes-created Upazila Parishads, Zila Parishads headed by public representatives, devolved a lot of powers and functions to this parishads, but a simple analysis of the sections of the ordinances and laws related to these local level organisations will indicate that the strings are in the hands of the government, people centred development are only dances of the pantomimes. Moreover, scarce resource bases of these parishads have made them lackeys of the central government.

Although it is emphasized that direct dole or subsidized delivery of resources do not lead to sustained development, it becomes imperative and urgent in Bangladesh context to use this instrument. Prevalent abject poverty, natural calamities - successive floods like flood of 1987 & 1988 flood, tornado, crop damage create the urgency of distribute doles in Bangladesh. The government has programmes like Upazila relief funds, VGDP and occasional sanction of resources by M/O Relief and rehabilitation. VGDP has only recently added a dimension of thrift savings for the distributed doles to enable the beneficiaries to make investments.

Land reforms is also a very tough task in the socio-economic environment of the country. The government have lodged a massive movement of distribution of khas land among the landless and creation of "Guchcha

Gram"(Cluster villages). By the end of June ,1990, 568 chesster villages were established in which about 21000 homeless and landless families were settled and benefitted.

But considering the large number of landless families in the country (about 65%), this is a very meagre achievement. So is the case with other poverty alleviation programmes. No realiable data is available to show much landless or poor people have been touched by government sponsoned poverty alleviation programme, but development functionaries make rough estimates in different forums that it will be around 8% to 10% of the population. Moreover, holistic approach is missing from our development plans and intervention. That is why the 4th plan emphasizes bottom-up planning, participation of the poor in all plans and their implementation. It does not visualize only interventions from above and do not view the government functionaries only as deliverers of reasources and services.

Conceptual Framework :

The process of poverty alleviation involves a few stages. Theoretically these stages could be stratified into four stages as identified by a study group of Bangladesh Public Administration Training Centre in their study entitled " Poverty Alleviation Programme and Alternative Delivery Systems".

Stage I. Dole/Vikkha

The alm-giving form of poverty alleviation can be termed as the stage of dole in the process. This stage basically emphasizes the need for ensuring the survival of the masses in the situation of famine and acute food crisis. In certain circumstances this form of poverty alleviation also attaches importance to creation of savings and self employment opportunities.

Stage-II Entitlement/Conscientization

This stage entails legal claim on consumption by general masses. In other words the stage increases the entitlement of the people over the resources available and interventions made by the government and other agencies. While this may come in the form of Food For Work (FFW), it may also come in the form of a government officers' retirement benefits. To realize such claims or entitlements people are conscientized or "made aware" that they have a right to consumption.

Stage-III Asset distribution or redistribution :

Land, water, trees, crops, machines etc. are the assets which allow people to produce in order to ensure their own consumption. This stage of

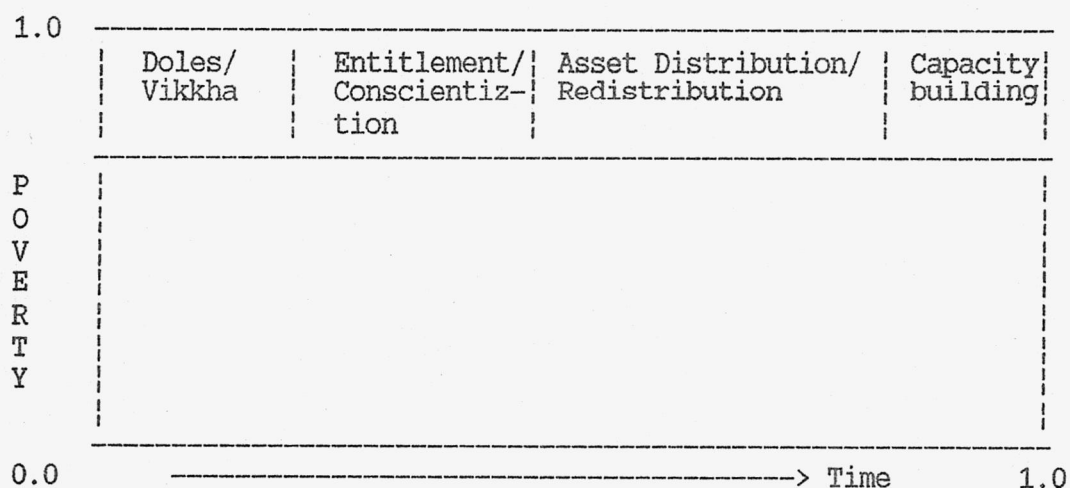
poverty alleviation involves distribution and redistribution of such assets, which in turn involves reclamation of such assets from the powerful, landowner and waterlords. The higher priority of the government and other agencies to distribute these assets primarily to the poor is the activity of this stage of poverty alleviation. This stage can be exemplified by the programmes like land reform, tenancy reform, khas land distribution etc.

Stage-IV Empowerment/Capacity Building

Attainment of higher productivity and consumption can be achieved only through exploitation of the potentialities of the people. This can be mobilized when people are equipped with the skills and technology to influence/determine their future in a sustained manner. Thus empowerment or capability building comes through human resources development.

As we see from the stages mentioned above and presented through the graph below, the stages are gradual in nature.

From Calories to Capacity Transition



The success of a poverty alleviation programme might be visualized and tested through the process of graudation from one stage to another. The existing

poverty scenario as indicated through different surveys reveals that not much progress has been achieved in the alleviation of poverty in spite of innumerable interventions.

✓ The success or failure of poverty alleviation programmes largely depend on its design aspect and delivery system. The more appropriate is the design and delivery system, more successful it is to alleviate the poverty of the people. As a decentralized administrative unit, Upazila are expected to increase the effectiveness of the delivery system. Upazila have programmes/projects at all the four stages mentioned above. It needs to be analyzed how effective it has become as an appropriate vehicle of interventions for poverty alleviation. ✓

CHAPTER-VII

Poverety Scenario of Nabinagar Upazila:

✓ Nabinagar is a Upazila in the district of Brahmanbaria. This upazila is constituted by 21 Unions having 225 Villages. The Total area of the uipazila is 375 Sq.Km. The total agricultural land in the Upazila is 75155 acres of which 7240 acres is cultivable (Table-1). Total population of the upazila was 3,55,179 (Census-81). Assuming the population growth rate to be 2.36 percent per annum, the population of the upazila in 1990 is estimated to be 4,38,146 (Table-1).

Considering the incidence of absolute poverty of Bangladesh, population below the poverty lines in the Nabinagar upazilla has been estimated. It appears that the incience of poverty has declined over the year through 1982 to 1986. A total population of 2,87,649 was below the poverty line-I (2200 K. Calorie/ person/ day) which come down to 1,87,903 though the population has increased by 2.36 percent. On the otherhand, considering the poverty line-II, the population of 2,41,549 below the poverty line in 1982 came down to 1,87,903 in 1986 (Table-1).

✓ In both the measurements, the incidence of absolute poverty in Nabinagar Upazila showed a decline. The question obviously arises now whether the reduction of the percentage of the population below poverty line actually happened. However, the above estimates based on secondary source of data might have shown some biased trend.

Table-1
Poverty incidence of Nabinagar Upazila

Year	Population of Nabinagar Upazila	Incidence of absolute poverty			
		2200 k. Calorie/person/day		1800 K. Calorie/person/day	
	A	National (%) (B)	Nabinagar(C)	National (%) (B)	Nabinagar (C)
1981	3,55,179				
1982	3,63,561	79.12	2,87,649	66.44	2,41,549
1983	3,72,141				
1984	3,80,923	49.81	1,89,623	32.02	1,21,971
1985	3,89,913				
1986	3,99,115	47.08	1,87,903	28.36	1,87,903
1987	4,08,534				
1988	4,18,176				
1989	4,28,045				
1990	4,38,146				

A : Estimated at the rate of 2.36% growth taking 1981 census data the base.

CB: Estimated at the rate of national incidence of absolute rural poverty.

B : Atiq Rahman & T.Haque, (may,1988).

Basic Statistics on Nabinagar Upazila,1990

1. General:
 1. Number : Unions 21
 2. Number : Villages 225
 3. Land
 - a) Total Area 375 (Sq.Km.)
 - b) Agricultural Land 75155 (Acres)
 - c) Cultivated Area 72400 (Acres)
 - d) Single Cropped Area 19655 (Acres)
 - e) Double " " 43900 "
 - f) Triple " " 4600 "
 - g) Fellow Land Area 400 "
 - h) Irrigated Area 31416 "
 - i) Khas Land 2062.98 "
 - (excluding river, canal ,pond etc.)
 - j) Forest Area 0.00 "
 4. Population
 - a) Total Population 3,55,179 (.81 census)
 - (1) Male 1,81,365
 - (2) Female 1,73,814
 - b) Muslims 3,16,675
 - c) Non-Muslims (only Hindus) 38,504
 5. Health Service
 - a) Number of Hospitals 1
 - b) Number of Doctors 10

2. Basic Statistics on Education of Nabinagar, 1990

Nature of Institution	College School	High School	Primary School	General Madrasa	Kharejee Madrasa	Maktab Total
1. Number of Institution	2	21	162	16	15	556
2. Number of Students	870	7990	45623	1917	3500	5550
Male	750	5200	25971	1917	3500	3550
Female	120	2790	19652	-	-	2000

3. Communications

- a) Road
 - 1) Pucca Road 4.02 (Km.)
 - 2) HBB Road 12 "
 - 3) Kutcha Road 447 "
 - 4) Number of Bridges 88
 - 5) River and Canal 195 (Km.)

4. Number of Post Offices & Sub-post offices- 34

5. Agriculture

Nature of Production	Annual Production (in M. Ton)	Production Area (in Acres)
Paddy	54038	85000
Wheat	8964	10865
Potato	1893	625
Jute	5178	6425
Cotton	-	-
Mustard	4588	13595
Sugarcane	-	-
Pulses	2250	5470
Vegetable	500	2000

6. Main Production Items (top three) Paddy, Jute, wheat

7. Number of L.S.D. Godown 2

8. Irrigation

- a) DTWs 49
- b) STWs 163
- c) LLPs 570
- d) Ring Well 12
- e) Others 38
- f) Number of approved Irrigation Schemes 96
- g) Number of flood control Schemes -
- h) Rivers & Canals suitable for Irrigation 90 (Km.)
- i) Yearly rainfall 81.06 (M)

9. Livestock
 - a) Number of Cattle Head 93685
 - b) " " Buffalo 73
 - c) " " Goat 8592
 - d) " " Bullocks used for Ploughing 2000
 - e) " " Poultry Farms 5
 - f) " " Artificial Insemination Centre 1
10. Fisheries
 - a) Total number of Ponds/Dighis 3373
 - b) Total Area 1786.8 (Acres)
 - c) Number of Ponds/Dighis used for pisci-culture 3165
 - d) " " Jalmahals 68
 - e) Yearly fish production 200000
11. Forest : Nurseries (in No.) 1
12. Number of Banks (Nationalised only) 16
13. Regulatory Services
 - a) Number of Police Station 1
 - b) " " " Camps 1
 - c) " " " Answar & VDP Units 7428
as on 30.6.90
14. Food for Works
 - a) Total Number of existing schemes 22
 - b) Mandays employed 245639
 - 1) Male 222490
 - 2) Female 23149
15. Social Welfare
 - a) Number of Villages under Rural Welfare Project 76
 - b) " " existing social Project 1564
 - c) " " Beggars 775
 - d) " " Orphanages 5
 - e) " " NGO. (Foreign-1 Local-2) 3
16. Cluster Villages
 - a) Number of Villages 1
 - b) " " families Rehabilitated 15
 - c) Area of Village 4.63
(Acres)
17. Others
 - a) No.of electrified villages 39
 - b) " " Public Libraries/Readings Room 1
 - c) Cinema Halls 1
 - d) Deptt. Rest House 1
 - e) Hand Pumps for drinking Water 2971
 - f) Community Centres 21

Performance of different Programmes Projects
and Activities in Nabinagar Upazilla

Annual Upazila Development Plan (AUDP)

Upazila Parishads were created for ensuring increased participation of the people in the development process. Functions of health, family planning and family welfare, management of environment, employment generation, socio-economic activities, cooperative movement, Rural Public Works Programme, agricultural production, educational and vocational activities, livestock, forestry were devolved to the Upazila Parishad. It was expected that Upazila Parishad would be functioning as local self-government and pursue its activities in line with the overall development policy of the government. The government would make contribution in the development programme but Upazila Parishads would strive for making it a economically self sufficient organization.

In that perspective projects/programmes in the rural development sector is the main sector from which the rural people gets benefit; Upazila Parishad is part of that sector. In the central planning, Annual Upazila Development Plan is a part of the rural development sector. For rural development the central government make certain allocation in projects/programmes which are centrally implementable and certain allocations through Upazila Parishads to carry on rural development activities. The Upazila Parishads make annual development programmes and implement them by that allocation. Upazila Development Plan acts as complimentary to national development plan and Planning Commission issues guidelines for planning, monitoring, implementation and evaluation of the AUDP.

The Third Five Year Plan described the objective of the plan to be :-

(1) To prevent further rural immiserization of the people and to bring at least 10% of the rural poor above the poverty line by means of increasing gainful employment and income opportunities on a sustained basis through expansion of productive sector;

(2) To ensure better access for the rural poor to means of production, farm and non farm, through their organization for productive activities;

(3) To enable the rural poor to share local resources through their participation in development process; and

(4) To improve the quality of life of the rural people in respect of basic physical infrastructure and social services needs.(1)

Upazila Parishads are to attain these objectives through their AUDP and it has been stated that " their development activities will mainly centre around development of minor agriculture and irrigation, small and cottage Industries, rural works programme, hats and bazars, supply of drinking water and low cost sanitation units, educational institutions, local health and family planning programmes, promotion of sports and social welfare activities, and other miscellaneous activities".(2)

The objectives of the third Five Year Plan may induce one to believe that the plan stresses much on target group approach to rural development, since alleviation of rural poverty was its main focus. But the programme components speak on the contrary that it is much a production oriented plan having no specific stress on the poor. In the AUDP also projects/programmes are formulated which do not specifically benefit the poor. That is why in different studies on target group programmes, this programme is not included. The 4th Five

Year Plan also pointed out that relatively backward social groups do not get enough resources for development from the national level ADPs or from Annual Upazila Development programmes."(3)

This has also been observed at the micro-level. The projects which have been taken up by the Nabinagar Upazila Parishads in AUDP (through government grants), are not specifically targetted to the poor.

The following tables (Table 1 & 2) show the performances of AUDP and the nature of projects undertaken in 1989-90 under AUDP.

