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Findings from the Focus Group Discussions in Vulnerable Areas

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*FGD Team at Pekua*



*FGD Team at Kurigram*



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## Abbreviations

<b>BCCRF</b>	Bangladesh Climate Change Resilience Fund
<b>BCCTF</b>	Bangladesh Climate Change Trust Fund
<b>BWDB</b>	Bangladesh Water Development Board
<b>CAG</b>	Comptroller and Auditor General
<b>DC</b>	Deputy Commissioner
<b>FGD</b>	Focus Group Discussion
<b>IMED</b>	Implementation, Monitoring and Evaluation Department
<b>IPCC</b>	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
<b>IUCN</b>	International Union for Conservation of Nature
<b>NEMAP</b>	National Environment Management Action Plan
<b>NGO</b>	Non-governmental Organization
<b>PKSF</b>	Palli Karma-Sahayak Foundation (Foundation for Assisting Rural Employment)
<b>PM</b>	Prime Minister
<b>TIB</b>	Transparency International Bangladesh
<b>UP</b>	Union Parishad
<b>WB</b>	World Bank

# Chapter 01: Background

## Introduction

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Climate change is one of the pressing issues of current times. Scholars predict that climate change will substantially degrade the environment during this century (IPCC, 2007 in Reuveny, 2007). In some areas, the impact of climate change is quite evident than others. Bangladesh is already one of the most climate vulnerable nations in the world. Because of its geographic location, Bangladesh has to face severe climatic disorders such as flooding, drought, landslides, which force people to relocate their homes temporarily or permanently.

Bangladesh is one of the largest deltas in the world which makes it highly susceptible to natural disasters. According to the Bangladesh government's 2009 Climate Change Strategy and Action Plan,

*"In an 'average' year, approximately one-quarter of the country is inundated... Once in every four to five years, there is a severe flood that may cover over 60% of the country and cause loss of life and substantial damage to infrastructure, housing, agriculture and livelihood (MoEF, 2009, p.08)"*

Rapid erosion of coastal areas has already inundated dozens of islands in the Bay. For example, Sandwip Island, near Chittagong, has lost 90% of its original 23 square miles in the last two decades. In recent times, river erosion has annually displaced 50 to 200 thousand people. "About 15 million people in Bangladesh alone could be on the move by 2050 because of climate change causing the worst migration in human history" (IUCN, 2015). Climate change in Bangladesh may cause the largest mass migration in the human history, anticipated by several newspaper articles.

Two scholars from the American University, Washington, DC visited Bangladesh in August 2017 under an extensive research project on 'Climate Change-Induced Migration' in collaboration with North South University, Dhaka. The international community has pursued to technically define 'climate migration,' though they have not seen the light of success. Hence, the current project aspires to formally define 'climate migrants' in relation to climatological and demographic information as opposed to other forms of economic migrants.

*Nonetheless, for the purpose of the data collection phase, 'climate migrants' are defined as "those who migrate for reasons related directly to extreme weather and other meteorological events."*

As a part of the project, a series of FGDs were held in different selected locations in Bangladesh. The present report attempts to provide a synthesis of those FGDs. The core questions of the proposed project are: how affected populations will react to the political development caused by climate changes.

More specifically, what are the related changes in public opinion and political behavior? For instance, Will migration take place in response to climate change? If so, which people are more likely to migrate and where will they go and why? If not, how will they adapt? Whom

do they blame for their sufferings and losses? How does the fact of climate change shape the nature and scope of their political attempts to seek redress?

To address these questions, Bangladesh was chosen as one of the most climate-vulnerable nations on earth. A series of FGDs have been held at some specific locations in Bangladesh. FGDs work well to determine perceptions, feelings and the thinking of people towards particular issues, services or opportunities (Krueger and Cassey, 2009:2). The present report will focus only on the findings of the conducted FGDs.

## Objective of FGDs

- ▶ To understand the broader phenomena of climate migration from the view of adversely impacted respondents in Bangladesh.
- ▶ To determine how the climate change fact shapes the nature and scope of the migrants' political attempts to seek redress.
- ▶ To help policy maker to understand how climate migrants pick their new home and what do they seek from the government.
- ▶ To recognize general citizens' and experts' conception, whether climate is really changing, and its probable effects on their livelihood, migration, adaptation strategy, personal outlooks and views of what public policies should and can do.
- ▶ To get feedback from the experts in order to formulate a research design that will match the research theme as well as the context of the study.

## Methodology

FGDs were held during August 2017. In total, ten (10) focus group sessions were conducted. Groups ranged in size from six to ten participants.

Seven (07) FGDs were conducted in climate-impacted districts from which people are likely to migrate, and those in destinations, such as urban neighborhoods in the nation's fast-growing cities, where climate migrants have resettled. FGD participants were mostly climate change affected citizens.

One (01) FGD was held with the University students, at North South University, and the rest two (02) FGDs were conducted with the climate change experts and practitioners. FGDs with experts and practitioners took place at North South University and the Bangladesh Meteorological Department office Dhaka, respectively.

Total ten numbers of FGDs were conducted in following formation and locations:

**Type of Respondents:**

'Leavers' (i) and 'Stayers' (ii) from regions with different levels of climate change vulnerability



These areas have one thing in common, i.e., all three locations suffer from flood during monsoon, and they are vulnerable to climate change. Mughulbasha Upazila is a drought-prone area, while Kutubdia and Pekua are cyclone-prone areas. "Kutubdia has halved in size in 20 years, with family homes destroyed by ever-encroaching tides" (McVeigh, 2017).

Type of Respondents: **Experts (iii)**

<p><b>Environmentalist, Policy maker, NGO officials, member of thinktank and research organization.</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• North South University, Dhaka (1 FGD)</li> <li>• Bangladesh Meteorological Department (01)</li> </ul>
---	--

Type of Respondents: **University Students (iv)**

<p><b>University Students from University of Dhaka, North South Unievrstiy and Jahangirnagar University</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• North South University, Dhaka (1 FGD)</li> </ul>
---	---



Type of Respondents/Criteria



Location of FGDs

The locations of FGDs are marked on the following map:



Figure: Map of Research Area<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup><https://drive.google.com/open?id=1LXIWAtoCw4M10yxO4731GtQB30s&usp=sharing>

The Interview questions (see the appendix 1,2,3) were developed with the direction and input from the partner university's (American University, Washington) researchers. In each FGD, the facilitator welcomed the participants with a concise introduction of the FGD team members. The participants were briefed on the purpose of the FGDs straightforwardly. The anonymity of participants in the focus groups is strictly protected in this report.

## Participants Demographics

### i. Climate change induce migrants

They were termed as "leavers" in the original project proposal. Two FGDs divided into a) male and b) female were conducted in Korail, Dhaka.



*FGD with migrated people at an NGO's cooperative office, Korail slum, Dhaka*

### ii. Citizens who are currently living in climate change vulnerable areas

These citizens were termed as "stayers". Five FGDs were conducted in three different locations. Registered voters and local government representatives participated in the FGDs.



*Curious audiences during an FGD in a climate vulnerable area*



*FGD with the climate vulnerable people at Kurigram*

**iii. Experts**

A group of climate change and environmental experts and practitioners were gathered to participate in the FGD.



*FGD with the experts held at North South University*

**iv. University students**

Participants were undergraduate students studying in different universities.



*FGD with the students from different universities, held at North South University*

## Organization of the Report

The report is divided into three chapters:

**Chapter 01:** provides the “introduction” and “background” of the study. This chapter consists of study Objectives, Demographics of Participants and Methodologies.

**Chapter 02:** describes the major “findings” of the study. The findings part is also divided into three sections:

- ▶ In the first section, findings from the FGDs conducted in ‘climate migrant-sending areas,’ and ‘climate migrant-receiving areas’ are described.
- ▶ The second sections present the findings of the FGD with ‘undergraduate students’ from different public and private universities in Bangladesh.
- ▶ The third part is dedicated to explaining the discussion held among veteran environmental experts, activists, practitioners, NGO officials and researchers.

