Sustainable Development and Human Dignity and Choice: Lessons Learned from

ENRICH

Author: Dr Martin Greeley, Dr Asif M. Shahan and Dr. Shubhasish Barua

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Introduction

Over the years, conceptual understandings, discussions, and discourses on poverty and development

have undergone significant changes. Whereas in the past, economic improvement was considered as

the key goals and focus of ensuring development and poverty reduction, the introduction of

sustainable development has added new features to this understanding. Existing literature has now

expanded the idea of poverty reduction with the understanding that poverty alleviation and

economic development is not necessarily the key goals to be achieved by the policy makers and

instead they should be considered as means to the ultimate end, i.e. enhancement of 'human dignity'

of the individuals. This essentially means that, "...an individual in poverty cannot have dignity in a

society... an individual with some economic improvement because of one or some economic or

financial interventions will not have dignity unless she has access to right-based institutions like

health, education, and market" (InM, 2016). From this perspective, efforts taken to reduce or

alleviate poverty should also aim at allowing individuals to live a life that is dignified and creates

opportunities for them to exercise freedom in determining their choices. This particular

understanding, i.e. poverty reduction and economic improvement strategies, joined with

interventions that ensure access to right-based institutions, should encourage freedom of choice

leading to a dignified life shapes the basic understanding of the Enhancing Resources and Increasing

Capacities of Poor Households Towards Elimination of their Poverty (ENRICH) program.

Important to note, for PKSF, embracing this new philosophy and designing interventions to that end

is completely new domain as the organization was initially established in 1990 by the Government of

Bangladesh for a different purpose. Initially, the main objective of PKSF was to contribute in poverty

reduction through extending credit services and providing advice to the poor and low income people

while supporting them in capacity development. These activities were implemented by carefully

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selected partner organizations. However, the mission and vision of PKSF has evolved over time and whereas it started its "...journey as a provider of funds to its partner organizations (POs) for onward minor-lending to their members on conventional terms", now the organization makes an effort to, "contribute towards creating a poverty-free Bangladesh, with each and every citizen in the country living a humanly dignified life, and its mission is to support all economic and social action programmes through various financial and non-financial, and natural disaster management related services as are relevant to the circumstances of the heterogenous groups of the poor and low income people for them to come out of povery and disadvantaged situation and move ahead beyond poverty so that they are on a sustainable pathway as securely as possible" (PKSF, 2014).

This change in mission and vision of PKSF occurred in 2010, under the leadership of its current Chairman, Dr. Qazi Kholiquzzaman Ahmad and whereas micro-credit lending has still remained a key activity of the organization, it is gradually transforming itself into a development organization through supporting '...integrated approaches to development through financial and a host of non-financial services. In contrast to its past focus, PKSF now acknowledges the multi-dimensionality of poverty and argues that "...poverty alleviation should be sustainable, and poor should have freedom and dignity." Furthermore, "...as the Chairman of PKSF argues, development and freedom involves political process. Therefore, sustainable poverty alleviation approach requires an integrated approach with components of access to finance, health, education, institutional infrastructure and political process." ENRICH, therefore, has emerged as a new, different, and innovative programme carried out by PKSF with support from its POs.

As mentioned earlier, ENRICH is significantly different than other programmes/ initiatives carried out by PKSF. This difference can be analyzed from two different perspectives- procedural and design. From procedural perspective, ENRICH is different in the following ways-

- Important to note that ENRICH has adopted a 'total development' approach and henceforth, it has focused is supporting all the population living within a Union. From a programme perspective, unit of functioning for ENRICH is the entire union and as such, it aims at supporting all the people living within that union. Whereas focus has been on supporting the most vulnerable and poverty-prone groups, the programme essentially takes under consideration the well-being of the citizens, irrespective of their economic condition and suggests ways of involving everyone in the developmental process.
- ENRICH relies on a 'one union-one PO' idea and as a result, the entire programme components (to be explained later) of ENRICH is performed by one PO. Whereas these POs are selected carefully, Page 2 of 15

ENRICH also allows these POs to exercise discretion and flexibility, while keeping the overall programme goals intact.

• Given that ENRICH focuses on an integrated development approach and aims at ensuring freedom of choice (which will lead to a dignified life), it acknowledges the fact that development is an inherently political process and in ensuring development, politics cannot be divorced from interventions. This is a bold strategic move for the programme as instead of keeping the local political leaders, local government agencies and institutions in the dark, ENRICH aims at working with them in a collaborative way and as a we will explain later, this collaborative (instead of confrontational) approach has played an important role in making the programme successful.