UPAZILA PARISHAD
NABINAGAR
Performance of A.U.D.P.

SL.NO.	Financial Year	Budget allocation from the Govt.	Unspent from previous Year	Total	Amount spent	% (achievement)	No of project Implemen- ted.
1.	1983-84	50,00,000	-	50,00,000	49,85,107	99.70	81
2.	1984-85	66,20,000	14,893	66,34,893	66,10,110	99.63	91
3.	1985-86	63,03,500	24,783	63,28,283	61,68,732	97.48	87
4.	1986-87	42,79,162	1,59,551	44,38,713	38,52,727	86.80	78
5.	1987-88	56,42,000	5,85,986	62,27,986	21,54,764	34.60	53
6.	1988-89	19,87,000	40,73,222	60,60,222	41,78,532	68.95	63
7.	1989-90	18,46,000	18,81,690	37,27,690	18,15,958/72	48.72	92

(Source Upa-zila Parishad Office, Nabenagar)

Table-2
NABINAGAR UPAZILA PARISHAD
List of Projects Under AUDP

(Financial Year -1989-90)

A. <u>Agriculture & Irrigation</u> (Total) Tk. 3,15,870 (15.5%)	
	Allotment (TK.)
1. Upazila Headquarter Nursery	15,000
2. Construction of Culvert cum sluice gate in Shibpur U.P.	34,757
3. Pucca Irrigation Canal in Narayanpur Agriculture Demonstration Farm	23,786
4. Construction of Reservior in Kaitala U.P. (Naroi Green Irrigation Boro Project)	15,000
5. Construction of Reservior in Nasirabad Irrigation Canal	15,000
6. Observance of World Food Day	5,000
7. Observance of Aforestation Week	3,000
8. Subdual Expedition of Rats	4,000
9. Bufferstock Pesticide Purchase	5,000
10. Cluster Village Aforestation Project	2,000
11. Construction of Nabinagar Union Parishad (East) and Construction of Pipe-Culvert with 3'0" radius ring	28,324
12. Setting up of plastic pipe shallow Tube-well for Irrigation in Satmora U.P.	15,000
13. Seeting up of plastic pipe shallow Tube-well for Irrigation in Jinadpur U.P.	15,000
14. Construction of culvert with RCC Pipe near Laor Fatepur senior Madrasa	28,324
15. Construction of culvert with 3'0" radius RCC pipe for Nurjahanpur-Muktarampur Road in Barikandi U.P.	30,000

Animal Husbandary Activities

16.	Construction of Sheds for the Animal Husbandary Centre in Barail & Ratanpur U.Ps	30,000
17.	Buying of Medicine for Domestic Animals	10,000
18.	Reconstruction of sheds of the Animal Husbandary centre in Upazila sadar	16,679

Fishery

19.	Buying of kit-box, water & soil examination Machine	15,000
20.	Cluster village fisheries project.	5,000

B. Small & Cottage Industries (Total) 1,101,894

1.	Collection of sewing Machines and furnitures for the Freedom Fighters' Association.	37,865
2.	Celebration of Cooperative Day	6,000
3.	Repair of Type writing Machines, Purchase of stationaries	8,000
4.	A one week training programme on Cooperative, Agriculture Fisheries, Health & Family Planning and Socio-Economic activities.	30,000
5.	Training on Bamboo cane in Sreerampur U.P.	20,000

C. Physical Infrustructure (Communication & Transportation) 5,09,468/=

1.	Completion of 76 feet(incomplete) Bridge along Aliabad-Gopalpur Road in Shrirampur U.P.	1,39,402
2.	Construction of 45 feet RCC bridge in Ibrahimpur U.P.	1,80,000

3.	Construction of 45 feet RCC Bridge in Jinadpur U.P.	1,80,000
4.	Construction of 36 feet RCC Bridge in Satmora U.P.	30,000
5.	Construction of 70 feet RCC Bridge in Ratanpur U.P.	30,588
6.	Construction of 60 feet RCC bridge in Rasullabad U.P.	54,000
D.	Housing & Physical Planning (Total)Tk.	3,56,627
1.	Bazar-Shed construction in Upazila Sadar.	1,43,159
2.	Bazar-Shed Construction in Birgaon U.P.	1,43,466
3.	Construction of Sanitary Latrine for Shrirampur Community Hall in Shrirampur U.P.	45,000
4.	Construction of surface drain in Nabinagar (East) U.P.	1,50,912
5.	Construction of Rasullabad Community centre in Rasullabad U.P.	1,32,322
D.	Development of Socio-Economic (Total) Infrastructure (Development of Education)	Tk. 2,54,734
1.	Colebration of Education Day	10,000
2.	Prize for the Best Teacher and Asstt. Teacher	5,000
3.	Celebration of International Literacy Day	5,000
4.	Supply of 225 armless Chair for 149 Govt. Primary School.	1,01,250
5.	Repairing of Shahpur High school in Ratanpur U.P.	36,000
6.	Repairing of Gopalpur High School in Shrirampur U.P.	30,743
7.	Repairing of Laur Fatepur Girls High School	30,743
8.	Repairing of Nabinagar Pilot High School	36,000
E.	Physical, Mental and Cultural (Total) Development of the Children	Tk. 1,52,840

1.	National Children-Prize competition	16,000
2.	National Children Islamic Competition	5,000
3.	Seasonal competition	3,000
4.	Arrangement of children's sports & Games for celebrating National and International Days	5,000
5.	Children Song Training at Upazila Sadar	20,000
6.	Children Rally at Upazila Sadar	4,000
7.	Buying of sports items for Upazila Children Organization	6,000
8.	Inter-School sports competition	9,000
9.	Child & youth football competition at Upazila level	8,000
10.	Scout Rally	-
11.	National level Jumbury	30,000
12.	Furniture for Shishu Academy	10,840
13.	Construction of Sanitary Latrines of Govt. Primary School	36,000
F.	Health & Social welfare (Total) Tk.	2,44,548
1.	Health sub-centre repair and Tube-Wel Installation in Salimganj U.P.	1,00,049
2.	Construction of Sanitary Latrines for Shrighar Bazar in Shamgram U.P.	49,412
3.	Repair of Road in Nabinagar Sadar	10,000
4.	Purchase & Distribution of 175 Umbrella to encourage achieving targets of Family Planning, EPI Activities.	22,000
5.	Drain Repair, Cleaning of Safty Tanks and Water Tank of Nabinagar Hospital	20,000
6.	Supply of Furniture for 8 Health subcentres	16,000

7.	Installation of Tube-Well for health Subcentre in Kaitala U.P.	11,000
8.	Repair of Narayanpur Health and Family Planning Sub-centre in Shrirampur U.P.	16,084
G.	Sports & Culture (Total)	Tk. 50,947
1.	Celebration of Nabinagar Upazila Housing Week	6,000
2.	Salary of Librarian	12,000
3.	Inter-Schools & Madrasha Sports Competition	5,000
4.	Inter-School Swimming Competition	1,000
5.	Purchase & Supply of Sports Items for Educational Institutes & organizations	10,000
6.	One week cultural competition	5,000
7.	Celebration of New Year	1,000
8.	Celebration of Birth Days of Nazrul & Rabindranath	2,000
9.	Furniture for Shilpa Kala Academy	8,947
H.	Maintenance (Total)	Tk. 5,00,000
1.	White wash of Hall Room of Upazila Sadar and Office Room of Upazila Chairman	20,175
2.	White wash of Residential Building of UNO	33,000
3.	Repair of Residential Quarters of Non-Gazetted Officers	30,000
4.	Repair of Residential Quarters of Gagetted officers.	75,826
5.	Repair of Non-gagetted Officers Quarters	85,199
6.	Repair of Medical Officers Quarters of Upazila Health Complex	1,21,680
7.	Repair of Class -III Employees Residential Quarters (A)	85,493
8.	Repair of Class-III Employees Residential Quarters(B)	58,330

9.	Repair of Dormitory of Upazila Health Complex (Nurse)	30,538
10.	Repair of Upazila Prishads Dormitory	37,465
11.	Repair of Jorabari Surface Drain	20,000

I.	Miscellaneous (Total)	Tk. 50,947
1.	Birth & Death Registration in 21 U.P.s	9,500
2.	Supply of Birth & Death Registration Book in the Upazila Parishads statistical office (at the rate of 2)	10,000
3.	Supply of Books for Union Parishad's Chowkidars	4,000
4.	Stationaries	6,000
5.	Emergency Relief Fund.	21,447

(Source: Upazila Parishad Office, Nabinagar)

It can be seen that the government grants in AUDP is decreasing and naturally it has its impacts on the performances of the upazila Parishads. Nabinagar is a very big upazila with 21 union Parishads. In 1983-84 it got a grant of Tk. 50,00,000 to implement development projects, but in 1989-90 it came down to Tk. 18,46,000. The huge organizational structure that has been built in the upazila has the capability to make interventions larger than this, but due to paucity of resources that remain underutilized.

Observations have been made in the 4th Five Year Plan document that the parishads take up projects in larger numbers without taking into consideration the economy of scale or viability of the projects.

Same observation may be made about the projects of Nabinagar Upazila Parishad. On the average 77 projects were implemented under AUDP in Nabinagar.

From the list of the projects undertaken in 1989-90 it can be seen that none of the projects was specifically targetted for socio-economic development of the poor. Projects under Agriculture and Irrigation Sector (18

Nos.) were mainly formulated and implemented for augmenting production. The projects under Small and cottage industries were mainly for human resources development, but that also is not targetted for the poor alone. In fact it does not have focus on poverty alleviation. This is seperately discussed under programmes of social welfare department. In different studies on AUDP it has been stated that upazilas showed bias towards physical infrastructure building. AUDP of Nabinagar Upazila is also not an exception. The projects in physical infrastucture housing & physical planning, development of socio-econimic infrastrucutes, Health and Social welfare and Maintenance sector in Nabinagar Upazila show this bias. Only through emergency relief funds, the poor could derectly be benefitted. In 1989-89, Tk.21,447 was allotted for this purpose. Beneficiary from this account is very few. From the following table it can be seen that in 1984-85 & 1986-87 only 146 & 217 persons repectively got benefits (full data avalible for these 2 years only). from this section.

Table-3
Beneficiaries from Relief Fund, Nabinagar Upazila

	1984-85	1986-87
	No. of Beneficries	No.of bene- ficries.
Cash grant to Fire victims	12	-
Cash grant to cyclone victims	66	65
Cash grant to flood victims	58	-
House Building grants to Fire victims	10	36
House Building grant to cyclone victims	-	116
Total	146	217
Total Amount	Tk. 29,963.75	Tk. 58,607

(Source: Nabinagar Upazila Parishad)

Upazila Parishads also generate funds from different economic activities and levying of toll and taxes. It is generally expected that from that fund the parishad will plan and implement development activities. But data of income and expenditure shows that parishads can not save much from its income and the government has to subsidize huge quantity of fund as salary and emoluments to the personnel engaged in the Upazila Parishads.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF NABINAGAR UPAZILA PARISHAD

Financial Year:	No.of Officers	No.of Staff	Salary & emoluments	Income from own source		
				Income	Expense	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1985-86	29	437	1,11,88,423/89	1,76,153/40	2,01,045/48	
1986-87	27	375	96,62,674/70	37,32,475/75	34,49,252/43	
1987-88	25	452	1,10,99,123/23	12,36,994/00	8,45,571/26	
1988-89	25	441	1,25,10,572/24	7,12,319/19	4,44,331/86	
1989-90	28	466	1,54,18,245/01	8,55,861/58	11,78,680/70	

Source: Nabinagar Upazila Parishad

The following 2 tables (table 5&6) show itemwise incomes and expenditures of Nabinagar Upazila Parishad. It can be concluded that with the present arrangement for income and expenditure the Parishad do not stand any chance to be a economically self-sufficient organization. It will have to depend perpetually on the central govt's assistance for its survival.

Table-5
NABINAGAR UPAZILA PARISHAD
ITEMWISE INCOME (OWN RESOURCES)

Source of Income	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90
1. Lease of Hat/ Bazars	-	90,5,795/80	6,47,115	3,18,313/50	3,20,085/60
2. Issue of Trade Licence	-	38,510	17,570	20,246/25	14,780
3. Licence for sale of Earth	-	-	58,076/25	-	10,170
4. Lease of Jalmahal	-	76,745/25	-	-	74,000
5. Lease of Ferry Ghat	-	-	4,500	6,800	8,475
6. Pay order of Appointment	-	1,115	-	-	140
7. Old news paper sale	-	86	160	20	126
8. Sale of Tender Schedule	18,800	1,15,200	38,225	32,940	8,178
9. Income Generating Project					
(a) Agriculture Nursury	-	1,27,779/89	41,797	-	13,455
(b) Fisheries nursury	-	-	11,400	-	6,010
(c) Social Welfare Women	-	-	24,300	15,511/50	10,405
10. Calender Sale	-	11,100	-	-	-
11. House Rent	74,722/50	2,12,683/90	2,07,038/75	2,40,940/69	3,03,493/98
12. Office Rent	20,600	19,250	18,550	18,900	7,500
13. Contractor	-	3,100	32,875	22,575	19,900
14. Auction	34,845/90	3,41,530	6,000	4,090	320
15. Bank Interest	2,185	14,73,375	5,114	16,574	12,574
16. Water tight Latrine	-	-	24,100	5,000	6,250
17. Matching Contribution	-	79,664	-	-	-
18. Sports	-	5,940	-	-	-
19. Relief	-	10,000	-	-	-
20. Project	-	1,08,117/50	-	-	-
21. Others	25,000	4,34,756/49	1,00,182	10,408/25	-
Total	1,76,153/40	37,32,475/75	12,36,994	7,12,319/19	8,55,861/58

Table-6
NABINAGAR UPAZILA
EXPENDITURE

Source of Expense:	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90
1. Electricity Bill	-	-	11,809/58	67,238	57,392/50
2. Honorarium	290	17,915	20,000	2,000	-
3. Stationary	3,072	-	20,415	9,833	5,418
4. Paper Bill	1,701/70	1,603/40	1,456/50	1,439	2,772
5. Tender Notice	1,000	16,196	4,625	1,61,84/25	7,969
6. Employees Salary	3,706	2,80,593	29,381	15,000	9,122/50
7. Bank Charge	88/00	155	182/75	1,349/75	1,322/25
8. Royalty	-	-	29,901/25	34,250/75	29,547
9. Contractors' Bill	65,804/92	8,61,685/89	3,15,033/22	1,00,391/22	3,28,958/47
10. Discretionary Fund	-	49,800	25,250	27,650	23,800
11. Matching Contribution	-	1,49,328	400	38,475	5,55,966
12. Development Project	91,414	4,89,667	1,53,308/96	40,917	1,01,149
13. Relief	-	11,000	10,000	22,599/89	-
14. Parliamentary Election	-	2,490	88,960	-	-
15. Taxes	3,021/15	2,038	-	4,030	-
16. Audit Expenses	-	-	-	29,907	-
17. Fuel cost of marine transport	-	-	-	13,550	-
18. Auction	2,710	4,665	-	-	-
19. Receipt from Publication	-	3,450	-	-	-
20. Calender Publication	36,489	-	-	-	-
21. Bank Deposit	-	14,00,000	-	-	-
22. Others	28,237/65	1,19,127/50	46,848	15,510	55,264
Total:	2,01,045	34,49,252/45	8,45,571/26	4,44,331/86	11,78,680/70

(Source: Nabinagar Upazila Parishad)

However, it may be concluded that the projects undertaken through AUDP (through grants from the govt and own resources) do not make any significant contribution to benefit the poor directly. Only through some relief activities it only helps some poverty stricken people during calamities. Although it is stated that the principal objective of the rural development sector is poverty alleviation by increasing employment opportunities of poor, creating income opportunities for them and by ensuring their accesses to resources, the projects/programmes under AUDP could not achieve much in this line. To achieve the objectives a new direction needs to be given to AUDP of the Upazila Parishads.

