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## **CLIMATE-INDUCED INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS (IDPS) IN BANGLADESH: ANALYSIS OF POLICY IMPLEMENTATION**

### **Abstract**

Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) have been analyzed with both optimistic and pessimistic views from the reality of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Civil war, ethnic conflict, violation of human rights, and environmental factors are the main dynamics behind internal displacement. When this displacement transpires due to climatic shocks or environmental changes, different dimensions arise from the context with influences of poverty, unemployment, and others. Being identified as one of the most climate vulnerable countries, Bangladesh has been facing the challenges of internal displacement due to the effects of climatic shifts. Internal displacement and climate change along with other factors are crucial elements behind this phenomenon. However, the process of adaptation and the migration of IDPs from rural to urban places due to lack of resources have got least attention in the policymaking process of Bangladesh, as well as IDPs can be developed as one of the major challenges for the country's future. Against this backdrop, this paper aims to trace the national policies of Bangladesh to analyze its effectiveness to address the problem. Besides, it identifies the prospects and problems of policy implementation regarding climate-induced IDPs of the country.

**Keywords:** Environment, Climate Change, Migration, Displacement, Internally Displaced Persons

### **1. Introduction**

Migration, which draws social changes from different perspectives, has always been an indispensable part of the history of human civilization. Studies on international migration have emphasized the distinct and authoritative definition of 'Refugee' within the 1951 Refugee Convention. Refugees have to cross international borders under "well-founded fear of persecution due to race, religion, nationality, political opinion, or membership of a particular social group".<sup>1</sup> The fissure of delineation of displaced people who have not crossed the international border was first addressed in the United Nations (UN) 'Guiding Principles of Internally Displacement'. It explains IDP as:

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<sup>1</sup> The Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, 1951, pp. 18

“Persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border”.<sup>2</sup> Altered regional approaches were embraced to define IDP. In 2009, a regional treaty was adopted by The African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa. Its article 5(4) safeguards that:

“States Parties shall take measures to protect and assist persons who have been internally displaced due to natural or human made disasters, including climate change.”<sup>3</sup>

The concerns that cause a person or community to leave their home are very critical and diversified. Studies found that civil war, ethnic conflict, persecution, famine, economic hardship, man-made or natural disasters, social, political, and other factors are the causes of displacement. In the context of natural and man-made disasters, climate change is aggravating displacement. In this regard, the link between displacement and migration is another conceptual muddle that makes the issue more intensified. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), climate migration is defined as, “the movement of a person or groups of persons who, predominantly for reasons of sudden or progressive change in the environment due to climate change, are obliged to leave their habitual place of residence, or choose to do so, either temporarily or permanently, within a State or across an international border”.<sup>4</sup> Additionally, displacement is identified as ‘Disaster Displacement’ and defines as the “situations where people are forced to leave their homes or places of habitual residence as a result of a disaster or in order to avoid the impact of an immediate and foreseeable natural hazard. Such displacement results from the fact that affected persons are (i) exposed to (ii) a natural hazard in a situation where (iii) they are too vulnerable and lack the resilience to withstand the impacts of that hazard”.<sup>5</sup> However, the association between disaster and climate change has also been analyzed from different perspectives.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> United Nations Commission on Human Rights, “Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement”, available at <http://www.internal-displacement.org/internal-displacement/guiding-principles-on-internal-displacement>, accessed on 15 July 2020.

<sup>3</sup> African Union, “African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa”, available at <https://au.int/en/treaties/african-union-convention-protection-and-assistance-internally-displaced-persons-africa>, accessed on 20 July 2020.

<sup>4</sup> International Organization for Migration, “Environmental Migration Portal”, available at <https://environmentalmigration.iom.int/environmental-migration-1>, accessed on 15 July 2020.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Jane McAdam (ed.), *Climate Change and Displacement: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, Oxford and Portland, Oregon: Hart Publishing, 2010, p. 274.

Weather-related disasters have caused 21.8 million people to leave their homes every year.<sup>7</sup> At national and global levels, effects of climate change as the single factor or combined with multiple factors have prompted enormous human movement. Thus, climate-induced forced migrants or climate displaced will have an impact on the environment. The idea of climate change as the main cause behind the displacement has been challenged and questioned by scholars. There is a combination of other socio-economic factors behind the decision to shift. In this debate, a specific delineation of climate-induced internally displaced persons does not exist.<sup>8</sup> However, climate-induced displacement has already been an acute problem and Bangladesh is no exception in this case.<sup>9</sup>

Geographic and geomorphologic conditions of Bangladesh have multiplied the threat of climate change and natural disasters. The vulnerability leads to climate displacement and forced displacement of individuals and communities. This happens as a result of sudden-onset events, e.g., floods, cyclones, and riverbank erosion, and slow-onset events, e.g., coastal erosion, sea-level rise, salinity intrusion, changing rainfall pattern, and drought. It is estimated that 4,27,000 people have been displaced due to climate change-induced natural disasters and conflicts in Bangladesh.<sup>10</sup> It is a factor which is overlapped with environmental, demographic, political, economic, and social factors. Trends of internal displacement in Bangladesh have suggested that displacement and forced internal migration from rural to urban places are rising rapidly.<sup>11</sup> This paper focuses on the issue through its emphasis on displacement rather than forced migration because there is a vacuum on the definition of climate migrants within state perspective. However, IDPs has its definition within internal forced migration or displacement.

