



All -
Party **APPG**
Parliamentary Group



PARLIAMENTARIANS CAN MAKE THE DIFFERENCE

PAVEMENT DWELLERS' RIGHT TO SURVIVE



**All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG)
on Extreme Poverty and Urban Pavement Dwellers
Bangladesh Parliament**

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Bangladesh Parliament

DHAKA, BANGLADESH
2013



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**SPEAKER
BANGLADESH PARLIAMENT**

10 March, 2013

MESSAGE

Bangladesh is home to diverse individuals and groups, yet there are common national interests like the fight against poverty and inequality, the search for justice and the promotion of human rights that binds our citizens together. People's needs and aspirations generally get translated into policy practices through their elected representatives. Informed debate among parliamentarians is important to ensure accuracy to the policy decisions. Knowledge sharing also helps strengthen further the democratic process across the board.

The All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPGs) of Bangladesh Parliament unifies parliamentarians on matters of most common issues of national interests, through the promotion of knowledge sharing and practices among the parliamentarians since 2003. Needless to say, the study on Pavement Dwellers is an effort towards this end. I am happy to learn that it is the Honourable Parliamentarians who themselves have urged for this study throughout two successive leadership orientations for the Members of Parliament conducted by the APPGs as well as have contributed their level best to enrich this document.

At this stage, I would like to express my sincere thanks and gratitude to the Honourable MPs, APPG staff members, Concern Worldwide and the core persons who have taken the initial burden to translate this study into reality.

I wish the study would help the parliamentarians to gain understanding and insights on an issue that describes the plights of the ultra poor who have been living on city pavements with an utter discomfort. The knowledge they have gained through the discussions and subsequently through the study would help take up a pragmatic policy on the fight against poverty.

I firmly believe that the role of APPGs of the Bangladesh Parliament will continue to enhance democratic practices towards institutionalization through effective support by all of us.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Md. Abdul Hamid', with a long horizontal stroke extending from the end.

Md. Abdul Hamid Advocate, MP

Speaker

Bangladesh Parliament

and

Chairperson, All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPGs) Commission

Bangladesh Parliament



MESSAGE

Poverty is a challenge worldwide. According to a FAO estimate, 868 million people are undernourished worldwide, of them 304 million are in Southern Asia. Along with rapid economic growth, Bangladesh has performed well in nutrition improvement during the past two decades. Still, there remains significant number of hungrys. The HIES (2010) suggests that roughly 17.6% of the total population fall below the lower poverty line and for urban area the same figure stands to 7.7%.

The Government commitment towards upholding the MDG targets of reducing extreme poverty and promotion of rights of women and children is well reflected in all contemporary policy documents. The main objective of the 'Vision 2021' is to make Bangladesh a middle income country by 2020/2021 committing to reduce poverty drastically.

To help the government to fulfill its commitment towards this universal issue of national interest, it is important that legislators have developed a common insight and understanding in them through enhanced knowledge and democratic practices. The All-Party parliamentary Group on Extreme Poverty of Bangladesh Parliament formally launched on June 2010 has opened-up a window of opportunity for this. Prior to launching the APPG on this, more than 100 MPs irrespective of political identity, get oriented on the issue of 'extreme poverty' through five successive leadership orientation sessions. Due to increasing interests expressed by the parliament members, two special sessions held further on pavement dwellers issues as one of the extreme forms of poverty and the Caucus gets renamed as the 'All-Party Parliamentary Group on Extreme Poverty & Urban Pavement Dwellers' on February 2013.

The present study on pavement dwellers is a continuation of this noble efforts of strengthening parliamentary democracy through a process of mutual learning and knowledge sharing. Hope, Honorable members of parliament would find the study useful to proactively act on 'pavement dwellers.

I like thank the APPG staff members and Concern Worldwide for their imagination, leadership and innovativeness in craftily steering the Caucus through its nascent stage. This leadership has not only helped the APPG growing and attaining the status of an enviable brand in the domain of parliamentary democracy as an important instrument of change, but also created hopes.

Trust, the Caucus would continue and will be strengthen further to turn itself into a real democratic institution to fight against anti-human evils like poverty and inequality.

Md. Israfil Alam, MP

Chair, All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPG)

on Extreme Poverty and Urban Pavement Dwellers &

Chairman, Parliamentary Standing Committee on Ministry of Labour and Employment
Bangladesh Parliament

FEW WORDS



Bangladesh has made remarkable progress in reducing extreme poverty, addressing inequality, reducing maternal and child mortality, ensuring food security, bringing underprivileged groups into the mainstream development and formulating different pro-poor policies. The Government of Bangladesh is committed to making further progress in addressing extreme poverty and supporting marginalised and most vulnerable groups in the society as committed in different policies and plans. Urban Pavement dwellers are one of the most marginalized and vulnerable groups among the urban extreme poor. Despite having government's strong commitment of reducing extreme poverty and addressing vulnerability of the marginalised groups, it appears that the government policy directions towards the inclusion of pavement dwellers did not get translated into existing policy documents and development plans and programmes. With the aim of bringing the pavement dwellers' rights into the development policy and plan, the Executive Board of APPG on Extreme Poverty has taken the pavement dwellers issues into their consideration and amended the group and renamed it the "All-Party Parliamentary Groups (APPG) on Extreme Poverty and Urban Pavement Dwellers". We do express our heartfelt thanks and gratitude to the Honourable Speaker of the Bangladesh Parliament, Executive Board of "APPG on Extreme Poverty and Urban Pavement Dwellers" and Secretary General of APPGs of Bangladesh Parliament for bringing this change to advocate to ensure support to these people.

Concern Worldwide, a non-governmental, international, humanitarian organization dedicated to the reduction of suffering and working towards the elimination of extreme poverty in the world's poorest countries has been working in Bangladesh for more than four decades in both urban and rural areas. Under its urban programme, we focus on the pavement dwellers. There are estimated 25,000-50,000 street-dwellers in Dhaka city and many more in the other major cities like Chittagong, Khulna, Rajshahi, Sylhet, Barisal and Rangpur. Street-dwellers are those who sleep on the street under mosquito nets, plastic sheeting, or just under a shawl/lungi- putting down their shelters early in the morning in some safe place to set-up again in the evening. These groups do not have access to housing. They have limited access to health & education opportunities, have irregular and very low income options and there is wider social stigma towards them. Due to many reasons they have been bound to become the street dwellers. Their children rights to get birth certificates, their rights of getting National Identity Card and to be enlisted in voter list are not being possible due to not having a holding number or residence address. These most vulnerable groups are not supported by any social safety net programmes. However, their contribution to the city economy and environmental hygiene by performing the jobs no one else wants to do is of major benefit to all city dwellers. A Comprehensive Urban Development Policy is yet to be finalized and needs to incorporate the state responsibility to treat this group as citizens and provide support. Different City Corporations also can consider of providing services and allocating separate resources to reduce pavement dwellers' swelled sufferings.

I hope the publication of this document which portrays the situation of the people living on the street will help draw the attention of the policy makers and development partners to ensure the citizen's rights of these people. I thank the Honourable Speaker of the Bangladesh Parliament and the All-Party Parliamentary Group for taking this noble initiative

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "A.K.M. Musha".

A.K.M. Musha
Country Director

Concern Worldwide Bangladesh.



FOREWORD

Having legislators' representation from all political parties under a single umbrella and with visionary guidance from the Honourable Speaker and the Chairperson of the APPGs Commission Md. Abdul Hamid Advocate, the All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPGs) of Bangladesh Parliament has continued its relentless efforts to win over the anti-poverty struggle. Development of the All-Party Parliamentary Group on several issues of national interests like extreme poverty, climate change, agriculture, haor issues and so on; Big Stand-Up mobilization against poverty and for the MDG on October 17, 2009; Joint Inquiry Report on "Climate Change Equity: is it a plan, an aspiration or a fashion statement?" conducted jointly by APPG on Climate Change and Environment of Bangladesh Parliament and All Party Parliamentary Climate Change Group of British House of Commons, UK; successful hosting of the "South, Southwest, North and Central Asia Parliamentarian and CSO Forum on MDG Acceleration and Post-2015 Development Agenda" during 10-11 December 2012 are a few of the moments of glory of the APPGs throughout the 9th parliament. Mentionable that the joint inquiry report on Climate Change Equity . was published simultaneously from Dhaka, London and Copenhagen in December, 2009 and discussed among the global leaders during COP15 and later in the House of Commons, UK. This study on 'Pavement Dwellers' is only a miniature addition of the APPG to this ruthless anti-poverty skirmish.

Chinnumul, Rootless, Pathobashi, Pathokoli, Floating People, Street dwellers - whatever terms are used, pavement dwellers as appeared into mind at first sight are a bunch of urban hopeless poor struggling non-stop to manage a living and livelihoods. They are the poorest of the urban poor whose human, socio-cultural, political and economic rights are all have shattered. People's leaders while orienting through two consecutive sessions in the parliament during late 2011, frequently expressed the issue of pavement dwelling as unwanted and unacceptable.

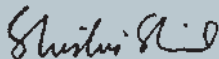
The government has made a strong commitment to upholding the MDG targets of reducing extreme poverty and promotion of rights of women and children. It is apparent that government policy directions towards inclusion of pavement dwellers as one of the extreme forms of poverty, did not get translated into the existing policy documents and development agendas.

However, pavement dwellers along with other segments of urban poor are the engines of growth of the urban economy and it is possible to further improve their living conditions, income, and human condition if appropriate initiatives are taken. But, systematic public data on issues of Pavement Dwelling is missing, which is a strong prerequisite to determine any effective interventions. Another important insight gained is that whatever strategies are undertaken they will not be sustainable unless the problem of shelter security of pavement dwellers is seriously taken into account.

