

Raiyan Al-Mansur*

Assessment of Social Protection as a Form of Capabilities to Reduce Climate Change Vulnerabilities: Public Sectors Initiatives of Bangladesh

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Editorial

The conference “Environmental Change and Migration: From Vulnerabilities to Capabilities” was the first of a new conference series on “Environmental Degradation, Conflict and Forced Migration”. It was organised by the European Science Foundation, the Bielefeld University and its Center for Interdisciplinary Research. The Center on Migration, Citizenship and Development (COMCAD), the Universities’ unit responsible for scientific content and quality of the conference, has launched a COMCAD Working Paper Series on “Environmental Degradation and Migration”. The new series intends to give conference participants the opportunity to share their research with an even broader audience.

The symposium focused on how environmental change impacts the nexus between vulnerabilities on the one hand and capabilities on the other hand, and how this relationship affects mobility patterns. Although the conference organizers chose to include all kinds of environmental change and types of migration, climate change figured prominently among the submissions to the conference. Therefore, the conference aimed to bring together the perspectives from climate change, vulnerability, and migration studies, and to draw conclusions about the political implications of the knowledge scientists currently have available. Toward that goal, the conference was structured along three pillars. The first concentrated on climate change and the vulnerability of certain regions and groups. It covered case studies as well as different approaches for making climate change projections and assessing the likelihood of vulnerability. The second pillar focused on empirical research on environmentally induced migration from a vulnerabilities perspective, but acknowledged the occasionally strong elements of capability within it. In this way, the aim was to learn about approaches and options to support existing capabilities. The third pillar was concerned with the opportunities and pitfalls of policy options in dealing with the future challenge of climate induced displacement, and with the analysis of dominant public discourses within the field.

The researchers invited represented a wide range of disciplines, including sociology, social anthropology, migration, conflict, gender and development studies, geography, political science, international law, and climate and environmental science. The conference was also well balanced in terms of geographic origin, gender, and academic status of the participants. The conference programme and full report can be found at www.esf.org/conferences/10328.

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University of Bielefeld
Center on Migration, Citizenship and Development (COMCAD)
Postfach 100131
D-33501 Bielefeld
Homepage: <http://www.comcad-bielefeld.de>

Abstract

Climate change is forcing vulnerable communities in developing countries to adapt to unprecedented climate stress. Developing countries like Bangladesh is especially vulnerable to climate change because of their geographic exposure; northern part of Bangladesh is gradually going to be desert with continued drought. At the same time, the southern part of Bangladesh is being threatened by cyclone and high tidal wave sinks of the saline water of sea. Due to limited adaptive capacities as well as lack of proper social protection initiatives, vulnerable communities are forced to migrate themselves in urban areas for better livelihood. This in turn poses multiple threats to economic growth and wider poverty reduction. Main focus of this paper is to find out the extent of the two Government initiated social protection schemes (Vulnerable Group Development and Food for Work) to reduce climate forced migration.

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1. Introduction

Bangladesh is frequently cited as one of the most vulnerable countries to climate change because of its disadvantageous geographic location; flat and low-lying topography; high population density; high levels of poverty; reliance of many livelihoods on climate sensitive sectors, and inefficient institutional aspects (Huq and Ayers, 2007). Many of the anticipated adverse affects of climate change, such as sea level rise, higher temperatures, enhanced monsoon precipitation, and an increase in cyclone intensity, will aggravate the existing stresses that already impede development in Bangladesh, particularly by reducing water and food security and damaging essential infrastructure (MOEF, 2005). These impacts could be extremely detrimental to the economy, the environment, national development, and the people of Bangladesh (Reid and Sims, 2007).

The country is expected to be among the worst affected climate change. Bangladesh is often exposed to severe natural disasters because of its very flat topography and low land above sea level. Therefore, almost every year, a huge portion of the population is displaced, both temporarily and permanently, due to these calamities. Approximately 500,000 people were displaced when the Bhola Island was permanently inundated by the floods of 2005¹. In addition, recent occurrences of major cyclones like Sidr, 2007, and Aila, 2009, may be an indication of more frequent and severe climatic catastrophes. But, there is still a lack of awareness among the public about climate change and also, little consensus among the concerned bodies about the existence and the types of environmental effects of climate change and the numbers of environmental displacements. Lack of coordination among the organizations makes the situation even more difficult to tackle. As a result, it is impossible to properly address the number of people displaced by natural phenomena and to protect their rights.

