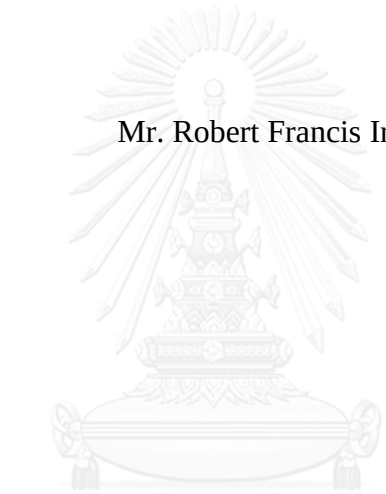
Processes of Environmental Migration and the Production of Justice: A Case Study of Slum Dwellers in Dhaka, Bangladesh

Mr. Robert Francis Irven



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กระบวนการย้ายถิ่นที่อยู่จากผลกระทบทางสิ่งแวดล้อม และการเปลี่ยนแปลงของสภาพภุมิอากาศ: กรณีศึกษาผู้ลี้ภัยในเมืองธากาจังหวัดบังคลาเทศ

นายโรเบิร์ต ฟรานซิส เออร์เวน

วิทยานิพนธ์นี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรปริญญาศิลปศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต
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โรเบิร์ต ฟรานซิส เออร์เวน : กระบวนการย้ายถิ่นที่อยู่จากผลกระทบทางสิ่งแวดล้อม และการเปลี่ยนแปลงของสภาพภูมิอากาศ: กรณีศึกษาผู้ลี้ภัยในเมืองธากาจังหวัดบังคลาเทศ (Processes of Environmental Migration and the Production of Justice: A Case Study of Slum Dwellers in Dhaka, Bangladesh) อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก: คาร์ล มิดเดิลตัน, 113 หน้า.

เมื่อมองไปยังพื้นที่ในเมือง โดยเฉพาะพื้นที่ในสลัม ที่ทอดยาวเหยียดตามเมืองหลายแห่ง ในบังกลาเทศนั้น แทบจะมองไม่เห็นพื้นที่ ที่จะมีความเพียงพอ และให้ความปลอดภัย ต่อผู้คนจำนวนมาก ที่ย้ายถิ่นฐานเข้ามายังในชุมชนเมือง เพื่อหลีกหนีภัยพิบัติต่างๆ ที่ทวีความรุนแรงขึ้นในแต่ละปี ไม่ว่าจะเป็น อุทกภัย วาตภัย การเพิ่มสูงขึ้นของระดับน้ำทะเล และความล้มเหลวของผลผลิตทางการเกษตร ซึ่งล้วนแล้วแต่ได้รับผลกระทบ จากการเปลี่ยนแปลงสภาพภูมิอากาศ ปัจจัยเหล่านี้ ได้ผลักดันให้ผู้คนนับล้านคน ทิ้งบ้านเรือนที่อยู่อาศัย เพื่อแสวงหาอาหาร ที่พักพิง หรือแม้แต่งาน กลุ่มคนที่อาศัยอยู่ในสลัมเหล่านี้ หรือที่เรียกว่า bosti ในเมืองธากา นอกจากพวกเขาจะโดนผลักดัน ออกจากสังคมแล้ว พวกเขาเหล่านี้ ยังถูกทิ้งไว้ในสังคม อย่างไร้ความยุติธรรมใดๆ มานานนับแรมปี และอัตราการเพิ่มขึ้นของกลุ่มคนเหล่านี้ ก็ยิ่งเพิ่มสูงขึ้นอย่างมากในแต่ละปี

สลัมในเมืองธากา เป็นกรณีศึกษาที่สำคัญเป็นอย่างยิ่ง ในแง่ของการที่ ตัวเมืองได้ปรับตัว ให้เข้ากับการเปลี่ยนแปลงของสภาพภูมิอากาศอย่างไร และการสนับสนุนจากองค์กรต่างๆ นอกเหนือจากภาครัฐ ได้เข้ามามีบทบาทในการพัฒนาชุมชนสลัมเหล่านี้อย่างไรบ้าง งานวิจัยชิ้นนี้ เป็นการศึกษาถึง การรับรู้ ความเข้าใจ และการรับมือของกลุ่มคนสลัมเหล่านี้ ต่อการอพยพของผู้คนต่างถิ่น เพื่อเข้ามาอยู่อาศัยในสลัมของตัวเมืองที่เพิ่มมากขึ้น ในชุมชนต่างๆ ของเมืองธากา ประเทศบังกลาเทศ ไม่ว่าจะเป็น Korail, Ershadnagar และ Rampura นอกจากนี้ งานวิจัยนี้ยังวิเคราะห์สภาพปัจจุบันของชุมชน bosti และเพื่อสร้างความตระหนัก ในเรื่องความยุติธรรม ต่อชีวิตความเป็นอยู่ในด้านต่างๆ ของพวกเขา รวมถึงความสัมพันธ์ทางเศรษฐกิจ และสังคมในชุมชนแออัด อีกทั้งบทความนี้ จะคัดค้านทฤษฎีที่กล่าวว่า ผู้อาศัยในพื้นที่ชุมชนเหล่านี้ ได้รับความยุติธรรมในทุกๆ ด้าน อย่างที่พวกเขาควรจะได้รับอย่างเท่าเทียมงานวิจัยนี้ ได้ใช้วิธีการออกแบบเชิงชาติพันธุ์ และเชิงคุณภาพ ซึ่งประกอบด้วย โครงสร้างแบบกึ่งที่มีผู้อยู่อาศัย 28 ราย และนักพัฒนา 8 คน โดยที่เป้าหมายของการวิจัยครั้งนี้ ก็เพื่อเป็นกระบอกเสียง ให้แก่ผู้ที่ประสบกับความอยุติธรรมเหล่านี้ และเพื่อให้ความเข้าใจต่อรัฐบาล ว่าพวกเขารับมือกับวิกฤตการณ์ในเมืองเหล่านี้อย่างไร

การวิเคราะห์เบื้องต้น ของการวิจัยภาคสนามนี้ สรุปได้ว่า ในขณะที่ยังมีความยุติธรรม อยู่ท่ามกลางผู้ที่อาศัยอยู่ในสลัมระดับท้องถิ่นนั้น ระดับของความอยุติธรรมที่พบเห็นได้นั้น ยังแตกต่างกันอย่างมาก ระหว่างผู้อยู่อาศัยในสลัม ที่มีพื้นฐาน ระดับเศรษฐกิจ และสังคมที่แตกต่างกันภายในสังคมสลัมด้วยกัน และระหว่างชุมชนแออัดอื่นๆ ถึงแม้ว่า หน่วยงานภาคเอกชนได้พยายามพลักดัน และนำพาความยุติธรรม มาสู่สังคมสลัมเหล่านี้มากเท่าไหร่ แต่ผลลัพธ์ที่ได้ ก็ยังเกิดขึ้นในองศาที่แตกต่างกันอยู่มาก ทั้งนี้ขึ้นอยู่กับสภาพแวดล้อม สถานะ และถิ่นที่อยู่อาศัยของพวกเขานั่นเอง

สาขาวิชา การพัฒนาระหว่างประเทศ ลายมือชื่อนิสิต .....

ปีการศึกษา 2559 ลายมือชื่อ อ.ที่ปรึกษาหลัก .....

5981217424 : MAJOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
KEYWORDS: INTERNAL MIGRATION / CLIMATE CHANGE / JUSTICE / SLUM / DHAKA / BANGLADESH / ENVIRONMENTAL MIGRATION

ROBERT FRANCIS IRVEN: Processes of Environmental Migration and the Production of Justice: A Case Study of Slum Dwellers in Dhaka, Bangladesh. ADVISOR: ASST. PROF. CARL MIDDLETON, Ph.D., 113 pp.

As we look to urban spaces, especially in the sprawling slums overtaking many of Bangladesh's cities, it is not hard to see a lack of safe and adequate spaces for the influx of newcomers, as years of increased cyclone activity, sea level rise, river flooding and crop failure due to the effects of climate change has pushed millions from their homes in order to secure food, shelter and work. As a marginalized section of society, those who live in Dhaka's slums (bosti) have traditionally been left out of the conversations surrounding justice, yet their numbers continue to grow by the hundreds of thousands each year, and only continue to increase.

The urban slums of Dhaka represent an important case study in how a city adapts to climate change and the crucial support that non-state actors now play in providing additional development. This thesis examines how migration is understood and was undertaken by the slum dwelling populations residing in Korail, Ershadnagar and Rampura, Dhaka, Bangladesh as well as the initial perceptions of justice it has produced along the way. Furthermore, this research analyzes the current conditions of these communities and how they have created and shaped perceptions of justice as they relate to life, livelihoods and socioeconomic relations and networks within the slums. The two main frameworks this study employed engage concepts of the drivers of environmental migration and a newly developed theory that incorporates recognition, rights and responsibilities and distributional and procedural faces of climate justice. This research challenges a notion stated in the latter framework that states urban spaces are inherently already providing city residents with a form of justice. This research used an ethnographic, qualitative method design, consisting of semi-structured with 28 bosti residents and 8 development workers. A key priority of this research was to give a voice to those experiencing some of the greatest injustices and to understand how the government and non-state actors are responding to these urban crises.

The analysis of this field research concluded that while there does exist justice at the local level for those living in slums, the degree in which it is perceived and experienced varies significantly between residents mainly due to differences in socioeconomic levels and networks within the slums as well as between slums. Justice is primarily being implemented by non-state actors but again, this is perceived and enacted at varying degrees based on status, networks and proximity, showing a greater focus and engagement of justice for slum populations in the country is needed from the formal, local levels of government.

Field of Study: International Development Studies Student's Signature .....
Academic Year: 2016 Advisor's Signature .....

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To the countless Bangladeshis I encountered and worked with during my time spent in Dhaka (and my amazing translator, Maryam Ankhi), this research is also dedicated to you. Never in my life have I experienced and witnessed such kindness, hospitality and resilience in a people. From spending time showing me their worlds to invitations to lunches in some of the poorest slums in the world, the connections I have made and life experiences learned will never be forgotten, and I can only hope the voices I have captured in this research will be heard throughout the world. I would like to make a special thank you to Dr. Saleemul Huq and the entire staff at the International Center for Climate Change and Development for accepting and welcoming me as a Visiting Researcher. All of my many questions and worries were always addressed and you truly helped make me feel not so small in such a giant, hectic city. This research would not have been able to happen were it not for your guidance, connections and willingness to patiently work with me. I would also like to thank my host and friend during both visits, Martijn Pakker. Without your kindness, hospitality & connections, I might have lost my mind at many points!

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ABBREVIATIONS

BCCSAP	Bangladesh Climate Change Strategy and Action Plan
BRAC	Building Resources Across Communities
BTT	Bangladesh Telephone & Telegraph
CBO	Community Based Organization
DMDP	Dhaka Metropolitan Development Plan
DSK	Dushtha Shasthya Kendra
ICCCAD	International Center for Climate Change and Development
IOM	International Organization for Migration
NGO	Non-governmental organization
PPP	Polluter Pays Principle
PWD	Public Works Department
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

US$ 1 = Tk. 81 (Approximate equivalent during research period)

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

While no global, common agreement on the validity of climate change currently exists, there is already very substantial evidence of its negative effects on various populations around the globe. In 2008, previous UN High Commissioner for Refugees and newly elected Secretary General Antonio Guterres emphasized that human displacement is more likely to be worsened by climate change, so it is crucial to deepen our current understanding of the direct link between environment and human populations (Guterres 2008). With that being said, the estimated numbers of future migration caused by changes in the environment are already quite staggering, which then creates complex and often troubling implications for cities, that will be the main receivers of many of these migrants. It is estimated that by 2050 there could be over 200 million environmental "refugees" who will be displaced due to sudden changes linked to climate change (Government of the United Kingdom and Stern 2006). In no place is the relationship between a climate change altered environment and its effects on humans more apparent than in the one of the world's most low lying region and densely populated countries, Bangladesh. As the environment continues to raise sea levels, increase salinity levels and destroy agriculture in its flat, wet southern regions, the more than 40 million people currently residing in this area are already feeling deep impacts on their livelihoods and way of life, with the potential for greater disaster looming in the very near future (Hodgkinson, Burton et al. 2010). About sixty percent of the country sits less than six meters above sea level, with the rivers and seas rising yearly due to global warming, increased rainfall and an ever increasingly unpredictable cyclone pattern creating a deadly combination of threats from all fronts (Mirza 2002). The UNDP has indeed recognized the deep vulnerability of the country, which has identified Bangladesh as the country most vulnerable to tropical cyclones and the fourth most vulnerable country to floods, all have which already had massive impacts on the population for decades and will continue to wreak havoc on more people (United Nations Development Programme 2004). If climate induced

environmental consequences continue on their current trajectory, over five million Bangladeshis could be forced from their homes in the next 20 years, with that number doubling every five years after that. Sea level rise will inundate over 10% of Bangladesh's land in this time, which becomes a crucial circumstance when you consider the lack of available land used not only for agriculture, but for living space as well (International Organization for Migration 2010). The spotlight on all these facts is not meant to create a disaster narrative per say, rather create a strong link between people and movement in the country, which in turn moves the focus to the country's urban spaces, like the capital city of Dhaka, which serve as immense case studies and trouble hotspots for a multitude of reasons.

Looking to these urban spaces, especially in the sprawling slums overtaking most of Bangladesh's cities, it is not hard to see that the government has failed in creating safe and adequate spaces for the influx of newcomers, as years of cyclones and crop failure has pushed millions to desperation in order to secure shelter, food and work. At its current rate, Bangladesh's cities are increasing by 3.5% annually, which will result in just about 50% of the population living in urban centers by 2025 (Banks, Roy et al. 2011). At present, the population of Dhaka rests around 18.7 million, with an estimated 30-40% of the city's population residing in informal, slum communities, a number that continues to increase with the constant stream of new migrants (World Population Review 2017) (Banks, Roy et al. 2011). Bangladesh also receives the unique distinction of being one of the most densely populated countries on the globe, with about 142.9 million people at a density of around 994 persons per km^2. According to the most recent census conducted by Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics in 2014, the current population of slum-dwellers of in Dhaka is at 1.06 million, while various NGO and international organizations calculate a number double this size, pointing to a very initial disconnect between this section of the population and the central government, an issue that will be continuously revisited in this research. In looking at Korail bosti specifically, which serves as the largest and oldest slum community in the country, the estimated population sits between 40,000 to almost 100,000, on just little over .25 sq. km of land, creating a population density that currently reaches 160,000 people per sq. km, bringing with it a many multitude of

issues and challenges both for residents and officials alike (Stevenson, Sarker et al. 2013). To illustrate the drastic increase of internal migrants to the city, in 1997, the number of slum dwellers totaled only 13,935 which means the rate has increased 4.65 times in just under twenty years (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics 2015). While increased migration has effects on a variety of other issues that face the country and will continue to worsen as time goes on, the current status quo is creating the most impact and stress on cities, with Dhaka being used as the main case study for this research.

If the urban setting is thought to be a focal point for organization, demonstration and innovation in the country, it certainly has been overlooked in most discussions about how cities can engage in justice, and due to Dhaka's increasing role in adaptation for a country struggling with huge population movements, the city and others like it should be more heavily involved in the current debate about what and who should be the major actors in engaging justice within these communities. The concept of climate justice serves as a starting point in this conversation and was adjusted accordingly in the following research to best engage notions of justice in this setting, particularly by incorporating multiple faces of it at the most grassroots level. As there has already been millions affected by environmental and economic changes and many more to come, this conversation becomes intrinsically tied to the fate of the population as well as the future of a nation as a whole who has such a close yet precarious relationship with the natural world. The purpose of this research was to not only bring a spotlight to the injustices as it is perceived by those who experience it at the urban level, but to also more fully understand just some of the complex processes that are occurring within the environmental migration narrative as this story continues to evolve in Dhaka's slum communities.

1.2 Objectives of Study and Research Questions

On a very high level, the objective of this research was to explore the intricate relationship between the people of Bangladesh and the changing environment, and thus the ensuing processes of migration and how (if any) this has shaped or created

perceptions of justice at all stages in their journey. Through direct conversations with a small number of slum dwellers in Dhaka the researcher first analyzed the main reasons behind decisions to migrate and how those initial actions are understood by various members of the family. Through these conversations, a comparison in the ways in which people make decisions, conduct migration and settle in their respective communities was conducted. Secondly, evaluating and assessing the current situations in which the slum dwellers live allowed for the notion of rural-to-urban migration as adaptability, particularly as it pertains to living conditions, livelihoods and safety of living in Dhaka's slums to be critical assessed. The culmination of interviews with slum residents resulted in a concluding determination made on whether or not migrants arriving in Dhaka are in fact engaged with faces the justice, as well as breaking down how power and networks shape life experiences and perceptions in the bosti community.

The research questions that were explored are as follows:

- Main: How have decision-making, processes and outcomes of migration shaped a sense of [in]justice in the slum dwelling population of Dhaka, Bangladesh?
- What were the main reasons and processes by which people migrated? And what role did the environment play?
- What role does social structure play in shaping slum dwellers opportunities and challenges?
- What does justice look like at the urban level in Dhaka's slums, who are the main agents and what injustices are taking place?

1.3 Hypothesis

The main hypothesis of the research is that the main urban spaces in which migrants are living in (slums), that are serving as Bangladesh's adaptability to environmental and economic shocks, are not providing residents with justice. The prevalence of existing accounts and reports coming out from the many slums regions in the city as

well as a growing voice of migrants indicates that development in this sector is not occurring, and calls for justice coming from this growing population are not being recognized. In addition to this lack of justice being provided, it was also hypothesized that significant barriers exist at various levels within the slums, not just at the top, governmental level.

In regards to the migration aspect of this research, it was predicted that it may not be possible to narrowly enough distinguish environmental migrants from others, due to unique and intertwined nature of the situations facing those living in Bangladesh.

1.4 Conceptual Frameworks

In this research, two main frameworks were used to explore the connection between the effects of a changing environment and human populations. Driver of environmental migration will serve as the first key framework used, with the framework adapted from a climate justice theory serving as the second. Two smaller, additional frameworks, that of social network analysis and stakeholder analysis are also referenced to assist in the understanding and analysis of social interactions, actors and institutions within the narratives of migration and justice. These concepts are detailed below.

1.4.1 Environmental Migration

In order to more accurately depict and analyze the current migration situation in Bangladesh as it relates to the research, the “drivers of migration” conceptual framework devised by Black, el al. as explained in their 2011 paper, “The Effect of Environmental Change on Human Migration” was used (Black, Adger et al. 2011). Emphasized in the name of the framework, one of the aspects of this theory that sets itself apart from other theories and fits a more modern narrative, in particularly that of migration in Bangladesh, is the fact that it does not simply focus on the drivers of migration, but rather how these drivers are all affected by a changing environment. Recognizing multiple drivers is also incredibly important for this narrative as

Bangladesh's migrants are now not only being driven by changes in their surrounding environment, but pulled to urban centers for economic and social reasons. This framework also uses the range of drivers to explain volume, direction and frequency movement, however this research did not analyze those specific items in depth. As can be seen by Fig. 1, these drivers do not work in isolation, rather often in complex interaction, which can be further analyzed into a meso-view.

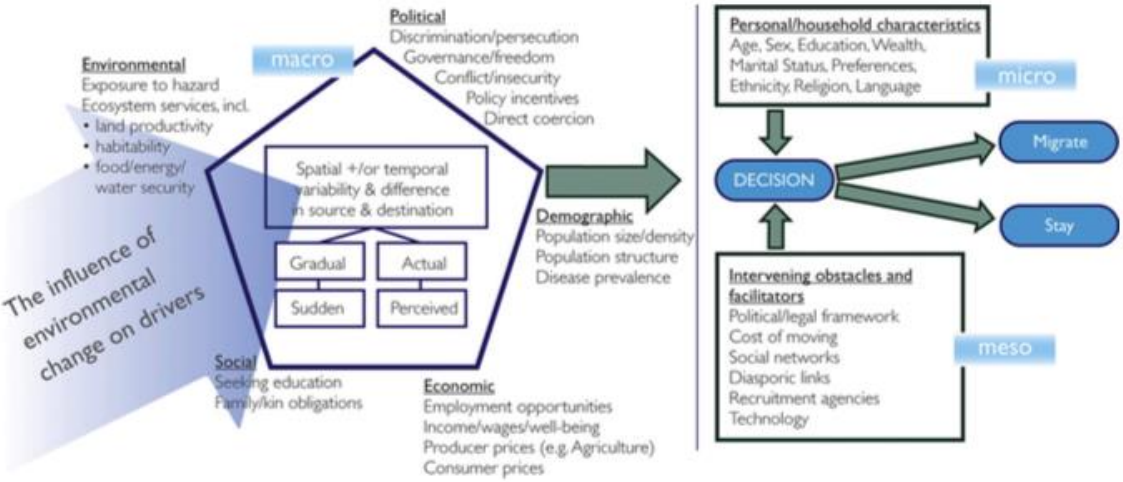

Figure 1: A conceptual framework for the 'drivers of migration' (Black, et al., 2011)

While environmental changes are an important part of the changes presently occurring in Bangladesh, the strength of this framework in relation to the research goals is that it 'seeks to focus attention away from the idea that environmental change directly causes migration, towards an understanding of the broader drivers of migration, and how these are susceptible in different and inter-linked ways to environmental change' (Black et al. 2011). This becomes important in the aim to bring climate justice down to the urban level, which now heavily bears the burden of adapting to the massive influx of newcomers who are subsequently using migration as an adaption strategy, again, in not just an environmental context, but via the four other drivers mentioned. A justice frame was also applied when looking at the various drivers and how they perceive injustice in a certain category, causing them to make their initial decision to migrate, which is a key part of this research. Furthermore, as Black et al.'s paper is a newer framework and does not cite any specific case studies, so the research conducted in Dhaka serves as an important opportunity to further contribute to

international empirical data. Lastly, the utilization of this framework also helps continue to move the migration debate from migration as a last resort strategy to that of an adaptation one, along with the injustice concepts that are linked to said decisions.

