

Role of Institution in Addressing Climate Induced Migration in Urban Governance:

Assessment of Decision Making Approach and Policies in Bangladesh



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Master thesis
MSc Environmental and Infrastructure Planning
Faculty of Spatial Sciences
University of Groningen
Groningen, August 2014

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Acknowledgement

At first, I would like to thank my supervisor Dr. Justin Beaumont. His valuable feedback, support and though instigating questions motivated me to complete the thesis. I am also thankful to my second supervisor Taufiq Hidayat Putra for his comments and suggestions.

My heartfelt gratitude goes to Dr. Kazi Maruful Islam, Associate Professor, Department of Development Studies, University of Dhaka for his constant support in every phase of my thesis.

I acknowledge my indebtedness to my father. Without his support and endeavour it would not have been possible to conduct the interviews.

I would like to convey my appreciation to the University of Groningen for providing me the opportunity to carry out the thesis.

Finally, I would like to take the responsibility of all the unintentional inaccuracies in this study.

Bipasha Dutta

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9 August, 2014

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Last year, I visited some slum areas of Dhaka¹ where people had a very poor standard of living without proper sanitation facilities. At the same time they had very limited access to pure drinking water and health facilities. Most of the slums in Bangladesh are situated over water bodies, beside railway and garbage dumping point (DSK, 2013). Some are located even in the worse environment. For instance, In *Hazaribug*, many slum dwellers resided within leather processing zone with a high risk of health hazard (DSK, 2013). Slum dwellers depend on illegal water points, or water from dug-wells, ponds, rivers, canals and swamps which are usually polluted (DSK, 2013). 60% of the slum dwellers lack access to sanitary latrines (DSK, 2013). When I tried to know for how long they were suffering in such conditions and from where they had been migrated, many of them held climate change responsible for they were forced to migrate. After observing the impact of climate induced migration, I went through the website of Dhaka City Corporation². I found that there are standing committees on ‘Urban Planning and Development’, ‘Environmental Management and Disaster Management’³. However, in the committees there is no specific concerned agenda to address the need of climate migrants. For the management of activities related to slum there is a unit called slum department called ‘Social welfare and Slum Development Department and they are responsible for several tasks⁴ for social development and slum development at the same time. Nevertheless, the responsibilities for effective functioning of the job are not defined at all. Also, there are no separate unit to address the need of climate migrants in any of the twelve departments of City Corporation⁵. This draws my attention to think why this burning issue is not being addressed properly by the concerned authority?

1.2 Climate Change and Migration

It is predicted that the current century will face a rise of temperature of 4°C by 2060 without adopting the mitigation measures. Even if the mitigation measures are adopted the temperature is predicted to go up to that level by 2100 (Carraro, 2014) which will contribute

¹ Dhaka is the capital of Bangladesh

² <http://www.dncc.gov.bd/dncc-setup/standing-committee.html>

³ <http://www.dncc.gov.bd/dncc-setup/standing-committee.html>

⁴ <http://www.dncc.gov.bd/departments-with-function/mayor-other/social-welfare-slum-development.html>

⁵ <http://www.dncc.gov.bd/>

to sea level rise and lead to increasing natural disaster like flood, drought, cyclone. At the same time, increasing natural hazards and disasters as an impact of climate change affects water availability, eco system, agriculture and human health (CRED, 2008). This adverse environmental impact compels people to search for a better livelihood and thus migration. Although, climate induced migration is not a new notion and throughout the history, climate change worked as a push factor for migration (Hausken, 2000). The severe increase of climate induced migration with its capacity to affect severely every aspects of human lives including world development, economics and budgets (Warner, 2009) draws attention for adopting effective policy measures to combat the situation (Julca and Paddison, 2009). IPCC (1990) predicted that by 2050, the number of climate induced migrants would be 150 million which means by that time 1 among every 45 people would be climate migrants (Shamsuddoha and Chowdhury, 2009). However, the impact of climate change varies among countries, regions and even among group.

1.3 Analysis of Problem

According to Global Climate Risk Index 2012, Bangladesh is the most vulnerable countries to climate change in terms of numbers of death toll, number of deaths and total losses (German Watch, 2012). In Bangladesh, Floods of 1988 and 1998 displaced 45 and 30 million people internally in that order (Action Aid, 2012). For lack of post disaster action like reconstruction of embankment and provision of basic services, most people are forced to live urban areas (Roy and Sultana, 2010). Seasonal migration increased followed by cyclone Aila, almost 1,00,000 people migrated to cities and other areas from the coastal areas (Bhattacharyya and Werz, 2012). Moreover, sea level rise destroys coastal areas permanently which would make millions of people homeless (Morton and Laczko, 2008). For glacier melting of Himalayas, 20% of the total land of Bangladesh is predicted to be disappearing by 2030 (Wax, 2007) which warns the alarming situation of the climate migrants in Bangladesh especially in Dhaka.

Also, Bangladesh is eight most populous countries of the world with a total population of 156,569,517 (BBS, 2014) where Dhaka is the most populated division with a population of 111,583,75 where the number of migrants is 56,446,43 (BBS, 2012). Every year 3,00,000 to 4,00,000 people migrate to Dhaka (DSK, 2013). Most of the migrated people finally find their

places in slum areas. 3.5 million people lives in slums of Dhaka (Friedman,2009⁶) with a poor standard of living. Specially, slums dwellers of Dhaka are continuously facing hurdles to access safe water and proper sanitation and had an unacceptable level of malnutrition, hygiene and health (CIA, 2004; Islam 2005). The largest slums of Dhaka is *Karail* slum with 80,000 populations in 85 Acres with only 2 water points and 1100 latrines including hanging and bucket latrines (Biplob, Sarkar and Sarkar, 2011). For being crowded and distant, they face severe problems in water collection. There is no system of solid waste disposal. Open space and road side are occupied by waste leads to environmental degradation (Biplob and Sarkar and Sarkar, 2011). Among the slum dwellers climate induced migrants warrants special attention for 70% of the total slum dwellers of Dhaka city is climate migrants⁷.

The alarming situation regarding climate induced migration raises questions about the responsiveness and preparedness of the urban governance that follows a centralized structure characterized by limited participation of the stakeholders. Next section clarifies the concepts of governance and climate induced migration.

1.4 Conceptual Framework

Governance: There has been a shift of ideas from government to governance (Peters and Pierre 1998, 2000; Rhodes, 1996,97) indicates involvements of stakeholders rather the centralized structure in central government. Urban governance considers the relationship between municipalities and citizens and is vital for rapid urbanization in the developing countries and is being considered as a tool for development. Traditionally, the governments were responsible for provision of services that requires the involvement of stakeholders like private sectors (Harpham and Boateng, 1997).

Urban governance consisting of city corporation/ municipalities and water boards in the urban areas of Bangladesh are the primary focus of the study to explore the extent of these government bodies allowing room for stakeholders participation in the particular issue of climate induced migration . At the same time, selected policies; relevant initiatives by the government, NGOs and private parties and selected policies have been focused.

Climate induced Migration: For the difficulty of differentiating environmental factors from the other push and pull factors , different terms have been used in literature to address climate

⁶ <http://www.tbl.com.pk/climate-change-refugees-in-bangladesh/>

⁷ <http://www.citiesalliance.org/node/420>

migrants like environmental migrants, climate change migrants, environmentally induced forced migrants and so on⁸. The study would address the affected people as climate migrants and the process as climate induced migration. For the chance of wide repetition of the term in this study, climate induced migration would be termed as CIM. Though, it is challenging to distinguish from climate migrants to non climate migrants, from the literature it is evident that climate change impacts on increasing migration specially to urban areas which is deteriorating the living standards on one hand, and also threatening the city lives. From the theoretical point of view the study focus of the norms, existing behavioural pattern and institutions. Literature demonstrates that there is a strong influence of structure (society) on individual's behaviour. People creates structure and at the same time get influenced by them (Allmendinger, 2002). Institutional school also holds the view that culture and symbol shape institution and organization and organization is reshaped by the change in rules, normative systems and cognitive believes (Powel and DiMaggio, 1991).

Also, these institution influence the decision making approach. In planning approach, there has been a shift from technical to communicative rational where there has been transformation from direct causality toward indirect causal relationship with the degree of complexity and depending on the context. Though, technical rational is not outdated, application of technical or communicative rational has become situation depended. Generally, decision making approach remain in between these two extremes depending on the situation and particular case (De Roo, 2012). Also, actor consultation takes places to determine what the actors can contribute in the whole process to make the decision making effective. However, both technical and communicative rational are ideal types of rationality which is nonexistent in reality and the mix of technical and communicative rational in different degree in usually visible depending on the context (De Roo, 2012). The study would explore how institution influence the decision making approach to mix the technical and communicative rational and what approaches should be adopted to better deal the issue of CIM.

⁸ <http://www.fmreview.org/FMRpdfs/FMR31/10-11.pdf>

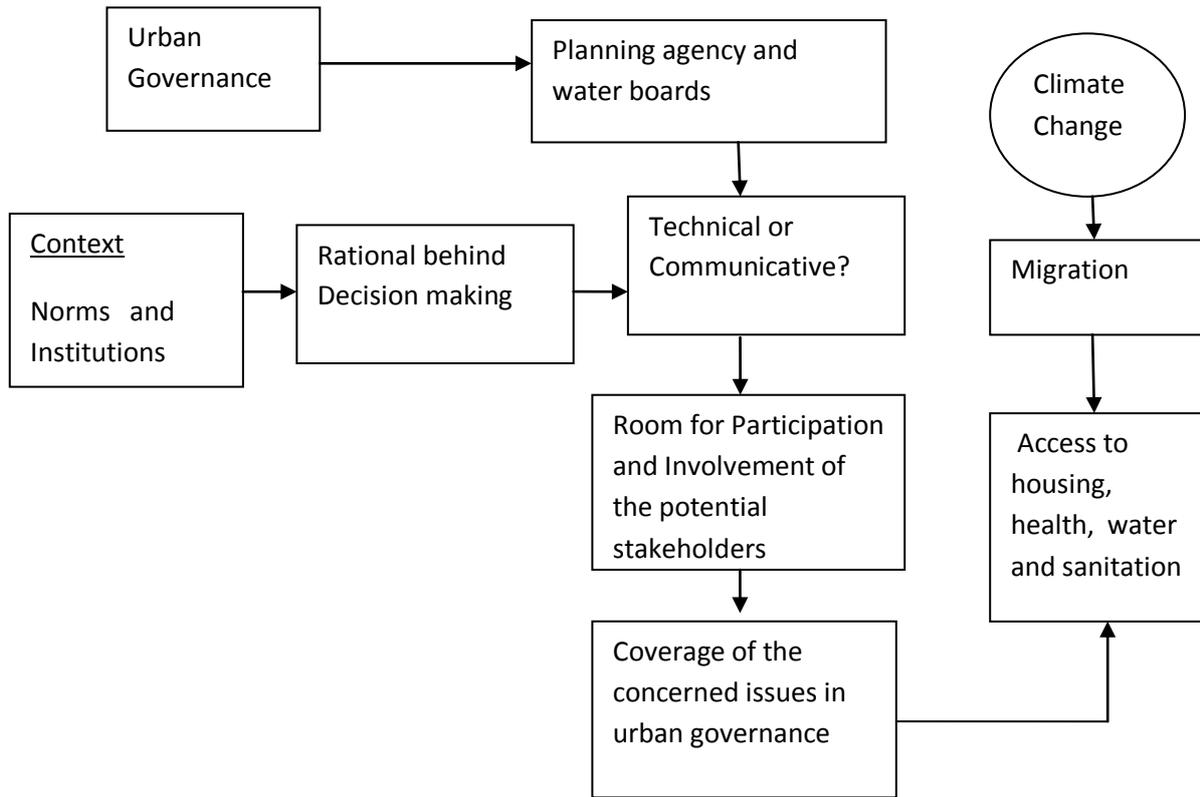


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework

Figure 1 demonstrate that the study focuses on the norms and institutions like culture, social structure and power relations which determines the rationale behind decision making; whether the decision is made from technical or communicative rational and if there is provision for the stakeholders involvement. Finally, how the concerned issue of CIM has been covered by the focused organizations.

1.5 Focus of the Study

Huge climate induced migration at one point, deteriorating standards of living for the slum dwellers and at the same time threatening the city lives by adding more population to the populous city. Also, the issue of climate migrants deserves special attention in urban governance for the non climate migrants may go back to the previous residence with the creation of income opportunities. However, the climate induced migrants usually do not have any possibilities to go back to their original residence dwelling.

Considering the poor standards of living, the focus of the study in on access to health, water, sanitation and housing of the climate induced migrants.

Dhaka City Corporation⁹, Rajdhani Unnayan Katripakka (RAJUK)¹⁰ and Dhaka WASA¹¹ are the apex bodies for the management of slums city affairs; city planning and water management of Dhaka respectively.

The focus of the study is to explore how these city planning agencies and water boards' focus on the issues of health, water, sanitation and housing for the slum dwellers in general and climate induced migrants in particular. Also contents of the relevant policies and strategic papers like Environment Policy, Bangladesh Climate Change Strategy and Action Plan (BCCSAP), National Adaptation Programme of Action (NAPA) of Bangladesh, Health Policy, Population Policy, Sixth Five Year Plan, National Water Policy, and National Plan for Disaster Management (NPDM) have been analyzed to explore how they address CIM. At the same time, policy formulation processes have been analyzed to explore the scope of participation of the stakeholders and decision making approach. Also, past initiatives for the slum dwellers and climate migrants by the government agencies, NGOs and international donor organizations have been reviewed to explore the coverage of the concerned issue.

1.6 Rational of the Study

Exploring the issue of CIM in the context of urban governance of Dhaka is a relatively unexplored field. So far, no academic research have been found to explore the coverage of the issues in DCC, DHAKA WASA, RAJUK and the concerned policies. Hence, this study may develop guideline for incorporating the issues of CIM in the relevant projects of the concerned organizations. The research could also contribute in effective policy formulation and implementation to ensure stakeholders participation and access in the urban governance bodies; draw attention for further research in this field in Bangladesh and help future researchers of CIM and urban governance.

1.7 Objectives of the Study

The objective of the study is to

- Exploring the role of norms and institutions in decision making approach
- Exploring coverage of the issue of climate induced migration in the selected organizations and concerned policies

⁹ <http://www.dncc.gov.bd/>

¹⁰ <http://www.rajukdhaka.gov.bd/rajuk/webHome>

¹¹ <http://www.dwasa.org.bd/>

- Revealing the scope of participation of the stakeholders in the decision making approach
- Exploring the gap between provision and implementation on the issue of CIM and participation
- Analyzing relevant past initiatives, their limitations and effectivenesses.

1.8 Research Question

To attain the above the above mentioned objectives the study would try to come up with answers of the following questions.

1. How norms and institutions influence decision making approach and participation in Bangladesh?

Social and administrative cultures of Bangladesh have been studied to explore how norms and institution impacts in decision making approach. Social culture has been analyzed from the Hofstede's 'four dimension of culture' to study their impacts on administrative culture. The impacts of administrative culture in decision making approach for the concerned policies and organizations have been identified. The scopes of participation of the stakeholders in the decision making process in Bangladesh have been identified.

2. How Climate Induced Migration (CIM) is being perceived in policies and decisions made by the city governing bodies?

This research question focuses on the concerned organizations and policies. To address this question contents of the policies have been analyzed to address the coverage of the issue of CIM. Initiatives for the slum dwellers in general have been reviewed as most of the climate migrants reside in the slum areas. Also, initiatives for the CIM in the concerned organizations have been analyzed from literature review and interview data. To explore the reason behind limited coverage of the CIM, decision making approach and scope of participation of in the concerned organizations and policies have been reviewed. At the same time, contents of the policies have been analyzed to explore the gap in the existing provision and implementation.

3. How effective the past initiatives were to address the CIM and slum dwellers?

Past initiatives for the slum dwellers in accessing health, sanitation, water and infrastructure by the NGOs and private parties have been reviewed. Also, related mitigation and adaptation strategies adopted by the potential donors have been reviewed. The analyses explore the effectiveness and weakness of these strategies.

The main three research questions aim to explore how the issue of CIM is addressed by the urban governance bodies

Main research questions have been broken down into sub questions for clarity.

1 How norms and institutions influence decision making and participation in Bangladesh?

1.1 What are the informal norms in Bangladesh?

1.2 How norms are institutions influence the decision making approach?

1.3 How administrative decisions are made in Bangladesh?

1.4 Do stakeholders participate in the decision making process of Bangladesh?

2. How CIM is being perceived in policies, rules, decisions made by the city governing bodies?

2.1 To what extent the concerned organizations cover the issue of CIM?

2.2 How CIM is perceived in the strategic plans and policies?

2.3 How decisions are made in the concerned organizations and for policy formulation?

2.4 Do stakeholders participation in the decision making of the concerned organizations and policy making process?

2.5 What is the gap between provision and implementation in the concerned policies?

3. How effective the past initiatives were to address the CIM and slum dwellers?

3.1 What were the past initiatives of the NGOs, government and private parties to address the need of slum dwellers and climate induced migrants for accessing health, sanitation and infrastructure?

3.2 What were the weaknesses of these strategies?

1.9 Methodology

Qualitative research method had been implied as the in-depth exploration. Both primary and secondary data have been collected for the study. In-depth interviewing, content analysis of relevant document and policies have been used as the essential tools for answering the research questions.

