

# **Geography 353**

*Geographies of Migration and Settlement*

**Empowering the Flight from Plight**

*Climate Change and Migration*

Word Count: 1993

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## 1.0 Introduction

“In 1990, the IPCC<sup>1</sup> noted that the greatest single impact of Climate Change could be on human migration—with millions of people displaced by shoreline erosion, coastal flooding, and agricultural disruption.”<sup>2</sup> ‘Climatically Displaced Peoples’ (CDP)<sup>3</sup> are threatened by not just Climate Change (CC) but also its asymmetric intensification that is increasingly inducing forced-migration amongst the world’s least resilient populations. While CDPs are people with minimal contributions to CC, they experience maximum vulnerability. Hence, their flight from plight cannot be overlooked or avoided anymore.

CDPs currently have no legal recognition globally; There is nominal comprehension of the multiplicity of their circumstances, rationales, and needs, making it a challenging task to delineate policy frameworks for their assistance. To accommodate CDPs, similar to other scholars’ proposals, I advocate for a relocation to Cities. Moreover, I propose that the focus must primarily be on Intra-national, rather than International migration.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, attention must be paid to constituting legal recognition for CDPs into mainstream global migration law and subsequently on strategizing the augmentation of Cities’ capacities to accommodate them.

Key to the augmentation of Cities’ capacities is my proposition that the fiscal responsibility of implementation must be realized by More Economically Developed Countries (MEDCs) because of their resistance to CDPs, larger contribution to CC, and a diminished capacity of Less Economically Developed Countries (LEDCs). Hence, this paper argues that the immediate policy agenda for Climatically Displaced Peoples must focus on empowering them through legal recognition and establishing MEDC-funded multi-scalar governance frameworks and mechanisms to facilitate their intra-national migration.

As the rationale for migration to Cities has already received substantial scholarly attention, this paper will primarily focus on establishing why MEDCs must take fiscal responsibility of CDPs. This idealistic solution assumes that Governments, Institutions, and Citizens of MEDCs, upon introspection, would be willing to aid CDPs on moral, ethical, and humanitarian grounds. Finally, to allow analytical-depth, the discussion is limited to rural-urban migration as these CDPs tend to be most vulnerable and incapacitated.

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<sup>1</sup> Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC)

<sup>2</sup> Bogardi, Janos, and Koko Warner. “Climate Change and Migration.” *Climate Generation: A Will Steger Legacy*. Nature Reports Climate Change (2009), March 14, 2015. <https://www.climategen.org/blog/climate-change-and-migration/>.

<sup>3</sup> *For the purposes of this paper, I will be referring to people migrating in response to Climate Change as **Climatically Displaced Peoples**. The common characteristic for such people is that they have been displaced i.e. they did not ‘voluntarily’ choose to leave their home. Even if it may have been a precautionary decision, CDPs would have been compelled to make it due to a Changing Climate. I believe that this framing is powerful as it highlights how CDPs are in a situation that is not of their doing and one that arguably anyone could be in it. Moreover, I recognize that this is very similar to IOM’s ‘Environmentally Displaced Person (EDP)’ but feel that emphasising on Climatic Change rather than Environmental Change is more effective in capturing the direct multi-scalar implications of CC and therefore in highlighting the urgency of tackling the problem. (EDP refers to, “persons who are displaced within their country of habitual residence or who have crossed an international border and for whom environmental degradation, deterioration or destruction is a major cause of their displacement, although not necessarily the sole one”)*

<sup>4</sup> International Organization for Migration (IOM). Rep. *Migration, Environment and Climate Change: Evidence for Policy (MECLEP) Glossary*. European Union, 2014. [https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/meclp\\_glossary\\_en.pdf?language=en](https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/meclp_glossary_en.pdf?language=en).

## 2.0 Recognizing, Characterizing, and Empowering CDPs

### 2.1 Recognizing CDPs

Despite increasing evidence of global migration in response to CC, “cross-border displacement resulting from CC has been identified as a normative gap in the international legal protection regime.”<sup>5</sup> This implies that CDPs may not be able seek assistance due to a global policy paralysis. While the UN International Organization for Migration’s Key Migration terms webpage<sup>6</sup> has included definitions for Climate Migration and Environmental Migrants, as evident Figure 1, both are followed by notes which make explicit that these are, “working definitions” that have, “no legal value”. Therefore, this demonstrates that no guaranteed rights and status have been attributed to CDPs yet.<sup>7</sup>

**Climate migration** – The movement of a person or groups of persons who, predominantly for reasons of sudden or progressive change in the environment due to climate change, are obliged to leave their habitual place of residence, or choose to do so, either temporarily or permanently, within a State or across an international border.  
*Source:* Warsaw International Mechanism, Executive Committee, Action Area 6: Migration, Displacement and Human Mobility – Submission from the International Organization for Migration (IOM, 2016); M. Traore Chazalnoël and D. Ionesco, *Defining Climate Migrants – Beyond Semantics* (IOM weblog, 6 June 2016) (last accessed 23 May 2018).  
  