1.4.2 [Climate] Justice

Although the understanding of climate justice at the urban level has been a concept with more recent origins, one such paper has begun bridging this gap by highlighting this new school of thought through an updated, multi-dimensional framework that considers a new way in which justice is being interpreted on a different, spatial level. This same framework, while titled as one of climate justice, can equally be applied in a more general sense, which is the case for this research, as urban justice not always relating to the climate change narrative was engaged in the research, hence the brackets attached to this title's chapter. In Bulkeley et al.'s "Contesting climate justice in the city: Examining politics and practice in urban climate change experiments," the authors build off of Nancy Fraser's previous work on inequality and justice claiming to add a new dimension which helps shift the focus of this important evolution into a more diagnostic concept, rather than a prescriptive one (Bulkeley, Edwards et al. 2014). This framework rightfully cites and takes from many of justice's original thinkers and foundations, incorporating Scholsberg's key point that justice must be locally grounded as well as plural (stated as the multivalence of justice), something this framework directly mirrors (Schlosberg 2007). By adopting an urban lens for justice, we can break out of the two-dimensional concept (which focuses only on the relationship between rights/responsibilities and distributions/procedures) (figure 2a) and add a third dimension of recognition to fully incorporate the multiplicity of actors that are now involved in climate justice on a city level. To recognize in this justice context means a great many things, from the seemingly simple step city officials finally recognizing the slums in their urban development plans to acknowledging a serious short coming in plans and actions to assist the thousands of migrants not only on their journey's north, but placement and settlement once they arrive in cities like Dhaka. This can be seen as a recognition of rights, and it is important for this

conversation about climate justice in Bangladesh to not box in an exact definition of rights, rather create an encompassing way of thinking that looks at human, legal and perceptions of rights in all their varied and often unique forms. This required an analysis of the respondents' interviews to be rather open, looking for formal and informal understandings of rights as they exist both in the international sphere, as well as a distinctly unique local one.

These "faces" of justice come together to form a more complex, interrelated yet independent lens in which to use for urban climate justice and analyze the variety of actors that are now taking part in the justice in this sphere (as seen in figure 2b). Most important to this new addition and deep consideration of the recognition arm is the central role it now plays in creating a truly encompassing climate justice narrative. It is depicted as the base of this new conceptualization due to how it interacts with the facets, "without recognition, for instance, true procedural justice is impossible to achieve, and distributions are likely to be affected too, whether they are distributions of rights or responsibilities" (Bulkeley, Edwards et al. 2014). It is this interaction that perfectly complements the multiplicity of characteristics that describe the current state of migrantion in Bangladesh, which is why it was chosen as a second framework with such a range of lens to utilize.

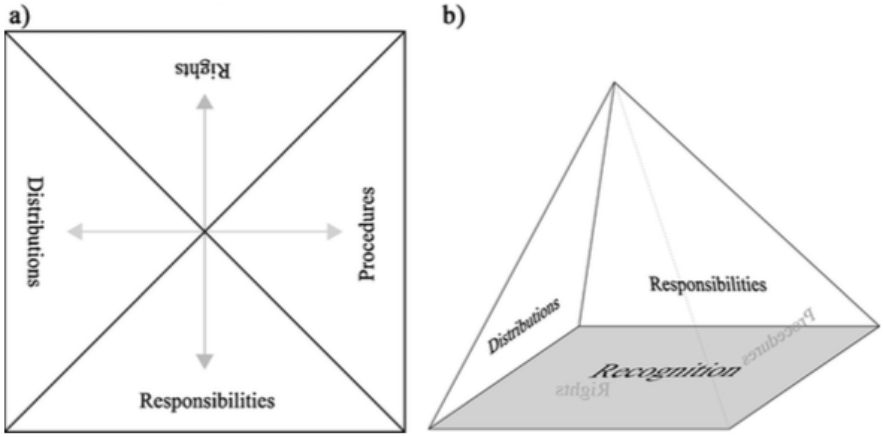

Figure 2: The three-dimensional climate justice pyramid as viewed from (a) directly above; and (b) obliquely below

In terms of case studies that the author has provided, although a wide range of cities and projects have been targets in their initial and main research, none come near to the severity of problems within the slums in Dhaka, which presented the opportunity to use this framework in a location that does not have many formal projects/partnerships aimed at understanding justice within these communities. This unique analysis of special urban setting within a city allowed the researcher to lift up this new framework as well as provide recommendations for new and more inclusive justice interventions by state and non-state actors. However relevant and applicable this framework was for this particular research, the researcher has made it clear that he has contesting the authors' notions that urban settings are already or inherently engaged notions of justice, particularly as little or no planning has gone into the migration adaptation or the creation of these spaces for Bangladesh's citizens, again, often putting people in more danger in where they settle than from where they have come from.

1.4.2.1 Distribution & Procedural

Being that this research's main focus was on a group of people that are socially and economically separated both physically and figuratively, from the majority of urban society, and the most basic and early understandings of justice focuses on this segment, it was important to uncover how the subjects perceive what is fair in terms of who is owed what, how much and in what way. The ways in which they are formally engaged by the government or are given access to formal procedures in all parts of the system also provide a way to breakdown this face of justice. This question can be considered at all points throughout the migration narrative and is often more easily uncovered due to its tangible (physical) qualities such as money or aid at the urban level when compared with the other concepts in this framework.

1.4.2.2 Rights & Responsibilities

The concept of rights and responsibility shifts when bringing the justice conversation down to a local level, especially when considering the population, that was targeted

for this research. Currently separated from societal core through poverty, lack of services and education, and even the local governments blatant attempts to refrain from creating urban policies in relation to slums in Dhaka, Bulkeley's ideas behind having the rights to be protected from the impacts of climate change and costs of climate change action are directly applicable in this case, however, an understand of these rights among migrants and slum dwellers has traditionally been lacking due to lower education rates among these populations (Bulkeley, Edwards et al. 2014). By assessing what interventions are being made (or not made), again, a very clear understanding of this aspect of justice was made not only at the end of the migration journey, but in both the decision making and actual process of migration.

1.4.2.3 Recognition

The addition of a recognition aspect in which to view the other arms of justice becomes vital to new climate justice research, particularly on the urban level as it more easily allows one to determine if in fact populations, in this case slum dwellers, are even involved in consideration or conversation around climate change, how they perceive the (in)actions taken to remedy their situation and what policies are being created to combat the issues. It is highly possible for justice to be served without a recognition aspect, and this then brings the question of whether such actions count as being fully just. This new addition to the justice narrative also represents as a shift away from a traditional option of justice which views justice in terms of the distribution of primary goods to one that focuses on a "capabilities approach," which judges in terms of a person's capabilities to achieve functionings in which they value (Walker and Day 2012). Again, these foundations are based off of Nancy Fraser's updated concepts on justice which have added this participatory face of justice. This face becomes very key to the aim of the research in order to gauge full perceptions of justice within the slum dweller population, as this newly added lens provides a deeper analysis into the complexities of the justice debate.

1.4.3 Network and Power Relations

As with any community, the concept of networks or relationships are crucial in understanding the various roles and dynamics that are undertaken by a group of people. As the slums represent a small microcosm of the urban space outside of them, it is essential to recognize the unique networks and relations that occur within the slums. A social network analysis can be a useful theory for such research such as this, and its application helps to illustrate the complexities of the actors involved. Social network analysis is defined as a method based on the assumption that relationships among parties are important and in a setting like the slums of Dhaka, these interactions are mainly done at an informal, individual level, as opposed to relationships between formal institutions (Wasserman and Faust 1994). Applied to analysis on implementation of policies and programs (or lack thereof), social network analysis concentrates on structural patterns between actors and can go beyond the actions of formal institutions. This is important for assessing the understandings and actions of those at a grassroots level, as opposed to the standard top-down approach that is often taken. Another reason in which this theory becomes vital when applying to slum relations is the fact that there is unequal access to these networks as well as the power that comes with such connections. As Giddens and Sutton also point out, networks are continuously evolving and changing, requiring a not so traditional approach like social organization to be used, making social network a constantly relevant frame in which to view a particular issue or topic within a group (Giddens and Sutton 2014).

1.4.4 Stakeholder Analysis

Continuing with the theme that the individuals, processes and systems that are being engaged in this study can mostly be considered informal in their nature, it is still useful to apply traditional theories such as that of stakeholder analysis in order to fully understand a social concept. Similar to the way Robin Grimble used this theory in evaluating resource management, the addition of non-traditional stakeholders like “development practitioners, policy makers, planners and administrators in government, commercial bodies or non-governmental organizations (NGOs) is crucial for understanding the complexities of the slum societies engaged in this research

(Grimble 1998). As seeking justice is undertaken in a participatory way incorporating actors from both the informal and formal institutions, it is crucial to understand the interests of all parties involved, which is where stakeholder analysis comes into play. This researcher's qualitative approach, particularly in recording key grievances and justice seeking actions taken by residents is a task often undertaken when analyzing formal policy and practice, so there is no reason why the same cannot be applied to these case studies. It should also be noted that past researchers have acknowledged the usefulness of both this theory and social network analysis and have applied it in combination, similar to the methods of this researcher. Lienert et al. expertly pointed at that the use of identifying and analyzing all relevant stakeholders when investigating a specific social network is necessary to create boundaries and limits to that network in order to conduct a proper, qualitative study, something this research also aims to do (Lienert, Schnetzer et al. 2013).

1.5 Research Methodology

In order to bring a more first hand, migrant-experience focused aspect to this research topic which has historically been very numbers focused, giving little voice to those directly affected by environmental change, poor urban conditions and experiencing the most injustice at the grassroots level, the researcher conducted a qualitative, ethnographic study, primarily focused on migrants residing in the slums of Dhaka, Bangladesh. The researcher conducted in-depth, semi-structured interviews of individuals and households on-site in slum communities as well as incorporating testimonials from local NGO and international organization workers in order to compare understandings of justice. The entirety of this research focused on residents and development workers in Bangladesh's capital, Dhaka.

The researcher spent a total of 26 days conducting information gathering and field work in Dhaka. Although a full four weeks were planned for field work, due to some complications and slower than usual responses and formal introductions being made to bosti community leaders and relevant development workers, field work was only conducted for three weeks. During the field work, the research coordinated and

consulted with the International Center for Climate Change and Development (ICCCAD) at the Independent University of Bangladesh, where they were designated as a Visiting Researcher, whose assistance created introduction to the Ershadnagar slum community as well as employees of Building Resources Across Communities (BRAC).

Prior to the actual start of on-site interviews, the researcher originally planned to screen residents in order to target only those who self-identified as environmental migrants. Upon speaking with experts and researchers at ICCCAD as well as informal conversations with bosti residents, it became evident that this pre-selection would be difficult both in terms of time and logistics, as well as the fact that even when residents had chosen to migrate due to environmental shocks, there were, as the framework suggested, multiple reasons for the decision, convoluting the term and making it almost impossible to find solely "environmental migrants." For this reason, it was decided to simply focus on all residents, who for one reason or another, had all undertaken a migration at some point, keeping in line with both the original scope and focus on the proposed research plan.

1.5.1 Site Selection

Upon arrival in Dhaka, Bangladesh, the research initially consulted with ICCCAD to receive commendations of slum communities to conduct work in that were safe and contained a large number of migrants from all over Bangladesh. The respondents were located in the following three bosti's (see Figure 3 for mapped location):

- Korail
- Ershadnagar
- Rampura

Due to existing projects and workload, introduction to the community leaders of Ershadnagar could not be made for two weeks, so the researcher made initial contact with the community leader of Korail bosti (see Figure 4 for depiction of site location)

by chance, during a day volunteering at a school rebuilding in the community. Upon realizing the identity of the community leader, the researcher asked for a formal meeting with him in order to make a proper introduction to himself and the goals of his research. After spending two full days with Mr. Hassan, touring and visiting various bosti organizations and other community leaders, the researcher was allowed to go off on his own to conduct random sampling interviews of residents. Introduction to residents in Rampura slum were also made by chance through the researcher's translator, who was able to use a connection through her housekeeper who used to reside in Rampura. Upon arrival to that community, the research was allowed to conduct a random sampling of the available residents there. The introduction to Ershadnagar bosti was finally made through a research team from ICCCAD who was conducting research nearby, which again, was first facilitated through a formal introduction to the community leader, then full permission was given to conduct random sampling and full visitation rights to the space.

Figure 3: Site locations in Dhaka, Bangladesh

Figure 4: Korail slum as viewed from BRAC HQ (Banani pictured behind)

1.5.2 Respondent and Sampling Procedure

After analyzing the totality of interviews conducted, the researcher divided the respondents into five main groups:

Groups Identified in Slums	Characteristics
Local bosti (community) leaders	Informal but designated males who oversee all aspects of life in their respective community
Landlords	Residents living in bosti who own plots of land and lease to other residents
Land owners	Residents who have fully purchased their land for a landlord and no longer pay monthly rent
Renters	Residents who do not own land and pay a monthly fee to a landlord
NGO or intl. organization development workers	Individuals or small groups of personnel working in either physical spaces within the slum or on projects based there

Table 1: Groups Interviewed for Research

The interviews of all participants took the form of an oral semi-structured interviews, which was prepared prior to arrival in Bangladesh, but simply used to keep the flow of the story-telling/conversation moving and ask follow up questions. Residents were always interviewed separate from development workers, and in the instances where residents were interviewed in the presence of a community leader, those interviews were not included in this research. The selection of community leaders for interviews was captured through snowball sampling after the initial introduction was made to the main community leader. Selection of residents was captured through a random sampling during on-site visitations. The semi-structured interviews with bosti residents were conducted individually in the sense that the information recorded by the researcher's handwritten notes was from one individual, but if other family members were present and interested in contributing, their responses were also recorded, but in a separate record. The respondents varied in gender, age, place of origin, employment status, occupation and income level. The objective of the semi-structured interviews was to gather as much personal perspectives on current living situations as they pertained to justice as well as personal stories regarding past place of origin and migration journey(ies) to and from Dhaka.

The selection of development workers was captured both through introductions of relevant participants by ICCCAD as well as chance introductions that the researcher made throughout his travels in Dhaka and subsequent leisure activities like meals or events hosted by embassies and non-profits.

1.5.3 Sample Size

During the three-week field work in Dhaka, Bangladesh, May 2017, the researcher conducted the following interviews:

	Schedule of Interviews and Sampling Procedures			
Participant Information	**Participants**	**No.**	**Location**	**Sampling Procedure & Approach**
Local community	Individuals varying in gender, age, occupation and background	14	Korail bosti	Random/ ethnographic
Local community	Individuals varying in gender, age, occupation and background	14	Ershadnagar bosti	Random/ ethnographic
Local community	Individuals varying in gender, age, occupation and background	2	Rampura bosti	Random/ ethnographic
NGO staff	Including: BSMMU, and Via Lisa	2	Dhaka	Snowball
International organization staff	Including: UNICEF, and BRAC	5	Dhaka	Snowball/ Random
Community Based Organization (CBO)	Including: Korail CBO	1	Dhaka	Snowball
	Summary of Participants: • Local community= 28 individuals (semi-structured interviews) • NGOs staff= 2 organizations (semi-structured interviews) • International organizations= 2 organizations (semi-			

	structured interviews) • CBO= 5 persons (group interview)

Table 2: Schedule of Interviews and Sampling Procedures

1.5.4 Data Collection and Research Instruments Used

Data collection from the bosti residents was divided into two main parts using the instrument of semi-structured interviews, divided into two sections and collection from non-state actors comprised of a third part also using semi-structured interviews. The first segment required collecting data about life in the residents' place of origin as well as environmental or economic shocks experienced, which led to discussions and information about migration decisions and the subsequent journey. In the second part, data and information focused on urban/slum life and livelihood in Dhaka, leading to understandings and perceptions of justice, interactions with local and central government and how this differed between various members of the community. Finally, the researcher analyzed data from the semi-structured interviews with NGOs and international organizations to understand how they perceived justice within the bosti community as well as how their work was contributing (or not) to development in Dhaka's urban landscape.

1.5.5 Data Treatment and Translation

After data and information was collected from all the participants, it was recorded in two forms. From the on-site handwritten notes created during the interviews, the information (semi-structured interviews) was then transcribed into electronic form into Microsoft Word and Evernote, which was then organized, sorted and coded electronically in order to extrapolate and assess patterns. After this process,

information pertaining to the number of times a particular issue or sentiment was mentioned was recorded in Microsoft Excel in order to create graphs and charts to help visualize the information.

The data was presented in this thesis in the following two ways: first, the narratives and perceptions of justice took the form of quotations and descriptions of key issues and problems they faced, and also through charts or graphs that helped show frequency in a quantitative fashion. One set of information, the origins of the residents, was depicted by created a visual representation through Google Maps.

1.5.6 Limitations and Scope

While it was initially one of the researcher's desires to insert himself directly into the everyday life of Dhaka's slum dwellers in order to conduct a fully ethnographic study to use in this research, due to the safety and health issues that might present themselves to while doing so, he was unable to reside in the slum areas, limiting observations to daily visits. However, by limiting the research to just a few slum areas and spending as much time as possible with the residents, the building of relationships fostered a great amount of recognition, trust and openness that resulted in the participants' fully opening up and letting the researcher into their lives, stories and struggles.

Initially the researcher relied heavily on the local expertise of colleagues at the ICCCAD as well as the local interpreter, particularly their past history in conducting research within Dhaka's slums. The initial decisions for site selection were based upon their expert recommendations, and while the researcher's preferences and goals were clearly stated to the Center as well as the local leaders, location and household selection was somewhat skewed from the original plan due to the feasibility and availability of time and contacts. Availability of entire households was also a limitation due to the fact that a majority of men worked during the day, which was the main time of research, and due to safety constraints, the researcher was not able to return at night to conduct interviews.

Interviews with residents of the slums was conducted in the Bangla language and interpreted to the researcher on location with the assistance of an interpreter from the Bangla Language Institute at the Independent University of Bangladesh. Not speaking the language perhaps served as one of the largest limitations to the study as the researcher did not speak the local language. This did open the research up to the potential issue of misinterpretation as well as bias created by the interpreter, however, due to the familiarity the ICCCAD and my interpreter has with the topics of the research and mutual understanding of the objectives, the researcher feels confident that this did not present itself for a majority of the time during the on-site visits, and any issues or questionable translations were reviewed and discussed to remedy the interviews in question. The researcher attempted to learn basic Bangla to serve as an icebreaker and form an initial common connection so as to make my presence there more welcomed and natural.

In terms of the scope of this research, while the researcher strove to capture as many sentiments from a diverse spread of participants, the immensity of the discussion topics and timeline of many of the respondents' stories make it impossible for this research to speak to all migrant and slum dweller situations in Bangladesh. The complexities of issues uncovered, from the unique relationship between residents and community leaders, leaders and local officials, and even local officials and the central government prove that the topic of migration and justice in Bangladesh is a very large and difficult one to synthesize in just one study and requires much more follow-up if to fully comprehend the entirety of the subject. While most residents were completely honest and open with in their discussions, the evidence that many of the topics were based on, like slum fires or corruption, continues to go unsubstantiated or comes from an uneducated/assumption-based point of view, again, requiring further research that could not be carried out due to safety concerns or focus of this research. Due to time and monetary restraints, the scope of the research was also relatively small in comparison to many studies done on the subject/area, but this research has been positioned in a way that is stressing a more personal, qualitative aspect, as opposed to a large, overarching quantitative study. As the frameworks being used have pointed

at, the reasons for migration and the living conditions of Dhaka's residents are extremely varied and weave an incredibly intricate history, so the narrative created only represents a fraction of the overall population, yet it is the researcher's aim to make as many key connections and conclusions to the wider story of Bangladesh's battle with climate change and urbanization as possible.

1.6 Ethical Considerations

In consideration to the participants' future safety and well-being, all participants were informed of the research goals and projects prior to the start of any questioning in order to gain the informed consent of all participants. Anonymity was offered to all participants from the start and where it is not requested, the researcher is using only first names in the final reporting. The safety of participants was also highly considered when discussing certain topics regarding slum conditions, rent, access and cost of utilities and services considering recent violence against slum dwellers by local 'mastaans' or slumlords/ mafia. Such topics were delved into on a gradual basis in order to gauge whether participants feel comfortable with such topics, and visual cues of discomfort or alarm were responded to with an immediate change of topic. During times when the researcher's presence caused crowds to draw, which may or may not have included curious local leaders or mastaans, the researcher utilized the interpreter to clearly and openly explain the purpose of the study to appease any fears or aggression. The researcher did not ever feel any danger or cause to vacate any premise, which reflected the "no harm" aim of the project to leave the research site as it was found.

As previously mentioned, although the researcher worked with members of the ICCCAD, this research was kept independent of them and their and any contributions made to their knowledge base or publications have been kept separate from this thesis. Prior to arrival in Dhaka, the researcher has provided the team there with a basic outline of the proposed research and worked with the interpreter ahead of the actual field work to ensure independence from ICCCAD as well as the quality and integrity of work.

1.7 Significance of Research

Drastic and often dangerous environmental change have been taking place in Bangladesh for decades, but it is the current scale, the influx and projections of migrants that are coming from the all over the country to places like Dhaka are creating an unfortunate but unique situation in which to study. The current models of mass migration to urban centers like Dhaka have serious implications for millions of people, and if studied, analyzed and published correctly, have the ability to serve as a case study and a warning for countless other similar cases that will continue to appear as climate change accelerates. By highlighting newer/changing processes of migration I hope to not only add to the knowledge of how the country's people are adapting to a changing environment and to perhaps break preconceived notions of why or how people are migrating, but also to render a generally voiceless population heard both locally, and hopefully in the higher international community where current climate justice debates mainly take place. Urbanization in Bangladesh is increasing at a steady rate, and it has not been until very recently that many solutions have been proposed to combat the issues following the flow of thousands of new residents in Dhaka. In June 2017 it was announced by the National Housing Authority that ten thousand residential flats would be built for slums dwellers in Mirpur, one of the largest slums in Dhaka (Rahman 2017). It is this kind of recognition and action that will be required of both governmental and non-state actors in order to appropriately tackle the many urban issues that slum communities endure and create for cities across Asia.

This research also serves as an important case study in filling the gap that exists of the justice debate at the urban level, as there exists too few examples of slum communities at the current point in time. The process of giving a voice to some of the world's most disenfranchised and silenced populations should also be noted as a major motivation for this research. Far too often when one reads reports about climate change or urban trends in Bangladesh are they confronted with a sleuth of numbers and technical, institutional jargon, often missing any human aspects to issues that are just that. While this research cannot claim significance in a grand, quantitative scale,

it can certainly be argued that it has delved into core issues, uncovering a wealth of knowledge, perceptions and insight into a part of Bangladesh that may seem disconnected from the rest of the world, but in reality, these are issues that are rapidly starting to affect millions of others all around the world.

