





People's Perception on Safety Net Programmes: A Qualitative Analysis of Social Protection in Bangladesh

Social Protection Group













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PREFACE

Social protection is a basic human rights and it is proclaimed in the United Nation's Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Social protection is also a fundamental right guaranteed in the constitution of Bangladesh and there is a separate ministry for social welfare as well as a social welfare policy (2005) for socio economic development and improvement of life standard for the poor.

In Bangladesh, a significant number of social protection interventions from the government as well as NGOs provide safety nets for the poorest households but they are not well articulate. There is no overarching framework. The interventions are mostly cash for work and food transfers, but increasingly relying on cash transfers. These provide either long-term assistance to those unable to work (such as the elderly receiving pensions), or a 'step' for poor households to overcome the initial barriers to productive activities (e.g. the Vulnerable Group Development programme).

The Social Protection group decided to carry out a study on various safety net programmes as implemented in different location of Bangladesh. The main objective of the study was to get the perception and opinions of the people including beneficiaries, community and implementers to improve these safety net programmes. The partner organizations of CORDAID, such as HelpAge International Bangladesh (HAI-BD), Dhaka Ahsania Mission (DAM), Pidim Foundation, Caritas Bangladesh, INDAB and Action in Development and Disability (ADD), formed the group in November 2009 to work on social protection issues in Bangladesh. The group is led by HAI-BD and supported by Cordaid.

The study was carried out in selected seven unions of seven upazilas during April-May 2011 and they were selected from the member organization's working areas of Social Protection group. The study areas are:

- Kangsha union of Jhinaigati Upazila, Sherpur district
- Aila Patakata union of Barguna Sadar Upazila, Barguna district
- Bakpur union of Banaripara upazila, Barisal district
- 17 no. Mogdhara union of Swandip upazila, Chittagong district
- Matikata union of Godagari upazila, Rajshahi district
- 11 no. Tetulia union of Chirir Bangdar upazila, Dinajpur district
- Chengi union of Panchari upazila, Khagrachri district

SP group was intended to look at the overall scenario of the safety net programmes in Bangladesh to have a better understanding of the real situation, create evidence base and make strategic decision to go forward with specific interventions.

List of Abbreviations

BBS Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics

CHT Chittagong Hill Tracts

DCGCI Development Consultant and Global Compliance Initiative

FAO Food and Agriculture Organization

FFW Food For Work

FFE Food For Education

FGD Focus Group Discussion

HAI HelpAge International-Bangladesh

IGA Income Generating Activities

ID Identity

Kabikha Kajer Binimoye Khaddya (Food For Work)

KII Key Informant Interviews

MDG Millennium Development Goal

PIO Project Implementation Officer

SP Social Protection

SSN Social Safety Net

SSNP Social Safety Net Programme

SWO Social Welfare Officer

TR Test Relief

UP Union Parishad

UPZ Upazila

UNO Upazila Nirbahi Officer

UEO Upazila Education Officer

UWCWO Upazila Women and Children Welfare Officer

VGD Vulnerable Group Development

VGF Vulnerable Group Feeding

WFP World Food Programme

Executive Summary

The report summarizes findings of the study on 'People's Perception on Safety Net Programmes: A Qualitative Analysis of Social Protection in Bangladesh' carried out by Development Consultant and Global Compliance Initiative (DCGCI) for the Social Protection Group in Bangladesh.

The main objectives and focuses of the study were to understand the number and types of safety net programmes operating in the regions, coverage of the programmes, beneficiaries and their selection criteria, perception of people (beneficiaries, community people, service providers) in terms of implementation, effectiveness and governance. Realizing the impact of the safety net programmes, and find ways for improvement were also the areas of interest. The areas for the study were mainly selected from the SP group's partners' areas of intervention considering vulnerabilities of the people and the position in the extreme poverty map developed by World Food Programme (WFP, updated in February 2009), which has categorized level of poverty up to Upazila (UPZ) level. The map represents UPZ level index of food insecurity and vulnerable poor families and the extreme poor. In the map, all the study areas are inhabited by a considerable number of extreme poor. The study was carried out applying both quantitative and qualitative approaches of social research with an emphasis on the qualitative analysis including document review, one-to-one in-depth interviews, Focus Group Discussion (FGD), Key Informant interviews (KII) and Case/tracer study.

The study reveals that almost all the SSNP beneficiaries and community people do not completely understand the criteria set forth while many respondents could tell only 1-3 criteria of distinct SSNPs. It is also revealed that though the selection criteria were followed in many cases, malpractices in the forms of nepotism, bribe and bias also took place in the implementation process. Almost all the VGD beneficiaries received 20-25 KG instead of 30 KG rice or wheat while the VGF beneficiaries received 6-8 KG aids only.

The fact that bribes are taken by the UP members/chairmen at the time of beneficiary selection has also been revealed. Political affiliation and nepotism play a major role in selecting SSNP beneficiaries while some of the FGD discussants stated that this time the selection was moderately fair due to the introduction of lottery system in some unions. The study shows an imbalance in distribution of SSNPs in some of the study areas, for example, a very discriminative picture of distributing old age pension was noticed in Mogdhara Union.

All the beneficiaries interviewed considered the amount of different allowance/aids as very inadequate compared to the present market rates. The coverage is also very

inadequate compared to population, intensity of poverty and nature of vulnerabilities.

Almost every food aid beneficiary spends considerable amount of money to take the aid home while the old age and disabled allowance beneficiaries spend up to 20-25% of their benefits for the same reason. The UP authority itself faces difficulty in managing transportation costs, especially in Mogdhara, Bakpur and Chengi Unions due to their remote geographic location.

The study reveals that monitoring from UPZ headquarters is inadequate due to shortage of manpower and resources. No enthusiastic verification and supervision from UPZ headquarter is carried out unless any complaint regarding beneficiary selection is filed. The study also shows that a particular class of UPZ level officers are involved in malpractices; take a specific amount of bribe per metric ton of wheat allocation under TR/Kabikha schemes. Some of the UPZ level officers claimed they have to pay a certain amount of bribe to ratify various schemes. It was revealed that both the UP and UPZ administration undergo some pressures from the political and influential quarters in the process of SSNP implementation.