In view of all these, the study has documented the nature and status of urban pavement dwellers and of the relevant policy practices based on an objective review of the existing documents along with interfacing of primary information obtained particularly from the Honourable Members of Parliament. The study can be considered as an immediate reflection of the parliamentarians' expression of interests to address this social issue.

In absence of any classified data, the study is expected to be a guiding reference to the Honourable parliamentarians and to others who have both responsibility and interest to act on this inhumane issue of poverty of pavement dwellers. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Honourable MPs for their valuable insights and Concern Worldwide for providing both intellectual and financial support to make this study a reality.

Last but not the least, the study is expected to help the APPG on its stand to reach its coveted goal of uprooting hunger and poverty and establishing a new trend in the country's parliamentary democracy.



Shishir Shil

Secretary General

All-Party Parliamentary Group (APPGs)

Bangladesh Parliament

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Living in the city-street or pavement do no way go with the Human Rights Conventions. Literally, the issue of 'pavement dwelling' is included within the broad spectrum of homelessness. Homelessness as a concept however a highly debated one and there recognised different outlooks on this among the development practitioners. Length and nature of residences, related socio-political and economic contexts, nature of exclusions, availability of services and their governance mainly are centering round the debate. Thus, the whole efforts are directed toward defining and developing typologies of homelessness and to relate the same to a given context in which a top-down 'service provider-service recipient' approach dominate the whole spectrum of the issue.

Negligible studies conducted on issues of 'pavement dwellers' at national context are influenced by this Western literary bias. Often, they are specific interest/programme driven. The necessary diagnosis of the problem either from a right-based perspective or from a bottom-up approach based on a real context that needs it most is thus missing. On the other hand, the public domain is missing systematic information on this. Resulted consequences have been total negligence of the issue in the entire policy discourses. More interesting is that instead of dealing with pavement dwellers, issue of 'housing' got focused in concurrent development programmes. Policy has often been to pavement dwellers detriment, for example, city/municipal corporations have a legal obligation of protecting pavements and therefore regularly evict pavement dwellers'.

In the prevailing situation of above, issue and practices of pavement dwelling has come to be nearly accepted as a normal part of Bangladesh's urban life, as summarized by the following quip 'suppose, you have just dropped in Kamlapur railway station, but no pavement dwellers are there, you certainly would be confused, whether you are in right station?" '

Study Rationale : The purpose of this study is to provide parliamentarians with information needed to effectively respond to pavement dwellers' issues. The main stay of the study is to document the nature and status of urban pavement dwellers, their number, sex, status of inclusion-exclusion and access to services and of existing policy practices from a right based perspective. In absence of classified data, the study is an attempt to establish a baseline perspective through an objective analysis of the facts and findings against which future progresses can be measured.

As part of the strategic partnership between the All Party Parliamentary Group (APPGs) Commission of Bangladesh Parliament and Concern Worldwide issues of Pavement Dwellers' were highlighted first as a connected issue to extreme poverty. Later in November 2011, thirty-seven Members of Parliament got oriented on pavement dwellers' issues through two separate sessions, where the MPs were touched by the harrowing tales of the hapless urban poor. They sincerely expressed their willingness to act on behalf of these people whose stories remained untold for many years. The MPs felt that improvement of life of this section to human from a sub-human state is one of the core responsibilities of the elected representatives and there should have strong commitment to bring to an end to their miseries. Thus, the study can be considered as an immediate outcome of expression of interests by the parliamentarians.

Methodology : The study is predominately premised on qualitative approach. Methodology of this study broadly included review and consultatio . Review included chronicling of information sourced from a huge quantity of public documents and surveys, research reports, journals, various materials and books pertaining to Pavement Dwellers' issues. Consultation method was adopted with a view to collect primary information pertaining to the study. As part of qualitative approach, consultation method employed mainly informal discussion at individual level based on any issues of information-disagreement that emerged out from secondary literature review. Informal discussion involved three major stakeholders i.e., Honourable Members of Parliament, civil society actors and pavement dwellers. The final report was prepared following a three-step processes. At first stage, research team collected and scrutinized available literature. After having first-cut scanning of these documents done, initial first draft was developed. At stage two, primary information was collected. After having primary data collection completed, second cut of scanning of secondary documents was made in order to do interfacing of secondary information with primary information. At third stage, an independent third party editorial panel edited the content of the whole document and developed the full-fledged report along with this elaborated executive summary.

Right-based Study Perspective of Pavement Dwellers : This study has perceived the issues of pavement dwellers from the rights perspective. From this perspective, pavement dwellers have been considered as the poorest of the urban poor whose human, socio-cultural, political and economic rights are extremely in danger. More particularly, pavement dwellers are those whose:

- human rights like right to life, liberty and security are in serious threat;
- socio-cultural rights like physical and mental health, education, social security and participation to cultural affairs are very much restricted;
- political rights like identity, participation to governance and the government and political processes and protection through policy practices are in serious crisis;
- and economic rights like choice of occupation, right to food, clothing, and standard of living and freedom from hunger are in extremely critical situation

Demographic Aspects of Pavement Dwellers : BBS (1999) data of 32,081 pavement dwellers in urban Bangladesh is the first and last comprehensive count and thus is used widely in available development literature. However, with over 6% urban population growth rate over the last decade along with increased number of extreme climatic events for last couple of years, their number is assumed to have increased significantly to possibly around 50,000 now in Dhaka alone. During different national and religious festivals the figure reportedly increases further while during rainy season the figure reportedly gets reduced. On the other hand, the HIES (2010) data do not support this estimation since it has reported a significant reduction of urban extreme poverty to around 7.7%. Little is known regarding women and children count among the pavement dwellers.

Chinnumul, Rootless, Pathobashi, Floating People, Street dwellers, Rough Sleepers - so many terms are used today to refer the people who sleep, rest and live on the pavement. They are different from that of either homelessness or slum dwellers. Since, many pavement dwellers are reported to have homes in their ancestral villages which they visit periodically. On the other hand, their economic statuses do not support them to either rent houses or to stay in slums.

They live in the city streets/footpaths/ pavements building small hutments or sleep in parks, bus-terminals, railway stations, piers, stadium, construction sites, over-bridges, bus/truck, around graveyards and stairways of public buildings, markets and in other public spaces. They have no fixed roof overhead and often they sleep under the open sky without any shades or fences. Male, female, children, disable, widow, divorced, separated, old aged, majority, minority - pavement dwellers include all. The main reasons for a pavement dweller to choose a place to sleep include

a) earlier linkage and know-how of the place and community since they have migrated from the same location and b) access to works. Women are more likely to sleep with family members or friends. Unless forced to leave, pavement dwellers are reported living in the same place comparatively for a long period of time, most often the length varies between 10 to 15 years (PCSL 2011).

Occupationally, pavement dwellers belong to the daily wage earning category. Different forms of day labouring like luggage carrying in transport centres, unloading trucks in markets, van/rickshaw pulling, vegetables picking during unloading trucks, restaurant works, solid waste collection and recycling, begging, scavenging and street vending, drug transport and selling, domestic work and commercial sex selling constituted with their main occupational categories. Very few of them are engaged in service occupation and small businesses and sewing and garments works. However, occupations vary between men and women and mainly determined by the associated opportunities of the living place. Women mostly engaged in begging, domestic work, scavenging, street vending and sex selling while men mostly in day labouring, begging, scavenging and transport work. Reportedly, men get paid more than women.

Socio-cultural, Political & Economic Aspects of Pavement Dwellers :

Economically, socially and politically urban pavement dwellers belong to extreme poor category. In consideration to both calorie intake and cost of basic needs (CBN) measurements, they are the poorest of the urban poor and are excluded from all forms of social and political participation. Available literature suggests that around one-third pavement dwellers can afford three meals a day, but sources of food include among others begging for food and food provided to housemaids. Physical labour, family members' earning, kinship, linkage building with the neighbouring communities, a set of portable belongings like polythene, a plastic sheet, jute bags for bed, pillow, mosquito net and quilt in most cases constituted their entire capital. Men often have more assets than women.

Many pavement dwellers are functionally illiterate (51.2%), though some have studied up to primary level (PCSL 2011). Reportedly, there is hardly any difference in level of education between the sexes. Pavement dwellers from Chittagong present worst case scenario in all aspects of education. Considering children, the scenario is further disappointing. Available studies suggest that 'not to attend school' is the dominant trend among the children of pavement dwellers, in most cases they present well above 50%. Many of the school going aged children reportedly are engaged in income generating activities.

Due to lifestyle on street, pavement dwellers are more likely to suffer from injuries and medical problems. Cold/cough/fever, stomach upset/diarrhoea/stomach pain, scabies, sexual diseases and other respiratory infections are reported common among them. Child birth in the street without any registration and growing up in the same place reportedly a common practice in pavement living. One ICDDRDB study 2011 found that morbidity is extremely high among street dwellers.

WASA installed tap, tube wells, shops, religious centres and available other public places are reported as their main sources of drinking water. In Chittagong reportedly a few pavement dwellers have to pay for their drinking water. Anecdotal evidences suggest that on average, pavement dwellers' pay around 7 taka each day for collecting water for household consumption (PCSC 2011). However, when available pavement dwellers use natural lakes, ponds, rivers and canals for water.

Health and hygiene practices are low among pavement dwellers. Defecating in open space particularly in drain or on road side is reported to be high, around 25%. Though majority use public toilets, paying for toilet facility is common, around three-fourth. On an average, they have to spend between 3-7 taka for toilet facilities per day based on the geographical location (PCSC 2011). Women usually try to avoid using public toilets since they are unclean, smelly, have broken door, have slippery floor and often with no roof. Women prefer to defecate in open space after dusk or at early morning.

Access to Services : Available literature suggest that access to a minimum package of essential services like health, education, electricity, water and sanitation is crucial for reducing poverty and improving welfare. Pavement dwellers access to these services however is analysed to be one of the lowest among urban poor.