*Note:* This is a working definition of the International Organization for Migration with an analytic and advocacy purpose which does not have any specific legal value.

**Environmental migrant** – A person or group(s) of persons who, predominantly for reasons of sudden or progressive changes in the environment that adversely affect their lives or living conditions, are forced to leave their places of habitual residence, or choose to do so, either temporarily or permanently, and who move within or outside their country of origin or habitual residence.  
*Source:* Council of the International Organization for Migration (IOM), Discussion Note: Migration and the Environment (November 2007) MC/INF/288; IOM, International Dialogue on Migration (no. 18) Climate Change, Environmental Degradation and Migration (2012); IOM, Outlook on Migration, Environment and Climate Change (2014).  
  
*Note:* There is no international agreement on a term to be used to describe persons or groups of persons that move for environment related reasons. This definition of environmental migrant is not meant to create any new legal categories. It is a working definition aimed at describing all the various situations in which people move in the context of environmental factors.

Figure 1: UN-IOM’s Key Migration Terms<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> “Effect of Climate Change on Migrant Human Rights.” Law Teacher, June 7, 2019. <https://www.lawteacher.net/free-law-essays/environmental-law/effect-of-climate-change-on-migrant-human-rights.php>.

<sup>6,8</sup> “Key Migration Terms.” International Organization for Migration, January 17, 2020. <https://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms>.

<sup>7</sup> *Another Example of CDP Policy Paralysis: “The Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration recognizes that CC adaptation and resilience measures in countries of origin need to be prioritized to minimize the adverse drivers of migration. However, the text also acknowledges that adaptation in situ or return of migrants might not be possible in some cases and mentions the need to consider planned relocation and visa options e.g. Objective 5 on enhancing availability and flexibility of pathways for regular migration and Objective 23 commits to international and regional cooperation in the context of disasters. However, due to the non-legally binding nature of the Compact, some States may decide to only take limited action to address environmental migration challenges.”*

<sup>^</sup> Rep. *World Migration Report 2020*. International Organization for Migration, 2020. [https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/wmr\\_2020.pdf](https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/wmr_2020.pdf).

## 2.2 Characterizing CDPs

Current migration legislation only allows for CDPs to be recognized as traditional Refugees or Migrants. However, confining CDPs to either, characterizes their circumstances and requirements inadequately, and hence prevents their receipt of appropriate assistance.

### *Refugees*<sup>9</sup>

CDPs migrating in response to Rapid-onset Disasters<sup>10</sup>, could benefit immensely from a redefined Refugee status. There exists a need to expand the recognition of Refugees beyond the political realm as, “the lack of an accepted definition of an environmental refugee means that, unless they are relocated by extreme weather events, their displacement does not trigger any access to financial grants, food aid, tools, shelter, schools or clinics.”<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, such absolute and politically-focused criteria leads to a, “difficulty in demonstrating persecution”, and hence seeking asylum.<sup>12</sup> Recently however, a non-binding, yet promising, UNHCR ruling stated that individuals with immediate threat their life due to CC, should not be turned away from borders.<sup>13</sup>

### *Migrants*<sup>14</sup>

In responding to Slow-onset Disasters<sup>15</sup>, CDPs are more likely to be recognized as Migrants. Migrants are distinguishable from Refugees as they usually have the opportunity to ‘voluntarily’ plan and make an informed decision to relocate i.e., “people may be able to protect or use their assets and health, decide on who in the household moves and how, as well as when and where they will go.”<sup>16</sup> For instance, “people may migrate because their homes have become dangerous or difficult to live in. They might be fleeing from unrest, famine, drought, or economic collapse.”<sup>17</sup> In that sense, migration may be characterized as an adaptation measure, that, “people use to deal with CC in order to reduce poverty and boost resilience.”<sup>18</sup> However, a mere Migrant characterization for CDPs may be problematic as, unlike Refugees,

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<sup>9</sup> **Refugee:** “Someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion.”

<sup>10</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. “What Is a Refugee?” United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 2020. <https://www.unhcr.org/what-is-a-refugee.html>.

<sup>11</sup> **Rapid-Onset Disasters:** “These disasters unfold almost instantly and tend to create their destruction through the immediate physical impacts e.g. Earthquakes, Cyclones, Hurricanes and Typhoons. For instance, Typhoon Haiyan / Yolanda made landfall in the Philippines on the 8th of November. It had been identified as one of the most powerful Typhoons ever recorded only hours before. In a few hours it had killed 6,000 people and injured nearly 30,000. The typhoon displaced 4 million. By the 9th of November the storm had moved into Vietnamese and Chinese territory.”

<sup>12</sup> Randall, Alex, “Understanding a Slow Disaster: Getting to Grips with Slow-Onset Disasters, and What They Mean for Migration and Displacement -.” Climate & Migration Coalition, March 4, 2018. <http://climatemigration.org.uk/understanding-a-slow-disaster-getting-to-grips-with-slow-onset-disasters-and-what-they-mean-for-migration-and-displacement/>.

