LEGAL AND PROTECTION POLICY RESEARCH SERIES

Climate Change Induced Displacement: Adaptation Policy in the Context of the UNFCCC Climate Negotiations

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1. Introduction

Human migration and displacement in the context of climate change has come to the renewed attention of researchers and policy makers in recent years. The media has recently highlighted significant flooding events in 2010 like the Pakistan floods which inundated up to 20 percent of the country and left an estimated 20 million people temporarily homeless. Further, similarly large floods in early 2011 in eastern Australia captured world attention as they inundated areas the size of France and Germany together, leaving many towns stranded for several weeks. These disastrous events are highly visible, but what is equally compelling are the set of questions about the interaction of a spectrum of human mobility (ranging from migration to displacement) and environmental changes of rapid-onset and slow-onset nature, including:

• Is it possible for people displaced in part by climate change-related processes to return to their places of origin, and under what circumstances?
• Are policies that adequately address the needs of people who have voluntarily left or those who have been compelled to leave their homes in place?
• Do frameworks exist to address the needs of people who respond to slower-onset changes in their environments that affect their livelihoods?

These questions challenge existing approaches to migration and displacement, and illustrate the need for fresh thinking about the impacts of changing environmental conditions, including climate change, and human mobility. The topic brings further challenges as well as opportunities to science and to practice: environmental change, human mobility, and adaptation typify some of the key policy areas of the 21st century which require a blend of science, operational expertise, and policy to address. The questions touch on key policy issues: information base for policy, humanitarian action, issues of sovereignty and security,[1] and new forms of policy that cut across traditional lines.

This paper presents one example of how 'the human face of climate change' has been brought to an international policy arena – the UNFCCC climate negotiations – in a relatively short period of time by a coordinated effort of research and operational organizations (section 2). This paper describes a process that culminated in the Cancun Adaptation Framework, agreed to recently at COP16 (Dec. 2010) (section 3). It further assesses the current and future complementary roles for research and operational expertise in identifying policy alternatives to address migration and displacement in the context of climate change (section 4). The final section of this paper draws conclusions and reflects on policy implications for research and practice.

[1] S.K. Chakrabarti and S. Saeed Ahmed, 'Sinking island's nationals seek new home' CNN, 11 November 2008, available online at: http://www.cnn.com/2008/WORLD/asiapcf/11/11/maldives.president/index.html (last accessed 2 February 2011); S. Leahy, 'Tiny Tuvalu Fights for Its Literal Survival' *IPS News*, 27 July 2007, available online at http://www.ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=38695 (last accessed 12 May 2011).

2. From applied research to policy processes

Specific references to environmental change and migration began appearing in the scientific literature several decades ago, with occasional papers in the 1970s and 1980s[2] growing into more regular mentions throughout the 1990s.[3] Major scientific reviews such as the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) have included mentions of environmentally induced migration since its first assessment report in 1990.[4] Expert estimates about the number of people that might be forced to migrate in relation to environmental change worldwide[5] spawned widespread media attention, as well as academic debate. Warner *et al.* note that:

estimates of the numbers of migrants and projections of future numbers are divergent and controversial. A middle-range estimate cited recently by IOM puts the figure at 200 million by 2050. The first controversy concerns the categorization of people made mobile by environmental factors including climate change. Some organisations refer to "environmental refugees" while others, following the position of UNHCR, stress that the word 'refugee' has a specific legal meaning in the context of the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. Terms such as 'environmental migrants' and 'environmentally motivated migrants' have, therefore, been introduced as alternatives.[6]

The empirical base of investigations began to accelerate in the mid- to late 2000s as a crop of systematic investigation and case studies on environmental change and migration began to be published.[7] These studies were complemented by methodological and conceptual development, as well as analyses of policy implications.[8] Today several projects in different

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[2] E.g. E. El-Hinnawi, *Environmental Refugees* (Nairobi: United Nations Environment Programme, 1985).

[3] E.g. S. Lonergan, 'The Role of Environmental Degradation in Population Displacement' (1998) *Environmental Change and Security Project* Report No. 4, 5-15; T. Homer-Dixon, 'On the Threshold: Environmental Changes as Causes of Acute Conflict' (1991) 16(2) *International Security*, 76-116; T. Homer-Dixon, 'Thresholds of Turmoil: Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict' in D. Deudney and R. Matthew (eds), *Contested Grounds: Security and Conflict in the New Environmental Policies* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1999).

[4] IPCC, *First Assessment Report (FAR)* (Geneva: IPCC, 1990) available online at http://www.ipcc.ch/publications_and_data/publications_and_data_reports.shtml (last accessed 12 May 2011).

[5] N. Myers, 'Environmental Refugees: An Emergent Security Issue', 13th Economic Forum, Prague, 23-27 May 2005; N. Stern, *Stern Review on the Economics of Climate Change* (Cambridge: CUP, 2006).

[6] K. Warner, M. Stal, O. Dun and T. Afifi, 'Researching Environmental Change and Migration: Evaluation of EACH-FOR Methodology and Application in 23 Case Studies Worldwide' in F. Laczko and C. Aghazarm (eds.) *Migration, Environment and Climate Change: Assessing the Evidence* (Geneva: IOM, 2009) 197-244.