In such a complex situation, various policies have been adopted by the government of Bangladesh to address climate change-induced displacement. A large part of the literature and policy statement has addressed climate change-induced internal displacement with a pessimistic view. Gradually, the perspective shifted

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<sup>7</sup>International Organization for Migration, “Disaster risk reduction, climate change adaptation and environmental migration: A Policy Perspective”, available at <https://publications.iom.int/books/disaster-risk-reduction-climate-change-adaptation-and-environmental-migration-policy>, accessed on 10 July 2020.

<sup>8</sup> Scott Leckie, Ezekiel Simperingham and Jordan Bakker, *Climate Change and Displacement Reader*, Oxfordshire, UK: Routledge, 2012, p.375.

<sup>9</sup> Mostafa Mahmud Naser, “Climate Change, Environmental Degradation and Migration: A Complex Nexus”, *William and Mary Environmental Law and Policy Review*, Vol. 36, No. 3, 2012.

<sup>10</sup> Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, “Bangladesh”, available at <https://www.internal-displacement.org/countries/bangladesh>, accessed on 20 June 2020.

<sup>11</sup> Maxmillan Martin, Yi Hyun Kang, Motasim Billah, Tasneem Siddiqui, Richard Black and Dominic Kniveton, *Policy Analysis: Climate Change and Migration Bangladesh*, Dhaka, Bangladesh: Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit (RMMRU), University of Dhaka and Sussex Centre for Migration Research (SCMR), University of Sussex, 2013.

towards a different sphere where this is not a problem, rather is considered as a 'solution' to climate change.<sup>12</sup>

There is growing concern regarding 'forced migration' as an effect of climatic shocks in the context of Bangladesh. Some existing policies of Bangladesh report international migration as a better option for livelihood. On the other side, internal migration and role of displaced people in formal or informal sector do not have enough public policy attention. Different policies, e.g., the National Adaptation Programs of Action (NAPA, 2005), Bangladesh Climate Change Strategy and Action Plan (BCCSAP-2009, 2015), National Land Use Policy (2001), National Plan for Disaster Management (2010-2015), and the Seventh Five Year Plan (2016-2020), etc, addressed the concern over displacement. However, there was no policy to address the process of adaptation for displaced people. In 2015, the draft 'National Strategy on the Management of Disaster and Climate-induced Internal Displacement' (NSMDCIID) was obtained to tackle the problem. Nevertheless, this strategy is still not operative. Climate Change Trust Fund and *Gucchogram* project aimed to initiate some adaptive strategies but those faced implementation failures to initiate a specific policy. Thus, the focus of this paper is to identify the implementation problems and address the policy gap. Through analysis of previous initiatives to address the issue, the policy gap is identified. Reason behind the failure of different attempts to adapt climate IDPs are analyzed through six variable model of Meter and Horn. To conduct the research, qualitative methodology has been followed with primary and secondary data. Eight policy papers have been analyzed to find out the policy perspective on climate IDPs. Reports of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Transparency International Bangladesh (TIB), and Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre are reviewed. Open source journals and books are discussed for literature review. Moreover, seven Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) have been conducted with experts, e.g., academia, government officials of the Ministry of Environment, Forest and Climate Change. The timeline for conducting this research is from January to December of 2020.

This paper is divided into six sections including introduction and conclusion. Section two conceptualizes climate change-induced displacement and the context of Bangladesh. Section three analyzes the theoretical underpinning of policy implementation. Section four explores policy papers of Bangladesh regarding the adaptation of climate displaced and scrutinizes failure of initiatives and policy gap. Section five identifies problems behind policy implementation through theoretical lenses. Section six concludes the paper.

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

## 2. Climate-Induced Internal Displacement and the Context of Bangladesh

It is difficult to find out a single factor for displacement and forced migration of an individual or a community. Current displacement figures are alarming and different reports of inter-governmental organizations (INGOs), academic articles, and journals have used different terminologies, e.g., ‘climate change-related movements’, ‘environmental refugees’, and ‘climate change displacement’. Different scholars have used the term ‘environmental refugees’ or ‘climate refugees’ and ‘climate migrants’. As this paper is on IDPs, it discusses the definition and debate over climate-induced refugee problems. However, the term ‘displacement’ refers to forcible movement and it is applicable for “both to those who are forced to leave their countries and those who are forced to leave their communities but who remain within the borders of their country are named as internally displaced persons or IDPs.”<sup>13</sup>

The definition of IDPs provided by the UN’s Guiding Principles for Internal Displacement is broad and identifies different factors which influence the decision to move. However, Peninsula Principles defines the concept of displacement caused by climate change as:

“The movement of people within a State due to the effects of climate change, including sudden and slow-onset environmental events and processes, occurring either alone or in combination with other factors”.<sup>14</sup>

The definition of Peninsula Principles recognizes other factors, e.g., political, economic, social factors combined with climate change-induced displacement. It would be more relevant and acceptable to analyze the drivers of displacement with different factors. The decision to move has both climatic and non-climatic drivers. A tropical typhoon may become a disaster if there is no precaution or adaptive process. Thus, climatic drivers include causes of global warming, while non-climatic drivers include population, poverty, and governance.<sup>15</sup>

According to the United Nations Refugee Agency, there were 70.8 million forcibly displaced people worldwide in 2018. Among them, 25.9 million were refugees, 3.5 million were asylum seekers, and 41.3 million were IDPs.<sup>16</sup> Of the IDPs, 17.2 million were

<sup>13</sup> Ministry of Disaster Management, “National Strategy on the Management of Disaster and Climate Induced Displacement”, available at [https://www.preventionweb.net/files/46732\\_nsmcdiidfinalversion21sept2015withc.pdf](https://www.preventionweb.net/files/46732_nsmcdiidfinalversion21sept2015withc.pdf), accessed on 05 July 2020.