As reported, along with rapid increases of urban population and inadequate services and institutional incapacities, existing policy provisions and public service delivery mechanisms are not explicitly targeted for this group of people. They lag behind in terms of key health indicators, such as immunization, antenatal care, and skilled attendance at birth (ICDDRDB 2011). Since living in the street is considered illegal, it is likely that pavement dwellers are excluded from existing public services such as education, water, sanitation, electricity, banking and legal protection. Most of the tortures and oppressions on these people remain unnoticed as they do not possess any legal rights to protest against oppressions. On the other hand, due to rural focuses existing safety net programmes do not cover them.

International development agencies and INGOs in partnering with some national NGOs and often with the ministries/departments and the local government institutions have initiated a few essential services and facilities for pavement dwellers. These include health services, bathing facilities, child care, child education and protection, cooking facilities, lockers, day time rest opportunity and life skill and motivational training. Health services further include treatment for STDs and HIV / AIDS, behaviour-change programme among street-based sex workers, primary health care services through mobile clinic, curative and preventive health care services for children through indoor and outdoor clinics and mobile medical team. Child-friendly support and services include drop-in-centres, night shelters, hostels, open schools, clubs, and vocational training. A few drug rehabilitation centres have also been established (Ahmed et al., 2011).

However, these services and facilities are all specific projects-driven and thus have a limited area of coverage and particular target groups. They are not accessible by the whole pavement dwelling communities and they cover only a few essential services. Pavement dwellers have no choice rather to welcome and appreciate of the few assistances and services provided by either NGOs or any other government agencies or organisations.

Perspective of Rights : Pavement dwellers are treated inhumanely irrespective of age and sex. Despite living in the same place for a significant period of time they have no postal addresses, voter numbers or social identity which restrict them from getting decent job or services. Lack of education, skills and healthcare restrict them from any gainful livelihoods.

Pavement dwellers are not protected at all. They have no personal security, let alone social security. They are in persistent threat of eviction, harassment and violence of all kinds. They are harassed by important right bearers like police, employers, relatives and mastans. Extortion, unwanted advances, rude gestures, physical torture, rape and eviction reportedly are more common among the forms of harassments. Women are comparatively more in disadvantaged situation as regards to eviction, harassment and violence. It becomes more acute in case of single women. Women frequently suffer physical abuse at the hands of both husbands and outsiders such as law-enforcement people, local miscreants, and male friends. Men often get into violent fights over sleeping space and food and get assaulted by the police. Men reported taking high levels of locally-available illegal substances, such as marijuana, grain alcohols, and heroin. The duration of eviction depends on high officials' visits, replacement of a new group of police and wishes of particular officials or police.

In almost all instances, eviction victims are observed to move temporarily to a nearby place and return to the same location after only a few days.

What is worth mentioning is that in spite of persistent vulnerability and shocks, having taking challenges of all worst forms of occupations and labouring, pavement dwellers have continued their efforts to support day to day functioning of city life. They are an indispensable part of consistent higher economic growth of the Bangladesh's cities and towns. They have achieved this through effective management of very small resources they have. As evident in different studies, pavement dwellers mostly exercise intimate mutual relationships among themselves and compose a sense of community. They circulate gained assets within this community by means of loans, barter or simply giving in times of extreme needs. They simultaneously share their assets and stresses as well as work together to perform daily needs/works. Basic livelihood earnings are usually obtained as an outcome of social interactions with surrounding peoples by means of employment or charity (Shoma 2011).

Global and National Policy Practices and Political Commitment to Right Aspects : The statuses of pavement dwellers do not align with either global or national policy provisions. Political leaders worldwide have committed to safeguarding rights of extreme poor like pavement dwellers and to reduce poverty of all forms. The Millennium Development Goal set extreme poverty reduction as the number one priority. Achieving universal primary education, promotion of gender equality and empowering women, reducing child mortality, improving maternal health, combating HIV/AIDS, Malaria and other diseases, ensuring environmental sustainability are among others the main priorities under the MDG. These all indicate that pavement dwellers rights are well targeted in the MDG

There are clear provisions for pavement dwellers protection in the human rights documents. Article 3, Article 5, Article 12, Article 22, Article 25, Article 26 and Article 27 under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 7, Article 9, Article 17, Article 24 under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Article 9, Article 11, Article 12 and Article 13 under the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights clearly reflect the same that pavement dwellers rights need to be protected. Apart from these, Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women 1979, Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989 have clear declarations for protecting pavement dwelling women and children.

The stated human rights are well translated and protected in national policy documents. The preamble of the Constitution pledges that 'it shall be a fundamental aim of the state to realize through the democratic process a socialist society, free from exploitation-a society in which rule of law, fundamental human rights and freedom, equality and justice-political, economic and social, will be secured for all citizens'. Article 14 of the constitution imposes fundamental responsibility on the state to emancipate the toiling masses-the peasants and workers-and backward sections of the people from all forms of exploitation. Apart from declaration and prohibition of discrimination only, the Constitution also has prescribed provisions for affirmative action for the progress of the backward section. Article 28.4 reads, 'nothing in this article shall prevent the state from making special provision in favour of women or children or for the advancement of any backward section of citizens'.

Apart from these constitutional provisions, the government is committed to upholding the MDG targets of reducing extreme poverty and promotion of rights of women and children. This commitment has been well reflected in all contemporary policy documents like the Country Investment Plan, the Sixth Five Year Plan and the Perspective plan. In the political parties last election manifestoes there even observed clear commitment on these. A set of newly framed policy/programmes also are targeted towards this end. Both allocation and coverage of existing social safety net programmes like Food for Works Programme, VGD, VGF, Test Relief programme, old age allowance, cash benefit to different destitute groups like people with disabilities, destitute women are on a ever increasing trend, 22,556.05 crore taka allocated only in 2011-2012. Special allocation through budgetary provisions is also marked on this such as employment scheme for hard core poor, Shishu bikash Kendra, Disable service and assistance centre. New initiatives also are underway like rehabilitation and alternative employment programme for beggars initiated in 2009-2010, Ashrayon Prokolpo-2, Ghore Fhera Programme restarted in 2009-2010

In spite of all these, what appeared from the stated analysis is that pavement dwellers remain excluded from all the policy and practices although they present one of the most extreme forms of poverty in urban context where most of the parliamentarians and other right bearer stakeholders live. Government policy directions towards inclusion of pavement dwellers as one of the extreme forms of poverty did not get translated into existing policy discourses and development programmes. The situation is like that pavement dwellers itself get excluded from the category of extreme poor. In absence of any legal identity they are excluded from all kinds of public services and benefits.

Recommendations :

In view to above, the study considered it right time to raise parliamentarians' voices to translate pavement dwellers' issues into existing policy practices. Following set of recommendations can be considered in this:

a) Systematic documentation : Appropriate information and diagnosis of the problem and systematically documenting the same through existing documentation mechanisms like the HIES, City Corporations/Municipalities implemented documentation measures is the first prerequisite. Parliamentarians need to raise voices on this.

b) Inclusion in the policy provisions : Parliamentarians need to play a critical role to inform policy makers of the gap that existing policy provisions like the Country Investment Plan, the Sixth Five Year Plan, the Perspective Plan, the Women Development Policy 2011, the National Child Policy 2010, the Housing Policy and city corporations/municipality ordinances lack right addressing pavement dwellers' issues in spite of the fact that they are poorest of the urban poor.

c) Inclusion in the existing development programmes and practices : Parliamentarians should influence incorporation of pavement dwellers issues into existing development and safety net programmes targeted for extreme poor like Food for Works Programme, VGD, VGF, Test Relief programme, old age benefit, cash benefit to different destitute groups, employment scheme for hard core poor, rehabilitation and alternative employment programme for beggars, Ashrayon Prokolpo-2, Ghore Fhera Programme, slum development programmes by the municipalities and city corporations and so on.

d) Governance improvement : Parliamentarians can play the much needed monitoring role of existing programmes targeted for extreme poor from the perspective of access and inclusion of pavement dwellers in to running programmes.

e) Coordination among NGOs and development agencies implemented programmes : A holistic coordinated programme appeared more meaningful on this in which there should be clear-cut differences of focus, issues and areas for every individual organisation. The APPG commission can play a vital role here.

f) Planned rehabilitation programme certainly would help : As appeared from analysis unless legal identity of pavement dwellers is established, little can be expected to change. This can be only addressed through a planned rehabilitation programme. In view to ruthless eviction of slum dwellers in 1997, the then Prime Minister's declaration that "no slum will be demolished by the government without taking steps to rehabilitate the affected people" has created an avenue to dialogue with the government to readress the problem of tenure security of pavement dwellers.

g) Need-based interventions to be continued : Unless effective strategies and programmes are in place, it is vital that development organisations have continued a few need-based supports to the pavement dwellers.



Pavement dweller
sleeping on van

Photo : Shehab Uddin

INTRODUCTION

Background and Rationale

Although there is no universal definition, direct calorie intake and cost of basic needs (CBN) or income poverty measurements are popularly used to determine 'extreme poverty'. As per calorie intake, those who chronically suffer to manage basic dietary needs are in general considered extremely poor. In Bangladesh the basic dietary limit in general is considered 1805 kcal per person per day. Cost of Basic Need measurement is based on purchasing power parities. More particularly it is a consumption expenditure measure based on the total expenditure required for a minimum level of Kcal consumption per day plus an allowance for basic non-food items (Shiree, 2009). Thus, a World Bank 2008 estimation of income per person per day as US\$1.25 is considered to determine the extreme poverty line (Chen Shaohua & Ravallion Martin, 2008). *Either from calorie intake or from CBN measures, Bangladesh's Pavement Dwellers fall into the extreme poverty category.*

The issue of 'extreme poverty' is now a challenge worldwide. Available estimates suggest that there are currently 868 million undernourished or extreme poor worldwide, of them 304 million are in South Asia and 167 million are in East Asia only (FAO, 2012). Though Bangladesh has showed tremendous success in extreme poverty reduction over last couple of years, latest estimate suggests that 17.6% of the total population are extreme poor. Same estimate suggests drastic reduction of urban extreme poor to 7.7% (HIES, 2010). As per this estimate, Bangladesh has nearly 26 million extreme poor of which around 2.8 million lives in urban centres. Although scientific data is absent, available estimates suggest that of the around 2.8 million urban extreme poor, pavement dwellers cover at best the lowest 3-4 %.