**Chapter 03:** presents a quick “summary” of the findings of all focus group discussions along with a brief “analysis” drawn by the researchers. Like findings chapter, this chapter also arranged in three sections in similar manner: i) FGD with climate migrants’ & climate vulnerable people, ii) FGD with students and iii) FGD with experts and practitioners.

## Chapter 02: Findings

### Section 01:

#### Findings from the FGDs Held in Climate Migrant Sending Areas (Climate Impacted Districts) and Climate Migrant Receiving Area

In total, 07 FGDs (2 in receiving and 05 in sending areas) were conducted in this phase. The participants of FGDs' in climate receiving area (Korail Slum, Dhaka) were selectively chosen based on their migration track record; all the participants were migrated from their original habitat due to climate change-related damage. Most of our FGD respondents were forced to relocate themselves due to 'river erosion.' Two separate FGDs were conducted, divided into 'male' and 'female' considering the national culture that female participants may not be open up in front of male counterparts or vice versa.

On the other hand, in 'climate migrant-sending areas,' registered voters were selected. Of five FGDs conducted in 'sending areas,' one FGD was with Union Parishad (local government body, see Appendix 4 & 5) members and chairmen.

**Table: Name and location of the FGDs with climate migrants and climate vulnerable**

Name of the Place	Location
<b>Korail Slum, Dhaka</b> (2 FGDs)	Capital city, located in central of Bangladesh
<b>Mogulbasha Union, Kurigram<sup>2</sup> Upazila</b> (03 FGDs)	North-West part of Northern district of Bangladesh
<b>Kutubdia Upazila, Cox's Bazar<sup>3</sup></b> (01 FGD)	Southern district of Bangladesh
<b>Pekua Union, Pekua Upzail, Cox's Bazar</b> (01 FGD)	Southern district of Bangladesh

#### A glimpse of the occupation of the FGD participants:

<sup>2</sup>See Appendix 6.

<sup>3</sup>See Appendix 7.

**Table: Occupation of the current climate migrants and potential climate migrants**

Areas	Women	Men
<b>Climate Migrants who have resettled in Cities</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Housemaid / domestic servant</li> <li>• Small business (tea stall, selling vegetables.)</li> <li>• Tailoring (home/shop), they bought sewing machine by taking loan from NGO.</li> <li>• Working in Textile industries</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rickshaw puller</li> <li>• Daily Labor</li> <li>• Security Guard at home, shop.</li> <li>• Small Business (tea stall, vegetables, groceries, etc.)</li> </ul>
	Old profession Home Maker	Old profession: Farmers (lease + own land), fisherman.
<b>People residing in climate vulnerable</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Home Maker</li> <li>• Part-time or seasonal worker</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Farmer</li> <li>• Work in salt farm</li> </ul>

It is apparent from the above table that people have more options to work in city areas where they have resettled, compared to the people live in climate vulnerable remote districts. On the other hand, women in climate vulnerable regions are mostly housewife or homemaker, while women resettled in cities are getting more opportunities to engage in different professions.



*A lady busy on household chores at Korail Slum, Dhaka*

It was observed in the Korail slum that comparatively older women are usually engaged in household jobs, running a small shop in their local area, while younger girls are more into the textile industry.

In Kutubdia, many work in the salt farm (Kutubdia is one of the major salt producing area in Bangladesh). People from Kutubdia reported that both male and female go to adjacent districts to seek job during the time of hardship, especially flood. Female participants of Kutubdia explained that women are compelled to work during the natural calamities because their husbands do not have any work/job, and their children have to stop going to school. Even the scope of going nearby districts to find a job for a woman is limited.

## Participants' Knowledge about Climate Change

It was found that the people of sending areas are more concerned about the climate change and its impact. On the other side, the people who had already resettled in a city are not much bothered by the climate change issue. Researchers posed particular questions to capture participants' climate change related knowledge. In response, a large number of participants voiced:

*"Allah (God) knows well"*

This statement captured the level of expertise the climate migrant possesses about the climate change.



*A flooded grave*

They were asked "whether they feel temperature is changing" – they said they could assume that the temperature is changing, it is increasing. One (65 years old) of them reckoned

*"The expansion of the population is responsible for climate change."*

This explanation was right away opposed by a woman, who previously worked with a local NGO, said:

*"There is no relationship between people and nature, Allah (God) is increasing this"*

They do admit that they are noticing the amount of rainfall is alarmingly increasing, winter is getting shortened, but they are not aware of the causes of these incidences. They do not pose the question; why? Why are these occurring? They are not aware of the imminent danger of the climate change as well! They do not know what will happen if the sea level rise by one meter, they are not aware of how rapidly the climate is changing. Also, they are not aware of government initiatives, government run's climate change projects.

Their only concern is to ensure food for their family members, and provide a better education for their children, apart from these,, they have no space spare no space spares for thinking about climate change or other issues. Also, they consider illiteracy as the prime reason for their ignorance of the climate issue. One respondent expressed that they only know a little bit about the weather condition from the weather forecasting part of the television and radio news.

Compared to the migrated people, the people currently living in the climate vulnerable areas got more profound knowledge. Most of the participants know about the climate change and recognize the shift through the irrational behavior of climatic events. They said, the temperature during summer, as well as the intensity of winter has increased. They also observed untimely and heavy rainfall, which is unusual. One significant observation shared during the FGD is that currently, the demarcation of six seasons has become ambiguous, the distinct features of six seasons are not evident.

## Participants' view about the ongoing flood (flood of 2017)

The FGDs were conducted at a time when the country was facing a severe flood. FGD team found most parts of the surface was inundated during their field trip to vulnerable regions. So, naturally, ongoing flood issue came several times during the focus group discussions. Flood issues occupied a crucial position in the focus group.



*Flood water in the house courtyard, Kurigram*



*A river in Pekua*

Participants from the Mughulbasa, Kurigram said, their area is not a flood prone area. However, all the participants unanimously agreed that this year's flood is most horrific, they have ever experienced since 1988. Local representatives of the same area went one step further; they believe the current flood broke the record of 1988.

However, Participants explain the flood of current year (2017) causes serious damage to their livelihood. They had been trapped in water for days and passing through a distressful situation. They do not have work, enough food storage to survive. In addition, government aid and relief are insufficient. They had been on the embankment for last three days. The embankment was full of flood-affected people.

The participants reported a sense of 'anxiety' about their food security in the coming days. They are assuming that the flood-resistance variety of paddy may not secure their fate. If this kind of paddy submerged under water for more days than the scheduled time, it gets rotten.

Participants of Kurigram deem that water flows from the upstream is mainly responsible for the flood. "We came to know from the media, India opened the sluice gate that caused our flood," mentioned by the participants of Kurigram. Aside, they could not tell much regarding other causes of the flood, and how and who should be held responsible for it.

## Citizen point of view about staying in, leaving from or returning to their original home

Respondents from a cyclone prone area mentioned that people usually go to the adjacent places for a temporary period. People living in these regions face great hardship during flood periods, people have no work, children cannot go to school. They leave for nearby cities for seeking job opportunities. The returning rate is higher among the migrants those migrated into nearby places. A UP (Union Parishad, see the appendix 4 & 5) chairman of a cyclone prone area of Kutubdia said that in his constituency, 20-40 people left the land and only five returned. The return rate is lower when people resettled in a remote city. In general, the majority of the people do not want to return to the original homeland.



*FGD team with Moghulbasaha Union Parishad (UP) representatives, Moghulbasaha*

Participants were asked to explain how do they move to other cities, what process do they follow while moving to another location. Climate vulnerable people initially take shelter in the highlands like barrage, dams or government lands. In rare cases, they take temporary shelter in their relatives' house. Then they spread towards nearby cities or big cities like Dhaka. Most of them remain in the resettled place for good. Among the migrant relocated to Dhaka, the majority of the male members solely came to Dhaka at first; then they brought the rest of their family members. In very few cases, all the family members move together to the distant big cities.