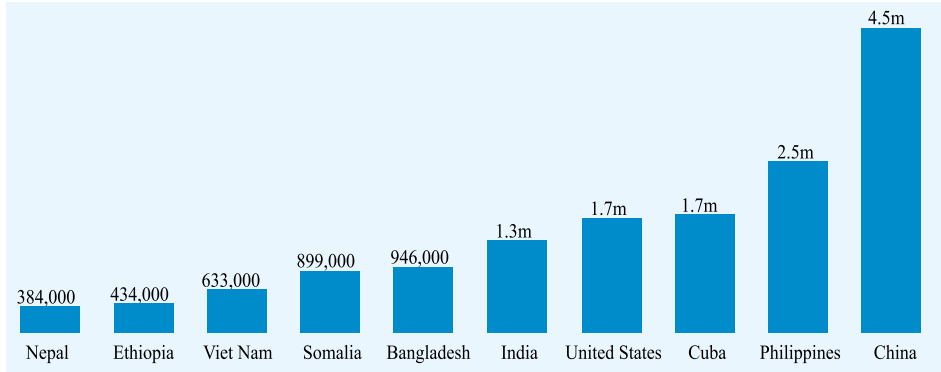
<sup>14</sup> African Union, op. cit.,

<sup>15</sup> Oli Brown, *Migration and Climate Change*, Geneva, Switzerland: International Organization for Migration, 2008.

<sup>16</sup> The UN Refugee Agency, “Global Trends Forced Displacement of 2019”, available at <https://www.unhcr.org/5ee200e37.pdf>, accessed on 15 July 2020.

displaced due to climatic events.<sup>17</sup> In this regard, Bangladesh is also climate vulnerable in terms of displacement due to climatic stress. The following table-1 shows the number of IDPs from Bangladesh due to climate change-induced disasters which is 946,000.

**Table 1: Disaster-Related Displacement in 2018<sup>18</sup>**



Being interfaced between the Bay of Bengal to the South and Himalayas from the North, Bangladesh’s environmental characteristics can be identified in terms of monsoons and natural disasters. People are forced to move from their habitual residence due to the rising tidal water levels or riverbank erosion or by landslides. Their land and home are eventually gobbled into rivers and buried under landslides.<sup>19</sup> In this regard, five key changes are: “rising temperatures, river and coastal flooding and erosion, rising sea levels, increasing levels of salinity, more frequent, more intense severe weather events”.<sup>20</sup>

According to reports of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), increased the number of disasters is often caused by climate change. These problems affect Bangladesh in two different ways. Firstly, changing temperatures and rainfall patterns threaten agriculture. Secondly, the upsurge in climate-induced disasters, e.g., floods, saline water intrusion, droughts, tidal surges, and riverbank erosion can destroy livelihood, food production, and natural resources. Moreover, vulnerability of women, children, and disabled people increases.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, “Global Report of Internal Displacement”, available at <https://www.internal-displacement.org/global-report/grid2019/>, accessed on 15 July 2020.

<sup>18</sup> “2018 Global Report on Internal Displacement”, available at <https://reliefweb.int/report/world/2018-global-report-internal-displacement-grid-2018>, accessed on 15 July 2020.

<sup>19</sup> Mohammad Sajjadur Rahman, “The Internally Displaced People of Bangladesh”, *South Asian Rights*, 2012, pp. 4-6.

<sup>20</sup> Mostafa Mahmud Naser, “Climate Induced Displacement in Bangladesh: Recognition and Protection under International Law”, *Nordic Journal of International Law*, 2013, pp. 490

<sup>21</sup> Md. Zakiul Alam, “Migration Scenario in Bangladesh: prospects, problems and policy issues”, available at: [https://www.academia.edu/7072149/Migration\\_scenario\\_in\\_Bangladesh\\_Prospects\\_problems\\_and\\_policy\\_](https://www.academia.edu/7072149/Migration_scenario_in_Bangladesh_Prospects_problems_and_policy_)

There are some general observations on displaced people. People in northern part have been able to deal with ‘slow-paced climate changes’ by developing coping strategy since seasonal food shortages (*Monga*) is known as an impact of it. On the other hand, people of coastal areas are more vulnerable due to environmental shocks like cyclones or gradual change like increasing levels of salinity. As a result, a large number of displaced people migrate from rural to urban areas.<sup>22</sup> It is already mentioned in the previous section that these displacements are associated with socioeconomic consequences.

From the reality of last few years, it is difficult to argue that climate change is the individual factor behind this displacement. There is a set of combined factors that also plays a vital role in this context. However, climate change makes displacement more vulnerable and it works as the threat multiplier with social and other economic factors. It has already been addressed by the UNHCR and IPCC. The future of people affected by displacement will be very harsh because climate change will be the single factor that will work as catalyst behind the decision to move. Social consequence of this forced migration and displacement is challenging in Bangladesh as it is to recognize the needs of IDPs yet.