FOOD FOR WORKS (FFW) PROGRAMME

One of the major programmes that the Upazila Parishad plan, design, implement, monitor and evaluate for providing food staff and to create employment opportunities for the rural poor is FFW Programme. The main objectives of the programme are :-

- (a) Improvement of rural physical infrastructure through upgrading of rural roads, which, in turn facilitates the distribution of goods and services to rural areas and the marketing of agricultural products;
- (b) Contribution to increase the productivity of land and providing protection from natural disasters through construction and reconstruction of coastal and river embankments, excavation and reexcavation of field canal;
- (c) generating lean season employment opportunities for the rural poor;
- (d) Consolidating the gains of earth work projects through launching complementary activities such as PMR and RMP;
- (e) To facilitate the price stabilisation of Bangladesh food grain market;
- (f) To reach food to the target group; and
- (g) To help develop local government institutions specially the upazila.

The main programme consists of regular earth work in construction/reconstruction of roads, construction of embankment, canals, rivers and dams

etc. by employing rural labour. Complimentary programmes to consolidate the main programmes have also been undertaken which are (a) construction of apartment structures (b) Rural Maintenance Programme and (c) Post Monsoon Rehabilitation Programme. The major components of the programme are given below :-

Table No -1
(Components of FFW Programme (FY88)
(excluding RMP)

	Share of the total %	Number of Upazilas	Season	Method of payment
<u>Local Initiative Schemes (LIS)</u>				
Regular	63.56	460	Nov.April	Wheat wages
Post-Emergency Rehabilitation	4.10	72	-do-	-do-
<u>Bangladesh Rural Development Board(BRDB)</u>				
Regular	16.46	152	-do-	-do-
Post-Emergency Rehabilitation	5.15	94	-do-	-do-
Post monsoon rehabili- tation (PMR)	2.33	169	Sept-Dec	-do-
<u>Miscellaneous</u> Growth Centre connecting Road(GCCR)	2.53	50	-do-	-do-
Pilot scheme	0.47	12	-do-	-do-
Appartment structure schemes	1.27	121	Nov.- May	Monetized
Overhead	4.14			

Source :WFP(FFWP.TXT,04/07/88)

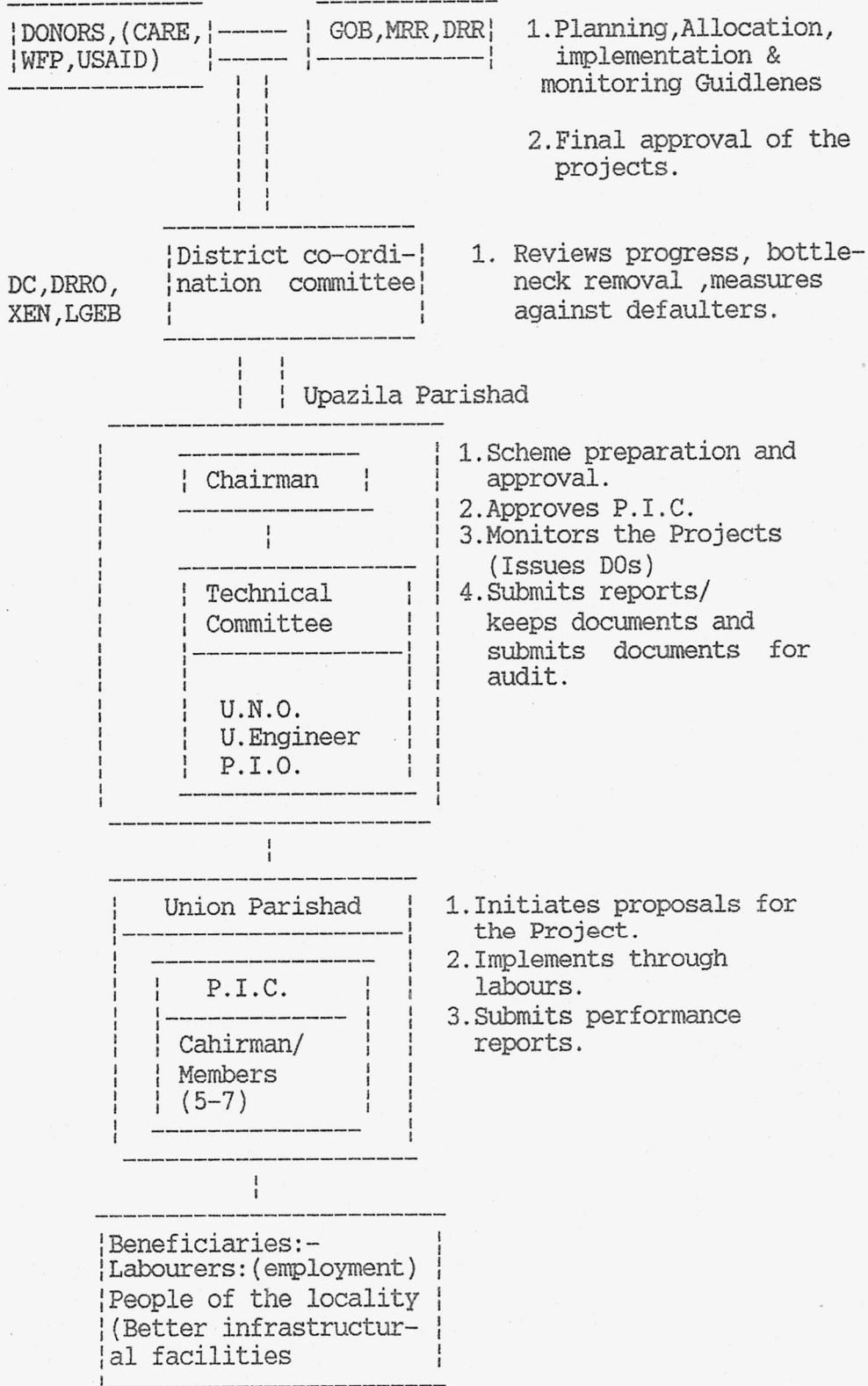
Upazila Parishads are responsible for implementation of the Local initiative schemes (LISs) and other small programmes like Post Monsoon Rehabilitation Programmes (PMR supported by CIDA) that employ women for post moonson road compaction and year round maintenance of earth roads through maintenance programme.

Programme Features and Organizational Arrangement at the grassroot level

The projects are implemented through labourers who get payment in wheat/rice for earth work. Average wage rate of FFW regular programme is estimated at 5.5 Kg of wheat per day. The projects under this programme are implemented through Project Implementation Committee (PIC) instead of hired contractors. PIC consists of elites of the locality with chairman or member of the Union Parishads as Chairman. PICs are responsible to the Union Parishads and Upazila Parishad for their performances. Main accountability for the performance of the project lies with the Upazila Parishad. The chart below will show the organizational arrangement for the implementation of the project.

Other than the main FFW programmes RMP and PMR programmes are also carried out for maintenance of the constructed roads throughout the year and for post monsoon rehabilitation of roads during September to November of the years. In these programmes workers are selected by the Union Parishads and they are given wages in money and wheat respectively.

Organisational Arrangements
(FFW Programme)



Performance of the FFW Programme

FFW programme is not a core development programme of the government. It primarily started as an employment and infrastructure intensive programme. Though the thrust of the programme has changed and it is now viewed mainly as a infrastructure biuilding programme, in essence it still remains as an employment generating programme. From its beginning in 1974, the programme have come a long way and its volume has also been increased. The following table will capture the intertemporal availability of FFW made available to Bangladesh through WFP/CARE.

Table:2
FFW Programme
Availability of Food & Generation of Employment

Year	Quantity of Food grains in(Lakh Tons)	Number of completed projects	No.of man-days of employments
1975-76	2.09	1554	560.00
1976-77	2.23	2328	600.00
1977-78	2.75	2087	740.00
1978-79	2.30	2110	620.00
1979-80	2.27	2124	610.00
1980-81	3.85	3927	960.00
1981-82	2.88	3431	779.00
1982-83	3.79	3923	1005.00
1983-84	3.90	4292	1073.00
1984-85	4.55	6796	1072.00
1985-86	5.60	7170	1153.00
1986-87	4.50	4270	1248.00
1987-88	6.50	5279	1328.00

Source: M/O.Relief & Rehabilitation, Barsik Protibedan,1988.

At the grassroot level, FFW still remains to be the major intervention by the government for creation of employment. The following tables shows the performance of FFW programme in Nabinagar Upazila.(Table 3,4,5).

TABLE: 3
FFW PROGRAMME PERFORMANCE IN NABINAGAR UPAZILA

		CARE	WFP	GOB	PMR	RMP	TEST RELIEF
1985-86	ALLOCATION(MT)	567.624	NIL	1025.970	NIL	NIL	103.051
	UTILIZATION	464.294	NIL	979.680	NIL	NIL	103.051
%		81.80	-	95.58	-	-	100.00
1986-87	ALLOCATION	595.066	720.727	474.070	NIL	NIL	162.882
	UTILIZATION	544.518	641.729	464.924	NIL	NIL	162.882
%		91.51	89.04	98.07	-	-	100.00
1987-88	ALLOCATION	677.96	737.017	340.580	NIL	NIL	697.00
	UTILIZATION	471.38	597.1927	336.260	NIL	NIL	697.00
%		69.53	81.00	98.73	-	-	100.00
1988-89	ALLOCATION	781.00	925.921	NIL	NIL	NIL	274.00
	UTILIZATION	749.924	910.399	NIL	NIL	NIL	274.00
%		46.02	98.32	-	-	-	100.00
1989-90	ALLOCATION	536.00	747.895	50.32	100.541	-	286.00
	UTILIZATION	476.248	648.063	50.32	97.591	-	286.00
%		88.85	86.65	100.00	97.07	-	100.00

TABLE-4
BENEFICIARIES OF FFW PROGRAMME IN
NABINAGAR UPAZILA

	1985-86	1987-87	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90
NO.OF MANDAYS WORK IN FFW	4,23,770	5,05,473	4,30,384	5,08,388	3,58,752
NO.OF PERSONS EMPLOYED	6662	7946	6766	7992	5640

TABLE-5
NO.OF PROJECTS IMPLEMENTED THROUGH FFW IN NABINAGAR UPAZILA

	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90
NO.OF PROJECTS	20	37	22	21	22
		ROAD-21 TANK-4			
FFW					
NATURE OF PROJECTS	ROAD-19 KHAL-1	KHAL-2 FIELD-9 BAZAR-1	ROAD-20 KHAL- 2	ROAD-18 KHAL-3	ROAD-18 KHAL-4
NO.OF PROJECTS	134	247	470	270	220
TEST					
REL NO.OF IEF PROJECTS	ROADS, EMBANKMENTS REPAIR & MAINTENANCE. DEVELOPMENT OF MAINTENANCE OF INSTITUTIONS				
PMR	NO.OF PROJECTS			13	
	NATURE OF PROJECTS	MAINTENANCE OF ROADS EMBANKMENTS AFTER THE MONSOON.			
TOTAL		154	284	492	291
					255

Moreover, in the Rural Maintenance Programme employment is generated for 315 members in Nabinagar Upazila who gets payment weekly at the rate of the Tk. 24 throughout the year for maintenance of the constructed roads and other infrastructure. The allocation and utilization position of FFW resources do not show dramatic increase over the years. The situation improved a bit in 1986-87 from 1985-86, but it remained more or less same during the next 3 years and in

1989-90 allocation as well as utilization considerably declined. If we keep in view the necessity of this programme for employment generation, it can be accepted without debate that programme can not generate sufficient employment opportunity for the poor. Due to lack of comparable micro-level data on the total civilian mandays of employment available in Nabinagar Upazila we have to depend on the national level data, which show that from 1982-83 to 1987-88 roughly 1.13 - 1.29% employment was created by FFW. The picture in Nabinagar is not altogether different .

Impact of the Programme

Observations have been made in different studies that due to inherent flaws in the organization arrangement for implementation of the programmes targetted for the poor, and due to lack of proper motivation on the part of the deliverer of the goods and services, the poor are not benefitted from these programmes. FFW programme proves on the contrary that the programme benefits reach the poor. Through the administration of a structured questionnaire data have been collected from 100 beneficiaries in Nabinagar Upazila regarding their socio-economic status, savings and compensation received from the seasonal employment, savings. Data show that 45% of the respondents have no cultivable land at all and 87% of them are functionally land less. Table-6 shows the landholding pattern and principal occupation of the FFW workers.

TABLE-6
NABINAGAR UPAZILA
DISTRIBUTION OF FFW-BENEFICIARIES BY OCCUPATION
AND LANDHOLDING PATTERNS

LANDHOLDING (in Acre)	TYPES OF OCCUPATION			TOTAL & %
	Agricul ture	Business	Daily Labourer	
0.00	-	-	45	45
.01-.20	-	-	26	26
.21-.30	-	-	11	11
.31-.50	1	-	4	5
.50+	7	1	5	13
Total	8	1	91	100

Note: Average landholding size=0.37 acre/family among 55
landholders (average size of land owned per respondent
family = 0.21 acre.

The seasonal employment in FFW programme remains to be one of the major employment opportunity for them; if they would not have got this opportunity their scope for employment in this season would have remained much less which they get from this programme. It has been seen in Nabinagar Upazila that on an average a FFW worker gets employment for about 64 days in a year from this programme. Table -7 shows the man-days of work opportunity of the FFW beneficiaries.