This research prepared to uncover the intricacies of both environmental migration as well as the understanding of justice at the local level, among a population of slum dwellers as well as within the local development community. The results of the study demonstrated a seemingly muddled understanding and process of migration in Bangladesh, not attributed clearly to environmental or economic motivations, continuing to complicate a growing debate in the international community. It also uncovered a very nuanced intersectionality within slums, allowing for a better understanding of how bosti communities work, with the hopes that non-state and government actors alike can use this knowledge to better serve and development these urban spaces.

CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The following section will be a review of the key topics central to my research, which will focus on environmental migration in particular, made up of initial definitions of this type of migration and concepts of migration, the processes of migration and lastly the outcomes of this type of migration. It will then discuss the next main theme which is that of justice, stemming from a conceptual framework of "climate justice", which will first be broken down into the origins of the concepts of justice, climate justice as a newer discussion, then a look at how this concept has been brought down from the international level to a local, urban one. This being the case, the last overarching urban theme will be discussed and broken down in order to discuss the sub topics most touched upon in this research. This chapter will then conclude with a brief discussion of the key knowledge gaps that exist in connection with the topics presented.

2.2 Environmental Migration

The term "environmental migration" is a contested one in itself, and only recently gaining further popularity as shocks to the environment and those occupying the land become more greatly affected by the growing effects of climate change. It is for this reason that a detailed overview of the discussion and implications have been included in this research.

2.2.1 Debate over definition

Although a focus of this research touched upon the subject of internal research which has already been widely documented throughout Bangladesh, primarily the flows of citizens from the outer regions of the country making their way to the center, the

concept and very definition of migrants, migration, refugee and subsequent concepts of environmental and climate migrates/refugees are most certainly a topic of contention in all major international debates. For this reason, it is important to incorporate a more updated and relevant discussion on the current nomenclature and understandings of various types of migration for this research in order to map out the very multifaceted push and pull factors experienced by the migrants in Bangladesh and in the near future, around the world. As it currently stands, the term "environmental migrant" is the preferred term in international development circles as its current definition best describes the current situation. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) has historically been a strong supporter of this terminology, with its official definition stating "Environmental migrants are persons or groups of persons who, for compelling reasons of sudden or progressive changes in the environment that adversely affect their lives or living. Environmental migration is a multicausal phenomenon, yet one in which environmental drivers play a significant and increasingly determinative role" (International Organization for Migration 2007, International Organization for Migration 2017). With the growing acceptance that the environment has a multifaceted effect on economic, social and political drivers of migration, a debate over whether migration is ever actually environmental or rather just economic greatly comes into play.

Many of the traditional and popular models used to explain migration were based solely on economic analysis looking at wages, income, production and concepts like push-pull factors to fully explain the process, but due to the increasingly interconnectedness of current situations in places like Bangladesh or drought-stricken Africa, such models are not being used as often when discussing climate-change related events (Collinson 2009). Collinson argues that the use of a simply economic view to explain migration is too faulty and fails to provide and explain the full, modern narrative of migration. This essentially follows the understanding that more than one driver or pulling force is generally now at play in most migrations, particularly as things like the environment and politics has become heavily intertwined or effected by economic changes or forces. According to the majority of formal definitions of the term "economic migrant," these type of people are simply

traveling from one place to the next in order to find work, which has now been transformed by the UN into the term “migrant worker” (United Nations 1990). This debate on terms has in the past been further complicated by those who try to define economic migrants by the term of their stay or the length of their journey, but such categorizations again have not held up when broadly applied to various cases throughout the world, particularly in places like Bangladesh where migration is often cyclical and often not tied to any pattern or set time period. Furthering the debate and contestation, calls for an update on the term and categorization have recently come into focus, with the addition of “climate migrant(ion)” and “climate refugee” being cited more often in professional papers and country reports. While the addition of the word climate is mainly contended for its assumption that the migration is solely undertaken due to the effects of climate change, with little consideration for other factors causing movement, the term refugee faces a legal battle in the formal international arena, specifically within the United Nations and related organizations.

Since the formal adoption of the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees in 1951, the term refugee has been strictly defined as a person fleeing war and persecution, creating a strong distinction from economic migrants who come strictly in pursuance of work (United Nations High Commissioner For Refugees 1951). Unfortunately, the term ‘environmental refugee’ does not fit neatly into either of these, thus the call for a redefining or addition to incorporate new phenomena like climate change into the migration regimes, but such campaigns have been unsuccessful to date. Although the term “climate refugee” can be made a compelling case due to the often-sudden characteristics of movement related to a disaster or loss of livelihood, the migrants moving into Dhaka and Bangladesh’s other centers of commerce are increasingly moving over periods of time, rather than in an expedited manner. Although academics have used refugee terminology in the past in relation to situations outside of the current international definition, the majority of uses have been used in media and news, who often have little regard for legal terminology, in the sole purpose to sensationalize or draw attention, but nonetheless, usage does tend to garner greater attention, particularly as it is a new concept to those outside the field. The IOM and related organizations rightfully acknowledge that current data cannot

yet sufficiently prove just how much of an impact the environment and climate change has played on migration and rightfully state that migration caused by environmental degradation/changes should be seen as a continuum, not just one sided (International Organization for Migration 2010). This organization has been on the forefront of this terminology battle and has already proposed updated definitions to the appropriate bodies for formal debate, yet no such agreements have been made.

2.2.2 Migration Decisions

The topics of this research touched upon some of the most contentious yet misunderstood concepts surrounding the drivers and decisions to migrate. One of the most relevant and cited works comes from Black, et al. (2011) who strongly support the idea that while environmental changes do have an important impact in the decision-making process, the environmental alone cannot fully explain the decision to move. The importance of drivers is the focal point of "The Effect of Environmental Change on Human Migration" which states that environmental change actually influences the pre-existing five main macro drivers which are political, demographic, economic, social and environmental (Black, Adger et al. 2011). These drivers then mix and combine to create a decision to move which is also heavily influenced my mirco characteristics and meso-barriers or facilitations. This framework becomes important for taking a bigger picture analysis of a migration event, considering it looks at all possible factors of decision rather than just a particular one.

While seemingly covering all plausible drivers of environmental migration, the framework does not take into consideration how exactly the drivers interact with each other nor does it leave any room for a strictly environmental focus as the main crux is multiplicity rather than singular (granted this has generally been the case so far). As climate change does continue to intensify and exacerbate certain characteristics and impact on human life, it is worth considering if there will be a point in the near future where a multiplicity is not applicable, particularly where the shocks of sudden onset catastrophe are concerned.

An equally important piece that must be referenced is the "Decision Framework for Environmentally Induced Migration" by Renaud, et al. (2011) whom for many years have been at the forefront of this discussion and more recently refined their framework to be more inclusive of the various type of environmental migrants that exist in current climate change narrative. In 2007 their earlier works sought to extrapolate the various types of migrants connected with environmental change, breaking it down to "environmental emergency migrants," "environmentally forced migrants," and "environmentally motivated migrants" in order to better describe not only the unique and varying situations these populations found themselves in but also to distinguish the forces or drivers causing the movement (Renaud, Bogardi et al. 2007). These definitions were then used within the new 2011 framework in order to draw out a decision making narrative that would then explain how an environmental migrant is categorized (Renaud, Dun et al. 2011). The main issue with this new framework is unlike Black et al.'s multi-driver recognition, Renaud's scope is narrowed down to just environmental, which makes the framework difficult to use on a variety of case studies, especially with the growing realization and agreement that the environmental is just one piece of a much larger picture when it comes down to the final decision to migrate. However, given that the authors have in fact acknowledged the fact that their framework is in no way a "final scheme," their concepts do certainly raise highly constructive conversation on what it really means to be an environmental migrant and how different that can look, which is an important aspect given that regions or countries rarely experience the same circumstances when it comes to nature, so this is just one way to set a scenario apart from the rest.

Another academic who has been pivotal in helping explain migration (as well as providing insights on the end results) is Cecilia Tacoli, particularly in her paper titled "Crisis or adaptation? Migration and climate change in a context of high mobility." The strong points of her arguments concentrate on the mobility aspect that migration provides the poor, harking back to the now mainly uncontested notion that migration is a key tool in climate change adaption, which can of course be seen throughout the entire country of Bangladesh (Tacoli 2009). Her research evidence shows that specialized mobility in conjunction with income diversification, is an important

strategy to reducing vulnerability to environmental and non-environmental risks, including economic shocks and social marginalization, which paired with Black et al.'s consideration of diverse decision drivers shaped by the environment, create an extremely full explanation and analysis of what is happening on the ground in southern Bangladesh. Her main argument against using an assumption that there is a direct link between migration and environmental change has again, been supported by many of her peers so the conversation can be moved away from an argument into actual research and evidence into what actually encompasses the decision to move.

2.2.3 Processes of Migration

When looking at the migration narrative as a whole, especially as it relates to environmental/ climate change, while there is no lack of literature and discussion on the decision-making process and the final end result of migration, there does appear to be a rather large gap in explaining or telling the story of the actual process of migration once the decision is made. Where this discussion generally takes place still focuses on relationships between two countries as opposed to internal migration. The issue with using this information is it has little relation to the specific arrangements and details that are occurring within the internal migration in Bangladesh, although it can be said that in some point in the future as sea levels continue to rise and the cities become inundated, cross-border migration may be a very real implication, thus bringing Bangladesh into the international migration narrative.

Usually the small case studies or news reports on environmental migration take a narrative form that does not go into too much detail about what is happening between points A and B, only focusing on the fact that a tough journey is taking place. One story that particularly stands out to at least to begin this type conversation is a piece that was written to explore the connection between climate change and child marriage, which is becoming a new trend as southern residents in Bangladesh are increasingly losing their economic livelihoods, with young girls being used to regain financial income in the form of having them sent north to marry into wealthier families in the city (Jha 2016). These types of articles may not always be particularly

scholarly in nature, but they are important in creating connections between seemingly unrelated trends and help explain modern phenomenon, inspiring more work/research to take place in order to thoroughly explain these stories and more importantly, they are adding a more human aspect that often gets overlooked when discussing the sheer numbers of migration in places like Bangladesh.

2.2.4 Outcomes of Migration

With the abundance of literature on environmental migration, specifically in how it relates to the case of Bangladesh, there is equally much written about the "ending" stages of the journey, which more often than not, ends in an urban environment, usually in the slums of the capital, Dhaka. Research and narratives coming from the slums of the poorest of nations in certainly not new, but due to the masses of migrants arriving in Dhaka daily, there does exist a variety of narratives and research, ranging from the catastrophic to prompting better urban planning. As mentioned, Tacoli paints a large-scale picture of migration in her work, discussing the financial resources and social support that are necessary at an ending point in order to successfully complete a migration journey, which particularly resonates in the case of Dhaka as rent and services in slum areas actually outstrip those in most other parts of the city (Tacoli 2009). One concept she briefly mentions which is built on by others is that of circular migration, not necessarily a new concept in the migration field, but one with interesting applications, especially as it pertains to trapped populations in slums around the globe. The main issue when applying this to cases in Dhaka is although migrants may have initially assumed this type of migration was possible, due to economic (higher incomes, debt, contracts, etc.) and social circumstances, temporary migration is often not feasible and migrants end up becoming permanent residents, never to return home.

This narrative is continued in a more recent conversation by Joarder and Miller who breakdown which migrants, based on occupation/livelihood, are more likely to partake in temporary migration as opposed to permanent (Joarder and Miller 2013). Serving as a hefty quantitative study, taking into account many factors from point of

origin to ending, this study provides a deep look into the many factors that create decisions to make temporary stay, however, it does not account for trapped populations or migrants who originally had wishes for brief stays which later convert to full time residences. Nevertheless, his further connections to policy creation (and highlighting the paradoxes the study illustrates) serve as an important recognition of yet another process in the migration narrative that is often missed or ignored.

Another aspect which greatly affects all aspects of migration in Bangladesh, but particularly the end result in Dhaka, is that of policy, or in this case, the lack of policy that exists on the subject. In almost every piece of literature that deals with migration and adaptation in Bangladesh there exists conclusions that contain recommendations or urges for the creation of policy around handling the influx of migrants to urban spaces as well as an urgent need for officials to recognize the millions living in slums in order to improve conditions across the board. One document that has been instrumental in providing information and guidance on this subject is the IOM's "Assessing the Evidence: Environment, Climate Change and Migration in Bangladesh." The depth of information provided through much research and first-hand interviews with dozens of experts in the field covers almost every aspect of climate change, migration and the resulting urbanization explosion and more importantly, highlights the policy focus that needs to occur as well as the gaps that currently exist in all parts of the issue (International Organization for Migration 2010). The policy dialogue that is presented in the report is not just incredibly inclusive in terms of inviting a wide variety of speakers and experts to weigh in, but also creates connections back to various scenarios of environmental migration, allowing a full narrative to be told and thus better analyzed in order to provide organizations and the central government itself with resources in order to improve the current situation on the ground there.

2.3 Justice

In discussing justice, the researcher has found it useful to extrapolate the various understandings surrounding the history of the justice debated, concluded with the

review of the main climate justice framework that was used as the key lens for this research.

2.3.1 Traditional Justice

Barring an extensive history on the roots and evolution of justice, it is needless to say this concept has been one of intensive discussion and debate in almost every aspect of human life. Tracing back to a more similar conversation in relation to this research's discussion, the question over responsibility and distributive justice has actually been a longstanding one, with theorists like John Rawls bringing these two specific concepts of justice into the spotlight in his 1971 works, "A Theory of Justice." Since that time, countless new theories have emerged, generally using his works as a foundation for furthering a concept or heavily criticizing key points in order to turn the conversation in a new direction. Similarly, the critical theorist Nancy Fraser has been a key component in the justice conversation for decades, with her concepts evolving with the times. While some of her work is often regarded, particularly for this type of research, as too narrow and limiting in a world now so connected, her more recent theories have in fact taken into consideration a changing global stage and the importance of a multitude of actors in justice as well as the different forms justice now takes or is perceived. For this reason, she can now once again be seen in various forms of reference as newer conversations re-emerge. In "Scales of Justice: Reimagining Political Space in a Globalizing World," Fraser calls for modern justice to take three specific forms: representation (political), distributive (economic) and recognition (cultural) (Fraser 2009). This shift in how justice is understood is incredibly important as it opens up the concept of justice to a large audience and also creates responsibility/accountability for more actors, essential in the climate justice debate. She also discussions the idea of "abnormal justice" which very much applies to the instances where justice might be called for or needed, but the traditional/historic mechanisms do not exist, shifting the conversation to lesser known methods and institutions. As justice continues to move from an extremely elevated level down to the grassroots, transcending normal states boundaries and even crossing into multi-

generational conversation, this aspect and acceptance of a different type of justice becomes even more important and relevant to modern thinking.

2.3.2 International Climate Justice Perspective

Emerging out of the environmental justice movement of the United States during the 1970's, climate justice began to take as international organizations like the UN began to debate not only the implications of climate change, but who should bear responsibility for when it caused harmful consequences. The following is the definition of climate justice that is used by the UN in its recent publications: "Climate justice builds on a platform of equitable development, human rights and political voice. It is an agenda that seeks to redress global warming by reducing disparities in development and power that drive climate change and continued injustice. This implies transformative changes and the need to look beyond national boundaries to what is good for the world as a whole" (Adams and Luchsinger 2009). Being that this concept began on the international level, which only considered nations as the appropriate actors, non-binding agreements became the primary output of such discussions, leaving out a multitude of other players that have not be brought into the conversation until recently. As both parties continue to struggle to put in place the most basic of regulations on things like emissions and carbon trading schemes in order to limit and hold states responsible for environmental degradation, there exists no real consensus on the best way to move forward. The current scholarly approach frames climate justice in a distinctly split two-dimensional model, using rights and responsibilities within a distributive mindset, exercising procedural justice, even though such approaches originally began on a local level through the grassroots movement (Bulkeley, Carmin et al. 2013). Bulkeley, et al. argue this is problematic in the current age due to its assumption that nation-states are the most relevant actors, meaning, as explained further in this research, that there are other entities, primarily on the urban level, that bear equal responsibility in the climate justice debate (Bulkeley, Edwards et al. 2014). This is a very important realization as it shifts the debate from somewhat ambiguous actors to more tangible ones that can be actively and realistically engages in the conversation.

Traditionally, the principle of "polluter pays" (PPP) has been popular among nations who have been the first to experience the effects of climate change wherein the actors who have undertaken heavy industry resulting in ozone depletion, extreme pollution thus rising tides and heavier storms, etc. are expected to bear the cost and remedial solutions for their actions (Caney 2005). While international organization have adopted this way of thinking as far back as the 1970's, Caney's rightful criticism of this way of thinking highlights the problematic issues of fairness, blame and ambiguity this creates and the difficulties of properly identifying the division of burden for the perpetrators and compensations owed to a nation or community. The problems associated with this way of thinking have yet to be resolved and prove that perhaps the PPP and similar ways of thinking are not a tangible solution for creating an appropriate framework for modern understandings climate justice.

2.3.3 Urban Climate Justice Perspective

As there now exists a global movement calling for justice in respect to climate change policy, the next question undoubtedly has been raised of which actors should take part in this discussion. The bureaucratic and disagreeing nature of deliberations of international organizations and state actors has proved that a higher-level approach does not work, and an increasing number of academia has in fact noticed and responded with a call to bring climate justice down to an urban/city level. This becomes especially important and useful for the case of Bangladesh, where local government and non-profits often fill in the funding and programming gaps that are left by an inefficient, unresponsive central government. This current structure of development in Bangladesh not only tends to be separated from the government, but also from the people, who have little voice in most aspects of a project, which goes against the process that David Scholsberg, a key academic in the traditional debate, believes is the key to a successful grassroots movement for justice, in particular, equity and recognition (Schlosberg 1999). He states that this process should be political in nature, and due to the lack of visible networks or movements taking place in Dhaka, it would appear that there may not be a structured or organized grassroots in existence in the slums. While there may not be a formal justice movement as it is

known in many developed societies, his definition of justice being grounded in the individual and the community still greatly resonates in this case, and that is why this research aimed to address the question of networks, organization and perception as they relate to the urban slum via the conversations that take place on the on the grassroots level. Adding to his identification of the main challenge of this type of movement to bring these conversations and local knowledge up from the ground level, conversations with local organizations and politicians are equally important for uncovering if any of this elevation is in fact taking place, at least in the more well-connected, urban sphere.

When looking at the concept of how climate justice related to individuals/communities, it is important to also recognize that formal concepts like rights, recognition, responsibilities, etc. may not fit into how or what they perceive justice as being served, or they may be referenced, just not in the same wording. At the same time, when discussing recent applications of climate justice, theorists and large-scale institutions often focus on a very big picture, referencing reductions in greenhouse gasses or the settlement of climate change funds to serve as justice to particular country who is being affected, rather than a specific group of people. This is one of the main reasons that Adger, et al. argue that the climate justice issue must be reframed in a way that accounts for all parties, not just the traditional actors in the growing, and diversifying narrative. In “This Must Be the Place: Underrepresentation of Identity and Meaning in Climate Change Decision-Making,” the authors first underline the importance of place in having different values for different people, i.e. how local perceive environmental changes and what differences this means in how they understand adaptation or compensation/justice (Adger, Barnett et al. 2011). Furthermore, they also highlight the difficulties of defining localized justice as current discussions often do not take into consideration non-market and non-instrumental aspects of justice, which is a route most often focused on by hard lining economists and even international organizations and treaties. This discussion becomes entirely relevant when takin into consideration the perceptions held by Dhaka’s slum dwellers who may hold seemingly intangible understandings of what is owed to them and by

who, as opposed to how the Bangladeshi government views what is owed to the country as a whole.

In Bulkeley, et al.'s pre-framework discussion on the importance, benefits and challenges to bringing climate justice down to the urban level, they are able to highlight how global cities are enacting a variety of governance and projects that are addressing justice through the arms of distributive (rights and responsibilities) and procedural justice; simply serving as a starting point for the furthering of climate justice concepts that also appear in their future paper (Bulkeley, et al. 2013). While this may seem like a trivial initial step in the larger discussion, the impact of actively identifying such actions serves as a pivotal point in documenting this new segment of the justice movement and serves as a clear example for governments, organizations and citizens alike to see the tangibility of this way of thinking. When paralleled with the climate justice processes that are slowly taking shape up on the international level, work being done through the urban lens seems much more substantial and concrete in comparison. The implications for this in a country like Bangladesh are particularly exciting, especially when considering that Dhaka, a city of nearly twenty million, is at the forefront of the climate battle, so any reshaping of a concept to better allow work to be done there has immediate benefits and many more applications as it develops into the future. While Dhaka may be at the forefront of such a battle, the researcher analyzed whether the city's current handling of migrants is in fact enough to consider this an action of justice, particularly in contestation to the notion stated in the 2014 framework paper that deems urban spaces as inherently providing its citizens with a form of justice. Considering the poor and worsening conditions of places like Dhaka, this statement may not be a blanket one in the climate conversation. However, the idea that since local/state officials are not actively engaged in providing justice and this duty is now being fulfilled by other actors does match the authors' new framework that takes into account the multiplicity of institutions and players that are now brought into the climate justice conversation, which directly matches what is already happening on the ground in Bangladesh.

If we are to assume that migration is being now being used as an official adaptation strategy to a quickly changing environment, it is necessary to quickly assess the formal protections that currently exist within the state, providing various forms of justice to the nation's citizens. In taking a brief look at the formal legal mechanisms that exist in Bangladesh that provide protection and basic guarantees to its citizens, two main documents now exist relating to this topic. The first is the national constitution adopted in 1971 during the nation's formation, decreeing in article 15(a) that "It shall be a fundamental responsibility of the state to…provide basic necessities of life, including food, clothing, shelter, education and medical care," with subsequent Articles 31 and 32 guaranteeing rights to life and protection, while putting responsibility on the state to take no actions that may impede these rights (Government of Bangladesh 1971). The second, which directly relates to climate change, is the 2008 (and revised 2009 version) Bangladesh Climate Change Strategy and Action Plan (BCCSAP) serving as the country's most updated and comprehensive central government commitment toward climate change work (Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh 2009). While the existence of these documents/policies certainly signals a step in the right direction for a country that has historically lacked much formal work on combating the effects of climate change, they serve as a very small piece of the larger battle for justice, and much work still must be undertaken in order to reach the millions of people who are already being affected and the millions more that will be over the next decades.