[7] E.g. D. Massey, W. Axinn and D. Ghimire, 'Environmental Change and Out-Migration: Evidence from Nepal' (2007) Institute for Social Research, Population Study Center, University of Michigan, Report 07-715, available online at http://www.psc.isr.umich.edu/pubs/pdf/rr07-615.pdf (last accessed 23 May 2011) ; D. Kniveton *et al.*, 'Climate Change and Migration: Improving Methodologies to Estimate Flows' *IOM Migration Research Series* No. 33 (Geneva: IOM, 2008); J. Jäger, J. Frühmann, S. Grünberger, A. Vag, 'Synthesis Report', *Environmental Change and Forced Migration Scenarios* Project, 2009, available online at http://www.each-for.eu/documents/EACHFOR_Synthesis_Report_090515.pdf (last accessed 12 May 2011), 64-66; and K. Warner, M. Stal, O. Dun and T. Afifi, 'Researching Environmental Change and Migration: Evaluation of EACH-FOR Methodology and Application in 23 Case Studies Worldwide' in F. Laczko and C. Aghazarm (eds.) *Migration, Environment and Climate Change: Assessing the Evidence* (Geneva: IOM, 2009) 197-244.

[8] E.g. R. Zetter, 'Legal and normative frameworks' (2008) 31 *Forced Migration Review* 62; E. Piguet, 'Climate Change and Forced Migration: How can International Policy respond to Climate-Induced Displacement?' (Geneva: UNHCR Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit, 2008); F. Laczko and C. Aghazarm (eds.) *Migration, Environment and Climate Change: Assessing the Evidence* (Geneva: IOM, UNU-EHS, CCEMA, Rockefeller Foundation, 2009); M. Leighton, 'Climate Change and Migration: Key Issues for Legal Protection of Migrants

phases of completion continue to expand the knowledge base and provide a more refined understanding of how environmental factors, including current weather extremes and the potential for significant longer term changes in climatic systems, affect migration and displacement. The IPCC plans a sub-chapter on the topic in its fifth assessment report which will appear in 2014. The topic will also be addressed in several other chapters, particularly regional chapters, as a cross cutting issue. Other work has documented frequently asked questions about migration and displacement in the context of environmental change, reflecting the current state of knowledge.[9] Similarly, other research has documented some of the major gaps in knowledge and possible ways to address these gaps.[10] Therefore these topics are not addressed in this article.

3. Climate induced displacement and migration in the UNFCCC context

This section analyses the how migration and displacement became a topic of discussion among negotiating Parties, and the role of research and advocacy from UN and humanitarian organizations in helping bring the topic into the Cancun Adaptation Framework. It further analyses the text placement and significance of paragraph 14(f) of the Cancun Adaptation Framework, and the catalytic role of the UNFCCC in the development of international cooperation on climate induced displacement and existing synergies with other international fora.

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and Displaced Persons', Background Paper for the Transatlantic Study Team on Climate Change and Migration, German Marshall Fund, 2010); S. F. Martin, 'Climate Change and International Migration', Background Paper for the Transatlantic Study Team on Climate Change and Migration, German Marshall Fund, 2010; P. Martin, 'Climate Change, Agricultural Development, and Migration', Background Paper for the Transatlantic Study Team on Climate Change and Migration, German Marshall Fund, 2010; S. F. Martin, 'Climate Change, Migration, and Adaptation', Background Paper for the Transatlantic Study Team on Climate Change and Migration, German Marshall Fund, 2010; S. Collinson, 'Developing Adequate Humanitarian Responses', Background Paper for the Transatlantic Study Team on Climate Change and Migration, German Marshall Fund, 2010, available online at http://www.gmfus.org/galleries/default-file/Collinson_MAH_EditsV2.pdf (last accessed 1 February 2011); A. Narusova, D. Kniveton, K. Warner, 'Climate change, environmental, and migration: Frequently Asked Questions', Summary for decision makers at the UNFCCC Climate Negotiations in Cancun (COP16), Climate Change, Environment and Migration Alliance (CCEMA), 2010; A. Warnecke, D. Tanzler and R. Vollmer, 'Climate Change, Migration, and Conflict: Receiving Communities under Pressure', Background Paper for the Transatlantic Study Team on Climate Change and Migration, German Marshall Fund, 2010; K. Warner, 'Global Environmental Change and Migration: Governance Challenges' (2010) 20 *Global Environmental Change* 402-413 (Special Issue of *Global Environmental Change* focusing on Resilience and Governance).