TABLE-7
DISTRIBUTION OF FFW BENEFICIERY BY THEIR ENGAGED
MANDAYS IN THE PROGRAMME

NO.OF MANDAYS ENGAGED IN THE PROGRAMME	NO.OF RESPONDENT BENEFICIARIES & %	AVERAGE MANDAYS ENGAGED IN THE PROGRAMME
LESS THAN 30	3	25.00
30-50	41	39.54
51-70	14	64.29
70+	42	89.64
TOTAL	100	63.61

When the respondents were asked regarding their alternative avenues of employment they mentioned different combinations of occupations. It shows that these people who work in FFW programme have no permanent job opportunity and for survival they avail every opportunity open to them. FFW programme is a relief for them of the lean season.

TABLE-8
DISTRIBUTION OF FFW BENEFICIARY ACCORDING TO THEIR ALTERNATIVE
AVENUES OF EMPLOYMENT

	TOTAL & %
1. Agriculture	2
2. Sale of agriculture labour	37
3. Daily Labour	6
4. Fish Selling	5
5. Agriculture & Business	3
6. Agriculture & sale of agriculture labour	6
7. Agriculuture,agricultural labour and business	5
8. Share cropping & Daily labour	5
9. Share cropping,daily labour and Fish selling	2
10. Share cropping, business, daily labour and fish selling	3
11. Business, daily labour, and fishes selling	3
12. Agricultural labour,and Fish selling	2
13. Agricultural labour and Boat Worker	6
14. Daily labour and fish selling	15
Total	100

The respondents in their overall views about the programme have stressed the need for the programme and they have commented that it should be of longer period (Table-9).

TABLE-9
OVERALL COMMENTS ON THE PROGRAMME
BY THE FFW BENEFICIARIES

Comments:

- We can not even live hand to mouth by involving ourselves in this programme
- The programme is beneficial but the duration of the programme is very short; it should be increased.
- The amount of wheat given per day labourer should be increased.
- Only a very small portion of the poverty can be removed through this programme.
- We can work in the slack season. That is why it is very useful.
- Amount of wheat given as wage is not proper
- The wage labour ration of the programme is unfair.
- We do not actually know the wage rate.

In this study's theoretical perspective this programme falls in the category of 'entitlement'. This types of programmes only help to some extent for the survival of the beneficiaries and not their further development and savings.

Table -10 shows the distribution of the respondents (FFW beneficiaries) by their landholding patterns and their average yearly savings.

TABLE- 10
DISTRIBUTION OF FFW BENEFICIRIES BY LANDHOLDING
PATTERNS AND AVERAGE YEARLY SAVINGS:

LANDHOLDING GROUP	HAVE NO SAVING (NUMBER & %)	HAVE SAVINGS	
		NUMBER	AVERAGE TK/YEAR
0.00	41	4	3156.25
.01-.02	26	-	-
.21-.30	11	-	-
.31-.50	4	1	3650.00
.50+	10	3	5533.33
TOTAL	92	8	4109.37

It is seen that 92% of them have no saving at all; the other 8% have some saving but that can be related with land occupancy and other economically viable occupations. Lack of viable employment opportunity is the major cause of their poverty. Moreover, big family size also contributes to this end. The average family size of the respondents was 7.00 which is quite high compared to the average family for size in the country (Table-11).

TABLE- 11
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS FFW BENEFICIARIES
ACCORDING TO DEPENDENTS AND SAVINGS

NO.OF DEPENDENTS IN THE FAMILY	HAVE NO SAVINGS	HAVE SAVINGS	
		NUMBER	AVERAGE SAVINGS PER YEAR (IN TK)
LESS THAN 3	4	-	-
3-6	51	6	4379.17
7-10	34	2	4650.00
MORE THAN 10	3	-	-
TOTAL	92	8	4446.88

NOTE: AVERAGE NUMBER OF DEPENDENTS: 5.99 PERSONS.

But question remains how much impact this programme keeps on poverty. In Nabinagar Upazila a FFW beneficiaries get 4.93 Kg. of wheat per day. If converted into Taka the wage rate is equivalent to Tk.28.94 per day (at '87 price). Per capita expenditure required for recommended food intake of 2,122 cal/day/person and 1805 cal/day/person (hard core poverty) respectively are Tk.11.00 & 8.33. For an average family of 7 persons the cost comes to Tk.77 & Tk.58.31 respectively. (In our rural societies the average number of earners in FY 88 was 1.44 and under 1.3 for households below poverty line (HES,1988 P.39). So according to this calculation the programme leave the beneficiaries in the hard-core poverty zone.

One of the major objectives of the FFW programme was to develop the local governments specially the upazila, which strives for a integrated

development and in decentralized manner. A study has highlighted this inadequacy of the organizational arrangement. It has concluded that (a) there is the lack of adequate staff support to handle planning and implementation; (b) there is no long term planning scenario, especially for LIS (Compounded by year-by-year variability in wheat allotment to upazilas); and (c) there is the absence of complementary resources to support meaningful projects and programmes". In the Upazila Parishads a technical Committee helps the chairman Upazila Parishad in planning, monitoring and implementing the programme. PIC at union level virtually perform the job. On the average projects have been implemented in Nabinagar Upazila from 1985 onwards. Naturally small structure can not efficiently manage the projects. Monitoring and accountability is also not up to the mark, although rules and regulations are well defined. We have not studied the leakage of resources of the projects. A recently conducted study by GOB/Task force estimated leakages over 30% of the foodgrain aid in LISs. Due to illiteracy and ignorance of the workers the entitled food-grains did not reach the targetted beneficiaries. In Nabinagar Upazila majority of the respondent workers stated that they did not know the exact amount of wage entitlement. In this perspective also the impact of the programme is bound to be less as has been shown by data.

From the organizational arrangement at the Upazila level it will be seen that for the implemtnation of FFW programme a seperate structure has been created. It does not involve the total strcutre; it rather stands apart. This programme is not also viewed as part of the total development programme of the Upzila Parishad; it is not integrated with the yearly plans. It rather runs according to the convenience of availability of resources from the centre and is not integrated with other programmes. This has happend due to the prevalence of sectoral approach to development. Plan documents and studies have stresed the

need for integration of FFW schemes into mainstream development planning and change the sectoral approach of development to group based approach.

At the field level it has also been observed that there is no approach for sustained development of the FFW beneficiaries. The programme entitles the beneficiaries job opportunities for a specific period. For their sustained development these poor people need to be integrated with other developmental programmes, they need to be conscientized, their dependence on outside agents need to be lessened and finally severed, their capacity need to be built, so that they may be empowered to influence their own lives by themselves. No effort is on at this stage in the upazila system in this direction.

The study found that most of the FFW workers in Nabinagar are not enrolled in other programme or organization which may be helpful for their sustained development (Table-12).

TABLE-12
Distribution of beneficiary FFW respondents by types of enrolment in any other programmes/organisations:

A. Name of programme/organization enrolled in	No.of respondents: %
1. Comilla prashika	15
2. Krishi Samabaya Samity	10
3. Bittahyn Samabaya Samity	6
Total	31
B. No enrolment at all	69
Grand Total	100

Comilla Prosika, an NGO which is now working in Nabinagar Upazila is trying to organize these people in a very limited scale. Although 10% of the FFW are enrolled in KSS, there is little scope for their development, since most of these KSSs are dominated by big and middle farmers and the benefits out of the

programme do not virtually reach the poor. "Bittahyn Samabay Samity" which is a target group oriented programme and a part of upazila Parishad has also very limited coverage in Nabinagar Upazila. Hence, it is apprehended that the FFW programme is not effective in poverty alleviation, although it gives temporary relief to a limited number of poor people by generating employment in the lean season. Similar scepticism has also been expressed in a world Bank report which states that, "many questions abound about the usefulness of many FFW/LIS' in enhancing the development objectives of the Government."

FFW programme has also been viewed as a weapon in the hands of the rural elites to make their influences permanent. All the chairman of the Union Parishad of Nabinagar Upazila described FFW to be the major poverty alleviation programme in their respective unions and recommended for more of such programmes. The study team observed that the building of infrastructure and creation of employment opportunities for the poor in their area were not the only motivation behind this. Their effort to remain in power succeeds much by these programmes and they can influence public opinion by this programme. Interestingly, during the parliament election of February 1990, the government withdrew the powers of Chairmen of Upazila Parishad regarding issuance of DOs for withdrawal of wheat for FFW project, so that they can not influence the public opinion. Hence it will not be inappropriate to state that FFW programme intensifies and strengthens the existing power structure in rural Bangladesh which virtually hinders the sustained development of the poor.

Rural Poor Programme (RPP)

Bangladesh Rural Development Board (BRDB) is one of the agencies of the government engaged in rural development activities. With the changes of the government policies of rural development the functions of the organization have also changed. During the '70s and early '80s, its primary role was to promote

village based primary cooperatives (Krisi Samabay Samity -KSS) for self financed and self managed institutions to promote intensive irrigated agriculture through Cooperatives, to channel and ensure productive utilization of institutional credit through UCCA-KSS system, to encourage financially viable UCCA to diversify activities specially in the marketing of agricultural input and produce as a service to their members, and to arrange training for the cooperators. From the '80s it was observed that the poor landless farmers and agricultural labourers were mostly bypassed in this programmes and that has induced the BRDB to include another dimension in their activities -to encourage functional cooperatives for generation of income and employment for the rural poor. This programme is termed as Rural Poor Programme (RPP).

Main objectives of this programme are :

- (1) To mobilize and organize the landless and assetless rural poor into two-tier cooperatives of their own;and
- (ii) To provide training, credit and other inputs to the target population to facilitate income generation.

At the upazila level the RPP programmes are organized by upazila BRDB office which is a part of Upazila Parishad. Like two tier Krisi Samabay Samities "Bittahen Samabay Samities" (for male assetless people) and "Mahila Bittahen Samabay Samities" (for female assetless) are organized. The Upazila Rural Development Officer (URDO) and AURDOs work as catalytic agents to organize them. Training to the members are imparted and credit and other inputs are supplied from different projects made for this purpose. Presently RPPs are implemented under RD-2 (CIDA), RD-2 (IDA), RD-5, RD-9, RD-12, Women's Programme and NRDP-II Projects. The projects cover 429 upazilas out of 460 upazilas of the country.

In Nabinagar Upazila the RPP started in a very small scale during 1982-83, and was financed by the government. Later on in 1987; Nabinagar upazila was included in RD-2 Project.

Performance of RPP Nabinagar Upazila

Formation of samities for the assetless people is the first step towards their development. Table-1 shows the progress in the formation of samities in Nabinagar Upazila.

Table-1
Samities for the Assetless in
Nabinagar Upazila

	1985-861	1986-871	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90
No.of BSSs	20	23	24	24	26
No.of Members in the BSSs	807	859	859	889	913
No.of MBSSs	6	6	6	6	6
No.of Members in MBSSs	127	130	150	150	225

Although the data in Table-1 shows some progress in the formation of scoeties, the viability of these samities could not be enhanced over the years. BRDB classifies different samities in A, B, C & D categories taking into consideration a package of issues, like, loan repayment, capital formation, accounting, weekly meetings, Training, AGM, and coverage of the potential members etc. (Matrix-1). Table-2 shows the classification of the assetless samities in Nabinagar Upazila.

Matrix-1
BSS/MBSS Classification Criteria

No.	Subject	Condition	Scale(%)	Marks 1/
1.	Loan Repayment	Percent repayment of amount due during the year	100 30	40 0
2.	Capital Formation	Percent of shares and savings target reached 2/	75 25	10 0
3.	Accounting	All annual accounts completed and in order	yes no	10 0

4.	Weekly Meetings of BSS/MBSS	All due meetings held	50 20	10 0
5.	Training at UCCA	Percent of programmed classes attend by manager	50 15	10 0
6.	AGM	Meetings held as per cooperative rules	yes no	10 0
7.	Coverage	Percentage of eligible village households covered	50 20	10 0
Maximum Total Mark 3/				100

- 1/ Marks for achievement in between the limits indicated in the table should be proportionally reduced.
- 2/ Each BSS/MBSS members is targetted to save Tk.25 per year.
- 3/ For 'A' classification, the minimum requirement would be 60; for 'B' 50.

		Table-2 CLASSIFICATION OF BSS & MBSS				
		85-86	86-87	87-88	88-89	89-90
BSS	A	11	13	14	12	12
	B	9	6	7	8	8
	C	-	3	2	3	4
	D	-	1	1	1	2
MBSS	A	3	3	4	3	6
	B	3	2	2	2	1
	C	-	1	-	1	3
	D	-	-	-	-	-

For the purpose of the study data were collected from the primary societies-BSSs and MBSSs and their members to know the socio-economic background of the society members. Data were collected from 12 BSSs and 6 MBSSs and their members. In the random sampling 63 BSS (6.90% of the total) and 30 MBSS (13.33% of the total) members were included. Table-3 4,5,6,& 7 show the socio-economic background of the BSS/MBSS members. From the data it will be apparent that all of them are functionally landless and most of them are illiterate (57% in case of BSS & 57% in case of MBSS).

Table-3
Distribution of Respondents BSS/MBSS Members by
Landholding pattern

Land Ownership Group(in acre)	BSS Member	BSS Member	Total
0.00	38(60.32)	30(100.00)	68(73.12)
0.01-0.20	12(19.05)	-	12(12.90)
0.21-0.30	5(7.94)	-	5(5.38)
0.31-0.40	1(1.59)	-	1(1.08)
0.41-0.50	7(11.11)	-	7(7.53)
Total	63(100.00)	30(100.00)	93(100.00)

Note: Figures within the parenthesis indicate relative frequency. The total average landholding of 25 land owned respondents is 0.27 acres.

Table -4
Distribution of Respondents BSS-Members by occupation and
Age-Structure

Occupation	Age-Group(in year)					
	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 & above	Total
Share cropping	1	5	2	-	-	8(12.70)
Day labourer	2	10	11	2	2	27(42.86)
Small Business	3	8	5	2	1	19(30.16)
Service/Imamati	-	-	1	-	-	1(1.59)
Others	-	2	5	1	-	8(12.70)
Total	6	25	24	5	3	63
	(9.52)	(39.68)	(38.10)	(7.94)	(4.76)	(100.00)

Note : Figures within the parenthesis indicate relative frequency
the Average Age of the respondents is 38.81 years

Table-5
Distribution of Respondent MBSS-Members by occupation and Age-Structure

Occupation	Age Group (in year)					Total
	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 & Above	
House-Wife	10 (33.33)	11 (36.67)	5 (16.67)	3 (100.00)	1 (3.33)	30 (100.00)

Note : Figures within the parenthesis indicate relative frequency. The average age of the respondents is 34.1 years. The average age of the BSS & MBSS respondents together is 37.29 years.