2.4 Urbanization/Slum (Bosti) Areas

An equally important topic and one that is just as contested as the previously mentioned concepts crucial to this study is the processes of urbanization and the existence and growth of slums, both in Bangladesh and worldwide. Although slums are not a new phenomenon, there has been an increase in debate among scholars and state officials as to the purpose and future of slums. One side argues that these spaces, when developed in a sustainable manner, serve as creativity and innovation centers, providing the poor opportunities to better their lives and form communities upon common ground. The other side ignoring these calls and actively seeking to

either ignore their existence or seek to destroy them altogether. As an expert of urban development in the global South, Jean-Claude Bolay has written extensively on this ongoing debate while incorporating various UN views and guidelines on the subject, and as one might guess, these analyses are extremely complex, fusing in concepts of land ownership/tenure, living conditions, community participation, government policy and access to services to name a few. In his paper, "Slums and Urban Development: Questions on Society and Globalization," his look into various case studies around the globe, many very similar to that of Bangladesh, provides him with some conclusions that appear to point out how contradictory global policy is when it comes to dealing with this increasing part of urbanization. He points out that often international organizations continue to work in slums to promote better quality of life and community partnerships, all the while slogans from UN Human Settlements Program like "cities without slums" exist with a mindset that slums are in fact entirely detrimental to the human condition and will eventually cease to exist in the modern city (Bolay 2006). Although the urbanization and slum practices of Bangladesh are not specifically cited in this piece, the great contradictions that he has found in his case studies very much coincide with what is currently taking place in Dhaka, both in the scale and rate of urbanization and slum settlements as well as the precarious position the current government faces in responding to this particularly increase and the issues that are coming out of it.

Along the same lines of Bolay and many others' recommendations for coordinated and concentrated efforts by urban planners to both recognize and engage slum dwellings, it has been noted by many scholars and officials alike that the current progress in Bangladesh on this front has been quite poor to say the least. While an urban planning effort does currently exist in the form of the Dhaka Metropolitan Development Plan (DMDP), analysts like Ashiq Rahman have noted that a lack of coordination, funds and organization have essentially paralyzed the city's only urbanization improvement campaign, and paired with the drastic increase in newcomers and an already existing massive slum population, current circumstances do not bode well for the city and its future development (Rahman 2015). Although such analysis is important for the formal process of continual development of the city,

these types of reports often lack a more nuanced discussion included in papers like Bolay's which openly debate the function and usefulness of slum areas. These conversations rarely exist if ever within the local government who has actively ignored a majority of the slums and their millions of citizens, with reports and rumors actually placing blame on the city government for recent slum fires that have destroyed thousands of homes, but have opened up large swaths of previously claimed land for "proper" real estate development.

In connecting this debate over urbanization back to the key concept of climate justice from the local level, Bulkeley et al.'s statement that urban spaces by their very existence already providing its citizens with a form of justice would fall into the category of an enabling space, or what Bolay refers to as a "radiant future" of development and urban conquest. However, when ones looks at the current status quo of cities like Dhaka, which not only has one of the highest population densities, but the greatest number of slum areas in the world, the conditions, dangers and future trajectories of these spaces yet again brings into question whether or not these places have failed its citizens and the city as proper development, particularly when looking at it from a justice point of view. This continues the somewhat cyclical argument of how slums fit into the modern notions of urban development and whether they do in fact provide an opportunity for life and growth or exist as a huge burden for the city and its residents.

2.4.1 Bangladeshi Policy

As briefly previously mentioned, the Bangladeshi central government recently created and enacted a concrete policy to combat and build resilience in response to the growing effects of climate change throughout the country. In the 2009 BCCSAP, the government lays out a variety of current and proposed plans and actions to take by both central, state and local governments as well as international and national nonprofits to best manage the time and resources being spent on climate change related adaptation, but in closer look at this document, there appears no mention or plans for urban centers or slum areas. This stands as a major gap in government

planning and expenditures with consequences for millions if future plans do not incorporate the country's unique urban situation. By failing to recognize the importance urban centers play in current climate change adaptation as well as the key issue of slum settlements that exist within, it would appear from an outsider point of view that the government is failing to provide a form of local, climate justice to the most affected and impoverished people and also stands as a major roadblock for the comprehensive efforts that need to take place in order to include all sides of the migration story. The overall lack of organization and external, public partnership and coordination of entities like the DMDP further create alienation and confusion within the government, propelling further uncertainties and risk as mentioned in Rahman's critique of the current situation on the ground there. Perhaps in a move to respond to growing pressure for various communities about the lack of focus on urban spaces, the government has created a very loose document of a national urban policy which was launched in 2011 and later updated in 2013 entitled "National Urban Sector Policy" (Rahman 2015). While the document serves as a good stepping stone for identifying some of the main challenges that increased urbanization currently presents, according to the sparse public documents that are available, policy recommendations and ways forward appear to not be a major priority for the government, which is again becomes problematic due to the sheer scale or urbanization that is taking place around most parts of Bangladesh.

2.5 Knowledge Gaps

While there exists extensive literature on all the general topics that are being touched upon on this research, upon a more detailed look within the academic and international development communities, specific information on migration processes, alternate perspectives of climate justice as well as climate justice at the urban/grassroots level can be said to be lacking. With Bangladesh serving as a "pioneer" case study of mass migrations undertaken due to the early onset of climate change, there is no lack of sensationalist reporting or high level United Nations related studies on what is driving migration and how rising sea levels, soil and freshwater salinization, erosion and other environmental changes are affecting the

southern regions and its large population, but what the knowledge gaps that exist to document and explain the migration process, particularly in the case of Bangladesh, are quite noticeable. Due to the growing current and projected numbers of migrants, this process is a vital one to understand in order to better handle the related issues that come with mass movements to urban spaces. Due to the direct connection migration in Bangladesh has with urban spaces like in the capital Dhaka, it is becoming increasingly more relevant and important to understand how cities are serving as justice for the populations most effected by environmental change, and this is another area that appears to be generally lacking, although more scholars are beginning to take note of this new school of thought. Not only is an urban perspective of climate justice slowly beginning to take hold as communities around the world discover the benefits of tackling the causes and effects of climate change on a local level, but the very concept of climate justice is also evolving, with the recognition portion being slowly acknowledged as an important piece of the whole conversation. While many justice theorists have debated the usefulness and implementation of this measure of justice, there are very few real-world studies that incorporate it into a framework, presenting a unique opportunity to apply it to the rapidly changing environmental situations facing the world.

CHAPTER III
THE ROLE OF THE ENVIRONMENT IN DHAKA SLUM DWELLERS' MIGRATION

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will outline, explain and further complicate the ever-changing process of migration that continues to take place throughout Bangladesh as not only the environment, but the economy and society itself ebbs and flows in a dynamic and often surprising way. Throughout the course of the interviews with all slum residents, it became quite apparent that migration, and the decisions to undertake this process, took many forms, both matching the migration framework that was used but also further muddling a clear understanding of what migration in the country might look like in the near future. In this chapter, migration is used in its simplest definition of the word: movement from one part of something to another; and in this case, this can be analyzed from the macro, country level analysis, zooming into an urban scale and further magnified to look at how slum dwellers even migrate between slum communities.

Following the "drivers of migration" framework as visualized by Black, et al. 2011, a nuanced analysis and explanation of the residents' responses must be taken to paint a larger picture of migration in Bangladesh, simply because at this point in the climate change narrative, too many shocks and forces are at play when it comes down to the reasoning's behind why someone decides or undertakes migration. With just a simple label and without no further explanation, the complete story of migration cannot be fully understood. For this reason, after reviewing the respondents' descriptions of their migration story, I have classified their decisions into five key, distinguishable categories:

Category	Explanation	% of total respondents
1. Principally economic	Solely linked to desire to improve economic situation or livelihood.	32%
2. Economic due to environmental shocks	Loss of livelihood has been attributed to naturally occurring floods or storms.	14%
3. Environmental	Anticipatory or post-shocks due to loss of land, home or life.	18%
4. Political	War or regime change has created threats or loss of life.	3%
5. Social	Forced movement by family or recommendations by those already residing in slum communities.	32%

Table 3: Categorization of Decisions to Migrate

As Table 3 indicates, it was decided to break the economic distinction into two separate categories, with one incorporating economic motivations caused by environmental shocks due to the intricate relationship many have with the land and their livelihoods, but distinct in that there were times when environmental shocks like flooding and storms were mentioned with no tie to livelihood and vice versa. The main motivations for the principally economic centered around migrating in order to find better employment or in search of cheaper rent. The distinction of social motivation came about due to the fact that a number of respondents had simply moved with their families at a young age or were forced to by their husbands or parents, although these generally took on an economic subtext appear when further questioned.

The following contextual data proves that while the environment did play a substantial role in decision making among slum dwellers in Dhaka, the factors of economic pull of urban spaces as well as the social ties and traditions of migration were also vital in explaining the migration narrative of Dhaka's slum dwellers, resulting in a story that continues to evolve and be shaped by the changing forces behind Bangladesh's development.

3.2 Origins of Dhaka's Migrants

As with every story, that of Dhaka's bosti residents needs a beginning, and that starts with from where they came, whether that be 50 or 150 kilometers away from their current place of residence. While it was not a main goal of the study to fully analyze place of origin, this detail does become important for gauging the effects of environmental change on a large portion of the population, particularly when one considers the country's physical characteristics paired with the increasing effects of climate change. As hypothesized, residents were often situated living near members of their family which more often than not came from the exact or nearby villages from the same region of Bangladesh. Even with random sampling, large portions of both Korail and Ershadnagar were settled in a way that was represented by similar origin grouping in the final data, but when looking at the full results mapped out, residents

Figure 5: Origins of slum residents

from all communities came from all corners of the country, with a slight trend of coming from the southern regions, most prone to storms and flooding (see Figure 5 for full detail). Hypothesized as based on past and current literature and reports, the results found that a majority of respondents in the south had experienced both home

and land destruction due river flooding and cyclones, with destruction of land resulting in loss of livelihood for those dependent on agriculture for income. It also came to the surprise of the researcher that many of those originating from the north (Sylet, Kishoreganj) also cited river flooding (and destroyed land) as a main reason for migrating to Dhaka. Coincidentally, during the time of research, heavy flash flooding, associated with great variability of rainfall caused by climate change in much of the north submerged over 400,000 hectares of land resulting in the loss of over 2 million tonnes of rice, a shock which not only greatly affected the economic livelihoods of farmers and rice exporters, but also the food security of the entire nation (Siddique 2017).

3.3 The Push and Pull Effect: Environmental vs. Economic Drivers

As Bangladesh's physical and economic landscape continue to transform, the delineation of categorizing migration becomes more blurred and interwoven between the variety of evolving drivers and factors. The changing environment has always been part of the country's identity, giving name to the resilience characteristic that the Bangladeshi people are most known for. This sentiment came up quite often in speaking with all respondents, who had generally all undertaken the hardships of moving their lives and starting from scratch, but rarely seemed to think about the larger implications of their decisions or how they spoke for the country's battle with climate change. Korail resident Chanmia stated in the beginning of the conversation, "The river destroyed our home four to five times, then we moved," in a rather matter of fact manner that seemed to imply a sense of normalcy or lack of urgency to the situation (Chanmia, male, 60). In this instance, no economic element was mentioned, giving an understanding that the destruction had finally become enough for the family to endure. His experiences and others like him with rising rivers and flash floods certainly prove the main push power that currently resides with the environment, and if climate trajectories continue on their current path, these pushes will only get stronger and more frequent.

On the other side of the Bangladeshi migration narrative lies the opposing, yet equally powerful pull factor of the economy. As mentioned in section 3.1, the main reasons residents had sought refuge in urban Dhaka was to find better employment opportunities and one respondent, who originated just outside city limits, cited the appeal of cheap rent in the slums. As Bangladesh's economic continues to grow at its current quickening pace, the power of urban spaces like Dhaka continue to have greater pull effect not just on the surrounding regions, but due to its relatively small size, all reaches of the country, and this was clearly shown through respondents highlighting the need to find better employment opportunities as their main reasons for moving. Whether respondents cited being forced out by parents in order to find work or the undeniable fact that the urban center provided higher wages and more employment choices, it was clear that Dhaka serves as an oasis for those looking for a better life.

In between the push of environmental shocks and the pull of the city exists the murky, yet tangible connection between the natural world and local economy, one that was cited by eight respondents as the main driver for migrating. The interesting aspect of these conversations centered around the fact that often the environment driver had to be pulled out through further follow up questions, as hints in the language were given about the shock a flood or storm had caused, yet money, as it generally is, was the first talking point in the discussion. Quite a few respondents started the explanation with "There was no land [for farming]," which upon the researchers follow up, revealed this came to be due to the destruction of viable land, not simply a lack of it (House-to-house interviews, 2017). Again, this matter-of-factness does have the ability to confuse without delving into the deeper story, one that is needed in order to paint the proper picture of migration decisions to Dhaka.

3.4 Importance of Social Drivers and Motivators

With the environment and economy being the most common debated factors in Bangladesh's migration narrative, the prevalence of social drivers seems to have been overlooked in this discussion and was featured, although under the surface, in many

of the bosti interviews. With a wide range of ages and marital situations throughout all the communities, the influence and actors in the respondents' respective local societies and relationships did appear to have a strong impact on their migration story. The nine participants who were categorized under this label cited the following three reasons for residing in the slums:

- Accompanied husbands who made decision to migrate (n=3)
- Accompanied or were forced by parents to migrate (n=5)
- Family already residing in slum told them to come (n=1)

Of those who accompanied their husbands to Dhaka, multiple women (if they were interviewed individually, out of earshot from their spouse) did in fact cite that they were not involved in this decision-making process, with some going so far to say that they did not want to come in the first place. A respondent from Korail stated "[My] husband made the decision to move, I had no choice" (Korail resident, late 60's). With the existence of strong, traditional power dynamics among spouses as well as within the family in Bangladesh, these sentiments and the migration process experienced by many are certainly not uncommon in the country as well as in much of the world, but nonetheless, societal forces continue to play an important role in this migration narrative, again, often coming from economic or environmental factors decided by the head of the household.

3.5 Cycle of migration and future migration desires

Following a modern migration theory, while the slums of Dhaka are often the final destination for individuals or families, this is not always the case, and a variety of factors come into play when duration of stay and future migrations decisions are made. To make Bangladesh's rural to urban migration narrative even more complex, one must also take into consideration the migration that is taking place within the city as well as between slums. These cycles also can come about due to environmental or economic shocks as well as various social issues that continue to present themselves in the form of injustice or inadequate urban development.

3.5.1 Urban Migration

After speaking with residents from all communities, it became evident that while Dhaka as the largest urban entity served as the final city destination for most, the slums were not always the first place of residence. Of the 28 bosti residents interviewed, six had resided in other areas of the city not classified as a slum by city officials. These areas ranged from the capital's most expensive and posh neighborhood of Gulshan to the university and BRAC headquarters area of Mokhali (House-to-house interviews, 2017). When asked for the main reason behind their decision to move into the slums, the answers were all the same: cheaper rent. Ironically, when breaking down what residents in the slums pay per square foot of space, most are actually paying more than the average middle-class family in Dhaka living outside of slums, yet bosti residents are receiving the worst quality of land, utilities and services (Shaon 2014). This issue, particularly rampant in Korail bosti, also became evident as interviews revealed that residents often move from slum to slum in terms of even cheaper rent.

3.5.2 Intra-slum Migration

In the search to escape rising prices in Dhaka's largest slums, with Korail serving as the case study in this example, many residents opt to migrate to smaller, less developed slums that have formed throughout the city. Of the respondents interviewed, five, all living in Ershadnagar, had moved from Korail bosti to save money on rent and utilities, even though they all cited the worse conditions and hardships this brought. On top of cheaper rent, some respondents also cited the overcrowding of Korail through the years, opting to live in a less dense space, consisting of no two-story buildings. While the researcher observed that infrastructure and housing conditions were in fact far less satisfactory than in Korail, individual residences did seem somewhat more spacious in terms of their square footage. Another more controversial topic that presented itself throughout various conversations on reason why residents had moved out of Korail or were considering it was that of safety, more specifically, shocks in the form of slums fires that have

recently taken the spotlight over the past several months. As sporadic fires continue to destroy hundreds of homes, over multiple occurrences, safety has now become a key concern for bosti residents, unable to stop such acts and even more helpless in discovering and prosecuting the perpetrators.

3.5.3 Future Migration Plans

Although a large percentage of residents had experienced shocks at their place of origin, upon concluding discussions on migration, a surprising number of respondents cited the desire to return to their villages, fully aware of the danger that may present itself there. These residents currently were saving money each month for such a return, but all had no idea when they would be able to save enough to purchase land back in their hometowns. Korail resident Narkis stated, “I to eventually buy land back in Bhola, but know [the] river will cause floods, but will make it work” (Narkis, female, 32). For those wishing to return, motives generally surrounded wanted to reconnect with family still residing at place of origin or wanting to leave the cramped, noisy, dusty confines of Dhaka’s sprawling urban landscape. Life back in rural Bangladesh can simply be compared as quite different than the new experiences awaiting migrants. It is with these types of sentiments that the theme of resilience continued to present itself during the field research. On top of waiting for proper savings, those residents interviewed with children cited their satisfaction with the current education opportunities present to them in Dhaka, and anticipated awaiting graduation until any such return trip was undertaken. While far and few between, some residents, particularly spousal units, indicated circular/repeat migration to and from their village homes in line with agriculture high and low seasons. On the opposing side of what some would call the stubbornness of residents who still had hopes of making life back in their rural villages viable, strong sentiments came from many residents living in all communities that they had no desire to return to their place of origins, for as many directly stated, they “had nothing to return to” (House-to-house interviews, 2017). This nothingness primarily referred to both physical land that was either underwater or destroyed from storms or rivers, as well as a sense of community or family, often times due to the fact that the entire community had also

moved, or the entire family is located in the slum. For many who had arrived at these slums as children, their entire lives had been spent and developed within the bosti communities, knowing nothing else of any other world.

3.6 Chapter Conclusion

In linking the findings of this chapter together, it is clear that while clear descriptions of migration journeys can be made for some of the respondents in this study, for most, the narrative is not so well-defined, representing a wider theme convoluting a clear understanding or statement of migration for the country. Bangladesh has always had a unique relationship with its changing natural landscape, but now with the addition of climate change, the growing power and influence of urban spaces and the growing uncertainty of the future of slum communities, standard theories of migration are becoming upended. In answering the research question regarding the key motivators behind why people migrate, the qualitative information from the participants shows that it is necessary to go beyond initial statements and understandings on the topic, for often it is difficult for the migrants themselves to fully understand their own reasoning without telling their stories that go beyond the subject of migration. It is for this reason that the findings from this chapter directly illustrate the framework's authors in concluding "that it will rarely be possible to identify specific 'environmental migrants'" (Black, Adger et al. 2011).

From a general lack of discussion on the government's role in aiding migration or the rebuilding of communities' aftershocks to the system, the beginnings of a justice narrative can also be pulled out from this sense of inaction. This also creates a further conversation with the applied framework, whose stated objective for us is to motivate others, like this research, "to move the debate from identification of migration as a problematic outcome of global environmental change, towards an assessment of mobility as a key element for managing environmental and other risks;" something which this research does throughout its conclusions, creating wider implications and contestations to the Bangladesh government's claim that migration serves as their main adaptation method to climate change. Furthermore, living in a country that has

such unique history with the land has shown to have shaped and distorted residents' realizations of what is "normal" and it is for this reason that while the framework initially used to help analyze their journey's does begin to explain the interconnectivity of drivers, a new, specific framework for Bangladesh might be better suited to do so.

CHAPTER IV
LIFE, POWER DYNAMICS AND STRUGGLE IN THE SLUMS OF DHAKA

4.1 Introduction

Like any community and even the urban space they exist within, the slums of Dhaka have developed their own unique social networks and structure, with a special ebb and flow that sits apart for the formal urban space they sit within. This network and community is greatly shaped by the migration journey that most residents have undertaken and has an impact on how slum life conducts itself, is governed and most importantly for this research, how residents experience the city and seek justice. Regardless of the formal barriers that exist in direct challenge of millions of city residents, the slums continue to expand and develop, fueled by the hundreds of thousands of new arrivals coming from all corners of the country seeking a better life or simply refugee from powerful forces of nature wreaking havoc on life outside the city limits. On the most basic of levels, this chapter will illustrate and dive into life in Dhaka's slums, exploring the special circumstances and relationships that exist within as well as the relationships that continue to evolve between communities, leaders, non-state actors and local officials. The various hardships and barriers to the basic necessities of life will also be uncovered as they are specific to this complex and often hidden urban community. In order to do this, a high-level introduction of slum life as it relates to the three site locations will be given, using a comparative breakdown to highlight key differences and fundamental issues. Comparisons will also be made of the socioeconomic structure, community politics and perceptions of non-state actors, community leaders and local officials to finish off the chapter.

4.2 Slum Orientation

By the very definition of the word, the slums of Dhaka are some of the most crowded and neglected communities in Bangladesh, sitting in a country that already has some of the highest population densities in the world. Korail and Ershadnagar bosti sit in Wards 19 and 20 of the city, locally governed by the Dhaka South City Corporation,

centrally located in the middle of the city's wealthiest neighborhoods of Banani and Gulshan 1 & 2, with Rampura sitting to the southeast of these areas (refer back to Figure 3 for exact locations).

Figure 6: Main square in Korail

While exact numbers are difficult to confirm, it is estimated that the population of Korail, the city's largest and most populated bosti, sits between 40,000 to 150,000 residents, on just .25 km^2 of land, giving it a density of over 160,000 people per square kilometer (see Figure 6 for example of slum construction) (Stevenson, Sarker et al. 2013). Figures for Ershadnagar and Rampura are unaccounted for, but through the researcher's initial observation, Ershadnagar occupies about a quarter of Korail's total space, but density sits about the same, if not higher due to the comparatively smaller dwellings within. Rampura slum was even more informal than the prior two, with a less defined area, dwellers scattered about and behind more formal apartments and shops. The space where Korail and Ershadnagar occupies was originally, as described by countless residents, a jackfruit rainforest, originally owned in the 1960's by Bangladesh Telephone and Telegraph (BT&T), then officially handed over to the Public Works Department (PWD) in the 1990's, only to be unofficially captured and rented out by local elite politicians and business-owners (House-to-house interviews, 2017) (Shiree and Dushtha Shasthya Kendra 2012). Entrance to the slums is connected via main roads, and in Korail's case, even via raft over Banani Lake, but the researcher did observe that the main road into Korail is gated, guarded by police and locked during the night hours, giving a sense of concern and raising further questions on the security of this location as well as inaccessibility or confinement for its residents.

