

**Combining Targeting Methodologies for
Better Targeting of the Extreme Poor:
Some preliminary findings from BRAC's CFPR/TUP Programme**

**Imran Matin
Shantana R. Halder**

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Both the authors are researchers at the Research and Evaluation Division (RED) of BRAC. They are grateful to Ms. Rabeya Yasmin, Programme Manager of the BRAC CFPR/TUP Programme.

Abstract

Since January 2002, BRAC has started a new program targeted at the extreme poor, called, 'Challenging the Frontiers of Poverty Reduction: Targeting the Ultra Poor' (CFPR/TUP). This Programme seeks to challenge the frontiers of poverty reduction by addressing two key limitations of much poverty reduction interventions to date. First, the Programme seeks to 'push down' the reach of development programmes through specific targeting of the ultra poor who have suffered relative neglect in most development programme interventions to date. Secondly, it seeks to 'push out' the domain within which existing approaches operate, by addressing dimensions of poverty that many conventional approaches fail to address. Specifically, this involves a shift away from the conventional service delivery mode of development programming to focussing on human capital, and the structures and processes that disempower the poor, especially women, and constraint their livelihood. It is an approach that puts social development, specifically a rights-based approach to health and socio-political empowerment, at the heart of the agenda.

This paper has two objectives. The first is an introduction of the new BRAC Programme that aims to experiment with a different type of approach to attacking extreme poverty. More specifically, the focus in this paper is to introduce the targeting methodology used in this Programme. The underlying theme of both the CFPR/TUP Programme and the targeting methodology it used is an acknowledgement of the power and strength of combining methods and approaches and thereby leveraging each other. The Programme for instance combines promotion and protection oriented mechanisms to attacking poverty and uses this mix at various levels acknowledging the idea that the structures that create and reproduce poverty work at multiple levels. Similarly, the targeting approach used in the Programme also combines various targeting methodologies and knowledge streams about who the extreme poor are and where they live. The second objective of this paper is to use Programme data emerging out of the targeting exercise to undertake preliminary exploration of questions of effectiveness of the approach used.

The combining of various targeting approaches and drawing from different streams of knowledge has been the main innovativeness of the targeting methodology used in the CFPR/TUP programme. The close correspondence between community perception of the variables distinguishing the extreme poor from the other wealth groups and what the Programme developed based on reading of existing poverty profile literature of Bangladesh points to the maturity and evolution of formal, more academic knowledge on poverty profile in being able to capture the categories and descriptions used by poor people themselves. This is encouraging. What is needed now is moving beyond more grounded poverty profile to more grounded understanding of the various mechanisms through which poverty persists for some and not for others and what can be done about it.

However, the big differences between the two closely ranked groups of the poor—the extreme poor and those just above, also suggest that there is a structural break, rather than a continuum in terms of deprivation of opportunities, security and empowerment that is differentiating the extreme poor from others. It is through a better understanding of the various dimensions, dynamics and interlinkages of these structural breaks can we design the most effective strategies and programmatic approaches for this group

Introduction and Paper Structure

This paper has two objectives. The first is an introduction of the new BRAC Programme, called 'Challenging the Frontiers of Poverty Reduction : Targeting the Ultra Poor, Targeting Social Constraints' (CFPR/TUP hereafter) that aims to experiment with a different type of approach to attacking extreme poverty. More specifically, the focus in this paper is to introduce the targeting methodology used in this Programme. The underlying theme of both the CFPR/TUP Programme and the targeting methodology it used is an acknowledgement of the power and strength of combining methods and approaches and thereby leveraging each other. The Programme for instance combines promotion and protection oriented mechanisms to attacking poverty and uses this mix at various levels acknowledging the idea that the structures that create and reproduce poverty work at multiple levels. Similarly, the targeting approach used in the Programme also combines various targeting methodologies and knowledge streams about who the extreme poor are and where they live. The second objective of this paper is to use Programme data emerging out of the targeting exercise to undertake preliminary exploration of questions of effectiveness of the approach used.

The paper is structured in the following manner.

The first section gives an overview of the CFPR/TUP Programme within the context of poverty in Bangladesh and the evolution of programmatic approaches for addressing extreme poverty within BRAC. The second section introduces the targeting methodology used in the Programme. Section three is a brief discussion of the data used for the study. The CFPR/TUP targeting methodology made use of a list of simple indicators developed by a review of poverty literature and research studies conducted by the BRAC's Research and Evaluation Division. In section four, we discuss how these indicators fare in terms of distinguishing between the extreme poor and other poverty groups. Section five assesses the targeting effectiveness of the Programme from a number of perspectives.

The six Programme Area Offices, a pair from each of the three Programme districts, from which we collected the targeting information, were purposively selected to explore area differences in targeting. One of these area offices in each pair was located in the district town, while the other was located in some distance away from the district town. In section six, we explore the area differences in the characteristics of the extreme poor and targeting performance of the Programme. Though literature in the area of targeting effectiveness abound, the cost of targeting is relatively less discussed. We use data on cost of the targeting carried out for this Programme in Section seven to provide some basic idea on this matter. In section eight, by the way of conclusion, we summarize the discussion in the paper and highlight the theme of combining approaches and knowledge about poverty as an innovative approach to effective targeting.

Dreze and Sen (1989) distinguish two different, but related, goals and means for poverty-reduction – protection which seeks to prevent a decline in living standards (and especially hunger and starvation), and promotion which aims to eliminate deprivation (commonly by raising low incomes). Devereux (2001) has extended these into the concepts of livelihood protection and livelihood promotion. Protection and promotion are closely inter-linked. Effective livelihood protection makes livelihood promotion more likely as a household will have the confidence to take on more risky, higher return economic activities so that income can be raised. Successful promotion raises the earnings and assets of a household so that there are more resources available for protection.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s there was a global shift away from protectional approaches to poverty-reduction and towards promotional approaches and ‘workfare’ (Peck 2001). This is associated with the ascendancy of neo-liberal ideas which emphasise the need for higher levels of aggregate economic production, the capping of public expenditure and which warn of the moral hazard of welfare dependency. This shift has particular relevance to understanding public action in Bangladesh where the large NGO sector has moved from its early focus on welfare and social protection to an emphasis on micro-enterprise development, self-employment and income generation.

I.1 Poverty in Bangladesh and the Extreme Poor: A Fragmented Achievement

Bangladesh is a country with high levels of deprivation, but things have been improving. Income poverty has declined from an estimated 58 percent of the population in 1983/4 to just below 50 percent in 2000. However, this remains a high figure as it means that 65 million people fall under the official upper poverty line. Around 25 percent of the population are hardcore poor in terms of the lower poverty line. Commonly in Bangladesh those falling between the upper and lower poverty lines are termed the ‘moderate poor’, while those below the lower poverty line are termed the ‘hardcore poor’. The conceptualisation behind the hardcore poor is that they experience extreme poverty and that, because of their lack of opportunities for upward mobility, their poverty lasts a long time or throughout their entire life. It is the hardcore poor that are the focus of the CFPR/TUP Programme.

Research on poverty dynamics is relatively rare in Bangladesh compared to the wealth of cross-sectional studies and comparisons of poverty trends. However, there is evidence that despite the modest decline in income poverty there have been some positive shifts in the dynamics of poverty. There has been a significant decline in certain manifestations of extreme poverty--- the intensity of seasonal deprivations have reduced considerably; the percentage of the population going without three meals a day has lowered substantially; access to basic clothing has become almost universal; and, the proportion of the population living in houses vulnerable to adverse weather conditions has gone down (Rahman, 2001).

Improvements, however, have not spread uniformly across the poor and, in particular, those living in the flood-prone areas beside major rivers have benefited little from poverty-reduction. Persistent extreme poverty in these areas has been found to be the result of geographical factors rather than household characteristics. Rahman (1998) has argued that the net result of the emerging poverty dynamics on the poor has been the shift from being *vulnerable* to income erosions to being more *resilient* to income shocks.

