

# Chapter 20

## *Planning Exceptionalism?*

### The Political Economy of Climate Resilient Development in Bangladesh

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**Abstract:** Following three major disasters in 2007, Bangladesh intensified its efforts to tackle climate change through development of the Bangladesh Climate Change Strategy and Action Plan (BCCSAP). The process of plan formulation led to debates nationally and internationally regarding the financing and integration of climate change into development planning. Using a political economic lens, this article illustrates how major national initiatives around international problems must be understood in terms of the interplay of actors, ideologies, resources and power relations. The article argues that: (i) Powerful actors significantly influenced the selection of ideas and implementation activities; (ii) Donor concerns around aid effectiveness and consequent creation of parallel mechanisms of planning and implementation may run counter to both the mainstreaming process and the alignment of assistance with country priorities and systems; (iii) Climate change planning processes must be opened up to include actors from across sectors, population groups and geographical areas.

**Keywords:** political economy, climate change, politics, actors, ideology, power.

## 20.1 Introduction and Background

This chapter is based on research into the policy processes underpinning climate resilient and low carbon development (Tanner and Allouche, 2011; Alam et al. 2011). Taking the Bangladesh Climate Change Strategy and Action Plan (BCCSAP) as a case study, this chapter explores the interplay between actors, ideas and politics in the policy space that opened up for climate change planning in Bangladesh. This also examines relative importance of ideology and power configuration between actors in generating and deciding over the ideas for this planning. Finally this looks into how internationally defined ideas influence and gets translated in national planning.

In 2007 Bangladesh faced compound disasters from consecutive monsoon floods and the category four cyclone *Sidr*. Cyclone *Sidr* killed over 3,000 people causing an economic loss of US\$ 1.7 billion while the floods caused damage amounting to US\$ 1.1 billion. The occurrence of these major disasters and the subsequent debate about its link to climate change sparked an intensification of efforts to tackle long term climate change impacts in Bangladesh.

Underpinning the new approach was the recognition that climate change posed a serious threat to Bangladesh's desire to become a middle income country by 2021<sup>1</sup>. Central to the post 2007 efforts was the formulation by the Government of Bangladesh (GoB) of its *Climate Change Strategy and Action Plan* (BCCSAP) and a National Climate Change Trust Fund. An Act of Parliament passed in 2010 then established a donor funded Bangladesh Climate Resilient Fund (BCRF) formerly known as the Multi Donor Trust Fund (MDTF), and consolidated the Climate Change Unit housed in the Ministry of Environment and Forests (MoEF). This report refers these planning actions collectively as 'post *Sidr* planning'.

This planning process has received considerable national and international attention for two reasons. First, that planning will determine the sustainability of development in one of the most climate-vulnerable countries. Second, that Bangladesh is linked to and plays a vital role in international climate change diplomacy and politics.

The process and content of post 2007 plans are considerably different in nature and scope from previous climate change related initiatives such as National Adaptation Plan of Action (NAPA) that was formulated under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in 2005. While NAPA considered urgent and immediate priorities for adaptation, the BCCSAP is more comprehensive and focused on medium and long-term actions through pillars which mirrored the areas set out in UNFCCC areas of adaptation, mitigation, technology transfer and financing. This significant shift in planning was influenced by transformations in ideas, knowledge, actors and incentives in the post NAPA years which reflect the domestic political economy. These include:

- i. An increase in political commitment for climate change
- ii. The rise of new ideas and knowledge on and their contestation in tackling climate change
- iii. The emergence of new climate change actors joining with established environmentalists and their interplay in the decision making
- iv. The influence of international climate change politics over national processes
- v. Acknowledgement of the magnitude of resources required to make the country resilient

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<sup>1</sup> The Bangladesh Vision 2021 was accessed on 24 December 2010 from <http://boi.gov.bd/about-bangladesh/government-and-policies/government-vision-2021?format=pdf>

- vi. The perception of growing financial flows coupled with frustration over the limited flows to date.

## 20.2 Analytical framework and Methodology

Climate change has moved to the centre stage of public concern in a very short space of time (Giddens 2008), pushing development policy and practice to incorporate resilience to the impacts of climate change and a low carbon global future. The change processes required for the shift to climate resilient and low carbon development remain poorly understood. Such change processes have been variously studied through international politics of climate change (Dessler and Parsons, 2006; Luterbacher & Sprinz, 2001), the development of global institutions (Yamin & Depledge, 2004) and the business strategy of global corporate actors (Levy & Kolk, 2002). Likelihood of significant resource inflow to national level influences institutional landscape, knowledge and ideas which eventually opened up space for debate and interplay of actors in shaping kind of policy and practices required for a climate resilient development. The study further assumed that due to transnational nature of the problem global politics of climate change would significantly influence the national policy and practices.

Public policy making and national planning processes have distinct meaning in academic tradition especially in public policy studies. This study, however, adopted the planning process similar to public policy making, which can broadly be defined as: i). setting the agenda; ii). specification of alternatives from which a choice is to be made; iii). an authoritative choice among these specific alternatives; and iv). implementation of decision (Kingdon 2003). Both planning and policy making follow a similar path i.e. conceptualisation, negotiation and implementation, that Kingdon in his book *Agenda, Alternatives and Public Policy* further describes how separate streams of problem, solutions and politics converge to move an issue into the public policy agenda towards potential government action. While Kingdon's theoretical model provides useful analogy for analysing public policy or planning into a political context, studies (Sifayet 2008) which identify their shortcomings, examine policies in non-western countries where international actors and policies play a significant role in domestic policy making.

This chapter bases its analytical framework on the new political economy approach developed by the Institute of Development Studies, UK (IDS) to understand climate change policy processes at national level (Tanner and Allouche, 2011; see Table 1). This approach examines the complexity of decision making and policy processes around tackling global climate change issues at national and sub-national level. It breaks the policy process into three analytical areas of *conceptualisation, negotiation* and *implementation* of climate change initiatives, the framework analyses the interplay between the three lenses of ideas, power and resources. The analytical hypothesis suggests that each of these concepts tends to be predominant at one stage of the policy process of the political economy of climate change. Ideas and ideologies are predominant in the conceptualisation phase, power in the negotiation phase and resources, institutional capacity and governance in the implementation phase.

Crucially, the new political economy approach goes beyond orthodox international political economy analyses, which are often focused on material factors and ignore how ideas and ideologies also determine policy outcomes (Barnett and Finnemore 2004). These ideological framings often become part of narratives that are supported by particular actors, networks and institutions and justify a particular set of actions (Leach *et al.* 2010).

**Table 1: A new political economy analysis to inform climate change and development initiatives**  
(source: Tanner and Allouche, 2011)

Issue	Dominant approach	New political economy
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Policy process	Linear, informed by evidence	Complex, informed by ideology, actors and power relations
Dominant scale	Global and inter-state	National and sub-national level
Climate change science and research	Role of objective science in informing policy	Social construction of science and driving narratives
Justice and scarcity	Distributive justice	Competing visions of climate justice
Resource scarcity	Distributional outcomes (winners and losers)	Political processes mediating competing resource claims
Decision making	Rational choice and rent seeking	Ideological drivers and incentives, power relations

The study was conducted 2010, based on 60 detailed, anonymised interviews with the key actors concerned in the Bangladesh climate change planning process. At least one quarter of these actors were involved in the BCCSAP formulation, including key government officials, experts, and staff of donor agencies. The research team interviewed other key players including campaigners, academics, politicians, civil society members and researchers engaged in the debate and discussions that shaped the wider context. These interviews were combined with a review of formal and informal documents, including government notifications, meeting minutes, formal publications, newspaper clippings and press releases.