Based on the study findings, some immediate measures can be adopted for the better implementation of SSNP which include: strengthening and empowering the SSNP beneficiary selection committee by involving more civil society members; developing a comprehensive ward focused data base of the potential SSNP beneficiaries; enthusiastic/proactive investigation, supervision and monitoring from respective UPZ administration and higher authority; disseminating the guiding principles and selection criteria of the SSNP benefits; lessening the physical mobility of the beneficiaries in receiving aid/benefits; strictly maintaining the quantity/amount of aid; arranging life-skill training for the VGD beneficiaries; reviewing and expanding the poverty map up to ward and union levels; revising the SSNP allocation procedure; easing the selection process, ensuring transparency in beneficiary selection, aids distribution and campaigning about different aspects of SSNP to create mass awareness on long term goals and targets. Apart from the concerned departments of the government, NGOs/development organizations can play significant supplementary and complementary roles in implementing the aforementioned recommendations.

Chapter: One Introduction and Background of the Study

Introduction to the Study

Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 as well as Bangladesh constitution has guaranteed basic human rights within the state mechanism. In line with the constitutional provision, Bangladesh Government has a separate ministry to support and promote social protection as a means of basic human rights. The ministry is entrusted with responsibilities of playing the role of a catalyst in socio economic development and improvement of living standards of the poor. By this time, Bangladesh has made strong progress towards reducing income poverty, placing it roughly on track to meet the MDG target of halving the share of the population living under US \$1 per day by 2015. In Bangladesh, a significant number of social protection interventions from the government as well as NGOs provide safety nets for the poorest households but they are not well articulated. There is no overreaching framework. The interventions are mostly cash for work and food transfers, but increasingly relying on cash transfers. These provide either long-term assistance to those unable to work (such as the elderly receiving pensions), or a 'step' for poor households to overcome the initial barriers to productive activities (e.g. the Vulnerable Group Development Programme). Apart from the Ministry of Social Welfare, Government of Bangladesh has some specific programmes for social protection of different groups of people under different ministries. The typical social protection schemes mainly include: Social Safety Net, Food Security, Micro Credit, Rural Employment, Disaster Management, Basic Health Service and Access to public schools etc.

Purpose of the Study

To look at the overall scenario of the safety net programmes as implemented in different regions of Bangladesh to have a better understanding of the real situation, creating evidence base and making strategic decisions to go forward with specific interventions.

Objectives and Scope of the study

The main objectives and focuses of the study were to understand:

- Number and types of safety net programmes operating in the regions
- Coverage of the programmes
- Beneficiaries and their selection criterias

- Perception of the people (beneficiaries, community people, service providers) in terms of implementation, effectiveness and governance
- Impact of the safety net programmes
- Recommendations for improvement of these programmes.

In line with the stated objectives, the study was carried out in following selected unions of seven upazilas from seven districts:

- Kangsha union of Jhinaigati upazila (Pidim Foundation)
- Aila Patakata union of Barguna Sadar upazila (DAM)
- Bakpur union of Banaripara upazila (INDAB)
- 17 no. Mogdhara union of Swandip upazila (Caritas)
- Matikata union of Godagari upazila (ADD)
- 11 no. Tetulia union of Chirir Bangdar upazila (HAI-BD)
- Chengi union of Panchari upazila (DCGCI)

Rationale for Selection of the Study Areas

The considering factors for selection of the study areas include the following:

- The intervening areas of social protection group
- vulnerabilities of the people
- position in the poverty map developed by World Food Programme

The map represents percentage of food insecurity, vulnerable poor families and the extrem poor at the UPZ level. In All the selected areas are inhabited by considerable number of extreme poor.

Vulnerability status of the selected UPZ in the Poverty Map

Upazila(Union)	% of the Extreme Poor Remarks			
Godagari (Matikata)	33-43%	Very close to the highest level of extreme poor		
Chirir Bandar (11 No.Tetulia)	33-43%	Very close to the highest level of extreme poor		
Banaripara (Bakpur)	33-43%	Very close to the highest level of extreme poor		
Jhinaigati (Kangsha)	11-22%	Having moderately extreme poor		
Sandwip (17 No. Mogdhara)	11-22%	Having moderately extreme poor		
Sadar Barguna (Aila Patakata)	44% or greater	Highest level of extreme poor		
Panchari (Chengi)	11-22%	Having moderately extreme poor		

[Source: Poverty Map of WFP, updated in February 2009]

Methodology and Management of the Study

The study was carried out applying both quantitative and qualitative approaches of social researches with emphasis on the qualitative approaches, since the study by nature demands to view issues related to the safety net activities from the perspectives of qualitative aspects. However, quantitative approaches were also used to collect information against a few scopes stated earlier which include the following:

- Number and types of safety net programmes operating in the regions
- Coverage of the programmes
- Beneficiaries and their selection criterion

In order to gather detailed information on the aforementioned three aspects of the study, the following tools were applied:

- a. **Document Review:** Relevant documents were collected and reviewed to understand the study project in detail, number and types of safety net programmes operating in the regions etc.
- b. **One-to-One In-depth Interviews:** Adequate number of one-to-one in-depth interviews/KII with the UP staff(Chairman, Member and Secretary) along with some concerned Upazila level officers i.e. Social Welfare Officer, Project Implementation Officer, Upazila Nirbahi Officer(UNO) etc were conducted from all the regions to know about coverage of the programmes, nature of beneficiaries and their selection criterion.

Apart from these, some more qualitative approaches were used to gather information and understand perception of the people (beneficiaries, community people, and service providers) in terms of implementation, effectiveness and governance of the safety net programmes. The study focused on impact of different safety net activities upon the lives and livelihoods of the target groups and major challenges concerned with their implementation. The study investigated the factors, which effectively contributed to the better implementation and improvement of the overall social safety net programmes. The qualitative approaches include the following:

i. Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

A total of 14 FGDs were conducted in seven upazilas, 02 in each of the upazilas covering each of the following groups:



- a. beneficiaries
- b. community people

Gender balance, age, income, professional variation etc. were considered at the time of selecting FGD participants. Apart from these, the remaining group, 'service providers', was covered in the study through conducting Key Informant Interviews (KII).

ii. Key Informant interviews (KII)/In-depth Interviews

The Key Informant Interviews (KII) included concerned line officials of the government offices (Social Welfare Officer, Project Implementation Officer, Upazila Nirbahi Officer et. al.) opinion leaders from the communities, development activists and representatives of the Local Government (UP Chairmen/Members/Secretaries and key persons of different project implementation committees) to know about the details of the SSNP implementation and their impact on the community.

iii. Case Study

One of the prime concerns of the study was to explore impacts of the SSNPs on community people, meaning whether they have brought about any positive changes to the community people or not. To meet this end, some case studies were conducted. Thus, the study was completed with a combination of quantitative information/data and qualitative analysis with dominance of the latter, since the social changes and impacts of SSNPs should be viewed better from qualitative aspects rather than quantitative ones.