In Bangladesh, the coastal area is particularly susceptible to various disasters like cyclones, tidal surges and floods. The population of the area is about 35.08 million (BBS, 2003), and is expected to grow to about 41.8 million in 2015 and 57.9 million in 2050 (Falguni, 2009). The percentage of people under the poverty line is also higher in the southern (Khulna, Barisal) and the northern (Rajshahi) parts of Bangladesh. It is more than 45%, followed by Chittagong

¹ <http://www.climatechangecorp.com/content.asp?ContentID=5871>

and Dhaka². Environmental degradation is one of the main reasons behind the greater poverty in this

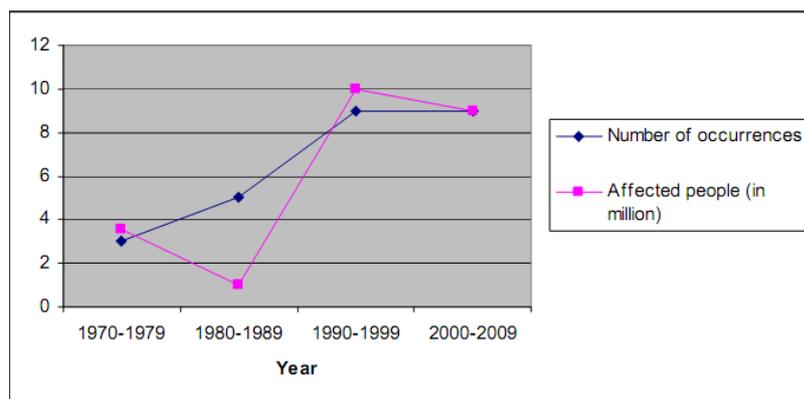
region. People there are mainly small farmers, agricultural laborers and fishermen whose livelihoods depend on natural resources. Moreover, a combination of poverty, lack of resources, population growth and institutional inaptitude make people more susceptible to natural disasters, resulting in population displacement.

1.1. Evidence in Bangladesh: Trends and Patterns

Bangladesh is about 80% flatlands, and 20% of the land is 1 meter or less above sea level. Coastal Bangladesh is particularly vulnerable to sea level rise as 12 out of its 19 districts are directly exposed to the sea. The exposed coast has a population density of 570 persons/ sq. km. while the inland coasts have a density of 1200 persons/ sq. km. It is a critical zone in terms of frequent coastal floods, cyclones and tidal surges. IPCC's fourth assessment report, 2007, depicts that a 1 m sea level rise will displace 14.8 million people by inundating a 29,846 sq. km. area. According to a World Bank report, sea level rise is currently recorded at 4-8 mm/year³.

From 1970 to 2009, the total number of major cyclones striking Bangladesh was 26, where the number of occurrences increased significantly since 1990. It should also be noted that the highest number of affected people has been recorded after 1990. In 2007, the country was ravaged by Cyclone Sidr, which displaced 650,000 people and killed 3,447.

Figure 1: Frequency of major Cyclone and number affected people



(Source: BBS. 2007)

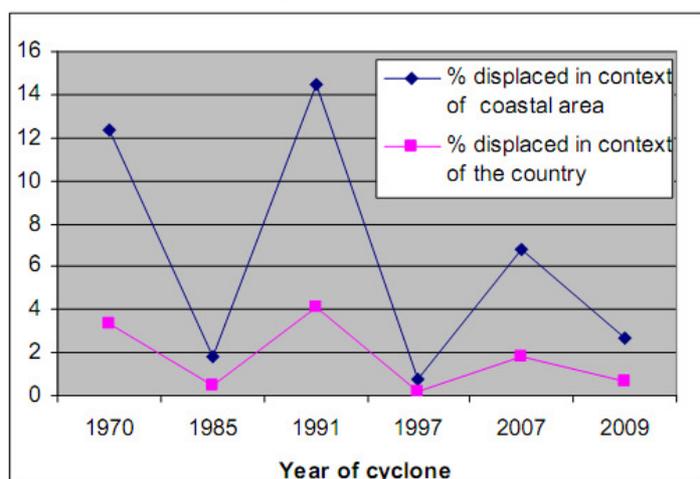
² <http://bangladesheconomy.wordpress.com/2008/11/24/bangladesh-could-halve-poverty-by-2015/>