## 20.3 The Climate Change Planning Context in Bangladesh

This section illustrates the contextual factors - domestic and international - that shaped the context for post *Sidr* climate change plans in Bangladesh. Chapter 2 and 3 of this book provide further detail on the country's risk and vulnerability to climate change.

### 20.3.1 General Policy and Strategy Making Process in Bangladesh

As per the clause of the Rules of Business 1996 clause 4 (ii) "no important policy decision shall be taken except with the approval of the cabinet". Cabinet is the ultimate authority of approving a policy. There is generally low levels of debate on policy and legislation in Parliament and many important matters, including the Five-Year Plan, are not discussed in the Parliament at all (Aminuzzaman, 2002). Most policy is formulated in the ministry level are not announced in the parliament, so it is not surprising that such policies have little public understanding and are often implemented half-heartedly (Aminuzzaman, 2002). Participation of political parties and debate in the parliament on major policy issues remained weak. Often policy agendas are set through external requirement as opposed to domestic demand, creating limited ownership by society at large. Externally driven processes have also limited political ownership and often create parallel planning processes.

The Flood Action Plan of the 1980s provided an example of how supposed beneficiaries of flood control in Bangladesh - the country's poor majority - were virtually excluded from the decision-making process. The World Bank (1989b, pp. 7-8) notes that past embankment projects have been undermined by deliberate cutting of embankments by disgruntled farmers and fishermen, and hence calls for "closer involvement of the beneficiaries" and "more cooperation among farmers". However participatory decision making has been hard to achieve in the context of caretaker and military based rule and a highly inequitable land ownership pattern (Boyce 1990).

Over the last four decades since independence, Bangladesh has created space for more pluralistic institutions to function and take active role in influencing the policies in Bangladesh. Besides government, political organizations, business community, and donors taking part in the policy making process, NGOs evolved and established themselves as a prominent actor influencing the policy implementation. However, most policies remain driven by expert and bureaucrats following a top-down process. While participation of stakeholders increased, quality of participation of poor people remained weak.

### **20.3.2 The Institutional and Policy Landscape**

There is no exclusive national policy that deals with the climate change in Bangladesh, although a number of policies developed in recent years did integrate climate change concerns. These include the agriculture policy 2009, national agriculture policy 1999, new agriculture extension policy 1996, coastal zone policy 2005, land use policy 2001, forest policy 1995, national water policy 1999, renewable energy policy 2008, national health policy 2010 and draft industrial policy 2010. Prior to BCCSAP formulation, GoB formulated a number of highly relevant national and sectoral strategies and action plans including: i). national water management plan, ii) national biodiversity strategy and action plan for Bangladesh; and iii) national environmental management plan including climate viabilities.

Bangladesh produced its NAPA in 2005 as part of the UNFCCC process, setting out 15 urgent and immediate priorities for climate change adaptation. The development of the plan was led by a steering committee, headed by the MoEF and members of other key ministries. The process also involved selected vulnerable communities and consultation exercises in the capital and other divisional cities. In general however, the document was seen as an external requirement and thus did not receive significant political attention or integration in the national planning process.

Over the last 10 years, there has been significant change in the institutional landscape in Bangladesh centred on climate change. New institutions within government, the political system and non-government research, academic, NGOs, network and campaign have been established. GoB formally established its Climate Change Cell (CCC) in 2004 with the financial help of DFID and housed in the Department of Environment under the MOEF. At the same time, development NGOs and research organizations<sup>2</sup> increasingly adopted climate change as a key area of work. After the national election of 2008, the All Party Parliamentary Group on climate change and parliamentary committee of coastal MPs were also formed.

Policies of the major bilateral and multilateral donors also increasingly included climate change concerns into their development assistance programmes. Climate change moved from a peripheral environmental issue to a central policy concern in donor agencies, although this change reflected donor-driven agendas rather than partner country demand. This policy shift was underpinned by concern around the impact of climate change on development cooperation objectives such as the Millennium Development Goals (AfDB et al., 2003) and led to donor efforts in Bangladesh and elsewhere to assess and integrate adaptation concerns into agency portfolios (Tanner et al., 2007).

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<sup>2</sup> Many of the researchers in Bangladesh conducted studies, either to supply evidence of climate change, for international or supporting various campaigns or attract funds.

## Ministry of Environment and Forests (MoEF)

This is the focal ministry for maintaining direct coordination with the UNFCCC and its related activities at global and national levels. The MoEF has several agencies and institutional mechanisms to implement its mandate of environmental and natural resource management including climate change that include:

- i) Climate Change Unit (CCU)
- iii) Department of Forest (FD)
- iv) Department of Environment (DoE) which houses the Climate Change Cell
- v) Bangladesh Forestry Research Institute (BFRI)

Department of Environment that was created in 1989 under the MoEF is mandated to implement the policies to ensure sustainable development, conserve and manage the environment of Bangladesh. In order to provide a focal point for climate change issues, the Climate Change Cell (CCC) was formally established in 2004 under a DFID/UNDP-funded project and housed in the DoE. CCC is tasked with integrating climate change considerations into various aspects of national planning. They provide a coordination point for other Ministries, as well as lobbying the Planning Commission to include climate change directives in the national development plan. In January 2010, the MoEF established a 'Climate Change Unit' to facilitate the financial and institutional mechanisms for implementation of the Bangladesh Climate Change Trust Fund, which the Government created for implementation of 2009 BCCSAP.

## Economic Relations Division (ERD)

ERD under the Ministry of Finance is one of the most important Divisions of the GoB, mobilising external resources for socio-economic development of the country. ERD leads as the focal point of the Government for interfacing with the development partners as well as for co-ordination of all external assistance inflows into the country. It assesses the needs of external assistance, devises strategy for negotiations and mobilizes foreign assistance, formalizes and enables aid mobilization through signing of loans and grant agreements, determines and executes external economic policy (Source: <http://www.erd.gov.bd/index.php>).

## Planning Commission

The commission is the central planning body of Bangladesh. It is a body of professionals and sector specialists engaged in the formulation of macro as well as micro economic plans and policies of the government. Through the formulation of the five-year Plans and the Annual Development Plans, the Planning Commission in effect translates the ideas, aspirations and the commitment of the party in power. The Planning Commission is entrusted with functions of preparing national plans and programmes according to the directives of the National Economic Council (NEC).

The Commission, through multi-sectoral input-output models, makes macro economic projections and sets output targets for the sectoral activity at different time frames though long term Visions, Five Year and Two Year Plans. Although responsibilities from planning to execution are shared between the administrative ministries and planning commission the planning process starts with the mapping of economic trends and identification of alternative possibilities by the Commission, leading to formulation of the technical framework of a plan. Ministries and agencies participate indirectly in these technical works as source of information. The Planning Commission launches detailed economic, financial and technical appraisal of projects and mobilizes resources for their implementation in consultation with the Finance Division and the ERD.