1.10 Organization of the Chapter

Chapter one provides a overview of the thesis focusing on the context, analysis of problem, conceptual framework, focus and rationale of the thesis, research question and objective as well as the organization of the chapters in the form of a research proposal. Chapter two discuss the theoretical framework by revealing the in general association among institution, formal rules and informal norms and decision making approach. Chapter three contains details in methodology of the research with sampling methods, research tools and research framework and data analysis strategy. Chapter four discusses the socio-administrative culture, their impacts on decision making approach and the scope of participation of the stakeholders in the decision making process in Bangladesh. On the basis of the developed framework from the previous chapters, chapter five focuses on the decision making approach of the selected organizations and policies. This chapter also reveals the coverage of the issue of CIM in the concerned policies and organizations. Scope of participation of the stakeholders in the selected sectors has also been reviewed. To explore the gap in the provision and implementation contents of the policies have been analyzed and relevant literature have been reviewed. Since the first, sixth and seventh chapter focus on research proposal, analysis of the case study and conclusion respectively, figure 2 demonstrates the organization of the thesis from chapter 2 to chapter 5.

Figure 2: Organization of the Thesis

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

- ❖ Four dimension of Hofstede
- ❖ Technical versus communicative rational
- ❖ Ladder of Participation

Focus: Association among institutions, norms and decision making approach in general



Chapter 3: Research Methodology



Chapter 4: Decision making Approach in Bangladesh

- ❖ Socio administrative culture in Bangladesh
- ❖ Decision making approach in Bangladesh
- ❖ Participation of stakeholders in decision making process in Bangladesh

Focus: Research Question 1- How norms and institutions influence decision making and participation in Bangladesh? (Association among institution, decision making approach and participation in Bangladesh)



Chapter 5: Coverage of CIM in the Concerned Policies and Organizations

- ❖ Coverage of the CIM in the selected organizations and policies
- ❖ Decision making approach in the selected policies and organizations
- ❖ Scope of participation in the decision making process in the selected sectors
- ❖ Provision of participation in the selected policies
- ❖ Gap between provision and implementation
- ❖ Past Initiatives of the of NGOs, government organizations and private parties to address need of slum dwellers for accessing health, water, infrastructure and sanitation
- ❖ Mitigation and adaptation strategies by the donor organizations
- ❖ Limitations and effectiveness of these initiatives

Focus: Research Question 2- How CIM is being perceived in policies, rules, decisions made by the city governing bodies? (Coverage of the CIM, decision making approach and scope of participation in the selected policies and organizations) and

Research Question 3-How effective the past initiatives were? (Initiatives, effectiveness and limitations)

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

The chapter with an aim to frame a theoretical viewpoint focus mainly on three schools of thoughts- institutionalism, decision making approach and participation. All these three concepts are complex and already great deal of literature exist on each of these concepts. However, the chapter aims to specify the theme of these concepts and their relationship and build a theoretical framework for this research at the end of the chapter. This section also focuses on vital concepts like power distance, technical and communicative rationale. Power distance- the concept derived from Hofstede (1980) has also been linked to institutionalism. Selected decision making approach have been categorized on the basis of technical and communicative rational. By reviewing related literature, the core focus of this chapter is on the assumption that institution of a particular country influence decision making approach through influencing the rationale behind decision making.

2.2 Institutionalism

Different scholars shed light how institutions affect though, activities and rationale of human being and thus impact on decision making approach. Hence, the discussion is commenced with clarifying the concept of institutionalism. Simply, institutions are identical with rules where some rules are constitutional (formal) whereas others are existing norms (informal) of the society (Steinmo, 2001). Institutions can be

1. regulative that concerns rules,
2. normative that is concerned with evaluative and obligatory dimension and
3. cultural that is concerned with conceptions and frames (Scott, 2001)

Most important factor of institution that dominate the decision making process varies and depends on contexts (Powel, 2007). Understanding institutions without proper understanding of the context is impossible. Role of individual actors and historical context should be the core of analysing institutionalism (Romanelli, 1992). The dominating social structure work as filter of interests for the participatory individuals and organizations (Powel and DiMaggio, 1991)

The study focuses on both formal and informal norms like the institutionalized rules of decision making (formal) and existing practice, behaviour, power structure (informal).

The key assumption of institutionalism reveals that normative regulations, prevailing thoughts and principles dominate (Well, 1970). Institution determines the nature of human activities that cannot be separated from their social context (Giddens, 1984). Actions of the actors, strategies and the extent of participation are determined by these prevailing institutions of society. These institutions often exist as stabilized rules that hardly change and thus also determine the political behaviour (Steinmo, 2001) including decision making. Practice and structure of an organization is the reflection of existing rule, beliefs and conventions (Powell, 2007) of that society. Prevailing perception of a particular society that is an element of institution shapes strategic action. Also, Preferences of strategies for instigating changes are determined by institutions (Hay and Wincott, 2002).

The core of institutionalism is grounded with the idea of post modernism (Mirowski, 1988). Though, institutionalism is not identical with post modernism, the degree of coherence is high as most institutionalists recognize that value judgement is core of social scientific analysis (Hoksbergen, 1994). Post modernism rejects the idea of absolute truth and posits that reality varies with persons and situation. Also, truth cannot be judged by any standard criteria. Institutionalism is in favour of the proposition by signifying that common ground for values and practices are established by culture (Waller and Robertson, 1991). Cultural dimensions can be elaborated from the discussion of the four dimensions developed by Hofstede.

2.3 Four Dimensions of Hofstede

Hofstede(1991) developed four dimensions of institutions that is applicable in basic societal issues (Hofstede and Bond, 1984)

2.3.1 Power Distance: Hofstede defines power distance as “‘as the extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations within a country expect and accept that power is distributed unequally’ (Hofstede, 1991, p. 28)”. In the high power distance or hierarchic organization decisions are taken in the top and are executed by following the hierarchy (Jamil, 2002).

2.3.2 Uncertainty Avoidance: This phenomenon concerns the extent of peoples comfort level in an unstructured situation and proclivity for risk taking and approach towards change and novelty (Haque and Mohammad, 2013). Strong uncertainty avoidance means more chance of following formal rules and regulations leads more centralization and formalization (Jamil, 2010). High uncertain society is resistant to administrative change where the formal laws and informal rules cause high power distance.

2.3.3 Collectivism and Individualism: In the individual societies, culture promotes personal initiatives and achievements where social networks and frameworks are loose. On the other hand, collective societies assume that people are assimilated into groups from birth till death and characterized by protection and loyalty. Strong kinship like alliance to family is a basic characteristic. Personal relationships are so vital that they dominate over duties (Haque and Mohammad, 2013).

2.3.4 Masculine and Feminine Norms: Masculine norms promote assertiveness, competition, task orientation, ambition. Also, it denotes material success and separates gender role based on the tradition. Children grow with the ambition of career development, starving for material prosperity and wealth, (Haque and Mohammad, 2013). While, feminine Norms indicates soft values like caring, nursing, maintain warm relationship, concerns quality of life. Children grow toward modesty and solidarity.

High power distance and high uncertainty avoidance shape conception about organization whereas individualism and masculinity refers the perception about people in the organization (Hofstede, 2010)

From these conceptions two continuums can be developed. First, a high power distance society that discourages new initiatives and risk taking. Second, a society with low power distance that promotes new initiatives. Though, there is no empirical evidence of the fact that high power distance society discourage risk taking and low power society promotes new initiatives. However, this is assumed that the society that follows high power distance denotes less participation as power is centralized not dispersed. Centralized structure discourages participation and thus new initiatives. Similarly, low power distance society refers to less hierarchy and thus more scope for participation. Consequently, encourage new ideas and initiatives. The root of centralized structure dominated by expert opinion and decentralized structure characterized by participation can be traced from the theoretical discussion of the distinction between technical and communicative rationale.

Following section focus on the debates of the planning theories and their linkage with decision making approach and participation.

2.4 Technical versus Communicative Rationale

For understanding decision making approach in, the study focus on the two continuum of decision making approach

1. Technical Rationale
2. Communicative Rationale

Rational planning emerged in the post war era (Meyerson and Banfield, 1955). Other rational like technical rational emerged in 1983 (Healey, 1983). Technical rational, comply the modernist thought, is hypothetical deductive model advocates for direct cause and effect relationship and state that there is one true world where policy decisions are made objectively with the empirical data (De Roo, 1992). The planners aimed to have a planned future by applying the technical rationale. The basic assumptions are

1. By rational decision the decision maker consider all the alternatives open to him, consider all the alternatives within given time
2. Identify and evaluates all the consequences (predicts how the situation will be changes as a consequence of the decision made)
3. Select the alternative favourable to most valued ends (Meyerson and Banfield, 1955)

For emphasizing means and ends, it becomes technical (Sagoff, 1988). With the same underlining concept they have been termed differently by different scholars like technical rational, procedural ration, functional rational etc. In this paper, this will be termed as technical rationality. However, the assumption of certain solution rarely worked in practice for ambiguously defined problems, incomplete and inaccurate information, limited skill, time, resources (March and Simon, 1998). Also, preferences of the decision makers are not the same always. Divergent understandings of the actors form a multiple frame of reference that creates fuzzy reality (Healey, 1983). Planners in Europe in the post war era with the aim of reconstruction and certainty applied different form of pragmatic planning. In the seventies Middle East oil crisis hit European economy. Interest groups were organized in different forms. Government policies expanded and broke down in different sectors. In the eighties, these policies developed their own legal system. Specialization of policy lost the domination over the outside world. Growing complexity in the nineties lead the governance model to move toward a fuzzy model as the influence of market and public private partnership increased substantially. At the same time, communicative approaches were more visible in planning from the nineties (De Roo, 2012a)

Accordingly, there has been a shift from goal maximization to process optimization. In other words, the focus was not only on goals but also on the actors with a different line of reasoning where the indirect relationships were emphasized instead of direct causal

relationship (De Roo, 2003). The inter subjective process that accept uncertainty and emphasizes inter subjective choice and consensus has been termed as communicative (Healy, 1992) in this paper that is also expressed as collective, collaborative and substantive rational by different scholars. In a word, from the viewpoint of technical rational, one real world exists. There is one solution for a problem because there is a direct causal relationship among the variables. On the other side, communicative rational advocates that the causal affects among the variables are blurry. Reality is man-made and context dependent. Thus, advocates the need to reach in agreed reality. Clearly, technical rational promotes the centralized structure dominated by the experts. Hence, communicative rational advocates for participation to reach in agreed reality.

However, like technical approach communicative turn is also criticized for being unrealistic. Communicative rationale lacks underpinning social theory, only reflects pluralist position (Lauria and Whelan, 1995). Healy (2003b) states that Habermus built a theory by linking inter-subjective constitution of identity with the 'system world'. Also, it has been argued that unusual political and professional gradation is not considered in the collaborative planning theory (Tewdwr and Allmendinger 1998). "Communicative action consists of attempts by actors to cooperatively define the context of their interaction in such a way as to enable them to pursue their individual plans" (Johnson, 1991, p.183). In this process participants are involved in "the cooperative negotiations of common definitions of the situation in which they are interacting" (Johnson, 1991, p.189). Consent is the force of communicative action; neither strategic compromise nor normative consensus. Another point of departure about communicative rational is that actors may not be convinced about reaching understanding. Agreement may pose constraint on individual action. In the termination point, participants face extreme difficulty in determining the success strategy of the failed attempts (Johnson, 1991). Communicative approach has also been criticized for not explaining why actors from diverse social setting would engage for reaching common understanding, why the actors would consent to the new definition that emerged (Johnson, 1991). In spite of the tern from the technical to communicative; communicative approach is not convincing enough to abolish technical rational (Johnson, 1991).

Technical and communicative rationales are two ideal situations that are rarely found in real world. Generally, the approaches exist somewhere in between. To categorize the decision making approach, distinction made by different literature has been reviewed in the following section.

2.5 Decision Making Approach

Decision making approach has been categorized differently by different scholars in different time. For instance, Blais and Weber (1999) differentiated 5 qualitative decision making models.

1. Analytic or cost based – prediction and evaluation of outcome for maximizing utility with the minimum cost. Based on a joint evaluation or comparative model that involves comparison of multiple options (Loewenstein, Weber, Hsee and Welch, 1999).
2. Category based decision making- decision maker consider the situation as a special category. For decision making a particular situation is classified and followed the same formula of making decision that have been followed in past. This is also called stereotype based decision making (March, 1994).
3. Reason Based or argument based decision making- alternative is selected on the basis of most convincing reason (Sharif, Simonson and Tversky, 1993; Hogarth and Kunreuther, 1995; Hsee, 1995; Tyszka, 1998).
4. Affect Based Decision Making- Holistic affect of the alternatives are considered and decision is made on the basis of holistic affective response (Damasio, 1993; Epstein, 1994, Hsee and Kunreuther, 1998; Loewenstein et al, 1999).
5. Story based or schema- based decision making – alternatives are evaluated on the basis of stories considering each of the alternatives that what might happens with a particular course of action (Goldstein and Weber, 1995; Pennington and Hastay, 1988, 1993).

Dastani, Hulstijn and Torre (2005) provided 3 types of decision making model.

1. Classical – alternatives get preference on the basis of maximization of utility that indicates rationality (Jeffrey, 1965) (optimal decision by decision rule).
2. Qualitative decision theory – conceptualization are similar with the classical, only preference is uncertain and depends on tradeoffs, maximize expected utility that involves both belief and desirability (Boutillier, 1994).
3. Knowledge based and belief desire intention model- where the process of decision making is emphasized and norms like cognitive like belief, desire, goal and intention play an important role (Newell, 1982).

Though decision making approach is defined and described in different literature, their links with the technical and communicative rational and their association with the scope of participation is often missing. On the basis of these decisions making approach from the literature, four types have been identified for the study to establish their links with the technical and communicative rational.

1. Information based approach: In this process, information is gathered and all the alternatives open to decision maker is evaluated on the basis of information. Decision is supported by facts, figure and data.
2. Stereotype decision making approach: in a particular situation, similar types of problem that has been already dealt are identified and the solutions that were taken to combat the similar problems are identified and similar kinds of decision are taken.
3. Holistic Approach: In this approach the holistic effect including social and economic effect of each of the alternatives are considered. For considering, the social effect there is room for participation of the stakeholders. On the basis of these social and economic evaluations, decisions are made.
4. Process Based approach: Process based approach emphasize on the process of decision making rather than the end. Where the process aims to maximize the participation of the concerned parties and try to reach in agreement for decision making.

Table 1 shows the underlining concepts for each of the decision making

Table 1: Underlining Concepts for the Four Theories

Decision Making Approach	Underlining Concept	Limitations
Information Based Decision making	Alternatives are evaluated on the basis of information	Inadequate information, evaluation of alternatives depends on the actors
Stereotype decision making	Similar types of problems are identified and look if the similar solution can also fit for the problem	Lacks innovativeness and context may vary always
Holistic	Alternatives are evaluated on the	Effectiveness and criteria to assess

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Approach	basis of social, and economic effect	social and economic effect is often missing
Process Based Approach	Ensure participation of all the concerned parties and debates and reach agreement	Strategies to ensure participation, negotiation and process of reaching agreement is not clear

Table 1 reveals that in the information based decision making, decisions are taken on the basis of the information, where all the alternative alternatives are evaluated on the basis of information. However, collecting all the information is not possible.

Stereotype decision making also depends on information; however particularly, the approach focuses on the similar types of problems and solutions. Still, similar types of problem may have different impacts and requires different solution strategies. Thus, lack of innovativeness limits the effectiveness of the approach. In the holistic approach, evaluation takes into account the social and economic effect, though considering all the socio-economic impacts and strategies are quite complex. Process based approach emphasis on process and agreement whereas the process of participation and agreement is not clear. In spite of the limitation, context determines the effectiveness of the decision making approach. All of these four types of decision making approach could be explained from the technical and communicative perspective.

Figure 3 shows the placement of technical and communicative ration in the two opposite extremes and the arrows indicates shift from technical to communicative rational. Information based decision making is fact based as the process totally rely the information and empirical data and thus this comply with the principle of technical rationality that is also demonstrated in figure 4. In the stereotype decision making approach the reliance is still on empirical facts on the basis of identification of similar cases which also complies with the technical rational still deviates a bit toward the communicative rational and places in between the two extremes, near to the technical rational. The holistic approach also contains principle from both technical and communicative rational at the same time. This approach advocates for both empirical data and the participation and placed in between the two poles but a lean to communicative rational.