<sup>13</sup> Rep. Migration and Climate Change. International Organization for Migration, 2008. <https://publications.iom.int/books/mrs-ndeg31-migration-and-climate-change>.

<sup>14</sup> “Effect of Climate Change on Migrant Human Rights.” Law Teacher, June 7, 2019. <https://www.lawteacher.net/free-law-essays/environmental-law/effect-of-climate-change-on-migrant-human-rights.php>.

<sup>15</sup> Su, Yvonne. “UN Ruling on Climate Refugees Could Be Gamechanger for Climate Action.” Climate Home News. Climate Home, February 4, 2020. <https://www.climatechangenews.com/2020/01/29/un-ruling-climate-refugees-gamechanger-climate-action/>.

<sup>16</sup> **Migrants:** “People that choose to move not because of a direct threat of persecution or death, but mainly to improve their lives by finding work, or in some cases for education, family reunion, or other reasons.”

<sup>17</sup> “UNHCR Viewpoint: ‘Refugee’ or ‘Migrant’ – Which Is Right?” United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, July 11, 2016. <https://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2016/7/55df0e556/unhcr-viewpoint-refugee-migrant-right.html>.

<sup>18</sup> **Slow-Onset Disaster:** “These disasters can be predicted much further in advance and unfold over months or even years. In addition to physical damage, these disasters also create pro-longed crises through the economic and social impacts of the disaster event e.g. Climate change, Droughts, Environmental Degradation and Desertification. For instance, In July 2011 a severe drought hit the Horn of Africa. It lasted almost an entire year. By September 2012 nearly a million people had fled Somalia to camps in Kenya and Ethiopia. Early warning systems first forecast the looming disaster 11 months before it hit. The massive displacement was created partly by the fact the region had been made more vulnerable by previous droughts.”

<sup>19</sup> Randall, Alex, “Understanding a Slow Disaster: Getting to Grips with Slow-Onset Disasters, and What They Mean for Migration and Displacement -.” Climate & Migration Coalition, March 4, 2018. <http://climatemigration.org.uk/understanding-a-slow-disaster-getting-to-grips-with-slow-onset-disasters-and-what-they-mean-for-migration-and-displacement/>.

<sup>20</sup> Rep. *World Migration Report 2020*. International Organization for Migration, 2020. [https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/wmr\\_2020.pdf](https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/wmr_2020.pdf).

<sup>21</sup> Eldridge, Alison. “What’s the Difference Between a Migrant and a Refugee?” Encyclopædia Britannica. Accessed October 19, 2020. <https://www.britannica.com/story/whats-the-difference-between-a-migrant-and-a-refugee>.

Migrants are subjected to a country's immigration laws and can be deported despite dire conditions at home.<sup>19</sup>

### **3.3 Empowering CDPs**

As evident, while it is easy to establish the causal link between Rapid-onset of CC and CDP migration, it is much harder to do so for CDPs migrating in response to Slow-onset disasters. While forced migration is a common characteristic for all, the only difference is that they migrate at different times of the disaster cycle i.e. Refugees are reactive while Migrants are proactive.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, even if such distinctions aid in gauging the Government's exact duty towards CDPs (i.e. fully-reliant Refugees versus self-sufficient Migrants), it should not be used to determine their eligibility to seek entry. Hence, a blanket recognition, with technical distinction between 'Refugee' or 'Migrant' for logistical purposes, would serve empower CDPs.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Randall, Alex, "Understanding a Slow Disaster: Getting to Grips with Slow-Onset Disasters, and What They Mean for Migration and Displacement -," Climate & Migration Coalition, March 4, 2018. <http://climatemigration.org.uk/understanding-a-slow-disaster-getting-to-grips-with-slow-onset-disasters-and-what-they-mean-for-migration-and-displacement/>.

<sup>21</sup> Mayer, Benoît. "Constructing "Climate Migration" as a Global Governance Issue: Essential Flaws in the Contemporary Literature." *McGill International Journal of Sustainable Development Law and Policy / Revue Internationale De Droit Et Politique Du Développement Durable De McGill* 9, no. 1 (2013): 87-117. Accessed October 19, 2020. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24352635>.

## 4.0 Fiscal Responsibility of MEDCs

Each Country’s ability to pursue CC Adaptation and Mitigation (A&M) strategies to protect its citizens, especially CDPs, varies greatly. The UNFCCC’s<sup>22</sup> CBDR-RC<sup>23</sup> principles were established to recognize differential CC contributions, developmental needs, and vulnerabilities of various Countries. Consequently, the Paris Agreement incorporated CBDR-RC to, “reaffirm the obligations of MEDCs to support efforts of LEDCs in line with their own national objectives” through financial, technological, and governmental resource flows.<sup>24</sup> However, it has failed to actualize this ‘voluntary compensation’ owing to inconsistencies in NDCs<sup>25</sup> wherein no MEDC has offered climate finance, technology transfer, or capacity-building support despite an indication from, “136 LEDCs that the implementation of their NDCs is contingent on at least one type of International support.”<sup>26</sup> Therefore, my rationale for CDP migration to be funded by MEDCs is three-Fold. Figure 2 summarizes the three framings that I will be evaluating to make this argument.