The first half of the 1990s pointed to fluctuating incomes faced by the poor resulting in their movements in and out and within the poverty line. The experience in the latter half of the decade indicated improvements in the coping capacities of the poor, highlighted by the rapid recovery from the debilitating effects of the 1998 floods.

There are numerous poverty-reduction programmes in Bangladesh and it is not feasible to review all of them here. What must be noted, however, is that there is a broad consensus that even well-respected programmes generally fail to reach the extremely and the persistently poor. This was demonstrated in detail by Rahman and Hossain (1995) and has been a common finding about government and NGO activities throughout the 1990s. While government failure to reach the poorest should come as no surprise, given the problems that the state encounters in service-delivery in Bangladesh (Landell Mills 2002), the problems that NGOs have encountered, despite their commitment to assisting the poorest, have been greater than expected. The Dutch aid agency NOVIB reported in the mid-1990s that 'the NGOs have not yet taken a pro extreme poor approach to poverty-alleviation' (NOVIB 1996). A nationally representative survey found that 41 percent of eligible, poor households did not have any contact with the NGOs operating in their localities (Hussain, 1998).

While it is well documented that NGO microfinance programmes do not reach the extreme poor and may actively exclude them (Hashemi 1998; Hulme and Mosley 1996; Rahman 1998), Rahman and Razzaque (2000) have found that almost three quarters of the hardcore poor have never received social development services from NGOs. Indeed, they find that the percentage of households who do not receive the non-financial services provided by NGOs is almost the same between the hardcore poor and the non-poor. They argue that the main reason for this lies in the fact that most NGOs offering social development services, such as essential health or basic education, do so through the structures which deliver microfinance. By design, these tend to exclude the hardcore poor.

Microfinance, the mainstay of most NGO programmes in Bangladesh, though an effective poverty-alleviating instrument, is not suitable for all categories of the poor. For those trapped in chronic food insecurity with no asset base to protect themselves from the myriad web of shocks, microfinance can be ineffective and sometimes counter productive. However, the idea of microcredit has dominated thinking on poverty-reduction in the country. Much good has come of such a common rallying point. It has raised awareness of the role that poor peoples' own agency plays in development, has professionalized the development sector in terms of serious planning and strategic thinking towards sustainability, reduced dependence on donor funding and provided models for mass outreach to millions of poor people. However, the flip side of the coin is that such a powerful idea has encouraged programmes that treat the poor as a homogeneous group of self-employed microentrepreneurs who need to raise the profitability of their businesses.

1.2 BRAC and the Extreme Poor: The Story and Experiences of BRAC's IGVGD

The dominant approach to poverty-reduction targeted at the extreme poor has been food transfer which although vital only provides short-term food security. These programmes are usually time bound and once over, the overall livelihood situation and prospects of those receiving them change little. BRAC has been a pioneer in experimenting with approaches that

could package and sequence other interventions so that those receiving food transfers can get to a more solid footing and gradually take on the challenge of using more market based instruments, such as microfinance. This has been the approach behind BRAC's Income Generation for Vulnerable Group Development (IGVGD) programme --- it transformed what used to be a short term food security programme (known as Vulnerable Group Feeding Programme) into a cushion and a stepping stone for an opportunity for inclusion into more mainstream the development process (Hashemi, 2001; Matin, 2002; Matin and Hulme, 2002).

The IGVGD programme conceptualizes progression towards graduation in a certain way which may be at odds with the realities of the lives of the extreme poor. This came across very clearly in a recent WFP study that unpacked the various elements of the IGVGD package and explored various types of participation (Webb et al., 2001). The study argued that a programme expectation driven 'aggregation fallacy' existed --- while many aspects of the programme are very valuable to ultra-poor women, the full package on offer may not be. The approach though extremely attractive in concept, made an assumption of treating the extreme poor as a homogenous group creating disconnect between ultra-poor women's personal motivations, circumstances, on the one hand, and constraints to participation and the expectation of the programme planners, on the other.

The study highlighted that a more nuanced understanding of the realities of the lives of the ultra-poor is called for, as not all of them view effective participation in terms of 'graduation' at the end of a completed sequence of pre-determined steps. Linking 'graduation' as a linear progression towards increasing 'microfinancability' of those who pass through the cycle, created programme systems, incentives and structures that were so focussed on delivering expected graduation, that the mismatch between these structures and ultra-poor peoples' expectations, motives and realities of their lives became difficult to reconcile. It is this realization that forms the departure point for the recently launched BRAC programme for the ultra-poor.

I.3 The CFPR/TUP Approach:

Within BRAC, the idea of a radically new programmatic approach to addressing the problems of the extreme poor started in 1999 with the development of a concept paper and a series of consultations leading to a first proposal to the donor consortium in June, 2000. The Research and Evaluation Division (RED) of BRAC contributed significantly to this process through a nation wide study on the state of the extreme poor with particular focus on providing a better understanding of their development needs (Halder and Husain, 2001), and a subsequent study that examined the various types of development programmes being implemented by NGOs for the ultra-poor in 14 regions of the country. Based on a detailed review by an appraisal mission significant revisions were done involving detailed consultation with a large number of BRAC staff at various levels through workshops and numerous team meetings. Finally, the programme got approved in August, 2001.

The Programme seeks to challenge the frontiers of poverty reduction by addressing two key limitations of much poverty reduction interventions to date. First, the Programme seeks to 'push down' the reach of development programmes through specific targeting of the ultra poor who have suffered relative neglect in most development programme interventions to date. This neglect comes in two forms, one, those who are left behind, and those who are cases of 'adverse inclusions'. The first case is self-evident and the 'pushing down' programme components will

target this group specifically. The other group consists of those who are passive participants in many mainstream development programmes--- they fall behind and the conventional strategies, at least on their own, are not appropriate for them. The IGVDG clients are a case in point and they will also be a target for the 'pushing down' strategy of the Programme. So will be the ultra-poor among the traditional BRAC village organisations (VOs) in its BRAC Development Programme (BDP). For convenience, we refer to the left out ultra-poor as 'specially targeted ultra-poor' (STUP, hereafter), the IGVDG clients as 'IGVDG ultra-poor' and the last group as BDP ultra-poor. The acknowledging of a heterogeneous group among the BDP VOs and the need for a more nuanced approach with respect to the IGVDG clients is an important progression in terms of poverty analysis and the strategies needed.

Secondly, it seeks to 'push out' the domain within which existing approaches operate, by addressing dimensions of poverty that many conventional approaches fail to address. Specifically, this involves a shift away from the conventional service delivery mode of development programming to focussing on human capital, and the structures and processes that disempower the poor, especially women, and constraint their livelihood. It is an approach that puts social development, specifically a rights-based approach to health and socio-political empowerment, at the heart of the agenda.

Though the thinking behind the 'pushing out' strategy is not specifically targeted at the ultra poor, but rather at the policies, structures and institutions reproducing and sustaining poverty, the strategy explicitly acknowledges the importance of the impact of the wider level environment on all forms of poverty, including extreme poverty. In doing so, the strategy highlights the need to be working towards influencing and changing that environment, as well as 'pushing down' programmes with new approaches through specific targeting towards those left behind.

Programme components in the 'pushing down' front include, a special investment programme in the form of a grant of assets/capital in kind and stipend, a skills development training programme, a programme of essential health care and a social development programme. All these are to be provided to the STUP. For the other two groups, namely, the IGVDG ultra-poor and the BDP ultra-poor, the main focus will be the skills development training along with social development and provision of essential health care services. These two groups of ultra-poor will not be a part of the special investment programme.

The programme aims to cover 70,000 STUP beneficiaries, 800,000 IGVDG members and 4,75,000 BDP ultra-poor during 2002-2006. While the STUP beneficiaries will be selected from specially targeted geographic regions having a high degree of poverty, the remaining target group can come from any BRAC Programme areas.