Climate migrants were asked the question, "would they return to the place they had come from if they had given a chance." Most of the FGD participants came to Dhaka about 20 years ago. Participants stated.

*"We are not willing to go back. Yes, we do have an emotional feeling for our ancestral home; but what will we do after going back there? Our children are born and brought up here, and our next generation does not intend to go back to the village, so we have to be here to tune with our children's wish. Plus, we are now able to provide an education to our children that would not be possible in our original living place."*

Participants also stated that if they had stayed in their villages, they would not get sufficient food, at least here they are getting food. Only one participant expressed wish to go. The rest of the respondents unanimously supported the idea of staying in the current residence.



*Children are playing football on a field at Korail slum, Dhaka*

They also asserted, if the government wants them to rehabilitate, the government should do it here, not in other places. At one point, one participant said that government should build mosque, schools, temples in the areas where the government wants them to relocate, nobody would otherwise prefer to move there; just providing the land is not enough, they need facilities like education, availability of prayer facilities (mosque, temple), job opportunities and so forth.

Out of all participants, only one person said that his family still owns a house in their old place. Even that family does not want to go back because they do not think they will get a job there, and that small piece of land they have in the village is not sufficient at all to cover their living expenses. They want to be here for their next generations. Participants accepted that they have an emotional attachment to their birthplace, but their children do not feel the same way about their original home place

Narratives of participants from Dhaka were clearly demonstrated that they are not willing to return to their native land.

## Government Initiatives during the crisis period (flood, river erosion, cyclone)

Korail slum dwellers shared the experience they had faced about 20 years ago. One FGD participant put up a statement that was representative of the comments of most focus group participants:

*"UP chairman (Local Government representative) paid occasional visits only to a few houses. Climate victims never received actual support from the government, except getting a small amount of rice. The relief channels are not fair, the amount granted by the government is not distributed equally".*

Interestingly, many FGD participants in Korail slum believe that government fund is always massive, but the relief distribution channels are corrupted, so it does not reach the actual victims. On the other side, the rest of them have a different view.

A 60+ years old participant opined, "How come a government can provide support to such large number of victims, who had affected by the river erosion, flood." He shared his experience while he was migrating to Dhaka aftermath of a natural disaster in his hometown – "The number of victims was too high for the government to provide assistance. Besides, relief centers were quite far away, and we have to catch a long queue before getting the relief, so I did not go for collecting the emergency relief."

The discourse of the participants shows that they have different opinions about government affordability, some participants think the government can afford a full-fledged support in times of emergency while others think differently.



*Displaced communities with nowhere to go, Kurigram*

Participants from Kutubdia, a climate change vulnerable area, consider that government does their work only during the crisis time. Government remains traceless in regular time. Many participants mentioned, "government just forgets us in times of normal period." Even they are not satisfied with the government efforts during the crisis period. One flood victim of Kurigram district stated,

*"Government response to handle flood is inadequate; they are not providing sufficient relief to the affected people. During the earlier flood of the current year, the government provided up to 30 K.G. rice which was insufficient."*

The initiatives to adapt climate change are infected with grave corruption, alleged by the participants. As an example, participants mentioned the existing corruption in renovating embankment. Main contractors usually sub-contract the projects to the sub-contractors and sub-contractor withdraw the bills without even completing the job. FGD discussion illustrated the picture that how corruption, dam, and disaster feed on each other.

## Expectations from the Government

Participants were asked to talk about what do they expect from the government or what do they want government to do and what measures the government should take to improve their quality of life and livelihood and fight the climate change danger they face.

The expectations and suggestions significantly differ between the people left for the big cities, and the people stayed or remained in the climate vulnerable areas since they do have different priorities in their life, facing different kinds of challenges.

When climate migrants were asked to express their suggestion towards government, straight away one female participant expressed,

*"Does the government really care about us? They only visit us during the election period".*

This statement sums up the frustration of the most inhabitants of that neighborhood.

The poor migrated people live in slums under threat of eviction. Like many other slums in Bangladesh, the Korail slum sits on government land; and a considerable portion of the slum situated on the roadside and on the bank of the lake which was convicted as 'illegal' by the court. In this situation, slum dwellers demand immunity from the eviction. A participant said, they formed a massive human chain six/seven year back to protest against the eviction, the then Home Minister pacified them by assuring 'there would be no eviction.'



*Researchers in a typical urban slum, Korail*

In addition, participants urged that if the government wants to rehabilitate them, government should do it in their current living place, not in the other areas. They are ready to provide utility fees they get the legal utility connection. They have the legal water connection, and some of them feel that this gives them right to the property. Though they do not have direct

gas and electricity subscription, they get gas and electricity through illegal connections set up by different syndicates. In short, they are using pirated electricity and gas. Further these illicit gas pipes and electricity cables are faulty and unsafe, and consequently, they have already faced several deadly fire incidents. Therefore, they expect that the government will ensure authorized and safe gas and electricity connections to their area. Furthermore, the government can provide loans to them, by which they can do something for their livelihood. They claimed that they always pay off the borrowed money, where rich people do not.

Regarding rehabilitation, participants already mentioned it earlier, that if the government wants to rehabilitate them, government should do it in their current living place, not in the other places. They are ready to provide utility fees if they get the legit utility connection. They already found jobs here; they may not get a job in the new place. Though one participant said, they might consider the idea of relocating to another location if the facilities, like the availability of the job, access to education, a place to perform prayer, were made available to them, just providing a small piece of land to live in is not the all they demand. "What would we do with that home without having required facilities" explicitly stated by a few participants. In the urban area, they managed to find at least something, and they do not want to lose it at any cost.

To put it simply, climate migrants in big cities prefer to have government support for enhancing their living conditions in current living place, instead of relocating themselves to somewhere else. They explained, they already found jobs here, the job may not be available in the new location.

Now we are turning our attention to the people who have stayed or currently living in climate vulnerable areas. As predicted, their focus is quite different from the migrants' people. Local government representatives suggest the following for the government:

- Dredge the River
- Renovate the Embankment
- Set up more disaster shelter center

Following list of suggestions is made by combining all the recommendations that were proposed during the focus group discussions conducted in climate vulnerable areas:

- Elevate the land
- Embankment repair
- Construct more flood/shelter center
- Construct concrete made embankment
- Dredging the river on a regular basis
- Provide sufficient relief for the affected area
- Planting trees in the barren field
- Ensuring drinking water, particularly during the crisis period (flood, cyclone).

## Section-2: Findings from the Focus Group with University Students

Students from three different universities participated in the discussion. Participants' university affiliation as follows:

	University Students	
Types	Public University	Private University
University Name	Dhaka University Jahangirnagar University	North South University
Student's Major	Public Administration, Government and Politics, international relations	Business studies (major in finances, Marketing), Electrical Engineering

Students freely talked about different issues of climate change, government role and so on. What follows is a summary of the relevant findings from the discussion generated in the focus group with the university students.:

### Student's views on weather and climate change

Students feel that the weather is changing. A public university student said, "I think the weather is changing, this summer is hotter than ever before ..... weather is changing, seasons are changing, and we hear it from the news that ice keeps melting in Antarctica, sea level is rising." The rest of the participants agreed with this statement.

A female participant explained that the seasons are getting longer, "now we are having mostly two seasons: winter and summer whereas Bangladesh used to have six different seasons. We are nowadays facing frequent natural disasters like the disaster of 1988."

### Students' degree of knowledge about climate change

The participants mostly focus on the increase in temperature and global warming to explain the climate change. They consider the rising temperature drives other disasters like flood, rising sea level. A couple of participants had accepted their blind ignorance about what climate change is. One business student confessed that he does not have any idea about the climate change.

