

Graduation – A CLP Learning Note

Summary

Research during October 2012 into the newly-created graduation criteria showed that only around 60% of households were graduating, i.e. meeting six or more of the ten graduation indicators. The study found that both the DFID policy governing installation of improved water sources and the CLP internal policy was mismatched with the graduation criteria. The policy required improved water points to be installed wherever five or more households could access it, using a ‘whole-community benefit’ approach. Graduation criteria, however, focused solely on core households, who often could not access a tubewell that met CLP standards. As a result, graduation rates were reduced by nearly a fifth. Changes to the water installation policy were made to ensure that core participants received improved water supplies.

Other indicators that were not met by large numbers of households were also reviewed. A new sanitary latrine design is being piloted to potentially increase the number of households that maintain a sanitary latrine. Additional review will be undertaken of the savings criteria.



A CLP participant and her healthy bull

CLP-2 (2010-2016) aims to lift 67,000 households (approximately 270,000 people) out of extreme poverty.

Historically, the CLP has defined “movement out of poverty” using income/expenditure measures: whether incomes and expenditures have been raised above Tk 18 per person per day (pppd). The independent impact assessment of CLP-1 concluded that between 12,500 and 29,300 households had been moved out of extreme poverty as they were above this threshold.¹

Using only an income/expenditure measure has constraints, however. Households living on the chars are largely reliant for income on agricultural wage labour, even after they receive their CLP asset. The fluctuations in this labour – both its availability depending on the

agricultural season, and the household’s ability to access it, i.e. if there is illness in the household – mean that a household’s income can fluctuate above and below the poverty line. If data is collected during a period when the household is not earning so much, it may paint a very different picture to data collected at a different time.

Income measures of poverty are “simplistic” and do not yield a true understanding of a household’s real welfare. Thus a household may have: a secure home; good quality water, sanitation and drainage; children at school; access to health care; and diversity and security of access to good,

¹ HTSPE; August 2011; Independent Impact Assessment of the Chars Livelihoods Programme, Phase 1; Final Report

nutritious food. However, using the income-only indicator, this household may be considered just as poor as a low-income household with none of these.² The CLP has data to illustrate this point³.

The CLP recognises the importance of income, expenditure and consumption data and continues to collect and analyse this data. However, the programme has also begun to judge movement out of poverty based on a broader set of criteria. These are called ‘graduation criteria’, and they are set out below.

Table 1: CLP Graduation Criteria

Criteria domain	Indicator
Income/ expenditure/ consumption	1. Household has had more than one source of income during the last 30 days
	2. Household achieves ‘acceptable’ food consumption score
Nutrition	3. Household has access to improved water
	4. Household has access to a sanitary latrine
	5. Presence of ash/ soap near to water point or latrine
Asset base	6. Productive assets worth more than Tk 30,000
Status of females	7. Participant is able to influence household decisions regarding sale/ purchase of large investments e.g. cattle
Vulnerability	8. Homestead is above known flood level
	9. Household has cash savings of more than Tk 3,000
Access to services	10. Household has membership of social group

A household is said to have graduated (or moved out of extreme poverty) if they achieve any six of these 10 criteria.

The criteria are useful in that they relate to the outcomes the CLP is aiming to achieve i.e. food security; water sanitation and hygiene; livelihoods; nutrition; and female empowerment. The criteria also relate to the vulnerabilities that char households confront on a regular basis e.g. flooding and seasonal labour shortages.

According to Mitlin and Satterthwaite, “Almost all official measurements of poverty are made with no dialogue with those who live in poverty and who struggle to live with inadequate incomes.⁴” Interestingly, the CLP’s graduation criteria are in-line with many of the criteria used by communities on the *chars* to define their own well-being as illustrated by research conducted by the CLP during 2011⁵.