There are two components that will address the concern on 'pushing out'--- (a) Social development programme which will provide support for the development of Ward and Union associations representatives of the poor³. It will provide guidance and support on organisational development and advocate for the cause and concerns of the poor. (b) Health care services which will support Government's Health and Population Strategy through a rights-based

³ A Ward is the lowest level of administrative unit. Several wards form a union and several unions form a sub-district. Each ward has an elected ward member and there is one selected woman ward member for every three wards. At the union level there is an elected union chairperson.

approach to essential health care services. Much of the activities of the 'pushing out' strategy will be working on structures and processes at various levels to strengthen the socio-political assets of the poor. This leg of the programme will operate in all the BRAC programme areas. The Table in Annex A maps the various Programme components to the different target groups of the Programme.

The whole idea behind the CFPR/TUP approach is to enable the ultra poor develop new and better options for sustainable livelihoods. And this requires:

- A combination of approaches (promotional, such as skills training and protective, such as asset grants and stipends, health care services)
- Attacking constraints at various levels (household and the wider environments of institutions, structures and policies)
- Working within a multi-agent framework (strengthening institutions of the poor that can leverage their own agency and poverty focussed advocacy by institutions representing the poor, such as BRAC).

The CFPR/TUP approach challenges itself to deliver on all these fronts.

II. Targeting Methodology

The first phase of the CFPRP/TUP programme operates in all the upazillas of the three northern districts of Bangladesh--- Kurigram, Rangpur and Nilphamari⁴. BRAC has an extensive network of regional offices at the district level and area, and outposts at the upazilla level from which it operates a range of development programmes. Local level knowledge of the programme staff at the upazilla level was used to draw a list of clusters within their working area where the level of NGO operations is relatively low and the poorer households are clustered. A team of three TUP POs then visited these clusters and areas surrounding it to verify, create rapport with the inhabitants and arrive at a final list of clusters called 'spots'.

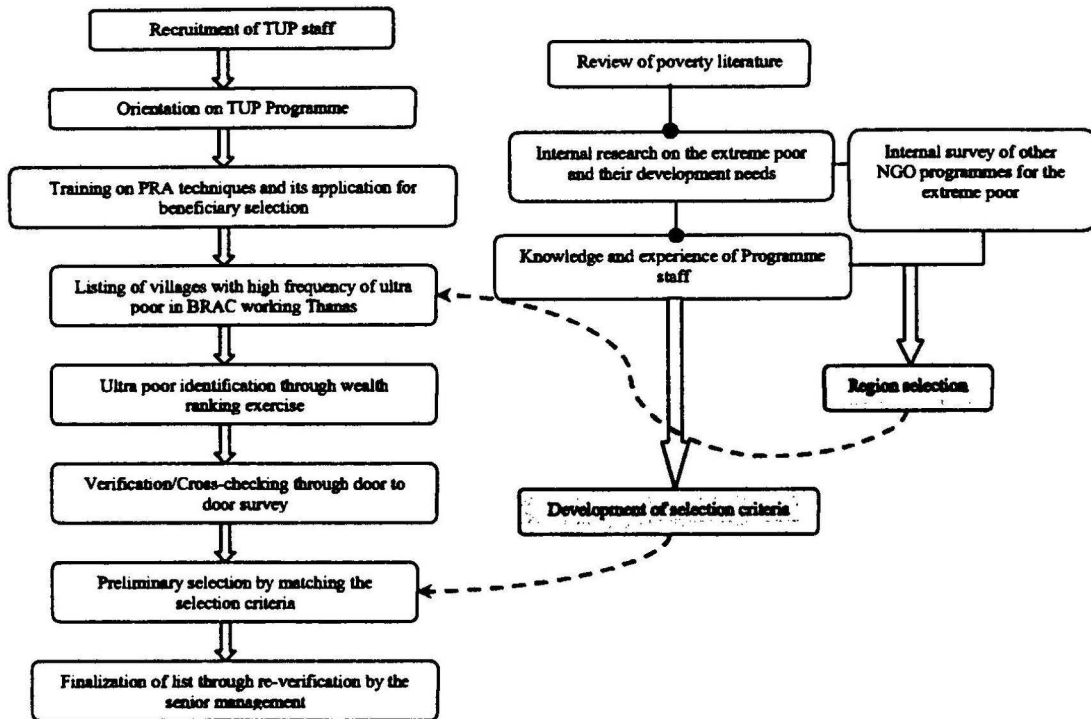
The next step is to conduct a PWR exercise in these selected spots. Because the maximum size of such a PWR exercise was deemed not to exceed 100 households, this set a natural limit to the size of each spot. In most cases these spots corresponded with a *para* within a village---these are socio-physical partitioning of typical villages in Bangladesh. There was every attempt to cover the whole village through such spots, though clusters which were predominantly inhabited by better-off people were possibly excluded.

Once the PWR exercise is done, a survey is administered on the 'poorest' households identified through the PWR exercise. This is in most cases the households in the bottom-most wealth category. The information from the survey is then tallied with programme set eligibility criterion (see below) to draw a list of preliminary potential beneficiaries. This preliminary list is fully cross-

⁴ Spatially disaggregated poverty profile information has not been a focus of existing poverty literature in Bangladesh. An attempt on this has been made in the Bangladesh Human Development Report, 2000 (BIDS, 2000) where district level income poverty index and human poverty index have been calculated. All the three districts covered by the Programme in its first phase falls in the highest group in terms of income poverty index (50.1% and above), while in terms of human poverty index, the three districts fall in the second highest group (45.1% to 50%).

checked by a team of managers at the area office, regional office and senior programme managers from the Head Office by visiting the preliminarily selected beneficiary households to arrive at a final list of TUP beneficiaries.

Figure 3: Selection process of TUP



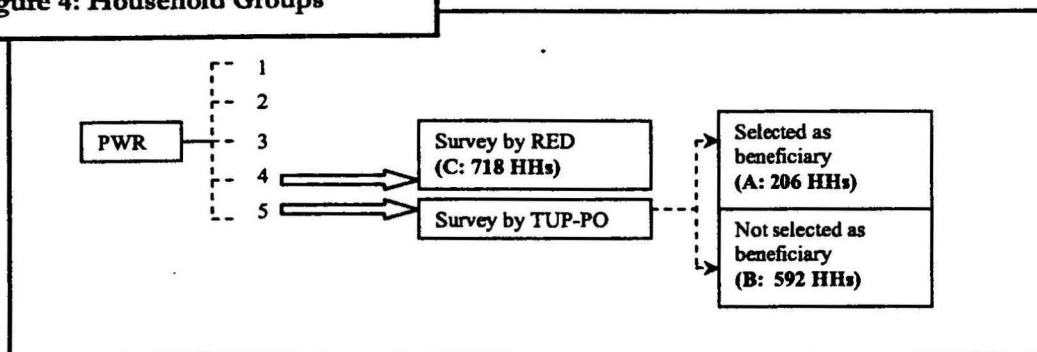
III. The Data

This note is based on two information sources. The first comes from survey information. The second information source was the weekly monitoring reports that were sent from each of the Area Offices (AOs) to the Head Office. These reports include spot wise information.

For the survey information, from each of the three TUP Programme districts we selected two AOs -- one located in or near the district town, while the other located far away from the district town. From each of these AOs, we selected a maximum of 6 spots from three villages⁵. We collected all the survey forms completed by the TUP-POs pertaining to the selected spots. These were administered on all households identified as the poorest in the PWR exercise. In addition, we used the same survey form on the all the households that were ranked just above the extreme poor household group in the PWR. In this way, survey information was collected from 1,516 household survey forms.

⁵ In one village we found up to seven spots selected for PWR exercises. We therefore decided to restrict our sample up to two spots from one village.