On the other hand, from a design perspective, ENRICH is distinctive in the following domains-

- As indicated earlier, ENRICH, in designing interventions for poverty reduction, not only concentrates on economic development but also focuses on socio-political empowerment. Considering its focus on 'dignified life', ENRICH envisions an intervention strategy where support is provided in different areas including health, education, income generating activities to capture the multi-dimensional nature of poverty. In effect, ENRICH considers investment in education and health as a necessary pre-requisite for long-term sustainable development of the programme participants.
- Acknowledging that poverty alleviation requires large investment in social and economic enterprises, ENRICH introduces the concept of 'appropriate credit' and by doing so, allows the participants to invest in high income generating activities.
- The programme recognizes the vulnerability of the poor households and takes under consideration the fact that economic gains can be outweighed by higher intensity of idiosyncratic and covariate shocks. Henceforth, ENRICH focuses on building the capacity of the poor households in dealing with these shocks.
- In line with its focus on 'total development', ENRICH makes efforts to involve the adolescents and youth groups and design interventions to incorporate them in ensuring the progressive development of the union.
- The programme also focuses on ensuring community participation towards achieving community-level development and to that end, ensures the participation of the community leaders in designing interventions.

• It also aims at supporting the beggars (enthusiastic member) and adopts the challenging task of ensuring that these members too can live a dignified life.

All in all, ENRICH, as a programme has the following components- "(a) a finance and economic component that includes supply of optimum amount of credit, provisions for savings and training; (b) an education component, particularly for the students of poor households, with focus on the issues of dropout and quality education, (c) a health component with focus on primary health services, child and maternal nutrition and maternal health in general, (d) a youth training and job creation component that focuses on linkages between job-seekers and job-givers, (e) an environment component focuses on better use of resources for activities that are environmentally sound; and (f) a community development component, which aims at enabling the socially weak households to better access community resources through political immersion" (InM, 2016).

Therefore, the strategic objectives of the ENRICH are to: (i) attain total development of each household as well as of the whole community participating in ENRICH; (ii) ensure freedom and human dignity for all members of all households under ENRICH; (iii) empower the poor households towards sustainable development, human freedom and dignity; and (iv) ensure access of all participants in ENRICH to all capacity enhancing activities. How all these strategic objectives can be attained? The design of ENRICH warrants that —

- Supply of credit should be need based and scale of credit supply should ensure a sustainable livelihood for the households;
- A multidimensional approach is needed for sustainable development for poor household with access to credit, savings, training, healthcare, education and community development.
- An integrated development approach is required for coordination of multidimensional development activities. 'One partner MFI for one union' strategy is pursued for better coordination of multi-faceted activities;
- Participatory approach is proven to produce better results. A family and community development strategy through participatory approach along with immersion of the local governance structure. Therefore, involvement of the local community and public administration (such as union chairman) is one of the pre-conditions for successful implementation of ENRICH.

Objective of the Study

This evaluative study focuses on the following two broad research questions-

- 1. Has ENRICH, as an integrated programme succeeded in assisting the programme beneficiaries in living a dignified life? If yes, how can we understand the positive change in human dignity both theoretically and empirically?
- 2. How has ENRICH managed to develop a coordinated and integrated response in implementing the programme and how has this programme design affected the impact generated through this?

Specific objectives-

- 1. Assessing effectiveness of the programme interventions in terms of ensuring human dignity and freedom for all
- 2. Assessing the socio-economic (human capability of individuals in terms of enhanced education, skills, awareness, job linkages and economic capacity in terms of access to asset and sustainable income for targeted household) impacts of the ENRICH;
- 3. Assessing efficiencies of the POs in implementing the programme through their ENRICH branches
- 4. Suggesting way forward for the continuation of the programme

Research Approach, Method and Data Collection Plan

The following table shows the connection between research questions, specific objectives, approaches and tools-

| Research Questions | Specific Objectives | Approaches | Quantitative Tools | Qualitative Tools |
|--|---|---|--|--|
| Has ENRICH succeeded in assisting the programme beneficiaries in living a dignified | Assessing Socio- Economic Impact of ENRICH | Most quantitative with support from qualitative Data | Survey (comparison with base- line), Difference-in Difference | Document Review, FGDs, KIIs, Case-study |
| life? If yes, how can we understand the positive change in human dignity both theoretically and empirically? | Assessing effectiveness in terms of improving human dignity | Mixed, i.e. both qualitative and quantitative | Survey data, difference-in- difference | Developing theoretical framework and substantiate through data collected from FGDs, KIIs and Case- studies |
| Research Questions | Specific Objectives | Approaches | Quantitative Tools | Qualitative Tools |

| How has ENRICH managed to develop a coordinated and | Assessing efficiencies of POs | Process-tracing through qualitative method | NA | FGD, KIIs |
|---|-----------------------------------|---|----|-----------|
| integrated response in implementing the programme and how has this programme design affect the impact generated through this? | Recommende d future actions | Qualitative | NA | FGD, KII |