It was found that social sciences' students in public universities usually require completing courses like disaster management or disaster governance. "These kinds of courses give them a good understanding of climate change matter," stated by them. An engineering background student expressed his wish to take such kind of course if he had the opportunity.

Students were directly asked to explain "who is responsible for climate change." One student answered, "'consumer' should be blamed first for their careless consumption pattern without

thinking about the environment.” Another participant mentioned, “ignorance of people is responsible for this. People do not learn about climate change in their schooling.” “Deforestation for urbanization and industrialization primarily responsible for climate change,” said by the student of politics while he was sharing his thought.

## Students’ awareness of government initiatives

A public university student considers that the government started to take measures after the incidence of 1988. One mentioned about NEMAP (National environment management action plan). Only two participants had heard of the NEMAP before; others do not know about it.

A student from Jahangirnagar University says, government mostly focuses on “post-measure,” not “pre-measure.” This perspective is shared by the other participants as well. A student from North South university mentioned, government employed the army to distribute food, shelter in the flood-affected zone.

In short, students mentioned two government initiatives which they are aware of: one is NEMAP, and another is emergency relief in times of flood, cyclone. They are not aware of any other government initiative.

## Students’ evaluation of government performance

When describing the overall performance of the Bangladesh government, participants stated that governance performance in disaster relief is better compared to total government performance and service provisions. They also stated, the government performance and negotiation in the international forum and climate change security fund is reasonably well, but students have shown a pessimistic view about bilateral relations between Bangladesh and India regarding climate-related issues.



*Basic living conditions in a coastal area of Cox's Bazar district*

Many student participants opined, Bangladesh has a well-structured institutional framework to fight climate change, but it lacks in efficiency. During the discussion, all participants many times mentioned about corruption. An example was given by a student: “when government purchases something, let’s say equipment, a low standard product is intentionally purchased to substantiate corruption. Many good plans are not implemented at all or partially implemented due to massive corruption.”

The issue of ‘political instability’ also brought into the discussion by the students as an unstable political condition hampering the plan and process regarding the climate change initiatives.

An interesting issue came out of the discussion is the lack of continuity of planning. When a new government takes over the power, they dismantle the old plan. Plans are still there, but nobody talks about the previous government’s formulated plan.

Participants claimed that ‘political culture’ of Bangladesh is confrontational and therefore policy formulated by the previous government has meager chance to carry forward to the next ruling government’s policy priority. As a result, a vacuum created in the policy level and it affects the implementation of policy. A student claimed that ‘climate change cell, 2006’ and ‘climate change resilience fund, 2008’ had not implemented due to regime change, this example was supported by another female student.

The students were asked to assess the state of accountability of Bangladesh government. A female student of public administration said, there are different layers in distributing relief, the affected people do not have much idea about the relief process, and thus there is no accountability of the government.

## Suggestions for the Government provided by the students

FGD with the students generates the following suggestions:

- ▶ The meteorological department can procure more advanced equipment to forecast the weather with higher precision. So that people can take precautionary measures, which in turn reduce the damage during climatic incidents.
- ▶ Government does not consider the perception of affected people during the formulation of policy. Government should be more participative to include citizens’ view in policy making.
- ▶ Environmentally friendly development is required to protect the environment.
- ▶ The bilateral relationship is essential, said by the students, like present flood caused by opening up the gate of Indian dams. They suggested that government should seek the solution to issues with the neighboring country through maintaining a harmonious bilateral relationship.
- ▶ Favoritism based on political affiliation needs to be checked, it will help to reduce the corruption.
- ▶ Continuation of planning has to be ensured so that regime change does not have an adverse impact on the sound plan.

- ▶ One student gave emphasize on including climate change-related courses in the university curriculum.
- ▶ Some students' participants mentioned empowering people, particularly empowering women. Many people do not go to safe places even after being warned by the authority, and the problem is more acute for the women as they cannot leave home easily for social taboos. Women have restrictions in our country. For example: if women have to climb the tree to save themselves during the flood, they cannot do. Therefore, they need to be aware of their rights, and they should be given education opportunity.
- ▶ One female participant put a suggestion that government and NGO should come and plan together



*An NGO office in flood-prone area of Moghulbasha*

## Students' Suggestions for Heightening Citizen Engagement in Bangladesh

Students were explicitly asked to provide some suggestion to enhance public involvement:

### **Social Media**

One student suggests 'social media' (specially Facebook); which was straight away backed up by the others. They mentioned social media could play a vital role to mobilize people. They brought the incidence of 'Shahbag Movement' as an example <sup>4</sup> They specifically mentioned the "Facebook" as a medium of mobilizing people to fight climate change. One student explained, "globally, it becomes norms to get news, good or bad, even sometimes fake news from the social media. Facebook plays a big role in disseminating information."

<sup>4</sup>A mass protest began in Shahbag, Dhaka in 2013 following demand for capital punishment for convicted war criminals. Social media played a crucial role to spread the call for revolt.

### **Community Services**

Another suggestion was to involve university students in community / voluntary services. They can go to the village and create consciousness among mass people. Different student associations can play a role in this regard; young people can help to spread the word.

### **Better GO-NGO Collaboration**

Last but not least, they recommended government should work in collaboration with NGOs. One female participant wonderfully said,

*“Government got authority and power, and NGOs got resources. If government and NGO work together, then the outcome will be more effective and long-lasting. There should not be any competition between government and NGOs regarding showing better performance; they need just collaboration”.*

## Section 03

# Findings from the Focus Group discussions with experts and practitioners

Two separate FGDs were conducted, one with government officials and another with non-governmental experts like environmentalist, academic, public policy expert, environmental activist & researcher.

## Experts' views on Climate Change

Participants expressed different points of view whether climate change takes place or not. Government Meteorologists and environmentalist stated in the focus group that they are not sufficiently convinced that climate change is a reality. Other FGD participants took the different stand. They said, "they can feel the climate change in their daily lives based on own life experience and observation of nature."

Two prominent Meteorologists of Bangladesh, currently working for the government, said that they were not fully convinced whether there is any climate change in Bangladesh. They said climate is 50-60 years matter, what we see is the weather change. The Meteorologists mentioned some methodological issue, which they have used in different international model of climatic changes and they said that if the climate change evidence is not 99% statistically correct or significant, they cannot say that this is climate change, though they agreed that from 1971 until the present, the temperature had increased 0.75 degrees Celsius in Bangladesh.

Another prominent Geographer, currently involved in teaching disaster management and similar types of courses at a university, also expressed his suspicion regarding climate change phenomena. He stated:

*"For climate change, I have a different feeling; Climate actually performs their phenomena in response to the lunar system, not the English calendar. It is a question of perception, for example; English calendar is a fixed calendar and climate roam around with the lunar calendar. Bengali calendar was not fixed, before the onset of the fixed calendar, we had an excellent good relationship with the perceived notion of the calendar. Since it is fixed, we have a different expectation and observation, and we cannot match it. Because in June-July, people expect the highest rainfall in Bangladesh, now its August, coming close to September. Climate always performs or rotates with the lunar calendar."*

He also added another point,

*"Climate has its behavior; sometimes it can act erratically like human behaviour. People do not have the same temperament every day, in one day one might be jolly and in another day, the same person might be upset. This is a tantrum of mood, and the very same thing with the climate as well. It has the same tantrum too."*

In contrast to the suspicion expressed by Geographer and Meteorologist participants other participants voiced quite differently. They think climate change is taking place. A climate change professional, he was a government delegate to Climate change convention

IPCC and authored few books on climate migration topic, firmly stated that climate change is happening. He said, “almost all the respectable scientists accept that climate change is a human-induced phenomenon.”

Another participant, who is a veteran political scientist, says; “I have experienced a secular change in season in my lifespan. I feel that the season is shifting; we see more flood and coastal area is submerging.” His views more or less shared by the other participants.