Steps of the Study Implementation

i. Developing Study Instruments

a. Desk Review

Relevant documents on the social safety net programmes were collected and reviewed for getting a clear understanding of the study.

b. Consultation Meeting

Prior to commencing the study, required consultation meetings with HelpAge International - BD experts were arranged. Later, the core research team developed study instruments/checklists (questionnaire/checklists, FGD and KII guidelines, etc). Since the study was an 'Action Research', it was vital that HAI-BD experts explain to the DCGCI research team their future interventions based on the findings of the study.

c. Drafting and Sharing

Accommodating the findings from the consultation meeting(s), the first draft of all the tools/instruments for the study was developed and shared with HAI-BD. While framing out the study instruments, the following were taken into consideration:

- Do the tools/checklists cover the objectives of the study adequately and comprehensively?
- Are the tools/ checklists valid and reliable to understand the safety net issues at the grassroots level?
- Are the open-ended and close-ended questions appropriate?
- Is the physical layout of questionnaire/checklists easy to use?

d. Field Testing of the Instruments

In order to test the instruments (checklists, guidelines etc), a piloting was conducted in Dhanshail Union of Jhinaigati Upazila, Sherpur. The instruments were revised accordingly in light of the piloting results.

e. Finalizing Instruments

After piloting, a brainstorming session was arranged with experts from both Helpage International - BD and DCGCI for reviewing the instruments (checklists and guidelines). The learning from the field was adjusted and the instruments were finalized accordingly.

ii. Field Study

a. Sharing with the Team Members

After the instruments were finalized; a meeting was arranged with the field researchers who visited the field for collecting primary and secondary data. In the meetings, the senior researchers provided the research associates with necessary directions on gathering information. A team comprising two senior researchers (including Team)

Leader/Lead Consultant and Lead Researcher) and four research associates conducted the study.

b. Preparing and Distributing Data Collection Matrix

A data collection matrix including names of the Unions, Upazilas and Partner NGOs including their detailed locations was prepared and distributed among the data collectors and supervisors so that target samples/respondents were approached and covered accurately.

c. Data Analysis and Draft Preparation

After completion of the field level data collection, the study team sat together, shared experiences; analysed collected data and prepared PowerPoint presentations to share it with HAI-BD for their feedbacks/comments.

Chapter: Two Major Findings and Observations

Geo-Demographic Characteristics of the Study Areas

Below is a short description of all the study locations:

Matikata Union: It is one of the 09 Unions of Godagari Upazila, Rajshahi District, having a population of 45,755 (forty five thousand seven hundred fifty five) of which 22,897 are males and 22,858 are females. It has an area of 18.05 square miles and literacy rate of 45.08%.

Tetulia: It is one of the 12 Unions of Chinirbandar Upazila, Dinazpur District, having a population of 15,400 (fifteen thousand four hundred). It is situated on 14.42 square miles. The literacy rate of the Union is 75% (including adult literacy).

Bakpur: It is one of the Unions of Banaripara Upazila, Barisal District with a population of 24,708 (twenty four thousand seven hundred eight) of which 12,485 are males and 12,223 are females. It has an area of about 7 square kilometre. The literacy rate of the Union is 78%.

Mogdhara: Mogdhara is one of the 14 Unions of Swandip Upazila, Chittagong District, having a population of 37,621 (thirty seven thousand six hundred twenty one) of which 17,503 are males and 20,118 are females. It has an area of 20.5 square miles. The literacy rate of the Union is 62%.

Kangsha: One of the 07 Unions of Jhinaigati Upazila, Sherpur District, it has a population of 30,450 (thirty thousand four hundred fifty) occupying an area of 20,369 acres and having a literacy rate of 36.34%.

Aila Patakata: One of the 10 Unions of Sadar Upazila, Barguna District, it has a population of 26310 (twenty six thousand three hundred ten) of which 13,342 are males and 12,968 are females. The Union occupies an area of 14 square kilometres and has a literacy rate of 56%.

Chengi Union: Chengi is one of the 05 Unions of Panchari Upazila, Khagrachari District. This area is territorially different from others since it is situated in the hilly areas of Khagrachari District, one of the districts of Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT). Of the approximately 8,369 people living here, 4,212 are males and 4,175 are females.

A Comparative Scenario of the Study Areas

The aforementioned data, presented for describing geo-demographic characteristics of the study areas, were mainly furnished by the respective UPs during the study period. The data slightly vary from the data of population census carried out by Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS) in 2001. However as per the available BBS data, the following table shows a comparative scenario in terms of area, population, literacy, old age, divorced and widowed population.

Name of Union	Area (acre)	Population		Literacy			Old Aged		Divorced/ Widowed		
		Both Sex	Male	Female	Both Sex	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Matikata	9775	40360	20562	19798	45.01	47.11	42.85	1189	1033	97	1386
Tetulia	3562	11525	5847	5678	39.07	46.02	32.79	415	312	61	479
Bakpur	4818	20271	10115	10156	61.23	63.73	58.82	959	827	30	643
Kangsha	20369	24446	12458	11988	34.36	39.11	29.53	831	743	56	853
Mogdhara	38592	30314	15044	15270	36.49	37.53	33.50	1012	786	99	695
Aylapatakata	7066	18806	9497	9309	47.06	50.10	44.02	807	607	62	600
Chengi	14720	8334	11221	4113	26.31	34.02	18.49	278	204	66	262

Source: BBS 2001

Major Disadvantages in the Areas/Unions

The study reveals that there are some major disadvantages in all the seven unions covered by the study which are shown in the table below:

Union	Major Disadvantages/ Vulnerabilities					
Matikata	Illiteracy, unemployment, poverty, malnutrition, laziness, natural calamity,					
Tetulia	Flood, nor'wester, droughts, cold wave, poverty, unemployment					
Bakpur	Flood, river erosion, cyclone, unemployment, poverty					
Kangsha	Flash flood, attack of wild elephant, poverty, illiteracy, remoteness					
Mogdhara	Tidal surge, cyclone, flood, river erosion, poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, remoteness and inadequate communication systems					
Aila Patakata	Cyclone, salinity, breakage of Protective Dam, unemployment, illiteracy Chengi Lack of agricultural land, communication, poverty, illiteracy, remoteness and difficult communication system, lack of water, racial clash and conflict					

People's Perception on Beneficiaries and their Selection

A mixed view on SSNP beneficiaries and their selection criteria were found in the study. Most of the FGD participants with SSNP beneficiary groups opined that the eligible individuals, i.e. extreme poor, unable to work, person with disability, divorced women/widows, poor/sick pregnant women, freedom fighters, old/feeble men and women as well as the vulnerable persons are entitled to avail SSNP benefits. The FGD participants, in general, think the persons having aforementioned characteristics are eligible for the SSNP coverage. On the contrary, some FGD participants claimed that political affiliation was necessary for being covered by such schemes. Rapport with local government representatives (UP members/Chairman) plays a vital role in getting a place on the beneficiary list. In this regard, one of the FGD participants in Matikata Union, Godagari Upazila said: "The list of the probable SSNP beneficiaries is hung in the UP and UPZ Social Welfare Officer's room, the candidates having political identity are selected first from the list followed by the ordinary community people".