Table-6
Distribution of Respondent BSS-Members by occupation and Educational Level

Occupation	Educational Group				Total
	Illiterate	I - V	VII - X	SSC	
Share Cropping	3	2	2	1	8(12.70)
Day Labourer	23	4	-	-	27(42.86)
Small Business	6	7	4	2	19(30.16)
Service/Imamati	-	1	-	-	1(1.59)
Others	4	4	-	-	8(12.70)
Total	36 (57.14)	18 (28.57)	6 (9.52)	3 (4.76)	63 (100.00)

Note: Figures within the parenthesis indicate relative frequency.

Table-7
Distribution of Respondents MBSS-Members by occupation and Educational Level.

Occupation	Educational Level				Total
	Illiterate	I - V	VI - X	SSC	
House-Wife	17 (56.67)	11 (36.67)	2 (6.66)	-	30 (100.00)

Note: Figures within the parenthesis indicate relative frequency.

In Nabinagar upazila the assetless Samities are not federated at the upazila level with any Upazila Central Bittahen Samabay Samity(UBSS). UCCA has two representatives from the BSSs and MBSSs. Nabinagar Upazila Central Cooperative Association is primarily dominated by the middle and big farmers (Table-8). The representatives of the assetless are not also really assetless; one of them the representative of BSSs has 0.50 acre of agricultural land, but his main occupation is business. The representative of the MBSSs is the wife of an employee of BRDB Office, Nabinagar. It is apprehended that not much progress could be achieved in the leadership among the assetless males and females.

Table-8
Composition of Nabinagar UCCA

Name & Position	Occupation	Appx. yearly income	Area of land owned	Percentage of income from Agriculture (Appx.)
1. Fool Miah Chairman	Agriculture	2,50,000	20 acres	70%
2. Rashid Ahmed Member	Business & Agriculture	54,000	4 acres	80%
3. Abdur Rashid Member	Business and Agriculture	45,000	3.50 acre	80%
4. Abndul Aziz	Agriculture	10,000	2.00 "	100%
5. Titu Miah Member	Agriculture	48,000	4.00 "	100%
6. Dr. Abdul Matin, Member	Medical Practitioner and agriculture	20,000	2.50 "	50%
7. Abdul Quader (representative of the Landless)	Small business and share cropping	12,000	.50 "	25%
8. Nayeb Ali Sarker	Agriculture	48,000	4 acres	100%
9. Abdul Mannan	"	50,000	"	100%

10. Shamsun Nahar Housewife
(MBSS
representative)

Source : Nabinagar UCCA.

The data collected regarding the socio-economic positions of the members of the managing committees of the BSS and MBSSs show that the relatively well-off people have been elected in these committees. (Table-9). Moreover, most of the managing committees are holding offices for 5 or more than 5 years. This indicates that not much progress has been achieved in the development of leadership among the assetless (Table-10).

Table-9
Background of the MC Members in terms of Average
Landholding, Average Annual income and percentage
share of income from Agriculture.

Organisational origin	Average Landholding	Average Annual income	Average Percentage share of income from agriculture
BSS	0.20	9800.00	29.25
MBSS	0.00	153.89	0.00
Total	0.13	6523.96	19.87

Respondents 109 MC members of 18 Samities.

Table - 10
Tenure of BSSs and MBSS
Managing Committees

Tenure (in year)	BSS	%	MBSS	%	Total	%
5 years	11	91.66	2	33.33	13	72.22
3 years	1	8.34	-		1	5.55
2 years	-		1	16.64	1	5.55
1 year	-		3	50.00	3	16.66
Total:	12	100%	6	100.00	18	100.00

The BSSs and MBSSs are organized in a manner in which the enlisted members have maximum scopes for participation in the decision making process. But for making them viable much vigilance and supervision is needed from the development agents. For the expansion of these organizations also the external agents can contribute a lot. Data regarding the development of institutions for the assetless in Nabinagar upazila show that not much progress has been achieved in this and the change-agents need to be persuasive in this regard.

Credit Profile

One of the major components of the RPP is the extension of credit to the assetless males and females for enabling them to carryout economic activities. It is expected that the credit will enable the poor people to generate employment for themselves and ultimately contribute to their socio-economic development. The credit profile of BSSs and MBSSs in the Nabinagar Upazila do not show encouraging results (Table-11).

Table-11
Credit Profile of BSSs & MBSSs in Nabinagar Upazila

	85-86	86-87	87-88	88-89	89-90
<u>BSS</u>					
1) Beef	1,50,538	1,07,538	1,63,538	1,63,588	1,31,168
Fattening					
a) Outstanding credit	2) Petty 1,10,915	2,13,665	2,02,665	2,01,665	1,68,186
(Purpose wise)	Trading				
3) Poultry	70,374	1,05,374	95,374	95,236	66,463
4) Others	81,522	92,452	78,186	78,186	57,616
b) Total Recovery	65,738	1,16,944	92,246	1,15,083	1,02,383
c) % of recovery	15.90	19.85	17.15	21.37	24.18
<u>MBSS</u>					
a) Outstanding credit	Petty 25,000	-	-	-	-
(purpose wise)	Trade				
b) Total Recovery	25,000	-	-	-	-
% of Recovery	100%	-	-	-	-

Source : Nabinagar UCCA.

From the data above it can be seen that the MBSSs are not receiving any credit from 86-87. The BSSs are also not receiving any loan from 1988-89. It was gathered from the BRDB Office, Nabinagar that in 1988-89 RD-2 & RD-12 were separated and new arrangement for loan disbursement was made. Sonali Bank (loan disbursing Bank) did not agree to disburse new loan to the BSSs without clearance from the Agrani Bank (former loan disbursing Bank) to the effect that total extended credit has been realized from the BSSs & MBSSs. Loan application was submitted in 1989.

Data collected from the BSS & MBSSs members show that none of the members are getting loan presently and average amount of credit received by BSS members is Tk. 996.27 (Table-12). National average is Tk.1054.00 (in 1990, August).

Table-12
Yearwise Distribution of Credit Recipient BSS/MBSS Members
and the Average Amount of Credit Received, 1985-86 to 1989-90.

Year	MBSS Members (all were Non-Loanee)	BSS Members		Average Amount of loan received/Taken (in Tk.)
		Non-Loanee	Loanee	
1985-86	30	39	24	1116.67
1986-87	30	35	28	801.76
1987-88	30	24	39	1066.67
1988-89	30	60	3	933.33
1989-90	30	63	0	0.00
Total Average				996.27

Note: Total number of respondents were 93. Among them 63 were BSS Members & 30 were MBSS Members.

From the data received from the BSS & MBSS members it was seen that most of the members became enlisted in RPP for generation of capital and self development through credit (Table-13). But that objective remained unfulfilled due to bad performance in recovery of loan and for lack of proper administrative management.

Table-13
Distribution of Respondents by Reasons
for being BSS/MBSS Member

Reasons	BSS	MBSS	Total	
			Actual	%
Generation of Capital & self development through receiving loan	58	38	88	94.62
To get training & self development	3	-	3	3.23
To get good help & self development	2	-	2	2.15
Total	63	30	93	100.00

This study showed that most part of the credit was utilized for small business. Most of the respondents (BSS members) opined that the credit was beneficial for them and out of 54 loanees only one responded that the credit was not economically viable.

Table-14
Distribution of Respondent BSS Members by Activities
performed through credit received

Activities Performed	Number of respondents	Relative Frequency	Cumulative Relative Frequency
Small Business	41	65.08	65.08
Beef Fattening & Poultry	3	4.76	69.84
Weaving	4	6.34	76.18
Boat Repairing	2	3.18	79.36
Stationery Shop	1	1.59	80.95
Cattle Rearing	2	3.18	84.13
Not in use	1	1.59	85.72
Non Loanee	9	14.28	100.00
Total	63	100.00	100.00

Note: Among 54 loanes only one respondent said that the credit was not economically viable. But the rest said that it was viable.

Training :

In the RPP programme once the assetless males and females are organized through formal or informal groups, they are provided with various

types of training for raising the level of awareness and developing skills. These include conscientization, leadership development, planning and management of schemes and development and improvement of skills and transfer of technology in a planned manner. The survey among 93 MBSS & BSS members showed that about 90% of the Samity members did not receive any training from the programme. (Table-15).

Table-15
Distribution of Respondents by Receiving
Training Through MBSS or BSS

Nature of Training received	BSS	MBSS	Total	
			Actual	%
Family Planning	3	-	3	3.23
Small Business	2	-	2	2.15
Vegetable cultivation	1	-	1	1.07
No Training received	57	27	84	90.32
Non-respondent	-	3	3	3.23
Total	63	30	93	100.00

Impact of RPP

RPP is one of the major programmes of the government formulated and implemented with the objective of empowerment of the poor. Institutional development, credit and training are its main components. Some NGOs and Grammen Bank programme have showed that with successful implementation of these components poverty alleviation programmes can achieve their objectives. In Nabinagar much need to be done in this line; the outside agents also have to be more vigilant and their supervision need to be intensified. For this study data was collected from 93 BSS & MBSS members; they were requested to give their overall opinion about RPP. Most of them responded that lack of credit is the main problem. (Table-16). It has been seen in other credit programmes that the

poor are creditworthy. It is also an asset like land. If the poor are supplied with credit they can find out viable economic activities for their self-employment and development. Nanbinagar upazila also could achieve much if the programme could have been implemented in proper manner. Much needs to be done in this line.

Table-16
Distribution of Respondent by overall comments about RPP

Comments	BSS	MBSS	Total	
			Actual	%
Cooperative System is very good but the govt.should extend more fund to form capital	18	-	18	17.65
Lack of capital	3	-	3	2.94
Long term loan will be very effective	1	-	1	0.98
Benefitted out of Samity	2	-	2	1.96
Lack of managerial skill	4	-	4	3.92
Hard to form capital through day labouring	2	-	2	1.96
Difficult to attend regular weekly meeting	2	-	2	1.96
Insufficient credit	3	-	3	2.94
No benefit other than formation of own capital	4	-	4	3.92
Loan is not repaid because of want of money	11	-	11	10.78
Helps self-development efforts; can not provide required employment	17	7	24	23.53
	1	-	1	0.98
Did not respond	4	23	27	26.48
Total	72	30	102	100.00

Respondents : 63 BSS & 30 MBSS members .
There were multiple responses.

Activities of Social Welfare Department

Social welfare activities is transferred subject to the Upazila Parishad and the Parishads carry out social welfare activities through the AUDP and Rural Social Services Programmes planned by the Department of Social Welfare. The main thrust of the community based programme run by the Department of Social Welfare is on raising the socio-economic standard of the disadvantaged and by-passed segment of population, viz. the landless, the unemployed and under-employed and destitute children and women through comprehensive and multidimensional community development programmes under its Rural Social Services and Municipal social services projects.

Nabinagar Upazila Parishad carries out social services programmes in three categories; namely (1) social service projects/programmes under Annual Upazila Development Plan, (2) Rural social service programme of the Department of Social Services and (3) EDM-DSS (Enfant du Monde-Department of Social Services) joint Project. Upazila Parishad allocates certain approved portion of its budgeted fund for carrying out socio-economic development works for the poor and disadvantaged people and Upazila Social Welfare office implements the projects undertaken through that fund. The second category of activities are departmental activities of social welfare department and they are also implemented through Upazila Social welfare office. EDM - DSS joint project is a special project of Department of Social Welfare named "Rural Family and Child Welfare Project" which cover 465 upazilas of the country. This project is financed by a Geneva-based NGO named Enfants du Monde (EDM) and Nabinagar Upazila is covered by it. Social Welfare office in Nabinagar Upazila Parishad implements all these programmes in the upazila.

All the projects and programmes of Social Welfare Department have some specific objectives and they mainly strive for socio-economic development of the poor and the disadvantaged group. Main objectives of projects/programmes of social welfare department are as follows :-

a) Promote comprehensive rural development using the village as a unit of development and within that giving special attention and assistance to the disadvantaged/by-passed community groups, such as, the out-of-school children, the youth, the women, the landless, adults, the handicapped and such others to improve their functional and economic capabilities, living conditions and thereby improving the quality of life of the villagers;

b) Provide skill training for increasing the income capabilities and productivity of un-employed and under-employed persons;

c) Promote employment and income generating activities in the rural areas;

d) Establish democratically functioning village - based organizations of different population groups (such as landless and near landless, adult persons, and unemployed youths, poor and destitute women, the children) and develop leadership among them and form village committees/village Executive Committees with representatives from different segment groups including occupational groups; help them to identify the problems, needs and resources of the village, plan and implement developmental activities to improve their socio-economic conditions;

(e) Organize target people identified through household socio-economic survey into functional groups, help promote leadership and provide opportunities through skill training and provide capital to enable them participate in productive and income earning activities;

f) Motivate the target people, particularly the fertile couple to keep the size of their families small with a view to raise the standard of their living and sustaining the same by adopting family planning practices;

g) The village Committee also serves as a forum for other government/Department/Agencies for transmission of their services/inputs, information and transfer of technology to the village people;

h) to assist the small and marginal farmers and other low-income occupational groups to organize in their respective segment groups. Programmes and projects in the upazila in social welfare sector are taken up and implemented keeping in view the aforementioned broad objectives. For carrying out activities in social welfare a complex organizational arrangement have evolved in which Upazila Parishad and Social Welfare office is linked with the government. The organizational arrangement and linkages can be seen below:

Organizational Linkages

Social Welfare Activities

Ministry of Social Welfare		1. Overall guidance, planning monitoring 2. Evaluation of Social welfare activities
EDM-Dhaka --- Department of Social Welfare		1.Planning,monitoring implementation of Department-programmes/projects 2.Coordination with Donors and monitor donor-Assisted project/programmes.
District level Deparatment of Social services		1.Monitoring and Coordination of the Programmes at district level.
Upazila Parishad		1.Under the overall guidance of Upazila Parishad implements Social welfare activities under AVDP.
Chairman --- UNO		2.Implements rural social services projects/programmes of department of social welfare.
Upazila Social Welfare Officer		3.Implements EDM sponsored Rural Family and child welfare projects. 4.Submits reports/ returns to Upazila Parishad and deparatment of social Welfare.
Upazila Social Services Officer - 1 Field Sypervisor - 1 Trade Instructor Union Social Workers		

From the broad objectives of the Social Welfare Departmental activites it will be apparent that it strives to carry out multisectoral activites mainly targetted for the upliftment of the poor and disadvantaged groups in the rural areas. As such the components of the programe has become large in number. In Nabinagar upazila social welfare office implemnts projects'and programmes with the following components:

Sponsor	Component	Main Projects/Projects
Upazila Parishad (AUDP)	Human Resources Development	1.Type writting Training project.
	Development of the children	2.Cottage Insdustries Training(Bamboo & Cane)
		3.Training on Wood work.
		4.Training on Garments / wool knitting
		5.Training on Music for Children.
		6.National Children Compe- tition on Music
		7.Seasonal Competition for the Children for the Mental & Physical Development.
		8.National Competition on Islamic Culture.
Social Welfare Department	Family Development Centre	1.Construction of Family Development Centres.
	Socio-Economic Schemes	2.Revolving fund and economic activities through them.
	Handicrafts(HRD)	
	Family Planning Programme	3.Training Programmes on garments and making and cane & Bamboo works.
	Primary Health care	4.Distribution of medicines and Family Planning devices.
		5.Organing women in groups and establishment of mother centre
EDM	Family Development centre	Rural Family and Child Welfare Project
	Socio-Economic Schemes.	
	Handicrafts	
	Family Planning Programmes	
	Primary Health Care	
	Community Development Services.	
	Post Flood Rehabilitation	

Performance of Social Welfare Activities

As mentioned earlier the social welfare office plans and implements projects/programmes which are directly, indirectly and remotely related to poverty alleviation. In Nabinagar Upazila, Social welfare office has constructed 2 Community Centres and has established 64 Mother Centres (with 1,419 members). It has also established 3 Family Development Centres under the EDM/RSS Project. These Family development Centres are used for providing office space for USW to store materials for the project, to provide a common meeting place for villagers and to provide short training. These activities help the poor villagers to organize themselves and to carry out Poverty Alleviation Programmes.