Quantitative data collection

The quantitative research involves a survey of 1,500 households from 10 ENRICH villages. A set of semi-structured questionnaires with observation has been used for the survey to collect quantitative data from the respondents through face-to-face interview. The PKSF baseline data for phase one and two has been used to provide a before and after comparison.

Qualitative data collection

The qualitative research involves Key Informant Interviews, Focus Group Discussions and Case Studies. It has been conducted in five villages of five unions where the ENRICH program is going on. Some control unions have also been selected purposively from nearby non-ENRICH areas.

Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

FGDs have been conducted to gather a wide variety of information across the large number of target respondents in the study areas. The groups were composed with 6-8 participants.

Key Informant Interview (KII)

KIIs were expected to provide important and detailed information regarding the current ENRICH program. KIIs were also helpful to gather information on relevance, challenges and effectiveness of the program.

Case study:

For case study we included the following item/person

Community development (infrastructure)

- Beggar
- Special savings loan receiver

A. Study Area, Sampling, Sampling Process and Sample Size

For quantitative survey 10 union have been randomly selected out of 35 unions covered in the first two phases. Then, from these 10 union, randomly 10 villages have been selected for HH survey (by this process each village will be from a unique union). This was done based on a HH (population) weighted basis and baseline number of HH have also used in this case, i.e. each village weight equals number of HH in village divided by number of HH in Union; this gives you percentage shares of each village in the Union HH total and you can list them from 1-100%). This way all HH in the Union will have an equal probability of selection.

If the HH number of the selected village is more than 150 then we divided the village into 3 clusters and then data collection has been done from each cluster. The following table shows the quantitative sample distribution of the study.

| SI | NGO | District | Union | Sampled Village | HH Number |
|-------|------|--------------|----------|-------------------------|-----------|
| 1 | DSK | Netrokona | Durgapur | Farangpara | 150 |
| 2 | NNF | Satkhira | Atulia | Dokkhin poschim atulia | 150 |
| 3 | TMSS | Sylhet | Tetoli | Nijgaon | 150 |
| 4 | WAVE | Chuadanga | Simanto | Sadorpara | 150 |
| 5 | SKS | Gaibandha | Saghata | Hasilkandhi | 150 |
| 6 | IPSA | Chittagong | Saidpur | Hachupara | 150 |
| 7 | FDA | Bhola | Aslampur | poschim Khodezabag para | 150 |
| 8 | IDF | Rangamati | Wagga | Joutho Khamar | 150 |
| 9 | HEED | Moulavibazar | Pachgaon | Konkiari | 150 |
| 10 | ESDO | Thakurgaon | Auliapur | Sarkarpara | 150 |
| Total | | | 1500 | | |

Qualitative Sample Distribution

For qualitative part, respondents will be selected following purposive sampling technique. Following are the tentative study participants and sample size for the study. The qualitative data has been gathered from both program and control area. 5 unions of 5 district have been selected for qualitative data collection.

| District | Union |
|------------|----------|
| Netrokona | Durgapur |
| Sylhet | Tetoli |
| Chuadanga | Simanto |
| Gaibandha | Saghata |
| Chittagong | Saidpur |

B. Measuring Dignity: The Capabilities Approach, Tragic Choice as Measurement of Dignity

One simple and possible way of measuring dignity is to see how the socio-economic and political conditions of the beneficiaries have changed and since these positive changes are supposed to improve the capabilities of the individuals, which will in turn allow them to take control of the environment within which they are living, we can thus say that a positive change within these conditions essentially indicate an improvement in dignity. However, this particular quantitative focus, through may seem attractive, but it is difficult.

There are some specific capabilities which must be protected if we want to live a human life worthy of dignity. These central capabilities are considered as "capabilities threshold'.