Extreme poverty implied a situation where basic human needs of a few remain unattended. More particularly, human rights and associated other services that distinguish human beings from other living species are distributed unevenly to favor a few over majority of others. Through a process of social, economic and political exclusion the situation is manifested. Peoples' leaders worldwide have commitment to root out all forms of extreme poverty. The number one priority under the Millennium Development Goal is to work together to alleviate extreme poverty. Global human rights documents like the 'Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1949,

the International Covenant on Social, Political and Economic Rights, and the International Covenant on Civil and Cultural Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women 1979, the Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989 have all provisioned sufficient clauses to protect human beings from all forms of extreme poverties.

The stated human rights are well translated and protected in the national policy documents like the Constitution. Moreover, the Government is well committed to upholding the MDG targets of reducing extreme poverty and promotion of rights of women and children which has been well reflected in all contemporary policy documents like the Country Investment Plan, the Sixth Five Year Plan and the Perspective plan. In the political parties last election manifestoes there even observed clear commitment on these. A set of newly framed policy/programmes also are targeted towards this end. Both allocation and coverage of the existing social safety net programmes like Food for Works Programme, VGD, VGF, Test Relief programme, old age benefit, cash benefit to different destitute groups like disable, destitute women are on a ever increasing trend, 22556.05 crore taka allocated only in 2011-2012. Special allocation through budgetary provisions is also marked on this such as employment scheme for hard core poor, Shishu bikash Kendra, Disable service and assistance centre. New initiatives also are underway like rehabilitation and alternative employment programme for beggars initiated in 2009-2010, Ashrayon Prokolpo-2, Ghore Fhera Programme restarted in 2009-2010.

Given the stated backdrops, it is clear that the issue of pavement dwellers as one of the extreme forms of poverty is unwanted and unacceptable.

Pavement dwellers remain excluded from all the policy and practices despite the fact that most of the parliamentarians and other right bearing stakeholders live in these same urban cities and towns. More particularly, government policy directions toward inclusion of pavement dwellers as one of the extreme forms of poverty did not get translated into the existing policy documents and development programmes. Pavement dwellers along with other urban poor are one of the engines of growth of the urban economy and it is possible to further improve their living conditions, income, and human condition if appropriate initiatives are taken. But, systematic public data on Pavement Dwellers' issues are missing, which is a strong prerequisite to determine any effective interventions. Another important insight gained over time show that whatever strategies are undertaken they will not be sustainable unless the problem of tenure security of the pavement dwellers is seriously taken into account. This has also been an issue of concern articulated in various global policies such as

the MDG and the Istanbul Declaration of the Second UN Habitat Conference etc.

With this end in view the present study has been undertaken. The main stay of the study is to document the nature and status of urban pavement dwellers, their number, sex, status of inclusion-exclusion and access to services and of the existing policy practices from a right based perspective. This is expected to enable the parliamentarians to effectively deal and act on this. In absence of classified data, the study is an attempt to establish a baseline perspective through an objective analysis of the facts and findings against which future progresses can be measured. Mentionable that as part of the strategic partnership between the All Party Parliamentary Group (APPGs) Commission of Bangladesh Parliament and Concern Worldwide the issues of 'Pavement Dwellers' were highlighted first as a connected issue to extreme poverty. Later in late of November 2011, 37 Members of Parliament got oriented on the issues of pavement dwellers through two separate sessions. In the orientations, Parliament Members expressed their strong commitment and responsibility to act on pavement dwelling. Thus, the study can be considered as an immediate outcome of the expression of interests by the parliamentarians. Following points best summarises the rationale of the study:

- Either calorie intake or cost of basic needs measurements, pavement dwellers fall into extreme poverty category.
- Extreme poverty indicates extreme violation of human rights. That means, parliamentarians have strong role to play in favour of pavement dwellers since their human rights and important other basic needs are in danger.
- Government worldwide has commitment to root out all forms of extreme poverty. The MDG, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Social, Political and Economic Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Cultural Rights and in all other global human rights documents there recognized sufficient provisions to protect extreme poor like pavement dwellers.
- The National government has made a strong commitment to act on extreme poverty like pavement dwellers. The National Constitution and other planning documents like the Perspective Plan, the Sixth Five Year Plan, the Medium Term Investment Plan, successive budgets, the Women Development Policy 2011, the Child Rights Policy and many others are analysed to have clear recognition and well directed policy provisions to work against extreme poverty.



Honourable MPs
are getting oriented on
pavement dwellers'
issues

Photo : Shehab Uddin

- Parliament Members frequently expressed their interests to act against pavement dwelling. While orienting pavement dwellers' issues during late of 2011, they unanimously recognized 'pavement dwelling' as one of the worst forms of poverty and human rights violation and thus unacceptable. 37 MPs attended the orientations.
- 'Pavement dwelling' is an urban issue where most of the lawmakers and important other right bearer stakeholders live. Since, total count of only a few thousands, the issue is still a small one. Supportive policy practices and favourable socio-political and cultural contexts are expected to enable the parliamentarians to bring about positive changes with minimum efforts, resources and time.
- Systematic public data and potential study on issues of Pavement Dwellers' are missing, which is a strong prerequisite to determine any effective interventions. Thus, there is potential scope to consider this study as a baseline perspective of the status and situation of Bangladesh's pavement dwellers.

Study Objective

The study objective has been to provide with a snapshot view of nature and status of urban pavement dwellers, their number, sex, status of inclusion-exclusion and access to services and of the existing policy perspectives. These are expected to enable the parliamentarians to effectively deal and act on this.

In view to the stated objective, following specific objectives can be thought off:

- Analysing persistent situation of urban pavement dwellers.
- Analysing issues of inclusion-exclusion and access to services by the urban pavement dwellers.
- Analysing existing policy practices in relation to secure pavement dwellers' fundamental rights.
- To provide with the parliamentarians of the policy agendas to effectively deal with urban pavement dwellers' issues.

Methodology

The study is predominately premised on qualitative approach. Data collected both from primary and secondary sources. The methodology of this study broadly included review, case story collection, observation and consultation.

Review included collection and critical analysis of information regarding the status of pavement dwellers sourced from public domain, civil society organizations and personals, multinational development agencies and academic disciplines. A good number of studies, surveys, reports, journals, articles, policy documents, development plans and programmes, election manifestoes and human and fundamental rights documents are read and analysed carefully to draw an objective analysis of the status of Bangladesh's urban pavement dwellers that can be mutually agreed in absence of available scientific research and data.

For further validation of the end point data used in this report taking from secondary sources, primary information also are collected. Case story collection, observation and consultation method are mainly used for primary information collection. All including six pavement dwellers' case-stories were collected purposively to supplement any findings obtained from secondary sources.

Consultation method employed mainly informal discussion at the individual level based on issue of any information-disagreement that emerged out of secondary literature review. Informal discussion involved three major stakeholders of the field; Members of Parliament, contemporary civil society activists and pavement dwellers'. Members of Parliament were selected purposively from different urban locations particularly based on the intensity of pavement dwellers within a defined jurisdiction. A common set of checklists guided the primary information collection.

Observation method mainly include researcher's direct visit and observation in a few hot spots of urban locations in Dhaka city.

Apart from these, in relevant matters, available quantitative data generated through most scientific studies and policy documents also are used

Analysis Plan

Report making further involved a three-step processes. At stage one, the research team collected and scrutinized available secondary materials. After having first-cut scanning of these documents done, very initial first draft was developed which among others identified missing links in the existing secondary information. At stage two, necessary primary information was collected with a view to complement already identified missing links from secondary information. As soon as primary information collection completed, necessary interfacing of primary data with secondary information was done. At stage three, an expert editorial panel thoroughly edited the content of the report based on available secondary information and developed the full-fledged report along with an elaborated executive summary. Thus, it has been possible to do necessary triangulation of collected information.

Given stated analysis, it can be said that information provided in this study based on extended triangulation and mid-point data have been used and thus can be considered safe up to this stage. Still, there might be opinion differences regarding any information provided. Although, considering one of the study objectives that to enable the parliamentarians to deal and act on urban pavement dwellers' issues, it can be expected that the study would serve the purpose.

Limitations

The study is mainly dependent on review of secondary materials. Thus, lack of scientific data in the public domain regarding pavement dwellers' was the main challenge of the study. Through a process of purposive and non-representational primary information collection and expert knowledge this challenge was mainly encountered.

Pavement Dwellers: A particular forms of homelessness but with significant differences

Apparently, 'living in the city-street or pavement' do no way go with Human Rights Conventions. Literally, the issue of 'pavement dwelling' is thus included within the broad spectrum of homelessness. 'Homelessness' is a highly debated issue and there observed different outlooks on this among the development practitioners. Springer (2000, p.479) stated "there are as many classifications and definitions of homelessness as there are different points of view". Length and nature of residences, related socio-political and economic contexts, nature of exclusions, availability of services and their governance mainly are centering round the debate. Thus, the whole efforts



Pavement
dwellers at
Kamlapur Raiway
Station

Photo : Shehab Uddin



Pavement
dwellers at
Usmani Uddan

Photo : Shehab Uddin

are directed toward defining and developing typologies of homelessness and to relate the same to a given context in which a top-down 'service provider-service recipient' approach dominate the whole spectrum of the issue.