### 20.3.3 International drivers in the planning process

Global climate change governance in 2007 and 2008 had a strong influence over post-*Sidr* planning in Bangladesh. Table 2 summarises key climate change milestones in international and national context in the formative period between 2005 and 2010. COP13 in 2007 created a sharp divide between developed and developing countries about whether climate financing should be channelled through UNFCCC mechanisms. The developed countries preferred bilateral mechanism through existing financial institutions (Shamsuddoha 2008) while developed countries voiced concern about the extensive bureaucracy of such mechanisms and the ability to coordinate multiple streams of finance. The COP13 provided a framework for mitigation and adaptation for the developing countries under long-term cooperative action, by financing, capacity building and technology, which should be in a measurable, reportable and verifiable manner (UNFCCC 2008).

Meanwhile the ‘the Finance Minister’s meeting’ of the G8 countries, held in Osaka in June 2008, agreed to the ‘G8 Action Plan for Climate Change to Enhance the Engagement of Private and Public Financial Institutions’. They also supported the launch of new Climate Investment Funds (CIFs) by the World Bank, designed to complement existing bilateral and multilateral efforts, until a post-2012 (now post 2015) framework under the UNFCCC is implemented (Shamsuddoha 2008). The financing will be in the form of credit enhancement and risk management tools, such as loans, grants, equity stakes, guarantees and other support mobilized through donor contributions to the respective trust funds, which will be implemented in collaboration with the regional development banks (RDBs). The largest international adaptation effort has been through the adaptation component of the CIFs, the Pilot Program for Climate Resilience (PPCR). Bangladesh was among the initial pilot PPCR countries, with the PPCR Trust Fund Committee committing US\$ 110 million, of which US\$ 50 million is in the form of grant and US\$ 60 million in the form of credit (Climate Investment Funds 2010).

**Table 2: Chronology of key climate change milestones 2005 to 2010 within international and national context**

International and climate change related events	Political change	Bangladesh National Events	Bangladesh climate change related events
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• IPCC AR4 (2005)</li> <li>• COP13 at Bali (2007)</li> <li>• IPCC got noble prize (2007)</li> <li>• UK domestic politics Gordon Brown assumes office of PM (2007)</li> <li>• UK development minister issued a written statement on dispute over Bangladesh MDTF</li> <li>• Launched climate investment fund (2008)</li> <li>• COP 14 at Poznan,</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• State of emergency imposed (2007)</li> <li>• Occurrence of two national scale flood and one category five cyclone Sidr (2007)</li> <li>• Top leaders of two big political parties arrested (2007)</li> <li>• CSRL formed with 200 national and international NGOs (2007)</li> <li>• Equity BD adopted climate change (2007)</li> <li>• Bangladesh</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• NAPA prepared (2005)</li> <li>• UK pledges 75 m GBP (2007)</li> <li>• Caretaker Government allocated BDT 300 Corer for climate change (2007)</li> <li>• BCCSAP process launched(2008)</li> <li>• 1<sup>st</sup> UK-Bangladesh Climate change conference held in Dhaka (2008)</li> <li>• MDTF design (2008)</li> <li>• BCCSAP launched in UK-Bangladesh climate conference in London (2008)</li> <li>• Finance advisor of Caretaker government declared World Bank to manage MDTF in 2<sup>nd</sup> UK-Bangladesh conference (2009)</li> <li>• Campaign in progress on demand of BCCSAP revision nationally and the UK (September 2008 – March 2009)</li> </ul>

<p>Poland (2008)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• COP 15 at Copenhagen (2009)</li> </ul>	<p>encountered severe food crisis (2007)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National election held (2008)</li> <li>• Awami League led coalition with left parties formed government (2009)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New government pledges BDT700 Crore (\$100million) annually under national climate change fund</li> <li>• Cabinet committee formed to review the BCCSAP; and cabinet formed to on expert committee to revise the BCCSAP (2009)</li> <li>• Cabinet approved revised BCCSAP (2009)</li> <li>• The climate change act passed in the parliament (2010)</li> <li>• Bangladesh signs loan from PPCR fund (2010). Climate Change Unit established in MOEF (2010)</li> </ul>
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## **20.4 Post Cyclone Sidr Planning and the BCCSAP**

### **20.4.1 The BCCSAP**

The BCCSAP was first developed during a political state of emergency and caretaker government in Bangladesh in 2007 and 2008. The first version of the document which is referred to as BCCSAP 2008 (GoB 2008) was launched at the “UK Bangladesh Climate Conference” in London in September 2008. Following the general election in 2009, the newly formed coalition government led by the Awami League (AL) revised and approved the current version of the document referred to as the BCCSAP 2009 (GoB 2009).

The objective of the BCCSAP is to integrate climate change constraints and opportunities into the overall plan and programmes involving all sectors and processes for economic and social development. The document is prepared for 10 years (2009-2018) and requires an estimated US\$ 5bn to implement 28 priority programmes to be implemented in first five years (BCCSAP 2009). The document pursues an action plan with six pillars:

- i. food security, social protection and health,
- ii. comprehensive disaster management,
- iii. infrastructure development,
- iv. research and knowledge management,
- v. mitigation and low carbon development,
- vi. capacity building and institutional development.

Finance and technology are regarded as means to achieve adaptation and mitigation. The document has a social justice framing, adopting a broad principle that ‘present day climate change is the result mainly of historical Green house gas emission by the western and other industrialised countries and finance has to come from them’ (BCCSAP, 2009). Thus the document adopted a principle for adaptation funds that should be ‘purely grant basis’.

### **20.4.2 Funds and Funding Mechanisms**

Post Sidr planning included two main funds and funding mechanisms:

#### *Climate Change Trust Fund (CCTF)*

The CCTF is the Government’s own trust fund generated from the national budget. The fund of Tk. 300 crores was initially declared by the Interim government in 2008 that was later increased to Tk. 700 crores (USD100m) by the AL government. In early 2009, the Climate Change Trust Fund Policy was approved by the cabinet, and in May 2010, the Climate Change Trust Fund Act 2010 was passed to back-up the fund. The MoEF formed three committees to facilitate the implementation of the fund; and established: (i) Interministerial Climate Change Steering Committee, (ii) Climate Change Technical Committee and (iii) the Trust Fund Board.

The MoEF called for proposals in November 2009 from GoB institutions and national NGOs to be funded by the CCTF. By January 2010, a number of projects were chosen; 17 were from government bodies and

institutions and 7 from NGOs. Of the total amount of the fund, 66% is allowed to be spent on activities and the remaining amount, 34%, will be invested as a trust for future income.