[9] A. Narusova, D. Kniveton, K. Warner, 'Climate change, environmental, and migration: Frequently Asked Questions', Summary for decision makers at the UNFCCC Climate Negotiations in Cancun (COP16), Climate Change, Environment and Migration Alliance (CCEMA), 2010;

[10] E. Piguet, 'Climate Change and Forced Migration: How can International Policy respond to Climate-Induced Displacement?' (Geneva: UNHCR Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit, 2008); K. Warner, M. Stal, O. Dun and T. Afifi, 'Researching Environmental Change and Migration: Evaluation of EACH-FOR Methodology and Application in 23 Case Studies Worldwide' in F. Laczko and C. Aghazarm (eds.) *Migration, Environment and Climate Change: Assessing the Evidence* (Geneva: IOM, 2009) 197-244; CCEMA, IOM, Munich Re Foundation, UNEP and UNU-EHS, 'Migration, Displacement and Environmental Change: Developing a Tool Kit for Policy Makers' Policy and Research Workshop, 25 and 26 October 2010; K. Warner, Environmental Change and Migration: Methodological Considerations From Ground-Breaking Global Survey. Journal of Population and Environment (forthcoming, 2011).

3.1 Timeline and overview of migration and displacement in UNFCCC discussions

The discussion below looks at how applied research and coordination with UN and international agencies, shaped Party views and the UNFCCC discussions between 2007 and December 2010. The author refers the reader to Figure 1 below, which explains the timeline from 2007 to the present during which migration and displacement became formally recognized in the UNFCCC process. Figure 1 illustrates some of the milestones in bringing the topic into UNFCCC climate negotiations from December 2007 to the present, but omits many valuable events and contributions due to space limitations.
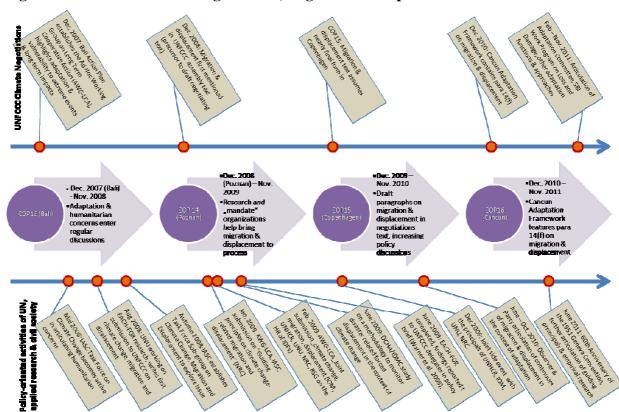
Figure 1: UNFCCC climate negotiations, migration & displacement

Adaptation was firmly established as a focus of the UNFCCC climate negotiations by the Conference of the Parties (COP13) held in 2007 in Bali, Indonesia.[11] This session created the Bali Action Plan which laid out the elements of adaptation which might be considered in an international climate agreement. For example, COP13 resulted in the adoption of the Bali Road Map, which included the Bali Action Plan.[12] The Bali Action Plan charted the course for a new negotiating process designed to tackle climate change, with the aim of completing this by 2009.[13] It created the Ad Hoc Working Group on Long-Term Cooperative Action (AWG-LCA), a subsidiary body intended to prepare the ground for a successful climate

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[11] UNFCCC, Conference of the Parties: Bali Action Plan, FCCC/CP/2007, Bali, Indonesia, 14 March 2008, available online at www.unfccc.int/resource/docs/2007/cop13/eng/06a01.pdf (last accessed 12 May 2011).

[12] See UNFCC, Ad Hoc Working Group on Long-term Cooperative Action under the Convention (AWG-LCA), UNFCCC 2007. FCCC/CP/2007/6/Add.1, 14 March 2008, Decision 1/CP.13, para. 2 and annex 1, available online at http://unfccc.int/resource/docs/2007/cop13/eng/06a01.pdf#page=3 (last accessed 12 May 2011)

[13] *Ibid.*, 3.

agreement to succeed (or complement) the Kyoto Protocol. At the time, it was anticipated that the AWG-LCA`s mandate would be completed by COP15 in 2009, and that the elements of adaptation would be securely anchored in an international agreement.[14] Between COP13 (Bali) and COP14 (Poznan), the tasks of the AWG-LCA and its contact groups was to explore in greater detail the proposals from Parties and Observers on elements for 'enhanced action on adaptation and mitigation and the associated enabling and supporting actions'.[15] During this time, the UNFCCC accepted submissions from both Parties and Observers, in order to begin identifying concrete common elements for an agreed outcome to be reached at the fifteenth session of the Conference of the Parties (COP). After 30 September 2008, the UNFCCC accepted submissions from Parties only:

> The AWG-LCA, at its third session, invited the Chair to prepare, under his own responsibility, a document assembling the ideas and proposals presented by Parties on the elements contained in paragraph 1 of the Bali Action Plan, taking into account the ideas and proposals presented by accredited observer organizations. In preparation of this document, the Chair has relied on the written submissions received by 30 September 2008 in response to the invitations contained in the Bali Action Plan, and in the conclusions of the first and second sessions of the AWG-LCA, as well as the presentations made in the in-session workshops. The Chair was further requested to update the document before the end of the fourth session based on submissions received after 30 September 2008 and the ideas and proposals put forward during that session.[16]

Thus, before COP14 research and operational organizations had the opportunity to directly co-shape ideas for the draft negotiating text within the established process. Following COP14, Observers needed to seek other means to bring new ideas and views to Parties, who in turn then were free to adopt views they felt were in harmony with their Party positions.