According to Nussbaum, these ten central capabilities that eventually form the capabilities threshold are-

- 1. Life, i.e. being able to live a human life of normal length;
- 2. Bodily health, i.e. "...being able to have good health, including reproductive health; to be adequately nourished;
- 3. Bodily integrity, i.e. being able to move without being concerned about security
- 4. Sense, imagination and thoughts, i.e. being able to use these in a truly 'human way',
- Emotions, i.e. being able to feel and care for things and persons beyond ourselves
- 6. Practical reason, i.e. "...being able to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's life."
- 7. Affiliation, i.e. to be affiliated with others, organizations, community level organizations and activities.
- 8. Other species, i.e. the capacity and ability to live with other animals, plants, and nature of the world.
- 9. Play
- 10. Control over One's Environment

As per her argument, to live a dignified life, human beings need to reach or cross a threshold in each of these central capabilities component. It is, however, important to note that even though

Nussbaum talks about reaching threshold as an indication of moving towards a dignified life, she has not really developed a qualitative or quantitative measurement to demonstrate what an individual human being should achieve in each of these 'central capabilities' or how far he or she needs to climb up the ladder of capabilities threshold to live a dignified life.

In other words, we argue that the central capabilities identified by Nussbaum have an important role to play in determining the dignity threshold and that dignity threshold is 'control over one's environment' which Nussbaum argued has two different dimensions-

- Political- "being able to participate effectively in political choices that govern one's life; having the right of political participation, protection of free speech and association"
- Material- "being able to hold property (both land and movable goods), and having property
 rights on an equal basis with others; having the right to seek employment on an equal basis
 with others, having the freedom from unwarranted search and seizure. In work, being able to
 work as human being, exercising practical reason and entering into meaningful relationships
 of mutual recognition with other workers."

Capabilities approach is all about having substantial freedom to choose, we can determine whether attaining capabilities is leading to 'dignity' by analyzing whether attaining some certain capabilities is helping an individual to exercise control over human resources, a proxy for substantial freedom.

This is where we rely on **Nussbaum's conceptualization of tragic choice**, i.e. when a person has to choose from a limited number of options and the choice s/he makes is a forced one, where whichever option that s/he chooses has a cost attached to it.

Nussbaum explained, eliminating tragic choice means deliberate policy actions that will completely eliminate the possibility of tragic choice for the future. Therefore, **elimination of tragic choice** has been considered the dignity threshold for our purpose and for an individual human being; we have considered his dignity has improved when **s/he no longer faces the tragic choice.**

OVERALL IMPACT OF ENRICH THROUGH COMPARING WITH BASELINE DATA

Survey findings indicate that in the study areas, in general income of the programme
participants have increased significantly. Food intake also has a human dignity aspect. As
mentioned in the theoretical analysis, human dignity can be measured by trade-offs, e.g. if a
family is giving away food consumption to deal with shocks that means it is going through a
tragic choice.

- 2. The most significant changes in terms of food intake took place in Shaghata, Durgapur and Simanto union. In these places statistically significant changes have taken place in terms of increasing food intake from twice a day to thrice a day. While positive changes were also seen in other unions the results were not statistically significant on their own. However, overall for 10 unions we see statistically significant changes along increasing food intake from twice to thrice a day.
- 3. Health is an important aspect of Enrich program delivery. Enrich has an aim to ensure primary medical care for all its participants. The primary aspect of the health service is the health card. The health card enlists a household to Enrich's health program and their health data is then recorded and stored in a database. The endline survey report that 53.6% of surveyed households in the 10 union have a health card. During baseline this number was understandably very low (1.6%). 7 out of 10 unions saw a significant change in numbers of households without a toilet. However, a concerning point is Tetuli union. In that union, use of pucca toilet has come down to around 40% from 73% while there was a significant increase in using slab toilets (around 57% from 17% during baseline). This should be a focus issue for future research.
- 4. Earlier evaluation studies on ENRICH have shown that introduction of ENRICH education centres has significantly affected school drop-out, whereas this study found that participation in ENRICH education centres has not only reduced drop-out but also has significantly improved the academic performance of the students who were once vulnerable to the possibility of dropping out.
- 5. It is observed that the average monthly real income per capita was BDT 1435 in Baseline, which increased to BDT 1871 in the Endline Survey. In terms of different categories of expenditure the picture is quite interesting. The average monthly real per capita food expenditure increased only by 0.6 percent. In contrast, the real expenditure for cloth increased by 43.9 percent over the same period. Result shows that
 - There is no impact of the borrowing PKSF POs on food expenditure.
 - There is a clear impact of ENRICH program on expenditure of clothing. (the increase in expenditure on clothing for households who participated in ENRICH credit program is 27 percent higher compared to those who did not borrow at all or borrowed from other NGOs.)