There is no doubt this displacement leads to different social problems. Displaced people move to urban areas or other rural areas. By doing this, they try to adapt to the situation. However, they do not get adequate assistance from government. In all cases, people have adapted through their initiatives. Most interestingly, these displaced people have a huge contribution to the formal and informal sector of the economy. As they are contributing in many spheres of Bangladesh, it is expected that government should have a certain human rights-based approach to fulfil their needs.

As this paper aims to identify the existing policy regarding climate-induced migrants and displaced, it addresses existing initiatives. Before tracing policies on this, it is important to pinpoint the framework on effectiveness of those existing measures. To find the effects of existing policy implementation, the section focuses on theoretical understanding.

### 3. Theoretical Underpinning

Though several initiatives and projects have been formulated, the country is yet to undertake specific policies regarding the adaptation of climate-induced IDPs. To examine the effectiveness of the existing policies, a policy implementation

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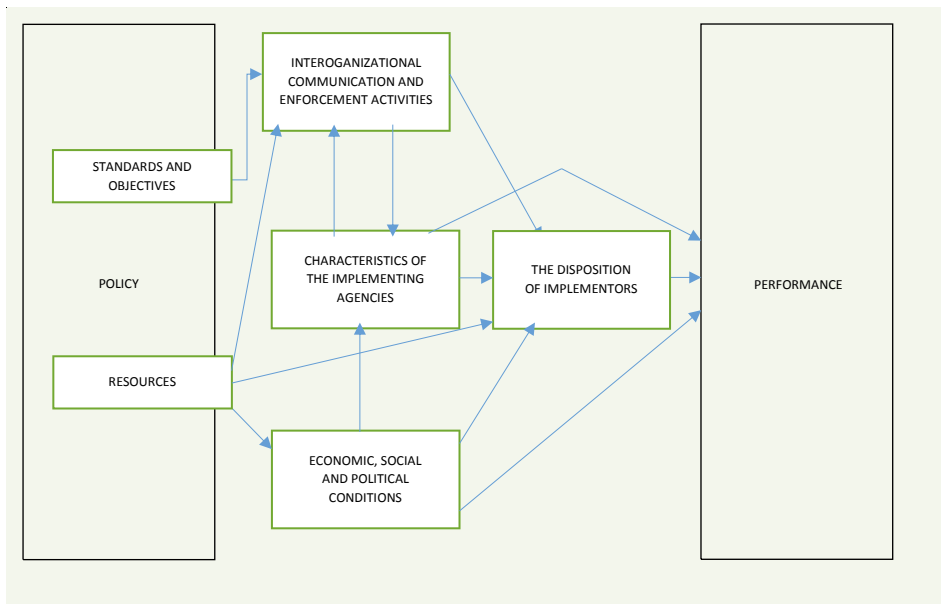
issues, accessed on 25 June 2020.

<sup>22</sup> Mohammad Sajjadur Rahman, op. cit.

process will be derived for the analysis. Evolution of public policy implementation has different phases. The ‘first generation’ analysis on policy implementation theories focussed on ‘top-down’ approaches. The second generation literature is on ‘bottom-up’ approach.<sup>23</sup>

Van Meter and Van Horn developed a six-variable model to examine the implementation process. In this model, the outcome of the policy is ‘performance’ or how effectively the policy has been performing. ‘Identification of performance indicator’ has a cluster of variables that are co-related with each other.<sup>24</sup>

**Figure 1: Policy Implementation Process Model<sup>25</sup>**



In this model, the variables for effective policy implementation start with the standards and objectives of the policy. It reflects the overall goal of the policy. Resources are another variable that means funding and incentives to facilitate the policy implementation. The variable titled, inter-organizational communication and enforcement activities, is related to the individuals who are responsible for the

<sup>23</sup> Gustavo Valdivieso, “The problem of problem Structuredness in the implementation research literature: a state of the art”, available at [https://www.academia.edu/7770701/The\\_problem\\_of\\_problem\\_structuredness\\_in\\_the\\_implementation\\_research\\_literature](https://www.academia.edu/7770701/The_problem_of_problem_structuredness_in_the_implementation_research_literature), accessed on 20 June 2020.

<sup>24</sup> Donald S. Van Meter and Carl E. Van Horn, “The Policy Implementation Process: A Conceptual Framework”, *Administration and Society*, 1975, pp. 462-464.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 463.



implementation Proper communication channel between and among organizations regarding standards and objectives of policy is significant for successful implementation. The implementing agencies have some specific features, e.g., competence of agency’s staff, degree of hierarchical control, political resources, formal and informal linkages with policymaking and policy enforcing bodies.<sup>26</sup> The next variable is economic, social, and political conditions that incorporated some key questions, e.g., how salient is the issue?, do elite favour or oppose the implementation of this policy?<sup>27</sup> Finally, the disposition of implementers has three elements, e.g., understanding and cognition regarding the policy, direction of response (neutrality, rejection, and acceptance), and strength of response.<sup>28</sup> According to this model, a policy will be able to successfully implement in practice through these six variables. Based on this model, the paper in subsequent sections tries to identify the problems of implementation that are working as a factor behind the policy vacuum.