Figure 4: Household Groups



These can be divided into three categories shown as A, B, and C in the figure below. 798 of these survey forms were complete by the PO-TUP from the sampled area offices, while the remaining 718 survey forms were completed by RED enumerators (Group C, hereafter). The focus of the survey was to collect individual (essentially marital status) and household level information of the main adult woman of the household, as the Programme was targeting the extreme poor household through such woman member.

IV. The Programme Set Targeting Criteria: How well do they fare?

After the PWR, the programme set criteria drove the selection process. These are listed in Table 1 below. A question can be raised—how well do these criteria proxy extreme poverty? As PWR defined extreme poor households that did not fulfil these criteria were excluded, this question becomes an important one.

Table 1: Programme set Criteria

Basic eligibility (All selected households will have to satisfy these base eligibility conditions)	The household should not be borrowing from a microcredit providing NGO
	The household should not be a current cycle recipient of VGD card
	There should be at least one adult woman in the household who is physically able to put in labour towards the asset transferred.
	Total land owned can be no more than 10 decimals ⁶
Positive discrimination (At least 2 of these conditions will have to be satisfied)	Female headed households and households with divorced/abandoned/widowed women
	Adult women in the household o labour based work outside the homestead
	Households where main male income earner is physically not able to work regularly
	Households where school going aged children have to labour
	Households having negligible assets beyond the home they live in

⁶ In the original list, the total land owned condition was not placed in the 'base eligibility' conditions list. However, our data shows that of the 206 selected, only 3 (1.5%) did not satisfy the total land restriction condition. The corresponding percentage for all extreme poor households turns out to be almost 13%. This suggests that the total land restriction condition was a de-facto basic eligibility condition.

Let us start with the base eligibility criteria set by the Programme. As the base eligibility criteria is used as the first level screening by the Programme that needs to be fulfilled by any household to be selected, it is important to understand which of the base Programme eligibility criteria is more important in excluding. We use the set diagrams below to demonstrate this for the two wealth groups. On average, the base eligibility criteria set is a pro-extreme poor screen--- while 68% of the PWR identified poorest group of households satisfies the base criteria, the corresponding figure is only 47% for the 'just above extreme poor' group of households. In both the wealth groups, not satisfying the base condition of 'no microcredit borrowing' is the most important reason for failing the base eligibility criteria, though as expected, it is much higher among the 'just above the extreme poor' wealth group. The second most important reason is not fulfilling the land holding restriction in the base eligibility criteria.

It is not possible to examine the strength of the overall targeting criteria set by the Programme in terms of its ability to discriminate between the extreme poor and other poverty groups using existing Programme data, as the Programme did not administer survey on the group of households that were above the PWR defined extreme poor households. We used the exact survey form used by the Programme and administered this on a randomly selected sample of households identified as 'just above the extreme poor' group in the PWR exercise.

Figure 5a: 'Exclusion' by the Basics: 'PWR poorest'

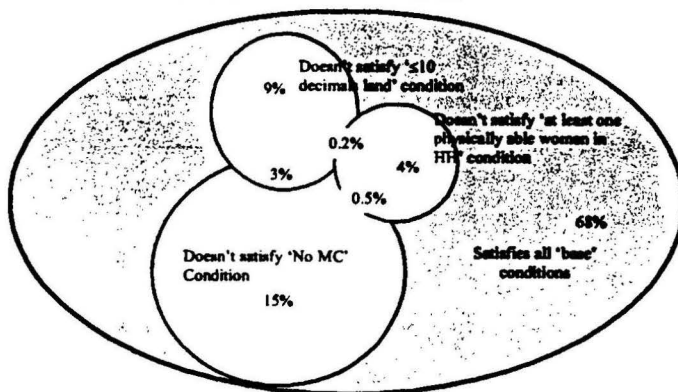
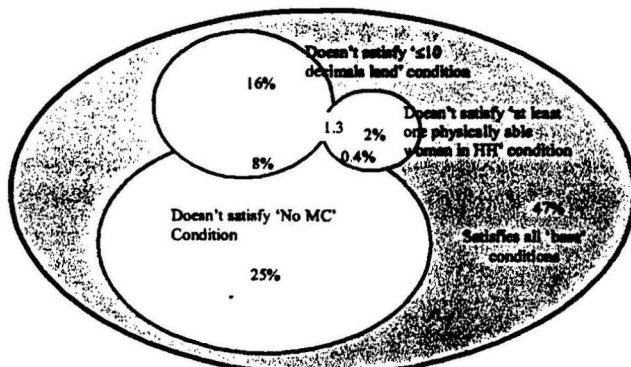


Figure 5b: 'Exclusion' by the Basics: 'Just above the PWR poorest'



In the Table 2 below, we compare these two groups of households with respect to a number of key variables including the Programme set criteria. If the Programme set criteria is a good proxy for identifying the extreme poor households, we would expect that the average difference in these variables between the two groups would be significant. This is what we see as shown in the Table below, suggesting a mutual agreement and good correspondence between the Programme set criteria and PWR identification of the extreme poor.

Table 2: Group Differences--- How well does the Programme criteria fare?

Variables	PWR defined Ultra poor (A+B)	PWR defined group just above the Ultra poor (C)
Marital status		
% widow	20%	6% [***]
% divorced/abandoned	8%	1% [***]
Demographic resources		
% of HHs where husband present but FHH	7%	<1% [***]
% of HHs with physically able husband	64%	88% [***]
% of HHs with no adult male	21%	3% [***]
% of HHs having school aged children labouring	12%	7% [***]
Assets—Land		
% of HHs who don't own cultivable land	90%	76% [***]
Av. land size for those who own	25.7	42.9 [***]
% of HHs who do not own the land of their house	44%	24% [***]
Assets-- Non Land		
% of HHs having no other asset beside the house	46%	29% [***]
NGO participation		
% of HHs borrowing from MFIs	19%	34% [***]

There are two important points that needs to be noted here. First, the important differences in these key variables we observe between the extreme poor and the group just above suggest that the quality of the PWR that was carried out was very satisfactory. This is even more impressive given the scale of the operations and the fact that none of the Programme staff who carried these out did not have any prior experience using this tool--- they learned this through the intensive training and in the course of their work. Second, the results of the table above also suggests that there was a close correspondence between community perception of the variables distinguishing the extreme poor from the other wealth groups and what the Programme developed based on reading of existing poverty profile literature of Bangladesh. In Annex B, we provide a thematic organisation of the various characteristics that emerged for the different poverty group from the PWR discussions, which were recorded by the Programme staff. This correspondence between the two, points to the maturity and evolution of formal, more academic knowledge on poverty profile in being able to capture the categories and descriptions used by poor people themselves.

V. Assessing Targeting Effectiveness:

The Table 2 above shows that the Programme set criteria fares very well in terms of distinguishing between the extreme poor and other poverty groups. The targeting methodology used by the Programme used information from a household level survey to ensure that among the PWR identified extreme poor it targets the poorest. The Table 3 below shows the results of comparing the two groups of the extreme poor--- those that were selected by the Programme and those that were not. Results clearly suggest that on average, the Programme was extremely successful in its objective of not only coming up with good targeting indicators but in ensuring their application.