³ http://www.indiawaterportal.org/data/climate/globalimpact/Sea_level_rise.html

In the year 2009, two cyclones hit (cyclone Bijli, April 2009, and cyclone Aila, May 2009). About 200,000 people were displaced by cyclone Bijli. The intensity of the damage caused by the cyclones in 2009 might not be as high as cyclone Sidr, but though the country was hit twice in the same year.

The year of 1970, 1985, 1991, 1997, 2007 and 2009 are well-known because of devastating cyclones which caused massive damages in terms of life, livelihoods and properties. Most of the landfall areas of these cyclones are Chittagong and Khulna-Barisal. The wind speed (223 kph) and the tidal surge (15 ft) were highest for Sidr in the 10 years' occurrences. To estimate the number of displaced people, the total number of fully damaged houses, total population of the country and coastal area as well as average

Figure 2: Percentage of displaced people with respect to total population in coastal area and the country



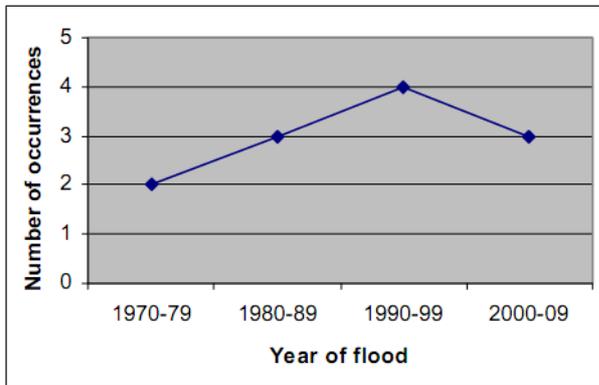
(Source: BBS, 2007)

household size of corresponding year of major cyclone incident is taken into account. Major natural events are considered, as it is expected that the severity will increase due to climate change. Therefore, the findings reveal that on average, between 2% and 6.5% of the people were displaced with respect to the total population of the country and of the coastal area respectively (Figure 2).

Recurrent floods are being widely mentioned as an impact of climate change, alongside frequent and severe cyclones. The country tends to have more devastating floods because of higher sea levels. This is due reduced gradient of rivers, higher rainfall in the Ganges-Meghna-Brahmaputra river basins and melting of glaciers in the Himalayas (Pender, 2007).

Bangladesh is facing floods almost every year due to heavier rainfall inside and outside the country. Further, the frequency of floods has become increasingly unpredictable and extreme.

Figure 3: Numbers of occurrences of flood since 1970

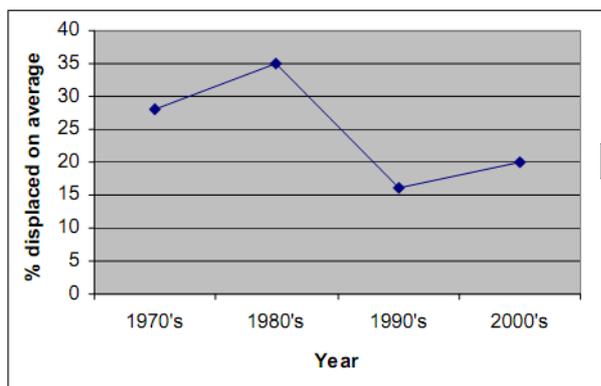


(Source: BBS. 2007)

After citing major flood occurrences in Bangladesh from 1970 to 2009, it can be inferred that the frequency of major flood occurrences has increased since 1990 (figure 3).

Major flood events are selected on the basis of the percentage of inundated area (above 20%) and the amount of displaced people. Therefore, it observed that 25% of the population (39 million) have been displaced, on average, by floods since 1970 (figure 4).

Figure 4: Average displacement by flood since 1970



(Source: BBS. 2007)

In 2000, about 3 million people became homeless due to inundation of 5 coastal districts. In 2004, 39 districts were affected, leaving 36 million people homeless.