In this context, the wider humanitarian community—including UN agencies, research, and civil society—massively mobilized in the period from 2008 to 2009 to ensure that the human face of climate change would be duly represented. These three elements made up a critical part of Party positions, Observer support, and interpretation of world events related to extreme weather—all of which played a role in bringing migration and displacement into the UNFCCC climate negotiations. It is also noted that engagement following COP15 in Copenhagen waned somewhat, partly as a reflection of the perceived disappointment of not having reached the goal of an international climate agreement by December 2009. Nevertheless, the role of these Observers is discussed in section 4 below.

The next two sections discuss the respective roles played by research and the humanitarian community in bringing the concept of migration and displacement into the climate negotiations. Following that, the discussion resumes around the timeline from roughly 2008 to the present.

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[14] UNFCCC, Ad Hoc Working Group on Long-term Cooperative Action under the Convention (AWG-LCA), FCCC/AWGLCA/2008/3, 16 May 2008, para. 24, available online at http://maindb.unfccc.int/library/view_pdf.pl?url=http://unfccc.int/resource/docs/2008/awglca1/eng/03.pdf (last accessed 12 May 2011).

[15] UNFCC, Ad Hoc Working Group on Long-term Cooperative Action under the Convention note 12 above, para. 2 and annex 1.

[16] UNFCCC, Ad Hoc Working Group on Long-term Cooperative Action under the Convention (AWG-LCA), FCCC/AWGLCA/2008/14, 17 November 2008, para. 19, available online at http://unfccc.int/resource/docs/2008/awglca4/eng/14.pdf (last accessed 12 May 2011).

3.2 Building the case for migration & displacement in the UNFCCC policy process

3.2.1 The role of applied research

Research and operational experience with the UN and international agencies as well as in civil society (especially at the community level) played complementary roles in bringing environmentally induced migration and displacement to UNFCCC discussions. Applied research responded to calls from policy to fill the knowledge gaps.[17]. Research findings based on field observations were starting to be published more widely from 2007 onwards. During the course of 2007 and 2008, the Environmental Change and Forced Migration Scenarios Project (EACH-FOR) supported by the European Commission was conducting its 23 case studies worldwide and beginning to brief decision makers in Brussels, Washington DC and other capitals about the potential impacts of environmental change (including climate change) on human mobility. The EACH-FOR and related research findings were first reported in a submission to the UNFCCC in August 2008 at the Accra, Ghana session of the AWG-LCA.[18] Around this time, Parties were gearing up under AWG-LCA to approach a variety of adaptation issues. This position made Parties receptive to research-supported submissions, and supported them in bringing questions about migration & displacement into their early informal discussions in Accra. Far more questions existed than researchers could address to with evidence-supported answers. However, policy makers sensed the issue was legitimate and showed enough trust in the emerging knowledge base to include migration and displacement in formal and informal meeting agendas. The first international conference on the theme was held six weeks later in Bonn, Germany, assembling case studies, policy analysis, and scenarios.[19] The research and policy network Climate Change, Environment, and Migration Alliance (CCEMA) was launched at that time as researchers and policy makers identified the need to exchange information and views on migration and displacement in the context of climate change. The research was made available at a particular window of opportunity for the UNFCCC policy process (between COP13 and COP14, or 2007-2008), where UN and other observers cited research findings in the first submissions to the UNFCCC on migration and displacement.[20] In this way, research which delivered region-specific case studies and related analysis allowed decision makers to see the relevance of the issue for their own country, further underscoring the relevance of including migration and displacement in the draft negotiating text. The research spiked interest, and then provided a base of evidence to sustain that interest after COP14 when the issue had already been included in the assembly text.

From 2009 onwards, new developments helped sustain the message that migration and displacement were important topics for adaptation: the emergence of new review efforts like the UK Foresight project; a host of workshops and international conferences on the topic including several notable workshops on migration and displacement; the approval of significant new field research projects funded by governments and foundations, a high level

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[17] J. Solana and B. Ferrero-Waldner, 'Climate Change and International Security: Paper from the High Representative and the European Commission to the European Council' (Brussels: European Commission, 2008).

[18] UNU-EHS, International Conference on 'Environment, Forced Migration and Social Vulnerability (EFMSV)', 9-11 October 2008, Bonn, Germany. More information available online at: www.emsva2008.org (last accessed 12 May 2011).

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] UNU-EHS, International Conference on 'Environment, Forced Migration and Social Vulnerability (EFMSV)', 9-11 October 2008, Bonn, Germany; IOM, Munich-Re Foundation, UNEP, and UNU-EHS, 'Migration and the Environment: Developing a Global Research Agenda' Research Workshop, Munich, 16-18 April 2008 (with support from the Rockefeller Foundation).

panel on climate change and migration at the Global Forum on Migration and Development,[21] and a higher profile in the chapter structures of the IPCC´s upcoming 5th assessment report (WG2 Ch. 13 and regional chapters will make particular mention of migration and displacement). Research groups and UN organizations helped bridge research and policy, bringing the evidence base to delegates and helping frame levels of confidence, as well as explain areas where research could not yet deliver full responses to Party questions. This candour helped contribute to more differentiated questions on the side of delegates (e.g. not 'how many will come?', but rather 'where are the hotspots for concern, and what combination of factors may make migration an adaptive strategy vs. a matter of survival?'). This contributed to a more nuanced view that was reflected in the final wording of paragraph 14(f) of the Cancun Adaptation Agreement. By comparison, in December 2008 at the Poznan talks, the assembly text referred only to 'migration and displacement', in the June 2009 AWG-LCA draft text used the term 'climate refugees'. By Copenhagen, the terminology reflected the understanding that human mobility occurs on an adaptation continuum. Finally by Tianjin 2010, the text took its present, more differentiated form where different levels (national, regional, international) of mobility, different types of mobility (displacement, migration, planned relocation), and different kinds of measures (research, coordination, cooperation) were featured.