Definitions and Typologies of Homelessness and the debate

The Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (1999) describes homelessness as having any of the following five residential characteristics:

- living on the street;
- living in crisis or refuge accommodation;
- living in temporary arrangements without security of tenure
- living in unsafe family circumstances;
- living on very low incomes and facing extraordinary expenses or personal crisis.

(The Australian Institute of Health and Welfare 1999 cited in McIntosh & Phillips 2000, p.2)

Based on exclusion, Edgar and Meert (2005) give a typology of homelessness. They talk about exclusion from three domains: physical, legal and social. Ghafur (2004) identified three types of urban homelessness people in Bangladesh based on residential circumstances which are 'floating homelessness', 'situated homelessness' and 'potential homelessness'. Floating homelessness refers to people living in the streets or other public spaces without permanent shelters of their own. Government census 1999 (BBS 1999) used the term 'floating population' to define homelessness, *"the mobile and vagrant category of rootless people who have no permanent dwelling units, however bad and who are found in the census night.....in the railway station, launch ghats (water transport terminals), bus stations, hat-bazaar (market places), mazar (shrines), the staircases of public/government buildings, open spaces etc."* (BBS 1999, p.4).

Ghafur (2004) however pointed that not all pavement dwellers are homeless; they might have homes in their ancestral villages, which they usually visit periodically. Ghafur (2006) further noted, from a social perspective, people can be homeless even when living in a legitimate shelter for reasons beyond their control. Loss of identity instead of, or in addition to, loss of shelter contributes to a given individual's or group's perception of homelessness.

Kelletta & Moore (2003, pp. 124-125), stated that literature within the developed world focuses mainly on incidence, support, management and prevention of urban homelessness which is linked to a wider set of debates on sub-standard housing, health, family and social problems in a variety of settings such as street, hostels and squats while the housing and homelessness within a developing world context has not intended to explore the more complex meaning and use of home, other than a form of physical shelter. Tipple & Speak (2009, p. xi) pointed that 'homelessness' and 'the homeless' are frequently used in the literature on housing in developing countries but they tend to be freely applied as to be meaningless

Negligible studies conducted on issues of pavement dwellers' at national context are influenced by this Western literary bias. Often, they are seen with specific interest/programme driven. The necessary diagnosis of the problem either from a right based perspective or from a bottom-up approach based on a real context that needs it most is thus missing. On the other hand, the public domain is missing systematic information on this. Resulted consequences have been total negligence of the issue in the entire policy discourses. More interesting is that instead of dealing with the pavement dwellers the issue of 'housing' got focused in the concurrent development programmes. Ghafur (2006, pp. 51-52) noted, when shelter sector try to solve the homelessness in cities as a housing problem, housing policies propose settlement improvement and squatter rehabilitation as interventions, which only served the situated (slum, squatter etc.) homeless people. Ultimate result is the exclusion of pavement dwellers. Policy has often been to pavement dwellers' detriment for example, city/municipal corporations have a legal obligation of protecting pavement and therefore regularly evict pavement dwellers'

Pavement Dwellers: Rights Based Study Perspective

The study has perceived pavement dwellers' issues from a rights perspective. Thus, pavement dwellers have been considered as the poorest of the urban poor whose human, socio-cultural, political and economic rights are in extremely danger. More particularly, pavement dwellers are those whose:

- human rights like right to life, liberty and security are in serious threat;
- socio-cultural rights like physical and mental health, education, social security and participation to cultural affairs are very much restricted;
- political rights like identity, participation to governance and the government and political processes and protection through policy practices are in serious crisis;
- and economic rights like choice of occupation, right to food, clothing, and standard of living and freedom from hunger are in extremely critical situation

Readers of this report are requested to interpret every aspects provided in subsequent sections of this study based on right-based perspective.

STATUS OF PAVEMENT DWELLERS: POOREST OF THE URBAN POOR

Introduction

As established through the previous chapter, pavement dwellers are the poorest of the urban poor since their human, socio-cultural, political and economic rights are violated to the extreme. In order to do something meaningful in this regard the first and foremost prerequisite thus appeared at this stage is authentic and reliable data. Unless objective information and analysis are obtained, solution to the problem cannot be errorless.

Unfortunately, empirical studies or reliable public data regarding pavement dwellers is almost missing. *With this end in view, there has been an endeavour in this section to establish an independent analysis of the statuses of pavement dwellers through a process of chronicling and logical sequencing of information based on critical analysis of available primary and secondary information.* In necessary cases, missing links have been encountered through seeking opinion from the Honourable Members of Parliament and from other important right bearer stakeholders. Thus, nature and features, status of rights and the issues of inclusion and exclusion and access to services of pavement dwellers have been sketched out in this section. The efforts are directed to draw an objective analysis of pavement dwellers that can be referred by the politicians instead of conducting a rigorous study or survey. The subsequent sections read out the same.

Pavement Dwellers: Demographic Considerations

Reference Point

Different nomenclatures are used in development literature to refer to 'Pavement Dwellers'. Chinnumul, Rootless, Pathobashi, Pathokoli, Floating People, Street dweller and Rough Sleepers are interchangeably use to refer to them. The BBS (1999) used the term 'floating population' to describe "the mobile and vagrant category of rootless people who have no permanent dwelling units". Homelessness, rooflessness, sleeping rough and street dwellers as used by the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (1999) have close proximity to that of Bangladesh's urban pavement dwellers.. In national context, pavement dwellers have been mostly referred to as 'Street-dwellers' (Islam 1997; BBS 1999; Ghani 2001, Marie Steps). On the other hand, in most public documents and programmes pavement dwellers have been considered in the name of 'others'.

Given the stated dilemma, the study here considered it safe to use the term 'Pavement Dwellers'. They are different to that of either homelessness or slum dwellers. Many of them have home in their ancestral villages which they visit periodically. On the other hand, their economic statuses do not support them to either rent houses or stay in slums. From a rights perspective the study has perceived pavement dwellers as those whose human, socio-cultural, political and economic rights are in extremely critical condition.

For a simplistic understanding they can be referred to those who live and rest in city streets/footpaths/pavements or sleep in parks, bus terminals, railway stations, piers, stadium, construction sites, over-bridge, bus/truck, around graveyards and stairways of public buildings, markets and in other public spaces. Usually, they live building small hutments in the streets/footpaths/pavements. They have no fixed roof overhead and often they sleep under the open sky without any shades or fences.

Either from calorie intake or from CBN measures, they are poorest of the urban poor as well as fall under the extreme poverty category. Unless forced to leave, they are used to live in the same place comparatively long period of time.

Pavement Dwellers Count: Number, Sex, Age, Race, Religion

Although pavement dwellers are highly visible in urban Bangladesh but virtually invisible as very little is known about their number, sex, age, race or religion. In absence of scientific data, their number has been counted differently in different reports. The BBS census 1997 had counted 32081

'floating population' in urban Bangladesh of which 14,999 were in Dhaka city and a further 17,082 were in other metropolitan

I think, the actual figure would be more than fifty thousand. Might be around 50000 pavement dwellers live in Dhaka city only.

Sanzida Khanom, Honorable Parliament Member, Dhaka-4

areas, cities, and municipalities. The Marie Stops Clinic Society conducted survey 2001 estimated a range between 10,000 to 40,000 pavement dwellers each in Dhaka and Chittagong cities (Ghani 2001). A recent CWW study has estimated around 50,000 urban street dwellers in Bangladesh.

The study further noted between 20,000 to 30,000 pavement dwellers in Dhaka and Chittagong city each.

The BBS Census 1997 estimation is used widely in the available development literature. Recent other counts represent almost similar figure as of this. However, with over 6% urban population growth rate over the last decade along with increased number of extreme climatic events for last couple of years, pavement dwellers' number is assumed to have increased

Number of pavement dwellers varies sporadically especially during Eid festivals, winter and rainy seasons. During Ramadan and Eid festivals people from different nearby districts come to Dhaka aiming to earn more. As a result, their number usually get increases, may be got almost double during festival times. However, during winter and rainy seasons due to sleeping problems their numbers seem decreases.

*Asaduzzaman Khan Kamal, Honorable
Parliament Member, Dhaka-11*

significantly possibly around 50000 now in Dhaka only. During different national and religious festivals the figure reportedly increases further while during rainy season the figure reportedly gets reduced. Although, the HIES 2011 provided data do not support this estimation since it has reported a significant reduction of urban extreme poverty to around 7.7%.

Apart from this, little is known regarding sex, age, race or religion of pavement dwellers. One study notes that there are almost an equal proportion of female and male street-dwellers in Dhaka city (Kader 2008). The very few studies so far conducted on pavement dwellers are analysed specific areas and contexts, stakeholders and interests driven. Thus, it is difficult to get acceptable data regarding sex, age, race or religion of pavement dwellers. Practical observation though suggest that male, female, children, disable, widow, divorced, separated, old aged, majority, minority – pavement dwellers include all. Apparently, women pavement dwellers appeared more in number than men in Dhaka city.

Pavement Dwellers: Occupation Count

Occupationally, pavement dwellers belong to the daily wage earning category. Different forms of day labouring like luggage carrying in transport centres, unloading trucks in markets, van/rickshaw pulling, vegetables picking during unloading trucks, restaurant works, solid waste collection and recycling, begging, scavenging and street vending, drug transport and



Pavement dwellers
employed in
garbage disposal pit
at Matuail

Photo : Shehab Uddin



Pavement dwellers
waiting at Karwan
Bazar for unloading
goods

Photo : Shehab Uddin

selling, domestic work and commercial sex selling among others constituted their main occupational categories. Very few of them are engaged in service occupation and small businesses and sewing and garments works. However, occupations vary between men and women and is mainly determined by the associated opportunities of the living place. Women mostly engaged in begging, domestic work, scavenging, street vending and sex selling while men mostly in day labouring, begging, scavenging and transport works. Reportedly, men get paid more than women.