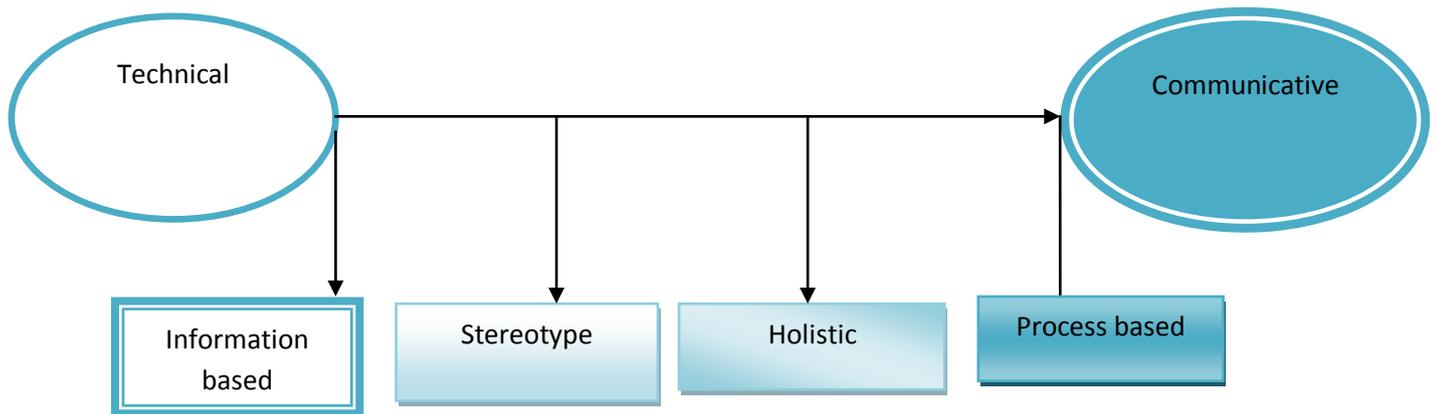


Figure 3: Category of Decision Making Approach

The study intends to explore the where the decision making approach of the selected organizations stands and which theoretical standpoints they take. The two extremes are idealistic type of decision making that usually decision making approach stands somewhere in between. Though, technical rational is not dated, neither outdated, rather has become context specific, the focus on communicative rational has been increasing for emphasizing on consensus building (De Roo, 2003) where all concerned parties share views and knowledge for properly defining problems and to reach on agreed reality by ensuring participation of the stakeholders (Woltjer, 1997). As, approach depends on contexts, Zuidema (2013) reveals when the goal is single and fixed and the degree of complexity is less, technical rational is effective. With the increased degree of complexity and involving multiple goals requires a shift towards communicative rationality. The arrow in the figure three (from technical to communicative rational) also denotes the increased degree of complexity and a shift toward multiple goals from single fixed goals.

This is evident that participation is inevitable to reach in consensus. Thus to understand communicative rational, understanding participation as a concept is indispensable. The following section reviews the theories of participation to denote why participation is necessary, what factors contribute to participation.

2.6 Participation

Employee’s contribution in decision making is significant to enhance efficiency and effectiveness of the organization (Applebaum and Batt, 1994). However without a systematic procedure to reach consensus on value and preference, the public’s position often appears as unclear (Renn, 2006), debut about each argument and transparent process is necessary (Tuler and Webler, 1999). Who will participate, how to ensure effective participation, how to

measure what extent the results from the participation, how to ensure representative participation – all these concerns make participation a complex and fuzzy concept. Definition of participation depends on context. Participation is necessary to ensure democratic legitimacy and constitutional state by direct or indirect involvement from normative perspective. Participation also ensures effectiveness and efficiency at the same time from instrumental perspective (Woltjer, 2004). Participatory process helps to build consensus (Selman, 2001). The study focuses on the scope of participation of the stakeholders and also of the involved actors.

2.6.1 Who are the stakeholders? Stakeholders are organized group of people who have common stake or interests in a common issue (Grimbel and Wellard, 1997). Mitchell (1997) identify stakeholder on the basis of legitimacy, urgency and proximity. Selman (2004) divide between those who are economically affected and motivated by beliefs and values. Still depend on context (degree of involvement, participatory technique, implementation of participatory technique).

World Bank (1996) defines Stakeholder's participation as "a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decision and resources which affect them." Institution capacity building is possible by greater extent of stakeholders' involvement and strong collaboration among the stakeholders (Healy, 1998). Still, the means of ensuring effective participation have been a much discussed and complex issue. Sometimes, commenting in workshop or opportunity to vote satisfies the participants (Weber and Tuler, 2002). However for enhanced public participation involved sharing constant thoughts and involves power sharing in the decision making process. Public participation involves gathering of the people to be informed about a issue, discuss about it and arrive at a agreement on the strategies to do that (Weber and Tuler, 2002). For the effective formulation and implementation of the climate change related policies, potential mix of affected communities, experts, politicians, private sector and civil society is required for participation (Beyers and Kerreman, 2004).

To ensure if the participation process is effectiveness next section discusses the ladder of participation developed by Arnstein (1969).

2.6.2 Ladder of Participation: Citizen's participation in community decision-making is stemmed from Plato's Republic. Political Participation refers to involvement of any stages of public policies like formulation, implementation or evaluation Stoker (1997). This has

stemmed from the growing prominence of the idea of the citizen as consumer, where choice among alternatives is seen as a means of access to power and follow a ladder of participation in a chronological order (Arnstein, 1969). According to Arnstein (1969), ladder of participation follows a chronological order. 1. Manipulation 2. Therapy 3. Informing 4. Consultation 5. Placation 6. Partnership 7. Delegated power 8. Citizen Control.

1. Manipulation and therapy: Citizens are invited for participation where they only join.
2. Informing: One way flow of information to the citizen. They get to know what would happen
3. Consultation: Citizens are consulted. They provide their feedback but hardly taken into consideration.
4. Placation: Citizens' feedbacks are incorporated to some extent.
5. Partnership: Effective negotiation take place between citizen and decision makers
6. Delegated Power: Decision makers are accountable to citizens and they have delegated power to make decisions.
7. Citizen Control: Absolute control of the citizen with no intermediaries between citizens and sources of fund (Arnstein, 1969).

First two steps (Manipulation and Therapy) have been levelled as non participation where the level of participation is almost nonexistent. The later three steps (informing, Consultation and Placation) have been assigned as token participation is evident; still the extent is not very effective. Last three stages (Partnership, Delegation of Power and Citizen Control) promote active level of participation.

Wilcox (1999) identified five interconnected levels of community participation (Information, consultation, deciding together, acting together, supporting individual community initiative). Windle and Cibulka (1981) suggests to develop or assess community participation we need to look at not only the level of involvement, but also what actions people are participating in and who is participating, and thus by implication who is not participating. The study aims to explore the level of participation of the stakeholders in the concerned policy formulation process and in the selected organizations.

Cultural value play role in participation- Western style of participation advocates for all present individuals should take part and convey their views and vote while the decision making, while 'Kiganda' style of participation emphasize on social hierarchy and consensus building (Roncoli, Orlove, Kabugo and Waiswa, 2009). Plat (2008) identifies 3 factors

determines the participation- external threat (helps to form group identity and motivates for participation), access, social network (makes mobilization efficient) and people participates to influence and change. A study by Gaventa and Valderrama (1999) reveals that four factors determine participation – power relations, level of citizen organization, participatory skill of the participants and political will. Accordingly, the level of participation varies and different factors hinder effective participation.

2.7 Conclusion

Literatures exist to explore the impact of historical, socio-cultural traditions on bureaucratic decision making (Zafarullah, 2013) in Bangladesh. Impact of inherited culture on the current governance, decentralization and reform process in Bangladesh has been studied (Abedin, 1973; Ali, 1987). Haque and Mohammad (2013) reveal the impact of Hofstede's four dimensions on the administrative culture and corruption in Bangladesh. Tension between tradition and modernity and transitional stage in the administrative culture has been studied by Jamil (2002). Jamil, Askvik and Hossain (2013) explore creation of culture, studying and capturing administrative culture, influence of organizational culture in administrative culture. From the literature, the impact of social culture on administrative culture and decision making is evident. However, association among culture, debates on planning theories and participation in Bangladesh has been discussed in chapter 4 that is often missing in the existing literature.

Theories discussed in this chapter are interlinked. Institutionalization implies relation between structure and agency. Habermus is criticized for providing less attention to power relation. Power dimension exists in all social relation. Later power dimension has been added in the collaborative planning (Heally, 1999, 2003a). Clearly, there are two sides of decision making approach from the technical versus communicative debate. Technical rational advocates for direct causality, one solution for one problem, expert dominated approach where the scope of participation of the stakeholders is limited. On the other hand, from the communicative approach the causality is blurred and indirect; solution depends on process and consensus building where participation is a vital part. With the increased degree of uncertainty and complexity a shift from the technical to communicative approach is necessary. However, in practice, the decision making approach is more dominated by the institutions. Hofstede's four dimension of culture had also been linked to the informal institutions. Thus, decision making approach is highly influenced by both formal and

informal norms. As a result, even with the increased degree of complexity, the decision making may follow the traditional pragmatic approach. Thus, institutionalization, cultural dimensions, technical and communicative approach and participation are interrelated and weaved together. Because, institutions determine the approach of the decision making and participation is a part of the decision making approach. This is evident that decision making approach evolved through different dilemmas like centralization versus decentralization, comprehensive versus incremental, top down versus bottom up approach etc. Now the theories almost have overcome the debate with the assumption that each is effective depending on situation (Campbell and Feinstein, 1996). Thus, from the theoretical perspective, the study aims to explore how the institution (both formal and informal) helps to particular rationale behind decision making that affects the participation. At the same time existing institution directly affect participation.

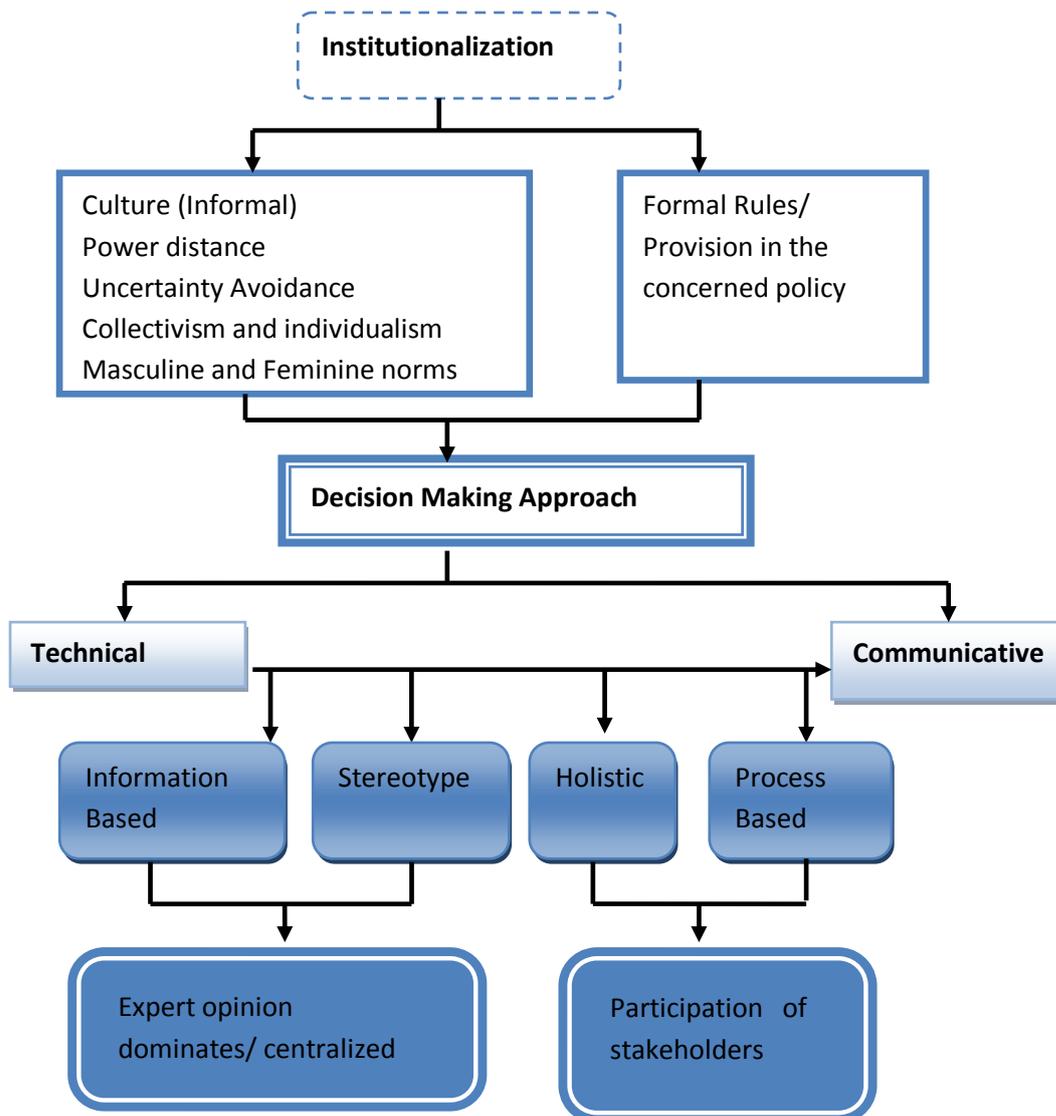


Figure 4: Theoretical Framework

The tentative association of concepts is revealed in figure 4 that demonstrate the theoretical framework. The figure reveals that both formal rules and informal norms influence decision making approach to follow one between two continuum of technical and communicative rational. Institutions both in the form of formal and informal forms influence decision making approach. Thus, the category of decision making depends on the institutions. Among four types of decision making categories, information based and stereotype decision making have more leaning toward technical rational and thus less scope of participation. Other two categories- holistic and process based have comparatively more leaning toward communicative approach and thus more scope for involvement and scope of the participation of the stakeholders. Based on this theoretical framework, chapter 4 analyzes the case of Bangladesh. Chapter 3 describes and rationalize the research methodology for the research.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Research Methods

The study adopts qualitative approach for qualitative research combines multi-method research practices that include interpretative process (Denzin and Linkcoln, 2005) and construe actor's perception and intention (Silvasind, 1999) and social phenomena could be developed by dint of deep explanation (Joubish, 2011). Also, qualitative approach helps to gain in-depth and nuance understanding of issues, identify social norms, uncover meaning, explore process, explain behaviour, identify context of the research and most suitable for answering 'How' questions that describe process or behaviour (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey 2011). Qualitative research design is most suitable for this research as the study aims to answer the 'How' questions (all of the main research questions) and intends to gain in-depth understanding of the issues like institutions, participation and decision making approach, identify norms, practices and power relations, explore process like decision making.

3.2 Rational of the research approach

Quantitative research involves the testing hypothesis (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 2007; Kothari, 2009) and implies that replication would provide same results (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 2007). Qualitative research provides a more holistic view in the natural setting ((Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Thus, qualitative research is more objective for it does not intend to validate or refute any existing theories ((Marschan- Piekkari & Welch, 2004).

The research do not intends to control the variable. Since, the first research question aims to explore the influence of norms and institutions in decision making process of Bangladesh. For understanding the influence of social and administrative culture on decision making approach and participation in Bangladesh holistic approach is necessary rather than quantifiable hypothesis.

The second search question studies the decision making approach and concerned of CIM of the selected organizations. For exploring the context of decision making and perception, qualitative approach is more suitable.

In the third research questions, the study assesses the past initiatives not on the basis of quantitative data, rather from the literature to assess their effectiveness and limitations.

In short, qualitative approach is most suitable for this study as the research explores context, culture, practice, decision making approach, effectiveness and limitations of the initiatives. Secondary data is the main source of the research since first and third question have been addressed from the secondary data. For answering the second research question, literatures have also been used extensively to authenticate the interview data.

3.3 Case Study

When boundaries between context and phenomena is not clear and for digging deep the certain phenomena case study is appropriate (Yin ,2009). Single case study is more suitable in comparison to multiple case studies for critical test of significant theories is possible through single case study. It determines the alternative explanation of the theories for the particular case (Yin, 2009). The study focus on a single case of Dhaka city for case study can provide concrete and in-depth knowledge (Flyvbjerg,2011) and helps to experience real life situation and go deeper into the core of certain phenomena of the concerned issue (Yin,2009). At the same time, case study method is appropriate for answering ‘How’ questions¹² .

3.4 Type of Researcher

Context, opinion, perception, theoretical and political preference of the researcher may influence the qualitative research (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). For the reasoning, this is important for the researcher to explain the possible inconsistencies and justify the reasoning of the choice of the approach (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). From the theories, a pattern and association among the concepts have been demonstrated. The research does not generate any predefined hypothesis. The defined problem has been viewed from the theoretical lenses. Involves few participants for the research does not involve statistic analysis or generalize

3.5 Tools for Data Collection

3.5.1 Literature Review: For secondary data collection, literature review from journal and books will take place. For journal, electronic database of University of Groningen will be used.

3.5.2 Content Analysis: Contents of selected policies and concerned documents will be analyzed as content analysis is reliable, easily replicable and Useful for ascertaining consistency¹³. Contents of the news paper will be analyzed to explore how norms, practices,

¹² http://www.sagepub.com/upm-data/24736_Chapter2.pdf

¹³ <http://psychology.ucdavis.edu/sommerb/sommerdemo/content/strengths.htm>

power distance and behavioural pattern and contents of policy and relevant documents will be analyzed to explore how the issue of CIM has been addressed by them. This tool is more powerful when it is combined with other research method like in-depth interview¹⁴.

3.5.3 In-depth interview: In-depth interview is a one on one interview that is used for seeking individual experiences or to explore the decision making approach, people's own point of view and beliefs, impetus for certain decision or behaviour. In-depth interview in this research would provide detailed insights to the issue like decision making approach, initiative, strategies and limitations to address CIM and scope of stakeholders involvement and participations through extracting information, views and stories on people personal feelings, knowledge and practices.