2. Conceptual framework

In this section, this paper conceptualize different aspects like climate forced migration, climate vulnerabilities, social protection, measures of social protection, concept of adaptive social protection.

2.1. Concept of Climate Forced Migration

Environment has probably always been a factor of migration. As early as in late prehistoric times, the first human beings used to migrate when they had exploited the resources of their immediate environment. Throughout history, environment has been a major trigger for migration and displacement, voluntary or not. More recently, natural disasters and increasing environmental disruptions have forced millions of people to relocate, temporarily or permanently, drawing scholars, NGOs and policy-makers to consider the emergence of a new category of forced migrants, improperly called ‘environmental refugees’.

The concept of ‘environmental refugees’ dates back to the 1970s, when Lester Brown, from the World Watch Institute, an environmental think-tank, used it in various speeches. But it is only in 1985 that a report from the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) specifically addressed the issue (El-Hinnawi 1985) and provided a first definition of these ‘environmental refugees’:

“Those people who have been forced to leave their traditional habitat, temporarily or permanently, because of a marked environmental disruption (natural and/or triggered by people) that jeopardized their existence and/or seriously affected the quality of their life. By ‘environmental disruption’ in this definition is meant any physical, chemical and/or biological changes in the ecosystem (or resource base) that render it, temporarily or permanently, unsuitable to support human life.”

Later, the concept has been frequently used in various international conferences, such as the 1992 Rio Summit, or the 1997 Kyoto Conference on Climate Change. High-profile officials such as former US President Bill Clinton or UN former Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali have also used the term, facilitating its recognition in the media. Since then, advocacy groups, environmentalists, NGOs, and a few social scientists, have produced quite a lot of grey literature on this ‘new’ kind of migrants. But the topic is still quite controversial, some prominent figures in refugee studies going as far as contesting their very existence (Black 2001).

2.2. The Concept of Vulnerability: Definitions and Issues

Environment has probably always been a factor of migration. As early as in late prehistoric times, the first human beings used to migrate when they had exploited the resources of their immediate environment. Throughout history, environment has been a major trigger for migration and displacement, voluntary or not. More recently, natural disasters and increasing environmental disruptions have forced millions of people to relocate, temporarily or permanently, drawing scholars, NGOs and policy-makers to consider the emergence of a new category of forced migrants, improperly called 'environmental refugees'.

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2.3. The Concept of Vulnerability: Definitions and Issues

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), in its Second Assessment Report, defines vulnerability as "the extent to which climate change may damage or harm a system." It adds that vulnerability "depends not only on a system's sensitivity, but also on its ability to adapt to new climatic conditions" (Watson et al. 1996: 23). In a presentation made at the Sixth Conference of the Parties to the UNFCCC (COP-6), Robert T. Watson, Chair of the IPCC, defines vulnerability as

"the extent to which a natural or social system is susceptible to sustaining damage from climate change, and is a function of the magnitude of climate change, the sensitivity of the sys-

tem to changes in climate and the ability to adapt the system to changes in climate. Hence, a highly vulnerable system is one that is highly sensitive to modest changes in climate and one for which the ability to adapt is severely constrained (IPCC 2000a).”

A common theme in the climate change impacts and vulnerability literature is the idea that countries, regions, economic sectors and social groups differ in their degree of vulnerability to climate change (Bohle et al. 1994). This is due partly to the fact that changes in temperature and precipitation will occur unevenly and that climate change impacts will be unevenly distributed around the globe. It is also due to the fact that resources and wealth are distributed unevenly. Though vulnerability differs substantially across regions, it is also recognized that “even within region impacts, adaptive capacity and vulnerability will vary” (IPCC 2001: 15).

As noted by (Smit et al., 2000), some authors distinguish “pre-adaptation vulnerability” from “post-adaptation vulnerability.” (Kelly and Adger, 2000) argue that according to the IPCC approach, vulnerability is contingent on estimates of the potential climate change and adaptive responses. In other words, “the level of vulnerability is determined by the adverse consequences that remain after the process of adaptation has taken place” (Kelly and Adger 2000: 327). From a natural hazards perspective, (Blaikie et al., 1994) define vulnerability as “The characteristics of a person or group in terms of their capacity to anticipate, cope with, resist and recover from the impact of a natural hazard”. The same authors argue that vulnerability “is a measure of a person or group’s exposure to the effects of a natural hazard, including the degree to which they can recover from the impact of that event”

These definitions of vulnerability and adaptation have implications for assessments of vulnerability. In one case, vulnerability depends on the adaptation that has taken place; in the other, vulnerability is defined in terms of capacity to adapt, and capacity to respond to stress is a starting point for impact analysis.