This department also carries out Human Resources Development programmes in which the poor youth and women are beneficiaries. The performance of Nabinagar Upazila Parishad in HRD can be seen in Table - 1

Table - 1

Performance of HRD Programme of Social Welfare Office of
Nabinagar Upazila

A. AUDP

Project	1985-86		1986-87		1987-88		1988-89		1989-90	
	Amount spent	No. of benefi- ciaries	Amount spent	No. of Benefic- iaries	Amount spent	No. of Benefic- iaries	Amount spent	No. of Benefic- iaries	Amount spent	No. of benefi- ciaries
1. Type-writing training(youth)	-	-	67,800	55	19,040	16	-	20	5,790	58
2. Training on Cane & Bamboo works (youth)	-	-	84,700	18	20,900	26	2,700	10	20,000	8
3. Wood Works(youth)	-	-	-	-	150,360	19	-	-	-	-
4. Embroidary, Garments - & Wood Knitting (women)	-	-	-	-	150,000	29	25,000	20	-	-

B. RSS Programme

1. Training on Garments(womens)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	93
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2. Training on Cane & Bamboo works (women)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12
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C. EDM/RSS Project

Training of Rural Women on child care	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	300
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The major project/programmes that Upazila Social Welfare Office implements which directly contributes for poverty alleviaaiton of the disadvantaged groups of people is Socio-Economic Scheme. In order to help the most needy families in the rural areas, to help them to augment their income and improve their social condition "Family Development Funds" are arranged (under RSS & EDM/RSS Projects). Their objectives are to promote a welfare oriented programme for poor families (target groups having income below the poverty line) by providing supervised credit facilities and forming the village capital as "revolving fund" with 10% ever service charge. It is expected that such a community self-management fund can create employment opportunities by motivating the underused and unused family labour.

The performance of this scheme in Nabinagar Upazila (both under RSS & RSS/EDM Program) can be seen in Table-2.

Table-2
Performances of Socio Economic Schemes
Nabinagar Upazila

RSS Programme

Description	No. of Scheme	Investment (Tk.)	Amount Due for Realiz- ation	Amount Realiz ed	% of Realiz- ation	No. of Benefi- ciaries
Main Investment	277	1,46,000	1,60,600	1,59,850	99.50%	1385
Ist Reinvestment	306	1,56,500	1,72,150	1,63,180	95%	1530
2nd Reinvestment	263	1,34,300	99,860	83,345	83%	1315
3rd Reinvestment	96	54,000	34,900	26,500	76%	480

RSS/EDM Programme

Main Investment	391	2,10,000	2,31,000	2,25,150	97%	1935
Ist Reinvestment	269	1,40,500	1,54,550	1,50,550	97%	1345
2nd Reinvestment	69	35,000	38,500	38,500	100%	345

In both these two programmes although realization position are very good the reinvestment position show declining trends. In every reinvestment the amount declined and number of beneficiaries also declined. It is apprehended that lack of proper supervision is the main cause for this. In our rural areas, there is high demands for credit facilities; the experiences of some NGOs and particularly Grameen Bank have shown this. It has also been seen that if the poor are supplied with credit, they can employ themselves in gainful economic activities and improve their conditions. The performance of this programme in Nabinagara Upazila shows that it could not keep much impact in this line.

However, in other indirect programmes like group formation, family planning & Health Care programmes and community development services the Social Welfare Office has shown significant achievement.

Rural Works Programme (RWP)

Rural Works Programme is one the oldest programmes sponsored by the government for poverty alleviation; the programme was launched in the then East Pakistan in the early sixties in line with the objectives of Comilla Model of integrated rural development. The main objectives of RWP are, (a) creation of employment opportunities for the unemployed and under-employed landless labourers and marginal and small farmers and women, (b) creation of rural infrastructure; and (c) building up local level planning and implementation capability through participatory approach.

Main components of the programme are—construction and improvement of roads and bridges, excavation and reexcavation of irrigation canals/channels, embankments, construction of buildings(Workshop, godown, UTDC, staff quarter, UCCA Building, Union Parishad Office,etc), development of rural hats and bazars.

Performance of Nabinagar Upazila Parishad in RWP is given in Table-1.

Table -1
RWP Performance in Nabinagar Upazila

FY	No.of Projects	Alloted Amount (in Taka)	Utilized (in Taka)	Avchievement %
1985-86	20	4,63,455	4,24,422	79.20
1986-87	21	4,50,000	3,24,422	72.09
1987-88	21	4,23,150	2,81,072	66.42
1988-89	22	3,85,650	2,84,342	73.73
1989-90	18	2,34,381	2,81,852	120.25
Total		19,56,635	15,85,101	81.01

Source : Nabinagar Upazila Parishad

Different studies have pointed out that the present organisation arrangement is not adequate for successful implementation of the programme; it is not integrated with rural works programmes; a high percentage of funds is misappropriated through over-reporting of earth work done and underpayment of labour. To make the RWP a meaningful programme for poverty alleviation these issues need to be taken into consideration.

CHAPTER-IX

Issues and Options

Development of upazila parishad as an institution of poverty alleviation is dependent upon the successful implementation of the poverty alleviation projects and programmes. After nearly eight and half years of their establishment Upazila Parishads have gained much experience in poverty alleviation. Government intervention still remain the major intervention in poverty alleviation and they are mostly implemented through the Upazila Parishads.

Some issues which have emanated from these experiences in PAPS through upazila parishad is delineated below :-

1. Coverage of Targetting of the PAPS;
2. Graduation;
3. Participation;
4. Uses of Resources;
5. Economic Self-sufficiency;
6. Development of Grass Root Level Organization for the Poor;
7. Selected Approach vs People Centred Approach to Development;
8. AUDP.

1. Coverage and Targetting of the PAPS.

It is often observed that the PAPS have very limited coverage both in the public and private sectors. This happens due to the resource constraints compared to the massive poverty. In this study an effort has been made to assess how much people are directly affected or touched by PAPS in Nabibagar Upazila. Only the projects and programmes which directly helps the poor in their

employment generation, conscientization, skill development or from which they directly receive resources have been taken into account (Table-1).

Table-1
Coverage of PAPs (Directly targetted to the poor) administered through Upazila Parishad.

Name of the Programme/Project		Average yearly No. of Beneficiaries (1985-90)	Comments:
1. AUDP (Relief)			One time relief at the time of disaster/calamities.
2.	FFW LIS	7000	64 days of emplyment in a Year. Throughout the year employment Appx. 64 days of employment in a year.
	RMP	315	
	PMR	670	
3.	RPP BSS	865	Members are enlisted in the programme; they receive credit & training
	MBSS	156	
4.	Cluster Village	14	Land Assets received; will be supplied with agricultural land and other services.
5.	VGDP	2105	Beneficiaries received income (31.25 kg wheat monthly)for 2 years; In 1988-89 a special programme for 7158 women were administered.
6.	Social welfare	AUDP (HRD)	Training in different trades
	RSS	(HRD)	
	EDM/RSS	(HRD)	
Seco Economic programme	RSS	1778	Credit received for economic activities
	RSS-EDM	1208	
Total		14,755	

This in turn affect the lives of $14,755 \times 5.83$ (Household size) = 86,022 persons.

Source: Data collected and compiled for this study.

From the Table it will be observed that FFW programme is still the major PAP in the rural areas. In this calculation there are duplications and omissions. For example, the beneficiaries of the cluster village are at the same time members of a BSS. The number of beneficiaries in RWP could not be assessed. This calculation (in Table-1) gives a rough estimate to the interventions made by the government. The PAPs affect roughly 14,155 persons in Nabiganar Upazila. The persons are mostly heads of household. The average household size in the rural areas is 5.83; so it can be said that PAPs in Nabiganar affect the lives of 86,999 people. According to the calculation of this study the population of Nabiganar stands at 4,38,146 in 1990; as such it can be said that PAPs in Nabiganar have at least affected and touched 20% of the bottom population.

But much more efforts need to be taken to bring the poverty stricken people out of the vicious circle of poverty. There are scopes for increasing the RPP and cluster village programme. The objectives of the AUDP also need to be reformulated to benefit the poor in increased member. Other programme-FFW, VGDP & RSS are dependent on availability of resources from the government. Their increase will naturally help alleviate poverty in increased manner.

2. Graduation:

In an ideal situation it is expected that the PAPs would graduate to higher stages and ultimately empower the people so that they may influence their own lives. In our theoretical frame-work the programmes and projects fall in following categories:-

Dole	Entitlement/ conscientiza- tion	Asset Distribution/ Formation Redis- tribution/Forma- tion	Empowerment/ Capacity building
1. Relief fund (AUDP) +	FFW +	Cluster village Programme ____	
VGD +	RWP + RPP ---- Test Relief +	RPP ---- RSS ----	

The programmes indicated by (---) shows potentialities in graduation; but the programme indicated with (+) do not show any graduation.

For example relief fund is distributed at the time of calamities and disasters. No effort is taken after that for the development of disaster-affected people. In VGD programme although there is scopes for asset formation through savings, the programme performance do not show that they have beocme helpful for sustained development of the beneficiaries. The beneficiaries of the RWP, FFW and Test Relief remain in the poverty trap since no or insignificant efforts are taken for their graduation. In the design features RPP, cluster village & RSS programmes show some potentialities for graduation and ultimately capacity building of the poor, but performance of Nabinagar Upazila Parishad is not significant in this regard. Efforts need be taken for their better performances. The design features of the AUDP, VGD, FFW should be reformulated to ensure their graduation.

3. Participation

It is desired that in PAPs participation of the beneficiaries be ensured in both planning, implementation, monitoring, evaluation and in the

receipt of benefits. Matrix I shows the nature of participation in PAPs. From the matrix it will be observed that although the poor, landless and disadvantaged groups receive benefits, they and their representatives' participation in other stages are not significant. Government sponsored PAPs are essentially planned, implemented, monitored and evaluated by the government officials. In AUDP and RPP their participation is significantly greater.

This issue has also been highlighted in the Fourth Five Year Plan. It goes on to say that ----" The service delivery system in Bangladesh seems to be significantly biased against the poor and the disadvantaged. This is both because (i) those who operate the system are not sufficiently motivated to go to the poor and the disadvantaged, and (ii) at the receiving end the poor and the disadvantaged do not have the organizational strength to get better services delivered to them by the administration; and " There are large number of projects particularly in the social sector of the public sector which have been designed primarily to benefit the rural poor (such as health, family planning, education etc) but because these projects have not provided for adequate involvement of the local community, their performance particularly in terms of their impact on the beneficiary groups have been far less than satisfactory."(1)

The 4th Five Year Plan stresses increased involvement of the people & their community, strengthening of the organization of the poor and reorientation of the government officials. It is hoped that these strategies will increase the effectiveness of the PAPs.

Participation in PAPs

Name of the project/programme	Planning programming	Implementation	Monitoring	Evaluation	Beneficiaries
Annual Upazila Development Plan	Upazila Parishad	Upazila Parishad	Upazila Parishad, D.C., M/O. LGDR&C.	M/O. LGDR&C	People in General of Upazila; only in some relief & social welfare projects assetless people, youth & disadvantaged women are benefitted
FFW, Programme & Taser Relief	Directorate of Relief and Rehabilitation (DRR) Upazila Parishad	P.I.C. constituted with the chairman/members of Union Parishads	Upazila Parishad CARE, WFP, DRR.	DRR, Donors	87% landless; rest are marginal farmers
RPP	BRDB	UCCA	UCCA, BRDB	BRDB	Landless Males & Females (100%)
Cluster village	Upazila Revenue Office	Upazila Revenue office & UZP.	D.C., Land Reforms Council.	Land Reform Council	Assetless People (100%)
Vulnerable Group Development programme (VGDP)	DRR UZP U.P.	Union project Implementation	UZP, Dist VGD Committee, DRR	DRR	Distress women & children (100%)
Programmes of social welfare Deptt. & Mother & Child care project.	Department of social welfare & UZP	UZP and social welfare office	Department of social welfare	Department of social welfare.	Assetless people poor mothers & children.

4. Use of Resources

Proper use of resources surely increase the effectiveness of PAPs. How properly funds and resources are utilized has not been studied regarding all the programmes in Nabinagar Upazila. But studies have shown that in different programmes administered by Upazila Parishads, there exists linkages of funds and resource. For example, a study group estimated that in FFW (LIS) programme 30% of the resources are misappropriated. The study shows that at least 25% of

resources of VGDP is syphoned out and do not reach the beneficiaries. Proper monitoring and fixing of accountability can increase the effectiveness of the VGD & FFW programme.

5. Economic Self Sufficiency

For making Upazila Parishad a sustainable and viable organization it needs to be developed as a economically self-sufficient organization. But it has been observed that PAPs are mostly sponsored by the government & donors and the Upazila Parishad has not been able to generate sufficient resources out of their own efforts to carry out PAPs. Table-2 shows the sponsors, quantity of resources received and generated for PAPs. .pa

Table-2
Resources received by & Generated in the Nabinagar Upazila Parishad.