Many FGD respondents viewed that though the right persons were being covered by the SSNPs, there were some apparent malpractices in selecting the most worthy ones amidst thousands of the eligible candidates. Some FGD participants bluntly alleged that many SSNP beneficiaries having comparatively better socio-economic condition received entry into the scheme in exchange of bribes. One female FGD participant in Barguna mentioned: "Those, who can give money to the UP members/chairman, are listed for SSNP benefits".

A Case of Bribery

About 80 years old-fragile poor Hamela living a miserable life in Kangsha Union of Jhinaigati UPZ was struggling to ensure minimum requirements for living. This hapless vulnerable old lady managed an old-age pension card after toiling for days uncountable. At last, she was enlisted for the same but the UP member gouged her of TK 1,000 as bribe. How could a UP member do such a heinous thing was not perceivable to many of those to whom she was narrating her woes.



Out of 07 FGDs with non-beneficiary community people, the participants in 04 FGD stated that to avail the SSNP facilities, the beneficiaries have to fulfil some other criteria (!) besides being poor. These include:

- a. political affiliation
- b. ability to bribe

One of the FGD beneficiaries at Matikata Union said," Political lobbying comes from higher quarters, so it can't be avoided". Other FGD participants at Kangsha Union said, "Our chairman has allotted VGD in exchange of money (bribe) by ignoring the lottery serial". Apart from these, some respondents mentioned that many eligible candidates were excluded from the list since the amount of aid was too little to cover such a large number of eligible SSNP candidates. The FGD participants of the remaining 03 FGDs claimed that the beneficiary selection was almost good and fair.

Regarding the selection of the worthy beneficiary, the UPZ line officials, such as, the tagofficers who monitor the scheme implementation along with the other staffs (UP member, ward committee and others) at different stages were interviewed. In spite of such monitoring efforts, some malpractices take place in the beneficiary selection process since the Ward Committee has a significant role in identifying the potential beneficiaries and listing them for selection. In some places, nepotism and bribery are common in the process of selection through lottery. The malpractices are committed in such a way that usually cannot be traced since there are no concrete documents or evidences. However, such malpractices are an open secret. Political pressure, nepotism and bribery are common in the process of the beneficiary selection, claimed some of the upazila level administrative officers.

People's Perception on Guidelines and Implementation Manual

About fifty percent of the FGD participants didn't have a complete idea about the beneficiary selection manual or implementation guidelines; however some of them could mention only a few of the criteria for the selection of some SSNPs i.e. old age pension (age should be above 65), extreme poverty, disability, divorce, pregnancy etc. None could mention the complete set of indicators/selection criteria for a particular SSNP. Though the study reveals that the FGD participants did not know the complete set of indicators for being covered by the SSNPs, they opined that UP and implementing authority did not

follow the implementation guidelines properly.

One of the FGD participants said: "The final beneficiary selection meeting at the UPZ level is nothing but an eyewash since the candidates are pre-selected".



Some of the FGD participants mentioned that they were very poor and most of them were illiterate so it was not possible for them to know the selection criteria in details. However, they received information by word-of-mouth (from better informed individuals or UP members/Chairmen). Most of the respondents of FGD of non-beneficiary groups informed that they had no idea of the guidelines and implementation procedure. Meanwhile, in two FGDs, some of the respondents responded differently and showed good understanding of the guidelines and rules of implementation of the SSNPs.

The KII, who are mostly the UPZ line officials, claimed that after receiving notice or circular from the concerned SSNP ministry, they used to communicate with the UP authority through official letters asking for selecting the potential beneficiaries for the respective SSN benefits. The UP authority is supposed to take further actions after receiving the letter from the Upazila administration. However, in reality, some of the chairmen do not show the letter and selection guidelines/manual to the selection committee and try to suppress information so that the UP members may remain ignorant of the selection criteria. However, most of the chairmen, members and secretaries claimed that they read through the guidelines received from the UPZ administration.

People's Perception on Selection of the Beneficiaries by UP

Selection of SSNP beneficiaries by the UP members/chairmen was perceived differently by the community people too. The study reveals that the beneficiaries are not well aware of the criteria and guidelines, so they have to depend blindly on the whims of the members/chairmen.

Some FGD participants, especially in Kangsha Union, Jhinigati UPZ said the beneficiary selection procedure there was more appropriate and transparent than to that of the previous periods due to the fact that the UPZ administration introduced lottery system. They stated that the UPZ authority and its representatives visited the spot of potential beneficiary gatherings at public places. These gatherings were pre-announced. From the gatherings, the name and other particulars (amount of assets i.e. land, house, profession, family members etc.) were collected and overall condition of the candidates was observed. Then the names of the potential candidates were noted down by the authority from which the beneficiaries were selected (especially for VGD) through lottery at UPZ headquarters. Thus, the poor people were selected on the basis of vulnerability and luck, some officials commented. One of the UNOs interviewed admitted that acts of corruption were witnessed even in the lottery process. Some of the UP members reportedly took bribes from those who were included in the primary list of beneficiaries in exchange of assurance of final selection. As the selection was conducted through lottery, some of the people became victims of the UP member's trick. There were also some instances that the

UP members/chairmen returned the bribe since some of the candidates lost in the lottery. To those who won the lottery by dint of their luck, it was very agonizing for them to bribe the UP members.