### *Bangladesh Climate Change Resilience Fund (BCCRF)*

Until recently the BCRF was called the Multi-Donor Trust Fund (MDTF). The MDTF originated in the latter half of 2008 when the GoB signed a communiqué with the UK government, who in turn pledged a grant amounting to 75 million GBP over the next five years to implement BCCSAP. Since UK's aid policy does not allow direct transfer to GoB's bank account, the MDTF was pursued as an alternative mechanism. The World Bank emerged as a fund manager, creating significant national and international dispute between GoB, civil society and donors. At the end of 2010, the utilisation of funds held in MDTF did not start while the final mechanism for the management and governance await approval from the Prime Minister of GoB. Until end of 2010, the EU, Sweden, Denmark and DFID joined in BCCRF.

#### **20.4.3 Implementation Mechanisms**

BCCSAP establishes an organisational structure for coordination and facilitation of national actions on climate change:

- i. National environment committee, headed by the prime minister that is responsible for strategic guidance and oversight.
- ii. National steering committee on climate change, headed by Minister of Environment and Forest, responsible for overall coordination and facilitation.
- iii. Climate Change Unit, housed in MoEF, responsible for coordination and management.
- iv. Climate change focal points in all ministries, reasonable for planning and implementing activities within their remit.

The government set up a Climate Change Unit in MoEF along with focal points in line ministries for coordination of all climate change activities (Bangladesh Development Forum Meeting 15-16 February 2010).

#### **20.4.4 2012 Update of Climate Change Funding and Institutional Architecture**

Climate change policy operates in a competitive policy environment in Bangladesh. The government's priorities include Energy and Transport and are key drivers of economic growth. The country has a reliance on dwindling stocks of natural gas, which is used for about 80% to 90% of electricity generation is planned to be replaced by a significant increase in the use of coal as well as renewables.

It is understood that National Coal Policy is currently being developed.

There is no exclusive national policy that deals with climate change in Bangladesh. The BCCSAP strategy does not specify which of the 28 adaptation actions should be prioritised over the others and in which order the country implements such a long list of adaptation programmes. The absence of both prioritisation and costing still needs to be addressed.

The development of climate change policy in Bangladesh has been stimulated and promoted by the international policy and partnerships. Internationally, Bangladesh has helped develop Least Developed Country (LDC) positions and particularly contributed to debates on climate finance. Bangladesh's vulnerability in an international context has given it a strong moral voice within an international context and it has championed the LDCs. In the longer term, the country's economic development may lead it into the middle income group- indeed that is a goal of political interests. This would mean it would benefit less from international funds.

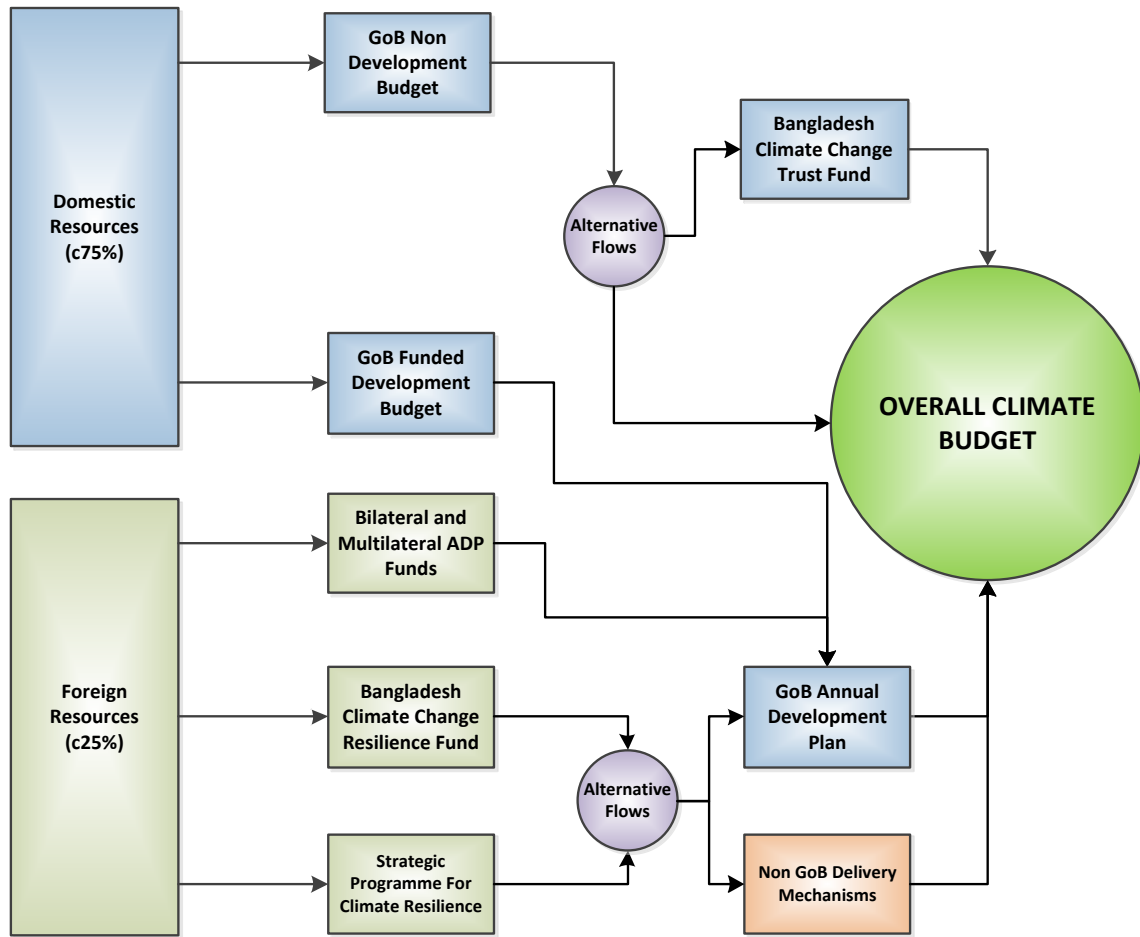
The international and national institutions involved in climate change in Bangladesh represents a wide and complex constituency of interest that included Central Ministries, Line Ministries, Local Government, NGOs, the private sector and donor partners. Spurred on by direct experience of some extreme weather catastrophes, there has been increased focus on handling climate induced vulnerabilities in the light of climate change across the national political consensus. Some of the dynamism and energy has resulted in tangible outcomes with new national and sectoral policies and institutions being developed in recent years all of which included climate change concerns.

Bangladesh has not formulated a policy in relation to private sector involvement in climate change and has not set any target of preferred mix of funding or delivery modalities. This must be considered more fully in the development of a National Climate Fiscal Framework

Development partners and Government have separated climate funding from mainstream Government planning and expenditure for their separate reasons. On the Government side the grounds are that current processes of assessment within the Planning Commission are slow and would delay spending.

The Ministry of Finance and the Planning Commission discussed inclusion of existing climate change funding into the public financial management systems in various occasions. BCCRF and the PPCR are avoiding the formal system and that this is against the principles of aid effectiveness, and that fiduciary risk cannot be an excuse to bypass national systems. However, as the Government's own Trust Fund also sits outside formal PFM systems of performance and scrutiny, there is clearly a need for movement towards accommodation of all funding mechanisms within existing PFM systems in Bangladesh – particularly in light of the already significant sums being processed through Government systems.