4.3 Life and Livelihood of Slum Dwellers

Serving as a microcosm of the urban space outside of the slum walls, the occupations and lives of the residents' mirrors that of integrated society, with workers often sitting in a grey area in order to make a living and support their families. From private driver to a university student who tutors to pay for her education, the roles that a majority of the slum residents take on a fairly normal structure, although one would be hard pressed to find an official wage paid by a weekly or monthly check from an accounts payable office, as many of the jobs sit in the "informal" occupation category (see Table 3 for full details of occupations of participants). Much of the capital depends on jobs that are done informally, for much cheaper by the millions of slum residents who often reside in the center of the city, as this is necessary in order to keep the lifeblood of the urban sprawl moving. Not surprisingly, while participants held a wide range of positions, drivers (rickshaw pullers, CNG drivers and private drivers) and garment workers were the most referenced occupations in all communities, as these jobs are both the ones who traditionally employ the greatest number of workers, and they also can be quite lucrative if one puts in dedication and long hours. These jobs also require no formal education and little training, which also own to their precarious reputations in terms of safety and regulations. Quite often respondents held several unrelated positions throughout their journey from village to capital, as flexibility is an adaptability skill also applicable to one's occupation, and those who are able to learn new skills are able to get more work, resulting in a livable wage. For respondents with children, school fees were a main motivator in obtaining higher wages, and the researcher was also surprised to learn that a number of residents had put their children through university education, with some of these students currently working in the slum on various community projects and non-profits.

Occupations of Respondents	
Formal	**Informal**
• Chef • Private Driver • Student • Community Leader • Garment Worker	• CNG Driver • Landlord • Homemaker • Private Tutor • Maid • Shop owner • Clothes seller • Community Activist

Table 4: Occupation of Residents

Processes of migration have also shaped the physical layout of the slum in terms of how residents settle and distribution of housing. While no formal neighborhood demarcations exist in any of the slums, families, both generational, extended and stemming from village relations, generally live together. This can take on a literal sense, with as many as five or six immediate family members residing in the same one-room dwelling, or small enclaves of family or village members living in a cordoned section, made up of a small number of individual dwellings. This makeup gives a greater sense of community as individuality and ownership of spaces becomes muddled, with doors open, cooking areas shared, and life taking on a more interconnected, familiar feeling. Due to the overcrowded nature of these slums and poor quality of buildings and living spaces, privacy also becomes a luxury few can afford, but again, residents have adapted to these conditions and personal space does not limit daily life.

4.4 Socioeconomic Structure, Networks and Slum Politics

After compiling the full list of respondents' information and testimonials, the researcher has classified the bosti residents based on roles and power dynamic in the slum community. This distinction has been made from consideration on

socioeconomic status, but mainly by assessing one's connections to those in power, which allows members varying access to goods, services, rights and opportunities inside and outside the community. Figure 7 aims to help visualize the distinction of actors within the slum as well as an example of how and between who the connections and interactions exist. The colored nods represent different actors who live or have interactions in the slums. The colors range from red to blue, with red representing the core, the actor with the most power, followed by a decreasing temperate scale to show those in blue, on the outermost reaches of the network, have the smallest amount of power or influence. The size of the nodes are also meant to represent a difference in power (i.e. larger nodes have more connections, thus more power) which vary based on who one has connections to. Links also exist betweem slums which are briefly represented in the figure as well. These connections create a distribution of power based on decision making and allocation of resources (aid, access to government and non-state actors, etc.). Due to its size and length of existence, this structure was most visible in Korail, but indications of a similar structure also became apparent when speaking to residents in Ershadnagar. In the middle of the social network sits the smallest number of individuals, those sitting in the central government, under the leadership of Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina Wazed, leader of the current ruling party, the Awami League. The City Corporations of Dhaka serve as the local government (with the Dhaka South City Corporation overseeing the Wards in which Korail and Ershadnagar sit), often running like small businesses, this assembly being the ones to put the governments words into action and allocate money for the various projects and remedies that they see fit in their section of the city.

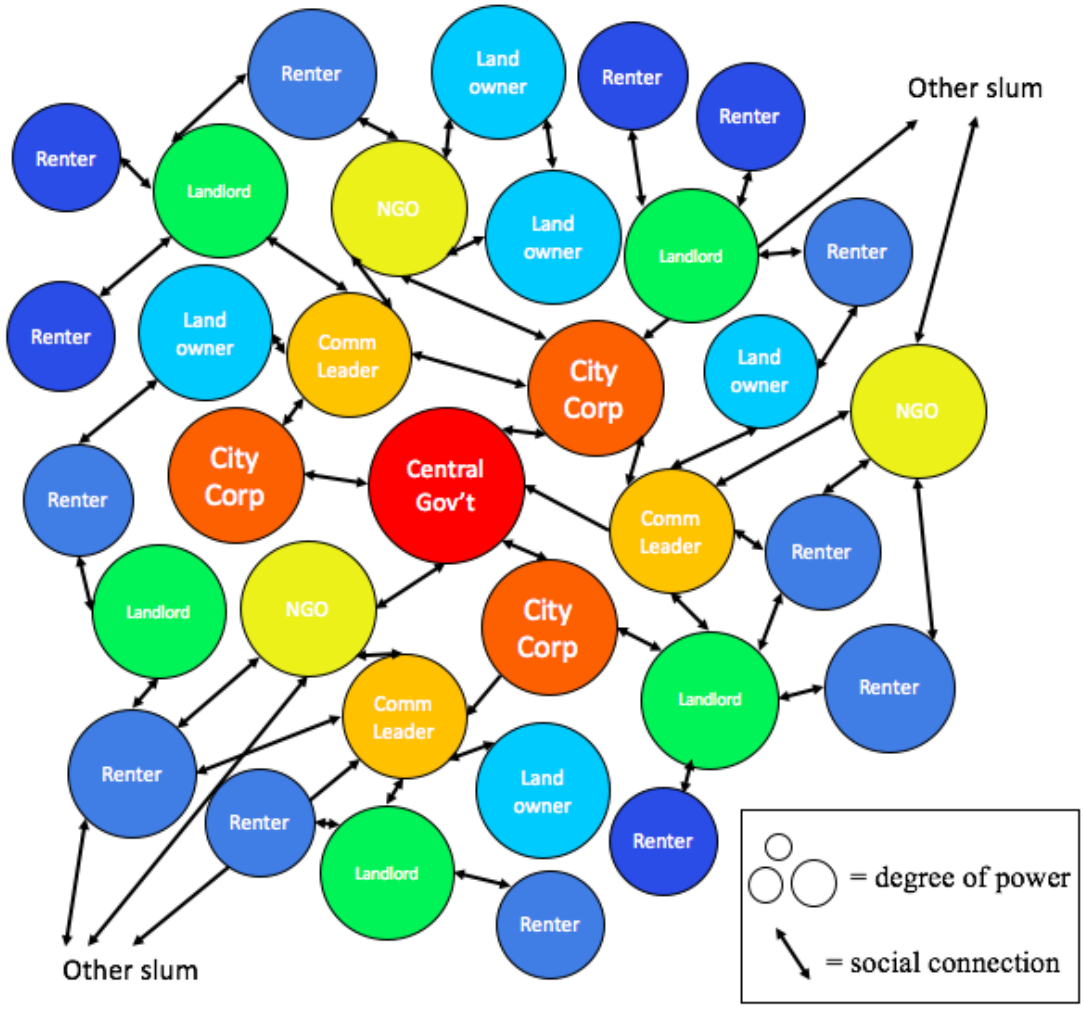

Figure 7: Example of social network in slum

Next sits the entirely informal yet necessary role of the various community leaders that oversee the slums and represent them in front of the local (and sometimes central) government. After speaking with residents, it was still not fully clear exactly how these men have come into their role, but in speaking with the leaders themselves, it would appear they have done this is a few ways. The first is by receiving legitimacy and backing from political parties and the local government. Korail leader Mahmudul Hassan referenced the fact that his bosti contained two separate political party offices and over 75,000 eligible voters, a fact that he hinted seems to maintain an interest and connection between the slum and local government (Hassan, male, late 50's). Hassan quite often referenced infrastructure projects, like the building of water pumps or main roads, that came from funding from the City Corporation, demonstrating not

only the political prowess of the community leaders, but showing residents that they were men who could solve issues, thus building trust and rapport, legitimizing their positions and sustaining their power through their various connections. The researcher also observed that in all “official” community offices, the portrait of the current and past prime minister was centrally displayed, followed by statements from Hassan that there was much support of the current administration and her policies, and conversely, the slum was supported by her and related funding. Lastly, it is the community leaders that are able to control the existence and scope of work of NGO/international organizations, who must receive their permission, guidance and local insight in order to successfully administer their various development mandates. The central government is officially responsible for allowing them into the country, but it is these gate keepers that hold the real power here.

Underneath the formal and informal actors that govern the bosti sits the average residents, who’s power resides not only in the economic aspects of their employment and land ownership, but in the relationships they have built with those on top of the social structure. As it has been mentioned, a majority of the land that the slums sit on is owned publically by the government, yet in speaking with residents of all communities, respondents reported claiming land at the beginning of the slum settlement or purchasing land at various points in their residence. Through the researcher’s conversations it was impossible to fully understand the intricacies of how this purchasing occurred due to the illegality or long history of such actions, but just under half of all respondents had identified themselves as either a landowner (someone who has purchased their land from their landlord, but not charging others) or landlord (owning their land and land others are paying rent on, often times renting out to family or village members), attesting to the fact that residents saw their tenure of the land as legal and legitimate, even if the government does not recognize such ownership through formal deeds and documents. Community leaders further legitimize ownership via their unofficial status and power to mediate and resolve issues within their respective communities. Those without land ownership, paying monthly rents to landlords, were divided by their power affiliation due to the fact that it is this relationship that allows individuals in the bosti to receive better development

and resources compared with those who had no connection with those holding decision making power at the top of the community structure. In particular, this became most apparent when discussing access to NGO's and their aid, which will be discussed in the following sections.

4.5 Disparities in Infrastructure and Access to Resources

Based on of initial observations made throughout the various visitations, interviews and even lunches sessions with residents in the slums, the conditions and the experiences of those living in these informal settlements differ quite substantially from community to community, and after speaking with the residents on how they understand life there and their place in both within the capital city, both visual evidence and verbal testimonial certainly supported this statement.

4.5.1 Infrastructure and Access to Utilities

With Korail bosti serving as the largest, most populated and oldest of Dhaka's slum settlements, conditions there have been substantially improved through the years, creating what can be described as a city within a city, creating a unique community that is often unseen by a majority of the city that surrounds this area on all sides. From barber shops and mobile phone stores to numerous mosques and political party offices, life in Korail, despite an initial run down, haphazard appearance, took on a much more organized and proper urban flow compared with life in Ershadnagar and Rampura. Residences and retail spaces in Korail also were comparatively more robust and often made of more solid materials like concrete and brick, as structures outside of this bosti comprised of corrugated tin or mismatched sheets of plywood or in some cases, cardboard (see Figure 8 for example). In terms of infrastructure, formalized roads or pathways as they are known in Western urban spaces were essentially missing outside of Korail bosti and even in that community, most encompassed moderately wider walkways that had been packed solid over the years, however in all areas they were laden with potholes and garbage of some sort. Formalized sewage and pipage systems in Korail have upon high level observation been covered or concealed in a majority of the areas that were visited, but this work in Ershadnagar has not been

undertaken and large sections of footpaths and drainage channels contained open, public-facing sewage. Residents have done what they can in all of these instances to remedy in an untrained fashion, but it become obvious from both observation and respondents' comments that development in this area was something desperately needed.

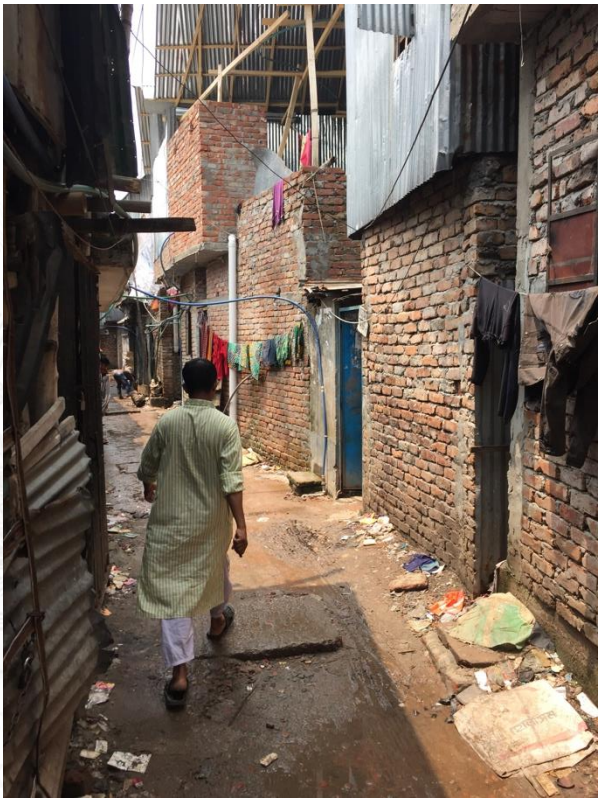

Figure 8: Typical pathway in Korail slum

Utilities (electricity, potable water and gas) and access to these services is varied and sporadic in all bosti communities, mainly due to the settlements' unofficial status in the capital. Basic services are not regularly provided or maintained by the government, requiring a dependence on infrastructure projects by non-state actors. Formalized pump systems and distribution methods are more advanced in Korail due to its connections with local government but outside, these take the form of high corroded, old pipes that are not trusty in terms of their accessibility or provisions. Community leaders were cited in referencing recent road building projects by the South City Corporation as well as water pump building projects organized and ran by the British High Commissioner, Water Aid and the World Bank in the recent past (Mahmudul Hassan, late 50's, male). An issuance of 47 water bills was also made, implying that a formalization of resources is creating fairness and standards for its residents, something that was no referenced or observed outside of Korail.

4.5.2 Access to Community Leadership

In speaking to residents on their perceptions of those leading their communities, again, depending on one's connections to those in power, the views of their performance were split. Those who personally knew a leader or was is a position to comment on what was happening in that section of the network had much greater insight into how formal processes worked: "I know the community leaders meet regularly. If there is trouble, leaders will approach local government. Recently they protested evictions" (Shumi, 25, female) or "NGO work is recent, local leaders have been doing the work [all along], seem to care about the people" (Shania, 28, female). In accordance with the network structure, many more residents accounted for those without connections to the community leaders, thus greatly shifting their perceptions of the performance of local leaders. Quite a few residents hinted that only those with connections to NGO's, the local leaders or local government receive assistance, and one resident made a correlation between community relations and rent: "People with better connections to local leaders get better rent, which is unfair" (House-to-house interviews, 2017) (Pintu, 38, male). It was the researcher's observation upon home visits that those with connections to the local leaders generally had more space, a stronger physical home foundation, and more appliances (TV, refrigerator, fans) than those without any affiliations. Connections to local leadership were also observed during site visits when accompanied by a leader, as much time was spent stopping to greet and catch up with eager residents who wanted to pay respects or ask for assistance.

4.5.3 Access to NGO and International Organization Services

Through simply walking around and taking note of the frequency of visible non-profit and international organizations actively present doing development work in Korail bosti, as well as the overall positive perception of their presence and work by residents, it is apparent from both a surface level observation and quantitative assessment of resident responses that the work of local and international NGO's and organizations has been instrumental in the development of the bosti, but in particular,

that of Korail. The majority of Korail respondents saw their work in a positive light and recognized that they were in fact the ones filling in the gaps or lack of engagement from the governmental side as well as being principally responsible for the improvements throughout the community. This is reflected in the fact that 83% of Korail discussants, on the topic of NGO work, perceived the work being done as helpful in their or their family's development despite the fact that just 60% of interviewees had actually had direct interactions or assistance from an organization operating in the bosti (Korail Bosti members 16-21 May, 2017). This favorable perception in those who have never had any direct interaction with their offerings may have to do with the fact that word of mouth serves as a strong networking tool within this cramped community as well as the high visibility of their projects and presence, which can be seen in Figure 9. The one sentiment that was repeated multiple times was that "NGO's have improved conditions here [in Korail]" and "NGO's are more helpful than the government" (Korail Bosti Members 2017). These sentiments were spread between those connected to local leaders and those who were not, however, those with connections to community leaders appear to be much more comfortable and knowledgeable when discussing these interactions, and those without local connections appear more critical in their appraisal. Nevertheless, simply being visible and approachable does not mean that all residents are able to access or benefit from these services fairly, which was denoted by one resident who stated: "NGO's are blindly giving out money [and resources] to the community leaders, which is causing issues" (Beauti 1, female, 27), tying in a concept of justice to the problem. While the majority did have only positive comments to make about the access and availability of NGO's, this comment does highlight the false assumption that is often made on the ability of non-state actors to circumvent corruption, even those doing good are susceptible to the politics of the bosti.

Figure 9: Examples of Visible NGO presence in Korail

While the work of NGO's and international organizations may be one of the key reasons Korail has developed in this manner over the decades, outside of this bosti, responses from various residents show that the work and purpose of NGO's are not fully observed, understood or even experienced by most, creating a key discrepancy in the overall assessment of the non-governmental development narrative. Outside of Korail bosti, only 36% of respondents had had an interaction or received assistance from an NGO or international organization, generating a low 29% satisfaction rating when asked if their work was perceived as positive or helpful to them or the community (Ershadnagar & Rampura bosti residents, 2017). Due to Ershadnagar bosti's proximity to Korail, many residents, some of whom had actually moved out of Korail in search of cheaper rent in the past, were very much aware of the work going on right outside of their communities, which lent itself to resentment or anger when discussing the lack of work being done. It should also be noted that no NGO or international organization presence was observed while traversing through these communities, giving a further sense of isolation from the unique urban community located just adjacent to them.

4.5.4 Local Government Interactions with Slum Communities

The visibility of City Corporation members inside the bosti or interactions with community leaders also had an impact on how residents perceived the priorities and actions of those in charge, and again, as these differ significantly between bosti's, so do the perceptions of the residents. Those residing in Korail reported a higher rate of observations of local officials in their communities or interactions between community leaders and officials, thus shaping their perceptions that some form of formal processes are helpful and beneficial to them and their community. Outside of Korail, for the limited references made to seeing local officials in their community, ulterior motives were also paired with such observations. Residents expressed feeling that officials were "Just showing their face… all an act;" "They only do it for themselves, do not care about the people;" or that they "Only see government during elections" (Nargis, 30, female) (Muntumia, 50's, male) (Beauti 2, 25, female). A particularly enlightened Ershadnagar resident, with an evident understanding of how corruption works in the slums commented on how the local government is cheating residents out of aid that is coming down from the central government: "This is how they do it: form a group, take down sentiments [of residents], take to central government, then the local officials take money and don't go back to people" (Abdul Hassan, 35, male). To briefly compare sentiments coming from a step higher on the socioeconomic scale, after speaking with another of Korail's community leaders, it became clear that this status, or perhaps obligation, has shaped sentiments, uncovering a great disconnect between the average citizen and those with direct access to government. It was expressed that the "19th Ward Commissioner is a good guy, cares about community, not there for profit or own agenda" (Chanmia, late 60's, male). This statement is of course directed at an official that many residents connected with the abovementioned negative qualities and motives.

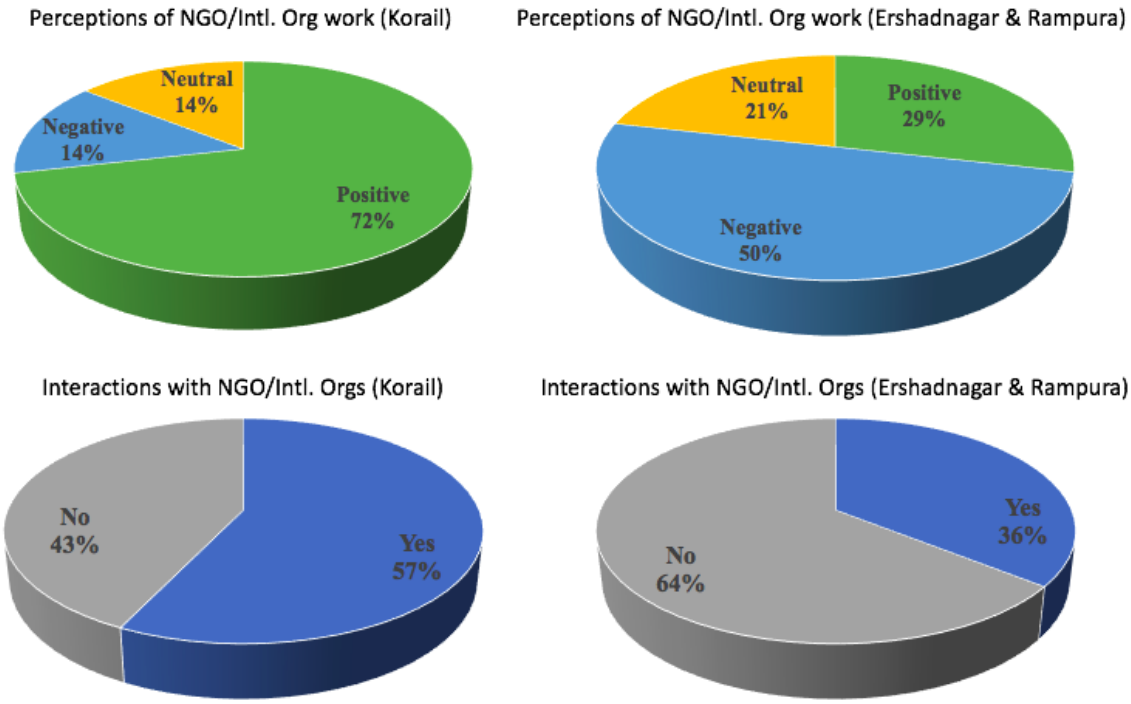

Figure 10: Sentiments of NGO work disaggregated by slum location

4.6 Challenges and Aspirations of Slum Life

In order to appreciate how residents begin to understand justice in their urban environment, it was also crucial to acknowledge their perceptions of slum life in how they gauged the quality of life there as well as identifying the key issues they observe or wish to improve. In comparing the issues that were brought up in conversation (using Figures 11 and 12), variances of perceived importance can be observed between communities. One key difference that stands out is the absence of discussion of unfair pricing of utilities in Korail, which is a key concern outside of that bosti. Korail residents do identify the difficulty in securing stable utilities like clean water and electricity, but the discussions did not bring up the unfairness in pricing that those outside the bosti refer to. Problems surrounding infrastructure and land tenure are also mentioned more outside of Korail, upholding observations and notions of its boosted development. It can also be implied from comparing both figures that a larger number of grievances were shared with the researcher in Ershadnagar/ Rampura, owing to the

lesser-developed state of those communities which generally come with more barriers and problems.