## Methodological issues in researching climate migration in Bangladesh

Defining and identifying climate migration is a daunting task, agreed by the participants. A political scientist showed his concern about the difficulties to recognize which one is economic or which one is climate change induce migration. We asked the experts participated in our FGDs to provide the suggestion concerning ‘designing question’ to collect climate change data from the people. More or less all agreed to pose the open-ended question. They share the following methods:

- ▶ One scholar suggested taking the narratives of three different phases of the same person regarding climate change experience. For example, a respondent is 60 years old; here researcher can divide his lifespan into three parts like first 20 years (childhood), second 20 years (youth) and last 20 years (old) and collect experience of these three phases. Finally, the researcher can make a comparison and eventually reach a conclusion.
- ▶ Another participant suggested a slight modification of the above method, He said, the researcher can pick respondents or participants of two different age groups, one group of youth and a group of senior people, and then finally compare the responses of these two groups.
- ▶ A participant, who is basically a geographer, shared the research method he used in many studies. The first step of his method is to follow the national dailies in order to seek migrant people and then track the migrant people into slum areas. After that, researcher investigates their origin and plot it on the map. He also asserted that he would prefer the term ‘climate displacement’ rather using the term ‘climate migration,’ his logic is ‘migration’ is a choice, when one move from one place to another. Whereas, ‘displace’ is under compulsion. There are push factors, not pull factors are responsible for displacement, while both push and pull factors are responsible for the migration.



*Location: Kurigram*

## Government Efforts to Showcase and Promote Climate Change Concern Fall Short

A participant tentatively said, “perhaps climate change adaption is more complicated than disaster relief”. However, another participant with a vast experience of working with Bangladesh government and international avenue, said

*“government negotiators change now and then. We can observe that government negotiators and relevant experts are given relevant training, when they finally settle in their positions, they get transferred or shift to another ministry. This causes lack of institutional memory.”*



*Enthusiastic villagers in a vulnerable climate area of Cox's Bazar*

Experts highlight the point that Bangladesh is not showcasing themselves in international arena compared to the magnitude of adversity Bangladesh face. At the same time, they opined that it is not as easy for Bangladesh to showcase the damage as like Maldives, Nepal. A tide can submerge a significant portion of Maldives that can easily be portrayed, or it is easier for Nepal to draw international attention by showing ice is melting in Himalaya.

A scholar, however, strongly stressed:

*“We should stand up on our own. We should teach or provide the education to our people on how to adapt to the climate change rather than begging hands to others. Just receiving the donation- will make people bend down to the knees. Therefore, we must learn to live and survive saline water, and we should develop crop varieties”.*



Visit at Deputy Commissioner (DC) office, Cox's Bazar

## Corruption and governance of climate change in Bangladesh

A researcher from Transparency International Bangladesh (TIB) shared a detailed picture of corruption and various aspects of climate change governance in Bangladesh. TIB man mentioned that usually it takes one and half year for approving any government project since it has to go through some monitoring and evaluation mechanisms like IMED, but it takes only three months for climate change project. An FGD participant, who is a renowned public policy expert, endorsed that expediting the process is a good thing. He assumes the present system set up for climate change is to expedite the process. TIB person conveyed TIB's concern about the usage and monitoring of the Climate Change Trust Fund (BCCTF). He shared some incidences during FGD.

Until today (2017) around TK. 3200 crore allocated through BCCTF from internal resources. So far the total number of projects is more than five hundred including government and NGOs projects, and 2600 crore has been allocated for those projects. The fund started to release since 2010. However, no single project has been evaluated by planning commission's evaluation department, which is called IMED (Implementation Monitoring and Evaluation Department)<sup>5</sup>, since money directly mobilizes from the government to the Ministry of Environment and Forest IMED has not monitored any project, the logic is these are not development projects and funding channelized through environment ministry, so this does not fall under IMED's jurisdiction. This is a big drawback of existing laws, stated by TIB representative. He added,

*"According to the rule of business. No ministry can rule the other ministry. By position, environment minister is the chair of the 'climate change trust fund'. But implementation is done by other ministries. Therefore, whenever the money goes to other ministries, for example, the ministry of water, the ministry of forest and environment cannot say anything about the implementation since a different authority handles it. Prime minister office has the sole authority to ask the other ministry what they are really doing. On many occasions, PM (Prime Minister) office found corruption; but only in some cases suspended the funding, no punitive actions took place. Hence, proper accountability is not ensured. So there is a fundamental problem lies in giving authority to Ministry of Environment without ensuring concrete accountability mechanisms."*

<sup>5</sup>IMED is a part of the ministry of planning. All public investment projects have to be approved by planning commission.

Another allegation was thrown at the 'Climate Change Trust Fund' is maldistribution of money. The rule is 'ten government ministers' will be the member of the 'Climate Change Trust Fund.' Trustee members are supposed to distribute fund based on the magnitude of the vulnerability of the affected areas. But the 'trustees' are distributing fund equally among them according to their constituencies; they do not bother with climate change. They are prioritizing their constituencies. For instance, the northern part of the country which is the most vulnerable drought-prone zone is getting the lowest allocation because they do not have influential ministers.

The name of Bangladesh Water Development Board (BWDB) pronounced few times during the discussion for grave corruption. General people are also very disappointed with BWDB, the research team found during the field trip.

One big problem is Bangladesh does not have any vulnerability map. Dhaka is getting more money from climate fund. In this backdrop, the TIB representative posed the question - "Is Dhaka that vulnerable and deserves this priority?". The actual situation is ministers prioritize own constituencies. For example, the northern part of the country is the most vulnerable drought-prone zone, but this part gets the lowest allocation since no powerful minister belongs to that area.

In this backdrop, TIB has been insisting Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) to conduct audits on climate change projects since no other authority is doing monitoring on climate fund allocation and implementation. Previously, CAG conducted a special audit on 32 projects out of 500 plus projects. But now CAG is not operating their special audit on climate change projects. TIB keeps trying to convince the Office of CAG to resume their special audit function on climate projects. The third-party monitoring is absent for BCCTF.

Bangladesh Climate Change Resilience Fund (BCCRF)<sup>6</sup> assigned third-party monitoring in addition to the existing government body or mechanisms. WB tries to engage the local community in monitoring the project implementation. For instance, they appointed 'local school management committee' as an independent oversight authority for the construction of cyclone center. In some places it is extremely difficult because of the local political economy, local elites are involved with the contractors. Aside local independent body, a Dhaka based firm was assigned by the WB. The firm sent many young and energetic engineers to the field to monitor the project, but these field resident engineers faced life threat from the local contractors. Many of the resident engineers have been transferred within a year.

TIB representative was asked the question – "why the WB and other donors' have stopped their climate fund for Bangladesh. The answer was: the corruption, particularly the 'project approval process'. Ministers press to approve the project for own localities. Donors have become so rigid that without proper evidence related to climate change, they would not approve any project – this is an issue. Another issue is there are some gaps and disputes exist between WB and other donors & development partners. On a different note, TI representative highly discourages the government to rely on WB, ADB loan. The government should look for a grant from climate fund, not the loan since Bangladesh is one of the most vulnerable nations.

In response to a probing question, TIB person explained that there is a 'technical committee' composed of government officials for the 'Climate Change Trust Fund.' 'Trustee board' is supposed to approve projects based on the technical committee's report and evaluation. But

trustee board hardly meets up, and there is a record that the technical committee did not approve a project, yet the board approved that project.

Another burning issue came in the discussion which is already discussed in this report. Only 20% real contractors, who got the contract directly from the government body, are implementing the projects; mostly sub-contractors carry out the implementation. Contractors need to reach an agreement with the local muscle to implement the project. Without allying with local muscle, it is impossible to perform any projects. In many cases, local muscle work as 'sub-contractor.' Local political-economic context plays a crucial role in project implementation. Some sub-contractors work for the Water Development Board spend only 10 out of Tk. 100.