Programme project	Sponsor	Agerage yearly quantity of Resources (1985-86 to 1989-90)	
AUDP	Government	Tk.	40,11,532
	Upazila Parishad	Tk.	11,20,100
FFW(LIS)	Government	Tk.	79,84,974
PMR		Tk.	5,35,500 *
RMP		Tk.	27,21,600 *
Test Relief		Tk.	16,72,180
RPP & UCCA	Government	Tk.	2,26,099
	UCCA	Tk.	8,56,340 *
Social Welfare	Government(RSS-EDM)	Tk.	3,90,000
VGDP	Government		23,71,268

Total 2,18,89,593

* Indicate one year's figures

This calculation excludes inflow of resources channelised through sectoral programmes/projects from the centre.

From the data it will be observed that PAPs are financed mostly by the government. Only 9% of the resources are generated within the system itself. This dependence might jeopardize the philosophy of decentralized administration. To overcome this problem more resources have to be mobilized within the system and at the same time a mechanism has to be evolved for sharing of resource with the centre.

It goes without saying that success and failures of projects/programmes largely depend on the participation of the local people. If adequate resources are not generated locally the perpetual dependence on external resources will not be effective for the sustainable development of the people and their empowerment.

6. Development of Grass root level Organization for the poor

It has been highlighted and stressed in different studies that the development of the grassroot organization for the poor is a prerequisite for their capacity building and empowerment. To this end attempts have been made for formation of BSS, MBSS, cooperatives under RSS and other multipurpose and multi-tier cooperatives. The experiences of the Nabinagar Upazila show that not much progress has been achieved in this line. Moreover, the organizational capability and viability is dependent upon the realization of credit extended to the cooperatives. Realization of credit extended to the BSS is not satisfactory in Nabinagar Upazila (it never exceeded 25%). MBSS are not also receiving credit now. In RSS programmes although realization position is very good, reinvestment and number of beneficiaries shows declining trend. Multi-purpose multi-tier cooperatives are virtually dead.

Comilla Prosika (an NGO) is engaged in socio-economic development of the poor in Nabinagar Upazila. They also extend credit and organise the poor in

cooperatives. By 1990 Comilla Prosika has organized 30 male and 15 female cooperatives and extended credit in 41 projects (long & short term). Credit realization is nearly 100%.

Naturally if one compares the performance of Prosika with RPP, general conclusion would be that the NGOs are more effective in building and developing grass-root level organizations for the poor and their sustained development.

However, the development agents need to be more vigilant and active in the organizational development. Government programmes may share the experiences of the NGOs in design and delivery features of PAPs.

It has also been observed that the cooperatives are captured by the relatively rich farmers and the representatives of the assetless in the UCCA are not also their true representatives. The assetless should have their own cooperatives where they may take decision about themselves for their socio-economic development.

7. Sectoral Approach Vs. People Centred Approach to Development

The planning process in Bangladesh is dominantly guided by sectoral approach. Different sectors are allotted funds in the plans through which the sectoral administrative structure make interventions. But in every development process 'people' should be placed at the centre; they should be the concern of all development efforts. From Matrix I it will be observed that planning is made at the top and people's participation is very low in the planning process.

The Fourth Five Year Plan has proposed a different paradigm for the planning process. The plan has stressed the following strategies

"(1) Decentralized participatory planning with village as the initiator of development activities, union as the basic unit for preparation of village plan and upazila as the coordinating unit for such plans; (2) Intergration of group based with sector based approach for development planning; and (3) Intergration of the decentralized participatory planning with macro-economic planning". (2)

Upazila Parishad can rightly fulfil its mandate and establish itself as an institution for the development of the people if the above mentioned strategies are followed.

"CLUSTER VILLAGE"

The movement for establishment of "Cluster villages" named "Operation Thikana", for settling the poorest of poor started in early 1988. Increased pauperization of the rural poor and their migration to the urban centres prompted the government to take steps for rehabilitating the poor in government khas land and to make them self reliant through promoting and supporting income generating and social welfare activities. The components of the programme includes distribution of khas lands to the landless families for homestead and agriculture, establishment of houses for them, enlistment of the beneficiaries in different cooperatives and help them with credit and employment. The government was very much keen about the programme; much political and administrative thrust was given to make the programme successful. By the end of June 1990, 568 cluster villages were established in the country and about 21,000 families were settled and benefitted from the programme.

The programme was a part of the land reform policy of the government and the Upazila Parishads were integrated in the programme. The chart below show the organizational arrangement for implementation of the programme.

Organizational Arrangement of Cluster Village Programme

National Level Land Reform Council Headed by Hon'ble President	1. Overall Policy guidance 2. Monitoring & Evaluation
District Level Task Force headed by Deputy Commissioner	1. District level Planning & Monitoring
Upazila level Implementation & Supervision Committees	1. selection of the beneficiaries by a committee headed by chairman, Upazila Parishad. 2. Executive Committee headed by U.N.O. (other members, are AC(land), P.I.O., PHE, UP chairman, Ward member, beneficiaries-representative (1), Primary school teacher) implements the programme. 3. Upazila Supervising Committee supervises and monitors the programme (all Upazila Parishad officers are members, Upazila parishad chariman is the adviser and local M.P. is the patron)

During the study (in January 1991) in Nabinagar Upazila cluster village "Uddipan" was under implementation in North Laxmipur of Krisnanagar Union. The Cluster Village" was not formally inaugurated till Jauary 1991. The beneficiaries (15 families) were given tin-roofed houses in the clustered village and 14 of them took possession. The agricultural land that were earmarked for them were not delivered to the beneficiaries. From the government 26.88 acres of land were earmarked for the cluster village of which 3.75 acre was used for homestead and pond, and a graveyard; rest 22.25 acre of khas land

in different places were earmarked for these families as agricultural land. 800 maunds of wheat was used for excavating the pond attached to the village and for levelling of the ground. Taka 68,155.35 and 30 bundles for C.I. sheet allocated by the government was used for construction of the houses. Prosika Comilla committed to construct 15 sanitary latrines in the cluster village but that was yet to be completed.

The beneficiaries of the programme were given 4 young mehgani, 3 young coconut trees and Tk. 25/- each for tree plantation and that was duly performed.

Following is the list of the beneficiaries of the "Cluster Village Uddipan"

List of beneficiaries cluster Village - Uddipan, Nabinagar Upazila.		Amount of land Allocated (acre)
1.	Abdul Mannaf	1.58
2.	Lal Miah	1.55
3.	Syeb Ali	1.60
4.	Pariskarennesa	1.50
5.	Mosaraf Ali	1.61
6.	Hamdu Miah	1.66
7.	Idris Ali	1.88
8.	Khona Miah	2.00
9.	Absaruddin	1.09
10.	Samir Uddin	2.00
11.	Abdullah	2.00
12.	Zulfu Haque	1.70
13.	Abdul Barek	1.65
14.	Sohag Miah	1.62
15.	Mohammad Ali	1.75

All these families were floating people having no homestead at all. They came from different villages of krisnanagar Union and the selection committee selected them on the basis of extreme needs of these families. The following two tables shows the previous address of the beneficiaries and their accommodation before coming to the cluster village : (Table 1 & 2)

Table-1
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY THEIR ADDRESS OF ORIGIN

Name of Village:	Number of respondent from Krishna Nagar Union
Gopal Nagar	1
North Laskmipur	8
Daulatpur	1
Shitarampur	1
Krishna Nagar	2
Thana Knadi	1
Total	14

(Source: Data collected from the beneficiaries)

Table-2
ARRANGEMENT OF SHELTER BEFORE JOINING CLUSTERED VILLAGE:

1.	In the house of Brother	1
2.	In the house of Son-in-law	1
3.	In Maternal Uncles House	2
4.	In paternal Uncles House	3
5.	In the house of neighbours.	7
		14

(Source: Data collected from the beneficiaries)

The beneficiaries who have been given houses in the cluster village live in absolute poverty and most of them are day-labourers (12). Out of 14 family heads only two are engaged in part-time professions like ayurvedic treatment and village mid-wifery. The average family size of the beneficiaries is 5.14.

For making the beneficiaries self reliant , they were enlisted in Bittahyn Samabaya Samity programme. During the survey 12 of them were found enlisted in the programme and they were making thrift deposits although no economic activities were being carried out by them through the cooperatives and no credit was extended to them.

Impact of the Programme

Compared to other upazilas the performance of Nabinagar Upazila in terms of establishment of cluster village may be termed not upto the mark. Upto June 1990, it could not implement a single cluster village; even after the passing of 6 to 7 months of the new financial year (1990-91), the previously under taken project was incomplete.

The cluster village is a development programme which not only gives legal rights to the homeless to possess a house and agricultural lands, it also helps them through other programmes to make themselves self-reliant. But resources for this programme is very scarce and for this the coverage is obviously very minimum. The "Uddipan" cluster village has only covered 14 families which is extremely negligible compared to the total landless families of the upazila. In Nabinagar Upazila there are 2063.58 acres of Khas land and if allotment is made at the present rate (1.79 acres per person), 1152 Homeless families can be accommodated. But that also depends on availability of appropriate lands for establishment of cluster villages. The beneficiaries have positive views about the programme. Their opinion can be seen in Table 3.

Table-3

BENEFICIARY OPINION ABOUT THE CLUSTER VILLAGE PROGRAMME:

- a very successful programme for the homeless (4)
- got shelter and social status (6)
- got mental peace since got a shelter (5)
- Local people in the selection committee hindered the selection procedure (1)

Note:- 4 persons did not respond; numbers within parenthesis indicate number of responses. Multiple responses were given.

If the programme moves in the intended direction i.e. if the beneficiaries are given agricultural land and efforts are taken to build their capacity through economic activities and creation of employment, the programme will obviously keep a lasting impact on the lives of these people.

But it is apprehended that the programme may not move smoothly as desired. During the survey when the researchers of this study discussed the matter with the villagers, they opined that the government was extremely generous to the beneficiaries of the cluster village. They also said that they would resist the handing over of possession of the khas land to cluster-village members. The selection of the site of the cluster village was not also liked by the villagers. They said that the project was implemented in a graveyard and a playground.

However, it is always found that in a programme of this nature where the poorest of poor get benefit the local power structure resists. For this reason the landless were accommodated in a contiguous land so that they can withstand the pressure. It remains to be seen what course the programme takes in future.

Vulnerable Group Development Programme (VGDP)

Vulnerable Group Development Programme (VGDP) was established in 1975 as a relief programme (former name vulnerable Group Feeding programme (VGF) for providing wheat and other commodities for the supplementary feeding of nutritionally vulnerable mothers and their children. Over the period the focus of the programme has changed a bit and emphasis has been placed on rehabilitation and development of the vulnerable women through savings, training and economic activities.

Main objectives of the programme are to, (a) prevent deterioration of the nutritional situation among the distressed groups of women and children through provision of food as an income transfer; and (b) to initiate a process of rehabilitation by providing food aid with selected health services, literacy and other HRD Programmes.

In concrete terms the programme aims at (1) providing income transfer to the female beneficiaries; (2) creating income generating opportunities combined with savings and credit, (c) increasing income earning capacity and capability of the beneficiaries and (d) to convey basic health and food related information to beneficiaries and to increase their food intake.

VGD programme consists of 3 sub projects of which distribution of wheat to the distressed women through pourasava/Union VGD centres is the major component. The following Table (Table-1) shows the structure of beneficiaries of VGD programme in FY 1988.

Table-1
VGD Programme

Component	Share of total resources	Coverage	Duration & Type of support	No. of Beneficiaries
Pourasava/Union VGD centres	83.5	85 pourasavas 4,400 Union	31.25 Kg/wheat monthly for 2 years	457,000 women
Women Training centres(W.T.C)	4.8	275 centres	31.25 Kg/wheat monthly for 1 year.	28,000 women
Institutional feeding centres (IFC)	3.3	620 centres	Daily ration for children upto 18 years of age. 330grm wheat, 40grm pulses, 20 grm veg. oil.	60,000 Children
Credit fund (a) BRAC poultry program.	1.3	16 upazilas (144 Unions)	Loans for 1 year	26,900 (Target)
(b) Regular VGD Credit programme		5 Upazilas (10 unions)	Loans for 1 year	2,500 (targets)
Other (including built in emergency reserve & overhead)	7.1	-	-	According to need

Source: WFP(VGDP. TXT.3/7/88).

From the table it will be apparent that only the pourasava/Union VGD centre component covers the whole of Bangladesh; other programmes are specially designed and implemented for special areas and target groups. A recently added dimension of this programme is voluntary savings by the VGD beneficiaries to the tune of Tk. 20/- per month for accumulation of capital for income generation activities after the termination of the programme. A complex organizational arrangement has been made for planning, monitoring, implementation and evaluation of the programme. The programme is primarily administered by the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation (MRR) and the Directorate under it.

Upazila Parishad is the focal point of administration of the programme at the grassroot level, which virtually approves the list of the beneficiaries, issues D.Os for delivery of wheat from the CSD/USD on the basis of monthly allocation and monitors the programme.

Organization Structure:
Vulnerable Group Development Programme

VGD Central Coordination Committee(CCC)
Chairman-Minister in charge of Relief Member/Secretary-Secretary Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation Other member-7: secretaries of relevant ministries.

1. Policy formulation
2. Coordination among different ministries & agencies
3. Overall monitoring & Implementation.

VGD Working committee
Chairman -DG(DRR)
Member/Secretary-Director DRR
Representatives of relevant Ministries, Agencies & NGOs

1. Execution of the policy of CCC
2. Assist. Upazila & Union Parishad Committees to develop packages of training & income generating activities.
3. Assist. Institutions to expand activities in vocational training, strengthen health nutrition & food management
4. Coordination at field level,.

District VGD Committee
Chairman-Deputy commissioner, Member Secretary-DRRO other member:- 11 relevant department officer & 5 NGO representatives.

1. Coordination of the programme at district level.

Upazila VGD Committee
Chairman-Chairman, Upazila Parishad, Vice /Chairman_UNO Member/Secretary PIO , Other members-Relevant departmental Heads all UP chairman 5 Nominated member including NGOs.

1. Supervise the implementation of the programme at Upazila level.
2. Selection of chairmen of VGD project Implementation Committee.
3. Selection and approval of VGD beneficiaries.
4. Issuance of D.Os
5. Submission of report returns/Monitoring.