#### 4. Identifying the Policy Gaps

This section traces the national policies of Bangladesh that are linked to climate change and climate displacement. Firstly, it provides a set of policy descriptions. It also addresses those policies and projects which are relevant to deal with climate change, poverty, migration and displacement. Secondly, it identifies policy gaps. Four sets of policies can be identified regarding climate change, forced migration, displacement, e.g.,(a) policies dealing with climate change, (b) policies on development and poverty reduction, (c) disaster management policies, and (d) policies on displacement.

**Table 2: National Policy Papers and Projects of Bangladesh<sup>29</sup>**

Sets of Policies for Policy Tracing	Names of National Policy Papers and Projects
1. Policies that Specifically deal with Climate Change	a. NAPA b. BCCSAP c. <i>Guchchhogram</i> / Cluster Villages (Climate Victim Rehabilitation Project) d. Bangladesh Climate Change Trust Fund

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 471.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 472.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Compiled by Author.

<p>2. Development and Poverty Reduction Policies</p>	<p>a. The Seventh Five-Year Plan                  b. The Outline Perspective Plan                  c. National Strategy for Accelerated Poverty Reduction                  d. Coastal Zone Management Policy                  e. The Eighth Five-Year Plan</p>
<p>3. Disaster Management Policies</p>	<p>a. Comprehensive Disaster Management Programme                  b. National Plan for Disaster Management</p>
<p>4. Migration and Displacement Policies</p>	<p>a. National Strategy on the Management of Disaster and Climate-Induced Internal Displaced</p>

**4.1 Policies Related to Climate Change**

*4.1.1 National Adaptation Programme of Action*

It was submitted by Bangladesh to United Nations Framework Convention for Climate Change (UNFCCC) in 2005. It recognizes that climate change will intensify the impacts of natural hazards and calls for urgent adaptive measures. It was the first framework for vital action. It also projects problems, e.g., freshwater scarcity, riverbank erosion, frequent floods, and salinity in the coastal zone. On the other side, it treats migration as an ‘undesirable outcome’ due to climate change.<sup>30</sup> Most importantly, it prefers ‘controlled migration’.<sup>31</sup>

The updated NAPA was published in 2009. In that version, four security issues are identified, e.g., “food, energy, water, and livelihood (including right to health), and respect for local community on resource management and extraction”.<sup>32</sup> However, the negative reference towards migration is not mentioned. Moreover, it does not visualize the adaptation process of climate-induced IDPs.<sup>33</sup>

*4.1.2 Bangladesh Climate Change Strategy and Action Plan*

The BCCSAP was approved in 2009 and focussed on medium and long-term goals. It discussed six key areas, e.g., food security, social protection and health, comprehensive disaster management, infrastructure research and knowledge

<sup>30</sup> Maximillian Martin, Yi Hyun Kang, Motasim Billah, Tasneem Siddiqui, Richard Black and Dominic Kniveton, op. cit.

<sup>31</sup> Maxmillan Martin, Yi hyun Kang, Motasim Billah, Tasneem Siddiqui, Richard Black and Dominic Kniveton, op. cit.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., pp. 14-15.

management, mitigation of low carbon development, capacity building, and institutional strengthening.<sup>34</sup> This document provides a detailed perspective on migration and displacement. It states that migration should be considered as a significant alternative and measures should be taken to train the displaced people.<sup>35</sup>

#### 4.1.3 *Cluster Village (Guchchhogram), Climate Victims Rehabilitation Project*

It was initiated in 2009. It planned for rehabilitation of 10,650 landless families by establishing 207 new villages. It was a continuous process of the ‘Land Use Act of 2001’ that distributed ‘Khas Land’ for displaced people.<sup>36</sup>

#### 4.1.4 *Climate Change Trust Fund*

It was established in 2013 through the formulation of Climate Change Trust Act of 2010. This trust gets funding, expertise, and equipment to mitigate problems of climate change. For programmes and projects, it receives funds from the national budget. It aims “to help communities recover and become resilient to climate change impacts”.<sup>37</sup>

### 4.2 *Policies on Development and Poverty Reduction*

#### 4.2.1 *The Seventh Five Year Plan*

The Seventh Five Year Plan aims to promote a strategy for poverty reduction and development of Bangladesh from 2016 to 2021. Chapter three has a part named ‘Migration and Development’ where it acknowledges that the importance of international labour migration as a significant source of development. Besides, it calls for South-South cooperation for more development.<sup>38</sup> However, this policy paper does not have any view on internal displacement or forced migration.

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<sup>34</sup> Ministry of Environment and Forest and Climate Change, “Bangladesh Climate Change Strategy and Action Plan, 2009”, available at [https://www.iucn.org/downloads/bangladesh\\_climate\\_change\\_strategy\\_and\\_action\\_plan\\_2009.pdf](https://www.iucn.org/downloads/bangladesh_climate_change_strategy_and_action_plan_2009.pdf), accessed on 10 June 2020.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>36</sup> Social Security Policy Support (SSPS) Programme, “Guchchagram (Climate Victims Rehabilitation)”, available at <http://socialprotection.gov.bd/social-protection-pr/guchchagram-climate-victims-rehabilitation/>, accessed on 24 July 2020.

<sup>37</sup> International Centre for Climate Change and Development, “Introduction to the Bangladesh Climate Change Trust Fund, 2015”, available at <http://www.iccad.net/introduction-to-the-bangladesh-climate-change-trust-fund-2/>, accessed on 13 June 2020.