## Suggestions for Government

Discussants in the focus group did not mainly focus on providing policy suggestions; rather they talked about different governance issues, climate change definition, awareness and so forth. Nevertheless, few ideas came out while there were discussing various issues of climate change and climate change migration as follows:

- ▶ One scholar opined that the stakeholders like NGOs and to some extent government love to hear about climate change because this issue brings money, foreign donation. But Bangladesh needs to learn more and teach people on how to adapt climate change. More emphasizes should be given on inventing new crop varieties.
- ▶ Government provides the finances to the climate change trust fund. Hence, IMED of the ministry of planning should monitor climate change projects funded by the climate change trust fund, suggested by TIB representative.
- ▶ CAG should perform their special audit to reduce corruption in climate change projects.
- ▶ Climate change fund needs to be allotted based on the damage face by a particular region, in this regard formulating a vulnerability map of Bangladesh in quick time is a matter of great importance.

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<sup>6</sup>BCCRF was established in 2010 with the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of Bangladesh, development partners and the World Bank (WB, 2012). BCCRF primarily governed by the WB

## Chapter 03: Summary and Analysis of the Findings

*The objective of this part is to explain the researchers' reflection on the FGDs' findings. The analysis presents below in thematically:*

### Summary and Analysis Section-1: Focus group with climate migrants and with the people currently live in vulnerable areas

#### Occupation of the FGD participants in climate sending and receiving areas

Climate migrants in Korail, Dhaka engage in different occupations for their living. The male members of Korail slum typically work as a rickshaw puller, daily labour, security guard in house & market, small business-like tea stall, vegetables, while the female work as domestic servants, do small business, tailor, textile worker. Comparatively, people have lesser options in vulnerable climate areas. Male members mostly work as farmers, though the profession depends on their geographic location. For instance: in Kutubdia, many works in the salt farm since Kutubdia is a salt producing zone.

The proliferation of textile industries in big cities like Dhaka, Chittagong opened a new window of opportunity for the climate migrants in these big cities. The textile industry employs 4.2 million workers, and most of them are women. The growth of the garment and textile industry has helped to increase the incomes of low skilled people living in poverty, especially in creating job opportunities for women (International Finance Corporation, 2014). Besides working in textile sector, women can work as housemaid, small entrepreneurs. Working outside the home for a housewife is much more socially acceptable in urban areas, this also helped the migrant women to be independent. Because of the availability and diversity of jobs, migrants are facing less food insecurity.

#### Knowledge about Climate Change

Many, live in climate vulnerable areas, believe that climate-induced disaster is not human-made phenomena, it is "the will of Allah (God)." Nevertheless, focus group discussants expressed that they had noticed the inconsistent behaviour of nature like frequent cyclone, storm flow has increased, rising sea level. In general, the Focus group discussions demonstrate that the people from climate-vulnerable areas have more knowledge than the leaver or migrated people, the possible reasons are the people's preference and priority.

The people who had already left the ancestral land, now they are not much interested in following climate change progress and climate change related information and news since they are not facing direct adverse impacts of climate change as stayers in vulnerable areas are facing. Migrants are quite busy with their own life. Even a former NGO field worker is not aware of the climate change, where NGO workers usually belong to the better-informed portion of the slum community. The condition of the rest of the people in that community can easily be apprehended by this. Aside, the senior citizens in slum areas do not have any clue about climate change.

On the other side, people of climate change vulnerable areas comparatively sound more knowledgeable, their livelihood and many things mostly depend on nature. We found them as a more careful observer of climate change events and news compared to their city counterpart.

Ninety-five percent of our FGD participants were seniors. Comparatively younger people possibly have a quite different level of understanding since they have better access to education, access to modern technology (like mobile phones, internet). Youths, compared to older people, are likely to have a more in-depth knowledge of climate change related issues.

### **Participants' view about current flood [flood of 2017]**

Extreme weather migrants from Korail slum did not bring the issue of the flood in their discussion. For now, they are not directly affected by the flood, and they have many other pressing issues of greater importance for their life and livelihood, so it is understandable that they do not have much focus on the flood, and climate issue indeed is not on their priority list.

On the other hand, people in the vulnerable areas were fighting a severe flood during the FGDs conduction period.. Arguably, some participants claimed this is the biggest flood they have ever experienced after the 1988 flood event, while a few said it is more devastating than the 1988 flood. We heard many participants in both migration sending areas and receiving areas talking and referring 1988 flood event. It appears that 1988 flood had become a "benchmark" for measuring or comparing the intensity of any flood occur in Bangladesh. The elderly people participated in our FGDs mostly are from the 60s, 70s and 80s era, so they have experienced 1988 flood in their lifetime. Even the young generation (we noticed it in a different FGD with the university student) does frequently refer 1988's flood to measure the intensity of any flood incidence in Bangladesh.

FGD team, during the field trip, have witnessed a deadly flood in 2007 vulnerable areas. People of different age are severely suffering from the flood. Their general recommendations towards government mostly include flood-related matters like dredging, embankment, shelter center, etc. Their recommendations were associated with the broader concept of climate change.

### **Citizens' point of view about Staying in, leaving from or returning to their original home**

Many people were forced to leave their homeland due to the impact of climate change on their livelihood. During the time of crisis, they face acute job crisis. Some of them go to other cities for work, and the rest of the family members stay in the village. In many cases, they resettled in another town with full family. The return rate of migrants is extremely low. People who have migrated to nearby cities have a better possibility of returning than those left for the big cities.

In the Korail focus group discussion, It was found most of the participants had left home due to river erosion while Bangladesh faces different types of disasters like flood, cyclone. Our explanation is river erosion completely wipe a particular area which is unrecoverable, whereas land and home affected by flood and cyclone can be recovered. So, river erosion victims opt for more permanent migration compared to other types of disaster victims. The ratio of return back might be different for flood and cyclone affected victims compared to victims of river erosion. However, almost all participants in Korail slum openly expressed their intention that they do not want to return. Few participants said that they feel like to go back to their ancestral land, but they cannot afford to do so because of the lack of job opportunity and inadequate access

to education. Climate change migrants are completely detached from their homeland. Visiting homeland is expensive for them. Also, it is hard to get the free day from the workplace.

When they first came to the cities, 'push factors,' like losing a home due to river erosion, inundation of agricultural land, were the dominant causes behind the departure of their original places. Over the years, many 'pull factors' were added, for example, education, job opportunity and amenities like water and electricity. Mushrooming of textile industries has created remarkable job opportunities for the people with high and low skills. Jobs turn out to be the strongest 'pull factors' for the people. It is a daunting task to distinguish the 'push' and 'pull' factors while analyzing climate change induced migration.

### **Government Initiatives during the crisis period**

In general, participants are not satisfied with the government efforts to help the climate vulnerable people. Few participants accused 'government' and 'local government representatives' of corruption. A couple of participants pointed out the government's lack of resources and limited capacity to support the massive climate victims. People are also not satisfied with the performance of local government bodies.

Bangladesh government has been initiating many projects focusing on climate change, and the participants did not seem to be much aware of these. Sometimes, they receive government help channelized through different bodies, for instance, PKSF (A government microcredit organization), many of them may have received PKSF fund through different NGOs while many are thinking that this is the NGOs' fund they are borrowing.

It was suggested, government needs to take active measures to fight the alleged corruption in building dams and embankments by the private contractors. Strengthening local elected bodies and integrating them into the climate change plan should get more government attention since Union Parishads (UP) are the lowest tier of local government and therefore have the most direct link with communities.

### **Suggestions for the Bangladesh Government and Expectations from the Government**

Participants of focus group discussion showed a very context specific demand and government intervention. Few participants overtly displayed a very pessimistic attitude towards government efforts to include citizen in decision making; they are in doubt whether the government pays any heed to their voice.

Participants in receiving areas (city area) demand immunity from the eviction from their current home, which is public property; and migrants do not have the legal ownership of that property. They also suggest that the government should provide them with general amenities (gas, electricity) in their current living place. Many participants suggest if the government wants to rehabilitate them, it should be done in their current living place, not somewhere else; otherwise, they would not find any job in a new area. Few of them accede to rehabilitate in another place if they had jobs, education and other facilities in a new place.