	Securitization	Protection	Adaptation and climate risk management
<i>Key concepts</i>	Irregular migration	Human rights	Adaptive capacity; Remittances; Averting, minimizing and addressing the adverse impacts of climate change.
<i>Migrants as:</i>	Factor of instability in the face of resource shortages (climate as a threat multiplier)	Lacking agency	Agential.
<i>Normative implications</i>	National borders should be controlled to reduce risks to society, resources, and culture in areas of destination	If people move they must be able to do so in dignified, safe conditions within protection frameworks	Human mobility can be one of a spectrum of responses to climate impacts and risks.

**Figure 2: Framing Interactions Between CC and Migration<sup>27</sup>**

<sup>22</sup> UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)

<sup>23</sup> **“Common but differentiated responsibilities (CBDR), principle of international environmental law establishing that all states are responsible for addressing global environmental destruction yet not equally responsible. The principle balances, on the one hand, the need for all states to take responsibility for global environmental problems and, on the other hand, the need to recognize the wide differences in levels of economic development between states. These differences in turn are linked to the states’ contributions to, as well as their abilities to address, these problems. CBDR was formalized in international law at the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro.”**

<sup>24</sup> “Common but Differentiated Responsibilities.” Encyclopædia Britannica. Accessed October 19, 2020. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/common-but-differentiated-responsibilities>.

<sup>24</sup> “What Is the Paris Agreement?” United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. Accessed October 19, 2020. <https://unfccc.int/process-and-meetings/the-paris-agreement/what-is-the-paris-agreement>.

<sup>25</sup> **“Nationally Determined Contributions embody efforts by each country to reduce national emissions and adapt to the impacts of climate change. The Paris Agreement (Article 4, paragraph 2) requires each Party to prepare, communicate and maintain successive nationally determined contributions (NDCs) that it intends to achieve. Parties shall pursue domestic mitigation measures, with the aim of achieving the objectives of such contributions.”**

<sup>26</sup> “Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs).” United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. Accessed October 19, 2020. <https://unfccc.int/process-and-meetings/the-paris-agreement/the-paris-agreement/nationally-determined-contributions-ndcs>.

<sup>26</sup> Pauw, Pieter, Kennedy Mbeva, and Harro Van Asselt. “Subtle Differentiation of Countries’ Responsibilities under the Paris Agreement.” *Palgrave Communications* 5, no. 1 (2019). <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-019-0298-6>.

<sup>27,28</sup> Rep. *World Migration Report 2020*. International Organization for Migration, 2020. [https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/wmr\\_2020.pdf](https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/wmr_2020.pdf).

## 4.1 Securitisation: MEDCs' Resistance to Immigration

With a Securitization framing, MEDCs tend to prevent immigration of CDPs citing threat multiplier effects.<sup>28</sup> "Security experts propose that CC hardships can increase the risk of political instability and terrorism e.g. In Syria, the prolonged drought that preceded the uprising drove farmers and herders from their fields and their pastures towards the urban areas. And with this crowding in the urban areas came civil unrest."<sup>29,30</sup> Moreover, MEDCs especially abstain from recognizing CDPs as Refugees<sup>31</sup>, as they would then be compelled to take full responsibility of integrating them into their society and economy by utilising state funds. This may materialize in the form of welfare packages, employment, and access to education, healthcare etc. Furthermore, MEDCs' citizens themselves may occasionally resist immigration in response to rising taxes, increasing unemployment, and resources pressures.<sup>32,33</sup> Therefore, such discontent could have direct political ramifications and may further fuel resistance to supporting CDPs. Hence, with a justified perception of threat to their sovereignty, security, and success, given their immense wealth and resources, to prevent CDP influx, MEDCs unwilling to accept them must at least assist with intra-national migration.

## 4.2 Protection: MEDCs' Disproportionate Climate Contributions

CDPs may migrate to seek governmental protection of their fundamental human rights as they and their own governments may lack the agency to do so for themselves. The Geography of CC is such that, LEDCs with low carbon footprints are, "bearing the brunt of CO2 emissions of MEDCs."<sup>34</sup> As evident in Figure 3, Populations in LEDCs are affected by CC to a much greater extent than MEDCs, "because of their unfavourable geographical location, poor socio-economic situation, and the resulting lack of ability to protect themselves against CC."<sup>35</sup> Therefore, the human rights of populations in LEDCs are breached because they are suffering from a problem they have least contributed to.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, the vulnerable, ineffective, and under-resourced LEDC governments themselves lack protection frameworks i.e., "the technologies and adaptive policies required by them are beyond their economic ability to establish."<sup>37</sup> Hence, CDPs (especially Refugees) are owed protection by MEDCs and, to prevent CDP influx, they must grant fiscal support to LEDCs through disaster-relief mechanisms to enhance their A&M capacities and CDPs' resilience<sup>38</sup>. Furthermore, substantial funding now, "will ultimately help avoid greater MEDC expenditures as, in the LEDCs, it will foster economic stability and potentially reduce their need for humanitarian response to disaster in the future."<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> "Why Climate Change Is a 'Threat Multiplier' " Yale Climate Connections." Yale Climate Connections, April 4, 2020. <https://yaleclimateconnections.org/2019/06/why-climate-change-is-a-threat-multiplier/>.