<sup>38</sup> General Economic Division, Planning Commission, *Seventh Five Years Plan*, Dhaka, Bangladesh: General Economic Division, Planning Commission, 2015, pp. 279-282.

#### 4.2.2 *The Outline Perspective Plan*

It was launched to accomplish ‘Vision 2021’. The plan recognizes the increasing number of rural-urban migration. All major Bangladeshi cities have 35 per cent population living in slums. Due to unplanned urbanization, this migration does not allow sustainable economic growth potential in rural areas. The rate of urbanization was 5 per cent in 1961 which became 25 per cent in the year 2005. This plan projects that it will increase by 38 per cent by 2021 which will be alarming. It calls for an ‘urban renewal strategy’. Along with a planned spread-out town development for better living opportunities in villages, it suggests ‘migration controls’.<sup>39</sup>

#### 4.2.3 *National Strategy for Accelerated Poverty Reduction*

This one came out in 2008. There is no agenda in this paper for internal migration. The section about ‘Tackling Climate Change for Poverty Reduction’ states plans for livelihoods, disaster risk reduction, forestry, and technology. It does not discuss the adaptation process of displaced people.<sup>40</sup>

#### 4.2.4 *Coastal Zone Management Policy*

It was introduced by Water Resources Planning Organization (WARPO) in 2005. It focusses on coastal zone management for development and controlling salinity intrusion. However, the concept of migration and adaptation is not there. It does not mention any land distribution policy for displaced people due to river erosion.<sup>41</sup>

#### 4.2.5 *The Eighth Five Year Plan*

Published in 2020, the Eighth Five Year Plan focusses on “integrating economic progress, environment, climate change, and disaster management concerns into planning and budgeting to attain sustainable development.” To address the problem of climate change-induced migration and migrants, it mentions that government will formulate design of accommodative cities to facilitate migrant integration.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> General Economic Division, Planning Commission, *Outline Perspective Plan of Bangladesh 2010-2021*, Dhaka, Bangladesh: General Economic Division, Planning Commission, 2012, pp. 68-69.

<sup>40</sup> Planning Commission, “National Strategy for Accelerated Poverty Reduction, 2012”, available at <http://www.lcgbangladesh.org/aidgov/WorkShop/1.pdf>, accessed on 05 August 2020.

<sup>41</sup> Ministry of Water Resources, “Coastal Zone Management Policy, 2005”, available at <http://nda.erd.gov.bd/files/1/Publications/Sectoral%20Policies%20and%20Plans/Costal-Zone-Policy-2005.pdf>, accessed on 10 July 2020.

<sup>42</sup> General Economic Division, Planning Commission, *The Eighth Five Year Plan*, Dhaka, Bangladesh: General

### 4.3 *Disaster Management Policies*

#### 4.3.1 *Comprehensive Disaster Management Programme*

The Comprehensive Disaster Management Programme (CDMP), approved in November 2003, has two phases. In the first phase (2004-2009), a long-term plan for disaster risk reduction and adaptation of climate change was designed for seven districts of Bangladesh. The second phase (2010-14), aimed to focus on mapping of hazards, vulnerabilities and going for an early warning system. Nevertheless, it does not mention anything about adaptation process of climate-induced IDPs.<sup>43</sup>

#### 4.3.2 *National Plan for Disaster Management (2010-2015)*

The National Plan for Disaster Management targets to report disaster risks and the way to reduce vulnerability of the poor due to “natural, environmental and human-induced hazards”. It acknowledges the homelessness of people due to flood and riverbank erosion but it does not state the strategy for poor people to cope with climate change.<sup>44</sup>

### 4.4 *Policies on Displacement*

Foreign Employment Policy (2006) and Overseas Employment and Migrants Act (2013) are the main policies which address the issue of migration and identify areas where the government needs to intervene through policies. However, these are about international migration. There is only one strategy paper which was drafted in 2015 by the Ministry of Disaster Management.

#### 4.4.1 *National Strategy on the Management of Disaster and Climate-Induced Internal Displaced*

It was adopted in 2015. The Strategy focusses specifically on internal displacements caused by climate-related disasters. It aims to write out a comprehensive strategy covering all three phases of displacements, e.g., (a) pre-displacement, (b) displacement phase, and (c) post-displacement. This strategy paper focuses on the

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Economic Division, Planning Commission, 2020, p. 502.

<sup>43</sup> Maxmillan Martin, Yi hyun Kang, Motasim Billah, Tasneem Siddiqui, Richard Black and Dominic Kniveton, op. cit.

<sup>44</sup> Ministry of Disaster Management and Relief, “National Plan for Disaster Management (2016-2020)”, available at [https://modmr.portal.gov.bd/sites/default/files/files/modmr.portal.gov.bd/policies/0a654dce\\_9456\\_46ad\\_b5c4\\_15ddfd8c4c0d/NPDM\(2016-2020\)%20-Final.pdf](https://modmr.portal.gov.bd/sites/default/files/files/modmr.portal.gov.bd/policies/0a654dce_9456_46ad_b5c4_15ddfd8c4c0d/NPDM(2016-2020)%20-Final.pdf), accessed on 10 June 2020.

right-based approach and highlights the need for employment for their adaptation. It also recommends decentralization of urbanized growth centres for employment of IDPs.<sup>45</sup> It is the first strategy paper that specifically identifies the problem of climate displacement. However, it does not come into force yet.