It is quite noticeable that recommendations and expectations of the Korail slum (Dhaka) dwellers are hardly directly related to climate change issues. They are not bothered about what is going on the coastal area of Bangladesh, the condition of the flood in different districts and not pondering about their old homeland.

People living in climate-vulnerable areas have provided a series of suggestions for the government to be implemented. The major recommendations were: dredging to control river flow, more disaster shelter, repair the old embankments, provide sufficient relief.

## Summary and Analysis Section-2: Focus group with the Students Focus group with the students

Students have a basic knowledge about climate change issues and government initiatives. Students, participated in the discussion, firmly believe that weather is changing, they feel it, and they think that increasing temperature is the most prominent driver of climate change.

The curriculum of the students seems to have an impact on their knowledge of climate change. It was advised, in the focus group, to incorporate climate change in the university curriculum. It was observed in the focus group that students from the social science background had shown better knowledge of climate change compared to business and engineering students, which is quite understandable since they have different course design and curricula.

Students from different Bangladeshi universities consider that government has some initiatives and institutional framework to fight natural disasters. But government's initiative's focus on "post measure" not the 'pre-measure." Even post measures have not been adequately implemented due to corruption, limited capacity, lack of continuity of plan due to regime change where newly elected the government scraps the previous government's policy.

Their major suggestions include GO-NGO collaboration, continuity of planning, using social media and launching student-based community services to aware and mobilize people to mitigate climate change.

## Summary and Analysis Section-3: Focus group with the experts, practitioners and activists

The global debate on 'whether climate change takes place' - is also present in Bangladesh. Meteorologists working in core government offices and many scholars from the relevant disciplines in Bangladesh are yet to accept that climate change is occurring. This is quite interesting in a backdrop, on the one hand, experts working in the Bangladesh Meteorological Department are yet to accept 'climate change'; while 'Ministry of Environment & Forest' and 'Ministry of Disaster Management and Relief' officials working on climate change issue, and government already distributed a huge sum of money through the climate change trust fund. Though, all the experts working with the government did not deny that climate change is taking place.

However, government of Bangladesh has taken measures to address climate change. Of which, establishing Bangladesh Climate Change Trust Fund (BCCTF) is one of the major initiatives of the Bangladesh government. BCCTF have granted funds to more than 500 climate change projects with an estimated amount of Tk. 3200 crore. But there is no monitoring over the implementation of the climate change projects. It was suggested that Ministry of planning should take steps through IMED to ensure monitoring and auditing of climate change projects in order to check the corruption.

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## Appendix 1:

### Interview Guidelines for FGD with climate migrant and people living in climate vulnerable areas

- Since how many years are you living here?
- Why did you relocate from your Village?
- Why did not others migrate from your village?
- Do you ever want to go back to your previous home?
- What sort of climatic events did you face and how many times?
- Did you own any asset/property in your village before leaving your residence?
- What is your current occupation?
- Do you get any assistance from the local administration?
- What kind of facilities and supports do you expect from the government?
- Do you face any obstacles from the local people?
- Whom do you make responsible for the natural calamities? Any idea?

## Appendix 2:

### Interview Guidelines for FGD with university students

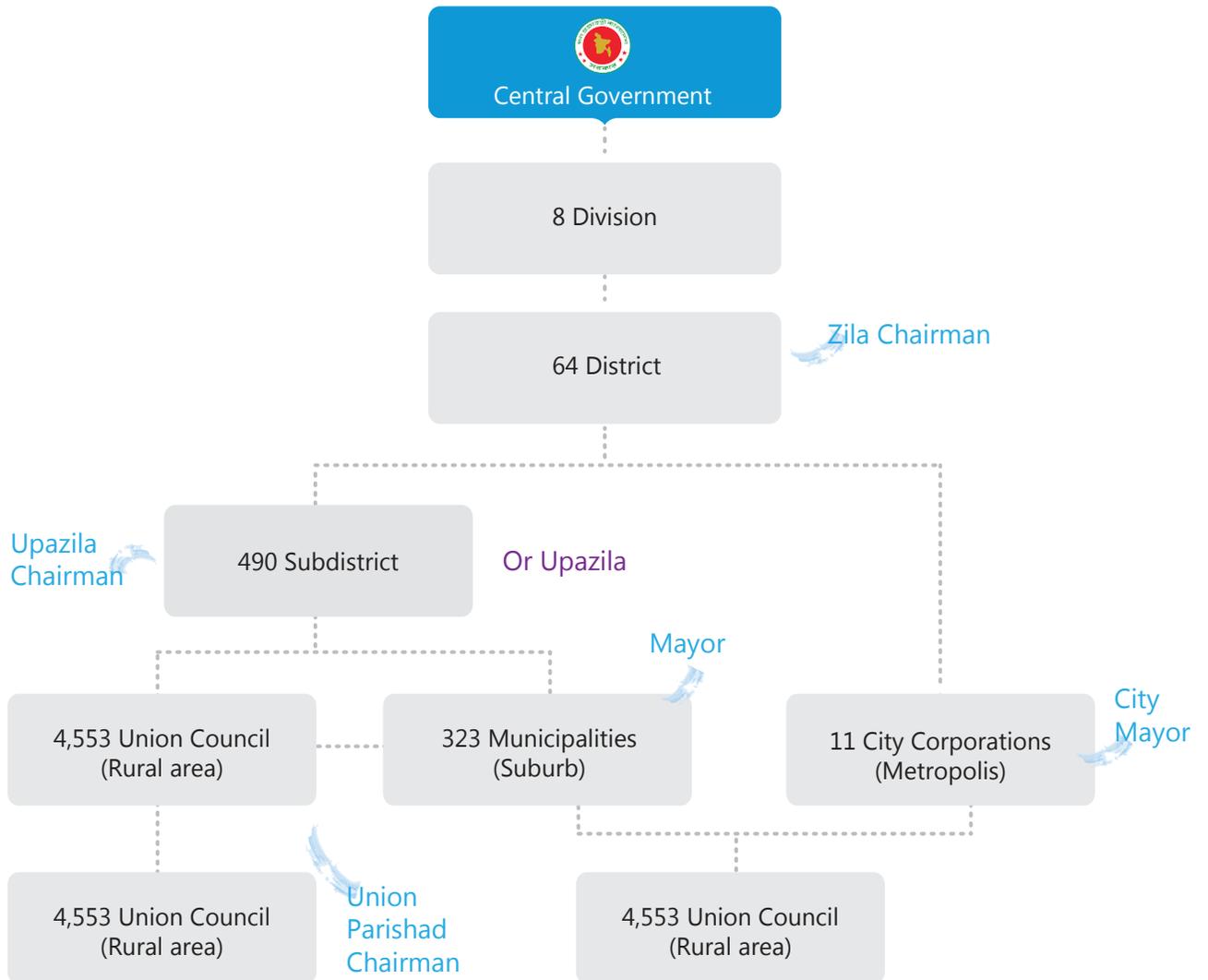
- ▶ Do you think that weather is changing?
- ▶ What is Climate change, what idea do you have about climate change?
- ▶ How would you assess the performance of the government over last twenty years in terms of climate change and environment-related matters?
- ▶ What were the barriers of implementing the government plan?
- ▶ Tell us about the state of accountability of Bangladesh government.
- ▶ What initiatives can the government take to include people?
- ▶ Who is responsible for climate change?