In only one of the FGDs with non-beneficiaries, the respondents could describe the selection process comprehensively. According to them, the UPZ administration sends SSNP allotment related documents/circular to the UP office when there is any opportunity for the same. Then the Chairman generally convenes a meeting with all the UP members and Secretary. As a further formality, the request goes to the Ward Beneficiary Selection Committee and potential beneficiaries are requested to be selected as per the guidelines. Then the Ward Committee Members collect information of the probable beneficiaries and submit the list to the respective UP chairmen. Afterwards, a final meeting is arranged at the UP office where the final list is discussed and the chairman approves the list and submits it to the Upazila administration for final selection of beneficiaries. On receipt of all the lists from various UPs, a coordination meeting chaired by the UNO is arranged. After a meticulous review and discussion, the final selection is made as per the volume of SSNP allocation. The Union-Tag Officers are responsible for monitoring the implementation of SSNPs.

One of the FGD participants in Kangsha Union said: "The letter containing rules and implementation procedure is not presented before the UP members. Our Chairman is very clever".

About 50% FGD participants thought that the members and chairmen did not resort to transparency in selecting beneficiaries. Thus, due to nepotism and bias, those having comparatively lesser needs are allowed to avail the SSNP benefits. One of the FGD participants at Kangsha Union commented, "Everything is measured by money. If someone can give a greater amount of bribe, S/he can avail the benefits rather than the people who pay less".

A somewhat different picture was revealed in Mogdhara and Chengi Union regarding the beneficiary selection process. In this case, the village moral/matbar (local influential) plays a significant role. In case of Mogdhara, people are habituated to living under traditional leadership of comparatively better informed, knowledgeable and influential persons. Such custom has developed due to their struggles together against natural calamities for which the territory has a separate identity in the country. On the other hand, in Chengi, the indigenous community are seen to abide by their customs and follow the commands of their 'Karbari' (traditional village chief) unanimously. So, in these two places, the traditional customs play a role in the lifestyle of the community people.

People's Perception on Appropriateness of Beneficiary Selection Criteria

The study reveals that some of the FGD participants think positively of the appropriateness of beneficiary selection criteria, whereas some could not comment on it singe they did not know about the criteria. It is noticed that almost all the FGD respondents did not have complete idea about it. Thus, commenting whether the criteria were appropriate or not was very difficult for them. Some of the FGD participants raised questions about using national ID card as the evidence of age for the old age pension candidates. This procedure is causing deprivation for some potential candidates because of errors in the age record on it. Some of the participants also stated that the political pressure is one of the phenomena which hinder the fair selection of SSNP beneficiaries. The findings from the FGDs with non-beneficiaries revealed mixed responses in this regard. Some participants, especially from Kangsha union stated that the rules and principles were not generally followed during the beneficiary selection while many of the participants had no clear or complete idea of the rules and procedures of the selection process. The FGD participants (community people) at Bakpur, Banaripara, Barisal, viewed that the selection criteria could not be maintained by the UP authority due to multiple pressures imposed from various quarters/vested interest groups. However, most of the FGD participants of these clusters said that the selection criteria were almost good and the authority tried to follow them at least to a minimum level since the beneficiaries were not from well-off classes.

People's Perception on Monitoring and Supervision

Supervision and monitoring is mainly shouldered by the UNO as the chief executive of an Upazila. S/he functions as the head of the coordination and implementation committee at the UPZ level. The PIO and the concerned officials with the respective SSNP are also responsible for monitoring and supervising the scheme implementation at different stages; for instance, the Upazila Women and Children Welfare Affair Officer is responsible for monitoring VGD, the Social Welfare Officer is responsible for old age and disabled allowance. After the potential beneficiary list is sent from the Ward committee, the beneficiaries are finalized. If there is any objection regarding the selection process, the UPZ committee visits the spot, takes up the case and investigates the case prior to finalizing the list. In Chengi, the UP Chairman stated thathe has formed some committees at the grassroots level for effective monitoring of different SSNP. Such committees are generally comprised of karbari (traditional group/village head), teachers, religious personalities and other civil society members. The reason for forming different committees is that the localities are situated at very distant and remote places in the hilly areas. Forming these committees relieves the Ward Committee from visiting all the remote areas.

As per the government circular, 'the UPZ Women Affairs Officer is responsible for VGD implementation and its overall management. The responsibilities include selection of VGD beneficiaries, food management and monitoring'. These responsibilities are documented on paper only where mentionable actions against low quantity of VGD rice/wheat are absent. The VGD beneficiaries stated that there was no authoritative supervision as to their lowest amount of aid.

People's Perception on SSNP Coverage

Most of the respondents had no information on the quantity and coverage of SSNP in their areas. However, all the beneficiaries (100%) who took part in the discussion perceived coverage and amount of different SSNPs too insufficient to meet the demands of the huge number extreme poor and address their poverty. A widow from Tetulia Union receiving widow-pension stated, "An ordinary

"An ordinary Sari costs Taka 300 now-a-days, so you can perceive how many things are needed for a family and which of those can be met with this small amount of aid".

Sari costs Taka 300 now-a-days, so you can perceive how many things are needed for a family and which of those can be met with this small amount of aid".

The table below shows a rough statistics of some prominent SSNPs in the study areas:

Union	VGD Benefiaries	VGF Benefiaries	Old age pension	Widowed getting pension	Maternity Benefits	Disable Allowance
Matikata	394 (2011-2012)	3416 (2010)	288 (Since 1998 Till date)	217 (Since 1998 Till date)	17	21(Since 1998 Till date)
Tetulia	105 (Since 2009 Till date)	Data not available	339(2010 -2011)	250 (2010 -2011)	18 (2010 -2011)	48(2010 -2011)
Bakpur	284 (2010-2011)	Data not available	454 (2010-2011)	201 (2010-2011)	26 (2010 -2011)	50(2010 -2011)
Mogdhara	165 2009-2010	872 (2010)	24 (2009-2010)	03 (2009-2010)	17(2009 -2010)	05(2009 -2010)
Kangsha	273 (2010-2011)	1000 (2010)	518 (since 2008 till date)	215 (since 2009 till date)	18 (2010 -2011)	58 (since 2006 till date)
Ailapata kata	435 (2009-2010)	5000 (2007-2008)	521(2010 -2011)	500 (2010-2011)	43(2010 -2011)	33(2010 -2011)
Chengi	166 (2011-2012)	Data not available	338 (Till 2011)	112 (Till 2011)	28 (Till 2011)	38 (Till 2011)
Total						