Figure 1: Simplified Overview of Climate Funds Flow (Bangladesh)



## 20.5 Process of the BCCSAP planning

The formal process of BCCSAP formulation began in March 2008 and went through three distinct but connected phases until the current version was approved in March 2009. Each phase had distinct leadership, actors and dynamics.

The first phase formally began in November 2007 when the Department of Environment (DoE) signed a Terms of Reference with the UK Department for International Development (DFID) for a policy support grant to develop the BCCSAP. Crucially, this phase established the character of the formulation process by locating it within the environmental arena. According to DFID Bangladesh staff, the DoE was chosen because it was the main nodal point for climate change activities; the DFID and UNDP-funded Comprehensive Disaster Management Program had previously established a Climate Change Cell<sup>3</sup> within the DoE. DFID did not have contacts within the MoEF at that time although they kept MoEF informed about the process (DFID pers. com 2010). A staff member of the Climate Change Cell was assigned to design the programming aspect (CCC pers. Com 2010) while the Economic Relations Division (ERD) of the GoB was asked to produce a financing mechanism for implementation of the BCCSAP. A document was produced to be shared with stakeholders by March 2008.

The MoEF and a few influential climate change experts not involved in this process questioned whether the DoE had the “mandate” and “capacity to formulate a strategy of a multi-sectoral nature”. MoEF then assigned a group of experts to formulate the Strategy.

Phase two was the core BCCSAP formulation process, which began in March 2008 and was marked by the launch of the first version of the BCCSAP in London at the “UK-Bangladesh Climate Conference” in September 2008. The key character of this phase was the involvement of a broader range of stakeholders. GoB announced an allocation of Taka 300 crore (USD 100 million) per annum from the national budget to implement the BCCSAP. UK’s pledge of GBP 75 million over five years came together with the idea of a World Bank (WB) led MDTF to govern, manage and mobilize the finance. This phase saw a growth in debates and campaigns nationally and internationally over the process and content of BCCSAP, as well as the increasing involvement of the WB in the MDTF.

The final phase began when the AL led coalition government engaged in the debate over the BCCSAP and MDTF in the beginning of 2009. The government set up a ministerial committee led by the Planning Minister to redevelop the BCCSAP (GoB 2009 b) which highlighted key gaps in the document. The Cabinet put together a review committee comprised of two previous members involved in phase two and a few new experts<sup>4</sup>. The committee recommended a draft BCCSAP in August which the cabinet approved and renamed as the BCCSAP 2009 in October. Meanwhile, the proposed role of the WB in the MDTF governance and management sharply divided the actors and created a dispute between GoB and donors, most notably the EU and DFID. The centre of the dispute was over the management of the MDTF. While GoB stated that it had capacity to manage the fund, donors insisted that the WB manage the fund, arguing that this would help mobilising more finance. This dispute was later resolved in the Bangladesh Development Forum (BDF) meeting in 2010<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> Climate Change Cell was established in 2004 in the DoE under the Comprehensive Disaster Management Programme (CDMP) of GoB, UNDP and DFID. The purpose of the CCC was to enable the management of long term climate risks and uncertainties as an integral part of national development.

<sup>4</sup> A six member committee comprised of both GoB and experts.

<sup>5</sup> See Ed Miliband’s statement to the UK Parliament

<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200910/cmhansrd/cm100302/wmstext/100302m0002.htm>

**Table 3: Major changes BCCSAP2008 and BCCSAP 2009**

<b>Version</b>	<b>BCCSAP 2008</b>	<b>BCCSAP 2009</b>
<i>Key drivers</i>	Previous technical studies including NAPA 2005	Political commitment of the AL government
<i>Key principles</i>	(i) Wide range of funding sources (ii) Linking adaptation and mitigation: Low carbon development as part of climate resilient development	(i) funding should be grant only (ii) low carbon development without compromising economic growth (iii) recognising the historical responsibility of developed countries
<i>Programme of action</i>	120 programmes proposed. Predominantly techno-managerial actions including physical infrastructure, technical research and development, technology development, and institutional capacity. Only 9 programmes for human capacity development	No significant change in the distribution of actions but additional programmes including planned migration, investment in women's capacity building, and river dredging.

## 20.6 Actors and their ideology in post Sidr planning

### 20.6.1 Actors in the BCCSAP

A wide range of actors and groups were involved in the different phases of the BCCSAP formulation process and subsequent debates. The role of these groups is described below and their influence on post-Sidr climate change planning is summarised in Table 4.

Interviews and documentary review for this research shows how the participation of the *political parties* in climate change issues remained almost nonexistent at the beginning of the BCCSAP formulation process, with no visible party positions. Only the AL included climate change in their election manifesto for the general election of 2009 (Box 1) and climate change remains at the periphery of the domestic politics.

#### **Box 1: Climate change text from Awami League 2009 election manifesto**

“All measures will be taken to protect Bangladesh - including planned migration abroad - from the adverse effects of climate change and global warming” (p21, para 2).

“An integrated policy and plan will be formulated to protect the country from the adverse effects of global warming ... Projects will be undertaken for river dredging, water conservation, flood control, prevention of river erosion and protection of forestry. Attempts will also be made for restoring and maintaining ecological balance. Initiatives will be taken to implement the Ganges barrage project to expand irrigation facilities, prevent salinity and to solve the problem of scarcity of sweet water in the Sundarban region” (page 10, para 5)

The *civil bureaucrats* were a consistently powerful actor over the entire period of formulation. This is not unusual in policymaking processes, as they bear the sole responsibility in the preparation of major policies (Aminuzzaman 2002). During phase one and two, they assigned experts and approved their inputs for the BCCSAP. In phase three, they played a significant role in the negotiations with donors on the governance and management of the MDTF.

The *community of experts* in the BCCSAP process comprised of the country’s senior economists, engineers and environmentalists. The individuals in this actor group formed a community through their historic engagement in the technical issues of environment, water management and poverty. Although fairly small in number and based in the capital, they played important roles in past environment-related policy and strategy-making process. They have strong views about what to do, as well as sharp differences over some policy issues, such as the effectiveness of infrastructural solutions for flood management. This group shares a common incentive, driven by a desire to retain their leadership over climate change issues, and is closely linked to international institutions. Many of them saw a ‘window of opportunity’ to engage themselves in this historic process as well as wanted to see their ideas reflected in the document.

The third influential set of actors is the *internationally connected campaign groups*. Two major groups that have played an influential role in the second and third phase of the BCCSAP process are the Equity and Justice Working Group ([www.equitybd.org](http://www.equitybd.org)), which is a coalition of national NGOs, and the Oxfam-led Campaign for Sustainable Rural Livelihood (CSRL). Networked with global climate justice

campaigns, they mobilised significant public opinion around climate change issues by organising national and international events involving influential politicians inside and outside the government in the UK and Bangladesh. Unlike any other policymaking process (Aminuzzaman 2002), the role of *national and international NGOs* was less visible in the BCCSAP planning process.