In October 2012, the Innovation, Monitoring and Learning Division commissioned a survey using the newly-developed graduation criteria.⁶

²<http://www.irinnews.org/Report/97058/GLOBAL-Rethinking-urban-poverty>

³ Kenward S. et al; October 2011; Review of the CLP’s Selection and Graduation Criteria

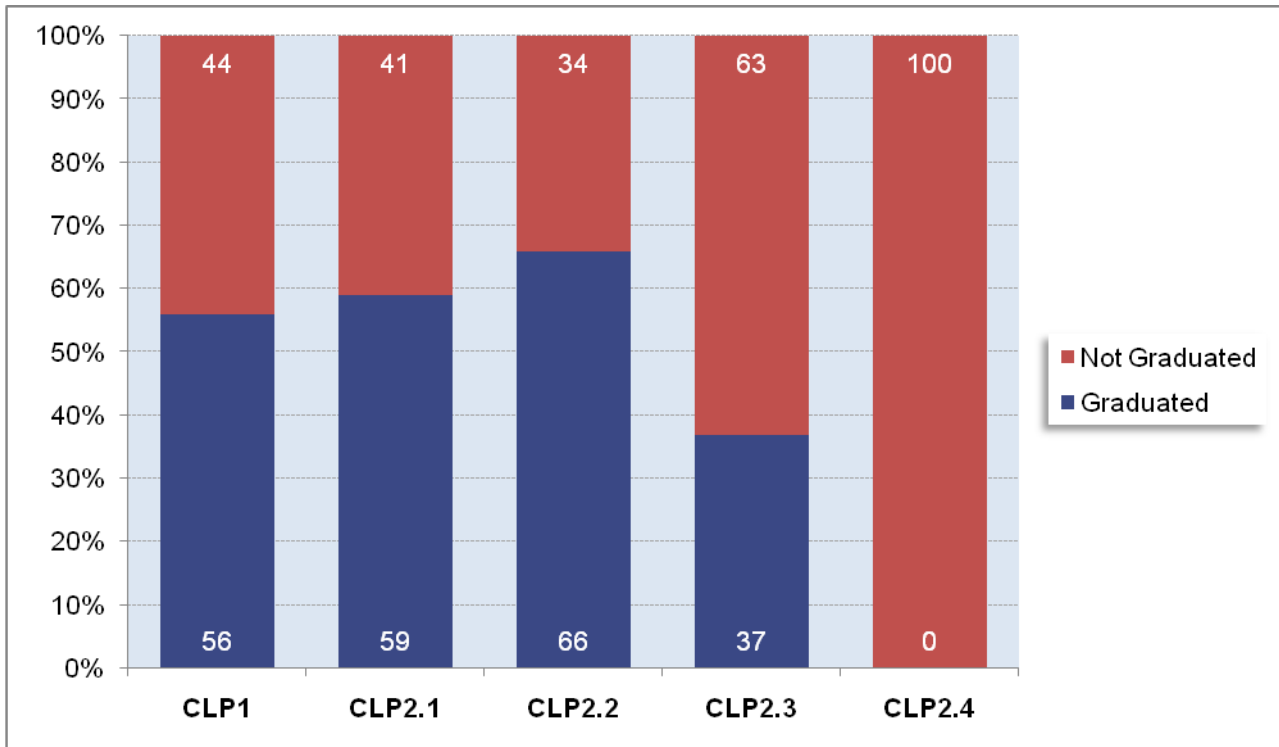
⁴<http://www.irinnews.org/Report/97058/GLOBAL-Rethinking-urban-poverty>

⁵ Kenward S. et al; October 2011; Review of the CLP’s Selection and Graduation Criteria

⁶ There was an oversight during the development of the questionnaire. The question relating to group membership was not accurately phrased. This analysis has therefore allowed all households to achieve this criterion (apart from cohort 2.4, as this is baseline). This will possibly result in overestimations for CLP-1 and 2.1.