3.6 Sampling

Purposive samplings for interview have been used in this research. For exploring decision making approach, actors' involvement, strategy, limitation regarding CIM, scope of participation in the selected organizations, the officials of these organizations can provide required information. Total 3 interviews In-depth have been conducted with the officials of DCC, WASA and RAJUK (1 with each of the organizations). Also, relevant policies have been selected purposively to explore the coverage of CIM and decision making approach.

3.7 Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis could take three forms: explanatory, narrative and exploratory (Yin, 2002). Explanatory analysis depicts relationships among the concepts and contributes to theory (Tellis, 1997). Narrative analysis involves developing a theory before inaugurating the research (Tellis, 1997). Hypothesis is generated in the exploratory analysis and contributes to new predictions (Neuman, 1999; Tellis, 1997).

For the study, explanatory and explorative analyse have been used for their relevance. Explanatory analysis, for this study, reveals the relationship among institution, decision making approach and participation. Tentative association among the concepts are developed in the third and fourth chapter. The assumption for this particular study (details in third and fourth chapter) is that norms and institutions contributes to decision making approach and influences participation. To be specific socio-administrative norms like power distance, uncertainty avoidance contributes to information based, expert driven decision making

¹⁴ <http://psychology.ucdavis.edu/sommerb/sommerdemo/content/strengths.htm>

approach. Consequently, the level of participation remains minimal. For testing the assumption exploratory analysis is relevant.

Table 2 shows the specific tools and data analysis strategy for each of the research question.

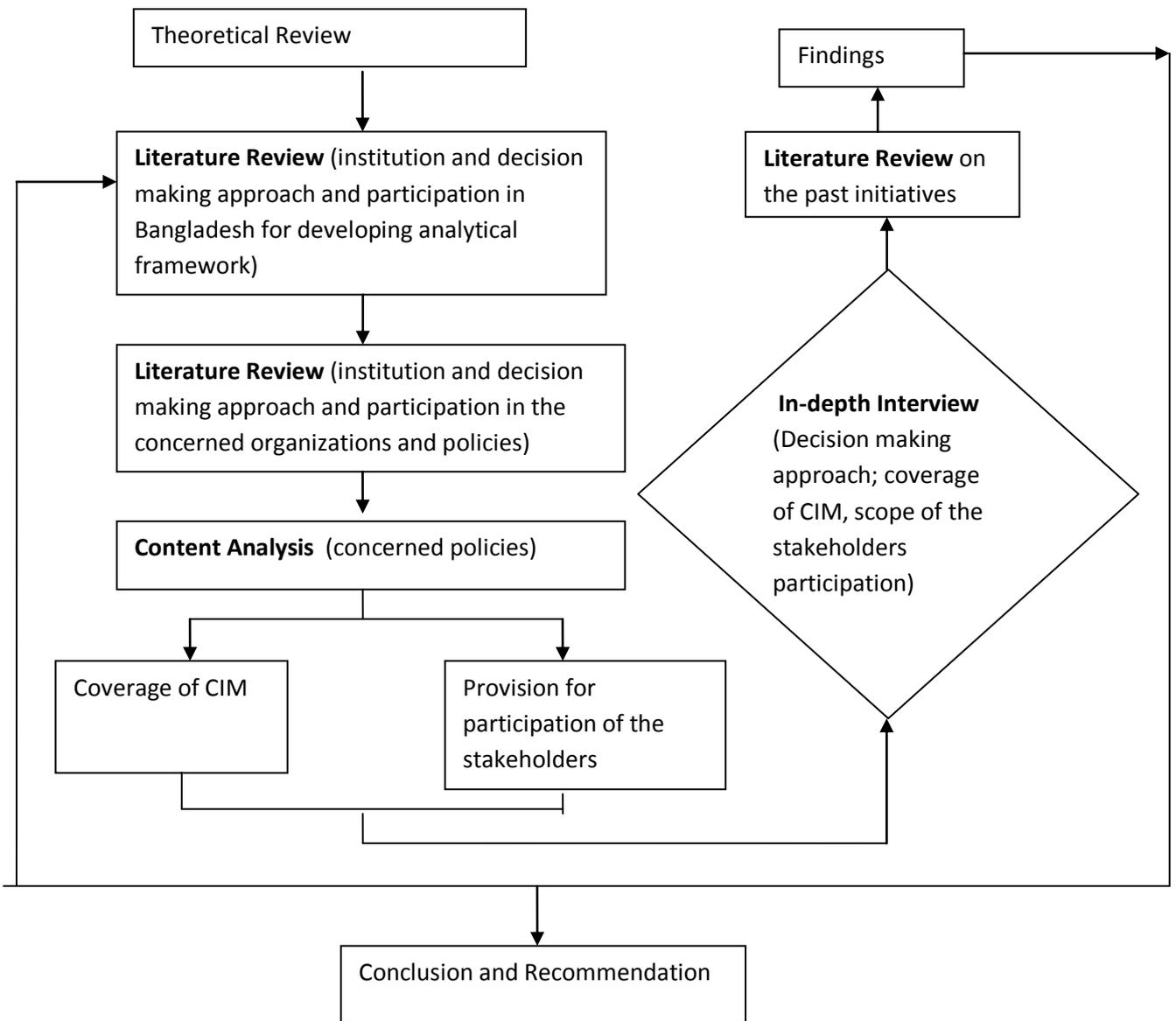
Table 2: Tools and Data Analysis Strategy for Data Collection

Research Question	Tools for Data Collection	Data Analysis
1 How norms and institutions influence decision making and participation in Bangladesh?		Explanatory analysis
1.1 How informal norms dominate in Bangladesh?	Literature review	
1.2 How norms are institutions influence the decision making approach?	Literature review	
1.3 How administrative decisions are made in Bangladesh?	Literature Review	
1.4 Do stakeholders participate in the decision making process of Bangladesh?	Literature Review	
2. How CIM is perceived in policies, rules, decisions made by the city governing bodies?		Exploratory Analysis
2.1 To what extent the concerned organizations cover the issue of CIM?	In-depth Interview, Literature Review, Documents from website	
2.2 How CIM is perceived in the strategic plans and policies?	Content Analysis	
2.3 How decisions are made in the concerned organizations and for policy formulation?	In-depth Interview , Literature review	
2.4 Do stakeholders participation in the decision making of the concerned organizations and policy making process?	In-depth Interview , Literature Review	
2.5 Is there any gap between provision and implementation in the concerned policies?	Content analysis, Literature Review	
3. How effective the past initiatives were to address the CIM and slum dwellers?		Explanatory Analysis
3.1 What were the past initiatives of the NGOs, government and private parties to address the need of slum dwellers and climate	Literature review	

induced migrants for accessing health, sanitation and infrastructure?		
3.3 What were the weaknesses of these strategies?	Literature review	

Figure 5 illustrates the research framework and several key steps of the study.

Figure 5: Research Framework



The figure reveals, in the first step, from theoretical standpoint and to answer the first research question literature from different journals, books, journals and reports have been reviewed to explore how norms and institutions influence the decision making approach in Bangladesh. Particularly the review of literature focuses on how existing norms and

institutions affect decision making, involved actors, the process of decision making in Bangladesh (do they rely on information for decision making or make decision from agreed reality of the concerned actors).

The figure also demonstrate that on the basis of developed framework, literature review particularly focus on institution, decision making approach and scope of participation in the concerned organizations. In the next step contents of the policies have been analyzed to explore the coverage of the issue of CIM on one hand. On the other, provisions for participation of the stakeholders have also been analyzed from the contents of the concerned policies.

In the following steps, the figure reveals that on the basis of the indentified gaps and findings of the content analysis, questionnaire for the in-depth interviews have been formulated for the second research question. Semi-structured (some questions and order are established in advance where some are determined with the progression of the conversation¹⁵), containing three parts- introduction, opening question, key question, and closing question. The interviews focus on the decision making approach, scope of participation and coverage of the CIM. In the next phase past initiatives form the Government, NGOs and private parties have been analysed to explore their effectiveness and limitations from the secondary data source to address the third research question. After the analysis of interview data and literature, gap in the literature has been analyzed in the final chapter.

3.8 Ethical Consideration: From ethical consideration, before interview, the participants have provided with sufficient information about the research and she/he had every right to withdraw or discontinue interview at any phase. Data would be not be used in a way that might cause any harm to the participants and anonymity will be ensured. Before using the interview, the written format have been shared with the respondent so that if he/she wishes could withdraw or modify any response.

¹⁵http://archives.who.int/PRDUC2004/RDUCD/INRUD_2000_CDROM/Manuals/Qualitative_Methods_Manual/qm_ch6.doc

Chapter 4: Decision Making Approach in Bangladesh

4.1 Introduction

Culture is recognized to be a key concept in influencing organizational behaviour (Hatch, 1993). Culture shapes decision making models and governance. For instance, the culture of trust and civic association of Northern Italy influenced democracy to work better than in southern part (Putnam, 1993). However, reality for one culture may not be real for another culture (Gordon, 1990). Decision makers' culture (motivation, value and cognitive style) affects the decision making and at the same time interpretation and acceptability of the decision also depends on culture (Weber and Hsee, 2000). Chinese mind is less interested in abstract reasoning in comparison to Western mind (Northrop, 1946). Also, in Bangladesh depends less abstract reasoning. Cultural Institution of Bangladesh is characterised by hierarchy and high power distance for Bangladesh inherited its administrative culture from Britain which was highly centralized characterized by hierarchy. Only elite class policy makers centralized all the power involving governance. On the basis of the theoretical framework developed in the previous chapter, this chapter describes the decision making approach and scope of participation that is rooted in the administrative and social culture.

4.2 Administrative Culture in Bangladesh: Historical Overview

The concept of administrative culture is abstract not a concrete and it is a collective ascription of society (Khan, 1990). The unequal centralized structure and domination of elite in the administrative culture and is inherited from British and Pakistan era in Bangladesh who involved in the whole governance and policy framework for problem identification, agenda setting, implementation and evaluation. The domination of British and Indian culture is visible in the administrative culture of Bangladesh that inherited its culture of centralization, nepotisms and hierarchy (Haque and Mohammad, 2013). Inclination for self preservation, domination of policy making structure and propensity to maintain clientalism has also achieved as part of the inherent culture.

This centralized structure conflicted with the indigenous social values and norms and were unable to meet the need of the local people. Laws made with good intention and sound information still could not fulfil the demand. After independence in 1971, there was a need for administrative reforms for increasing poverty, unemployment, liberalization, fall in real

income – characterized by patron client relationship (Zafarullah, 2013). The First Awami League (AL) Regime of Bangladesh was characterized by highly centralized structure. The support base of AL was mainly the rural people of Bangladesh. Thus, they avoided any major reform and change in rural areas to maintain their support base under socialism (Umar 1987, Huque 1988; Khan, 2001). In 1975, single party presidential system replaced the multi party system. The districts were headed by the governor directly appointed by the president. (Khan,2001)

Military ruled demined from 1975 to 1990 where powers were concentrated in the hands of army. From 1971 to 1990, decision making approach was highly centralized in Bangladesh and followed technical approach of decision making to reconstruct the war destructed economy of Bangladesh. From 1991 democracy established as Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) held power. In 1991 BNP was elected. With the change in government from military to democracy, no significant change or reforms were initiated in the governance process (Khan, 2001). However, in the democratic regime, economy opened up and the influence of market increased. In 1996, AL government came in power After that one of two major political parties of Bangladesh (BNP and AL) was elected in a democratic process. However, no major governance reforms or communicative shifts were visible. Still power is centralized (Haque and Mohammad, 2013). From literature review, Siddiqui (1994) identified four major characteristics of local governance in Bangladesh

1. Domination of central government
2. Inadequate mobilization of resources
3. Limited participation
4. Superficial commitment of decentralization practice

Room for lower officials to exercise power and citizens participation were created from the decades of 90s. Still, public officials were inclined to maintain hierarchy and reluctant about public needs (World Bank, 1996). In the name of official rules most of the government officials behave unfairly to the common citizens (Zafarullah and Khan, 2001). That decreased trust of the people in the concerned authority and they want to keep themselves away. The decision makers want to keep themselves away and want to maintain social status (Zafarullah, 2013). Institutions like social norms, practices influence administrative cultures that generally mirror social values, norms and practices.

Administrative tradition is also embedded in ancient rural society (Jamil, 2007) where the leaders with his centralized power structure used to solve problems and made decisions and characterized by social rank and hierarchy. They believe in stability where the deviation from rules denotes immorality and disintegration among the society. Consequently, professional life merged to the personal life. Inherited the tradition, personalized relationship between the employer and employee is encouraged by the traditional system of Bangladesh. At the same time respect, loyalty, hierarchy and obedience to superior is expected from the preferred employee with having almost no chance of innovation and creativity (Jamil, 2002).

4.3 Social Culture of Bangladesh

The administrative characteristics of Bangladesh like the domination of centralized decision making and existence of strong hierarchy can be explained from the four dimensions of social institutions developed by Hofstede (described in chapter 3).

4.3.1 Power Distance: Bangladesh is a high power distance society where relationship between employer and employee; teacher and student; male and female is characterized by high power distance. In the high power distant societies the less powerful accepts the power distance as normal. Bangladesh scores 8016 in the power distance index where 100 means hierarchical (high power distance) and 1 means Egalitarian (low power distance). Power distance index also reveals that inequality exists for the acceptance of the situation by the followers as well (Haque and Mohammad, 2013). In a large power distance hierarchic organization, subordinates depend on the superiors and they only follow the decisions (Jamil, 2010) and inequality is accepted as social norms. Studies by Jamil (2007) shows, the characteristics of preferred employee are good family background, moral characteristics and obedience to employer. Thus social norms and cultural characteristics are reflected in Asian Organization (Jamil, 2007). Similarly, high power distances, existence of complex rules prohibit participation and contributes to sustain the centralized structure.

4.3.2. Uncertainty Avoidance: Bangladesh ranked high in uncertainty avoid index (Haque and Mohammad, 2013). High uncertainty avoidance creates rules, regulation (Haque and Mohammad, 2013) that contributes to centralized structure and thus limit participation.

4.3.3 Collectivism and Individualism: In the scale of ‘Collectivism-Individualism’, Bangladesh scored high in collectivism and very low in individualism. Principle of hierarchy in relationship is accepted as morality. Hierarchy in the society also based on the person’s

¹⁶ <http://volunteeralberta.ab.ca/intersections/staff/building-cultural-knowledge/cultural-values-power-distance-hierarchical-egalitarian>

position. Hierarchical relationship promotes conservatism (Jamil, 2007). Informal relations than formal networks becomes important for gaining access for service delivery.

4.3.4 Masculine and Feminine Norms: In the Masculinity Feminine index of Hofstede, Bangladesh ranked moderately high in masculinity (Haque and Mohammad, 2013) that indicates group basis division of tasks and thus promotes centralized authority.

Table 3 shows the four dimensions of social institutions of Bangladesh and their basic characteristics

Table 3: Social Institutions of Bangladesh

High Power Distance	High Uncertainty Avoidance	Masculine Norms	Collectivism
Loyalty, Obedience , Acceptance of Inequality as social norms, difference in social status	Resistant to administrative Change, less innovation, domination of formal rules , leader is considered as expert	Division of roles and responsibilities, crave for material prosperity	Allegiance to family, bond, concept of ‘we’ dominates rather than ‘I’, extended social network

Following figure reveals the social institution of high power distance in Bangladesh contributes to hierarchy and centralized structure through encouraging loyalty and obedience. High uncertainty avoidance concerns resistance to change and innovation and dependence on rules that also ultimately contributes to hierarchical structure. Comparative dominance of masculine rules believes in the division of roles and thus promotes hierarchy. Similarly, collectivism concerns extended social network and thus division on the basis of social status. Network is maintained with the people of more or less social and economic similar status. Thus, both the marginalized and elite groups build network with people of similar status that strengthen the unequal structure and contributes to centralization of decision making and hierarchy.