<sup>30</sup> Koubi, Vally. "Climate Change and Conflict." *Annual Review of Political Science* 22, no. 1 (2019): 343–60. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-050317-070830>.

<sup>31</sup> Buchanan, Kelly. "New Zealand: 'Climate Change Refugee' Case Overview." Library of the Congress, July 1, 2015. <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/climate-change-refugee/new-zealand.php>.

<sup>32</sup> Beckett, Andy. "Is Britain Full? Home Truths about the Population Panic." *The Guardian*. Guardian News and Media, February 9, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/09/is-britain-full-home-truths-about-population-panic>.

<sup>33</sup> Rhoe, John. "Living Standards, Scarce Resources and Immigration: An ..." Cornell University ILR School, 2006. <https://digitalcommons.ilr.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1205&context=article>.

<sup>34</sup> Brändlin, Anne-Sophie. "The Global Injustice of the Climate Crisis: DW: 28.08.2019." *Deutsche Welle*, 2019. <https://www.dw.com/en/the-global-injustice-of-the-climate-crisis-food-insecurity-carbon-emissions-nutrients-a-49966854/a-49966854>.

<sup>35</sup> Minninger, Sabine, Laura Schäfer, and Vera Künzel. "How Climate Change Aggravate Coronavirus in the Global South." *PreventionWeb.net*, April 12, 2020. <https://www.preventionweb.net/news/view/71290>.

<sup>36</sup> "How Will the Global South Pay for Climate Change Damage?" *New Internationalist*, May 17, 2019. <https://newint.org/features/2019/05/03/how-will-global-south-pay-climate-change-damage>.

<sup>37</sup> Rajabi, Tara. "Climate Change in the Global South: a Need for Adaptation." *Munk*, October 31, 2016. <http://www.munkgc.com/development/climate-change-in-the-global-south-a-need-for-adaptation/>.

<sup>38</sup> Klepp, Silja. "Climate Change and Migration." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Climate Science*, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228620.013.42>.

<sup>39</sup> Brändlin, Anne-Sophie. "The Global Injustice of the Climate Crisis: DW: 28.08.2019." *Deutsche Welle*, 2019. <https://www.dw.com/en/the-global-injustice-of-the-climate-crisis-food-insecurity-carbon-emissions-nutrients-a-49966854/a-49966854>.