The fourth group is the *community of bilateral and multilateral donors*. The historic role of donors in injecting ideas in public policy has increased significantly in recent years, despite a reduction in aid as a proportion of GDP (Aminuzzaman 2002; Duncan *et al.* 2002; Sobhan 2002; Quibria and Ahmad 2007), with the World Bank prominent in terms of economic reforms. Among the bilateral agencies, DFID is the largest donor to Bangladesh, and provided financial assistance to GoB to formulate the BCCSAP (IDC 2010). DFID played the lead role in shaping and negotiating the role of the MDTF (UK and GoB). Bangladesh has a well-developed and free *media* that played a significant role in shaping public opinion and debate over climate change issues, especially in promoting the idea that the MDTF should be managed by the government by publicising the policy positions of the campaign groups.

The direct involvement of the *most vulnerable people* was largely absent in the process of BCCSAP formulation (Hossain 2009; *New Age* 2008). Many of the key members of the drafting committee believed that the communities' views have been reflected in the BCCSAP, as it took note of the learning from the NAPA regional consultation meetings, despite the limitations of this process noted elsewhere (Huq and Khan 2006). During the second phase, such representation may be assumed through the participation of invited NGOs and members from civil society in three consultative meetings organised in Dhaka (along with academics, local and national government and donors). However, their role was limited to raising issues and commenting on the draft.

*Table 4: How actors influenced post Sidr planning*

Major actors	Role in post Sidr climate change planning	Major tools used to influence the planning	Geographical influence	Relationship and configuration
Political parties in Phase III	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Shifting the planning to political stream.</li> <li>Setup cabinet review and select experts for BCCSAP 2009.</li> <li>Include AL's election commitment.</li> <li>Negotiated with donors to secure power over and shaped to MDTF management and governance.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Administrative and political procedure</li> <li>Issuing formal statements nationally and internationally.</li> </ul>	National and international.	Maintained formal and critical engagement with all actors. The campaign groups had access to key leaders AL.
Civil bureaucrats	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Selecting experts in phase I and II</li> <li>Led negotiation with donors and WB on MDTF and loan agreement in phase III.</li> </ul>	Administrative procedures.	High national influence.	Civil bureaucrats worked fairly independently with donors and experts in phase I and II and politicians in phase III.
Experts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Formulating and deciding on BCCSAP content and programmes in phase I and II; and shaped BCCSAP 2009 in Phase III.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Maintenance of relationship with MoEF officials through regular knowledge support.</li> <li>Connection with top government ministers, including PM in phase III.</li> </ul>	High national influence in all phases. Connected to the donor communities.	Civil bureaucrats and donors in phase I and II. The campaign groups had access to some experts in phase III selected by AL government as they share common ideology.
Campaigns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Pursuing climate justice discourse and raising criticism on the process and</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Publishing policy briefing.</li> </ul>	Moderate at international and	Access to and influence over key



	<p>content of climate change planning.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Demanding revision in BCCSAP process and content</li> <li>• Criticised and pursued WB role in MDTF governance.</li> <li>• Pursuing an agenda of no-loan for climate change.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Writing letters to UK and GoB officials.</li> <li>• Use of national and international media.</li> <li>• Engage international campaign groups and Diaspora community.</li> <li>• Street activism</li> <li>• Personal persuasion.</li> </ul>	national level.	experts, minister and top planners in government. Worked closely with media and politicians in all phases.
Donors and lending agencies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• DFID provided financial assistance and support launching of BCCSAP</li> <li>• Pursued and negotiated with GoB on WB role in MDTF.</li> <li>• Pursuing and signing loan agreement from PPCR with GoB.</li> <li>• Some influence over selection of experts in phase I and II.</li> </ul>	Formal communication with GoB, donor coordination and diplomacy.	High at international and national.	Worked closely with bureaucrats in all phases and experts in phases I and II.
Media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Publishing views of all actors.</li> <li>• Some media published independent items on BCCSAP, WB role in MDTF and loan issues.</li> </ul>	Part from regular news items, published editorials and special issues.	Domestic high.	Worked closely with campaign groups.

## 20.7 What role did ideology play in shaping the positions of actors?

The study does not provide conclusions about the relative importance of ideology and material interests in shaping actors' policy positions and raising ideas and alternatives. But the presence of a number of ideologies is clearly visible in the BCCSAP as well as its building process.

The **pluralists** include part of the bureaucrats and expert community. They assume that the liberal planning process creates an environment for all interest groups in the society to influence the planning process. As a consequence, specific measures may not be necessary to involve the most vulnerable section of the community. As a result involvement of local NGOs was seen as a substitute for the direct involvement of the vulnerable people in the planning.

The **modern climate justice** is a descendent of the trade justice ideology and is the most influential ideology shared by individuals and institutional actors within governments, campaigns, media, some of the community of experts and donors. The key interpretation of the ideology is of Bangladesh's right to new and additional resources from international sources to help tackle the causes and effects of climate change with those for adaptation in particular regarded as 'compensation' for damages caused by emissions largely generated elsewhere. Visible at international nature of mobilisation and management of resources the ideology was less translated how resources to be distributed to various vulnerable groups in the country.

The **left ideology**, although less visible but influential in debates and discussions in BCCSAP process, has a historical root in opposing the role of international financial institutions in domestic policy making. Journalists in Bangladesh who raised issues on the BCCSAP process and content in the second phase are known as left-leaning. Bangladesh has a historical presence of strong left political parties until the fall of the Soviet Union. The socialist character of AL and the ruling coalition is shaped by the joining of

influential leftists in AL as well as left parties in the coalition. Many experts interviewed by the research team believed that the coalition government's opposition to the WB role in MDTF and refusal of loans for climate change until 2009 was a reflection of both the left and climate justice ideologies. Some of the biggest contemporary campaigns especially in relation to natural resources and energy are organised by left political parties and intellectuals.

The **faith based ideology** found especially within the Islamic and Christian traditions. Christian ethics have heavily underpinned notions of climate justice both international and in Bangladesh, particularly through the NGO movement and its advocacy. While Islamist ideology has been influential in translating major policy ideas such as education policy, land rights and women's issues in Bangladesh, they played a very limited role in the BCCSAP process.

**Market liberalists** have been crucial in promoting the idea that a mix of grants and loans is an essential element to finance efforts to tackle climate change. This ideology is shared by the multi lateral development banks, a part of government bureaucrats and part of community of experts. These groups also believe that aid effectiveness as a global standard is the most important component of the management and governance of climate change grants.

The combination of the pluralist, market liberalist, climate justice and left ideologies had an influence in raising debates throughout the BCCSAP process. As an outcome, the climate justice ideology resulted in a prolonged campaign in Bangladesh and Europe. The influence of market liberals translated into GoB's acceptance of the WB role in MDTF and signing of a concessional loan agreement between GoB and WB.

## 20.7 Contested Ideas in the Planning Process

This section first presents a list of key ideas generated in the climate change planning process. Then it provides an analysis of how ideologies and shifting discourses coupled in producing contested ideas that shaped BCCSAP process.

- i. CC planning is more effective if pursued within general development planning vs. special planning within climate change arena and MoEF.
- ii. Specialists driven top down vs. a bottom-up process involving the most vulnerable communities.
- iii. Techno-managerial approach vs. programme for human capacity building.
- iv. The climate change fund as compensation vs. concessional loan.
- v. Creation of special financing mechanism i.e. MDTF managed by the WB vs. Bangladesh's control over the fund management.