Pavement dwellers do not have fixed occupation, they perform every works offered to them. Many of them are involved in multi-dimensional activities, there are also problems of hiding and misreporting. One study showed that women mainly engaged in begging (36%), domestic work (23%) and scavenging and street vending (9% each) while men mostly engaged in day labouring (40%), begging and scavenging (16% each), and in transport works (11%). Around 8% of the women reportedly live by selling sex on the street (Ahmed et al., 2011). The major occupation of pave dwellers in Gabtoli is day labouring, rickshaw /van pulling in Gazipur, and combination of various occupations in Chittagong (PCSL 2011).

Pavement Dwellers: Socio-cultural, Political and Economic Aspects Count

Economically, socially and politically urban pavement dwellers fall into the extreme poor category. They are the poorest of the urban poor and are excluded from all forms of social and political participation. In the subsequent sections, there is a detail analysis of the socio-cultural, economic, and political statuses of the pavement dwellers.

Resources Count

Physical labour, family members earning, kinship, linkage building with the neighbouring communities, a set of portable belongings like polythene, a plastic sheet, jute bags for bed, pillow, mosquito net and quilt in most cases constituted their entire capitals. Sometimes those are also stolen by their fellow comrades. Men often have more assets than women. Pavement dwellers get mental strength by staying in the same premises. It also creates group feeling which results in helping each other in different ways as they think that only poor people feel for poor. Major areas of collaboration found among pavement dwellers are lending money; taking care of each other during sickness; assist during child delivery, burial of dead body and various other collaboration like showing sympathy during one's crisis, sharing food, help in cooking, taking care of children and providing information on donation or gift (Shoma 2011).



Pavement dweller
eating food in his living
place immediately after
cooking

Photo : Shehab Uddin

Income

For most pavement dwellers, income is not enough to meet their basic human needs. When anyone is lucky enough to manage a decent housemaid work income increases nearly 3000 taka a month. Usually, monthly income between 1500-2000 taka is reported common (Shoma 2012). Lump-sum savings (tk. 10 to 20 each day) by a few pavement dwellers with NGO programmes though not unlikely, they are in general reported not to earn enough to save.

Food Intake

Around one-third pavement dwellers can afford three meals a day, but sources of food include among others begging for food and food provided to the housemaids (PCSL 2011). The study further revealed that women pavement dwellers sometime skip their midday meal in order to save some money. Another study found that around 72% men and 55% women have access to three meals a day (Ahmed et al., 2011).

Reportedly, more than 75% pavement dwellers buy food, less than 10% beg for food and only around 16% cook their food in the road side. Cooking is usually done at evening or late evening. Cooking materials like stove/oven is not available. Food is sometimes provided to the women housemaid by their employer (PCSL 2011). Majority pavement dwellers used to buy cooked and ready-made food from the roadside, unhygienic temporary food shops. They reportedly spent highest amount of their earning for buying food, followed by expenses for tea or betel leaf or smoking and for using toilet and bathroom (Ahmed et al., 2011).

Educational Status

Many pavement dwellers are functionally illiterate (51.2%), though some have studied up to primary level. Reportedly, there is hardly any difference in level of education between the sexes. Pavement dwellers from Chittagong present the worst case scenario in all aspects of education. Considering children, the scenario is further disappointing. Available studies suggest that 'not to attend school' is the dominant trend among pavement living children, in most cases they are well above 50%. Many of the school going aged children reportedly are engaged in income generating activities.

The PCSL study (2011) reported that more than half (51.2%) of the pavement dwellers cannot read and write, 15.5% can sign their names, 13% attended some primary schools and 5% had education above primary level. The result is consistent with another study conducted by Ahmed et al., in 2011. There is not much difference in level of education among the sexes, but there is some difference among the study areas. The study further revealed that among the total school going aged children, more than 50% remain school unattended because their parents cannot bear the cost of education and many of them have already involved in income generating activities.

Status of Health

Due to lifestyle on street, pavement dwellers are more likely to suffer from injuries and medical problems. Cold/cough/fever, stomach upset/diarrhoea/stomach pain, scabies, sexual diseases and other respiratory infections are common among them. Child birth in the street and growing up in the same place is reportedly a common practice in pavement living. One ICDDR study 2011 found that morbidity is extremely high among pavement dwellers. On the other hand, health seeking behaviour is marked one of the lowest among pavement dwellers. The existing public health service delivery mechanisms reportedly have limited space to cover pavement dwellers.

The PCSL (2011) study confirmed that more than half of pregnant women moved and delivered their last birth at their village home, while another one-third delivered on the pavement. The remaining less than 10% delivered at clinics, in the squatter or in the landlord's house. The study further revealed that during delivery on pavement, delivery-place is usually covered by cloths and the delivery is performed by one of their neighbouring woman quacks. The study conducted by Amed et al., in 2011 reported that around 37% of the study respondents suffered from illnesses during last two weeks of which 35% were men and 40% were women.

Pavement dwellers preferred to go to pharmacy for treatment. Women preferred to go to hospitals and clinics. Few of them visit Kabiraz and other traditional healers for health care. Around three-fourth (76%) reportedly pay for treatment while around 7% reported to have enjoyed treatment free of cost (Ahmed et al., 2011).

Existing health service deliveries appeared good in urban areas though not for low income people. This group of people has limited or almost no capacity to receive health services from private clinics. On the other hand, they have limited access to the public services mainly due to the lack of knowledge and poor awareness. Local peoples' leaders can help to make aware of the pavement dwellers of the available public services. They can motivate them to visit service centers as well. Moreover, efforts can be thought off to establish community clinic in urban areas.

Saida Khanom, Honorable MP, Dhaka-4

Though poverty is identified as main reason for not taking treatment, women pavement dwellers reportedly are unaware and ignorant about available public health services (PCSL 2011). Ghani (2001) documented that floating people generally lack access to health services due to lack of information and poor interest.

Health & Hygiene Practices

Health and hygiene practices are low among pavement dwellers. Defecating in open space particularly in drain or on road side is reported very high, around 25%. Though majority use public toilets, paying for toilet facility is common, around three-fourth. On average they have to spend between taka 3-7 for toilet facilities per day based on geographical locations. Women usually try to avoid using public toilets since they are unclean, have broken door, no roof and very slippery floor. Women prefer to defecate in open space after dusk or at early morning

It is important to establish public toilets for the city dwellers, especially for street people as they used open spaces such as foot over bridge, parks and other places for their nature's call.

Asaduzzaman Khan Kamal MP, Dhaka-11

I am doubtful about the success of public toilet due to the poor and unhygienic condition. They are not healthy at all.

Sanzida Khanom MP, Dhaka-4



Women living with
kids on pavement:
how much healthy &
hygienic they are?

Photo : Shehab Uddin

Sanitation

More than half of the pavement dwellers use public/train toilets for defecation, around one-fourth defecate in open space, drain or on road side and around one-fifth in toilets at their rickshaw garage (mess/squatter). More than half of them pay for toilet uses. Pavement dwellers live in the Chittagong railway station or adjacent to the station use the railway toilet facilities at cost of 2-3 taka for using old toilets and 3-5 taka for using new toilets. Pavement dwellers in Dhaka pay little bit more tk. 5-7 for toileting in Kawran bazar area. Public toilets are unclean, smelly, have broken door, no roof and very slippery floor. Women usually avoid going to public toilets (PCSL 2011). Almost similar result observed in different studies.

Water use and their sources

WASA installed tap, tube wells, shops, religious centres and available other public places are reported as their main sources of drinking water. In Chittagong reportedly a few pavement dwellers need to pay for their drinking water. Anecdotal evidences suggest that on average, pavement dwellers pay around 7 taka each day for collecting water for household consumption. However, when available, pavement dwellers use natural lakes, ponds, rivers and canals for water.

The PCSL (2011) study revealed that more than 33% pave dwellers use pond/lake/river water for bathing, followed by 33% public toilet and around 25% tube well. As for drinking water sources the study mentioned WASA installed tap (one third), Tube well (one third), and Shops (one fourth) and other places. The study further revealed that about one-fourth urban pavement dwellers pay for bathing and this is highest for those who live in Chittagong. On average, they have to spend 7 taka each day to the custodian of the water sources. The study of Ahmed et al., (2011) mentioned that pavement dwellers on average spend 1-2% of their earning for using toilet and bathroom facilities.

Practice of Hand Wash

Use of soap for hand-washing after defecation and during bath reportedly is common among pavement dwellers (Ahmed et al., 2011).

Access to Services

Access to a minimum package of essential services like health, education, electricity, water and sanitation is crucial for reducing poverty and improving welfare. Pavement dwellers access to these services however is analysed to be one of the lowest among urban poor.

As reported, existing policy provisions and public service delivery mechanisms are not explicitly targeted for this group of people. They lag behind in terms of key health indicators, such as immunization, antenatal care (ANC), and skilled attendance at birth (ICDDRDB 2011). Since living in the street is considered illegal, it is likely that pavement dwellers are excluded from existing public services such as education, water, sanitation, electricity, banking and legal protection. Most of the tortures and oppressions on these people remain unnoticed as they do not possess any legal rights to protest against oppressions.

Available services and institutions for pavement dwellers

International development agencies and INGOs in partnering with some national NGOs and often with the ministries/departments and the local government institutions have initiated a few essential services and facilities for pavement dwellers. These include health services, bathing facilities, child care, child education and protection, cooking facilities, lockers, day time rest opportunity and life skill and motivational training. Health services further include treatment for STDs and HIV/AIDS, behaviour-change programme among street-based sex workers, primary health care services through mobile clinic, curative and preventive health care services for children through indoor and outdoor clinics and mobile medical team. Child friendly support and services include drop in centres, night shelters, hostels, open schools, clubs, and vocational training. A few drug rehabilitation centres have also been established (Ahmed et al., 2011).