## Appendix 3:

### Interview Guidelines for FGD with the Experts

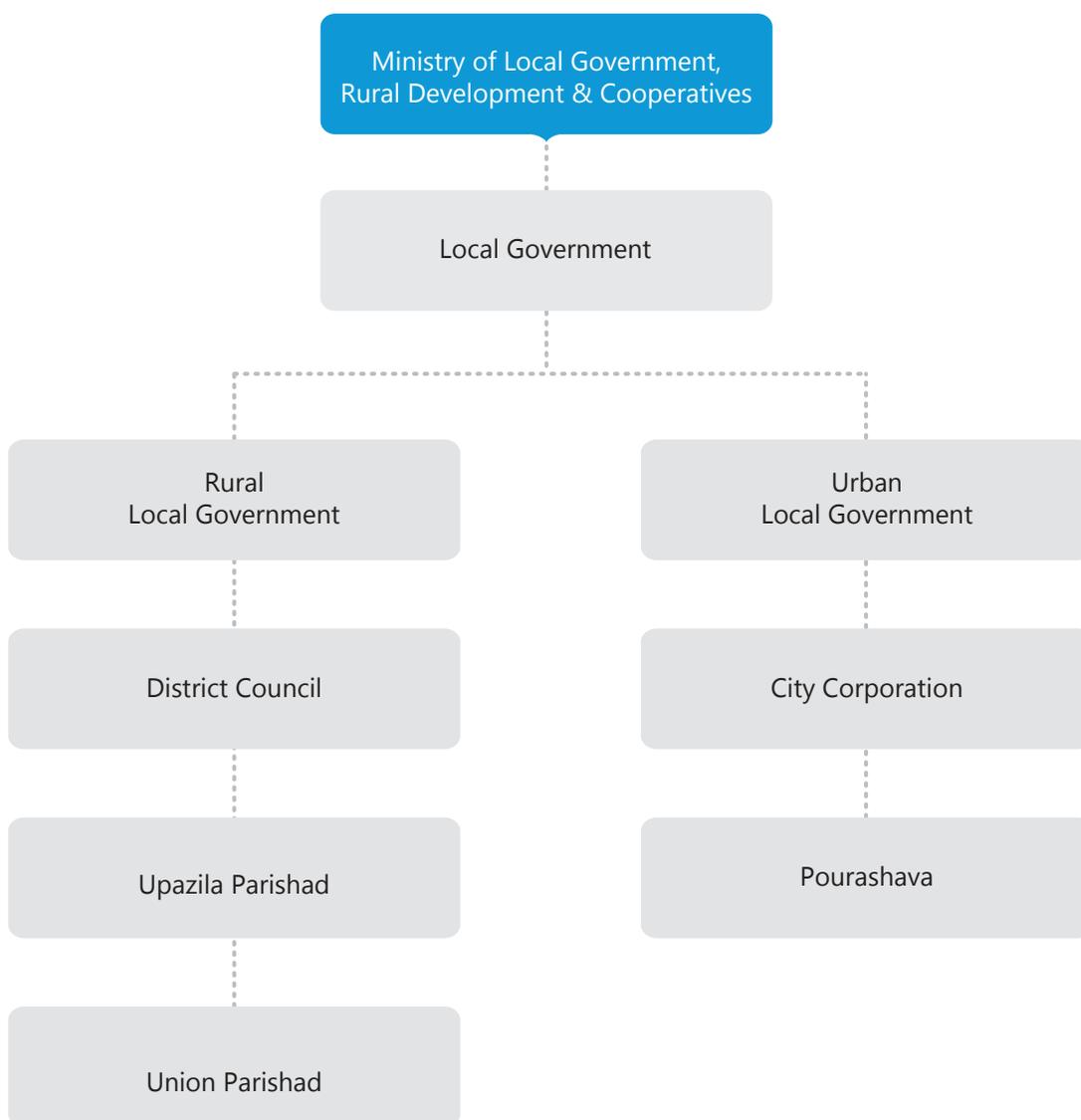
- ▶ Can you talk about the changes in the behavior of nature?
- ▶ Why is the government not trying to make people aware of the climate change, even at policy-making levels?
- ▶ How to separate climate migrants from the other migrant?
- ▶ What kind of questions do we can formulate to capture of the peoples' attitude regarding climate change?

# Appendix 4: Administrative Structure of Bangladesh

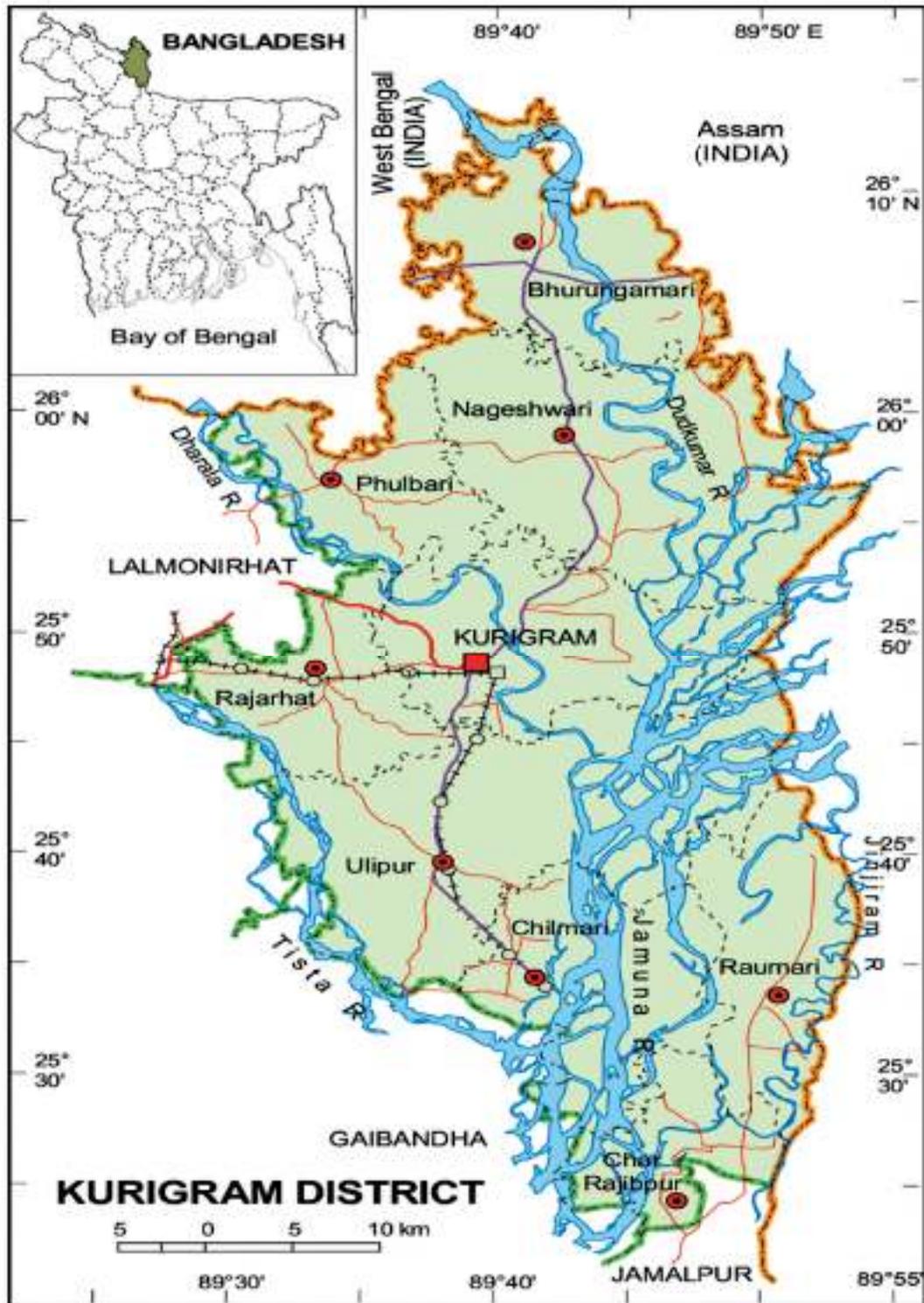


## Appendix 5:

### Local Government Structure of Bangladesh



## Appendix 6: MAP of Kurigram



## Appendix 7: Map of Cox's Bazar District



## Authors

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