Source:UP and UPZ line officials

Distribution of Old Age Pension in the Unions Covered in the Study

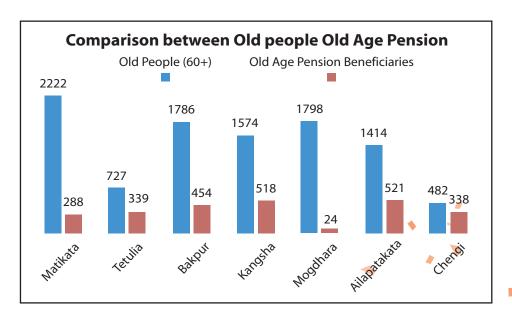
Union		Old Age Pension Beneficiaries	% of beneficiaries comparing to old people
Matikata	2222	288	13%
Tetulia	727	339	47%
Bakpur	1786	454	25.4%
Kangsha	1574	518	33%
Mogdhara	1798	24	1.3%
Ailapatakata	1414	521	37%
Chengi	482	338	70%

Source: BBS 2001;

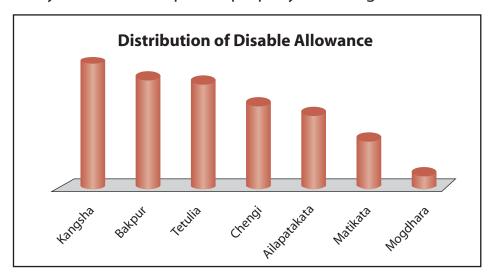
UP and UPZ line officials

Though it is difficult to compare the data of different SSNPs due to lack of updated information from the UP and UPZ line officials, the table depicts somewhat discriminating picture of SSNP distribution at the union level. The discrimination is severe in Mogdhara Union of Sandwip UPZ which is a remote island requiring a journey of 3-4 hours from Chittagong city. The inhabitants of Mogdhara have to live amidst uncountable miseries triggered by cyclones, tidal waves, saline waters and other natural disasters.

The study reveals a discriminative picture of SSNP allocation in the study areas, for instance, Mogdhara Union at Sandwip UPZ was allocated only 24 old age pensions which is only 1.3% of the total elderly population. The highest old age pension (70%) has been allocated in Chengi while it is 47% in Tetulia and 37% in Ailapatakata Union. However, coverage of old age pension is still very insufficient compared to the number of old people as per the BBS census 2001. The following graph shows a very inequitable scenario between the number of people age above 60 years and the number of people receiving old age benefits.



The study reveals that there are some contributing factors against the lowest coverage of such pension in Mogdhara Union of Sandwip UPZ. The Social Welfare Officer (SWO)s, who are the responsible officials to deal with such schemes, are reported to be unwilling to stay in the Upazila for longer periods due to inadequate communication facilities, natural disasters and fewer amenities of life and livelihood. As a result, the actual condition regarding necessary SSNPs is not reported properly to the higher authorities.



The same scenario was revealed in the case of disabled allowance. The highest number of disabled allowance was allocated for Kangsha Union while the same was the lowest for Mogdhara. This discrimination might have been happened due to the same reason as was in case of old age pension in the union.

People's Perception on Transparency in Beneficiary Selection

Community people believe that there is a lack of transparency in selecting the beneficiaries for SSNPs by the Chairmen and Members of UP and also by the UPZ administration. Major causes, as of their opinions, include:

- politicization both at UP and UPZ level
- personal greed of the elected representatives (UP member/Chairman)
- nepotism
- bribery

People's Perception on Effectiveness of SSNPs

Most of the respondents perceive the SSNPs as the last source of dependence since they had no other alternatives. Some of them viewed SSNPs negatively since they are making people dependent on government aids and grants. Some of the respondents informed that they were undertaking some sorts of IGA with the small amount of SSNPs i.e. rearing

of goats, raising of poultry and saving TK 40/= per month through the local NGOs. Some of the respondents mentioned the SSNPs contribute to avail emergency medical service, face natural disasters, support children's education and daily knick knacks apart from daily expenses. The old and most hapless ones think the SSNP benefits as a 'dependable source for life and livelihood" since they have no energy to work and no means of income. Some beneficiaries stated that they were able to meet some minor demands of family too.

The SSNP contributes significantly in meeting individual needs of which the following bear the practical examples:

"Before getting VGD card, we couldn't meet both ends. Now, we have two meals a day".

Widow Allowance has helped Latifa, a widow from Tetulia Union, to support her children's educational expenses, while maternity allowance facilitated Shahana of the same union to pay for her medical treatment and buy some fruits during her most critical periods.

Ayesha, one of the beneficiaries of Mogdhara Union said, "Before getting VGD card, we couldn't meet both ends. Now, we have two meals a day". Similarly, disabled Romesh at Matikata Union said, "With my disabled allowance, I have bought my books and managed costs of transportation to college".

The Chronic Poverty Report 2008-2009 shows that social protection, and particularly social assistance, has a crucial role to play in reducing chronic poverty. It tackles the insecurity trap by protecting the poor from shocks and reducing their extreme vulnerability. The report also reveals that the SSNP supports the poor to conserve and accumulate assets for improving their livelihoods and productivity; and it contributes to transforming economic and social relations in ways that strengthen the longer term livelihood prospects of the poor and chronically poor.¹

"With my disabled allowance, I have bought my books and managed costs of transportation to college".

On the other hand, a study titled 'Implications for Human Development - Impacts of Food Price Volatility on Nutrition and Schooling' conducted by Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies

(BIDS), May 2009 reveals that the Cash-for-Work (CFW) programme in the Chars Livelihoods Project has been found to be associated with higher household expenditure and consumption of food, especially of fish, eggs and meat, as well as improvement in women's and children's nutritional status.

The Government's 100-day Employment Generation Programme (EGP), which was started

¹The Chronic Poverty Report 2008-2009, Escaping Poverty Traps, Chronic Poverty Research Centre

in September 2008 in response to the increasing food prices, demonstrates how effective CFW can be in boosting purchasing power and improving the welfare of extremely poor families faced with crisis. A majority of the beneficiaries interviewed in a recent survey, notably women, reported positive impacts on food consumption and investment in productive assets (NFPCSP et al. 2009). Food-for-Work (FFW) schemes can bring similar benefits and direct cash transfers programmes and schemes such as VGF (Vulnerable Group Feeding) can assist. The direct transfer of productive assets, such as cattle, poultry, sheep or goats, together with starter packs of vegetable seeds, enables the extremely poor, including the landless and women, to start backyard livelihood activities. Evidence from BRAC, Helen Keller International and the Chars Livelihoods Programme show that, although some surplus may be sold, families keep milk, eggs and vegetables for home consumption. Children also benefit from a more diverse diet.