2.4. Concept of Social Protection

Social Protection is one kind of social safety net measure in order to prevent the vulnerable section of its population to fall beyond a certain level of poverty. Social protection has traditionally been defined in terms of a range of public institutions, norms and programmes aimed at protecting individuals and their households from poverty and deprivation (Barrientos and Shepherd, 2003). These broadly include labour and employment standards, programmes aimed at covering contingencies arising from life-cycle contingencies such as maternity and old age, norms and programmes directed at work related contingencies such as unemployment or work related injuries, and basic safety nets (ibid).

Social protection is generally taken to be broader than social security. Social security is normally associated with compensatory, comprehensive, welfare state programmes such as those existing in advanced economies (ibid). Social protection is also broader than social insurance, normally restricted to contributory programmes covering a specific range of contingencies. It is broader than social safety nets, which are mainly temporary interventions in response to food or income crises. In its traditional meaning, therefore, social protection is a broader concept (ibid). The CPRC suggests that social protection policies and programmes are best understood as those which aim to help poor and vulnerable people manage risk and overcome deprivation, through direct cash or in-kind transfers. Specific social protection measures need to be complemented by wider legislation, policy reforms and actions that help reduce risks and promote social equity and inclusion. Social protection seeks to reduce the deprivation and improve the future prospects of poor and vulnerable people and households (Moore, 2007). However, even when such policies and programmes are working well, assisting the poorest and most socially marginalized people can be very difficult (ibid). This is a particularly important issue in countries with mass poverty, where a large minority, or sometimes a majority, of the population lives below the poverty line. In such contexts, effective social protection policies may benefit millions of poor people but do little or nothing for the very poorest (ibid)

So the main purpose of social protection are-

- To prevent, mitigate and enhance the ability to cope with and recover from the major hazards faced particularly by all poor people
- To contribute to ultra poor people's ability to emerge from poverty, deprivation and insecurity and to challenge the oppressive socio-economic relationships which could be keeping them poor, by increasing livelihood security and linking such increases to promoting enhanced livelihoods; and
- To enable the less active poor to live a dignified life with an adequate standard of living, such that poverty is not passed from one generation to the next.

2.5. Measures of social protection

Institute of Development Studies categorizes different social protection instruments under protective, preventive, promotive and transformative measure. This section reviews different social protection measures.

“Protective measures provide relief from deprivation. Protective measures are narrowly targeted safety net measures in the conventional sense – they aim to provide relief from poverty and deprivation to the extent that promotional and preventive measures have failed to do so.

Protective measures include social assistance for the “ultra poor”, especially those who are unable to work and earn their livelihood.” (Devereux and Wheeler, 2004)

“*Preventive measures* seek to avert deprivation. Preventive measures deal directly with poverty alleviation. They include social insurance for “economically vulnerable groups” – people who have fallen or might fall into poverty, and may need support to help them manage their livelihood shocks. This is similar to social safety net.”(*ibid*)

“*Promotive measures* aim to enhance real incomes and capabilities, which is achieved through a range of livelihood-enhancing programmes targeted at households and individuals, such as microfinance and school feeding. The inclusion of promotive measures as a category here is open to the criticism that it takes social protection too far beyond its original conceptualization.” (*ibid*)

“*Transformative measures* seek to address concerns of social equity and exclusion, such as collective action for workers’ rights, or upholding human rights for minority ethnic groups. Transformative interventions include changes to the regulatory framework to protect socially vulnerable groups.” (*ibid*)