3.2.2 The role of the humanitarian community and networked advocacy
The humanitarian community played a key role at this juncture (following COP13 in Bali), through the activities of the Inter-Agency Standing Committee Task Force on Climate Change, for example. The task force became active in the course of 2008, including organisations involved in implementation, research networks, and advocacy. These efforts soon bridged applied research with the advocacy activities of the IASC on behalf of those organizations with a mandate to address migration and displacement, and more broadly the needs of vulnerable people. This brought an additional element of legitimacy: The humanitarian community sent a coordinated signal to Parties that the findings of research on migration and displacement were relevant to their policy concerns, and that operational organizations could support Parties with expertise and experience in managing migration and displacement.

The IASC informal group on climate change and displacement played a role by coordinating wider participation by a spectrum of UN, international, and civil society organizations concerned with migration and displacement. The Task Force had a coordinator who provided outreach to interested organizations from the humanitarian and disaster risk management community, as well as a wide array of civil society organizations with the UNFCCC process. The IASC´s coordination and an active sub-group dedicated to the theme ensured that joint statements, submissions to the UNFCCC,[22] joint activities outside of the UNFCCC, and

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[21] S. F. Martin and K. Warner, 'Impact of Climate Change on Migration and Development', Paper for the Civil Society Days Global Forum on Migration and Development, Mexico, 2010, available online at http://gfmd2010mexico.hsplatform.com/archivos/portal/doc_2_103_ImpactMartinWarner32.pdf (last accessed 12 May 2011).

[22] IASC. 'Climate change, migration and displacement: Who will be affected?', paper submitted by the informal group on Migration/Displacement and Climate Change of the IASC to the Interagency Standing Committee, Geneva/ New York, 31 October 2008; IASC, 'Addressing the Humanitarian Challenges of Climate Change: Regional and National Perspectives', *Case Studies on Climate Change Adaptation*, 2009, available online at http://www.humanitarianinfo.org/iasc/downloaddoc.aspx?docID=5094&type=any (last accessed 12 May 2011); UNU-EHS, Munich Re Foundation, IOM, UNEP, Report on Research Workshop on 'Migration and the Environment: Developing a Global Research Agenda'16-18 April 2008, Munich, Germany, available

networking supported Parties in their questions about migration and displacement. A few of the sub-group members had a consistent presence at all of the of the climate sessions from Bali onwards, which allowed building and sustaining a dialogue with delegates. This dialogue provided one way for researchers and the humanitarian community to understand Party needs and questions on the topic. Members of the sub-group coordinated side events, policy briefings, bilateral meetings with Parties, and joint publications for virtually all of the climate negotiating sessions from 2008 until December 2010.[23] This ensured a constant flow of information and messages to Parties, giving delegates sufficient opportunity to evaluate the validity and relevance of including migration and displacement in the UNFCCC process. The network was able to establish regular communication with the UNFCCC secretariat, to understand the process and windows of opportunity to support Parties with information. Network members offered written contributions to the Secretary General´s team writing the special report on climate change and security. This brought the opportunity to highlight migration and displacement in that report; in turn the report was featured at the 64th UN General Assembly in the run-up to the Copenhagen climate talks.[24] World leaders noted the links and made reference to climate change and human mobility in several speeches.[25]IASC and members of the sub-group on migration and displacement also coordinated with the Climate Action Network (CAN), a group of active civil society organizations in the UNFCCC process. This ensured that CAN was aware of the larger messages from research and operational humanitarian organizations concerned with human mobility. Because of the extensive communication networks of CAN, this coordination served as a further awareness raising avenue for civil society.

3.3 From 2008 to the present: moving migration and displacement into negotiating text

For the Poznan session, AWG-LCA Chair Michael Zammit Cutajar had compiled an assembly text from all the submissions between Bali (COP13) and September 30, 2008.[26] The assembly document mentioned migration for the first time, reflecting submissions by

online at: http://www.ccema-portal.org/file/get/5774 (last accessed 12 May 2011); UNHCR, 'Forced Displacement in the Context of Climate Change: Challenges for States under International Law', Paper submitted in cooperation with the Norwegian Refugee Council, the Representative of the Secretary General on the Human Rights of Internally Displaced Persons and the United Nations University to the 6th session of the Ad Hoc Working Group on Long-Term Cooperative Action under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) 1-12 June 2009, Bonn, Germany, available online at: http://www.humanitarianinfo.org/iasc/downloaddoc.aspx?docID=4874&type=any (last accessed 12 May 2011); UNHCR, 'Climate Change and Statelessness: An Overview', Submission supported by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) to the 6th session of the Ad Hoc Working Group on Long-Term Cooperative Action (AWG-LCA 6) under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) 1-12 June 2009, Bonn, Germany.