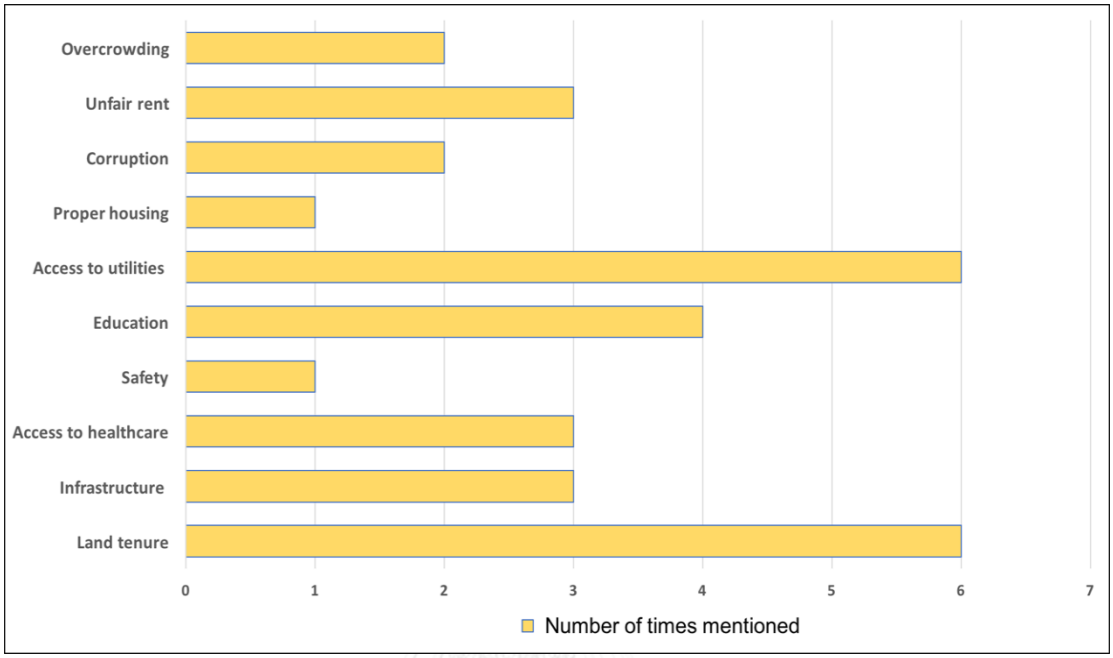

Figure 11: Concerns of Korail bosti residents

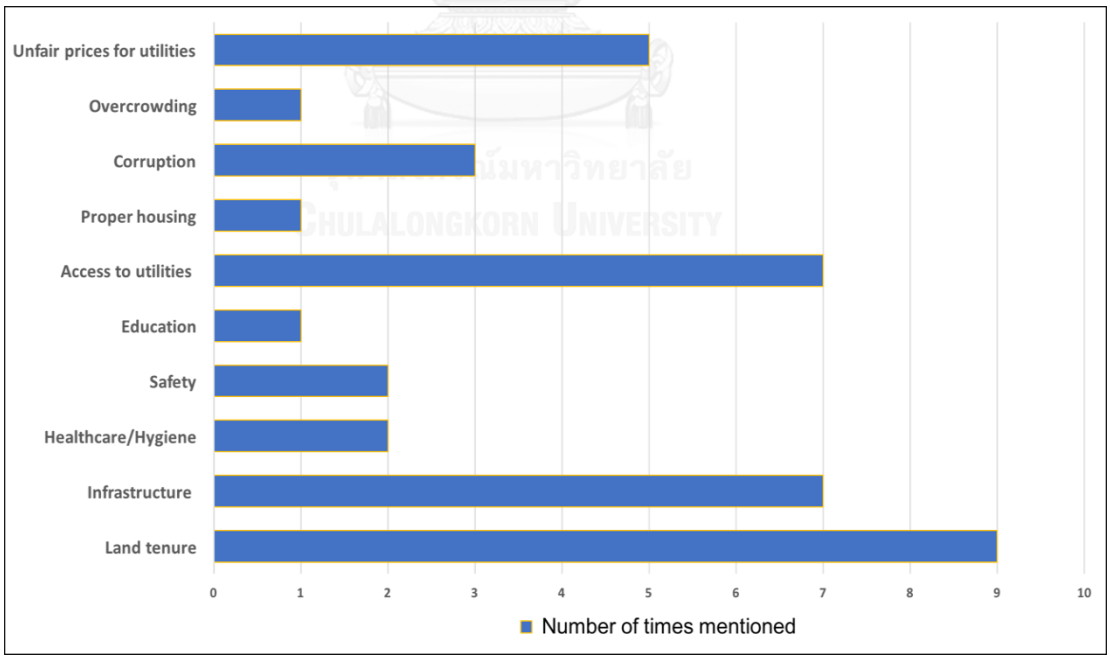

Figure 12: Concerns of Ershadnagar/Rampura bosti residents

4.7 Chapter Conclusion

The main experiences and barriers faced in Dhaka's slums upon migrating to these spaces serve as a crucial component in how perceptions of justice are shaped and formulated after the migration journey. It is at this part of the narrative that the some of the most intense struggles and hardships are faced, for many residents the choice to move into the slums either did not exist or was the last viable option due to the environmental or economic reasons discussed in the previous chapter. Like life at their points of origin, residents are faced with situations and experiences that are usually out of their control, from the poor conditions and infrastructure of daily, urban life to the realities created by unequal access to services and people created by a new, social network in the community. Residents must again live in fear that their homes might be taken or destroyed, this time not by a force of nature, but by a government who deems their claims on the land as illegal, once again offering the possibility that they might be left with little or nothing to survive on. It is with these considerations that the stage is now set to explore the final findings chapter that will look specifically at these perceptions of justice as they relate to some of the biggest issues faced by this research's participants.

CHAPTER V
PERCEPTIONS OF JUSTICE

5.1 Introduction

Despite a lack of formal education and living seemingly isolated lives on the fringes of Bangladesh's urban society, a majority of the respondents engaged during on-site interviews had quite clear and strong views surrounding concepts of justice as they relate to the issues and injustices they face every day in the slums, and they usually boiled down to one simple sentiment: *We want to be treated like human beings*. In areas of rampant poverty, often as a result of destruction or loss, one might expect a high amount of blame or lengthy requests for aid to be made, but the bulk of these findings illustrates that residents of all sites visited seek rather fundamental rights and justice for the wrongs that has been done throughout their lives, particular at this final stage of their journey. This chapter will present a comparative analysis based on the three faces of justice of the four main themes of injustice most discussed by participants. The issues of representation (Section 5.2), corruption (Section 5.3), land evictions (section 5.3) and slum fires (section 5.4) will all be analyzed through all three faces of justice as presented in the conceptual framework of Chapter 1.4.2 in order to fully understand how justice is perceived at the grassroots level. Taking this view of justice allows for a more inclusive discussion in the development sphere, one that takes into account all parties, particularly from a population that often does not have a formal platform to partake in such a debate on the international level.

When concepts of recognition are traditionally discussed, notions of a legislative or legal process often sit at the forefront. Due to the already somewhat informal nature and sometimes illegality of the slums and their residents' status, the recognition that will be discussed in this chapter will primarily center around that of the government and related entities formally acknowledging a group of people or the problems they are living with. While some of the recognitional justice does center around attempts to have cases formally recognized in a legislative process within government, the

process often does not even get close enough to this step, thus recognition sits at is most basic function, at the grassroots level.

5.2 Representation

Although the residents of Dhaka's slums sit on the periphery of urban society, many conversations touched on the topic of greater representation, be it having their voice heard in government directly, having their community issues properly recognized or even discrepancies when it came to being represented by their community leaders in the local government. Sitting less than 10 kilometers away from Parliament, Dhaka's slum dwellers may be pushed to the outside but they were not afraid to speak up on the subject and have high hopes for the futures of their lives and communities.

5.2.1 Recognition

If the slums in general sit on the periphery of Dhaka's society (while ironically often sitting in the physical center of the city), those who do not have any connections to community leaders or local officials sit even further outside of the social network. Based on the findings from the researcher's discussion, it was these people who seemed to believe that local officials were very much aware of their living situations and associated issues and are themselves the main roadblocks in having their voices heard properly in Parliament, as they believe this is where real change must come from. This was evident from the statement "Leaders need to represent us better in the local government," a call from a concerned citizen that displays an understanding of not being able to represent themselves in government, but also displaying that they have the understanding that someone else has the power to (Begum, late 50's, female). This sense of justice was produced over time, as Begum is someone who has spent years moving between Dhaka's various slums, something that would have shaped her understanding of how the "system" worked and how to fix it. There was a feeling from many that those in power did not fully understand the issues at stake due to this disconnection from the community, particularly as residents as a whole are not represented in local or central government. "[They] need to come see what the

situation is like" or "The government is against the poor. If they recognized us, they would make things cheaper (referencing increasing rice prices)" are examples of sentiments calling for a recognition of the residents' lives and needs (Dipu, 33, female) (Chagalal, 27, male). It is clear that residents are aware of a certain level of ignorance that is being played throughout the delicate relationship between slum dwellers and a central authority, but as many have already been in it for the long haul, defeat does not appear to be an option and these respondents certainly seemed up to the challenge of the proverbial fight to get what they believe is owed to them.

In contrast, due to the Korail community leaders' stronger connection with national parties and the Prime Minister herself, recognition was not perceived as a key issue. At no point in conversations with bosti leaders were any negative sentiments regarding recognition within governments ever stated to the researcher. The leaders and those who had connections with them were quite used to seeing and meeting with local officials resulting in the assumption that all sections of government were either aware or actively involved in some aspect of community development, but outside of this group, this was a different story. Those on the periphery of the social network sought the deep recognition they believed was crucial, as well as a right, to getting their problems solved. One Korail resident strongly stated: "[We] have a right to be heard by government. We did not come here by choice" (Forida, 27, female). As a father and a husband, one who made a point to comment on his feelings that all members of a family should hold equal power and decision make, this sense of how recognition work takes a very basic, equality-based undercurrent, one that is not always shared by his fellow residents, who still adhere to a fairly traditional, mindset when it comes to power distribution within the family structure. This grievance also serves to tie in calls for justice not just at the urban level, but also in terms of climate justice for the environmental shocks that was experienced by residents at their place of origin, before they became residents of the slum. Many felt or were presented with no other choice other than to move their lives to the last viable option in their eyes, as other options were not available, certainly not provided by the government as alternatives to rural-urban migration.

5.2.2 Rights and Responsibilities

While some residents voiced a need for great recognition in and by the government, others felt that it was their actual right. [We] have a right to be heard by the government. It's their responsibility to listen" (Pintu, 38, male). Considering the democratic government that was established in the country's 1971 independence, this perception of the rights owed to each citizen by the constitution is certainly valid and shows a clear understanding of how justice should work in his favor. However, based on this research's findings and observations, what is written on paper is often quite different from what occurs in reality in Bangladesh, something that seems to be begrudgingly admitted by all members of society there.

In speaking with the community leaders, their perceptions of their rights and the responsibilities of the government as a whole generally sat in the positive spectrum, because from their experiences, the local and central governments have been constructive in their slum engagement, showing an active responsibility in the development of the space, something that was not often seen by those below them in the sitting outside of this social network. The interactions they have had are ones unique to their position in the slum, and while they can be shared verbally, it is these physical interactions that have strongly shaped their viewpoints on the subject, as that is the way trust is best built in this society, from action, not simply speaking. While many of the community leaders certainly shared past experiences (migration due to flooding, leaving home to find work, etc.) similar to those of the average resident, their experiences post-slum arrival has had a greater effect on them than the injustices experienced in the past.

5.2.3 Distribution and Procedures

One procedure that was referenced by those sitting outside of the network of community leaders was that of the shortfall of the numerous data collection projects that were taking place in the slums. One resident claimed that the "Government does inaccurate reporting and data recording. This is [negatively] effecting the work they

can do in the slum" or that they "seem to be taking data but not helping anyone" representing a clear perception of fallacy in the procedures of the officials, whose purpose or end results are not understood by residents (Minto, 30, male) (Shania, 28, female). From many initial conversations with participants it was apparent that quite a few have had direct or visual confirmation of studies or research occurring within their neighborhoods, so this is a crucial fact in producing what they believe is a proper distribution of aid and services in return for the crucial data they are providing. This issue of inaccurate or seemingly pointless data collection also produces a perception of knowledge in that a researcher or official's presence or acknowledgment of an issue immediately legitimizes the concerns of the resident, but when an issue is acknowledged but no solutions or development comes out of such studies, a greater injustice is then produced. It is these type of conversations that often took place prior to this own researcher's interviews as residents who have been engaged before now have a certain lack of trust or understanding of the purpose of continuous research in their communities that does not seem to yield any results, which can be said to be part of a broken process of international development for the slum dwellers.

For the residents who have exercised their legal right to vote for the officials representing them, lack of action or engagement in the slum communities is seen a procedure that is not working, summarized by an Ershadnagar resident's sentiment, "We voted for them, they should help (Chagalal, 28, male). This perception in a broken system also connects with a lack of responsibility that inaction represents to the community who still puts their trust and backing in the political system. Similar breaks in normal government procedure has produced a sense of injustice relating to livelihood, specifically in how it relates to rickshaw pullers, a job held by a large majority of slum residents. Ershadnagar resident Dipu referenced recent calls to not only block rickshaws from the main streets of high-end area, Banani, but a recent change in procedure requiring pullers to purchase special license plates (costing 50,000 taka)[1] for their carts, a 900% increase for original rates (Dipu, 33, female).

[1] ৳50,000 Bangladeshi taka = $616 USD

5.3 Corruption

Unsurprisingly, perceptions and accusations of corruption were often a central discussion point when speaking with residents from all communities. Given the unique social and political dynamics of the bosti, opinions on corruption were brought up in conversations about the work of NGO's as well as within the community members, particularly the relationships and dealings between bosti leaders and City Corporation (local) governance.

Again, considering the great deal of informal processes that take place in the slums, statements of corruption often take the form of accusations of preferential or unfair treatment between two parties due to a lack of substantial evidence, but certain accusations would most likely have legal standing were they to be further investigated by the official authorities.

5.3.1 Recognition

In the subtleties of residents making accusations of corruption throughout the community, it is the lack of referencing from the side of community leaders that stands as an injustice in this subject matter. While average residents did not shy away from the subject matter, in reviewing discussions with the community leaders or those connected with them, no mention of corruption or harm coming from them was recorded. One community leader did state that the "Government was doing a lot for the poor, but lacking because there are so many people," which hardly stands as a claim of corruption, merely a light criticism that is essentially based in the harsh realities of the slum (Chanmia, late 60's, male).

5.3.2 Rights and Responsibilities

The very accusation of corruption in government affairs or dealings is a direct attack on the responsibilities of the government to fairly govern and serve the people, and this alone stands as a clear perception of injustice from the views of slum residents. If most respondents confirmed a lack of representation and visibly of the government in

slum affairs with occasional acts of corruption, this certainly has the ability to break what little trust is left in the relationship. In light of a corrupt system that does little to recognize the struggles of the residents in daily life as well as follow a legal and equality-based procedure of government, one resident summarized the feelings of most in saying: “The Government needs to be doing more” (Minto, 30, male). While this does serve as blanket statement and can pertain to almost every aspect and issue in the bosti, this sentiment references the responsibility he believes should be carried out by those in charge, but unfortunately as the past chapters have shown, others have taken over day-to-day in lieu of the large gaps that currently exist in this concern.

5.3.3 Distribution and Procedures

As previously discussed, while the average bosti resident has called for a greater distribution of services and resources in the slums, residents understand the crucial role non-state actors play in the development of the slums, so it is this call for a fair and just distribution of services referenced in section 4.4.3 that was at the top of the list during most discussions on the subject. As community leaders serve as the gatekeepers to the aid and programs coming from the NGO’s and international organizations, so arises ample opportunity for the misuse or misdistribution of money. One Korail resident pointed out that “Local leaders just take all the money from [them],” implying that the funds are not dispersed even as originally intended (Saleha, 25, female). While the central government stands as the authority for allowing non-state actors into the country to work, it is the community leaders that are usually left to guide and manage the work being done in their community, and without an organized and formal system for managing the massive number of projects that are taking place daily, there is much room for error and abuse of power.

One resident of Korail, recognizing the fact that there is indeed money coming from local government into the bosti leaders’ hands reacted, “Available funds are not being evenly distributed [to us residents]” (Beauti 1, female, 27). Countless times the inadequacies and inability of the government to make real change was referenced, in a qualitative sense that seemed to hint at residents essentially losing all faith in their

government, resulting in the subject being skimmed over as they had no more time to waste blaming or calling for action. In defiance of the system as a whole, another resident referenced how [the government] shows improved conditions in the slums on state TV, but seems that only landlords are benefitting from community development due to corruption (Narkis, 32, female). In reference to the relationship between bosti leaders and local government, a private driver and very active member of the Korail community stated that the "When the government helps, it is often through the community leaders, who often funnel or misuse money (Minto, 30, male). Accountability appears to be nonexistent on this level of urban life, as various jibs and statements throughout the researchers time spent in the slums insulted the capacity and abilities of all forms of government to their jobs. Finally, one of the most biting accusations made by a current resident of Ershadnagar bosti and one of Korail's original settlers: "Lots of politicians collect bribes like *mastaans*[2]" a comment which would certainly lead interested parties to a proper investigation due to the illegality of such claims. Unfortunately, in informal spaces, particularly that of the urban slum, unofficial titles and lax governance leave all sections of life open to issues of corruption and exploitation of the poor.

5.4 Evictions

Like the majority of slum settlements in Bangladesh and around the globe, the slums of Dhaka sit on land that is not officially/formally owned by its residents, but rather directly by the government or privatized entities, making their very existence one of the most contentious characteristics of the slums. Government-led eviction threats, notices and demolitions of slums is nothing new or un-researched in Dhaka, particularly in Korail, yet a clear distinction in the acknowledgement and understanding of these circumstances was identified after analyzing the responses between communities. Inside Korail, 42% of respondents reported eviction or land tenure issues as a major concern of theirs, but less than half had directly received

[2] The local term referring to a "strong man" figure or gang that attempts to run a community through threats of violence or retribution in return for money, providing safety and order, with the addition of exploiting resources and utilities.

threats from officials. Outside of this bosti, 65% of respondents cited evictions as a daily concern, with all having firsthand experience with eviction threats.

5.4.1 Recognition

Since both the central and local government is fully aware of their legal ownership of the land that the slums sit on, they do not recognize the land titles of the residents or the slums as a whole as being valid, making recognition and the recognition of land rights the key face of justice in this issue. From the very start this fact creates a cascade of problems for the entire slum, particularly of a "Catch-22" in that although it does not recognize the residents' legal right to be there, it can also not full ignore the hundreds of thousands of slum dwellers living on their land, many of which are registered voters. By recognizing this population, the government fears that it will greater legitimize their status, thus making it more difficult for them to evict residents when the time comes. On the other side of recognition, numerous examples were given where residents were taking recognition into their own hands, participating in demonstrations in order to get government to recognize their ownership and rights to land. One resident of Ershadnagar stated that "[They] protested evictions with community leaders recently. The protests are acknowledged if they get enough people" (Shumi, 25, female). This claim does link the community leaders to the issue in a positive light, particularly as although they have a certain amount of power inside the community as well as outside, their claim of the land is just as contentious, making them equally vulnerable to evictions. Another resident described, "We have filed a case against the government (in reference to evictions). The case is just sitting in limbo" (Dipu, 33, female). This lack of recognition for an adherence to formal process also creates an injustice with the procedural aspect of justice, one that firmly relies on the government for action to be taken, leaving residents like Dipu out of the formal process, unable to get past the barriers set up by the government.

It is not without mentioning that residents seemed to be fully aware of the blurry line on which this issue sits as there was an acknowledgement that they are on someone else's land, but the fact that people have settled this land for decades appears to have

shaped how they understand their current ownership there. For many of these migrants, the land the slums now sit on began as a jackfruit jungle, a statement that was mentioned repeatedly during these conversations. Had these “settlers” been formally recognized from the beginning, the story of migration might have been different in this final stage, but no such concessions were ever made, rather a certain level of ignorance and denial, until the problem inflamed to a point where officials could no longer ignore the trends of this urbanization.

5.4.2 Rights and Responsibilities

In direct connection with the face of recognition, a perception of rights to the land appeared in conversations with the residents. Many participants had cited they the land they occupied had been purchased, which universally implies a sense of ownership, but the legality of this ownership comes into question when one considers the fact that the landlords or sellers of slum land do not officially own it. Based on the history described by many who had arrived to the Korail area upon completing their migration journey, the land was unaccounted for, creating what appears to be mass occurrences of squatting, a perception of occupation opposed to actual ownership. The key struggle here for many of the migrants was a lack of responsibility taken by the government in handling a steady stream of migrants coming to the city. From the viewpoints of these migrants, now residents, no accountability was taken by either local or central government, with residents taking the right to land into their own hands, creating the conflict seen today.