The study titled 'Food for Education Program in Bangladesh: An Evaluation of its Impact on Educational Attainment and Food Security' conducted by Akhter U. Ahmed and Carlo del Ninno reveals that Food for Education (FFE) has been successful in increasing primary school enrolment, promoting school attendance, and reducing dropout rates. Furthermore, the enrolment increase is greater for girls than for boys. Since the inception of the program in 1993, the number of teachers per school has remained virtually constant in all schools, while student enrolment has increased significantly in FFE schools. As a result, there are more students per teacher in FFE schools than in non-FFE schools. Moreover, because of increased enrolment and class attendance rates, FFE school classrooms are more crowded than non-FFE school classrooms.

However, some FGD participants, who are the SSNP beneficiaries, viewed that the SSNP is creating dependence among them.

Old Age Allowance brought life to Mohonna

A 83-year old Ms. Mohonna is a grandmother of an extended family comprising eight members. It was very difficult to maintain a family with a monthly income of Tk 2,000, let alone educating the young children. Mohonna was too old and weak to add to family income. Moreover, she frequently had old age complications. Other earning members of the family (son and sons' wife) tried their best to run the family. Since Mohonna was old and ailed, she was ill treated both at the family and society. She was considered an unworthy and extra load in the family. Such humiliation frustrated her and



she craved for death to lessen the burden of her son's family. At one stage, she was selected for old age pension in 2010. After receiving the pension, her status in the family changed. She was no more considered as worthless but as helpful to the family.

Access to Information

Most of the Union Parishads still do not hang the SSNP beneficiary list on their notice boards. Almost all of the beneficiaries interviewed/shared do not have information about the concrete disbursement schedule of their aid. Even, the disabled having extreme physical handicaps do not have any understanding of the provisions for receiving their pension money through authorized/nominated persons. In this case, nominated persons should be authorized by the ward member/commissioner/first class govt. officer/UNO/executive officer of municipality/city corporation's regional officer (Source: Circular, Directorate of Social Welfare, Ministry of Social Welfare, May 2005).

Costing for Transportation

There were different experiences among UP chairmen/members and beneficiaries about the transportation costs for the aids.

Almost all the UP chairmen/members interviewed said, they did not get transportation allowances at the rate of 60%, which is the provision. In many cases, the UP has to face problems in managing the remaining 40% of the transportation especially for carrying the food grains (rice/wheat). The worst suffering unions in these respects are Mogdhara, Chengi and Bakpur being in remote geographic locations. The UP Chairmen of the aforementioned three UPs state that they have to spend huge amounts as carrying costs since the transportation system is not like that of the plain land. The beneficiaries have to count a handsome amount to fetch their aids and draw their allowances.

Capacity of UPs

The overall capacity of the visited UPs was not satisfactory. Many UP members, chairmen and secretaries cannot perform door to door visits to the ward level SSNP beneficiaries and community people due to lack of/inadequate logistics support. The problem is acute in Chengi, Mogdhara and Bakpur, three different geographically scattered and remote unions. During field work, it was noticed that the UP does not maintain updated beneficiary lists. Moreover, inadequate information on accurate literacy rate, area, population and other demographic and geographic characteristics of the unions was visible. It is found that the UP, generally, does not use computers to record and preserve documents because of which the UP cannot serve the people timely and properly.

People's Perception on Quantity of Aids

The SSNP beneficiaries claimed that they received lesser quantity of aid (food grains like

rice and wheat) than they are entitled to. The VGD beneficiaries claimed that they generally received 20-22 KG rice/wheat instead of their rightful quantity of 30 KG. Responding to the aforementioned deviation, some of the UP chairmen/members mentioned the following reasons:

- 4
- multiple journeys from govt. storage to UP office
- loss/wastage of wheat or rice due to holes in the sacks
- variation of quantity between government storage and UP weighing
- compensation of transportation cost and support given to some non beneficiaries on humanitarian ground

Regarding weighting of the food grains at the government storage, one of the UP chairmen said, "We have tried our best to understand how the people at the storage provide us a lesser quantity than the actual amount. Even during the last emergency situation (2007-2008), the people at the government storage gave us a lesser amount in front of the army personnel, but nobody (including the army) could understand how the scale was operated".

Among the beneficiaries, the older, weaker and disabled ones suffer more while drawing their allowances from the bank. They have to be accompanied by someone as a helping hand that incurs some handsome costs for transportation and other related costs. Moreover, some beneficiaries driven by needs and poverty go to the bank to know the actual date of allowance disbursement, which also incurs some additional transportation and other costs. To avoid the situation, a particular date can be fixed for allowance disbursement. It is revealed from the views of the SSNP beneficiaries that transport and other related costs thus reduce a significant portion (20-25%) of the allowance.

Perceptions of Overturning Responsibilities

During the study, a tendency of overturning responsibilities was noticed between UP and UPZ authorities. Most of the UP staffs (member/chairmen) claim that there is a significant role of the upazila administration in finalizing SSNP beneficiary list. On the other hand, the UPZ authority states that SSNP beneficiary selection and implementation is the responsibility of UP members and chairmen. They said that UP members and chairmen are elected representatives of their respective localities and they live and work closely with the community people. One of the UP chairmen claims, the UPZ line officials especially PIO takes TK 4,000/= as bribe for allocating per metric ton of wheat under TR/Kabikha scheme. In another place, one of the chairmen claims that the UNO takes 20% of ADP allotment. The interviewed UPZ line officials mentioned that they had to undergo some pressures from the political and influential quarters as well as MPs. Some KII stated that the MPs also take bribe while releasing any allotment to the UPZ administration.

SSNPs as Tools of Drawing Voters' Attention

The FGDs with beneficiary groups show that there is no significant relationship between SSNP and drawing voters' attention during election. However, almost all the FGD participants (about 70%) from the non-beneficiary community people state that there is a deep functional relation between the two. They opine that the SSNP establishes a deep relationship/understanding between the UP members/chairmen and the beneficiaries. One of the community people, a discussant at Ailapatakata UP said, "The members/chairmen who favour someone in availing SSN benefits are seen favoured by the beneficiaries during election".

However, some discussants oppose the views and state that there are no such possibilities if the selection procedure remains free from nepotism and malpractices.