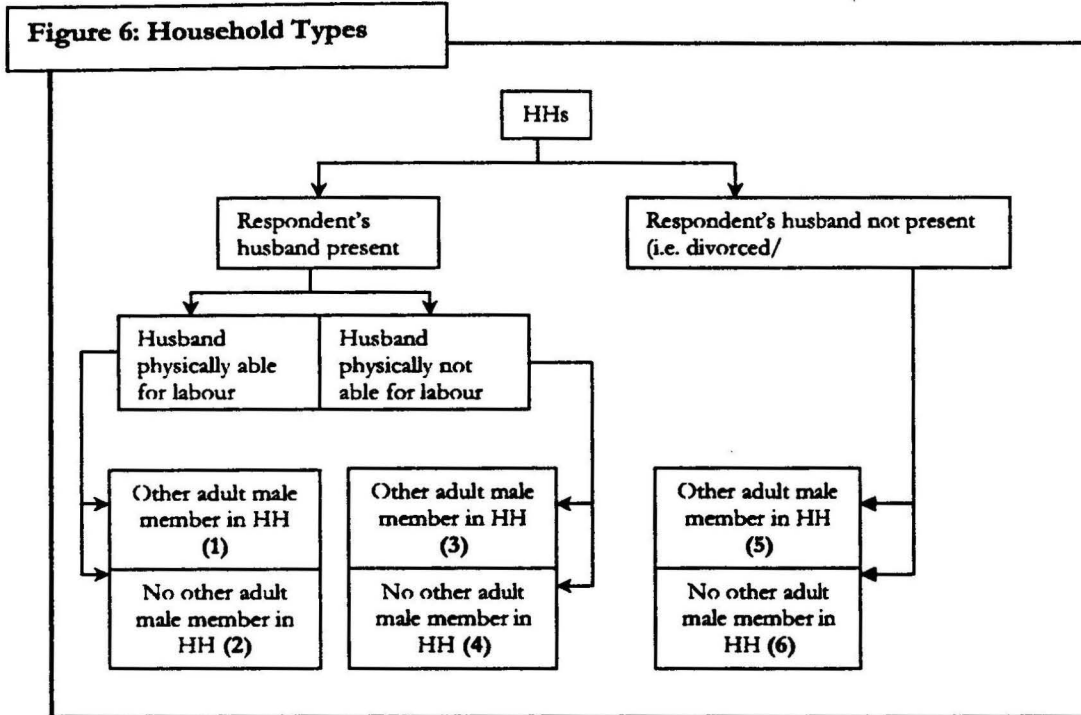
Table 3: Group Differences: How well did the Programme target?

Variables	Selected as beneficiary (A)	Not selected as beneficiary (B)
Marital status		
% widow	30%	16% [***]
% divorced/abandoned	15%	5% [***]
Demographic resources		
% of HHs where husband present but FHH	17%	4% [***]
% of HHs with physically able husband	43%	71% [***]
% of HHs with no adult male	36%	15% [***]
% of HHs having school aged children labouring	18%	10% [**]
Assets—Land		
% of HHs who don't own cultivable land	98%	88% [***]
% of HHs who do not own the land of their house	62%	38% [***]
Assets— Non Land		
% of HHs having no other asset beside the house	56%	43% [***]

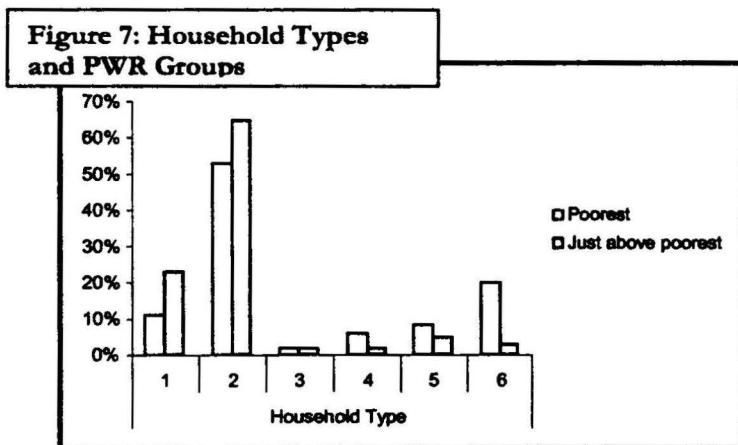
In order to get a more transparent understanding of Programme targeting performance, we create a few stylized, mutually exclusive groups of households based on data available. To assess targeting effectiveness, we construct a hierarchy among these household types in terms of depth of poverty, based on existing poverty literature and some empirical basis from the limited data available from the survey. Then, we compare the share of the various groups of households among those selected for the Programme with that of the overall extreme poor households who satisfy the base eligibility conditions.

We use the following decision tree to construct six mutually exclusive types of households (Figure 6). We essentially get two broad groups---one, households where the husband (of the respondent to the survey) is present, and two, where this is not the case, due to the respondent being widowed, divorced or abandoned. As the physical ability of the husband to work is an important demographic resource, we further divide the first group of households into those that have this attribute and those that do not. To get a finer division based on household's male labour power, we divide each of these into two groups based on presence of additional adult male in household beside the respondent's husband (group 1, 2, 3, and 4 below). We use the same variable (availability of adult male member in the household) for creating two sub groups

of the group of households where the respondent lives without the husband due to widowhood, being divorced or abandoned (group 5 and 6 below).



As expected the first two household types (1 and 2) are less likely than the other household types to belong to the poorest group, while the distribution of type 3 households seems equal between the two poverty groups that we have data on. Household type 4, 5 and 6 all have a higher probability to belong to the poorest group. However, household type 6 stands out as having the highest probability to be in the poorest group. Next is household type 4 and then household type 5.



In the Table 4 below we examine the differences between these household types amongst the PWR ranked extreme poor group of households in terms of a few key variables available from our survey data to get some basis for ranking them in terms of depth of poverty.

Table 4: Household types and poverty profile

Variables	Household Types					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Number of HHs (% of total poorest HHs)	85 (11%)	425 (53%)	15 (2%)	50 (6%)	76 (8%)	159 (20%)
% of HHs having microcredit participation	29%	22%	(8%)		22%	7%
% of HHs satisfying base eligibility conditions	48%	67%	73%	86%	61%	79%
% of HHs having owned crop land	14%	9%	(10%)		16%	6%
% of HHs having no asset beside homestead land	18%	43%	46%		51%	69%
% of HHs who do not own the land in which they live	26%	43%	47%		42%	58%

Note: Figures in brackets suggest a low cell frequency.

We get quite predictable patterns from this exercise, with some twists, though. Households well endowed in male labour, both in terms of quantity and quality are better-off, than households that are poorer in this resource. Thus, household types 1, and 2 appear to form a continuum and are less vulnerable than the other household types.

Households in which the respondent did not have husband present are mostly female headed households and have been shown in the poverty literature in Bangladesh to be more vulnerable. However, such households which do not have any adult male member (type 6) appear to be more vulnerable than the same family of households that do (type 5).

That the quality of adult male labour is extremely important (simplistically proxied here by assessing the physical ability of the respondents' husband, if present), is evidenced by the fact that households where the respondents' husband is not physically able for regular labouring, and there are no other adult male members in the household (type 4), are extremely vulnerable⁷. This is an important finding that needs to be kept in mind while targeting the extreme poor, as the conventional images, often tend to equate extreme poverty with female headedness, which needs to be further nuanced. One possible sequence of the household types that emerge from the above discussion in terms of depth of poverty could be [1, 2, 3, 5, 4, and 6].

In the Table below, we first calculate the percentage of households among all extreme poor households that satisfy the base eligibility conditions for each of the household types. This is the population share for each household type. Next, we calculate the percentage of households among all the households selected by the Programme for each of the household types. This is the Programme share for each household type. Dividing the latter by the former will give us a weight accorded by the Programme in selecting Programme beneficiary households for each household type. A figure greater than one would then indicate more than proportionate coverage and a figure less than one the opposite.

⁷ Unfortunately, we do not have physical ability for regular labour information for all working age members of the household. We have this information only for the husband of the respondent.