#### 4.4.2 Identifying the Policy Gaps

In the previous section policy papers have been analyzed to find out the policies of Bangladesh. All have accepted the reality and recognized the problem with assumption of 25 million climate IDPs by 2050, but there is no policy recommendations for adaptation of climate change-induced IDPs. There is only a draft strategy paper for climate IDPs that has not come into force. Some projects and policies try to introduce the adaptation process but those were not successful. The implementation failure of previous initiatives leads to lack of a specific policy for climate-induced IDPs. Following Table 3 identifies policy gaps of Bangladesh.

**Table 3: Climate Change related Policy Gaps<sup>46</sup>**

Name of Policies and Initiatives	How does it address the issue of Climate- Induced Displacement and Forced Migration?
NAPA	It addresses climate change-induced internal migration with negative perspective and does not recommend any strategy for adaptation.
BCCSAP	It recognizes the problem by pointing that there will be 25 million ‘environmental refugees’ by 2050 but does not prescribe anything for adapting IDPs.
Guchchhogram Project	It was the first initiative to deal with climate IDPs.
Establishment of Climate Change Trust Fund	It does not specifically deal with climate IDPs only but all issues related to climate change.
The Seventh Five Year Plan	It did not have any part on internal displacement or internal forced migration.
The Outline Perspective Plan	It talks about ‘migration control’.
The Strategy for Accelerated Poverty Reduction	It does mention anything on adapting climate-induced IDPs.
The Eighth Five Year Plan	It recommends for decentralization and adaptation as a solution of climate change- induced migration.
Coastal Zone Management Policy	It focuses on land distribution through Guchchhogram Project.
Comprehensive Disaster Management Programme	It does not mention any adaptation process for climate-induced IDPs.

<sup>45</sup> Ministry of Disaster Management, op. cit.

<sup>46</sup> Compiled by Author.

National Plan for Disaster Management	It does not mention any adaptation process for climate induced IDPs.
National Strategy on the Management of Disaster and Climate-Induced Internal Displaced	It is the first one to address the issue. It is a draft paper.

By analyzing existing measures and initiatives, it is important to address factors and problems behind implementation. In the next section, problems of policy implementation are analyzed through the lens of theoretical framework of Meter and Horn.

## 5. Problems Behind Policy Implementation

From the discussion above, it is revealed that some policies and projects are initiated for adaptation of climate change-induced IDPs. Cluster village programmes were initiated to control rural-urban migration. The Climate Change Trust Fund has been established with a vision to taking measures for communities affected due to climate change. Through applying the lens of the policy implementation model, this section traces reasons behind policy gaps

### 5.1 Standards and Objectives

It has been argued that there is a lack of an internationally recognized definition of climate change-induced IDPs. Another problem is in the conceptual aspect of ‘climate change-induced’. There is no process by which it can be identified who are displaced by climate change and who are displaced by other factors.<sup>47</sup>

Conceptual complexity is not the most critical problem now as the draft strategy paper has defined climate-induced IDPs. Despite having conceptual complexity, countries like Chad, Niger, and Philippines have individual policy frameworks for climate-induced IDPs. This can be identified as one of many impediments which is not significant in this period of climate finance and climate governance.

Functionally, no ministry deals with climate-induced IDPs in particular. For instance, the *Guchchhogram* project was under the Ministry of Land, the Climate Change Trust Fund is under the Ministry of Environment and Forests, and the draft Strategy Paper on Managing Disaster and Climate-Induced Internal Displaced Persons is under the Ministry of Disaster Management and Relief. The conceptual

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<sup>47</sup> Key Informant Interview, 2019.

complexity is also linked with functional responsibility. There is an urge to make a combined effort by the government to address the issue.

## 5.2 Resources

There are two projects or initiatives to deal with climate change-induced IDPs, e.g., the *Guchchhogram* project and the Climate Change Trust Fund. However, the question is how effective these two measures are to address the issue of adapting climate change -induced IDPs.

The *Guchchhogram* project started in 2009. It aimed “to rehabilitate landless destitute families affected by climate change, river erosion and other natural disasters establishing *Guchchhograms* on government *khas* land and bring them into mainstream of the society ensuring socioeconomic development by providing credit and giving training on awareness and skill development. These activities will contribute to reduce national poverty.” It involved rehabilitation of 10,650 landless families through the establishment of 207 villages. It was a continuing process of the Land Use Act of 2001 that distributes ‘*Khas* Land’ for displaced people. The Second *Guchchhogram* project came into force in 2015. The second phase of this project is aimed to rehabilitate 50,000 families from 2015 to 2020.<sup>48</sup>

On the other hand, Bangladesh Climate Change Trust Fund is the first national climate fund established by a Least Developed Country (LDC) which is managed by Bangladesh Climate Change Trust and the government. It was allocated 2,900 crore taka since 2014-15 fiscal year. Bangladesh will also get funding from Green Climate Fund (GCF) which is set up under United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. It is aimed to channel US\$ 100 billion per year from developed to developing countries.<sup>49</sup> In this regard, resource issues to find a solution is getting the light in terms of managing displacement.

## 5.3 Inter-Organizational Communication and Enforcement Activities

The draft policy paper, National Strategy on the Management of Disaster and Climate-Induced Internal Displacement, has called for an integrated approach as there is no comprehensive definition of internal displacement. The responsibilities should be distributed among the Ministry of Land, Ministry of Disaster Management, and Ministry of Environment, Forest and Climate Change. Moreover, due to the absence

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<sup>48</sup> Social Security Policy Support (SSPS) Programme, op. cit.