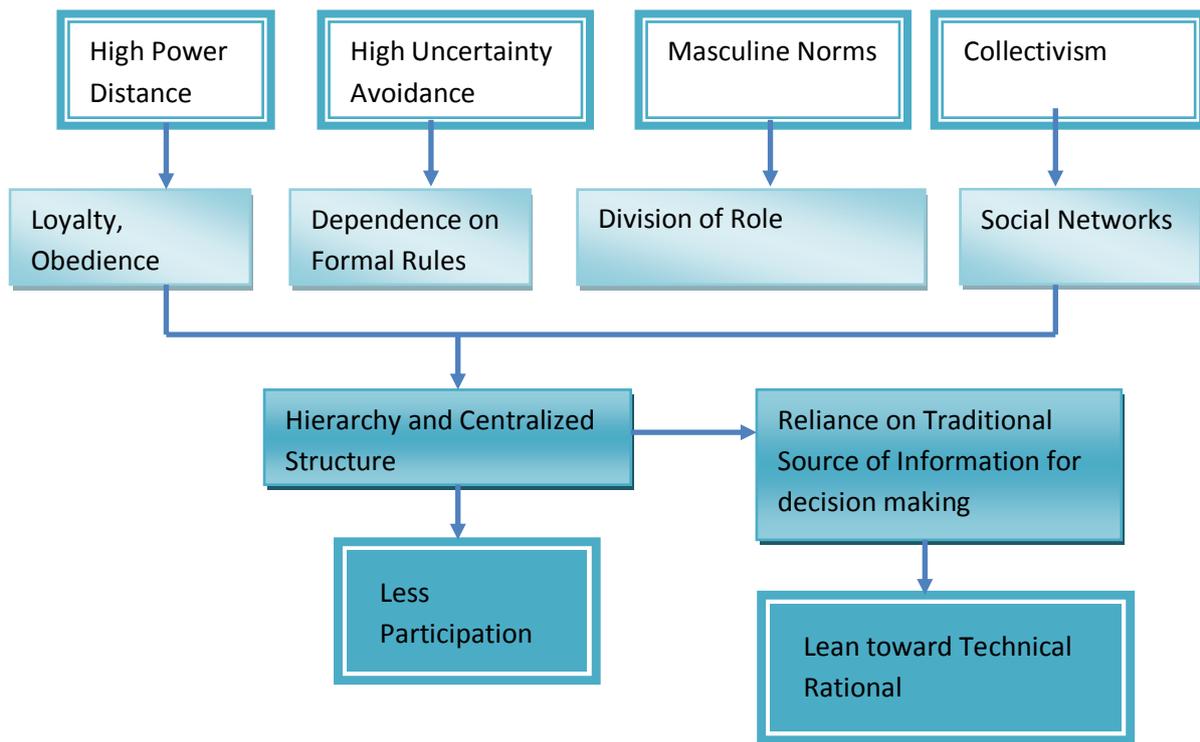


Figure 6: Impacts of institutions in participation and decision making approach

In short, the reason and rationale behind any behind decision largely depend and influenced by existing norms and practices. Where people are asked to explain the rationale behind decision making, cultural knowledge play the vital role behind such reasoning (Briley, 2000). Rationality depends on culture (Finnemore,1994) and culture create s differnece in pe rception, value, behaviour and attutudes (Weber and Hsee, 2000) that shape the rational behind decision making.

4.4 Decision Making Approach in Bangladesh

As, it has already been discussed that the decision making approch in Bangladesh in centralized and hierarchilal. Now, the question arises where it stands in the continuum of technical and communicative rational. The fact is accepted that informations are vital for dication making and searcng of information may vary from organization or one society to another. Sources of information can be traditional like superiors, colleagues or juniors within the organization. The search above the organizational context involve politicians, resaercers,acedemics, citizens and other releant organizations. Where the dication making is hierarchic the search for information is limited within the bounadry of the organization (Jamil, 2002). A study by Jamil (2002) shows that the bureaucracy influnced by British

tradition in Bangladesh mainly depend on the traditional source of information like government circular and gazettes, colleagues, juniors and superiors for decision making. Also, sometimes they use 'travel and visit' as non traditional source of information. Thus, the previous study shows the decision making approach in Bangladesh have been dependent on information. From the literature review it appears that the decision making approach in Bangladesh has been following the trend with a clear leaning toward the technical rational which is inherited from the British rule where the scope of participation of the stakeholders are very limited. Next section points out the scope of participation for the stakeholders like marginalized groups, citizens and NGOs in the decision making process in Bangladesh.

4.4.1 Participation of Marginalized Groups, Citizens and NGOs in Decision Making Process in the Bangladesh: Marginalized populations who live in slum areas are treated as underclass. A lack of overall political commitment in changing the situation of urban poor, widespread poverty instigated by unemployment and underemployment thwart to achieve the minimum standard of living. Their political, social and economic exclusion hinders their participation to express their voice. Need for country wide policy specifically for urban poor has been warranted by donor agencies and NGOs. The issue of urban slum settlements are often omitted from the official policy papers for analysis.

In Bangladesh the existing social institution like high power distance contributes to weak power relations, limited access and less participation. Also, high power distance creates conception about morality that encourages to maintain gaps and to obey rather than motivating participation that limits the participatory skill. Hierarchy and social network based on status create separate groups and social networks. Consequence is low level of citizen organizations and participations. Lack of political will is another hindrance. Even, the existing few scopes of indirect participation are not promoted properly the political will.

NGOs got recognition for innovative ideas for rural development. However, NGOs emphasizes on grass root level development and participation of the common people and less hierarchy. This principle contradicts principle of administrative system in Bangladesh. For administrative culture of Bangladesh is influenced by British colonial tradition, they have less trust on the role of NGOs for promoting development (Banks, Roy and Hulme, 2011). Also, the conflict of principles between the Government and NGOs is an obstacle to promote their participation in the concerned organizations (Jamil, 2002). At the same time, dominant

presence of NGOs in rural areas in comparison urban areas limits the scope of their participation in urban governance (Banks, Roy and Hulme, 2011). Provisions of NGOs participation are mentioned in the policy paper which is rarely transformed into practices (Rahman, 2005). The NGOs priority is on capacity building and sustainability that is often missing in public programme (Chowdhury,1989).

Following figure shows the analytical framework of the study.

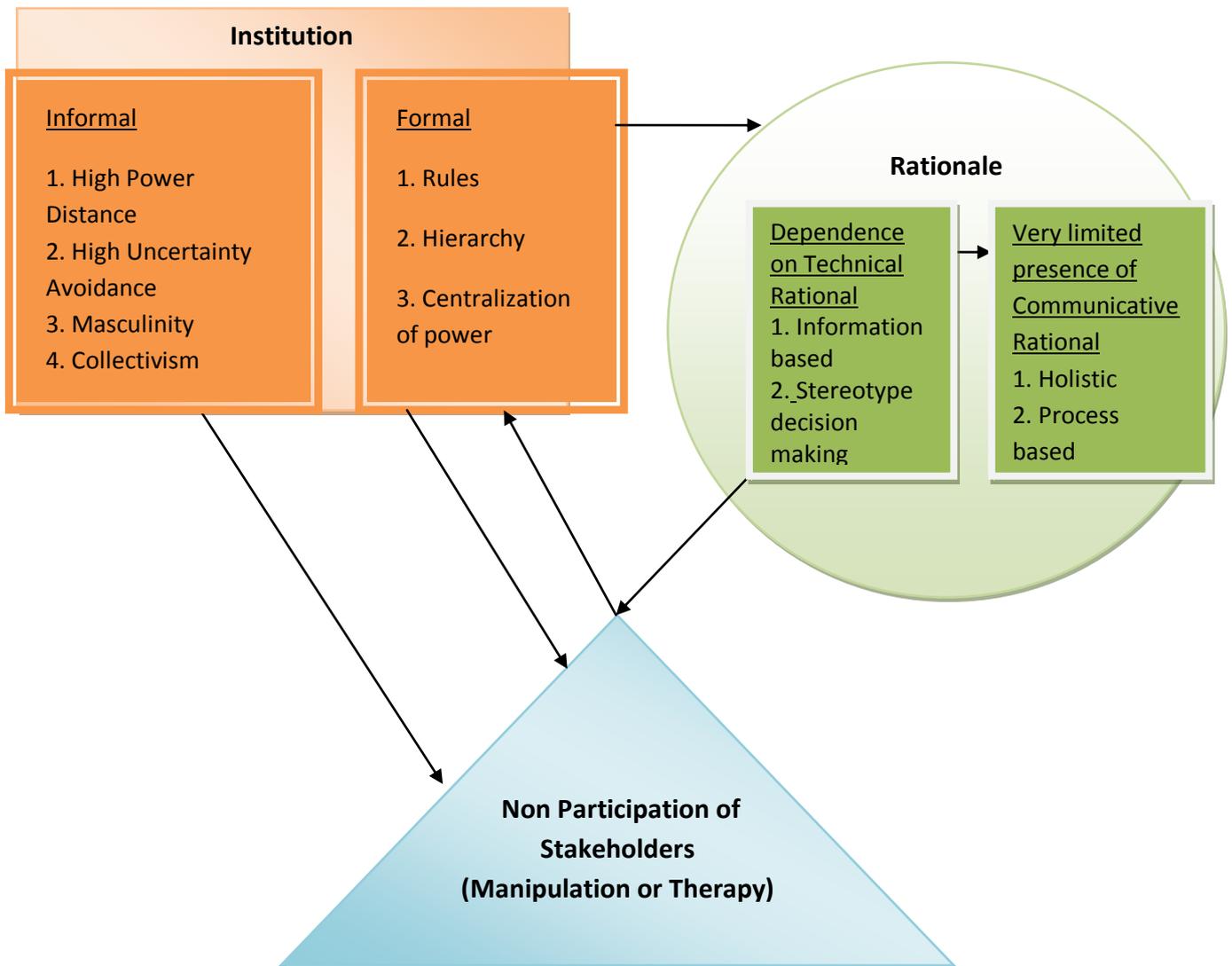


Figure 7: Analytical Framework

The figure shows that high power distance, uncertainty avoidance, masculinity and collectivism and formal centralized structure contribute to information based and expert oriented decision making process. Consequently, the participation of the stakeholders is still

very limited. At the same time, limited participation helps to retain the centralized and hierarchic structure.

4.5 Conclusion

Administrative culture and decision making approach of Bangladesh is highly influenced by the social institutions of Bangladesh like high power distance, collectivism, masculinity and high uncertainty avoidance. All these phenomena results in maintaining hierarchy and centralization of power by creating different social status, group identities and strict regulations. At the same time, these social institutions limit participations of the mass people in the decision making framework. The high power distance and division among the groups persuade to maintain gaps between the mass people and the decision makers and not to express their opinion. At the same time low trust of the decision makers on other stakeholders like NGOs and media, there is no direct opportunity for their participation in the decision making framework.

Dependence on information instigated by dependence of formal rules and centralized structure is another characteristics of the decision making process indicates an inclination toward technical rational. Reliance on traditional source of information for decision making also limit the scope of participation of the stakeholders.

Figure 6 demonstrates that the informal social intuitions influence the administrative culture by forming rules, hierarchy and centralized structure. High reliance on hierarchy and rules create dependence on information from the traditional sources. Both formal and informal rules and also reliance on information limits the scope of participation of the stakeholders. The limited participation of the stakeholders also contributes to strengthen the social hierarchy and centralized decision making structure.

Next chapter focuses on the coverage of the issue of CIM, decision making approach, and scope of participation in the concerned organizations and selected policies. For this case, the assumption is that informal norms and formal rules (centralized structure) contributes to expert driven and information based decision making approach that limits the participation of the stakeholders in the decision making process. Accordingly, the issue of CIM is not considered with relevant attention in the concerned organizations and policies.

Chapter 5: Coverage of Climate Induced Migration in the Organizations and Policies and Past Initiatives

5.1 Introduction

The chapter focus on the decision making approach, coverage of CIM and scope of participation in the concerned organizations and also in the policies. First, the chapter attempts to identify the stakeholders for this study. Next section focuses on the relevant organizations followed by the assessment of the past initiatives for the slum dwellers and CIM.

5.2 Participation of Stakeholders in the Decision Making Process

The study divides the stakeholders as primary, secondary and external stakeholders

Table 4: Stakeholders of this Study

Stakeholders	Category	
Primary	Directly affected (economically and socially) people	The climate induced migrants who live in slum
Secondary	Actors directly involved in decision making	The concerned authority of DCC, Dhaka WASA and RAJUK, Concerned Ministries
External	Not directly affected but can influence the decision making process	Community members, NGOs media

Table shows the list of stakeholders for this study. Here, the primary stakeholders are the climate migrant slum dwellers who are directly affected by the decision regarding CIM by the concerned authorities of DCC, Dhaka WASA and RAJUK who are the secondary stakeholders. The external stakeholders for this study have been identified as NGOs working in the concerned filed, media and local communities. Next section focuses on the concerned organizations for analysing the mentioned topics.

5.2 Decision Making Approach and Scope of Participation in DCC, DWASA and RAJUK

5.3.1. Dhaka City Corporation: In 1864, Dhaka City Corporation was established in Dhaka Municipality which obtained status of Dhaka Municipality Corporation and in 1990 its status changed to Dhaka City Corporation. In 2011, Dhaka city corporation was splited in North and South consisiting of 36 and 56 wards respectively¹⁷ Initiatives of urban governmence reforms including reforms of DCC was an initiatives to promote public participation and development. Rather this was an initiatives to exercise power on the lower levels (Siddique , 1997).

5.3.1.1 Coverage of CIM: Core activities of DCC are managed by several units and standing committees. There are standing committees on urban planning and development, Environmental management and disaster management¹⁸. However, in the committees there is no specific concerned agenda to address the need of climate migrants. For the management of activities related to slum there is a unit called slum department called ‘Social welfare and Slum Development Department and they are responsible for several tasks¹⁹ for social development and slum development at the same time. Nevertheless, the responsibilities for effective functioning of the job are not defined at all. Also, there are no separate unit to address the need of climate migrants in any of the twelve departments of City Corporation²⁰.

5.3.1.2 Decision Making Approach: Though DCC is autonomous organization, DCC is directly controlled by the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Co-operatives. Thus, hampers their scope of decision making capacity and they are bound to implement decisions imposed by the ministry. Decision making process of DCC is dominated by government, donor agencies. Representatives from government play the dominant role in decision making. Also, information, surveys regarding the slum dwellers are considered for decision making (Interview Data, 2014). DCC also lacks control over other agencies like WASA which results in poor urban governance²¹.

5.3.1.3 Participation of the Stakeholders: DCC is an autonomous organization and casting of direct votes elects the Mayors and Wards Commissioners are elected by residents.

¹⁷ <http://www.dncc.gov.bd/>

¹⁸ <http://www.dncc.gov.bd/dncc-setup/standing-committee.html>

¹⁹ <http://www.dncc.gov.bd/departments-with-function/mayor-other/social-welfare-slum-development.html>

²⁰ <http://www.dncc.gov.bd/>

²¹ [http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2928105/.](http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2928105/)

That increases the chance of indirect participation of the citizen including the slum dwellers and the CIM. The urban poor gained their voting right on 1994, before that voting rights also depended on property, income and qualification. However, their rights did not contribute to the wide scale political participation. For the practice of vote buying exists for the urban poor who are offered money for casting their vote for a particular candidate (Bank, 2008). Though accountability and legitimacy play a vital role in winning of rural votes, urban votes largely depends on the power and wealth of the candidate (Banks, Roy and Hulme, 2011). Accordingly, the marginalized and excluded groups who do not have any direct means of participation in decision making also lose their way of indirect participation.

The study by Banks, Roy and Hulme (2011) shows two things limit interaction – lack of national social assistance programme for urban poor and intermediate source like *mastan* (muscle men) work for distributing goods and entitlements to the marginalized groups. And unofficial leaders in slum maintain affiliation with the *mastans* for their personal gain. No channel exists to maintain communication between the common people and the ward commissioner. Personal channel is useful for communicating in DCC than using formal rules. The presences of these informal channels lack accountability and thwart participations.

Study by Bank (2008) shows that the duties of ward commissioners are not defined well and depend on their individual initiatives and commitments. Management of day to day affairs of the ward and so called development affairs are their main activities. Thus working for the urban poor and CIM depends on their empathy. As a result, CIM as an issue is lacking priority.

5.3.2 Dhaka Wasa: Dhaka WASA was established in 1967 as an independent organizations²².

Dhaka WASA ia autonomous public sector organization with the responsibilities of water supply, sewerage disposal and drainage services. Its coverage area is more than 360 sq. km with the production of almost 2,110 million litres of water per day. Dhaka WASA Board consisting of 13 members run the "Table of Organisation & Equipment" and formulates policy and strategies for WASA and provides the procedures and courses of action. The chief executive of WASA is also the managing director. Ministry of Finance appoint one and the municipal authority appoints two members. WASA's service area is separated into 11 zones (Khan, 2012)

²² <http://www.dwasa.org.bd/>

WASA is often accused of poor service quality, inadequate sanitation and also overstaffing. A study by Asian Development Bank (2005) reveals that among 12 million inhabitants of DHAKA, only 9 million got water connection and only 38% population of the city had the coverage of sewerage systems. 248,346 water connections were served by 3,717 employees implies 15 employees per 1000 connections.

5.3.2.1 Coverage of the issue of CIM: Though DWASA is responsible for providing water to the slum dwellers, their efficiency is often called into question. With the support of NGO ‘Dustha Shahtha Kendra’ and ‘Water Aid, UK’, WASA provided water supply to the slum areas who did not have any access point to water in their residence areas. Still, they do not address the issue of CIM.

5.3.2.2 Decision Making Approach: Though WASA is an autonomous organization, they work under the under the authority of the Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development and Cooperatives. Decision making process of WASA is also highly influenced by the concerned ministry. Experts and results from survey are also used (Interview Data, 2014)

5.3.2.3 Participation of the Stakeholder: Though, now several NGOs influence the decision making process, there is no provision for participation of the affected communities and stakeholders in the decision making process (Interview Data, 2014).

5.3.3 RAJUK

RAJUK is a public organization responsible for management of city affairs and urban development. For lack of technical manpower and logistics; the efficiency of RAJUK has been called into questions.

5.3.3.1 Coverage of CIM: The issue of CIM is not addressed by the authorities of RAJUK (Interview data, 2014).

5.3.3.1 Participation of the Stakeholder: RAJUK contains no provision for stakeholders’ participation in the decision making process (Interview Data, 2014).