Table 5: Household types and their Programme coverage

HH Type	Description of HH type	% of HHs among all extreme poor HHs that satisfy the base eligibility conditions (1)	% of HHs among all HHs that have been selected by Programme (2)	(2/1)
1	Husband present, physically able, and other adult male members in HH	7.5%	4.4%	0.58
2	Same as above except that no other adult male member in HH	52.4%	38.8%	0.74
3	Husband present but physically not able. Other adult male member in HH	2%	1%	0.50
5	Husband not present. Other adult male member in HH	7.5%	10.7%	1.43
4	Husband present but physically not able. No other adult male member in HH	7.8%	9.7%	1.24
6	Husband not present. No other male member in HH	22.8%	35.4%	1.55

The results in the last column suggest that a greater than proportionate coverage has been achieved by the Programme for the worse-off type of households amongst the extreme poor. There has been a greater focus on households where the respondent did not have a husband, which is justified. However, lesser weight in the coverage of households of type 2 (where the respondents' husband is present, physically able and has no other adult male in the household) and more weight on type 4 households (where the respondents' husband is present but physically not able for regular labour and there are no other adult male in the household), would have been better. Perhaps, the fear that this type of households are not only vulnerable but incur major costs in terms of health expenses, time and morale and may not be able to retain the assets being provided by the Programme may have discouraged a greater coverage. Whatever may have been the reasons, given that the second highest concentration of the extreme poor households was found in the PWR exercises, a relatively greater weight by the Programme to type 4 households should be considered.

VI. Area Differences

When selecting the sample for this study, we purposively selected a pair of Area Office (AO) for each of the Programme districts with one AO located in or very close to the district town (sadar, hereafter) and the other far away (rural, hereafter). The idea was to explore area differences in the poverty profile and targeting performance. This section presents some findings on this aspect⁸.

In terms of the share of PWR poorest households among all households, there is no notable difference between the sadar (27%) and the remote AOs (26%). Neither is there any difference

⁸ We are fully aware that this is a very simple and too aggregated way of capturing area effects. There can be important differences within the area covered by a AO that may be more important than the difference between two AOs. Moreover, the interlinkages that an area economy may have with market and infrastructure at higher levels can be more important than mere geographical distance. Short of having more detailed village profile information, we resorted to this district town AO and geographically distant from district town distinction to do some introductory analysis on differences that may be caused due to placement.

between the sadar and the rural AOs in terms of the percentage of households selected by the Programme as a percentage of all households. The extreme poor households appear to be quite uniformly concentrated across district towns and upazillas further away.

Are the extreme poor living in the sadar areas different from those living in the rural areas? To address this question, in the Table 6 below we compare the extreme poor households in the sadar and rural AOs in terms of some key variables used in the rest of this paper. The results suggest a few important differences. Among the extreme poor households living in the sadar upazillas, the proportion of divorced/abandoned is significantly higher than it is among the same living in the rural upazillas. We do not have information as to why this may be, but one possible reason could be that the districts covered, especially Kurigram, has a sizable part of its area that is vulnerable to river bank erosion and charland. Households living in these parts of the district may have migrated to the sadar areas of the district. Often, the husband leaves for work in Dhaka and other major metropolitan cities of the country leaving their wife behind. Some of them remarry and do not return leaving the household left behind extremely vulnerable.

Given relatively greater livelihood diversification opportunities in the sadar areas, it is not surprising that a somewhat significantly higher proportion of extreme poor households living in there have their school going aged children involved in labour. Land is relatively scarce and expensive in the sadar setting and thus it is only to be expected that landlessness would be significantly higher amongst the extreme poor living there than their counterparts living in the rural areas. However, of those who do own some crop land, the average size is not significantly different between those living in sadar and rural areas. Interestingly, the percentage of extreme poor households who do not own the land in which they live is significantly lower amongst those living in the sadar areas. This is probably because it is difficult to have access to common property land, which is likely to be more valued in the sadar areas. Thus the only option would be to buy the homestead land, however meagre. Another reason could be, as better off landowners leave the more marginal areas with low levels of economic opportunity in the rural areas for areas safer from river bank erosion and closer to the sadar areas with greater economic opportunities; they settle their clients, usually very poor households to look after the left behind land. In this way they ensure their land ownership and reduce the fear of the land being grabbed⁹.

Again given relatively better market opportunities, the extreme poor living in the sadar areas tend to have higher levels of basic assets. It is probably the same reason due to which we find a significantly greater level of microcredit participation among the extreme poor living in the sadar areas compared to those living in the rural areas. Of course, the supply side aspect of heavier branch placement in the sadar areas is also an important part of the story.

We continue exploring the area level differences with respect to the household types and how they have been targeted developed in the preceding Section. We observe important differences between the sadar and rural AOs in terms of the importance that the different types of households received. In Table 7 below we see that the poorer types of households among the extreme poor received more favourable coverage in the sadar AOs compared to the rural ones. The almost proportionate to the extreme poor population coverage of the type 1 households in

⁹ This observation is based on the authors' field visits in the Programme areas during the targeting phase.

the rural AOs, which as we saw from the Table 4 above is relatively the best-off amongst the extreme poor, needs attention.

Table 6: Poverty profile and area differences

Variables	Sadar AOs	Rural AOs
Marital status		
% widow	20%	19%
% divorced/abandoned	12%	4% [**]
Demographic resources		
% of HHs where husband present but FHH	7%	6%
% of HHs with physically able husband	63%	64%
% of HHs with no adult male	42%	39%
% of HHs having school aged children labouring	14%	10% [*]
Assets—Land		
% of HHs who don't own cultivable land	94%	87% [***]
Av. land size for those who own	19	29
% of HHs who do not own the land of their house	39%	49% [***]
Assets— Non Land		
% of HHs having no other asset beside the house	43%	50% [**]
NGO participation		
% of HHs borrowing from MFIs	25%	12% [***]

Table 7: Programme targeting performance and area differences

Sadar AOs				
HH Type	Description of HH type	% of HHs among all extreme poor HHs that satisfy the base eligibility conditions (1)	% of HHs among all HHs that have been selected by Programme (2)	(2/1)
1	Husband present, physically able, and other adult male members in HH	7.6%	2.5%	0.33
2	Same as above except that no other adult male member in HH	48%	34.7%	0.72
3	Husband present but physically not able. Other adult male member in HH	2.2%	1.7%	0.77
5	Husband not present. Other adult male member in HH	8%	11.9%	1.48
4	Husband present but physically not able. No other adult male member in HH	7.3%	9.3%	1.27
6	Husband not present. No other male member in HH	26.9%	39.8%	1.48

Table 7 (cont): Programme targeting performance and area differences

Rural AOs				
HH Type	Description of HH type	% of HHs among all extreme poor HHs that satisfy the base eligibility conditions (1)	% of HHs among all HHs that have been selected by Programme (2)	(2/1)
1	Husband present, physically able, and other adult male members in HH	7.3%	6.8%	0.93
2	Same as above except that no other adult male member in HH	56.8%	44.3%	0.78
3	Husband present but physically not able. Other adult male member in HH	1.8%	0%	
5	Husband not present. Other adult male member in HH	7%	9.1%	1.30
4	Husband present but physically not able. No other adult male member in HH	8.4%	10.2%	1.21
6	Husband not present. No other male member in HH	18.7%	29.5%	1.57

The point we raised above about the possibility of type 4 households not receiving the kind of priority it deserves is borne out by the results here. Though compared to the rural AOs, the sadar AOs managed to target this type of households more favourably, compared to type 5 households (which despite the respondent being without a husband does have the support of other adult male members), the coverage of type 4 households is weak in both sadar and rural AOs. Type 4 households need more programme attention.

VII. Cost of Targeting

Good targeting lies at the heart of this Programme. This is the foundation of the challenge that the BRAC through its CFPR/TUP Programme has committed to address. An extremely well thought out equally well implemented targeting methodology has been used by this Programme combining levels of geographical targeting, community and programme's local knowledge of the areas and indicator based targeting. It is precisely because of the comprehensiveness and innovativeness of the targeting approach used by the Programme, that it is also important to have a sense of the direct cost of the approach. The Table 8 below is based on Programme data after the targeting of the first phase of the Programme had been completed in which a total of 6,827 beneficiaries had been finally selected for various types of training and subsequent asset transfer¹⁰.