This survey returned a surprising result: only about 60% of CLP1 and Cohorts 2.1 and 2.2 (whose support period ended quite some time ago) had met six criteria and thus graduated. As expected, lower percentages of Cohort 2.3 had graduated, as they were still in the 18-month CLP support cycle, and none had graduated from Cohort 2.4, who represent the 'control' group. See Figure 1 below.

Figure 1: Proportion of Households Graduating, by Cohort



So why were so few households graduating? On examining the data, a major reason seemed to be that many core participant households (CPHHs) still did not have access to an improved water supply (IWS) that met CLP criteria.

CLP Standards for Improved Water:

- Tubewell (TW) is on a raised plinth
- TW is 10 metres from a latrine
- TW is at least 40 feet deep (depending on district)
- TW has an intact protective concrete platform
- TW is no more than a 10-minute return journey

Although this criterion is strict, there are good reasons for it. Research has shown that, for example, an intact protective concrete platform prevents further contamination of groundwater through the well head.



On examining the causes of so many CPHHs not meeting the CLP standard for improved water, CLP management quickly realised that there was a contradiction between the policy governing installation of improved water points and the graduation criterion

CLP’s water policy was to install an improved water supply (IWS) or upgrade existing supplies where more than five households could access them, irrespective of whether these households were core CLP participants or not. In other words, the IWS policy saw improved water as a ‘whole-community’ input, rather than being focused on CPHHs. However, the graduation criteria are specifically focussed on CPHHs, not the whole community.

As a result, CPHHs without access to a CLP-standard IWS did not meet the IWS criterion, because the water policy was not specifically focused on them.

The survey’s authors looked at the impact of varying the criterion for improved water on graduation rates, for example by requiring households to have access to any kind of piped water supply, rather than a CLP-standard IWS. As shown in Table 2 below, this clearly indicated that the standard of the water supply was impacting significantly on graduation rates.

Table 2: The effect of relaxing the graduation criterion on improved water

Cohort	Percentage Graduating Using Present Criterion	Percentage Graduating with a Different Water Criterion	Difference +/-
CLP-1	56	74	+18
2.1	59	74	+15
2.2	66	81	+15
2.3	37	56	+19
2.4	0	0	0

As a result of this finding, CLP’s management ordered a review of the water policy to bring it in line with the graduation criterion. From August 2013, CPHHs will be prioritised to receive a new or upgraded tubewell. Further research will be carried out during 2014 and 2015 to check the effect this has on graduation rates.



The study also indicated two additional indicators of graduation that were more problematic than the rest: access to a sanitary latrine (which, again, must meet strict CLP criteria); and presence of savings worth Tk3,000 or more.

For the sanitary latrine, research indicates that the condition of the water seal of many sanitary latrines causes them not to meet CLP’s sanitation standards. An intact water seal is a very important requirement for a hygienic toilet. It acts as a barrier between the waste and the

outside world, preventing odours and fly-borne diseases. But on the chars, our research indicates that the current design is vulnerable to damage and breakage. Sometimes this is deliberate: breaking the water seal makes for easier disposal and requires less water to flush.

As a result of this finding, CLP is piloting a new hygienic toilet pan with flexible water seal for its low-cost sanitary latrines in the chars. This new pan, developed by iDE with assistance from World Bank-B and manufactured by RFL, aims to ensure that the water seal remains unbroken. It also reduces the amount of water required per use. CLP's infrastructure team aims to investigate the extent to which this new pan keeps the latrine free from water seal damage and thus keeps it sanitary. CLP will also review its training programme to see if more could be done to educate *chars*-dwellers on the importance of maintaining a hygienic and undamaged latrine.

The savings criteria will also be reviewed, particularly the impact of seasonality and the potential to integrate it with the 'assets' indicators, given that savings can be considered a form of asset and buffer against shocks / vulnerability.

Report authors: Stewart Kenward, Zahangir Alam

This learning note created by Matthew Pritchard, Malcolm Marks