5.3.3.2 Decision Making Approach: They lack appropriate decision making authority. Bureaucratic environment and influences of the ministries limit their authority over decision making (Kalam, 2009; Interview Data, 2014).

Following table shows if the selected organizations consider CIM, their decision making approach and scope of participation.

Table 5: Coverage of CIM, decision making approach and participation in the concerned organizations

Organization	Initiatives for Slum Dwellers	Coverage of the issue of CIM	Decision Making Approach	Participation in the decision making process
DCC	Yes	No	Information Based	Therapy
DWASA	Yes, though not efficient	No	Information Based	Therapy
RAJUK	No	No	Information Based	Manipulation

The table reveals that though DCC initiates for slum dwellers, CIM is not considered. DWASA is responsible for providing water supply to the slum dwellers. Still, lacks efficiency. Both DWASA and RAJUK do not have provision for considering CIM. The decision making process in these three organization follow a top down approach where ministers and experts dominate the process. The approach is totally information based as information from the survey and opinions from international donor agencies are taken into account. RAJUK do not have provision for stakeholders’ participation. Thus, it falls in the first step of Arnstein’s ladder- manipulation. For DWASA and RAJUK there is no provision for stakeholders’ direct involvement as well. Still, NGOs come forward to make collaboration with DWASA for providing water service to the slum dwellers. Although, participation is not ensured the affected people and citizens involve through the election process. Thus, they fall in the second step of Arnstein’s ladder- therapy. Noticeably, both of the phases are part of non participation.

5.4 Policy Making in Bangladesh

Policy making in Bangladesh still follows a top down approach (Koehlmoos, Rashid, Rahman, Cravioto and Hanney, 2009). Generally for any policy making government formulate a committee. A draft is prepared and presented at the meeting of the committee. The draft is provided to the relevant ministry for recommendations and improvements (Koehlmoos, Rashid, Rahman, Cravioto and Hanney, 2009). Also, donor countries impose their agenda in policy formulation process. Government only wants to demonstrate that the stakeholders were involved. Still, even the educated people have no rooms for being involved in policy formation process let alone the marginalized group (Koehlmoos, Rashid, Rahman, Cravioto and Hanney, 2009).

The policy and programmes are paper based characterized by limited implementation for lack of stakeholders’ participation (Khan and Rahman, 2006). Though, participatory approach has

been recognized revealing a little shift from the total traditional and centralized structure. Still, the effective of participatory approach has been called into question. For the primary cause of recognition of participatory process is the result of pressure from the donor agencies. Failure of the past efforts and successful implementation of the participatory approaches by several NGOs drew attention to the effective of the approach.

Though, aid dependency is following a declining trend, still aid dependency for disaster management is quite remarkable. Consequently, public organizations are bound to accept donors' obligation (Mitlin and Thomson, 1995). Following section analyze contents of the selected policies and relevant literature with an aim to achieve threefold objective. First, the by analyzing the contents of the policies the coverage of the issue CIM will be explored. Second, the scope of participation of the stakeholders and decision making approach will be revealed from the analysis of the contents of the policies. At the same time, decision making approach for policy formulation will be reviewed from the literature also to express where the decision making process posits in the framework of technical and communicative rational. Third, gaps between the provision and implementation will be analyzed by dint of relevant literature and the policies.

Though, policies from different sectors could be related to the issue of climate migration. However, the study limits it's analyzes to the contents of Environment Policy 1992, Bangladesh Climate Change Strategy and Action Plan (BCCSAP) 2009, National Adaptation Programme of Action (NAPA 2005) and Health Policy 2011 , National Water Policy, Sixth Five Year Plan (SFYP) (2011-2015), National Plan for Disaster Management (NPDM).

5.5 Environment Policy

5.5.1 Coverage of the CIM: Environment Policy was formulated in 1992 with the objective of environment conservation and overall development (EP, 1992). The policy contains context, 6 objectives and 15 principles. Yet, no section contains anything to address climate migration.

5.5.2 Provision for the Participation: Contents of Environment Policy contain no provision for participation.

5.5.3 Formulation of the Environment Policy: The Department of environment (DOE) is vested the responsibilities of environmental planning, management and evaluation (Aminuzzaman, 2000). International forum, United Nations General Assembly, international organizations and donor agencies were the external actors for formulation of environment

policy. Vital internal actors for formulation of environment policy were government agencies, planning commission, consultants, civil society and bureaucrats. Environment Management Action Plan (NEMAP) was formulated by the ministry of environment with the participation of NGOs for the implementation of the policy (Aminuzzaman, 2000). Clearly, the formulation of policy followed an expert oriented top down approach with a limited scope of participation for the NGOs and no scope for the affected communities and other stakeholders.

5.6 NAPA

5.6.1 Coverage of the CIM: NAPA 2009 aims to reduce the negative impacts of climate change. In the list of priority activities of NAPA, no projects proposed for the climate migrants though there are 15 projects on different environmental and climate change issues. Even, no section paid attention to the issue. The issue has just been very inadequately addressed in a long term effect of 2 projects- no. 11 and 12“ stating that the long term effect of projects could contribute to reduce the social impact of migration to the city.

5.6.2 Provision for the Participation: According to the contents of NAPA stakeholders' participation have been ensured in the formulation process of NAPA. Forward of NAPA states “Policy makers of Government, local representatives of the Government (Union Parishad Chairman and Members), scientific community members of the various research institutes, researchers, academicians, teachers (ranging from primary to tertiary levels), lawyers ,doctors, ethnic groups, media, NGO and CBO representatives and indigenous women contributed to the development of the NAPA for Bangladesh (NAPA, 2009).” The document claims that inputs from various stakeholders groups have been incorporated from the workshops. Consultations with the vulnerable groups of stakeholders were a significant part of formulating NAPA. Priorities of activities have been suggested by the stakeholders groups. Effective combination of expert opinion and stakeholder preference functioned in the formulation process of NAPA (NAPA, 2009).

At the same time, NAPA was a requirement from the international communities. As, NAPA was prepared as a response to COP 7 (Hossain, 2009, NAPA, 2009) and a requirement of the UNFCCC from the all of the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) to identify the urgent adaptation need with the intention to promote participatory approach and incorporating community level inputs (LEG, 2002). NAPA lacks wider acceptability for adopting top down approach and had weak implementation (Hossian, 2009). The concept of climate risk

adaptation varies from local to global level that also influenced the participation process (Ayers, 2011).

5.6.3 Formulation of NAPA: NAPA guidelines were prepared by the Least Developed Countries Expert Groups (LDEG) under the UNFCCC. Ministry of Environment and Forest of Bangladesh directed the preparation of NAPA (Where United Nations Development Programme was the implementation agency). Output from the five consultation workshops (one national and four sub-national) were incorporated in the documents of NAPA (Ayers, 2011). Representatives of the local government, local NGO, farmers and women participated in the workshops as the representatives of the local people (NAPA, 2009). However, the information does not reveal the actual picture. Because the number of local people participated in the workshops was not very significant. The number of the experts was more in comparison to the local people presented in the workshops (Ayers, 2005). Moreover, presence of the more powerful stakeholders like local government officials suppressed the opinion of the local people (Ayers, 2011; Bassett and Zuéli 2000). Design and implementation process of the workshops were also weak. The regional workshops held with the aim of explaining and incorporating suggestion regarding climate risk when climate risks have already been defined in NAPA (Ayers, 2011). In the workshops the experts suggested the adaptation options. This top down approach limited the scope of effective participation.

Expert judgement was considered with particular attention in comparison to the suggestion opted from the workshops (Ayers, 2011; NAPA, 2005). Voting system for both the local people and experts was applied for the predefined adaptation strategies (Ayers, 2011). Consequently, NAPA did not correspond to the priority needs identified by the local communities (Ayers, 2011). Livelihood approach would have better identified vulnerability on the ground (Huq and Khan, 2006). Still, sector based working group analyzed problems and defined risks and workshops were held to only validate the information (Ayers, 2011). In short, the level of participation was only ornamental to mention that stakeholders participated in the process.

5.7 BCCSAP

5.7.1 Coverage of the CIM: To reduce the adverse impact of climate change, BCCSAP 2009 has six pillars and 45 programmes. Though there are programmes on “Water and Sanitation programme in climate vulnerable areas”, “improvement of cyclone and strome

surge warning”, however, there is no programme to address the issue of climate migrants (BCCSAP, 2009; p.32).

5.7.2 Provision for Participation: Climate change organization action chart contains no scope for participation of the stakeholders.

5.7.3 Formulation of BCCSAP: According to Sixth Five Year Plan, “The Bangladesh Climate Change Strategy and Action Plan was originally developed through a participatory process involving all relevant ministries and agencies, civil society, research organizations, the academia and the business community. Programs funded under the Action. Plan will be implemented by the line ministries and agencies, with participation, as appropriate, of other stakeholder groups, including civil society, professional and research bodies and the private sector (Sixth Five Year Plan, 2011P.209)”. BCCSAP was expected to overcome the bottom approach of the NAPA and facilitate participation. Nevertheless, BCCSAP followed more top down approach and facilitated less participation in comparison to NAPA (Hossain, 2009). BCCSAP was launched at Bangladesh United kingdom conference in London in 2008 (Hossain, 2009). Two opposing views emerged in the conference. One group criticized it for following top down approach prepared by the consultants and approved by the policy makers. Other groups supported it stating that the document is always for modification (Hossain, 2009). BCCSAP was formulated to be presented in London to achieve the financial support from UK government. Consultants funded by the UK government prepared BCCSAP (Hossain, 2009). BCCSAP followed non participatory process (Quinn, 2002) for the formulation process government bureaucrats; development partners and a particular section of NGOs mostly involved in micro finance were consulted. BCCSAP also lacks proper implementation for not incorporating year wise target. BCCSAP is also criticized for ignoring the climate induced migration which could be brought under social protection theme. The issue was ignored for the development partners did not commit to finance for the theme (Hossain, 2009). BCCSAP also requires need assessment and ignored solid analysis (Hossain, 2009). DFID provided financial assistance for formulation of BCCSAP and thus influenced the process (Alam, Shamsuddoha, Tanner, Sultana, Haq and Kabir). Naturally, the formulation process was expert oriented and with a clear leaning toward technical rational.

5.8 Health Policy

5.8.1 Coverage of CIM: The core objective of the Health Policy is to ensure access to health services. Though, one strategy address the diseases caused by climate change, 19

goals, 16 principles and 39 strategies of Health Policy also did not show any concern about the health provision of climate migrants or slum dwellers. Centralized structure has been described as one of the challenges that cause delay in implementation process.

5.8.2 Provision for Participation: One of strategies mentions that National Health Council would function with the leadership of government. Stakeholder from the private sectors and experts would be involved.

5.8.3 Formulation of Health Policy: After independence in 1971, Bangladesh has an elite based system characterized by limited health facilities. Before formulation of the health policy, health care system followed the guidance of the five year plan (Rabbani, 2010). Ministry of Health and Family Welfare is responsible for formulation of Health Policy in collaboration with Health and Family Planning, other relevant ministries and civil societies (Koehlmoos, Rashid, Rahman, Cravioto and Hanney, 2009).

Caretaker government that was formed in 2007 drafted Health Policy. The policy objectives contain broader view point to gain support of the stakeholders. Donor inflicted the condition of involving the international experts for the agenda setting in the health policy process (Rabbani, 2010). Health policy making group consists of Minister of Health, DGHS and Health Secretary. Experts from different arena form a technical group for strategic decisions (Koehlmoos, Rashid, Rahman, Cravioto and Hanney, 2009). Particularly people with medical background played vital role in the policy formulation (Rabbani, 2010). In a word, experts dominated the process.

5.9 Population Policy

5.9.1 Coverage of CIM: In 2012 population policy was formulated to control the booming population. Though, population policy shows no particular concern for the CIM, creation of employment opportunities in the rural areas to reduce rural urban migration has been stated. Also, the policy states concern about the slum dwellers. The strategy of population policy states that coordination between ministry of local government and ministry of health and family welfare should be ensured so that city corporation may ensure health service to the slum dwellers.

5.9.2 Provision for Participation: Decentralization and community involvement and participation, transparency and strengthening local government, provision of health service according to demand have been mentioned.

5.9.3 Formulation of the Population Policy: Like the other policies population policy followed a top down approach where the scope for participation of the stakeholders was limited.

5.10 Sixth Five Year Plan (SFYP)

5.10.1 Coverage of CIM: Though SFYP does not contain particular concern for CIM, still several themes contains program related to CIM like adaptation, disaster management and access to water for urban population.

Food security, social protection and health' theme of SFYP contains programs named , adaptation against drought, salinity, resistance and heat, adaptation in health sector, water and sanitation program for climate vulnerable areas. Comprehensive disaster management program theme of SFYP contains programmes on Improvement of cyclone and storm surge warning. Research and knowledge management theme contains program on research on climate change adaptation for knowledge and technology generation. Water and Sanitation theme sets target to increase access to sanitary latrine to 100% for urban population. Also, one of the objectives of water sector of the SFYP are "People's participation in conformity with IWRM principals" (SFYP, 2011. P. 37).

5.10.2 Provision for Participation: Provision of participation has been ensured in the sixth five year plan. One of the objectives of SFYP is to "facilitate participation of community people in development work and promote good local Governance "(Sixth Five Year Plan, p. 316). Participation of stakeholders would activate the Environment Committee at the Division, District and *Upazila* level. The document also states that proper implementation of the current local government initiatives could promote public participation in an efficient way. As a result, accountability mechanism will be more effective for the elected officials will held the government servants responsible. At the same time, constituency will held responsible the elected officials.

5.10.3 Formulation of SFYP: General Economic Division (GED) of Planning Commission prepared the initial concept note based on the recommendations of the expert economist. Nineteen background studies were conducted in collaboration with BIDS. The draft was discussed in 10 national workshops Prime Minister chaired the session and ministers of the concerned ministries were present as special guests. Two regional workshops with the development partners were also held to discuss the draft (Ahsan, 2011). The process clearly reflects the existing top down policy formulation process. Even the containing

implementation strategies also follows the same centralized and expert oriented decision making process. ‘ Implementing the strategies’ section of the SFYP states that that: “National steering committee on climate change chaired by minister of the ministry of the Ministry of Environment and Forest comprises the Secretaries of all climate-affected Ministries and Divisions, and representatives of civil society and the business community. It reports to the National Environment Committee chaired by the Prime Minister” (SFYP, 2011, p. 120).

5.11 Water Policy

5.11.1 Coverage of CIM: With an aim to effective water resource management Water Policy was formulated in 1999. Though Water Policy does not address CIM, among six objectives of water policy second objective state to ensure the availability of water includes poor and unprivileged, fourth objectives state changing the institutions for decentralization.

5.11.2 Provision for Participation: Water Policy acknowledge participation of the private parties by stating that government policies will be coordinated with private and other policies and effective implementation requires public private involvement. Community organizations will be formulated; landless and other disadvantage group should be involved in participatory management.

5.11.3 Formulation of Water Policy: A technical committee was formed by the Ministry of Water for drafting the National Water Policy. In the meeting of the technical committees Water Policy of other countries like India, Nepal, Philippines were discussed. Parliamentary standing committee on water and resources also discussed the draft water policy. In the consecutive meeting experts, representatives from civil society and members from parliamentary committee provided their feedback for finalizing the water policy (Chowdhury, 2003; Chowdhury, 2010). The whole process was dominated by the experts and parliamentary members.

5.12 National Plan for Disaster Management (2008-2015)

5.12.1 Coverage of CIM: NPDM mentioned CIM in the section “Plan for women, children, elderly and disabled” stating that “break up of marriages and desertion of wives, children and the elderly often increase during and after disasters following migration of men in search of employment” (NPDM, 2010, p. 73). Still, contains no strategies to address the issue.

5.12.2 Provision for Participation: The contents of the NPDM state that opinions of the stakeholders in the NPDM have been incorporated through workshops. In the national workshop community participation has been ensured. 323 recommendations were pointed out from the workshop. Among them, 87 had direct association with disaster management (NPDM, 2010).

NPDM also mentions that “Programmes funded under the Action Plan will be implemented by line ministries and agencies, with participation, as appropriate, of other stakeholder groups, including civil society, professional and research bodies and the private sector” (NPDM, 2010., p. 34).

According to the NPDM, sectoral development plan is prepared by every ministry/division of the government of Bangladesh. The contents also have the provision for participation of the Sectoral expert in the preparation of the general guidelines for incorporating disaster risk reduction agenda in a particular sector. In the implementation and follow up study NPDM states “Disaster Management and Relief Division (DM&RD) as the focal agency for disaster management will provide the guidelines to be developed with the participation of sectoral experts to ensure its compatibility” (NPDM, 2010, p. 83). Though, in practice the participation has been very limited (Khan and Rahman, 2006).

5.12.3 Formulation of NPDM: Three high profile bodies control activities related to disaster – National Disaster Management Council (NDMC), Inter – Ministerial Disaster Management Coordination Committee (IMDMCC), National Disaster Management Advisory Committee (NDMAC) headed by Prime Minister, Minister of Food and Disaster Management and experts appointed by the Prime Minister respectively (Khan and Rahman, 2006). In the disaster management sectors donors are vital stakeholders. Disaster response group headed by Resident Representatives from UNDP comprised of the representatives from the donor groups (Khan and Rahman, 2006). Though private sector contribute in disaster management by involving themselves in relief works, still they are not part of the participatory decision making process (Khan and Rahman, 2006). In short, NPDM also followed the donor dominated top down approach.