Existing Service Delivery Institutions and their Focus in Urban Bangladesh Context

Public Programmes: UNDP in collaboration with the Ministry of Social Welfare is implementing the project titled 'Appropriate Resources for Improving Street Children's Environment (ARISE)' covering 30,000 children from six divisions of Bangladesh. UNDP is supporting City Corporations in running UPPR program for reducing urban poverty.

Child Friendly Programmes: A good number of NGOs are working for children. Of them Plan Bangladesh, Ain o Shalish Kendro, Dhaka Ahsania Misson, Aparajeyo Bangla, Padakkhep, Social & Economic Enhancement Program (SEEP), ASD (Assistance for Slum Dwellers), CSKS, INCIDIN Bangladesh, SOS Children's Village Dhaka, Dutch Shalom Family Children, Shishu Polli Plus, Centre For The Rehabilitation of Paralyzed, Centre For Services & Information on Disability, Jiboner Thikana and Apon are main (Ahmed et al., 2011).

Programme for Pavement Dwellers: Some NGOs are working with the pavement dwellers. Concern Worldwide Bangladesh, Naz Foundation, ICDRR,B, Sajida Foundation, Coalition For The Urban Poor (CUP), Marie Stopes, Centre For Services and Information on Disability (CSID), National Development Society (NDS), Manab Unnayan Kendra (MUK), CARE Bangladesh, Durjoy Nari Sangha, Bandhu Social Welfare Society and BRAC are the main

However, these services and facilities are all specific projects-driven and thus have a limited area of coverage and specific target groups. They are not accessible by the whole pavement dwelling communities and they cover only a few essential services. Pavement dwellers have no choice rather to welcome and appreciate of assistances and services provided by either NGOs or any other government agencies or organisations.

Exclusion from Social Safety net Programmes

Running safety net programmes do not cover pavement dwellers. Social safety nets involve redistribution of resources to poor with aiming to help the target population maintaining a minimum level

Government programmes like VGD, VGF, Aged Pension and other benefits do not usually cover pavement dwellers. ID, postal address can enhance their chance to avail such benefits.

Asaduzzaman Khan Kamal, Honorable Parliament Member, Dhaka-11).



Pavement dwelling
woman enjoying
CWW arranged locker
services

Photo : Shehab Uddin



NGO driven
employment scheme
for pavement dwellers

Photo : Shehab Uddin

of consumption; and to create a buffer to protect vulnerable groups from sudden shocks (Zohir et al., 2010). Bangladesh has more than 30 social safety net programmes and are implemented involving almost all the ministries / agencies directly or indirectly contribute to poverty alleviation. Key responsible ministries are the Ministry of Social Welfare (MoSW), the Ministry of Women and Children affairs (MoWCA), the Ministry of Food, the Ministry of Relief and Disaster Management (MoRDM) and the Local Government Division (LGD). Safety net programmes mainly include (a) cash support programme, (b) food aid programme, (c) special programme for poverty reduction, (d) self employment through micro credit, and (e) some specific programmes for poverty alleviation (Morshed 2009).

One of the World Bank (2006) studies identified that coverage of social safety net programmes in urban areas remain low as that there are roughly 4-5 times as many poor people in rural areas as there are in urban areas. Concern Worldwide (2011) study showed that among 160 pavement dwellers' respondents only 15 had access to government operated safety net programmes. Existing social assistance programmes have two major antecedents - relief from natural disasters and development of income generating activities - both favoured inclusion of rural poor. Thus, inclusion criteria of existing safety net programmes is the main barrier not to include urban pavement dwellers within the available safety net programmes (Ahmed 2007).

Even there identified variation in the government allocation of resources for implementing urban focus safety net programmes, only 0.7% of total allocation (Rahman and Choudhury 2012). Lack of knowledge about existing safety net programmes and identity crisis reportedly are two important other reasons for public services failing by pavement dwellers.

Pavement Dwellers: Aspects of Human Rights

Pavement dwellers are the poorest of the urban poor whose human, socio-cultural, political and economic rights are in extremely critical situation. Analysis of right to food, right to education, right to health care, right to shelter, right to occupation, right to be protected appeared low among this section of people.

Identity Crisis

'Nothing more than dirty people - a bunch of criminals', public perception imposes a homogenous identity to pavement dwellers based on prejudices and

class consciousness. Though city dwellers depend on them for services/odd jobs, their contribution is hardly recognized. Despite many of them living in the same place for significant periods of time they have no postal addresses, voter numbers or social identity which restrict them from getting either any decent works or any public assistances. Lack of education, skills and healthcare restrict them from any gainful livelihoods.

If pavement dwellers have identification with place of residence then as a local MP it is comparatively easy to figure out the need based demand for the constituency. Otherwise, there is possibility of mismatch between demand and supply. Pavement dwellers with ID are likely to get better access to government facilities.

Sanzida Khanom MP, Dhaka-4.

Though they are classified as extreme poor, they are excluded from the rights and services targeted for this category of people. They are treated inhumanely in the immediate environment irrespective of age and sex.

Eviction

Anecdotal evidences suggest that most of the pavement dwellers have experienced eviction within last three months. Duration of eviction depends on high officials' visits, replacement of a new group of police and wishes of particular officials or police. In almost all instances, eviction victims are observed to move temporarily to a nearby place and returned to the same location after only a few days.

Pavement dwellers often have to pay to different groups of people for staying on the pavement. Still, they cannot avoid eviction.

Asaduzzaman Khan Kamal MP, Dhaka-11.

Protection & Participation

Pavement dwellers are not protected at all. They have no personal security, let alone social security. They are in persistent threat of eviction, harassment and violence of all kinds. They reportedly get harassed by the important right bearer actors like police, employer, relatives, mastans and all others.

Extortion, unwanted advances, rude gestures, physical torture, rape and eviction reportedly

"...homeless people...the poorest of the poor-in Bangladesh are generally excluded from all forms of social and political participation"

Ghafur (2002, p. 45)

are common among all forms of harassments.

Women are comparatively more in disadvantaged position as regards to harassment and violence. It becomes more acute in case of single women. Women frequently suffer physical abuse at the hands of both husbands and outsiders such as law-enforcement people, local miscreants, and male friends. Sex workers are reported to pay toll to the police, night gourds and mastans on a regular basis to carry out their occupation. Men often get into violent fights over sleeping-space and food and get assaulted by the police. Addiction to high levels of locally-available illegal substances such as marijuana, grain alcohol, and heroin are reported common among pavement dwellers. According to Ahmed et al., (2011) around 24% pave dwellers men and 5% women are addicted to drugs.

Life on pavement is a set of conditions which has its own syntax. It is not living in a home like any other person because pavement is not a home; it is an urban public space for pedestrian movement. Yet, it is home for pavement dwellers because they perform regular residential activities here in pavement. Every single household activity to be performed here thus face challenges. A personal life with normal sense of privacy is impossible because of vulnerable living condition at pavements.

Livelihoods Strategy

What is worth mentioning is that in spite of persistent vulnerability and shocks, having taking challenges of all worst forms of occupations and labouring, pavement dwellers have continued their efforts to support day to day functioning of city life. They are an indispensable part of consistent higher economic growth of the Bangladesh's cities and towns. They have achieved this through effective management of a few small resources they have. As evident in different studies, pavement dwellers mostly exercise intimate mutual relationships among themselves and compose a sense of community. They circulate gained assets within this community by means of loans, barter or simply giving in times of extreme needs. They simultaneously share their assets and stresses as well as work together to perform daily needs/works. Basic livelihoods earning is usually obtained as an outcome of social interactions with surrounding peoples by means of employment or charity (Shoma 2011).

PAVEMENT DWELLERS: CONSIDERATION OF EXISTING POLICY & PRACTICES

Introduction

Statuses of pavement dwellers' do not align with either global or national policy provisions. Political leaders worldwide have committed to safeguarding the rights of the extreme poor like pavement dwellers and to reduce poverty of all forms. The Millennium Development Goal has set extreme poverty reduction as the number one priority. Achieving universal

primary education, promotion of gender equality and empowering women, reducing child mortality, improving maternal health, combating HIV/AIDS, Malaria and other diseases, ensuring environmental sustainability are among other the main priorities under the MDG. These all indicate that pavement dwellers rights are well targeted in the MDG.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

- Article 3 : Right to life, liberty and security of persons
- Article 5 : Prohibition against torture
- Article 12 : Right to privacy, family, home and correspondence
- Article 25 : Right to a standard of living adequate for the health of himself, and of his family
- Article 26 : Right to education
- Article 27 : Right to participation in cultural life

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

- Article 7 : Freedom from inhuman or degrading treatment
- Article 9 : Right to liberty and security
- Article 17 : Right to privacy, family, home or correspondence
- Article 24 : Right of the child

International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

- Article 9 : Right to social security
- Article 11 : Right to adequate food, clothing, housing and standard of living and freedom from hunger,
- Article 12 : Right to physical and mental health
- Article 13 : Right to education including a plan for implementing compulsory primary education

Global Perspective

There observed clear provisions for pavement dwellers protection in the human rights documents. Article 3, Article 5, Article 12, Article 22, Article 25, Article 26 and Article 27 under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 7, Article 9, Article 17, Article 24 under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Article 9, Article 11, Article 12 and Article 13 under the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights clearly reflect the same that pavement dwellers rights need to be protected. Apart from these, the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women 1979 and the Convention on the Rights of the Child 1989 have clear declarations for protecting pavement dwelling women and children.