[23] UNFCCC, Conference of the Parties, Outcome of the work of the Ad Hoc Working Group on Long-Term Cooperative Action under the Convention, FCCC/AWGLCA/2010, Draft Decision 1/CP,16, 2010, available online at http://unfccc.int/files/meetings/cop_16/application/pdf/cop16_lca.pdf (last accessed 12 May 2011).

[24] UNGA, *Climate Change and Its Possible Security Implications: Report of the Secretary-General*, 11 September 2009, A/64/350, available online http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4ad5e6380.html (last accessed 12 May 2011).

[25] UNGA, General Debate of the 64th Session: Statement of the United States of America, H.E. Mr. Barack Obama, President, 23 September 2009, available online at
http://www.un.org/en/ga/64/generaldebate/US.shtmlReference (last accessed 12 May 2011).

[26] UNFCCC, Ad Hoc Working Group on Long-term Cooperative Action under the Convention (AWG-LCA). FCCC/AWGLCA/2009/16/Rev.1, 15 January 2009, annexes 8 and 16, available online at http://unfccc.int/resource/docs/2008/awglca4/eng/16r01.pdf (last accessed 12 May 2011).

applied research and the humanitarian community.[27] Many issues that were mentioned in the initial assembly text as well as during the period of refining that text on the road to Copenhagen were edited out, consolidated, or removed by Parties for various reasons. A proposal by the Alliance of Small Island States[28] on an international climate insurance facility included references to longer-term processes that might include population displacement if rigorous measures were not taken to reduce green house gas emissions and keep atmospheric concentrations of GHGs below 350ppm (approximately a 1.5 degree C scenario).

From COP14 2008 onwards, migration maintained its presence in the draft negotiating text. During the sixth AWG-LCA session in June 2009, Parties provided general comments on its structure and content of the LCA text, stated reservations and objections to elements of the text, and proposed additions and modifications.[29] In the June 2009 SBs and LCA meetings in Bonn, Jonathan Pershing (Head of Delegation, US) expressed concern in the opening plenary about the use of the term 'climate refugee' in the draft text. Since that statement, however, there appears to be no public record of Party objections or concerns about the inclusion of the issue in the UNFCCC negotiations text. The UNFCCC noted Pershing´s recommendation and revised the wording around migration and displacement which was then carried forward in discussions from Bangkok and Barcelona in the autumn of 2009 to Copenhagen´s COP15 in December 2009. The text which bears the closest resemblance to paragraph 14(f) of the Cancun Adaptation Framework emerged from delegate work in Copenhagen.[30]

In the busy and high-pressure COP15 negotiations in Copenhagen, UNFCCC delegates to the AWG-LCA continued working on elements of a broader adaptation framework, which at the time still included the key words 'migration and displacement'. Towards the end of the second week, Cutajar handed over the results from the AWG-LCA—a text still containing brackets, and not yet in a state where the COP15 Presidency would discuss it with over 120 Heads of State who had assembled at COP15. The mandate for further work under the AWG-LCA then closed. Nevertheless, in part because of the general atmosphere of process malfunction at COP15, AWG-LCA delegates continued to meet and work on the draft negotiating text on adaptation. They had discussions on migration and displacement at this crucial time, and it was here that Parties again had the chance to discard the issue or move it

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[27] *Ibid*., annex 16 paras 63(g) on measuring, verifying, and reporting of emissions reductions (section C, ILO submission); paras 112(f) and 112(h) (section D, UNU submission, IASC and UNU submissions).
Change Impacts', Submission to the UNFCCCs Ad Hoc Working Group on Long-term Cooperative Action under the Convention (AWG-LCA), 6 December 2008, available online at http://unfccc.int/files/kyoto_protocol/application/pdf/aosisinsurance061208.pdf (last accessed 9 May 2011).
[29] EACH-FOR concluded its work in the spring of 2009 and UNU, together with Columbia University, CARE International, UNHCR, and the World Bank, provided a policy summary of these field-based findings to UNFCCC delegates at the June 2009 session in Bonn. UNFCCC provided a space for the authors to present the report to developing country reporters at a media training workshop at the June session. The fairly broad media coverage further raised the profile of the subject to delegates during that session. These research efforts laid a basis for discussions with policy makers, followed in the course of 2009 by additional publications and research activities.
[29] Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS), '*Multi-Window Mechanism to Address Loss and Damage from Climate'* such as the UK Foresight Project in Environment and Migration, the German Marshall Fund Study Team on Climate Change and Migration and others. The IOM and UNU co-organized a book assessing the evidence to date (Laczko and Aghazarm 2009), research agendas, and a host of papers and special journal editions were begun in this time period.
[30] The UNFCCC documents the process between March 2008 and the present are available online at
http://unfccc.int/meetings/ad_hoc_working_groups/lca/items/4918.php.