5. 13 Coverage of CIM and Level of Participation

The analysis of policy reveals the coverage and consideration of the issue of CIM, level of participation in the formulation process, provision for participation in the contents of the policies and decision making approach. Following table shows the gap in the provision and

implementation on the CIM issue. Also, the table shows the level of participation on the basis of (Arnstein's ladder of participation) in the policy making process. At the same time determines the decision making approach of the selected policies.

Table 6: Coverage of CIM, decision making approach, provision and implementation strategies of the selected policies

Policies	Coverage of CIM	Implementation of the Strategies to address CIM	Provision of Participation in the Policies	Implementation	Decision Making Approach in the Policy Formulation Process	Participation in policy formulation process
Environment Policy	No		No		Information Based	Manipulation
NAPA	Quite Inadequate	No	Yes	Very Limited	Stereotype	Consultation
BCCSAP	No		No		Stereotype	Informing
Health Policy	No		Very Limited	Very Limited	Information Based	Manipulation
Population Policy	No		Yes	Limited	Information Based	Manipulation
SFYP	Inadequate	Very Limited	Yes	Very Limited	Information Based	Manipulation
Water Policy	No		Yes	Very Limited	Stereotype	Informing
NPDM	No		Yes	Very Limited	Information Based	Manipulation

Table shows the issue of CIM has not been addressed properly by the policies. Also, the policies lack implementation strategies. Though, most of the policies contain provision for participation of the stakeholders, in practice the scope of participation is very limited for the stakeholders. The decision making approach are information based and dominated by experts that has clear leaning toward technical rational.

At the same time, decision making approach of DCC, RAJUK and WASA has also been following the same pattern of centralized decision making structure where there is no direct provision for the participation of citizens or other stakeholders. The only indirect mean for their participation is through election. Still, their voice is not reflected there for the use of power and wealth of the party to influence their voice through vote buying.

Next section reviews the past mitigation and adaptation initiatives on one hand, on the other, initiatives to address the urban poor have also been reviewed.

5.14 Past Initiatives for Urban Poor and Climate Change Mitigation and Adaptation Strategies

Though the miserable condition of the CIM are perpetuating, still initiatives have been taken, on one hand, to improve condition of the slum dwellers. On the other, mitigation and adaptation strategies have also been implemented. This chapter reviews the mitigation and adaptations strategies. Following section analyzes the past initiatives by government, NGOs and private parties for the urban poor. Since, no vital projects addressed the issue of CIM, the initiatives for the urban poor in accessing water, health, sanitation and infrastructure have been analyzed.

5.15 Climate Change Mitigation and Adaptation Strategies in Bangladesh:

This section focus on the climate change mitigation and adaptation strategies by the major donor agencies like UNDP and World Bank.

5.15.1 UNDP: Among the ongoing projects on climate change in Bangladesh, UNDP is implementing “Community Based Adaptation to Climate Change through Coastal Afforestation in Bangladesh”²³ that is being executed by ‘Ministry of Environment and Forest’ with the objective of diversification of livelihood and income generation. This programme reduced climate vulnerability of communities by creating diversified livelihood options.

Another related project by UNDP is “Bangladesh Comprehensive Disaster Management Programme”²⁴ (phase I: 2004-2009; Phase II: 2010-14) that adopts a holistic multi hazard approach and prominence of risk reduction from relief and rehabilitation. The projects contributed to have A Disaster Management Information Centre (DMIC), Community Risk Assessment (CRA), and Capacity building initiatives. Challenges for the effective implementation of the projects were reported ‘natural disaster, political unrest and turnover of high level officials’²⁵

UNDP and Government of Bangladesh recently completed “Poverty Environment Climate Mainstreaming Project”²⁶ (2010-2013) to increase institutional capacity of the stakeholders to address the issue of poverty, environment and climate change.

²³ <http://www.undp-alm.org/projects/lDCF-cba-bangladesh>

²⁴ <http://cdkn.org/resource/cdkn-inside-story-bangladesh%E2%80%99s-comprehensive-disaster-management-programme/>

²⁵ http://cdkn.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/Bangladesh-InsideStory_5pp_pr4F_LR.pdf

²⁶ http://www.bd.undp.org/content/bangladesh/en/home/operations/projects/environment_and_energy/poverty-environment-and-climate-mainstreaming--pecm-.html

5.15.2 World Bank: Among the remarkable project initiatives by World Bank are

1. “Climate Resilient Participatory Afforestation and Reforestation Project (2013-16)” with the objectives of increasing forest through participatory planning²⁷.
2. Community climate change project (2012-16) to increase resilience of the climate affected people²⁸.
3. Clean Air and Sustainable Environment Project²⁹ (2009- 16) to reduce air pollution and improve air quality through sustainable urban transport.
4. Emergency 2007 Cyclone Recovery and Restoration Project³⁰ to assist the vulnerable communities to recover from damage from Cyclone Sidr where increased salinity and destruction, damage and low disaster risk investments were reported as challenges.
5. Coastal Embankment Improvement Project- phase I to increase the area protected in polders and improve the capacity of Government in emergency and crisis prompted by natural disaster³¹

Still, coordinated mechanisms to evaluate the impacts of these projects are missing. Consequently, the effectiveness of these projects is not very discernible. Next section describes the initiatives and also challenges of the NGOs, government and private parties that aimed to provide health service; access to water and sanitation; housing and infrastructure for the slum dwellers.

5.16 NGO Initiatives

After independence in 1971, NGOs emerged in the unstable and inefficient governance system (Chowdhury, 1989) with the primary aim of combating poverty and natural disaster (ADB and Government, 1996). Due to flexibility NGOs can facilitate replicable projects and fund small scale initiatives. Also, NGOs can be an effective channel for intermediating activities between government and slum dwellers and mediate resource from private sectors (Rahman, 2005). At present 2204 NGOs are working in Bangladesh. According to World Bank (2007) some relevant recommendations for improving the condition of the slum dwellers were

1. Implementation of National Housing Policy (NHP)

²⁷ <http://www.worldbank.org/projects/P127015/climate-resilient-participatory-afforestation-reforestation-project?lang=en>

²⁸ <http://www.worldbank.org/projects/P125447/community-climate-change-program?lang=en>

²⁹ <http://www.worldbank.org/projects/P098151/clean-air-sustainable-environment-project?lang=en>

³⁰ <http://www.worldbank.org/projects/P111272/emergency-2007-cyclone-recovery-restoration-project?lang=en>

³¹ <http://www.worldbank.org/projects/P128276/coastal-embankment-improvement-project-phase-1ceip-1?lang=en>

2. Strengthening public institution for implementation of NHP
3. Establishing better cooperation between DCC and RAJUK (among planning authority, line ministry and utility agencies)
4. Ensuring better performance of RAJUK
5. Developing pilot projects in poor areas in collaboration with NGOs (Mohit, 2011).

Though there was no particular initiatives took place to address the need of the slum dwellers, there have been several efforts to address the need of the slum dwellers as a whole. However, for different limitations these efforts were not at all successful. The following section describes the initiatives and their weaknesses.

5.16.1 Housing

NGOs have been less involved for high cost of lands and for involved risk factor for cost recovery. However, some of their initiatives can be implemented on a larger scale. BRAC in collaboration with government provide affordable housing for especially for poor single women (Akbar, 2007).

5.16.2 Health, Sanitation and Water

5.16.2.1 DSK Model: *Dustha Shahtha Kendra* (DSK) is a NGO in Dhaka provides health, sanitation and water service to the slum dwellers. The community based water supply and sanitation is known as DSK model (Akbar, 2007). The core principle of the model was if a NGO provide guidelines, the slum dwellers are able to manage the formal water points. They installed hand pump in the slum areas. However, in dry seasons the ground water level was too low to have water. WASA had provision for not providing water to the areas without legal land holding and so excluded the slum dwellers. To overcome the problem, DSK acted as guarantor for the slum dwellers. In 1992, they established piped water system after the negotiation process with WASA and DCC. By 2002, 115 piped water systems have been established in the slum areas of Dhaka (Akbar, 2007). In the first steps they arrange a dialogue with the community to understand their needs. In the second step they submit proposal to donor for funding. Third step start with the base line survey that assesses the existing practice and select the area for water points. Fourth stage is the implementation stage where Community Based Organizations (CBO) is formed and formal permission from the local government is sought. Water point management and monitoring is the fifth stage (Akbar, 2007).

5.16.2.2 Weakness: For the lack of governance, the slum dwellers have to pay a lot for access to basic services. Usually *mastaan* (local level leaders) took the advantages of the facilities. The *mastaan* take the control of the water points by bribing the lower employee of DWASA for illegal water connections. They sell the water to the slum dwellers with a high price. Slum dwellers who can pay can have access to the water points. Where there is provision of free water, it remains available only for half an hour. Women and young girls had to wait in long queue under hot sun that has detrimental effect on their health (Rashid, 2009).

Water Aid is the main donor for such initiatives. However, they lack funds. Another challenge is that the staffs of DCC and DWASA frequently seek for bribe for establishing water points. Also, legal access to land is another challenging aspect. As the land owners adjacent to slum areas consider these as losing their land rights and a process to establish permanent settlement of the slum dwellers (Singha and DSK, 2002).

Weakness also found in the implementation of the model. A FGD revealed that they were not happy for the long queuing specially in the morning. Also service of the water points deteriorates after several months for the lack of proper management by the communities. Even, the CBO collected water first. Even, they had to pay less than others (Akbar, 2007). Even, social violence increased in some cases. For these water points were not desirable for the large number of people were involved in illegal water business. They created problem for the user who collect water from these points (Water Aid Bangladesh, 1999).

However, the core lesson from the DSK model is the formation of a group for the management of water can be an effective way (Akbar, 2007). Also, DWASA is encouraging other NGOs for such initiatives (DWASA, 2002).

5.16.2.3 Other Initiatives: A NGO developed wealth ranking process in the slum areas. On the basis of wealth ranking, they categorized four types of class in the slum areas- better off, middle class, moderately poor and hardcore poor. On the basis of that they determined cost sharing strategy to establish tube well and sanitary latrines (Ahmed, 2006)

Community clustered latrine projects managed by CBOs is an initiative of partner NGO of Water Aid named Assistance for Slum Development (ASD) (Ahmed, 2006).

Government also took several substantial initiatives for the slum dwellers that were not very successful for several reasons that have been discussed in the following section.

5.17 Past Government Initiative

5.17.1 Housing and Infrastructure

Under Kalshi Rsettlement Project in 1980s, each family was designated a plot of 475 sq feet – a basic one room with access to community facilities. The problem was poor in need of money sold their plot and moved to other slum areas (Rashid, 2009). Government and investor face a dilemma for the mobility of urban poor as they do not own the land and can move any time (Rahman, 2005). Better strategies like involving groups as guarantor to prevent the misuse and selling of lands (Rashid, 2009).

In 1989, a comprehensive plan for slum development was recommended by Dhaka Mahanagori Bastee Samashya Nirasan Committee (Dhaka Metropolitan Slum Settlement Problems Eradication Committee) . Though, the project was not properly executed for change in government in 1990s (Rashid, 2009).

In 1999, government initiated town housing scheme for the slum dwellers to return home with loans, housing, ponds for fishing etc. The projects failed because of improper monitoring activities and at the same time lack of income generating activities in the rural areas (Rashid, 2009).

Slum Improvement Project (SIP) funded by Unicef and implemented by government was designed to provide better infrastructure, primary health care, credit provision and empowerment of women. 185 slum clusters were covered by the project by 1994 (Habib, 2009). However, little information is available to assess the success of SIP and so far has not been evaluated independently (Habib, 2009).

Urban Basic Service Delivery Project (UBSDP): With the funding from ADB, DCC formed 100 urban centres for environmental improvements, health, education and income generation of the slum dwellers (Habib, 2009).

5.18 Role of Private Parties

5.18.1 Housing

5.18.1.1 Satellite town for the Slum Dwellers: The involvement of market in slum development so far remained minimal. Contracting health service delivery for the slum dwellers takes place through the bidding process in Bangladesh. In this process, NGOs and private parties get the contract through competition. In 1998, 47.9 acres of land was allocated by government to build a modern satellite town for the slum dwellers. Government was

responsible for funding and private parties were responsible for implementation (Mohit, 2011).

5.18.1.2 Weakness: The project did not meet the target for high price. The company claimed that the cost of construction was higher than the expectation. Consequently, the price also went up for the flats (Rashid, 2009). The housing made for the slum dwellers were sold to the economically solvent citizens (Kamruzamna and Ogura, 2006).

5.18.1.3 Slum Development by SHEVA: Shelter Improvement Project was initiated. In this case loan from Basic Bank was provided to the slum dwellers for building semi permanent houses. Plan also incorporated separate bath, toilet and ventilation. Landowners were agreed for the mortgage at a fixed rent. The community members also agreed to receive training focusing on water, sanitation, health care and skill development (Rahman, 2005).

5.18.1.4 Weaknesses: Solving the issue of infrastructure involves large investment. At the same time, land scarcity also delays implementation of infrastructure projects (Rahman, 2005). At the same time 97 of the slum dwellers do not own the land they live. In spite of spending on housing, they may shift to other slum areas (Rahman, 2005).

5.18.2 Health

5.18.2.1 UPHCP: Urban Primary Health Care Service Delivery Project (UPHCP): One of the largest PPP in serving primary health cares specially for poor women urban areas. The first phase was implemented from 1998 to 2005 and the second phase completed in 2012. The project was supported by ADB, government of UK and Sweden. The project promotes stakeholders participation as the representatives from poor and of vulnerable groups; Ministry of Health and Family welfare, Ministry of Local Government, Rural Development, and Cooperatives; DCC, NGOs involved in the UPHCSDP; project implementation unit of the UPHCSDP; community-based organizations; donor consortium were involved in the project designing stage. And they claim for ongoing consultation with the stakeholders in the implementation phase³²

UPHCP was implemented in urban areas of Dhaka to provide accessible health care service to the women and children living in slum areas (Mohit, 2011). The project was implemented by ADB through PPP in collaboration with city corporations and NGOs. The NGOs were selected on the basis of formal competitive bidding process and selected on the basis of their technical and bid price (Mohit, 2011).

³² <http://www.adb.org/projects/42177-013/details>

5.18.2.2 Challenges: Though Government spent 10 million on average for this project, expected target of providing health service to the slum dwellers was not met. One core reason was the health service centre opened when they got out for work and closed by the time they came back (Ahmed, 2006). Also, the project was not very successful for lack of accountability, transparency and irregular filed supervision by government (Mohit, 2011)..

The issue of metropolitan governments to facilitate public private initiatives has been raised several times even after independence in 1971. However, it never came in to effect for competition and inter agency rivalry (Rahman, 2005). Even, private sector could not involve for the resistance of the trade union and officers unions of the DWASA. Bottled water and beverage companies interested to invest in slum areas for small scale portable water supply system. They are looking for government’s cooperation. However, the government also hold the opinion that involving private parties would lead to clash with the unions of DWASA. Public sector and NGO both suffer from limited resources. Hence, there is an opportunity with the private sector for partnership. Following table shows the important initiatives for the slam dwellers. It is noticeable that after the 90s, the vital initiatives by the government, NGOS and private parties have been inaugurated. Nevertheless, challenges thwart the effectiveness of the initiatives.

Table 7: Past Initiatives of the government, NGOs and private parties to address the urban poor

Government Initiatives			
Project	Target	Project initiated	Challenges
Kalshi Rsettlement Project	Housing to slum dwellers	1980	Poor people sold their lands
a comprehensive plan for slum development	Development of the slum	1989	Not executed for change in government
Town housing scheme	Slum dwellers would Return home (providing loan)	1999	Lack of income generating activities
Slum Improvement Project	Better infrastructure and health care for women	1994	Not evaluated independently
Urban Basic Service Delivery Project	Environment, Health and	1999	Not independently

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(UBSDP)	income generating activities		evaluated
NGOs			
DSK Model	Provide health, water and sanitation service to slum dwellers	1992	Inadequate water supply, limited funds, dominance of local leaders
NGO	Wealth Ranking Process for providing access to water and sanitation	2000	Not independently evaluated
BRAC	Affordable housing	2000	Not independently evaluated
Private Parties			
Satellite town for the slum dwellers	Satellite town	1998	High Price
Slum Development by SHEVA	Housing and Infrastructure	1995	Land scarcity and large investment required
Urban Primary Health Care Service Delivery Project (UPHCP)	Health	1998	Poor need assessment

5.19 General Challenges for Involving NGOs

5.19.1 International NGOs

International NGOs are mainly concerned with providing basic education for the children in slum. However, other aspects like health, sanitation, infrastructure and water are often not covered. Still, few international NGOs provide support for developing capacity of the local NGOs to work for the development of the slum dwellers. Also, international NGOs like Water Aid and Plan Bangladesh offer technical and financial support to the national NGOs for slum development (Habib, 2009).

5.19.2 National NGOs

5.19.2.1 Lack of Institutional Regulation: There is no institutional regulation for the involvement of the NGOs. Though the high officials of DCC and DWASA are willing to

cooperate with the NGO initiatives the field level staff are often hostile (Ahmed, 2006). NGOs are not willing to get involved to housing for tight government regulations. There is no developed framework to facilitate participation of NGOs, private parties and people (Rahman, 2005).