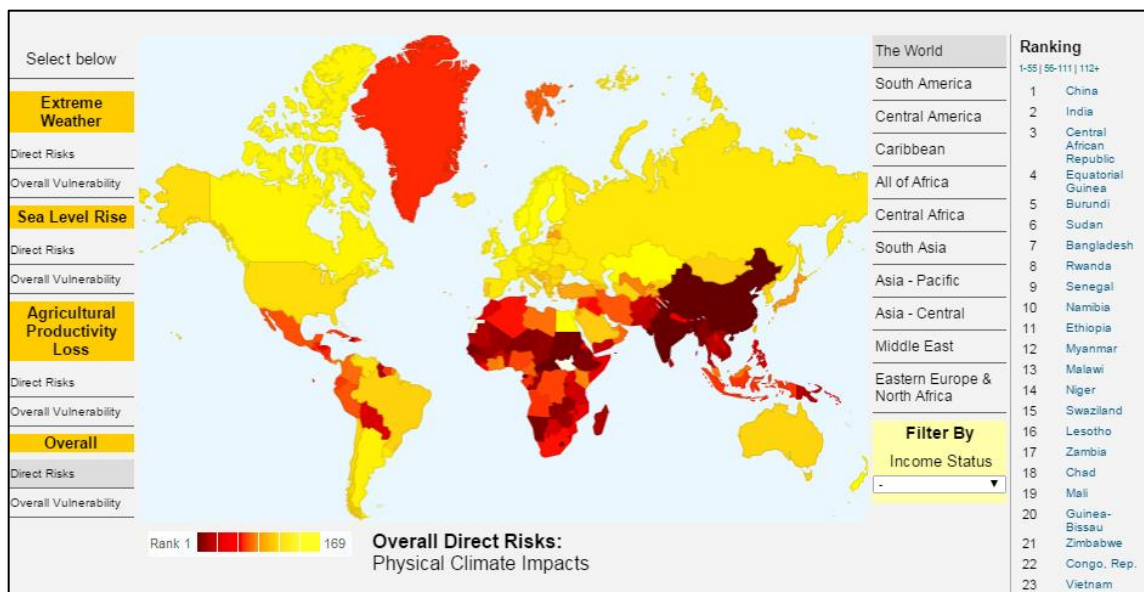


Figure 3: The Geography of Climate Change, 2016<sup>40</sup>

### 4.3 Adaptation and Climate Risk Management: LEDCs' Inability

In light of their government's inability to support them, CDPs (mostly Migrants) may take the proactive decision to relocate in response to CC. Most post-colonial LEDCs tend to have weak, corrupt, and ineffective governments with diminished capacities for CC A&M.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, as, "industrialization proceeded in MEDCs much earlier than it did in LEDCs"<sup>42</sup>, resource extraction is still integral to most post-colonial economies in their race to 'develop'.<sup>43</sup> Hence, in addition to CC, LEDCs also witness higher levels of environmental degradation owing to weak regulations and stronger incentives to capitalise at the expense of their environments. Subsequently, current industrial supply chains of MEDCs tend to source hazardous production and natural capital from LEDCs, leading to further degradation their local environments.<sup>44</sup> Therefore, LEDCs have diminished capacities for CC A&M and are consequently almost always reliant on foreign-aid when disasters strike.<sup>45</sup> Hence, in recognising their role in the establishment of ineffective post-colonial governments and current supply-chain practises, MEDCs must assist LEDCs with CC A&M infrastructure and launch focus-institutions to boost CDP resilience.

<sup>40</sup> Overall Direct Risks: Physical Climate Impacts. 2016. Center for Global Development. <https://www.cgdev.org/page/mapping-impacts-climate-change>.

<sup>41</sup> Cheeseman, Nic, and Jonathan Fisher. "How Colonial Rule Committed Africa to Fragile Authoritarianism." Quartz Africa. Quartz, November 6, 2019. <https://qz.com/africa/1741033/how-colonial-rule-committed-africa-to-fragile-authoritarianism-2/>.

<sup>42</sup> "Common but Differentiated Responsibilities." Wikipedia. Wikimedia Foundation, May 15, 2020. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Common\\_But\\_Differentiated\\_Responsibilities](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Common_But_Differentiated_Responsibilities).

<sup>43</sup> Roemer, Michael. "Resource-Based Industrialization in the Developing Countries." *Journal of Development Economics*6, no. 2 (1979): 163–202. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0304-3878\(79\)90012-9](https://doi.org/10.1016/0304-3878(79)90012-9).

<sup>44</sup> "Trade and the Environment." Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2020. <https://www.oecd.org/trade/topics/trade-and-the-environment/>.

<sup>45</sup> "Climate Change in Developing Countries." Global Affairs Canada, June 23, 2020. [https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/issues\\_development-enjeux\\_developpement/environmental\\_protection-protection\\_environnement/climate-climatiques.aspx?lang=eng](https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/issues_development-enjeux_developpement/environmental_protection-protection_environnement/climate-climatiques.aspx?lang=eng).

## 5.0 Intra-National Relocation Strategies

It is critical to recognize that CDP movement mostly occurs intra-nationally, while only some people chose to relocate internationally.<sup>46,47</sup> In addition to MEDCs' reluctance to accommodate CDPs, the CDPs in LEDCs themselves, prefer not to move away from home and instead engage in Stepwise Migration.<sup>48</sup> Hence, if MEDCs took fiscal responsibility for the CDPs in impoverished LEDCs, it would be a win-win situation as while MEDCs are resistant CDP influx, LEDCs are more conducive for them.<sup>49</sup> Therefore, in comprehending the diverse situations of current CDPs, MEDCs must help them either adapt, cope, or survive.