### *20.7.1 Specialised vs. general development planning*

The Planning Commission is the central planning body of Bangladesh responsible for macro and micro economic plans and policies i.e. National Five Year Plan and Annual Development Plans. According to the GoB's Rules of Business, the ministries are responsible for the sectoral policy formulation, planning, evaluation and execution (Aminuzzaman 2002). Unlike policy making, Bangladesh does not have any formal process for strategy development (Chowdhury 2003).

Planning experts interviewed raised the question whether a faster and sustained mainstreaming of climate change into the country's central planning process can be achieved if it was done through the national

planning process and its institutions. The root of this question rests on the analysis that development can increase vulnerability thus both climatic and non climatic factors are to be included into the climate change planning for it to be effective (UNDP 2009). BCCSAP acknowledges mainstreaming as a means to address multi-sectoral nature of climate change problem. However, the ownership as prerequisite for mainstreaming has been weakened due to BCCSAP's location within a sectoral ministry. For example, the Finance Ministry signed a loan agreement<sup>6</sup> with the WB under PPRC while BCCSAP stated against taking loans.

Interviewed experts concern about likelihood of creation of planning exceptionalism since the implementation of BCCSAP may not go through regular national planning appraisal, approval and financing process. For example, two different governance and management infrastructures have been created for appraisal, approval and monitoring of projects under the BCCSAP. The first is for projects which will be financed by the National Trust Fund, and managed by the Climate Change Unit in the MoEF. The second is for projects to be financed by the MDTF, and governed and managed by an evolving new system with the involvement of GoB, participating donors and the World Bank as administrators.

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<sup>6</sup> World Bank approved a 110 million PPRC project on November 10 2010. In the presence of WB and DFID, ERD on behalf of the GoB signed the agreement in which USD 50 million is grant while USD 60 million is concessional loan.

### *20.7.2 Top Down vs. Bottom-Up Process*

The BCCSAP by design is a specialist driven process and did not involve the most vulnerable communities affected by climate change (Raihan M 2010; Khaled 2009). Moreover, the DFID funding for the development of BCCSAP did not include any activity and spend for involving these groups.

Many involved experts provided a number of explanations on why community involvement was non-existent in the BCCSAP process. They all univocally said that they had limited time to produce such a massive document in six months to be launched in London in September 2008. An expert commented that “the document could have been much nuanced and effective had there been more time for consultation”. A second reasoning is an assumption that there is a limit to climate change knowledge that experts are aware of which community consultation would not substantially alter the content that reflects the pluralist ideology of policy making. The third point was related to the justification that the community consultation was substituted by the inclusion of analysis and studies done during the NAPA preparation. The BCCSAP was finalized with three day-long workshops separately with government ministries, civil society members and donors respectively. Such process was heavily criticised by the campaign groups, media and politicians. For example the current Finance Minister stated that “the representation of the people who are vulnerable to climate change should be included in fund management and developing the climate change strategy paper” (The Daily Star, 2008).

### *20.7.3 Techno-Managerial vs. Human Capacity Building*

The country’s wealth of development knowledge especially in disaster, water and environment arena was transformed not only as evidence of climate change but also to narrate what should be done to adapt to its impacts. For example, the post Hyogo disaster analysis put social and political aspect of vulnerability at the centre of policy and practice of disaster risk reduction (Alam 2007). Although engineering solutions to the disaster problem has always been controversial in Bangladesh, informed interviewees argued that the BCCSAP should have been built on the past lessons from infrastructural projects on disaster management especially from Flood Action Plan in 1990s (Lewis 2010).

The second debate was centred on the inclusion of mitigation in the BCCSAP. The donor community hailed the inclusion of low carbon development as a pillar in the BCCSAP which caused debate among the campaigning groups in Bangladesh. The UK Bangladesh communiqué declared in London states that UK is committed to Bangladesh to switch to a low carbon development path and reduce its dependence on ever more expensive fossil fuel. The New Age daily published an editorial urging that low carbon technology must not be obligatory which will necessarily thwart and impede the progress of the poor countries (NewAge 2008 b). The ruling AL government later adopted two principles: (i) mitigation measures should be supported by finance and technology by the developed countries, (ii) this mitigation activities should not affect the country’s sustainable development growth.

#### *20.7.4 The climate Change Fund as Compensation vs. Concessional Loan*

There was considerable frustration<sup>7</sup> among actors about too little fund Bangladesh received till 2007.<sup>8</sup> This frustration promoted the idea that Bangladesh could accept concessional loans from lending agencies fearing that Bangladesh would not receive adequate amount of grants (GoB 2009 b). Following the huge economic loss resulting from the 2007 disasters, the GoB and Bangladesh's campaign groups shaped the idea of claiming compensation. The Prime Minister and Foreign Minister expressed similar positions in the past. In 2009 before COP15, the Foreign Minister Dipu Moni said "Copenhagen conference must agree on funding grants and not loans" (Daily Star November 2009). At the same time Bangladesh's newspapers ran another story saying "the ERD is pursuing for loan based MDTF sponsored by the WB while the MoEF was opposing the division's plan on the grounds that it contradicts Bangladesh's stance with the LDCs and G77 in the global climate negotiations" (NewAge 2008c).

#### *20.7.5 Special Funding Mechanism i.e. MDTF managed by the WB vs. Bangladesh's Control over the Fund Management*

The communiqué signed between the GoB and UK states that "the UK support will come with 2005 Paris declaration of aid effectiveness aligning it to government owned plan through a Bangladesh Multi Donor Trust Fund ... and the UK will continue to work with GoB and other development partners to make MDTF operational". During the conference the then Finance Advisor made a comment that the WB may be given the responsibility to manage the fund which was opposed by the Special Assistant to the Chief Advisor of Environment (NewAge 2009).

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<sup>7</sup> GoB and the national and international civil society expressed such frustration reported in national and international newspapers. Prime Minister of Bangladesh also expressed such concern in many occasion including GCC meeting in Dhaka.

<sup>8</sup> Till 2007, Bangladesh only received two hundred fifty million USD through GEF for implementing the NAPA.

### **Box 2: Dispute over MDTF**

Following are the major disputes over MDTF:

a) GoB views that it has the capacity to manage the fund and wanted donors to transfer the fund directly to the government. The donors wanted WB to provide the administration of fiduciary part of the MDTF while government thought WB can only provide technical backstopping and skill transfer role. GoB stated it can ensure robust fiduciary risk oversight mechanism. GoB and campaign groups stated WB role in MDTF as an idea opposing the national ownership enshrined in the UNFCCC.

*Civil society groups argued against WB management - High fees of consultants:* Civil society groups, both in Bangladesh and the UK argued that WB hired international consultants that charged high fees. The costs of the WB management would amount to 10-15 % of the funds (which would be over 4 million GBP of the initial offer of 50 GBP). That amount of the fund would not trickle down to the most vulnerable people for which it was intended.

b) GoB proposed to establish its independent governance and authority, and a three-tier governance structure, while the donors wanted to appoint the WB as an independent trustee to the fund. The WB wanted the MDTF to be governed by the terms of the legal agreement between the Bank and the donors.

c) The third dispute was about the sources of finance. The major concern was whether the bilateral fund pledges from the “Annex 1 countries” (UNFCCC) to the MDTF is new and additional to the existing ODA commitments or not. It was campaigned by the CSOs that the donor’s commitment to the MDTF is from their existing aid budget to Bangladesh, instead of being additional money, which is a breach of the financing commitment made under the UNFCCC.