National Perspectives

The stated human rights are well translated into the national policy documents. In the preamble of the Constitution , the people of Bangladesh pledges that 'it shall be a fundamental aim of the state to realize through the democratic process a socialist society, free from exploitation-a society in which rule of law, fundamental human rights and freedom, equality and justice-political, economic and social, will be secured for all citizens". Article 14 of the constitution imposes fundamental responsibility on the state to emancipate the

From The Constitution of Bangladesh	
Preamble	: It shall be a fundamental aim of the state to realize through the democratic process a socialist society, free from exploitation-a society in which rule of law, fundamental human rights and freedom, equality and justice-political, economic and social, will be secured for all citizens.
Article 14	: It shall be fundamental responsibility on the state to emancipate the toiling masses-the peasants and workers-and backward sections of the people from all forms of exploitation
Article 28.4	: Nothing in this article 28 shall prevent the state from making special provision in favour of women or children or for the advancement of any backward section of citizens.

toiling masses-the peasants and workers-and backward sections of the people from all forms of exploitation. Apart from declaration and prohibition of discrimination only, the Constitution also has prescribed provisions for affirmative action for the progress of the backward section. Article 28.4 reads, 'nothing in this article 28 shall prevent the state from making special provision in favour of women or children or for the advancement of any backward section of citizens'.

The government is well committed to upholding the MDG targets of reducing extreme poverty and promotion of rights of women and children which has been well reflected in all contemporary policy documents like the Country Investment Plan, the Sixth Five Year Plan and the Perspective plan. In the political parties last election manifestoes there even observed clear commitment on these. A set of newly framed policy/programmes also are targeted towards this end. Both allocation and coverage of existing social safety net programmes like Food for Works Programme, VGD, VGF, Test Relief programme, old age allowances, cash benefit to different destitute groups like disable, destitute women are on an ever increasing trend, 22,556.05 crore taka allocated only in 2011-2012. Special allocation through budgetary provisions is also marked on this such as employment scheme for hard core poor, Shishu bikash Kendra, Disable Service and Assistance Centre. New initiatives also are underway like rehabilitation and alternative employment programme for beggars initiated in 2009-2010, Ashrayon Prokolpo-2, Ghore Fhera Programme restarted in 2009-2010.

Political parties	From Election Manifestoes
Bangladesh Awami League	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Social safety nets will be extended for the ultra-poor. ● Ensure 'food for all' by taking all possible measures ● Net enrolment at primary level will be increased to 100% ● Strong legal measures will be taken to stop oppression of women. ● Adequate measures will be taken for developing Children's physical and mental capacity and for their nutrition and entertainment ● Strong measures will be taken to combat HIV/AIDS and all kinds of contaminated diseases ● Measures will be taken to supply pure drinking water for all and to provide sanitation facility in every house
Bangladesh elderly Nationalist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Food will be distributed free of cost among the destitute, helpless, Party (BNP) and the unemployed ● Coverage of Social Safety net programs will be increased ● Hazardous child labour will be stopped. ● All steps will be ensured to reduce maternal mortality ratio. ● HIV/AIDS and all kinds of contaminated diseases will be tackled by increasing social awareness program. ● Measures will be taken to supply pure drinking water and will provide sanitation facility
Jatio Party (JP)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● All registered hard core poor family will receive rice, edible oil & mosses at low cost. ● Extending 120 days employment program of ensured jobs instead of current 100 days. ● Rationing system for lower and middle income group people. ● Higher education will be given to all poor female students through state support. ● Reduction of child mortality will be ensured ● Immediate actions will be taken to reduce maternal mortality

In spite of all these, what appeared from the analysis of status from the previous chapter is that urban pavement dwellers remain excluded from all policy and practices targeted for extreme poor though most of the parliamentarians and other right bearer stakeholders live in the urban centres. More particularly,

government policy directions toward inclusion of pavement dwellers as one of the extreme forms of poverty did not get translated into the existing policy discourses and development programmes.

The situation is like that pavement dwellers itself get excluded from the category of extreme poor. In absence of any legal identity they are excluded from all kinds of public services and benefits. Instead, they are usually being treated as illegal, trespassers into the public property. Thus, in compliance with City /municipal Corporation rules they frequently get evicted from footpaths on grounds of hindering pedestrian access flow.

CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusion:

The study has confirmed that against available poverty measurements, pavement dwellers fall into extreme poor category. From rights perspective, their human, socio-cultural, political and economic rights are all have shattered. Their access to services is one of the lowest among urban poor. They are excluded from all forms of socio-cultural and political participation.

Given the context that peoples leaders worldwide have increasing commitment to root out all forms of extreme poverty and to protect human rights and dignity, issues of pavement dwellers are unwanted and unacceptable. On the other hand, pavement dwellers along with other segments of urban poor are the engines of growth of urban economy. Existing policy provisions and development programmes are all analysed in favour to deal with extreme poverty like 'pavement dwellers. Above all, they are still only a few thousands. What is needed is to rightly tuning of existing policy / programmes in view to pavement dwellers interest.

Recommendations:

In view to analysis stated above, the study hereby recommended the following:

a) Systematic documentation :

To effectively deal with any issues what is important is to clear-cut diagnosis of the issue first. Authentic information and diagnosis of the issue of pavement dwelling is missing in the contemporary development literatures and also in public domain. Given this context, what is crucial at this stage is to raise parliamentarians voice regarding systematic documentation of the issue. It is not like that a completely independent information bank to be created on this. Rather, the notion should be to

inclusion of the issue in the existing documentation mechanisms like HIES, City Corporations/Municipalities implemented documentation measures and so on.

b) Inclusion in the policy provisions :

As evident from previous discussions, pavement dwellers are the poorest of the urban poor. The Government has specific commitment to deal with poverty particularly extreme poverty. Vision 2021, Country Investment Plan, Sixth Five Year Plan, Perspective Plan, Women Development Policy 2011, National Child Policy 2010, Housing Policy, city corporations/municipality ordinances all have adequate provisions to address extreme poverty and vulnerability. Unfortunately, inclusion of 'Pavement Dwellers' as one of the extreme forms of poverty is missing in those policy documents. So, what is important is to make aware of the policy makers of this gap. Parliamentarians can play vital role in this.

c) Inclusion in the existing development programmes and practices :

There observed a multiplicity of development programmes targeting extreme poor like Food for Works Programme, VGD, VGF, Test Relief programme, old age benefit, cash benefit to different destitute groups like disable, destitute women, employment scheme for hard core poor, Shishu bikash Kendra, Disable service and assistance centre, rehabilitation and alternative employment programme for beggars initiated in 2009-2010, Ashrayon Prokolpo-2, Ghore Fhera Programme restarted in 2009-2010, slum development programmes by the municipalities and city corporations and so on. So, what is needed is to right tuning of these programmes covering pavement dwellers issues rather to demand for completely new programmes. Parliamentarians' voice and role in this appeared most important.

d) Governance improvement :

The issue of pavement dwelling is an urban one where most of the legislators and policy makers live. That means they can easily play the most needed monitoring role for existing programmes from the perspective of access-non-access and inclusion-non-inclusion of pavement dwellers into running programmes. A coordinated effort however is needed for this. The APPG commission can play a vital role here.

e) Coordination among NGOs and development agencies implemented programme:

Different NGOs and development agencies are implementing their own programmes. Target issues and groups and area coverage vary among them as well as little coordination is observed on this. A holistic coordinated programme appeared more meaningful on this in which there should be clear-cut differences of focus, issues and areas for every individual organisation. The APPG commission can play a vital role here.

f) Planned rehabilitation programme certainly would help :

As appeared from analysis, unless legal identity of pavement dwellers is established, little can be expected to change. This can be addressed through planned rehabilitation programme. In view to ruthless eviction of slum dwellers in 1997, the then Prime Minister's declaration that "no slum will be demolished by the government without taking steps to rehabilitate the affected people" has created an avenue to even get into dialogue with the government to redress the problem of shelter/tenure security of pavement dwellers.

g) Need-based interventions to be continued :

Unless effective strategies and programmes are in place, it is vital that development organisations have continued a few need-based supports for pavement dwellers.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	-	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC	-	Antenatal Care
APPG	-	All Party Parliamentary Group
APPGEUPD	-	All Party Parliamentary Group on Extreme Poverty & Urban Pavement Dwellers
Ashrayon Prokolpo	-	Housing programme for rehabilitating the extreme poor
BBS	-	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
CBN	-	Cost of Basic Needs
CC	-	City Corporation
Chittagong	-	Second largest administrative city of Bangladesh
CIP	-	Country Investment Paper
CSO	-	Civil Society Organization
CWW	-	Concern Worldwide
Eid Festivals	-	Muslim's grand religious festivals
FAO	-	Food & Agricultural Organization
Ghore Fera	-	Development programme for rehabilitating slum dwellers means returning to home
HIES	-	Household Income & Expenditure Survey
HIV	-	Human immunodeficiency Virus
ICDDRDB	-	The International Centre for Diarrhoeal Diseases Research
INGO	-	International Non-government Organization
Kawran Bazar	-	Largest wholesale market place in Dhaka city
Kcl	-	Kilo Calorie
LGD	-	Local Government Division

Lungi	-	Men's wear that cover lower part of the body
Mastans	-	Musclemen mostly associated with political parties
MDG	-	Millennium Development Goal
MoSW	-	Ministry of Social Welfare
MoWCA	-	Ministry of Women & Children Affairs
MP	-	Member of Parliament
NGO	-	Non-government Organization
PCSL	-	Pathways Consulting Services Limited
STD	-	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
SFYP	-	Sixth Five Year Plan
Sishu Bikash Kendra		Programme for Children development
UN	-	United Nation
UNDP	-	United Nation Development Programme
UPPR	-	Urban Partnerships for Poverty Reduction
VGD	-	Vulnerable Group Development
VGF	-	Vulnerable Group Feeding
WASA	-	Water supply and Sewerage Authority

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