Union Project Implementation Committee
Chairman-Chairman, UP Member-/Secretary-UP Secretary other Members: UP members, Representative of Govt. Agencies women representatives & representatives of VGD programme beneficiaries.

1. Implementation of the programme at union level
2. Submission of reports/returns through chairman Upazila Parishad

Performance of the Programme

In Nabinagar Upazila only Union VGD centres are in operation, other components are not being implemented. The following table (Table-2) shows the performance of the programme in Nabinagar Upazila - the amount of wheat disbursed, number of beneficiaries and their savings.

Table-2
VGD PORGRAMME BENEFICIARIES IN NABINAGAR UPAZILA.

	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90
Amount of wheat dis-bursed(in MT)	196.875	261.75	261.75	272.25 & 894.75 (Special)	272.25
No. of beneficiaries	525	698	698	726 & 7158 (Special for 4 months)	726
Amount of savings(In TAKA)	-	1,67,520	1,67,520	1,58,533	1,58,554

Source: Upazila Parishad , Nabinagar.

From the above table it will be apparent that the number of beneficiaries has not increased much through the period, although needs were faced for expanding the programme. The size of the programme essentially depends on the allocation from the centre.

For the purpose of this study to review whether the resources reach the target population and whether they receive the allotted amount of resources and to analyse other related issues a survey was conducted among 44 beneficiaries (nearly-6.06) of the programme who received wheat through this programme for 2 years.

It was found that 42 beneficiaries (95%) had no land at all and 2

beneficiaries owned family agricultural land of .30 acre and .07 acres only. Virtually all of them were functionally landless. Their occupational pattern (as per their statement) gave the following picture: (Table-3)

Table-3
Occupational Patterns of the VGD Beneficiaries

Occupation	No.of beneficiaries	%
Maid servant	16	36.36
House Wife	7	15.91
Begging	2	4.55
Katha Sewing	1	2.27
Occassional Employment/ mainly survival upon the help of neighbours	6	13.64
Old/Unable to work	12	27.27
	44	100.00

Table-4 shows the distribution of the respondent VGD beneficiaries by number of dependents in their families.

Table-4
Distribution of Respondent VGD-Beneficiaries by Number of Dependents in the Family

Dependents Group	Frequency	Relative Frequency
0	5	11.36
1-2	15	34.09
3-4	11	25.00
5-6	13	29.55
Total:	44	100.00

Impact of the Programme:

It is often observed that the allotted amount of resources in this programme do not reach the beneficiaries. A 1983 WFP survey concluded that an

average VGD beneficiary was receiving only 54% of her wheat entitlement (i.e. 16.88 kgs). The situation improved somewhat in 1985, when the beneficiaries reported to have received 66% of the entitlement. This study which was conducted among 44 beneficiaries in Nabinagar Upazila showed a much better situation. In the first & second years of the programme the beneficiaries received monthly 23.73 kg (76%) & 23.32 kg (74.62%) of wheat respectively. Their Voluntary monthly saving rates are also quite satisfactory; the members monthly saving rates were Tk. 25.33 & 25.24 respectively for the 1st & 2nd years.

From the survey conducted it was apparent that although the first objective of the programme-transfer of income to the women beneficiaries were achieved to a satisfactory scale, others, like, creation of income opportunities through saving & credit, increase of income earning capacity & capabilities of the distress women & convey of basic health & food related information - were not at all achieved.

The saving component was added to the programme to ensure the graduation of the vulnerable women to a better socio-economic position and to ensure their sustainable development. This objective has not been achieved to any significant extent in this programme in Nabinagar Upazila. Some forced saving had generated through the programme but due to lack of proper planning and monitoring of the programme savings could not be utilized for useful economic activities. Table-5 shows the activities done through savings.

Table-5

Distribution of Respondent VGD-Beneficiaries by Activities Performed through Savings generated from the Programme

Activities through the savings	No. of responses	Relative frequency
Duck & Hen-Rearing	10	(18.52)
Money lending Business	9	(16.67)
Repayment of loans	10	(18.52)
Expenditure for daughter's Marriage ceremony	6	(11.11)
Health care against diseases	2	(3.70)
Family Expenditure	9	(16.67)
House repair	1	(1.85)
Cloth, Shari/Purchase	2	(3.70)
Son's 'Khatna'	1	(1.85)
Still in Bank's Account	4	(7.41)

Number of respondents-44. 54 (100.00)

Note: Figures include multiple responses.

Data in Table-5 shows that only in a very few cases the beneficiaries invested their savings for economic activities; rest were used for consumption. The savings could not induce the beneficiaries for investment.

From the response of beneficiaries (Table-6) about overall opinion of programme it could be gathered that they took it basically as a relief programme and they did not regard it as a development programme at the same time.

Table-6

Opinions of the Respondents about the Programme:

Opinion	No. of responses:
a. Alleviate poverty to some extent for the time being	40
b. Didn't get wheat for two months	1
c. Gave Upazila Chairman Tk. 24/- per month to deposit in the bank but didn't get back till today	1
d. No comment	

Total 44

In a programme like VGD, efforts need be taken for formation of group, to induce the beneficiaries for savings and extend credit to them for self employment. Due to improper monitoring and implementation of the programme it remained as a programme of 'Dole' category with no prospect of graduation. In Nabinagar Upazila it was found that the beneficiaries were mostly left to themselves regarding development activities; 45.45% respondents never received any advice regarding investment of their savings. Rest of them were occasionally advised by Union Parishad Chairmen or government officials to rear poultry/goat and to invest in cottage industries in which they were not successful.

Different studies have also expressed the ineptness of the organizational arrangement for implementation of the programme. One study observed that " Committees at the Upazila and Union levels down below are equally inept and non performing in terms of programme monitoring. Human resources and other development goals of the programme are not fully comprehended by the functionaries responsible for management"(1). Taking these things into consideration, many view that changes in the organizational structure and goals of the programme are necessary to make it effective and worthwhile. A recently conducted World Bank study has proposed a new arrangement. It states that, "VGD centres and WTC should be merged with the credit fund programme and be implemented under the same ministerial administration as the FFW programme. The new VGD should have an institutional framework consisting of group formation (or other form of organization, following the Grameen Bank or BRAC models), skill development and savings and credit schemes. (2) "Considering the performance of the programme at Nabinagar Upazila, the proposition seems to be a rational and viable alternative for making the VGD programme effective and worthwhile.

From the allocated amount it will be seen that it is decreasing day by day due to resource scarcity, Upazila Parishad Nabinagar like other upazila parishads has taken huge number of projects in a year and it is common knowledge that such schemes/projects can not be viable.

*

Poverty Alleviation & Upazila System

Questionnaire for Officers of the Upazila

(This questionnaire would only be used for research)

1. Name (Optional) : _____
2. Name of Department : _____
3. Programmes and projects undertaken by your department for improving the conditions of the poor in your upazila ?
 - a)
 - b)
 - c)
 - d)
 - e)
 - f)
 - g)
4. Please indicate the effective elements of the successful programmes:-
5. Please indicate the less effective elements of the programmes undertaken for improving conditions of the poor in your Upazila:
6. Please mention the measures which can be taken to make the unsuccessful programmes successful.
7. What new programmes/projects can be taken up to improve the condition of the poor in your upazila.
8. What kind of impact the upazila system has been able to achieve regarding the socio-economic development of the people.

Signature (Optional)

Poverty Alleviation and Upazila System

Questionnaire for Union Parishad Chairmen

(This Questionnaire would be only used for research)

1. Name :-----
2. Name of Union : _____
3. Which of the following programmes/projects have been taken up(sponsored by the Government) in your Upazila for improving the conditions of the poor:
 - a) Food for Works Programme (FFW)
 - b) Test Relief
 - c) Bittahen Samabay Samity (BSS)
 - d) Mohila Bittahen Samabay Samity (MBSS)
 - e) Guchchhagram Programme
 - f) VGD Programme
 - g) Credit distribution programme of the Social Welfare Ministry
 - h) Credit distribution programme of the Youth Ministry
 - i) Cottage Industries for the Poor Women
 - j) Others (Please mention)
4. Please name the most effective three among the above on going programme/projects (in rank order of effectiveness)
5. Please mention the reasons for which above programmes/projects have become successful :
6. Please name the least effective two/three among the above on going programmes/projects .
 - a)
 - b)
 - c)

7. Please name the reasons for which the above programmes/projects have become least effective .

8. In your opinion what measures can be taken to make the above least effective programmes/projects effective to improve the conditions of the poor.

9. What programmes/projects can be taken up by the government in your upazila to improvement the conditions of the poor.

10. What kind of impact the upazila system has been able to achieve regarding the socio-economic development of the people.

Signature (Optional)

Annexure-3

FFW Programme

1. Yearwise allocations and utilization

	1985-86		1986-87		1987-88		1988-89		1989-90	
	Alloca- tion	Utiliz- ation	Alloca- tion	Utiliz- ation	Alloca- tion	Utiliz- ation	Alloca- tion	Utiliz- ation	Alloca- tion	Utiliz- ation
Quantity of wheat/rice										
Price										
Number of Projects										
Nature of Projects										
Total Mandays achieved										
Physical Qnt of works done										

Questionnaire for the beneficiaries of the FFW Programme

1. Name: _____
2. Father's name: _____
3. Village: _____ 4. Upazila: _____
5. District: _____
6. Occupation: _____
7. Quantity of land owned: _____
8. Number of dependents: _____
9. Main source of income: _____
10. Alternate avenue of employment if this programme was not in existence:
(a) _____
(b) _____
(c) _____
11. Daily income from the programme (in wheat & Taka)

12. How many days in a year the worker can keep himself engaged in the activities of the programme ?

13. How much savings can be made daily ?
(What do you do with the savings)

14. Enrolment in any other programme

15. Overall opinion about the programme

BRDB Programmes(RPP)

(Data collected from Upazila office)

1. Bittayheen Samabay Samity(BSS)

	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90
No.of BSS in the UCCA					
No.of members in the UCCA					

2. Credit Profile of the BSS

	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90
(a) Total outst-standing credit					
(b) Purpose of Credit					
Beef fattening					
Petty trading					
Poultry					
Pottery					
Others					
Total					
(c) Total recovery					

3. Credit allocation and actual utilization:

	85-86	86-87	87-88	88-89	89-90
a)Amount allocated					
b)Amount utilized					

4. AGM of BSS

	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90
AGM held					
AGM due					

5. Audit of BSS

	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90
No. of audits done					
No. of audits pending					

6. No. of BSS superseded and run by adhoc committees	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90

7. MBSS

	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90
No. of MBSS in the UCCA					
Total No. of members in the MBSS					

8. Credit Profile of MBSSs

	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90
(a) Total outstanding credit					
(b) Purpose of credit					
Beef fattening					
Petty trading					
Poultry					
Pottery					
Others					
Total recovery					

9. AGM of MBSS

	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90
AGM held					
AGM due					

10. Audit of MBSS

	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90
No of audits done					
No of audits due					

11. No. of MBSS super seded and run by Adhoc committee	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90

12. Present composition
of the UCCA and
their socioecono-
mic position(BSS & MBSS)

	Approximate monthly income (in thousand Tk)	Area of land owned	Percentage of income from Agriculture
Chairman			
Members:			
	(1)		
	(2)		
	(3)		
	(4)		
	(5)		
	(6)		
	(7)		
	(8)		
	(9-12)		

13. Was the MC of the UCCA supervised during the last 5 years ?
If so, when how long and why ?

14. AGM of the UCCA	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90
Held					
Not held					

Questionnaire for BSSs & MBSSs
Questionnaire for BSS & MBSS

1. Name of the BSS or MBSS _____
2. Village _____ 3. Union _____ 4. Upazila _____
5. Year of Registration _____
6. No. of members: 85-86 86-87 87-88 88-89 89-90

85-86 86-87 87-88 88-89 89-90

- 7.(a) Yearwise amount of
loan received
- b) Amount fallen due
Principal :
Interest :
8. Purpose of receiving loan:

- ## 9. Utilization of Loan

10. Background of the MC Members:

Name	Land owned	Appx.income per year	% of income from agriculture	Continuous tenure in the MC from(how many years)
------	------------	----------------------	------------------------------	--

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.

11. Types of supervision extended by the officials:
(any lacking in the supervision? Mechanism of loan supervision, decision making procedure for investment or economic activities)

Questionnaire for BSS & MBSS Members

1. Name: _____
2. Father's Name: _____
3. Age: _____
4. Occupation: _____
5. Educational Qualification: _____
6. Quantity of land owned: _____
7. Amount of credit received yearwise: _____

1985-86
1986-87
1987-88
1988-89
1989-90
8. Reason for being member of the BSS/MBSS: _____
9. What activities performed through credit:

10. Whether the credit has been economically
beneficial? _____
(in quantitative and qualitative terms/forms of benefits)
11. Any training received through the BSS/MBSS ?

12. Are you aware of the decision making process and works
performed?
13. General comments about BSS/MBSS:

Guchchagram Program

1. No. of Guchchagrams in the Upazila & their years of implementation

2. No. of beneficiaries(household)

3. Quantity of khas land in the Upazila

4. No. of beneficiaries (household) of khas land

5. Selection procedure of beneficiaries in the Guchchagram:

6. Organizational arrangement for implementation of Ghuchchagram

7. Resources received & generated for implementation of Guchchagram

Annexure-9

Questionnaire for the beneficiaries of Guchchagram

1. Name: _____
2. Father's name: _____
3. Village: _____
4. Union: _____
5. Upazila: _____
6. Number of dependents: _____
7. Amount of land owned before joining the Guchchagram:

8. Amount of land received from the Govt/other resources

9. Sources of income :

10. Involvement in any other programme:
(nature of involvement (economic and others)
BSS/MBSS _____
NGO _____
11. Any other resources(credit)/benefits received from Govt/NGOs

12. Overall opinion about the programme

VGD Programme

	1985-86	1986-87	1987-88	1988-89	1989-90
Amount of wheat disbursed					
No. of benefici- aries					
Amount of savings					
Activities thro- ugh savings					

2. Selection procedure of the beneficiaries

3. Organization arrangement for implementation of the programme

Questionnaire for the beneficiaries of the VGD programme

1. Name: _____
2. Father's/Husband's name: _____
3. Village: _____
4. Union: _____
5. Upazila: _____
6. Number of dependents: _____
7. Occupation: _____
8. Amount of land owned: _____
9. Amount of wheat received (yearwise) and savings

	Year 1	Year 2
Wheat received		
Savings in Taka		

10. Activities through the savings (investment)

11. Enrolment in any other development programme

12. Supervision by the Officials
 (any lacking in supervision, guidance, Mechanism of supervision)
13. Opinion about the programme