forward. During these delegate drafting sessions, some Parties suggested that an array of themes be added in to a paragraph on migration and displacement: human rights, mother earth, climate justice, compensation to vulnerable people, and other items of importance to particular Parties were proposed for inclusion. The concern was expressed that the paragraph was becoming 'loaded down' with issues where Party views and positions diverged, and that it would be difficult to include a paragraph on migration and displacement if it were couched in these terms. Ironically, although the protection of human rights and the needs of vulnerable people is the central aim of many humanitarian activities, inclusion of these issues themselves in the sub-paragraph could have been liabilities to the very inclusion of migration and displacement in the Copenhagen texts. In those hours and days at the end of COP15, Parties consulted informally with experts present at COP15 and colleagues in respective national ministries, and decided that it was sufficiently important to include migration and displacement. Compromises were found for the placement of other issues (such as placing human rights in the perambulatory text as a principle), and the following wording became anchored in what later was accepted as the outcome text from COP15:[31]

> 4. Invites all Parties to enhance adaptation action under the Copenhagen Adaptation Framework
> [for Implementation] taking into account their common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities, and specific national and regional development priorities, objectives and circumstances, [and whereby developing country Parties shall be supported by developed country Parties and in accordance with paragraph 6 below], to undertake, inter alia:
> ….
> (f) Measures to enhance understanding, coordination and cooperation related to national, regional and international climate change induced displacement, migration and planned relocation, where appropriate

Paragraph 4 included a longer list of activities that could be considered 'adaptation'. It had at least two major implications. First, one of the aims in Copenhagen was to define a broad adaptation framework to help guide future work. The sub-paragraph on migration and displacement was put in this context, laying the basis for activities down the road in research, policy, and practice. Second, paragraph 4 created a list of activities which might qualify either for adaptation-related funding or which donors might interpret as 'countable' towards their commitments to help finance adaptation to climate change. One of the important outcomes of the Copenhagen Accord was a commitment by industrialized countries to provide fast start finance of up to 30 billion USD by 2012, and 100 billion or more per year by 2020. Inclusion of a sub-paragraph in this context signalled to donors that investment was needed around the knowledge base and exchange of views on migration and displacement. Time will tell whether this hypothesis is borne out, but it is expected that governments and other organizations could be more favourable to supporting activities for better understanding human mobility in the context of climate change because the UNFCCC policy process has provided a high degree of legitimacy to the topic by including it in draft negotiating text coming out of Copenhagen.

Ad Hoc Working Group on Long-term Cooperative Action under the Convention, FCCC/CP/2010/2, 11 February 2010, para. 4(f).

[31] UNFCCC, Work undertaken by the Conference of the Parties at its fifteenth session on the basis of the report of the Ad Hoc Working Group on Long-term Cooperative Action under the Convention, FCCC/CP/2010/2, 11 February 2010, para. 4(f)

3.4 Migration & displacement in the Cancun Adaptation Framework

The COP15 process created text whose legal status was under discussion during the few months of 2010, because of the unique circumstances and process during COP15. This shaped the strategy and discussions for 2010, in areas such as adaptation where it was considered that the text had progressed apparent in 2010 was for the AWG-LCA text on most areas of adaptation not to be opened up for re-drafting – instead AWG-LCA chair Margaret Mukahanana-Sangarwe took the approach of focusing on the key questions and themes where answers were needed for progress towards Cancun. Another trend in 2010 was a decline in activity by many advocacy groups around humanitarian issues, as many waited for signals about the future of the UNFCCC process and assessed whether energy was best spent in operational activities instead. This may have been due to the fact that although, from the narrow perspective of this paper, Copenhagen resulted in some concrete progress in content and commitment (such as to longer-term climate finance), the world perceived COP15 as having fallen short in reaching its ambitious goals. These two elements had the (side) effect that the actual wording and content of the paragraph on adaptation did not change significantly throughout the year, and with it, migration and displacement was securely inside the 'package' of text where few brackets existed.[32] In June, negotiators continued discussing informally on issues such as loss and damage. These informal discussions bolstered a growing sentiment that much more needed to be understood about the potential consequences of both extreme events and longer-term foreseeable impacts of climate change such as sea level rise and desertification, all of which have implications for migration and displacement.

Following the discussions in Bonn in June and August 2010, the AWG-LCA Chair released a new text for delegates to work with in Tianjin, China—the last session to work out areas still in question before Cancun. After the challenges experienced at COP15 and calling into question the efficacy of climate negotiations in a UN forum, there was pressure to create a package of balanced outcomes for Cancun which would not be too ambitious but would deliver concrete enough results to restore faith in the UNFCCC process. In this context, delegates focused increasingly on what kinds of elements could be included in a possible Cancun Adaptation Framework. One notes a change in the migration text from Tianjin (this text remained the same throughout 2010 since it first appeared in Copenhagen).
In Tianjin text para 4(f) read:

> Measures to enhance understanding, coordination and cooperation related to national, regional and international climate change induced displacement, migration and planned relocation, where appropriate;