2.6. Concept of Adaptive Social Protection

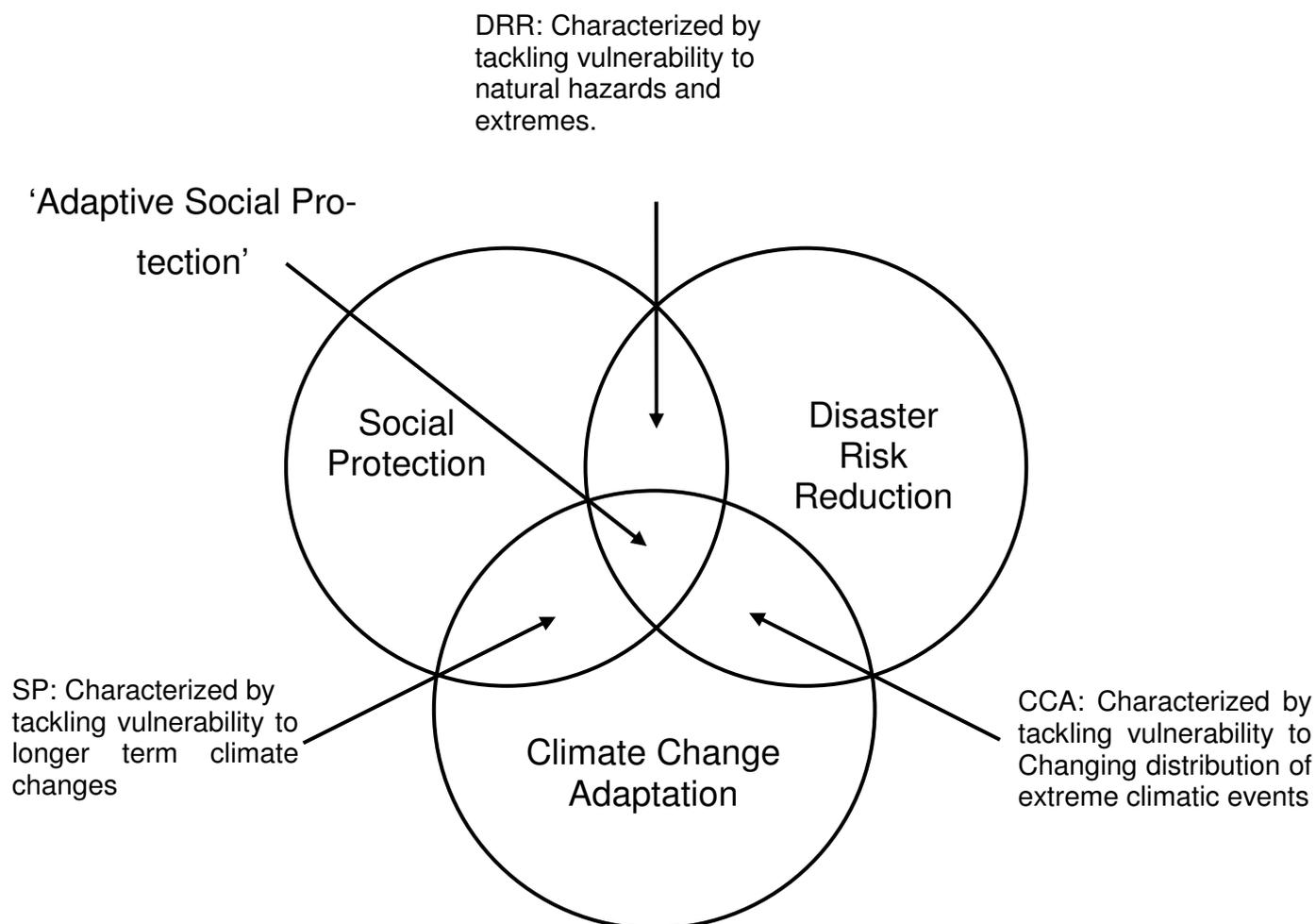
To strengthen social protection and climate change adaptation approaches, IDS researchers have developed an ‘adaptive social protection’ framework. This framework characterizes social protection measures that acknowledge the changing nature of climate-related impacts, including the future existence of conditions that have not been experienced before. (Davies et al., 2008)

Features of this framework include:

- An emphasis on promotion that aims to transform productive livelihoods as well as protect, and adapt to changing climate conditions rather than simply reinforcing coping mechanisms.
- An understanding of the structural root causes of poverty in a particular region or sector, permitting more effective targeting of vulnerability to multiple shocks and stresses.
- Incorporation of a rights-based rationale for action, stressing equity and justice dimensions of chronic poverty and climate change adaptation in addition to instrumentalist rationale based primarily on economic efficiency.
- An enhanced role for research from both the natural and social sciences to inform the development and targeting of social protection policies and measures in the context of the burden of both geophysical hazards and changing climate-related hazards.