One very nuanced understanding of rights came from a Korail renter, who believed that it was the responsibility of her landlord to understand their legal rights in order to prevent future evictions and loss of land (Muntumia, late 50’s, male). This call for justice brings down the responsibility of land tenure from community/local leaders to the landlord, something that helps shift the scope of justice to a more grassroots level. It can be said that Muntumia’s understanding of his rights were shaped substantially from living outside the slums prior to this point, where he interacted with landlords who were involved and adhered to a legal system as it relates to housing and

ownership, something not generally applicable in its formal state in the slums he now lives in.

A very opposing yet honest opinion of the situation was given by one of Korail's community leaders who fully recognizes the gravity of the situation, but also is realistic in his understanding of the situation that he, and every other slum resident faces. "People chose to move here, not elsewhere, against the government's wishes. The government wants to kick people out, but it will piss off the NGO's" (Mahmudul Hassan, late 50's, male). While serving as a leader, his general status as a slum resident makes him equally vulnerable to evictions, something he does not shy away from during the discussion, bringing him down to the level of every other member of his community. This perception has been shaped by his regular exposure to the system which does reward his connection with greater power, but in some business, this being one of them, his status can do little to change the realities that all slum residents face.

5.4.3 Distribution and Procedures

Outside of Dhaka's slums, it can be assumed that those living in the formal urban space, when presented with processes of evictions, are engaged in a formalized and standard procedure. After speaking with residents who have been engaged on this issue, it would appear that this is not the case for them. Sitting outside of the formal system means that the slum residents are not given this right to a legal process and the procedural aspect of evictions would, based on first-hand testimonial, appear quite crude and in some cases, destructive. A previous resident of Korail, now living in Ershadnagar, described one such instance of this informal process, in which he "Came home to find nothing. The government knocked down my previous home. No warning. No help rebuilding" (Chagalal, 27, male). With such claims, this lack of procedure take on an illegal quality, even if the residents' land was indeed deemed unlawful. Even with land rights notwithstanding, the loss of personal property and observations from residents that prior warnings are often made unofficially, in an unorganized fashion in which to confuse people gives both a sense of great injustice

and a lack of formalized and organized procedures in these types of cases. Paired with the daily eviction concerns of many came accompanied comments of how such actions would be or are “unjust,” something that again highlights the deep rift and conflict this issue is creating between the formal and informal sectors of this urban space.

5.5 Slum Fires

Although residents of Korail bosti may benefit from the physical existence of NGO’s and international organizations within the slum walls as well as greater connections between community leaders and the formal local government, recent events have taken a turn for the worst, highlighting a great injustice to the bosti residents. The events referred above have been that of multiple fires, which have greatly shifted perceptions of the government into a deeper negative spectrum than before. Earlier this year, an outbreak of fires in Korail claimed over 500 homes, affecting an estimated 10,000 residents, something that did not go unnoticed both inside and outside the community (see Figure 13 for visual example) (Mahmud, Haque et al. 2017) (Daily Star Online 2017). Ten respondents brought up these recent events, with only two of them living outside of Korail, so near to the incidents, with many of them having personal connections to residents in that bosti. The wording associated with this topic centering around “fear,” safety,” “lack of compensation,” with some even going so far as to blame the local government for causing the fires in order to progress the expulsion of

Figure 13: Dwellings destroyed by fire in Korail

residents that many respondents seem to think is the only work these officials are focused on doing (House-to-House bosti interviews 2017).

5.5.1 Recognition

With accusations of blame swirling around not just the slums but throughout the city of Dhaka, officials have yet to formally recognize a source or suspect of the multiple cases of destructive fires. While a recognition of the events has taken place on public record as well as heavily in the media, a certain lack of formal address on the issue has yet was sensed after speaking with residents. Even after multiple cases of fires, a lack of recognition has been given to the fact that the slums are incredibly vulnerable to such events, as a proper recognition of this would have most likely resulted in some form of mitigation or preventative measures to be taken around the community. One resident (Memi, 28, female) saw an opportunity for this to be done with a simply acknowledgment and establishment of water tanks to prevent further harm, but the majority of help has again, come from non-state actors.

5.5.2 Rights and Responsibilities (fire)

When disaster strikes, first responders are generally in the form of a government-provided service; in the case of fires one would expect to see fire fighters, police and paramedics on the scene. After disaster, reconstruction is usually the next step, with those affected receiving medical care and personal property being rebuild through aid or compensation. With a lack of recognition of the slums as a formal urban community, responsibility is subsequently relinquished by the state who views the affairs occurring within the walls of the slum as a separate affair.

While the tragedy of these fires was impossible to ignore, the inactions by both central and local government can generally be seen as an injustice due to the lack of responsibility taken by the necessary actors. It is true that due to the organization of the slums that residents are not paying taxes and formally adding to state coffers, but the informal ways they contribute to and live in this structured, urban society should

give them a right to basic services such as these as well as a right to live without fear of harm or death, a wish that was cited by almost every resident in Korail and Ershadnagar.

5.5.3 Distribution and Procedures

As with any disaster or catastrophe, especially one affecting such a large number of people such as these fires, basic aid and rebuilding is generally offered to those directly with major losses. Unfortunately, when summarizing participants' countless calls for aid or compensation for rebuilding after these events, it would appear that such distributions did not occur. One Korail resident shared that "After the first fire, [the] Government promised tin and food for rebuilding, but have not seen any yet" (Pintu, 38, male). This represents months of inaction, and as seen in Figure 13, residents have still been unable to rebuild, with many still residing on their empty plots of land. A lack of government distribution of aid or assistance was confirmed in speaking with one member of the Korail CBO, who confirmed that organizations like the UNDP has been distributing funds and school supplies to the children whose families were affected but the government is only giving out some rice (Korail CBO, 2017).

It is not hard to see how resident's might perceive and connect this inaction by the government to events that may have occurred earlier in their lives, specifically, losing homes or land to environmental disasters like storms and floods. Discussions about such experiences, referenced in Chapter 3, all centered around the fact that while residents understood that their misfortune was not a fault of the Bangladeshi government, it was their responsibility as the people in charge to help its citizens rebuild and recover, which could be done by providing them with temporary housing or the distribution of physical resources needed for recovery. As with cases of fires, no distribution of funds or materials ever occurred, with residents referencing help only coming from non-state actors like the Islamic Relief Organization, or smalls acts from local government of rice distribution (House-to-house interviews, 2017). Simply put, these experiences have put a bad taste in the mouths of those effected, which

translates into a loss of trust and an overall negative opinion for those who are supposed to be at the forefront of such battles. Upon arrival to places like the slums, these participants only continue to loss trust and faith in the people they have entrusted their support with.

With the slum fires now in the past and rumors continuing to spread, a lack of formal investigative procedure is also serving as a great injustice for the development and smooth governance of the slums. With so many lives at stake, one might expect a formal process to take place, if not even to put blame on a particular actor, rather identify what can be done in order to mitigate future loss, but from the general confusion and accusations from residents, it is assumed that no such process has taken place. As members of Dhaka proper, the benefits and services of police and judicial systems should be at the disposal of all citizens, even for those who might not fully understand their full rights and resources available to them.

5.6 Chapter Conclusion

It can be concluded from the qualitative data of this and the previous chapter that justice does in fact exist in many forms in Dhaka's slums, but the way in which it is perceived and experienced varies incredibly depending on location, social status and connections to those in power. From both observation and conversations with residents, community leaders and non-profit worker, it can be concluded that the main forms of justice are in fact coming from non-state actors, which are often mandated and facilitated mainly though the bosti leaders as opposed to the government. While testimony does provide insight into the ideological support of the poor by both central and local governments, the accusations from the residents outweighs that of the community leaders, primarily due to consensus as well as a lack of substantial physical evidence of development or justice coming from local officials. It should not go unsaid however that although there does exist high criticism of some of the roles and practices of community leaders, the researcher found that their testimonials and commitment to improving the lives of around them was genuine and their work

through the years has made a deep impact on the community as a whole, even if certain individuals are benefiting more than others.

However, lumping all slum dwellers together as one voice is of course a fallacy which this study has determined, as perceptions of justice vary not only between slums, but within them as well. While residents do often have a connection via shared experiences, considering the variety of migrants and the origins from which they came, each individual does in fact hold their very own understandings of justice, produced from all points in their lives. From socioeconomic status to one's interaction with the government, non-state actors and even disaster, perceptions of justice have been widely shaped due to variations of time and place, and these ever-changing factors continue to morph the lives and experiences of everyone within these urban spaces.

CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

In this final chapter, further analysis of the research and a conclusion are made. As the research objectives require, the relationship between the environment, urban spaces and justice from a grassroots level are explored and an analysis on the current undertakings of justice by both non-state and governmental actors is mentioned. Final statements on the key issues in Korail, Ershadnagar and Rampura bosti are presented, and suggestions are offered for future slum engagement and development as well as future research.

This research project began out of the question, 'How have decision-making, processes and outcomes of migration shaped a sense of [in]justice in the slum dwelling population of Dhaka, Bangladesh?' and indeed answered this and uncovered much more than originally planned. Hypotheses surrounding the impactful nature of the environment on migration were unhinged but helped create further dialogue about what the complex process of migration looks like for many in the country. Through deep discussions with all levels of residents within the slums, a better understanding of the social network and relations to various stakeholders was able to uncover a surprising analysis on its impacts and implications. While the narratives of those engaged and in this study vary widely and the research does bring together many components of one's life experiences, the key realization of this research that the interactions and networks within the slums so greatly shape and impact ones perceptions and engagements of justice is an vital one. It can be seen, however faintly in some examples, throughout each topic or issues discussed, and it is this important fact that binds this research together and will be summarized in the chapter below.

6.2 The Future Migration Narrative and Implications for [Climate] Justice

From the information collected and presented in Chapter Three, it is evident that while the changing environment is effecting the decisions of Bangladeshi's to move from their birthplaces, it is not acting alone, nor is it identified by many of the participants as a key reason for migrating to urban spaces like Dhaka. The landscape and history of the country has shaped perceptions of what stands as a shock and what is a normal part of life, and it is this that may be creating a false sense of normalcy during events of catastrophe or destruction throughout much of the country. Widespread resiliency has allowed for the country and so many of its residents to recover from decades of destruction, but has this mindset created a potentially dangerous sense of complacency? This question becomes equally important in how it has shaped perceptions of justice on the subject, for it then calls into question who bears responsibility in providing this justice. The current debate, again, sits at an international level, with country-level actors bearing responsibly or blame for a changing environment, adding to the slow responses in action which are creating dangerous roadblocks in mitigation and adaptability planning. Conversations with those who migrated due to environmental shocks only referenced receiving assistance from non-state actors, which does not speak for all recovery efforts throughout the country, but does send a clear image that the country still relies heavily on this type of assistance, again shaping perceptions on who and can provide justice during these types of events. As both the local and central government become more involved in planning and recovery efforts, exposing citizens to new actors in this narrative, perceptions are then shaped to incorporate these people into the debate, bringing greater calls for accountability on a local level, something that has the ability to shift the current climate justice debate.

However muddled an effect the environment might currently have on migrants coming into Dhaka, the lack of justice at this initial stage in the slum dwellers overall story should also not be understated. At no point in discussion pre-slum life did any participant, who identified the environment as a main driver for migration, refer to receiving any help or assistance from the government in time of need, and this simple

fact does have a might impact in how initial perceptions of justice and their own government are made, ones that will likely stick with them for their entire lives. Through times of trauma and loss, memories are the most impacted, leaving strong imprints on who was there to help and who was missing. However damaging this lack of justice is even at such an early stage, it can be said that it has shaped, at least this researcher's participants', sense of independence and ability to adapt to an often unforgiving landscape. These skills become fundamental for survival for life in the slums, so it can be said that while environmental shocks are certainly a negative aspect of life for most, their power to positively shape survival skills is an important one that has in part shaped the very dynamics of the slums themselves. More data and perhaps a separate research project is perhaps needed to further pull out the direct effects of early shocks on slum dwellers, but on a basic level, the wording, way in which stories were told and the over resolve documented in this research certainly points to the beginnings of such a conclusion, opening an opportunity for further studies on this interlinked topic.

As much research and trend analysis has identified Bangladesh as a country extremely vulnerable and in much future danger due to the growing effects of climate change, a lack of perception of risk and forward thinking presents a great hazard and potential barrier to a country with few formal plans to combat climate change issues other than an official acknowledgement that migration can serve as their key adaptability effort. Properly identifying and engaging notions of environmental migration is important for a country like Bangladesh not only in terms of urgency to the issue, but also for securing future funding and generating continued interest in the international development community. Without partnerships and aid from non-state actors, the potential for disaster becomes even greater. Properly conceptualizing the distinct nature of migration in Bangladesh will allow for better, more inclusive solutions to be created which are needed for a country that is being slowly submerged by rising sea levels.

Considering the drivers that cause many to move, the ways in which they do so and the conditions most migrants experience upon arrival in the slums, while formal

definitions of refugee may not apply or be internationally accepted in these cases, this research would argue that the culmination of all these factors does point to strong case of a reconsideration of nomenclature used for these cases. The term internally displaced persons would certainly apply for those who have been forced to migrate due to environmental shocks, as environmental migrant or refugee does not appear to be getting acceptance in the international realm in the near future. This line of thinking is actually making headway among formal institutions like the UN, who recognize the importance of such classifications in order to advance policy and disaster preparation in some of the world's most environmentally vulnerable places. These discussions are taking place in reports like "Protecting Environmentally Displaced People: Developing the Capacity of Legal and Normative Frameworks" in order to change traditional views and categories in order to better match recent occurrences and trends, particularly in countries like Bangladesh (Zetter 2011).

Furthermore, while the economic pull factors of places like Dhaka are well established and discussed among government officials and development practitioners alike, the vanishing local economies around the country referred to by many participants leaves space to question whether this can also be considered a push factor. Current literature primarily recognizes the "pull-factor" cities currently place on migration decisions, but supported by the qualitative responses of this research, conversations were often framed in an opposite manner compared to most theories. Residents did not seem particularly pulled by the allure of the city, rather a sense of loss, propelling them in a certain direction. Large urban spaces are often seen as a solution for greater development, but unplanned and rushed rural-to-urban migration does have negative consequences, which can be seen through respondents' stories of villages drying up due to lack of industry.

6.3 Improving Lives and Livelihood Through Rural-to-Urban Migration

What was most surprising and impressive from collecting stories on migration and arrival to Dhaka's slums was the extent of which the residents have taken advantage of the slums location in the city and evolved community structure in order to improve

their livelihoods. For many, arrival to Dhaka come with few possessions, money and even connections, yet a majority of the respondents had managed to not only build a home in the poor slum conditions, but create and raise families, many with multiple children who are being put through school. In this sense, migration to an urban space has provided some form of justice, although identifying who has provided this opportunity is certainly difficult in this case. “We help ourselves” was a sentiment repeated quite often, which on the surface seems like a fairly simple and usual comment, but when one looks the complex and thriving communities that these migrants have created from essentially nothing, this feat is nothing short of extraordinary, especially when considering the massive amount of challenges and barriers they face on a daily basis (Dipu, 33, female). Through these positive outlooks and responses to their situations, micro-economies have arisen within Dhaka, further proving the resilience and ingenuity of Bangladesh’s migrants in the face of uncertainty and injustice.

The placements of the slums included in this research were created in a combination of both convenience (of existing land and proximity to economic opportunities) as well as necessity (having to live near their place of work without formal transport). The location of Korail and Ershadnagar have provided its residents with ample job opportunities due to its central location to Dhaka’s business, diplomatic and shopping areas, generally in the form of drivers, rickshaw pullers, maids, chefs and security guards and it is also this fact that may have be responsible for shaping their understandings of local justice. While this population sits conceptually on the periphery of society, physically it sits within some of the most developed and high-end areas of the city, drawing high visibly and engagement from local and central government, not to mentioned international NGO’s and organizations. It is here that worlds collide, giving residents at least a glimpse of the other side of things, furthering their understandings how things could and should be, but all the while serving as tangible barriers to the change many of them seek.

Although many of the slum dwellers saw Dhaka as a temporary solution or a stepping stone to their problems, cyclical migration appears to be scaled in the form of decades

rather than months. For some, the destruction of previous land and homes has prompted them to seek a new life in Dhaka with no turning back, particularly as new generations are created and raised in the slums, but for others, returning to the villages from which they came still represent a form of a pipe dream, currently not obtainable, but through hard work, hypothetically available at some point in the future. These dreams appear to present migrants with their own form of self-obtained justice; if one saves enough and plans appropriately, a successful return home would mean all the sacrifices and injustices have finally paid off, a self-fulfilling prophecy to serve as the greatest engagement of justice. While this analysis does not end any debate on the benefits or negatives of rural-to-urban migration, it certainly does bring to focus that there are many residents living in the cities who do not want to be there and are simply using their existence as a means to their own end. This thinking provides a special avenue to government and urban planners when thinking about the future of their cities and how they can serve to provide varying forms of justice and service to distinctly different residents who all have different goals for being there.

6.4 Analysis on the Faces of Justice

As previously mentioned, perceptions of justice took on various forms depending on the life experiences and current status and relationships held by a particularly resident of the slums, but based on the qualitative data gathered from the slum residents, it was the progression of slum life itself that appeared to have the greatest impact in shaping understandings and well as engagements of justice. It can also be determined that while some forms of justice were being engaged on the local level, it is only happening on the top tiers of the local government via the community leaders and those connected to them, where a majority of residents cannot access or even view such a process. Prior to the collection of data, it was the researcher's hypothesis that perceptions of justice shaped by life experiences (migration decisions, process, slum life) differed widely depending on gender, age, occupation, etc. After analyzing responses from the wide range of participants, it can now be determined that perceptions of justice were shaped more from an intersectional approach, stemming from the interconnected characteristics of the slums communities created from its

unique social networks and subsequent power distribution. The networks and power relations described in Chapter 4.4 are an important shift in understanding not only how the slums operate, but putting a spotlight on the importance of these connections as they have a greater impact not just on life and livelihood inside the slum, but the intersectionality characteristic and creation of power from this theory allows for a much more complex understand of who is engaging in (in)justice and by through what means. Through this acknowledgment of the dominance and role of intersectionality in Dhaka's slums can a full analysis of multidimensional justice take place. It is through this theory that the analysis of the faces of justice found in this research will be presented. While previous chapters have presented key issues as seen through the three lenses of justice, the following will conclude on the main trends and central themes of the faces of justice taken from the entirety of data compiled.

6.4.1 Recognition

To understand how recognition was seen and engaged by the slum dwellers, this concept can be further broken down into categories of shallow and deep claims of recognition. In general, the lack of recognition was the face of injustice most referred to by participants, particularly among those with no connections to local leaders, thus no connections to local or central government. Due to the social network of Korail slum, community leaders were able to access or make calls for formal recognition in both local and central government, which can be said to take on a deeper level when compared to slum residents blocked from such engagement, leaving a large majority reliant on shallow calls for recognition among community leaders or non-state actors. The shallow recognition perceived by respondents took on the form of frustration and often anger, who were aware of the other side of recognition that they themselves were blocked from. Similarly, due to Ershadnagar and Rampura's relatively small and unknown status among government officials and non-state actors, recognition here was most understood as acknowledgement by those in formal power of the conditions and struggles they faces, which face more barriers due to the lack of status and population when compared with that of Korail. This feeling was also much stronger during discussions of slum life and conditions when compared to that of a resident's

original narratives of desolation or destruction. Again, environmental shocks took on more a form of a natural occurrence in the eyes of the slum dwellers, tangible yet lacking a clear suspect to blame, but the harsh and lengthy stay of most residents in the slums seemed to have a much stronger aspect in shaping their thinking on topics of justice.

The main way in which residents have been engaged in recognitional justice is via the non-state actors that undertake the majority of development and aid work in Dhaka's slums. Not only are their issues fully recognized in a first-hand manner, but the work of many NGO's aims to facilitate recognition between the average citizen and within the government. It is this type of work that garnered an overall positive perception from residents when applicable.

Often, calls for recognition did not stand alone, and were often intertwined with another face of justice. In connection to the climate justice framework used in this analysis, the statement "Viewed as a prism, each facet of justice in the pyramid is filtered through the others, refracting and reconfiguring what it is that justice entails in any one context" was very much present in many conversations, serving to further the argument of the authors (Bulkeley, Edwards et al. 2014). Respondent's often called for a "recognition of their rights," in respect to land tenure or a judicial process in government, showing a rather deep understanding of justice than what was previously thought (House-to-house interviews, 2017).

6.4.2 Rights and Responsibilities

Of the three faces of justice, that of rights and responsibilities was generally the one that was least referenced not understood when speaking with all bosti residents, at least in a formal, explicit sense. While not always explicitly stated as a "right," conversations on land ownership did take on a rights-based context, but due to both the muddled legality of the topic as well as the respondents' own lack of understanding of the legal system, an inherent and outright claiming of a "right" was not generally made. However, the sense of a right to land by many was shaped by the

participants' own experiences with land issues in the part, particularly the destruction and loss of land due to environmental shocks, with none ever receiving any government assistance or compensation on the matter. After surviving such ordeals and arriving in the city with next to nothing, it is only seen as fair and just to most that the meager and undeveloped land they settled from the jungle serve as the only form of reparation in their lives. However ignorant one might assume such a way of thinking to be, residents' acknowledgement of the grey area of their claims were certainly visible, yet aside from threats of evictions or demolition, few solutions to the problem have been formally presented to the residents.

For those sitting on the outside of the social network, it is impossible to see if justice is in fact being engaged in the slums, and this barrier, while seemingly simple, has shaped perceptions in a negative manner across the board. As a lack of connections prevents average residents from seeing the formal processes that may or may not be taking place within the community, the assumption that nothing is being done serves as the default sentiments, and goes unchanged until a person is brought into the fold.

Not surprisingly, from interviews with both resident's and non-state actors, the concept of responsibility of slum development has fallen to NGO's and international organizations. At no time did was a connection made between this concept and their role in the slums, but based off the work done and concepts of justice engaged, non-state actors have taken the overseeing and improvement of the slums as their main responsibility, something that stands as a great injustice by the government when comparing the two, particularly in considering the work that they should be doing and are currently undertaking.

Perhaps the most interesting and intersected sense of responsibility came from a community leader who stated they had to "Take responsibility for their community" (Chanmia, late 60's, male), which could only come from a position of power as a leader, which gives him greater access to services and resources in which to do so. This statement serves as a contradiction to previous sentiments that the government is in fact engaging the community, as the statement gives admittance to the fact that

large gaps exist on that front. Nevertheless, this sense of shared responsibility has been created from the barriers in development that exist, even for the community leaders.