Perception on Limitations of SSNPs

The study reveals different types of limitations regarding SSNP implementation which include the following:

During Beneficiary Selection

There are some loopholes even at the initial stage of the SSNP implementation, according to most of the respondents. They consider the following as the common malpractices taking place in beneficiary selection:

- nepotism
- political partisanship
- bribery
- challenge of choosing most appropriate ones from huge alternative/eligible candidates
- challenge of depending on concrete data of beneficiaries
- lack of database on inhabitants living in remote areas
- lack of enthusiastic investigation and monitoring from the UPZ administration
- lack of punishment for the malpractices in SSNP implementation

During Implementation

transport and other related costs reduce the actual quantity of aid

- illiterate, old/weak ones have to depend on others for writing cheques in exchange of money (there are some brokers inside and outside the banks who take Tk 10-20 for writing each cheque for the beneficiaries)
- lack of concrete information about aid delivery, for which beneficiaries remain in uncertainty

Regarding Quantity and Coverage

The respondents identified following drawbacks regarding quantity and coverage of aid:

- the amount of aid is comparatively insufficient against the need and level of poverty of the beneficiaries
- distributed amount is lesser than allocation[VGD/VGF beneficiaries are disbursed 20-22/7-8 KG (rice or wheat) respectively which is much less than the exact amount(30 KG for VGD and 10 KG for VGF beneficiaries)]
- aid collection cost (old age pension, disabled and widow allowance beneficiaries have to spend up to 20-25% of their granted money for drawing the same)
- number of SSNP is too little to cover the vast number of vulnerable people

Regarding Policy

- the Poverty Map developed by World Food Programme (WFP and World Bank, updated in February 2009) does not provide comprehensive poverty picture at the UP and Ward level
- imbalanced distribution of aids at the union and ward levels
- equitable distribution policy of some of the SSNPs at the ward and union level
- use of national ID cards as age evidence for the old age pension, since many ID cards contain errors in recording age.
- lack of clear SSNP distribution policy from the UPZ level to union and ward level
- inappropriate community participation in the overall implementation of SSNPs
- fixing 49 years as age limit for VGD beneficiaries
- absence of nationwide campaigning on SSNPs

Chapter: Three Conclusion, Limitations and Way Forwards

The research team paid visits to the surveyed unions, met a good number of SSNP beneficiaries, community people, SSNP implementers (UP members, chairmen, presidents/secretaries of different committees, stakeholders like civil society members, UPZ administration, UNO, PIO, SWO, WCWAO, UEO and other officials and staff) during the study. This allowed the team with a comprehensive understanding of overall SSNP implementation.

The team experienced some challenges/limitations in conducting the study which are as follows:

- dearth of information on SSNPs at the UP, and even at the UPZ level administration
- lack of coordination among different SSNP implementing bodies
- apprehension of disseminating information on SSNPs by the authorities
- tendency of suppressing information on SSNPs
- lack of cooperation to the study team by the HAI partners and the concerned authorities consulted in some of the study areas
- tendency of overturning responsibilities by the UP and UPZ administration
- remoteness of the selected areas in terms of communication and distance
- limited time for the study team to cover such a comprehensive issue

Way Forwards

During Beneficiary Selection

Following measures should be taken to ensure transparent beneficiary selection:

• the beneficiary selection committee should consult and include more civil society members having demonstrated neutrality, transparency and credibility to the community people. If needed, there should be a budgetary provision for accomplishing entrusted responsibilities associated with beneficiary selection. Necessary logistics should be ensured for the committee for arranging community gathering and inspecting potential beneficiary's homestead. The members of the committee should have capability of checking the demographic factors of the potential beneficiaries including their particulars. The members of the committee should be oriented to the selection and implementation guidelines of the government. Necessary training, workshops and sharing meetings should be arranged to ensure common understanding among the committee members.

- a comprehensive ward focused data base of potential SSNP beneficiaries should be developed which will function as the fundamental platform for selecting the beneficiaries. Such a data base will not only help the local administration to run their day to day business smoothly, but will also help the high level policy makers to adopt effective policies as per the volume of needs. Such data base will help avoid repetition of SSNP schemes to a particular beneficiary.
- enthusiastic/proactive investigation, supervision and monitoring by respective UPZ administration should be carried out on regular basis
- grassroots people should be communicated with the guiding principles and selection criteria of the SSNP benefits to lessen the gap between their expectation and reality of the SSNP coverage
- accountability of the UP members and chairmen should be increased; cases of allegations of taking bribes and other forms of misappropriation of power should be addressed properly and brought to justice

During Implementation

- food aids should be given in packed sacks to maintain accuracy of the aid quantity
- transferring/disbursing money to different cash beneficiaries from union level, local institutions, UP office or any other suitable venue can be considered for the gathering of beneficiaries for a particular day
- door to door distribution can be carried out to reach the extreme old, feeble and disabled ones
- help desks should be installed in banks to serve the illiterate, old and weaker ones, to assist them in writing of cheques and to provide other forms of assistance in getting the money/cash. The banks disbursing cash to the beneficiaries should be free from the menace of brokers
- concrete information should be disseminated about the date of aid delivery
- behaviour of implementers at the grassroots level should be decent and welcoming to the beneficiaries, who should be treated with honour and dignity
- life-skill training for the VGD beneficiaries should be arranged together with food aids so that they can effectively apply their knowledge and skill on changing their lives and living status
- along with receiving SSNP benefits, the beneficiaries should be involved in Income
 Generating Activities (IGA) so that they can be self-reliant even before completion of
 the aid -tenure

Regarding Quantity and Quality of Aids

- quantity of aids (both food and cash) should be reconsidered in line with the current market and inflation situation
- VGD/VGF beneficiaries should be provided with their rightful amount, strong monitoring and supervision is needed from the concerned departments of the government in this regard
- quality of the food gains (rice/wheat) should be maintained and checked before distribution.

Regarding Policy

- the poverty map developed by the WFP and WB should be updated and expanded up to ward and union level
- a balanced and fair distribution of aids at the union and ward levels should be ensured
- number of population, target group of potential beneficiaries, needs and intensity of poverty rather than equal distribution policy at the ward and union level should be considered
- the use of national ID cards as age evidence for the old age pension should be reconsidered, since many ID cards contain errors in recording age. Besides, many illiterate old people do not know their real date of birth
- community participation in the overall implementation of SSNPs should be increased
- the age for VGD beneficiaries should be reconsidered since many women are still very active and energetic even after the age of 49
- an integrated SSNP service desk should be initiated at the UPZ administration which will produce time to time reports on the latest status of the SSNP implementation. Moreover, it would record and document detailed information on the SSNP allocations, number of beneficiaries and impact of the SSNPs
- nation wide campaigning on the SSNP reflecting their long term goals and targets should be introduced



















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