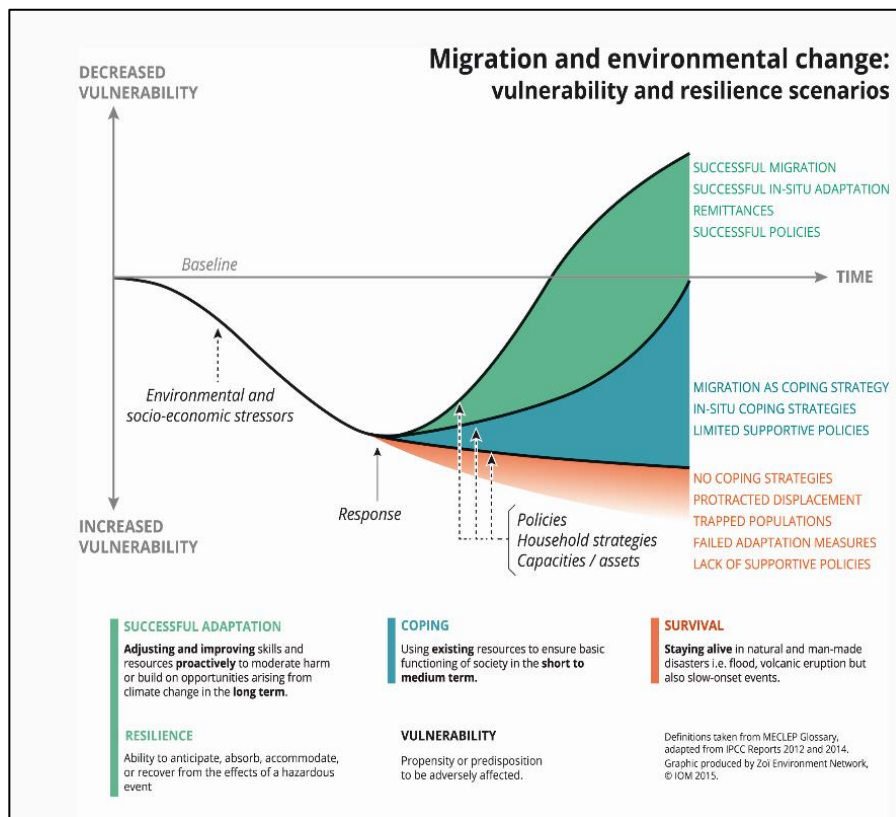


Figure 3: UN Vulnerability and Resilience Scenarios<sup>50</sup>

<sup>46</sup> "Environmental Migration." Migration Data Portal, June 10, 2020. [https://migrationdataportal.org/themes/environmental\\_migration](https://migrationdataportal.org/themes/environmental_migration).

<sup>47</sup> Policy Gap: "Majority of today's climate refugees are displaced within the borders of their own country, whereas the new compacts focus exclusively on cross-border movement."

<sup>48</sup> McDonnell, Tim. "The Refugees the World Barely Pays Attention To." National Public Radio (NPR), June 20, 2018. <https://www.npr.org/sections/goatsandsoda/2018/06/20/621782275/the-refugees-that-the-world-barely-pays-attention-to>.

<sup>49</sup> **Stepwise Migration:** "When migrants make incremental adjustments to minimize change i.e. first moving to a larger town or a city and it is only when those places fail them that they tend to cross borders, taking on ever riskier journeys. Leaving a village for the city is hard enough but crossing into a foreign land — vulnerable to both its politics and its own social turmoil — is an entirely different trial."

<sup>50</sup> Lustgarten, Abraham. "The Great Climate Migration Has Begun." The New York Times, July 23, 2020. <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/07/23/magazine/climate-migration.html>.

<sup>49</sup> "However, analysts argue that immigration is both a necessary element of global redistributive justice and an important response to CC; that greenhouse gas emitters should take an allocation of CDPs in proportion to their historical emissions. Moreover, shutting borders in both source and destination countries undermines remittance economies and denies developing countries the benefits of access to the international labour market."

<sup>4</sup> Rep. Migration and Climate Change. International Organization for Migration, 2008. <https://publications.iom.int/books/mrs-ndeg31-migration-and-climate-change>.

<sup>50</sup> "Migration and Environmental Change: Vulnerability and Resilience Scenarios - MECEP Infographics." United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification, June 9, 2017. <https://knowledge.unccd.int/publications/migration-and-environmental-change-vulnerability-and-resilience-scenarios-meclep>.

## 5.1 Adapting: Rural-Urban Relocation to Cities

Assuming a strong and diverse economy with higher CC preparedness in Cities, CDP relocation is an adaptive measure. CC A&M efforts to build resilience can be concentrated by densification in Cities. Hence LEDCs must focus on fostering collective resilience through supportive policies and legal pathways to cater the needs of CDPs and integrate them into the metabolism of their Cities. MEDCs must facilitate this by establishing effective governance systems, enhancing technology transfer, and providing institutional support to revamp political and economic structures that foster vulnerability.

## 5.2 Coping: Relocation to Vulnerable Cities

Many CDPs are relocating to LEDC Cities that are themselves vulnerable to CC<sup>51</sup> i.e. CDPs, “are likely to leave areas that are of environmental risks, and move towards areas of environmental risk, particularly in Asia and Africa, where many urban centers are in low-elevation coastal zones.”<sup>52</sup> It is vital to realize that this relocation is essential as CDP migrants in Cities remit money back to their families in CC-stressed rural economies.<sup>53</sup> Hence, in addition to facilitating a City’s CC A&M, MEDCs must invest capital to aid in the expansion of urban centers to make the Cities more resilient and simultaneously, “promote linkages between rural and urban areas to help enhance rural resilience.”<sup>54</sup>

## 5.3 Surviving: Solutions for Trapped Populations

Trapped populations<sup>55</sup> should also be considered as CDPs (Refugee or Migrant) because they are arguably the most vulnerable. Trapped CDPs usually have exhausted adaptation and resilience possibilities and hence the best solution for their assistance is a fully facilitated relocation while ensuring that vulnerabilities are not recreated in new sites.<sup>56</sup> Upon their consultation, given their dire circumstances, the relocation of these CDPs must be planned, managed, and executed fully by the government. In addition to A&M and Coping support, MEDCs should assist LEDC governments by providing full ‘welfare-assistance’ to relocate and re-establish these CDPs and ensure their survival.<sup>57,58</sup>

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<sup>51,58</sup> The Government Office for Science, London. Rep. *Migration and Global Environmental Change: Future Challenges and Opportunities*. The International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2011. <https://environmentalmigration.iom.int/migration-and-global-environmental-change-future-challenges-and-opportunities>.