6.4.3 Distribution and Procedures

In a city and country of heavy international/local development and a dependency on aid and a distribution of loans, financing and resources, perceptions and calls for the distributive and procedural faces of justice in Dhaka's slums took a variety of forms and degrees. Like recognition, the understanding of procedural and distributive justice by slum residents is subjective, based on their personal experiences within the slums and limited by the little access they have to the formal, legal processes at all levels of the city and government. In the few times that the engagement of formal processes was referenced by the average resident, barriers or lack of action resulted in unsuccessful attempted to participate in such procedures. However, those with connections to local leaders benefited from their involvement with political party activity and local government, so understandings of the ease in which procedural justice took place were greatly skewed by these relationships.

Distribution of aid and resources has been a shaping force for many of the residents prior to their arrival at the slums, and a lack of equal distribution or a lack in general has left many who experienced loss at their points of origins distrustful and expecting little upon their arrival at the slums. The consensus of the government in terms of its ability to distribute basic services and development among the average residents was that the government did not have the capacity or knowledge to do so, which appears to be continuously shaped by lack of engagement and false promises in times of need (floods, storms, fires). For those in leadership positions or with access to that network, government and non-state actor assistance was obtainable and tangible, confirmed by respondents' positive outlook on their offerings and abilities.

An interesting characteristic related to the emergence of power via the engagement of distributive justice appeared after speaking with slum residents from all parts of the

network was related to the power that is given to a person engaging in distributive justice. Community leaders, due to their informal roles as leaders in the eyes of local government, non-state actors and residents alike, bear the responsibility of overseeing and making decisions regarding the distribution of services, resource, aid and access to all three, giving them a certain power over others. As with any power, distribution can be abused, taking the form of corruption in many respondent accusations, but not in the minds of those positioned in the leaders' networks and disproportionately receive these goods. Again, the line between faces of justice becomes blurry as both engaged notions of responsibility and distribution in these cases becomes blurred, and generally, if one face has been corrupted, so follows the other.

6.4.4 The Importance of Non-State Actors' Roles in Justice

Perhaps one of the most surprising findings of this research was not just the fact that non-state actors are providing some of the only forms of local justice to slum residents, but the fact that the distribution of and access to their services is so greatly affected by one's social networks within the community. Continuing its connections to the justice framework that states "A fundamental weakness of [the traditional justice] approach has been its assumption that nation-states are the relevant actor," it is these entities that are primarily filling the large gaps left by the government in terms of what justice is being engaged at the local level (Bulkeley, Edwards et al. 2014). At the highest-level assessment, it can be said that based on observations and speaking with NGO staff primarily based or focused on development work in the slum, all faces of justice have been engaged in the slums in some form, but due to the complexities of these communities, this work is not conducted evenly within or compared between slums. Organizations and their programming has not escaped the effects of corruption currently existing at all levels of the community and government, although corruption in this sense is seen rather as an injustice created by the uneven or discriminate manner in which residents receive aid or have access to goods and services. Nevertheless, the process of the non-state actors in filling gaps left by an adequate government and system have certainly shaped perceptions of justice in all

the residents which can be summarized with an overall positive impression for those who are aware of such programs or have had direct interactions.

The perceived fairness of NGO's and international organizations to do their job and provide assistance to the community is one that creates trust as well as a just process (procedure) and it is this relationship that allows non-state actors to be rooted and function directly within the slum communities. If too much of this trust is broken by too many residents or the community leader no longer deems such programs as beneficial to the community, eviction can easily arranged through pressures applied by all individuals in the network or by a simple dismal of legitimacy or partnership. This understanding of the necessary working relationship was very apparent in speaking with non-state actors who appeared incredibly mindful of their dealings with not just with those in their immediate care, but with the community leaders and those connected as well.

6.5 Implications of Research

The main aim of this study was to further understand how perceptions of justice are shaped through the life experiences of slum dwellers living in Dhaka, Bangladesh as well as to give a voice to this generally marginalized population. This was accomplished by collecting qualitative and descriptive data from migrants residing in the slums, all of which had come from outside the center of the city. Special attention was paid to understanding how key relationships and networks inside the slums work, which was found to have actually been one of the most impactful ways perceptions of justice were shaped. In some instances it was also found that when comparing the residents'' situation in place of origin and their current residence in the slum, circumstances and risks were equally high in both places, calling into question the understanding that rural-to-urban migration is serving as a viable adaptability to environmental and economic shocks around the country.

Accordingly, the first major practical contribution this paper makes is to highlight the fact that the decisions and drivers of migration in Bangladesh are not as clear cut as

previously thought, as the effects of climate change in this country are making a big impact on economic characteristics, convoluting the ways in which people understand the overall livelihood and opportunities of the country. The emphasis respondents put on economic reasons for moving to Dhaka are important for future policy practices that need to come from the central government in light of them acknowledging the greater effects and future trajectories of climate change impacts of the human population and urban growth of the country. When looking at reports like the IOM's "Assessing the Evidence Environment, Climate Change and Migration in Bangladesh," an updated understanding on the duality of environmental and economic drivers is crucial for the future of work that will be based around such policy recommendations in the international community (International Organization for Migration 2010). The overall emphasize on lack of government intervention at this initial stage is also important in sparking greater engagement of these populations by the central government, as respondents' comments on the lack of capacity of local governments in times of disaster or need point to a major gap in disaster response, crucial in a country like Bangladesh. As the country continues to build its formal plans connected with these subjects in documents like the Second National Strategy for Accelerated Poverty Reduction (NSAPR-II) and Bangladesh's Climate Change Strategy and Action Plan, the qualitative stories like those included in this research need to be taken into account in order to create inclusive plans for all members of society.

In this sense, although the research falls short of developing a new framework or full theory for explaining and analyzing a newer understanding of migration in Bangladesh (given the descriptive nature of the research), it clearly shows that further research on this subject is needed through a more nuanced, qualitative approach when compared the existing, high level, quantitative studies that currently try to explain the country's migration trends.

A second important implication of this research is the spotlight on threats to human security that have been made through underscoring and analyzing the slum dwellers past and current concerns and injustices. These responses, both in reference to pre-

slum life and current situations are pointing to a direct lack of human security, which becomes an important issue when you look at the sheer population growth, density and the addition of new terrorist threats in the country. While the issues of *mastaans*, crime and violence were generally considered issues of the past in the slums targeted in this research, the frequency and use of the word 'fear' documented through interviews with the residents certainly displays a high level of certainty on this subject matter. It should be noted that these feelings of lack of safety and reliability on the government materialized in conversations on shocks that drove migration as well as daily life in the slums, creating a connection between both places that continues to highlight how perceptions of (in)justice are created through tragedy and loss.

Lastly, the finding that while justice is engaged somewhat on the local level, it is mainly only perceived and experienced by those with connections to those in power, chiefly the community leaders of the slums points to a restructuring and engagement in both non-state and state actors in order to create a more inclusive justice among the slum populations. This finding directly contradicts the notion in Bulkeley, et al.'s 2014 statement: "[we] suggest that urban responses to climate change are always and already engaging notions of justice, and that these engagements are critical to the ways in which they come to have effect and are contested" (Bulkeley, Edwards et al. 2014). If the majority of respondents, who have not been engaged by local, urban notions of justice, serve to stand as a sample that represents an overall majority of Dhaka's entire slum population, which encompasses over 40% of the current city population, then the findings show that the city currently is not engaging citizens in an equal, encompassing notion of justice as originally proposed above (Cities Alliance 2016). The implications of this then lie primarily at the government level, particularly in those who support migration as adaptability, as it would appear that the city is not adapting itself appropriately in order to fully engage the population. If the current trends continue, with 2,000 migrants arriving at the city each day, totaling 500,000 each year, it will take more than the current work of non-state actors to create viable solutions for all members of society, not simply just those with connections to those in power (McPherson 2015). If global trends continue on their current path as predictions put a majority of the world's population in urban spaces in next thirty

years, this then sets the stage for the city's importance for it will be here that justice is primarily engaged or denied.

6.6 Further Research

Often research uncovers more questions and issues than it intends to, and this research is not different in that aspect. Due to the growing severity of climate change, the increasing numbers of migrants in Bangladesh and the immensity of issues within Dhaka's slums, the many issues touched upon during this research leave room for many more, in-depth studies on related topics. Although a great deal of testimonials and research was already collected in the formal month-long study, there were just as many suggestions for future study after the completion of the field work. Some of the subjects for further study include:

- How do kindship connections fully impact and shape migration decisions within families?

  Due to the time and money constraints of this research as well as a realization of the importance of social networks impact on decision making and life experiences, a special connection appears to be lurking behind decisions to migrate, with the hypothesis that varies within the family as well as between. As the logistics of this study proved difficult to interview entire families, a more in-depth, complete collection of responses would better show the effects and outcomes these relationships have on the migration narrative.

- How have past cases of community or political activism by slum residents engaged notions of justice inside and outside of the slum community?

  Obtaining more detailed case studies of slum dwellers' activism and participation in formal, legal government processes inside and outside of the slum communities would allow for more complex and tangible discussion of

justice to continue at the urban level. Furthering this data would also allow for an analysis of how both levels of the government can become more open, inclusive spaces for all urban residents.

- Have land ownership/tenure issues evolved since the establishment of the slums and what processes are currently in place to resolve these issues?

  As this issue was one of the most referenced and contentious issues that exist not only in Dhaka, but in most major, conjested cities across the globe, as well as the fact that many international organizations like the UN are highlighting land tenure as a vital current issue, this case study on Dhaka could help further the debate as well as concepts of justice. Potential solutions could come out of such a study that could bring in non-state actors into the narrative as well. With many cities facing a growing lack of space and overcrowding, this topic could also be linked to urban development, a conversation that has never been off the table in Bangladesh.

- Due to the prevalence and importance of non-state development work in the slums and throughout the country, a better understanding of how working relationships and networks in communities is needed to shed greater transparency on NGO/international organization processes, as well as to help prevent further favoritism or corruption.

While corruption is not a new subject to Bangladesh or any government for that matter, the inequalities created through such practices which appear to be rampant in every part of slum interaction presents a real problem for a developing country like Bangladesh. Without clear and honest practices on all levels of government, justice will never be properly served, and those on the farther fringes of society will never be able to improve their lives through formal, legal means, something that threatens tens of millions of lives in this country alone. For democracy to flourish, particularly in the light of radicalism and terror threats, this needs to be done throughout the country, in

order to allow other fights, like those against climate change or stagnant economies to be undertaken at full capacity.

6.7 Recommendations

In recognizing the large disconnect that seemed apparent from both observation and testimonial, the relationship and workings between central and local government is a vital one for the future development of Dhaka and Bangladesh as a whole. It is for this reason that great transparency needs be conducts within the City Corporations, particularly as they pertain to how budgets are spent and ensuring funds arrive in a full and appropriate manner. The synchronization of priorities and goals between these two levels is also crucial in order to build greater capacity and grow support for government sponsored projects, particularly considering the relatively low level of trust and support that currently exist within populations like the slum dwellers.

While the position of slum leaders and the committees they form are generally seen as informal in the eyes of the local government, the work they attempt to do for the community is an extremely important one, so greater capacity for this process is always needed. Particularly a more inclusive quality that allows more residents to raise up their voice, in the hopes that a greater organization and capacity of these groups will attract greater local government support, and so on up the ladder.

Lastly, while this researcher certainly acknowledges both amazing work that non-state actors like NGO's and international organizations are doing in the slums as well as the ever-growing list of issues and people to help, given the references of favoritism and potential negative influence of community leaders, more efficient and full proof systems should be put in place in order to ensure better programming and distribution of goods and services. Interactions and relationships with community leaders are unavoidable and vital, but this research shows there is certainly areas to improve on this topic which will help all parties find success in the long run.

6.8 Conclusion

While the migration narrative continues to evolve and shift with the ever-changing landscape of Bangladesh and Dhaka's slums continue to grow and develop with a nonstop flow of migrants seeking refuge in its urban expanse, given the data collected throughout the city, the main hypotheses and anticipated testimonials from slum dwellers were largely overturned, yielding some surprising conclusions to be made on the processes of migration and perceptions of justice. The researcher predicted that environmental shocks would have a large impact on the formulation and shaping of perceptions of justice, but it was determined that the experiences, interactions and networks within the bosti communities had the most impact on perceptions of justice. Furthermore, the socioeconomic and network characteristics of the slum communities and peripheral government actors created an intersectional understanding of how justice was both perceived and engaged by residents. The researcher also underestimated the reach and relationship of non-state actors within the community as well as the somewhat discriminate capacity these organizations often take due to influences, jurisdiction and pressure from community leaders. In conclusion, the slums of Dhaka as a case study, while providing varying degrees of local justice primarily to those most networked to local leaders and officials, does not serve as an innate and actively engaging notion of what justice should look like on the local, urban level as argued in the original climate justice framework. This draws in direct contestation of said statement provided by Bulkeley, et. al (2014) which was concluded based on similar methods of qualitative research at the urban, local level. Furthermore, it can be stated that this research has provided an added value to similar case studies in that it was conducted at even more greater, localized level, with members of the most marginalized, lowest echelons of society being actively engaged, and subsequently working up from there to that of community leaders and non-state actors, an approach that was somewhat opposite of that taken by the abovementioned researchers.

The most important concept to take away here is the unique makeup and networks of the slums which have been greatly shaped by multiple generations of migrants coming

together in the face of adversity to form resilient communities that often work in complex and seemingly mysterious ways. These experiences, varying in time and place, have in turn shaped the residents, who in some way or another are connected by a shared history or struggle. By putting oneself directly in such a setting, a wealth of knowledge and understanding can be gathered, giving way to the realization that those who sit on the outside of society don't live so differently than those in the center. Regardless from where one came, their education level or occupation, the majority of slum residents are very much aware of their situations and the injustices that they face daily, and it is this realization that motivates and empowers many, both community leaders and the average resident alike, to continue to speak up and fight for what they believe is owed to them, regardless of the many challenges and barriers that exist to stop them.

This research was successful in capturing a wide range of voices from various slum communities which gave residents new opportunities to critically analyze their past, present and future living situations, in the hopes that their insight may steer future development and government policy and actions through the reading of this paper. Rather than simply comment on the three faces of (in)justice that were captured through interviews with residents, major themes were able to be extrapolated from the responses, putting a spotlight on four issues that have serious negative impacts on a majority of slum residents, a method which can help pull out overarching issues in slum communities, with the hopes that this can provide both government and non-state actors with great information and linkages when engaging such issues in the future. It was the aim of this research to bring the discussion of justice down from the international to the local level, in order for these voices to be better heard, and it is the hope of the researcher that the opinions and testimonials included here will be used by all parties for the further betterment and development of migration strategies and slum communities throughout Bangladesh.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Sample of Semi-Structured Interview (Slum Residents)

Basic:

- Name / Age / Place of origin / Occupation

Environmental Change/Decisions to Migrate:

- Where did you live prior to Dhaka?
    - How long did you live there?
    - How many generations has your family lived there?
- What was your occupation there?
    - Did your occupation ever change?
        - If so, why?
- Why did you move to Dhaka?
    - Rank the reasons for moving in order of greatest impact to your life:
    - What were the biggest changes that affected you? / What changes occurred in your life?
    - Who made the decision to move?
        - When was this decision made?
            - Did any events inspire?
- What observations have you or your family made about the changes happening around you in place of origin?
- Have you heard of the term *climate change*?
    - If so, where/from whom?
    - Do you think it has affected you or will affect you (and your family)?
- What does climate change mean for Bangladesh and its people?
    - What does it mean for your family and the future?
    - What does it mean for Dhaka?

Migration & Networks:

- How long did it take you to get to Dhaka?
    - Did you stop somewhere along the way?
- Whom did you travel with?
- Did you family leave at different times? If so why?
- How did you travel (method of transportation)?
- Did you receive any assistance in your move?
    - From whom?
- Why did you choose Dhaka? Who chose it?
- What difficulties or barriers did you experience along the way?
- What was the hardest thing about moving?
- Is this your first time in Dhaka?
- How long do you plan on staying in Dhaka?
- How long have you been here?
- Do you have plans to leave? To where?

Slum life:

- Why did you move into this area of Dhaka?
- How did you move here?
- Did you have friends/family who lived here?
        - If so how did you hear about this location?
    - How did you go about claiming this space? What was the process?
- Did anyone help you settle?
    - If so, whom?
- Number of people currently living with you:
    - How many are direct family?
        - Indirect?
        - Friends?
- Number of people you lived with prior to moving to Dhaka?

- Have certain people been living here longer or shorter than you?
- Who do you pay rent to?
    - How much is rent?
    - What utilities are provided?
        - How much do you pay to access them?
        - Are they consistently available to you?
- Is everyone in your neighborhood of the same ethnicity or caste?
    - If no, what are the different groups?
        - Do certain groups receive special treatment (i.e. lower rent, better access to services, etc.)?
- Do you work in Dhaka?
    - Where do you work?
    - How long does it take you to get to work?
- How did you find your job?
    - Have you held other jobs prior?
- Do you feel a sense of community here?
- Are you part of any regular groups that meet?
    - Do you know of any organized groups?
    - Do you see any local/international NGO's doing work/providing services?
    - Have you ever seen any local city or governmental officials in or around the slum?
        - Do local officials do work to improve the conditions here (that you know of)?
- Do you feel safe here?

Justice:

- Are you satisfied with the conditions here?
    - How are they different than back in your village?
    - What changes would you like to see?

- Have you heard of any movements or actions taken to improve these situations?
- Have you heard or seen any local politicians in this area?
    - What were they doing here?
- Have you seen improvements in the slum?
    - Who is making these improvements?
- What things have you seen here that concern you the most?
- What aspects of living here would you like to see improved?
    - Who do you think should improve these? How?
- Have you heard of the Bangladesh Climate Change Action Plan Strategy or the 2100 Action Plan?

APPENDIX B

Semi-structured Interview Participants Included in Data Analysis

Interviewed from 8-25 May, 2017

Date	Location	Name	Age	Sex
May 8, 2017	Rampura Bosti, Ward 98, Dhaka, Bangladesh	Shukali	45	M
	Rampura Bosti, Ward 98, Dhaka, Bangladesh	Hefeza	32	F
May 16, 2017	Korail Bosti, Ward 19-20, Dhaka, Bangladesh	Muntumia	late 50's	M
	Korail Bosti, Ward 19-20, Dhaka, Bangladesh	Redacted 3	late 60's	F
	Korail Bosti, Ward 19-20, Dhaka, Bangladesh	Minto	30	M
	Korail Bosti, Ward 19-20, Dhaka, Bangladesh	Narkis	32	F
May 18, 2017	Korail Bosti, Ward 19-20, Dhaka, Bangladesh	Mahmudul Hasan	late 50's	M
	Korail Bosti, Ward 19-20, Dhaka, Bangladesh	Shumi	late 30's	F
	Korail Bosti, Ward 19-20, Dhaka, Bangladesh	Redacted 1	early 30's	F
	Korail Bosti, Ward 19-20, Dhaka, Bangladesh	Chanmia	late 60's	M
	Korail Bosti, Ward 19-20, Dhaka, Bangladesh	Reshma	late 60's	F
	Korail Bosti, Ward 19-20, Dhaka, Bangladesh	Forida	27	F
May 21, 2017	Korail Bosti, Ward 19-20, Dhaka, Bangladesh	Pintu	38	M
	Korail Bosti, Ward 19-20, Dhaka, Bangladesh	Memi	28	F
	Korail Bosti, Ward 19-20, Dhaka, Bangladesh	Beauti 1	27	F
	Korail Bosti, Ward 19-20, Dhaka, Bangladesh	Redacted 2	late 60's	F

May 24, 2017	Ershadnagar Bosti, Ward 20, Dhaka, Bangladesh	Dipu	33	F
	Ershadnagar Bosti, Ward 20, Dhaka, Bangladesh	Adbul Hassan	35	M
	Ershadnagar Bosti, Ward 20, Dhaka, Bangladesh	Begum	late 50's	F
	Ershadnagar Bosti, Ward 20, Dhaka, Bangladesh	Shania	28	F
	Ershadnagar Bosti, Ward 20, Dhaka, Bangladesh	Beauti 2	25	F
	Ershadnagar Bosti, Ward 20, Dhaka, Bangladesh	Nargis	30	F
May 25, 2017	Ershadnagar Bosti, Ward 20, Dhaka, Bangladesh	Shumi	25	F
	Ershadnagar Bosti, Ward 20, Dhaka, Bangladesh	Chagalal	27	M
	Ershadnagar Bosti, Ward 20, Dhaka, Bangladesh	Joli	20	F
	Ershadnagar Bosti, Ward 20, Dhaka, Bangladesh	Saleha	25	F
	Ershadnagar Bosti, Ward 20, Dhaka, Bangladesh	Foridor	50	M
	Ershadnagar Bosti, Ward 20, Dhaka, Bangladesh	Eklasudin	50	M

VITA

Robert Francis Irven was born in New Jersey, United States of America, on 31 December 1988. During his childhood, he first began to understand the fundamentals of development through his mother who worked as a special-education teacher for young children, giving him direct exposure to the importance of engaging disenfranchised sections of society and integration into mainstream culture as well as the hands-on experience of teaching and helping those in need, who are often misunderstood by much of "normal society."

In 2010 Robert had the opportunity to live and work in Shanghai, China where he learned more about international diplomacy and was involved in some side projects that exposed him to rural poverty and the complex issues of internal migration. Upon returning to the United States he had the chance to intern at the United Nations Department of Information, furthering his knowledge and understanding of international development and the importance of civil society. Upon graduating from Rutgers University in 2011, he moved to New York City where he worked variety of jobs in many different industries, all the while serving as a private tutoring, specializing in Chinese language, ESL and executive functioning education, where a special partnership gave him the pleasure of working with the children of famed human rights activist Chen Guangcheng.

After working as a project manager for the learning and development company, The Mind Gym Inc., Robert finally made the step to follow his passions and enrolled in the International Development Program at Chulalongkorn University in Thailand where he was exposed to a wide range of development issues and even had the opportunity to intern at the Stockholm Environment Institute. Upon completion of his degree, Robert intends to continue following his passion of helping others by staying and working in Southeast Asia to engage local populations in need through capacity building and education-focused programming.