According to the CFPR/TUP Programme budget (BRAC, 2001), each beneficiary will be given a grant in terms of assets and/or capital in kind worth taka 6,000 and a subsistence allowance of taka 4,320 during the project cycle, totalling a sum of taka 10,320 (US\$ 76). Thus, in order to

¹⁰ Not all those who would receive training would get an asset from the Programme. During the training phase, some may be considered inappropriate for the kind of assets that the Programme transfers and in some cases after learning more about the Programme during the training phase, some of the selected beneficiaries may decide not to participate.

transfer \$1 of grant to the extreme poor, the targeting cost incurred by the Programme comes to \$.08. This is quite low given the targeting effectiveness the Programme demonstrated¹¹.

Table 8: Cost of targeting per beneficiary

Types of services	Total (Tk.)
1. Salary and Benefits	
- RSS salary (3 persons * 4 months * Tk.10000)	1,20,000
- Salaries & benefits of PO7 (32 persons *4 months * 8000)+ (10 persons * 2 months * 8000)	11,84,000
- Salaries & benefits of PO5 (16 persons * 4 months * 5000) + (5 persons * 2 months * 5000)	3,70,000
2. Office rent & utilities (Tk. 500 per person-month * 51 persons * 4 months) +(Tk. 500 per person-month * 15 persons * 2 months)	1,17,000
3. Travelling & transport (Tk. 1,500 per person-month * 51 persons * 4 months) +(Tk. 1500 per person-month * 15 persons * 2 months)	3,51,000
4. Staff training (Tk. 1,145 per person x 66 persons)	75,570
5. Material cost (Tk. 25 per beneficiary x 6827 beneficiaries)	1,70,675
Sub total	23,88,245
6. HO management (5% of the sub-total)	1,19,412
Total costs	25,07,657
No. of finally selected beneficiaries	6827
Cost of targeting per beneficiary	367 (US\$ 6.27)

It is also to emphasize that for a programme like the CFPR/TUP that entails a new approach to working with a new target group, the targeting process and the cost involved should be seen in a dynamic sense, as investments. This allows the Programme staff to understand the local conditions, the community and the ground realities of the target group. This knowledge is central to the success of the CFPR/TUP programme¹².

¹¹ How different would have the targeting been if the Programme randomly selected among the PWR ranked extreme poor instead of doing a household survey and then selecting based on correspondence with Programme set criteria? We did a simple exercise of randomly selecting from the PWR ranked extreme poor households an equal number of households as was finally selected in the Programme, i.e. 206 households. We got only 61 (30%) households correspondence between the randomly selected households and those selected by the Programme in practice. Excluding the cases that corresponded and comparing between the two sets of selection of extreme poor households suggest that the Programme selected households are significantly poorer than those selected randomly—yet again proving the strength of Programme targeting of the poorer among the extreme poor households.

¹² The early writings by Professor Muhammad Yunus on the beginnings of the Grameen Bank emphasize the importance of such immersion processes for the success of microfinance work with the poor.

VIII. Conclusion

The combining of various targeting approaches and drawing from different streams of knowledge has been the main innovativeness of the targeting methodology used in the CFPR/TUP programme. The matrix below shows these combinations more clearly:

Table 9: Combining approach and knowledge		Poverty profile knowledge/experiences	
Targeting Approach	Formal	Informal/Programme	
Geographical	Selecting districts	Selecting villages/clusters within upazillas	
Community	Learning to use PWR techniques	Local area knowledge Rapport building for good PWR	
Indicator	Developing indicators	Interpretation, revision of indicators developed	

We did not have money metric poverty measures of the households, which could allow us to form a clearer assessment of targeting effectiveness. However, using various poverty sensitive attributes of households and comparing them with those who were ranked the poorest in the PWR exercises with those who were ranked just above suggest that the PWR exercises were extremely effective and well conducted. Again, amongst the extreme poor, comparing between those who were selected by the Programme and those who were not in also show that the targeting methodology applied by the CFPR/TUP Programme was not only successful in distinguishing between the extreme poor and other poverty groups, but also managed to select the worse-off group of households among the extreme poor. A simple exercise of randomly selecting households amongst the extreme poor and comparing them with those selected by the Programme clearly evidenced that those selected by the Programme were significantly worse off than those who would have been selected through a random method. Thus the cost of targeting, which is quite low, seems extremely worthwhile.

Literature on targeting discusses the concepts of inclusion and exclusion errors in targeting and these are closely related to measures of targeting effectiveness and cost effectiveness. As the CFPR/TUP Programme selected from those ranked in the PWR exercises as the poorest, inclusion error becomes a difficult concept to operationalise. Using a money metric measure of poverty could have allowed a measure of inclusion error, which we did not have¹³. As for exclusion error, there are two broad groups that given the Programme targeting design, did not have the programme choice—one, the households belonging to the wealth groups that were not identified as the extreme poor in the PWR exercises; and two, those who were identified as extreme poor but did not satisfy the base eligibility conditions. Again, measuring the extent of exclusion error would require money metric poverty measures.

Though on average the performance of the overall targeting of the CFPR/TUP Programme is laudable, there are certain finer areas that need programmatic attention. Comparing the targeting

¹³ The BRAC Research and Evaluation Division (RED) is undertaking a comprehensive baseline study which will collect information allowing the construction of money metric poverty measures and assessing inclusion and exclusion errors.

performance of the district town (sadar) AOs with that of the more distant AOs (rural), we note that the sadar performance has been better. This needs further exploration, not least because the sadar-rural sample selection here may need further fine tuning. Nevertheless, the difference needs flagging.

The other fine point that emerges from this study is relatively weaker focus that the Programme has on the male headed households where the male head is physically not able for labour and there are no other adult male members in the household. Such households, we show are extremely vulnerable and fails to participate the least in mainstream development programmes, such as microcredit. They also have the greatest pressure to send their school going aged children for labour. Their circumstances appear to be much worse than some types of female headed households, especially those that do have some adult male member support in the household. Yet, the Programme coverage for such female headed household group is much stronger than the type of incapacitated male headed household we just described. Further research focussing on this group of households to better understand their support mechanisms and dimensions of vulnerabilities is surely needed.

The close correspondence between community perception of the variables distinguishing the extreme poor from the other wealth groups and what the Programme developed based on reading of existing poverty profile literature of Bangladesh points to the maturity and evolution of formal, more academic knowledge on poverty profile in being able to capture the categories and descriptions used by poor people themselves. This is encouraging. What is needed now is moving beyond more grounded poverty profile to more grounded understanding of the various mechanisms through which poverty persists for some and not for others and what can be done about it.

However, the big differences between the two closely ranked groups of the poor—the extreme poor and those just above, also suggest that there is a structural break, rather than a continuum in terms of deprivation of opportunities, security and empowerment that is differentiating the extreme poor from others. It is through a better understanding of the various dimensions, dynamics and interlinkages of these structural breaks can we design the most effective strategies and programmatic approaches for this group¹⁴.

¹⁴ The focus in this paper is on the livelihood resources pertaining mostly to the economic domain. However, expanding the analysis of the structural break in deprivation and injustices faced by the extreme poor into other domains of the social and the political would allow one to draw to a more complete picture. It should be noted here that the CFPR/TUP Programme aims to confront the challenges of extreme poverty by focussing beyond the level of the household and the economic domain. For more details, see the CFPR/TUP Proposal (BRAC, 2001).