<sup>52,54</sup> Ober, Kayly. “Richard Black: Future Climate-Migration Interactions Will Stress Cities, ‘Trap’ Vulnerable Populations.” *New Security Beat*, January 30, 2012. <https://www.newsecuritybeat.org/2012/01/richard-black-future-climate-migration-interactions-will-stress-cities-trap-vulnerable-populations/>.

<sup>53</sup> Rep. *World Migration Report 2020*. International Organization for Migration, 2020. [https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/wmr\\_2020.pdf](https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/wmr_2020.pdf).

<sup>55</sup> **“Trapped Populations: Those with lower wealth or capital are identified as potentially facing a double set of risks from future environmental change: the low level of capital experienced by such individuals means they are unable to move away from situations of increasing environmental threats, yet; this reduced level of capital also makes them even more vulnerable to environmental change.**

<sup>56</sup> Smith, Christopher. “A European Community Funded Project to Explore the Location, Extent and Characteristics of Populations Trapped within the Mekong Delta.” *Trapped Populations - Home*. European Community’s Seventh Framework Programme, 2015. <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/affiliates/trapped/>.

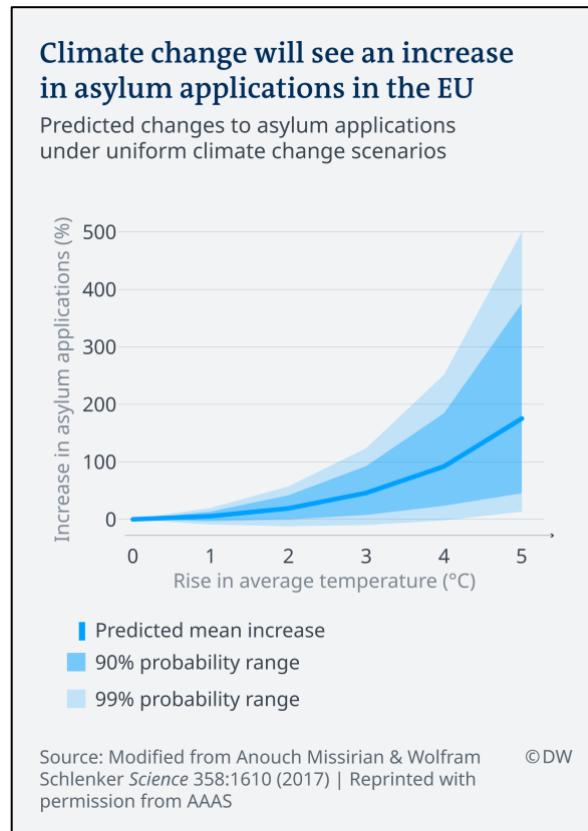
<sup>57</sup> Rep. *World Migration Report 2020*. International Organization for Migration, 2020. [https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/wmr\\_2020.pdf](https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/wmr_2020.pdf).

<sup>58</sup> “Climate Change and Forced Migration: Canada’s Role.” *Library of Parliament*. Canada, February 1, 2013. [https://lop.parl.ca/sites/PublicWebsite/default/en\\_CA/ResearchPublications/201004E](https://lop.parl.ca/sites/PublicWebsite/default/en_CA/ResearchPublications/201004E).

## 7.0 Conclusion

If the proposal for MEDCs' fiscal responsibility is rejected, perhaps the avenue of CSR<sup>59</sup>, in light of corporate affluence and footprints, must be explored. Future research must especially focus on A&M planning at sub-national levels in LEDCs, but also MEDCs with vulnerable populations. Moreover, by establishing thorough monitoring and evaluation systems, research must incorporate statistical analysis to predict global CC hotspots and resultant CDP migration patterns.<sup>60</sup>

In coming years, it is likely that we will have more 'anticipatory' Migrants than Refugees.<sup>61</sup> If Migrant CDPs are not assisted now, as evident in Figure 4, in the future, they will become Refugees. Therefore, the immediate policy agenda for Climatically Displaced Peoples must focus on empowering them through legal recognition and establishing MEDC-funded multi-scalar governance frameworks and mechanisms to facilitate their intra-national migration.



**Figure 4: Projection for Climate Migrants** <sup>62</sup>

<sup>59</sup> *Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)*

<sup>60</sup> Parry, Jo-Ellen, and Anika Terton. "How Are Vulnerable Countries Adapting to Climate Change? Frequently Asked Questions." International Institute for Sustainable Development (IISD), 2020. <https://www.iisd.org/faq/adapting-to-climate-change/>.

<sup>61</sup> The Government Office for Science, London. *Rep. Migration and Global Environmental Change: Future Challenges and Opportunities*. The International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2011. <https://environmentalmigration.iom.int/migration-and-global-environmental-change-future-challenges-and-opportunities>.

<sup>62</sup> Russell, Ruby. "Building Walls to Keep Climate Refugees Out." Deutsche Welle (DW), April 11, 2019. <https://www.dw.com/en/building-walls-to-keep-climate-refugees-out/a-48273469>.

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