- A long-term perspective for social protection policies that takes into account the changing nature of shocks and stresses.

Figure 5: A conceptual framework of Adaptive Social Protection



Source: (Davies et al., 2008)

2.7. Towards Adaptive Social Protection approaches through Social Protection

The social protection policy agenda focuses on the poorest sections of society and the transfer of resources (especially cash) to households to smooth consumption or support income. In DRR, efforts within relief and recovery are designed to smooth the social impact of distresses, with far less emphasis on preventative approaches that tackle disasters from a holistic perspective. In adaptation, attention to building on existing coping practices is also focused on smoothing distresses as a first step.

Social protection has much to offer in helping the poorest reduce their exposure to current DRR and future adaptation climate shocks. Table 1 highlights potential adaptation benefits of different strands of social protection.

Table 1: Promoting adaptive social protection through social protection

SP category	SP instruments	Adaptation and DRR benefits
Protective (coping strategies)	-social service provision -basic social transfers (food/cash) -pension schemes	-protection of those most vulnerable to climate risks, with low levels of adaptive capacity
Preventive (coping strategies)	-safety nets -social transfers -public works programmes -livelihood diversification -weather-indexed crop insurance	-prevents damaging coping strategies as a result of risks to weather-dependent livelihoods
Promotive (building adaptive capacity)	-social transfers -access to credit -asset transfers/protection -starter packs (drought/flood-resistant) -access to common property resources	- promotes resilience through livelihood diversification and security to withstand climate related shocks - promotes opportunities arising from climate change
Transformative (building adaptive capacity)	-promotion of minority rights -anti-discrimination campaigns -social funds	-transforms social relations to combat discrimination underlying social and political vulnerability

Source: (Davies et al., 2008)

3. Government Social Protection Programme in Bangladesh

In this part, this paper evaluates government organizations social protection programmes to explore to what extent address adaptive social protection concept for better livelihood for climate migrant. For this I evaluate two programmes of Government organization. These are Vulnerable Group Development (VGD), Food for Work Programme (FFW). First I give overall discursion of these programmes then evaluate to what extent these programme addressing the concept Adaptive Social Protection to reduce climate migrant.

3.1. Vulnerable Group Development (VGD)

The Vulnerable Group Development (VGD) is a national targeted food aid program aimed at improving the lives of the poorest and most disadvantaged women in rural Bangladesh (Ninno, 2000). It started in 1975 as a relief program. There are two different forms of VGD: Income Generating Vulnerable Group Development (IGVGD) and Food Security Vulnerable Group Development (FSVGD). IGVGD participants are provided with a monthly food ration of 30 kilograms of wheat/rice or 25 kilograms of fortified flour (atta) while FSVGD participants are provided with a cash support of Taka 100 along with 15 kilograms flour. VGD activities are run on a two-year cycle, and participants can only participate for one cycle.

According to WFP the selection criteria of VGD beneficiaries is as follows:

1. Preference is given to poor women who are household heads and women who are either widowed, divorced, separated, deserted or have a disabled husband.
2. The vulnerability of women is measured by the following factors:
 - Landlessness or ownership of less than 0.5 acres (50 decimals) of land
 - Irregular income or family income of less than Tk. 300 per month
 - Lack of reproductive assets
 - Women who are daily or casual laborers
3. Priority should be given to women who:
 - are physically fit
 - have the ability to develop their socioeconomic condition
 - are interested to work in groups
4. Women who have been selected once as a beneficiary of this project cannot be selected a second time.
5. Women who are already members of other organizations or other groups and enjoy the benefits of those projects are disqualified from being considered as beneficiaries of the VGD project.