- 6. ENRICH program has impact on occupational structure of the beneficiary households. Firstly, there is a significant decline in percentage of household head involved in elementary occupations: from 26 percent in baseline to 21.5 percent in the endline. In contrast, proportion of household head involved in craft and related trade sector increased from 5.2 to 8.7 percent and in plant and machine operator category the percentage increased from 1.7 to 5.4 percent. To answer whether ENRICH program contributed in improving the well-being of the poor households in the targeted areas, researchers started with a simple econometric framework of difference in difference approach (DD). Finally, they applied difference in difference framework with fixed effects on the Propensity Score Matching based panel data. Result shows that
 - ENRICH loan program has a statistically significant impact on upgrading the occupational status of participant households.
- 7. Out of 1500 households surveyed in the end line 578 have at least one student between 3 to 7 years of age who were for participating in ENRICH education program. The survey shows that students from only 47% of the eligible households participated in ENRICH schooling program. Therefore, it is important to understand what factors affect participation decision in ENRICH education program. Result suggest that, children from relatively poorer households are more likely to participate in the education program. On the other hand, among the variables representing earning capability of the households, the coefficient of the number of working age individual appears with a negative sign and statistically significant at 5% level & households whose head are employed in the skilled agriculture sector are more likely to participate in education program.
- 8. However, only around 52 percent households in the end line survey said that they have ENRICH health card. Households in the higher income groups are more likely to purchase the health card compared to lowest income group.

ENRICH AND IMPACT ON HUMAN DIGNITY

As the preceding section shows, the ENRICH households are more likely to utilize loans in an effective and efficient way and they are investing more in non-firm related activities. The occupational pattern has also changed as the ENRICH participants has moved away from elementary occupations and we can observe an upgrading of occupational status. Similarly, the education program is supporting the

poorest and it has been largely successful in reducing drop-out and improving educational performance of the students coming from the poorest family.

The question, however, is-how can we interpret these positive findings?

1. The study indicates that the issue of 'tragic choice' is in the health component of ENRICH. For the poorest of the poor, getting in touch with the government health services is extremely difficult as it means that they have to go that these offices while sacrificing their day-jobs or incomes generated from day jobs. Quantitative study findings also support this elimination of tragic choice in case of getting treatments. As we have shown, the number of beneficiaries having access to health cards has improved significantly and 53% of the beneficiaries now have access to health cards. Our qualitative study indicates that these beneficiaries are now visiting the ENRICH facilities and getting treatment. As one of our interviewee noted, "in the past, people had to go to the Upazila Health Complex or to the district level hospitals for treatment. The result was lost of significant amount of money and time and consequently, many decided not to go for treatment. Things have improved after the introduction of ENRICH. When you have satellite and static clinics, you can usually go for treatments quite easily".

The ENRICH program through introducing eye-camps and other medical camps has tried to deal with difficult medical problems faced by the rural poor. Important to note that people used to decide not to treat these illnesses or conditions due to lack of money and by providing financial assistance, ENRICH has managed to eliminate that possibility of tragic choice.

- 2. Drop-out rate was going up, students were losing interest and the parents were increasingly faced with a tragic choice- either keep sending their kids to school while appointing a teacher at home which would negatively affect their economic condition or stop sending their kids to school, which would allow them to have short-term financial solvency but at the expense of future of their kids. ENRICH and its initiative for teaching pre-primary and primary level students at very low costs has allowed the parents to continue the education of their kids without jeopardizing their financial condition. In other words, it has allowed the parents to deal with the tragic choice. Both our quantitative and qualitative findings support this assertion.
- 3. One of the key challenging initiative taken by ENRICH was to rehabilitate the beggars. They face tragic choice, will they earn their livelihoods by sacrificing their dignity? On the other hand, they can give up begging but in that case, they will find no option for earning livelihoods and as a result, they have to starve. That means, they will be able to manage their dignity to some extent but they will fail in managing their livelihood. Both of these options are not optimal and presents the classic case of having tragic choices. ENRICH has played an important role in eliminating this tragic choice and the case-studies shows that ENRICH, however, created an opportunity for him to eliminate this tragic choice. A new opportunity was created for him allowing him to earn his livelihood in a 'decent, respectable' way. In essence, this allowed him to give up begging and he is now treated with respect.