5.19.2.2 Overlap and Lack of Coordination: NGOs so far could not contribute significantly for slum development in urban areas. Because NGOs activities usually do overlap and lacks coordinated. For instance health related NGOs only work for the development of the health issues, where other related aspects like water and sanitation are less covered. These aspects at the same time also deteriorate the health issue (Habib, 2009). Another aspect is that the NGOs still focus their activities for developing rural poor where urban poverty treated with less focus (Habib, 2009). The primary responsible agency DCC also has also failed to develop a inter agency coordination strategies. At the same time, in fear of government eviction they are reluctant to be involved in slum development (Habib, 2009).

5.19.2.3 Lack of Proper Evaluation: 38 NGOs state that they spent \$ 84 million for 5,732,000 slum dwellers for education, health and environmental awareness. Still, they could not bring any significant change in the livelihood of the slum dwellers (Kabir, 2000).

5.19.2.4 Dependence on International Donors: NGO program depends on international donor agencies. Design and guideline provide by the donors often fail to take into account the conception of the slum dwellers and socio cultural conception (Habib, 2009). In spite of having flexible and innovative approach, NGOs often follow established program in spite of going for new ones unless not suggested by the financier (Rahman, 2005).

5.19.2.5 Development of Housing get less Priority: NGOs main priority activities are improving socio economic condition of the poor people. Hence, working on infrastructure and housing are treated with less priority (Rahman, 2005). Weak institutional support also deters the efficiency of the NGOs. Lack of land records, laws regarding land acquisition also possesses challenge on the activities of NGOs (Rahman, 2005).

5.19.2.6 Lack of Regulations and Laws: Lawlessness and dominance of the *mastan* (local rough) also limits the activities of the NGOs in the slum areas (Aziz, 1999).

In short, causes of limited participation are rooted in the administrative culture of hierarchy, centralization and mistrust towards the NGOs. Nevertheless, involvement of NGOs is an effective strategy for involving slum dwellers. Proper coordination mechanism and ensuring

sustainability of the project would ensure effective functioning of the NGOS. DWASA now allows some NGOs and CBO to work as mediator for WASA to provide and improve water supply for slum dwellers. Supply, operation, management and collection of bills are managed by a trained group of slum dwellers.

5.20 Conclusion: Though initiatives have been taken by the donor agencies, government and NGOs for the slum dwellers, still they were not very successful. Lack of coordination among the implementing agencies was one of vital reasons for this. Moreover, centralized structure, lack of trust on NGOs also inhibited effective implementation. Also, most of the projects were the prescriptions were of the donors communities in spite following bottom up approach. Though, the NGOs worked for the slum dwellers, the implementation strategies are recommended by the international agencies where the affected communities have no room for participation. The government run projects also followed the same pattern as they had to depend on donor agencies for fund and so implementation strategies. These initiatives thus also followed the expert driven top down approaches.

Chapter 6: Analysis of the Case Study

6.1 Introduction: Dilemmas between hierarchy and participation; technical and communicative rational in often visible in the administrative culture of Bangladesh specially in the organizations passing through the transitional phase. In this transitional phase, in spite of recognition of the participatory approach and new concepts, traditional centralized decision making approach is still dominating. This chapter analyse the case in light of points developed in the theoretical framework.

6.2 Institutions: British rule has a greater influence in forming both the formal rules and informal traditions. Hierarchy, centralized structure, high power distance is visible in the society of Bangladesh and in the administrative tradition that is inherited from the British tradition. Social culture in the form of high power distance, masculinity, uncertainty avoidance, collectivism facilitates the administrative to retain the following characteristics

1. Expert dominated decision making where information play a vital role
2. high power distance
3. division of responsibilities
4. prevalence of social network
5. less reliance of existing rules
6. less innovative approach
7. less scope of participation of the stakeholders

DCC, DWASA and RAJUK are also no exception of existing tradition where centralized structure dominates. However, notable changes initiated from the 90s decade. With the establishment of the democratic regime and opening up of the market, decentralization of decision making and participation of the stakeholders became Buzz word in the administrative culture of Bangladesh. Also, NGO sector flourished from the 90s decade.

6.3 Vital Changes from 1990 to 2000

Emergence of the NGOs, several vital government projects to address the needs of the slum dwellers, significant projects of the NGOs that incorporated participatory approach where affected communities had the opportunities to take part in the decision making process. Also projects by the private parties. However, most of the initiatives were not evaluated independently. Moreover, lack of need assessment, poor coordination and change in government limited the effectiveness. Environment Policy (1992), Water Policy (1999). The

water policies though contained provision for participation in the contents of the policy, still implementation of the provision has been very scarce.

Changes in DCC- in 1990 Dhaka Municipality corporation was renamed as Dhaka City Corporation. In 2011 Dhaka City Corporation was dissolved and bifurcated into North and South. Also, urban poor got their voting right in 1994.

Changes in DWASA- DWASA Act 1996 reorganized the activities of DWASA. According to the act DWASA is a service oriented commercial organization. However, decision making approach of the DCC, DWASA and RAJUK is still not much affected with the wave of decentralization. As, the decision making approach of these organizations is still influenced by the ministries and dominated by the expert oriented approach.

6.4 Vital Changes after 2000 and onwards

Initiation of NAPA (2008, 2009) and BCSAP (2009), health Policy 2011, population policy 2012, National Plan for Disaster Management (2008-15), SFYP (2011-15). However, all the policies followed the top down approach though some of them (NAPA, Health Policy, Population Policy, SFYP, NPDM) contained provision for participation. Still participation as a strategy got recognition. Nevertheless, the participatory approach could not achieve the expected level of efficiency for being donor oriented.

Changes in Policy Framework: Policy formulation process also has been following the traditional centralized structure. From the 2000, decentralization and participation motives were expected to be reflected in the policy framework according to the pressure from the international actors and donor communities. Consequently, NAPA and BCCSAP was formulated. Though, the objectives were not visible in the policy documents.

6.5 Reflection of Technical and Communicative Rational: The basic characteristics of the technical rational are objectivity, reliance on the empirical data and analysis of all the alternatives based on information. On the other side, communicative approach advocates for participation, process, negotiation and agreement. The study finds that the decision making approach in the concerned organizations follow information based decision making process that has a clear leaning toward technical rational containing few characteristics from communicative approach.

From the communicative point of view, organizations

1. The officials of the concerned organizations take part in decision making process.

2. Only in the DCC among the selected organizations, the affected communities have provision of indirect participation through the election. However, this has been observed that for the poverty and vote buying process they cannot chose their desired candidate.

From the technical point of view the decision making process of the concerned organization are

1. Influenced by the concerned ministries (reliance on the empirical data)
2. The officials take part in the decision making but cannot contribute significantly
3. In DWASA and RAJUK there is no provision of participation of the affected communities or the other stakeholders.

The study finds that all these three organizations follow the stereotype decision making. In this process no innovative approach is encouraged.

6.6 Participation

From the 90s, inefficiencies of the centralized structure motivate the policy makers to incorporate participatory approach and ensure participation of the stakeholders. Increased pressure from the donor communities incorporated the provision of participation of the stakeholders in the policy framework. For instance, NAPA and BCCSAP claim to incorporate participation in their formulation process. However, in practice, the participation remained in an ornamental stage. For the water policy and BCCSAP stakeholders only got to know what happens indicates the process still remains in the ‘informing’ phases (3rd step in the ladder of participation). For the other selected policies like Health Policy, Population Policy, SFYP and NPDM the participation still remains in the manipulation and therapy process. For NAPA the stakeholder had opportunity to provide their feedbacks that hardly were incorporated in the process. These processes indicate the participation process still remains either in non participation or token participation process.

6.7 Conclusion

In spite of the existing social norms and hierarchy, participatory approach received recognition especially from 1990s. However, the recognition was achieved for the imposing conditionalities of the donor communities. As a result, in the policy formulation process (NAPA and BCCSAP) stakeholders were invited to take part in the process. However, there opinions were not taken into account. The decision making approach of the organizations

like DCC, DWASA and RAJUK is comparatively less affected by the demands of the international donors. Consequently, participatory approach, even as provision like the policy framework did not have any recognition. Still, these organizations are not also totally unaffected by the wave of participatory approach. As the emergence of NGO sector and several cooperation strategies of NGOs with DWASA in providing water supply for slum dwellers, initiated participatory approach. However, there are no opportunities of participation in the DCC and RAJUK. As a result, the issue of climate induced migration is still being addressed by following a top down technical rational approach. Accordingly, the coverage of the issue in the concerned organizations and policies are very limited. Democracy and the scope of participation is still limited and in a transitional phase in the national framework. The same characteristics is reflected in the policy framework and concerned organizations also. Following chapter shed light on the scope of future research and recommendation by addressing the research questions.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1 Review and Summarization of Theory

Institutionalizations, four dimensions of Hofstede, decision making approach from the technical and communicative perspective and ladder of participation have been focused in the study. Institutions are found to be a dominating factor like the basic assumption of the institutionalization. In short, the claim of institutionalization that institutions (both formal and informal) play a vital role is evident in this case. According to the index of Hofstede Bangladesh high power distance, uncertainty avoidance, collectivism and masculinity is higher in Bangladesh.

Informal norms in the form of high power distance, uncertainty avoidance, collectivism and masculinity shape the administrative culture and decision making process. These four characteristics also shape the centralized and structure that motivates expert driven, stereotype decision making approach characterized by non participation of the stakeholders in the ladder of participation.

At the same time, informal norms dominate over the formal rules. For instance, formal rule like provision in the policies, autonomy of decision making (for DCC, DWASA and RAUJK) is often called into question as there is a gap between provision and implementation. The informal institutions shape the centralized structure characterized by hierarchy. This centralized structure promotes the stereotype decision making in the concerned organizations and policy formulation process that has a clear leaning toward technical rational of decision making. Though, Participatory approach is being encouraged specially from the 90s decade, as a requirement of the donor strategy most of the time. Consequently, stakeholders are invited to attend in the workshop, nevertheless, their voice remain unheard. In the participation of ladder, the phase still represents the non participation phase.

Though, a shift from technical to communicative rational is required with the increasing degree of complexity and involving multiple goals, the decision making approach of the concerned organizations and policies still have reliance on technical rational. It should be noted that climate induced migration is a complex issue and involves multiple objectives. Because they are burdening the over populated city on one hand, on the other, they are suffering from lack of access to water, sanitation, health and infrastructure. The reason

behind the reliance on technical rational is the dominance of informal norms over formal rules.

7.2 Review of Research Method

For this study the single case of climate induced migration in Dhaka was chosen for Bangladesh is one of the most vulnerable countries to climate change. At the same time, Dhaka is one of the most densely populated cities in the world with high burden of population and low standard of living of the urban poor. In spite of existing policies and initiatives, inadequate access to health, water, sanitation and infrastructure perpetuates for climate induced migrants in the slum areas. If the issue is not considered with adequate attention, the CIM can make the Dhaka city unliveable in near future.

To address the issue with in- depth exploration, qualitative research method has been used. To explore how CIM is being addressed by the urban governing bodies, three main research questions have been formulated. The study was mainly based on the literature review and content analysis with three in depth interview. Association between institution and decision making approach was established from the literature review. It assumption was that institutions influence decision making approach and leaning toward technical or communicative rational depends on institutions. Based on this framework, decision making approach of Bangladesh has been studied. It was found that for Bangladesh, institution promoted stereotype decision making that limits the scope of participation. At the same time, the limited participation helps to retain the centralized structure. Based on this analytical framework, decision making approach of the selected organizations and policies has been examined. Decision making approach has been found to be information based and stereotype following the centralized expert driven institutions. Also, gaps between the provision and implementation has been discovered both in case of provision of participation and coverage of CIM. Literature review lacks the information of the decision making approach of the organizations like DCC, DWASA and RAJUK. After literature review and content analysis, Interview questionnaire was prepared focusing on the decision making approach, scope of participation of the stakeholders and coverage of CIM and recommendations. Effectiveness of the past initiatives has also been reviewed from the relevant literature.

7.3 Case Study Analysis and Conclusion

The three main research questions presented in the methodology chapter are mentioned again followed by the answer found from the research.

Research Question 1 How norms and institutions influence decision making and participation in Bangladesh?

From the secondary data analysis by explanatory analysis, association among institution, decision making approach and participation is found in Bangladesh. Culture and social norms have been studied to determine their influence on the administrative culture and thus on decision making approach. Socio-administrative culture of high power distance still dominates the administrative decision making where the scope of participation of the stakeholders is very limited in Bangladesh. High power distance, reliance on traditional approach, division of work and reliance on informal network contributes to retain the centralized structure. Consequently, the administrative decision making follows technical decision making approach where the scope of participation for the stakeholders is very limited.

Research Question 2. How CIM is perceived in policies, rules and decisions made by the city governing bodies?

The analysis of this question is based on exploratory analysis is based on the assumption that limited participation of the stakeholders facilitated by the institution thwart the effective coverage of CIM in the concerned organizations and policies. The study assumes that for following the top down, expert or donor driven strategies, the coverage of the issue in the concerned organizations and policies is quite inadequate. Though they address urban poor, there is no unit to address the need of the climate migrants. For the concerned organizations, they lack control over decision making as they run under effective control of the concerned ministries. Policy formulation process still follows expert driven centralized structure where donors also influence the process. In the decision making process there is no scope for the direct provision of participation for the potential stakeholders like affected communities, citizens, media, NGOs and private parties. Though some policy documents claim to ensure stakeholders participation in the formulation process, the participation still remain in the non participation phase in the ladder of participation. Because, the stakeholders were only informed about the process rather than participating effectively. Also, gap exists between provision and implementation. For instance, few policy documents like SFYP and NAPA address the issue of CIM inadequately. However, implementation of the mentioned strategies hardly took place. On other part, though, most of the policies contain provision for participation of the stakeholders, in effect the scope of participation and incorporation of their feedback remained minimal.

Research Question 3. How effective the past initiatives were to address the CIM and slum dwellers?

Government, NGOs, private parties and international donor agencies took several initiatives to address the need of urban poor to ensure better access to health, sanitation, water and infrastructure. Specially, from 90s decades, NGOs became comparatively more active in these sectors. Though, some projects were successful with innovative approach to provide better access to water, sanitation and health to the slum dwellers. Still, the targets were either not fulfilled, or lack the independent evaluation. The most vital reason for the limited effectiveness of the past efforts has been the lack institutional regulation and coordination among the different projects. Explanatory analysis reveals that past efforts though were not total failure; top down approach by the donor agencies limited the effectiveness of the projects for lack of proper regulation, coordination and evaluation.

The three main research question aims to explore the main question- how the issue of CIM is addresses by the urban governing bodies.

The issue of CIM is a complex issue that involves multiple goals that requires participatory approach. At the same time, the initiatives for urban poor do not particularly address the need for the climate migrants. CIM requires special attention in the projects for urban poor as more than half of the slum dwellers are climate migrants. Still, the issue remains a neglected one as the concerned policies and organizations do not address them properly. For the strategies and decision making approach, there is no effective mechanism for the stakeholders' participation. The assumption built from the analytical framework for Bangladesh in chapter 4 demonstrated that informal norms contributes to take the decision from the technical rational perspective and limits participation. Technical ration also limits the scope of participation. At the same time, limited participation contributes to centralized structure. The assumption seems to work for this particular organizations and policies also. Though, the remarkable initiatives of the NGOs are notable especially from the 90s decade, lack of trust, coordination and evaluation limited the effectiveness of their initiatives.

7.4 Further Research

For the time and resource limitation, generalization or building new assumption or hypothesis from this research is not possible. However, the research points to the vital broad scale research that can contribute significantly for generating new theories. Independent evaluation of the relevant projects is necessary to assess their effectiveness and limitation in the proper

ways. That could contribute for better need assessment for the climate migrants and urban poor as well.

Also, participation as a notion is a complex and fuzzy term. Though, participatory approach is a recommendation of the donor agencies, implication of participatory approach in the context of Bangladesh should be focused in broad scale research.

Though, norms is found to dominate over formal rules, the association between rules and norms for Bangladesh should get more focused in the research for informal norms is almost impossible to change where formal rules can be modified.

Another aspect that requires further attention of the future researchers is the adaptation strategies. Effectiveness and strategies of the adaption techniques in Bangladesh requires further attention of the researchers.

7.5 Recommendations

For better addressing the issue of CIM and facilitating participation, the study comes up with the following recommendation from the interview data and literature review.

- National website should be developed containing the data regarding climate migrants and their access to health, sanitation, infrastructure and water facilities. Database should be updated with information every year.
- Autonomy in decision making for the selected organizations (DCC, DWASA and RAJUK) is required.
- Specific unit to address the need of climate induced migrants should be established in DCC.
- Effective partnership strategies between DWASA and concerned NGOs are necessary.
- For promoting citizens participation website of the concerned organizations and ministry should contain all the relevant information for decision making (including the scope of participation).
- Coordination among the government, NGOs and private parties should be facilitated for ensuring effectiveness and avoiding overlaps.
- For incorporating feedback from the affected communities their feedback could be taken into consideration in the form of participatory integrated assessment.

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