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ANNEX A
Challenging the Frontiers of Poverty Reduction (Targeting the Ultra poor – Targeting Social Constraints)
Overview of Different Services for Different Target Groups

Specially Targeted Ultra Poor	IGVD Ultra Poor	BDF Ultra Poor	Village Organisation Members	Community
Asset transfer <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Asset transfer - Subsistence allowance - 2% contingency fund for unforeseen circumstances - Second round support for 10% non-graduates 				
Enterprise development training <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 70,000 participant receives enterprise development training in the IGA for which they obtained assets - Food for trainees during training 	Enterprise development Training <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 800,000 participants - Each participant receives enterprise development training in one IGA 	Enterprise development training <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 475,000 participants - Each participant receives enterprise development training in one IGA 		
Social Development <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Confidence building training - Building problem-solving capacities of the groups - Awareness-raising through informal weekly discussion groups 	Social Development <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Short courses covering basic laws and rights - Provision of general social support through Polli Shomaj groups 	Social Development <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participation in Polli Shomaj - Participation in Union Association (in some areas) - Monthly, issue-based meetings 	Social Development <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Participation in Polli Shomaj - Participation in Union Association (in some areas) - Monthly issue-based meetings 	Social Development <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mobilising community support for the enforcement of poor women's legal rights through LCL workshops

Source: CFPR/TUP Proposal Overview (BRAC, 2001)

Specially Targeted Ultra Poor	IGVGD Ultra Poor	BDP Ultra Poor	Village Organisation Members	Community
<p>Social Development (cont.)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - One-on-one back up support through regular home visits, personal advice and other support - Sensitising local community to the needs of the ultra poor through LCL workshops - Participatory poverty monitoring - Access to legal assistance - Linking acid and rape victims to medical care providers - Awareness-raising through popular theatre performances - Advocacy on behalf of the poor and the ultra poor at the local, regional and national level 	<p>Social Development (cont.)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Mobilising community support for the enforcement of poor women's legal rights through LCL workshops - Access to legal assistance - Linking acid and rape victims to medical care providers - Awareness-raising through popular theatre performances - Advocacy on behalf of the poor and the ultra poor at the local, regional and national level 	<p>Social Development (cont.)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Human rights and legal education classes - Mobilising community support for the enforcement of poor women's legal rights through LCL workshops - Access to legal assistance - Linking acid and rape victims to medical care providers - Awareness-raising through popular theatre performances - Advocacy on behalf of the poor and the ultra poor at the local, regional and national level 	<p>Social Development (cont.)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Human rights and legal education classes - Mobilising community support for the enforcement of poor women's legal rights through LCL workshops - Access to legal assistance - Linking acid and rape victims to medical care providers - Awareness-raising through popular theatre performances - Advocacy on behalf of the poor and the ultra poor at the local, regional and national level 	<p>Social Development (cont.)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Linking acid and rape victims to medical care providers - Awareness-raising through popular theatre performances - Advocacy on behalf of the poor and the ultra poor at the local, regional and national level - Social action by Polli Shomaj or Union Association members to fight for social justice in the community - Advocacy on behalf of the ultra poor at the local, regional and national level
<p>Health Care</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Earmarked fund at Area Office level to meet emergency medical costs for ultra poor - Social and emotional support and counselling for patients and family - Free pregnancy-related care. - Distribution of free contraceptives - Distribution of tube wells and sanitary latrines at subsidised rate - HIV-AIDS awareness education - Arsenic testing free of cost 	<p>Health Care</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Health and nutrition education - Pregnancy-related care. - Family planning education and support - Immunisation support - Water and sanitation education and support - Tuberculosis control - Supply of health commodities - Basic curative services for 10 common diseases - Referral linkages with GOB 	<p>Health Care</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Health and nutrition education - Pregnancy-related care - Family planning education and support - Immunisation education and support - Water and sanitation education and support - Tuberculosis control - Supply of health commodities - Basic curative services for 10 common diseases 	<p>Health Care</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Health and nutrition education - Pregnancy-related care - Family planning education and support - Immunisation education and support - Water and sanitation education and support - Tuberculosis control - Supply of health commodities - Basic curative services for 10 common diseases 	<p>Health Care</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Health and nutrition education - Pregnancy-related care - Family planning education and support - Immunisation education and support - Water and sanitation education and support - Tuberculosis control - Supply of health commodities - Basic curative services for 10 common diseases

Specially Targeted Ultra Poor	IGVGD Ultra Poor	BDP Ultra Poor	Village Organisation Members	Community
Health Care (cont.) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Arsenic identification, awareness-raising, referral of patients suffering from arsenic contamination and help finding alternative sources of water - Tuberculosis tests and medicines free of cost - Creating linkages with Government health services - Basic curative services for 10 common diseases at cost price - Supplying BRAC health commodities at cost price and BRAC paying for the Shebika's service charges - Interest free loans to meet emergency medical costs - Mobilising local resources (fund) for emergency medical costs - Health insurance - Immunisation support 	Health Care (cont.) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - HIV-AIDS awareness education - Arsenic identification, awareness-raising, referral of patients suffering from arsenic contamination and help finding alternative sources of water - Mobilising local resources (fund) for emergency - Social and emotional support and counselling for patients and family 	Health Care (cont.) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Referral linkages with GOB and other facilities - HIV-AIDS awareness education - Arsenic identification, awareness-raising, referral of patients suffering from arsenic contamination and help finding alternative sources of water - Mobilising local resources (fund) for emergency - Social and emotional support and counselling for patients and family 	Health Care (cont.) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Referral linkages with GOB and other facilities - HIV-AIDS awareness education - Arsenic identification, awareness-raising, referral of patients suffering from arsenic contamination and help finding alternative sources of water 	Health Care (cont.) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Referral linkages with GOB and other facilities - HIV-AIDS awareness education - Arsenic identification, awareness-raising, referral of patients suffering from arsenic contamination and help finding alternative sources of water

Source: CFPR/TUP Proposal Overview (BRAC, 2001)

ANNEX B

Characteristics of Different Wealth Categories of Households: Notes from the PWR exercises

Themes	Wealth Groups				
	Rich	Middle class	Moderate poor	Extreme poor	Destitute
Ownership of cultivable land	≥10 <i>bigha</i>	2.5 <i>bigha</i>	<2 <i>bigha</i>	No cultivable land	-Functionally landless -May own homestead land
Occupation	-Business -Salaried job -Employ wage labours	-Land owner/land tenant farmer -Small Business -Salaried job	-Sharecropping -Small trading -Wage labouring	-Anything available in the locality -Small trading -Wage labouring -Begging	-Anything available in the locality -Wage labouring -Hawking -Begging
Shelter	-Tin/brick-roofed good quality houses	-Tin roofed good quality houses	-Own house with medium quality	-Live in poorly constructed houses	-Live in poorly constructed houses -Often live on other peoples' land
Non-land assets	-Deep/Shallow tube-well -Cattle/Goat -Drought power -Sanitary latrine -Other durable and luxurious items	-Shallow machine -Drought power -Cattle/Goat -Poultry/Duck	-Cattle -Goat -Poultry/Duck	-Poultry/Duck -Few of them own Cattle/Goat	-None
Food security	-Produce surplus	-Produce own consumption needs (never suffer from food deficits)	-Occasional shortage of food	-Frequent shortage of food	-Frequent shortage of food
Cash Flow	-Earn surplus -Could save an handsome amount -Receive remittance -Lend to others	-Multiple source of cash income -Earn surplus -Participation in NGOs	-Inadequate working capital -Little savings -Borrow from others	-No surplus -No savings -Borrow from others in with high interest	-No surplus -No savings - have difficulties borrowing from others

Wealth Groups					
Themes	Rich	Middle class	Moderate poor	Extreme poor	Destitute
Participation in local power structure	Dominant in the local power structure	Have some kind of influence	Marginal	Often victims of local power structure	Invisible
Schooling	-Children going to schools (can bear the cost of educating their children)	-Send children to school	-Cannot bear the full cost of education	-Cannot at all afford to send their children to school	-Children do not go to school
Other characteristics	-Females can afford to maintain pardah and other religious norms	-Small family size -Hardworking	-Females have to earn for family	-Female headed households -Female wage earner -Lack of male income earner in the family -Ill health -Cannot afford decent clothes -Recently formed family -Highly vulnerable to seasonality -Seasonally migrate to cities for employment	-Elderly and the disabled -Widowed and the separated female headed HHs -Children do not go to school -Female headed households -Lack of male income earner in the family -Female wage earner -Ill health -Clothes torn and old. -Recently formed family -Highly vulnerable to seasonality -Seasonally migrates to closer town centres for employment