- 4. Our qualitative study indicates that from the economic perspective, tragic choice can take several forms. For instance, in some cases, the poor households get involved with some low-paid income generating activities and even though they try to be involved with more skilled and higher income generating activities, their lack of capital or access to financial resources force them to stay where they are. As a result of that, often times, as the overall HH expenditure continues to expand, these HHs find it extremely difficult to cope up with their limited income (with no opportunity to increase the IGAs). Quantitative analysis also indicates that this improved income level has been achieved by the participants because due to their involvement of the program, they have managed to upgrade their occupational status, i.e. they have made a shift from elementary occupation towards more skilled occupation. Therefore, ENRICH has indeed eliminated tragic choice and positive affected dignity. Important to note that this higher income and shift to a better occupation has also allowed the households to spend more on other necessities like education and health and thus eliminating tragic choice in those particular areas. In other words, improvement in income has a ripple effect where elimination of tragic choice can take place in other areas.
- 5. The tragic choice worked in terms of Political Participation in the following way- people who would require access to services either decided to remain silent and thus suffered from inaccessibility or they would try to connect with the political leaders with the possible repercussion that not only they would fail to receive anything but also will be targeted for their actions. None of these two options was a 'satisficing' one. ENRICH, however, introduced a new mechanism. When ENRICH committees were formed under the leadership of the UP member, where people from different occupational groups got an opportunity to participate, political space was created for the citizens. They finally found an avenue through which they can either directly raise their voice or ask someone else (within the community) to raise voice of their behalf. Our qualitative study shows that the ENRICH committees had indeed played an important role by creating a political space for the citizens.

C. Way Forward

One of the key objectives of this evaluation is to explore whether this scaling up is possible and to identify potential challenges to that end. To explore that option, in this section, the study has conducted a SWOT analysis.

Overall SWOT Analysis

| SWOT ANALYSIS | | | |
|--|---|--|--|
| STRENGTHS | WEAKNESSES | | |
| Reputation of PKSF in general and ENRICH in particular creating a demand for scaling up The presence of a model that has worked | administrative challenges that lie ahead in case of scaling | | |
| Strong trust-based relationship with partner organizations | No risk-analysis has been done yet | | |

- Presence of dedicated staff who have indepth knowledge about ENRICH
- Strong commitment of top leadership of PKSF
- Unclear whether all the Partner Organizations have adequate capacity to support scale-up
- Limited understanding about human dignity

OPPORTUNITIES

- At the UZP level, there is a strong demand for scaling up ENRICH and the NGOs/CSOs are interested to contribute
- The focus of the national planning document (e.g. 7th FYP) on decentralization may create an opportunity for scaling up
- Adequate funds are available at the Upazila level
- Enabling political environment.

THREATS

- The advisory role of the MPs may create an opportunity to exert political pressure which will thwart programme objective
- Elected officials lack capacity and may come under control of the administrative officials
- Lack of coordination among the line agencies may prevent them from working in favour of common goals.

Based on the SWOT analysis conducted above, what should be the strategy of PKSF in case of scaling up? We propose that **PKSF should gradually move towards scaling up but in doing so, should do the followings-**

- Gradually move towards scaling up to upazila-based implementation and in the process analyze the lessons from the pilot and adjust the model accordingly;
- Since the ENRICH program has built up a reputation based on the fact that it works, the PKSF can conduct an exploratory study to determine how this is to be done in an effective and efficient way in respect of scaling up;
- Continue and strengthen advocacy activities to let the national level political elites know how the model has succeeded at the union level and how it may be implemented based on the upazila-focused planning;
- Adopt One PO One Upazila strategy while focusing on building the capacity of the
 POs so that they can succeed in the case of upazila-based scaling up;
- Continue focusing on the political dimension on development and take initiatives to sensitize the UZP chairs and vice-chairs as soon as possible;
- Identify and develop a framework which will explain how the existing Upazila Parishad structure and framework can be used for implementing ENRICH;
- Design a community capacity building network (before implementing the programme) which will explain how different actors can work together in implementing ENRICH.
- Conduct a detailed risk analysis to identify potential political and administrative risks and design strategies to deal with these;

- Develop a detailed advocacy strategy aiming at the national level political and administrative actors so that they can understand the necessity of scaling up ENRICH at the Upazila level;
- Sensitizing the MPs and government officials about goals and objectives of ENRICH and develop a link between ENRICH and SDGs.

Conclusion

In different domains, i.e. health, education, begging, economic activities and political, ENRICH has eventually created new avenues which eventually generated more choices for the poorest of the poor. As a result of these different choice-sets, the beneficiaries now have more options and with the support these options, they have eventually succeeded in eliminating the tragic choice resulting into an improvement in human dignity.