<sup>49</sup> International Centre for Climate Change and Development, “Introduction to Bangladesh Climate Change Trust Fund”, available at <http://www.icccd.net/dhaka-tribune-articles/introduction-to-the-bangladesh-climate-change-trust-fund-2/>, accessed on 12 June 2020.



of a precise policy paper for climate-induced displacement proper monitoring has become an important issue.<sup>50</sup> Absence of proper inter-organizational communication hinders the process of formulating policy towards climate-induced IDPs.

#### **5.4 Characteristics of Implementing Agencies**

The TIB released a report in 2013 titled ‘Climate Finance in Bangladesh: Governance Challenges and way out’ that revealed different problems in selection of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) by the Bangladesh Climate Change Trust Fund to carry out the work in field. From 2011 onwards, TIB investigated the selection criteria, funding, and project development for 55 NGOs out of 63.<sup>51</sup>

Only 17 of the NGOs had expertise of working directly on natural disasters, climate change and environment. Majority of the NGOs had lack of proper infrastructure, experience and accountability.<sup>52</sup> The projects were not planned with opinion of local people. As a result, project plans regarding afforestation, salinity intrusion could not be implemented properly. Lack of monitoring and inspection also led to disruption of existing capability.

The report of TIB published in 2014, identified the criteria of financial reporting and auditing of climate finance as strong but it marked accountability measures as ‘below average’.<sup>53</sup> For this reason, the issue is being noticed with lack of liability to utilize the fund.

#### **5.5 Economic, Social and Political Conditions**

Economic, social, and political conditions can be understood from the Cluster Village Programme (*Guchchhogram* project). The goals of the projects were: (a) resettle victims of climate change (b) improve livelihood security (c) stimulate socioeconomic development by providing the families with training and microcredit. The goals did not mention anything about their employment. Another important issue was the position of *Khas* Lands. These lands allocated for ‘cluster village’ or *Guchchhogram* have a long distance from main urban areas with market and source of employment. The project had the aim to provide training for the rehabilitated, but

<sup>50</sup> Key Informant Interview, 2020.

<sup>51</sup> Transparency International Bangladesh, “Protecting Climate Finance: an anti-corruption assessment”, available at [http://tibangladesh.org/beta3/images/2014/pub\\_report\\_cfgp\\_ti\\_14\\_en.pdf](http://tibangladesh.org/beta3/images/2014/pub_report_cfgp_ti_14_en.pdf), accessed on 12 June 2020.

<sup>52</sup> Transparency International Bangladesh, “Climate Finance Governance Project”, available at [https://www.ti-bangladesh.org/beta3/images/max\\_file/wp\\_cfg\\_cfgp\\_12\\_en.pdf](https://www.ti-bangladesh.org/beta3/images/max_file/wp_cfg_cfgp_12_en.pdf), accessed on 12 June 2020.

<sup>53</sup> Transparency International Bangladesh, “Protecting Climate Finance: an anti-corruption assessment”, op. cit.

there was no initiative to train them. Hence, the families started to move towards urban areas for employment. As a result, Guchchhogram failed to adapt climate-induced IDPs.<sup>54</sup>

### **5.6     *The Disposition of Implementers***

The disposition of implementers has progressed in terms of expertise and specialization on climate change-induced displacement. NAPA identifies displacement and migration as ‘undesirable outcome’. However, policy gap regarding internal displacement has finally been addressed in the draft National Strategy on the Management of Disaster and Climate-Induced Internally Displaced.

Lastly, the outcome or ‘performance’ of this six-variable model of Meter and Horn does not have a very successful implementation due to the lack of accountability and experience of implementing agencies. But the policy concern has successfully formulated a draft strategy paper that can be a part of learning in the former failed implementation process.

The malfunction of previous initiatives due to lack of accountability, social and economic context, vacuum in standards and objectives - are working as problems of implementation. These problems obstructed the initiation of a precise policy framework or defined policy paper for specifically aimed for climate change-induced IDPs. A draft strategy paper has finally been formulated that can work as a learning-based approach to adapt these people who have tremendous contribution in the formal and informal sectors of the economy.

The urge to implement a draft strategy paper should be addressed to excel the expertise. Moreover, a collaboration of different ministries will be able to address the problem more effectively. Otherwise, displacement and forced migration will increase over time due to climatic effects.

## **6.     Conclusion**

This paper focusses on the problem of climate-induced IDPs in the context of Bangladesh. Despite having their contribution in formal economy like readymade garment (RMG) or informal economy, these people are deprived of social safety, security, and proper rights. Climate change-induced displacement needs more comprehension and acknowledgement for policy concern which will assist them towards adaptation. Government should focus on their employment.

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<sup>54</sup> Key Informant Interview, 2020.

Policy for decentralizing the economy is an urge in this case. Proper training and facility for these people can make them an asset for the country. To ensure integrity, transparency, and accountability in using climate finance, there should be effective protective measures and actions to ensure accountability. Moreover, implementation of a draft strategy paper and collaboration among concerned ministries will work as a significant initiative to address the policy gap. Overall, it can be argued that the policy implementation process requires more research and precision as some initiatives had not worked effectively. Learning from the failures will lead to introducing more significant policies aimed for the adaptation process of the climate-induced displaced persons.