3.1.1. Assessment of Vulnerable Group Development (VGD) Programme

VGD is safety net programme which address Adaptive Social Protection through protective and preventive measures of social protection for the Ultra poor. IGVD provide 30kg rice/wheat or 25 kg flour to the beneficiaries which work as protective and preventive measures but there is no saving option for their present as well as future need. So IGVD has coping capacity but no adaptive capacity for future disaster risk reduction But FSVGD programme is provide 100 BDT cash support as well as 15 kg flour which has some sorts of disaster risk reduction by investing money in livestock production. But both form of this VGD programme run only two year cycle and the beneficiaries get the benefit for only one year. So the financial support is not working as they desire. Though these programme have some criticisms. Following the general guideline outlined first, identified several possible issues that might diminish the effectiveness of the VGD programme. The first issue refers to the proper selection of beneficiaries. The second issue deals with the quantity and quality of grain delivered to the beneficiaries, whereas the third concerns their utilization of grain.

The selection of beneficiaries is a very important issue in the VGD programme. People who are not poor as well as climate migrant and people who do not meet the selection criteria are

sometimes selected. There are cases of people being selected because they are related to the implementing officials. Some people had to pay a fee to be included in the programme. In such cases, it suggests that the selection process was not fair and objective.

The second issue refers to the "efficiency of food delivery" and therefore with leakage. In the case of the VGD programme, this paper defined leakage as the amount of grain sanctioned that has not actually been received by the beneficiaries. To estimate the amount of leakage, it tried to find out whether or not the participants had received the total amount of grain sanctioned for them. In cases where found recipients who had received less than the allocated amount, it tried to identify what happens to the missing amount. So there is a corruption in administrative level.

3.2. Food for Work (FFW) programme

The FFW program was launched by the Government of Bangladesh in 1975 in response to the 1974 famine (Ahmed et al 2006). The initial purpose of the program was to provide relief for the poor facing severe food insecurity, using food resources donated to the country. It aims to create food-wage employment during the slack season, mostly in construction and maintenance of rural roads, river embankments, and irrigation channels. A major objective of the program is to provide income to the rural poor during the slack period when the unemployment rate in rural areas increases. Wage payments are made in kind (that is, in wheat) rather than in cash. Such a practice is thought to stabilize food grain prices in the market and to improve food consumption and nutrition of the participating households. Over the years, the program's focus has been shifted from relief to development (ibid). Currently, the main objectives of the program are:

- To improve the performance of the agriculture sector through the construction and maintenance of infrastructure for production and marketing;
- To reduce physical damage and loss of human life due to floods and other natural disasters through appropriate protective structures; and
- To generate productive seasonal employment for the rural poor.

3.2.1. Assessment of Food for Work Programme

This programme basically seasonal activities mainly operate in dry season. People earn seasonal money which is not sufficient for all seasons. This programme helps to post disaster adaptation but not addressing pre disaster adaptation and also disaster risk reduction. This programme has protective and preventive link but no promotive and transformative link.

The FFW program involves a number of employment-generating activities, primarily earth-work construction of rural roads and embankments. One main objective of the FFW program is to generate employment for landless and marginal farmers during the slack season when demand for labor in crop production is low. There are some leakages in this programme, mainly Some climate induced migrants are despite for their geographical setting. Implementation areas sometimes do not cover maximum beneficiaries. And according to above programmes this programme also has political influence, corruption in between administrative and monitoring and evaluation level.

4. Conclusion

There is growing awareness that social programmes need to integrate climate change adaptation. Climate change poses a threat to attempts to reduce poverty. It also has implications for rights and justice as those who have done least to contribute to climate change are impacted the most. These two programmes address social protection, disaster risk reduction through protective, preventive measure but no promotive and transformative measure of Adaptive Social Protection framework. These programmes have no long time income generating activities, food security as well as health security etc. In a word these programmes have no integrated package for upliftment of sustainable livelihood of climate migrant. So the climate change adaptation wing of Adaptive Social Protection is absence here. Bangladesh faced natural disaster every year and the people of the particular areas are affected by this disaster. As a result people of that area forced to migrate in the urban area and start struggle against poverty. These migrants start living in slum area and demolish overall urban environment. So stop this forced migration, Government should rethink about duration of these programmes, selection criteria and selecting beneficiaries group. Government also should make a proper coordination among different organization who are implementing these programmes. Then it can be hoped that affected people sustain a better livelihood in their homeland.

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