The idea of WB’s involvement in the MDTF can be traced back to DFID’s assessment over the risk of transferring the responsibility of the financial trust fund directly to the government (House of Commons International Development Committee 2010). Direct Budget Support remains off limits for the EC, in view of continuing governance challenges and weak Public Finance Management (Global Climate Change Alliance). DFID told the study team that creating a new institution for managing the MDTF could have been time consuming and expensive. However, the idea of WB’s involvement as administrator created a significant campaign in Bangladesh and Europe, and a huge dispute between the government and sponsoring donors. The Minister of Environment pointed out at the Bangladesh Development Forum (BDF) meeting that “the fund would be administered by the government while ensuring robust fiduciary risk oversight mechanism satisfactory to the development partners”. (GoB 2010) The three year long dispute resulted in a number of changes in the management and governance of the MDTF.

WB’s role in MDTF overshadowed the discussion on the content and process of BCCSAP during the second and third phases.

## ***20.8 Concluding Remarks: Further Reflections***

Bangladesh’s experience demonstrates a number of key lessons in the political economy of climate change planning. Understanding these patterns has important implications on the future climate change planning and their implementation in Bangladesh and other vulnerable countries.

The first lesson is related to the planning approach that can foster and sustain the mainstreaming of climate change into the central development planning. There is always a risk of creating special planning and implementation process referred as planning exceptionalism parallel to existing planning and approval process. A number of challenges emerged from Bangladesh Case Study.

- The first of the key challenges remains with the application of aid effectiveness by the donor countries. Donors often adopt short-term approaches to achieve aid effectiveness by creating alternative mechanisms of planning and implementation risking sustainable mainstreaming of climate change with the overall development planning and implementation.
- The second challenge is domestic in which specialization of climate change arena merits further reflection. The key question to be asked is whether climate change should remain in a specialized sphere led by technical experts or opened up to include actors from all different sectors, population groups and settlements.

The second lesson is related to a wider question of how a society should solve a transnational problem of a significant nature considering the unequal power relations between various actors in which planning and implementation takes place. While there has been a shift from state monopoly over the planning towards a participatory approach, the assumption of equal power of various actors and interest groups continue to persist among the policy elites in Bangladesh. As a result, NGO participation is often assumed to be a substitute for the involvement of vulnerable communities. Specific measures to empower the vulnerable people are a precondition of equitable policy making process and a just outcome.

The third lesson is related to application of climate justice idea and ideology. BCCSAP did not adopt a justice-based framework how various groups of vulnerable people would be benefited from the climate change planning, which the study team believes an unimplemented priority for Bangladesh. To address this shortcoming, study team recommends immediate development of a framework that must outline how resources would benefit not only existing various vulnerable groups but also the people who have already been affected by climate change.

The fourth batch of lessons is related to the design of policy, plans and programmes to tackle climate change. Experts often pursue solutions ignoring the past lessons especially in relation to upscale of existing interventions. Clearly inadequate time for building a long term strategy was a challenge for the actors involved in the BCCSAP. The lack of domestic politics in climate change and limited involvement of parliament resulted in limited debate and accountability of the planning process. Whether Bangladesh should take loans for climate change should have been debated in the parliament. The challenges that need to be addressed are the following:

- A political ownership of all parties is a necessary precondition to protect the country from climate change impact. Government should provide leadership to create such a precondition. Parliament's role should be made mandatory to formulating vital policy and plans.
- Institutional ownership on the planning process is also a precondition for mainstreaming BCCSAP into the national sectoral and planning process. The role of inter-ministerial body is vital for understanding of barriers for mainstreaming and creating enabling environment for promoting ownership over change processes required for climate resilient development.
- Local government must play a vital role in implementing climate resilient development, which is an overlooked area of the BCCSAP that needs to be considered.
- The mega infrastructural projects included in the BCCSAP should be critically examined in light of past lessons especially Flood Action Plan (FAP) and Coastal Environmental Project (CEP) of 1960s and future trends before they are implemented.

- GoB should establish a robust accountability mechanism that has ownership and trust of all actors for the utilisation both national and international resources.

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## List of Acronyms

ADAB	Association of Development Agencies in Bangladesh
ADB	Asian Development Bank
ADP	Annual Development Plan
AL	Awami League
AR4	Fourth Assessment Report
BAPA	Bangladesh Poribesh Andoloan
BCAS	Bangladesh Centre for Advanced Studies
BCCSAP	Bangladesh Climate Change Strategy and Action Plan
BCRF	Bangladesh Climate Resilient Fund
BCCTF	Bangladesh Climate Change Trust Fund
BDF	Bangladesh Development Forum
BDT	Bangladesh Taka
BNP	Bangladesh Nationalist Party
CC	Climate Change
CCC	Climate Change Cell
CCDF	Climate Change Development Forum
CDMP	Comprehensive Disaster Management Programme
CEN	Coalition of Environmental NGOs
CIDA	Canadian Development Agency
COP	Conference of Parties
CSO	Civil Society Organizations
CSRL	Campaign on Sustainable Rural Livelihoods
DFID	Department For International Development
DoE	Department of Environment
ECNEC	Executive Committee for National Economic Council
ERD	Economic Relations Department
EU	European Union
GBP	Great Britain Pound
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GCCA	Global Climate Change Alliance
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEF	Global Environment Facility
GoB	Government of Bangladesh
HDI	Human Development Index
IFI	International Financial Institution
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
LDC	Least Developed Countries
LDCF	Least Developed Countries Fund
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MDTF	Multi Donor Trust Fund
MoEF	Ministry of Environment and Forests
NAPA	National Adaptation Plan of Action
NCCB	Network on Climate Change, Bangladesh
NEC	National Economic Council
NGO	Nongovernmental Organizations
OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
PM	Prime Minister
PPCR	Pilot Programme for Climate Resilience
RVCC	Reducing Vulnerability to Climate Change
SCCF	Special Climate Change Fund
SIDS	Small Islands Developing States
UK	United Kingdom

UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
USA	United States of America
USD	United States Dollars
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organization

## About the authors

With experience in 35 countries in the world, **Khurshid Alam** is a disaster and climate change specialist. He was ActionAid's Emergency Policy Advisor--and the Director of the Tsunami Response Programme in six countries until becoming the Managing Director of ThinkAhead Limited in 2006. He writes widely on humanitarian and climate change issues—authored or/and co-authored three books and many articles. As consultant, he played a key role in drafting the national DRR framework of the Government of Malawi and the national community based DRR strategy of the Government of Cambodia. He was also a consultant of UNFCCC drafting technical paper on DRR and CCA. An anthropologist by training, he currently lives in Dhaka. [alam@khurshidalam.org](mailto:alam@khurshidalam.org)

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