This earlier wording could have been interpreted as there being separate divisions or categories according to national, regional and international environmentally induced migrants. Subsequently, the new chair text for Tianjin changed slightly in para 4(f) to the following (underlined):

> Measures to enhance understanding, coordination and cooperation <u>with regard to climate change induced displacement, migration and planned relocation, where appropriate, at national, regional and international levels</u>;[33]

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[32] IASC 2010. Personal communication between Koko Warner and IASC Task Force on Climate Change, sub-group on migration and displacement, email message on 4 October 2010 to the IASC Task Force on Climate Change Sub-Group on Migration and Displacement, 'Subject: Update from Tianjin: Migration and displacement, para 4(f)'.
[33] UNFCCC, Ad Hoc Working Group on Long-term Cooperative Action under the Convention (AWG-LCA), FCCC/AWGLCA/2010/14, 13 August 2010.

These changes created an interesting text structure around types of measures, types of human mobility, and expected levels where measures may be implemented. The new wording was important because it signalled to decision makers that migration and displacement have different forms and will require different types of policy approaches. The new order of wording also clarified that coordination and cooperation related to the topic could occur at national, regional, and international levels. By way of comparison, in December 2008 at the Poznan talks, the assembly text referred only to 'migration and displacement', in the June 2009 AWG-LCA draft text the term 'climate refugees' was used (prompting objections by one Party about terminology). By Copenhagen, the terminology was 'climate change induced displacement, migration and planned relocation'. And finally by Tianjin the text took its present, more differentiated form where different kinds of measures (research, coordination, cooperation), different types of mobility (displacement, migration, planned relocation), and levels (national, regional, international) of mobility were articulated. The very inclusion of a full sub-paragraph devoted to migration and displacement highlighted the importance for action, but the framing of the sub-paragraph gave Parties many sensible options for beginning to think about (and undertake activities to address) the issue.

Discussions between various Parties in Tianjin confirmed that the new wording suggested by the Chair was acceptable, and that the issue was important, but not controversial in terms of what was being asked: voluntary measures to enhance understanding, coordination and cooperation. While the topic of migration and displacement itself has the potential to be divisive, the way that it had been couched and presented to UNFCCC delegates (voluntary, not embedded in normative language, not linked to contentious issues) prepared the grounds for its inclusion. Delegates informally expressed the view that this particular sub-paragraph would therefore likely go through Cancun without major revisions. Finally, at COP16, Parties decided to accept the draft text containing several key elements for adaptation including the Cancun Adaptation Framework, including para 14(f) on migration and displacement: Paragraph 14(f) reads as follows:

> 14. Invites all Parties to enhance action on adaptation under the Cancun Adaptation Framework, taking into account their common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities, and specific national and regional development priorities, objectives and circumstances, by undertaking, inter alia, the following:
> ….
> (f) Measures to enhance understanding, coordination and cooperation with regard to climate change induced displacement, migration and planned relocation, where appropriate, at national, regional and international levels;

COP16 also created an Adaptation Committee and an SBI work program on loss and damage where the issue of longer term foreseeable impacts such as sea level rise and desertification could have implications for society. Further, the Cancun Agreement delivered a package on technology cooperation, a package on REDD (forests and deforestation), and a new Green Fund. For the first time, a 2 degree limit was set as a goal. At the same time, the voluntary commitments for emissions reductions under the Copenhagen Accord were as the basis for negotiations for the climate agreement that should/will be worked out next year. It was emphasized that it is important for industrialized countries to increase their commitments for the year 2020 to between 25 to 40%.

4. Analysis

The advantages of addressing displacement in the UNFCCC forum include that – at least up until the media-buzzed COP15 in Copenhagen – it was among the highest profile policy fora for complex issues of this kind. One aspect of these and other UN fora is that they provide a voice to all nations of the world, regardless of size, population, or other elements of power. Few if any other fora provide the arguably most vulnerable countries a significant voice in decisions. Given the implications of climate change for such countries, and the potential impacts for these and other countries for related migration and displacement, the United Nations provides an unparalleled (but of course not flawless) process to discuss this issue. The Copenhagen experience raised the question of whether the UN was a sufficient forum to address such complex issues, after the near collapse of discussions at COP15. However, the outcomes of COP15—notably a commitment to climate finance—and solid progress at COP16 restored faith that the United Nations provides the best available forum for reaching a common understanding of the global common good. Countries are committed to providing funding for adaptation, so another advantage is that those items mentioned in the Cancun Adaptation Framework are viewed in practical terms by many ministries as types of activities that may qualify for adaptation funding which at the present is emerging in a variety of funds and sources, as well as traditional bilateral assistance. Yet another advantage of discussing displacement in the UNFCCC context is that Parties see the linkages between mitigation, development, humanitarian issues, and (at least for some) potential (human) security issues in the future. These links encourage cross-ministry policy approaches to tackle complex issues like migration and displacement.

At this early stage it is hard to imagine disadvantages of having migration and displacement discussed in the UNFCCC process. One must keep realistic expectations of what can be achieved within the UNFCCC process on the topic of migration and displacement, given the design and mission of the Convention: as the UNFCCC Convention has a catalytic role, it will not directly implement the array of issues mentioned under the Cancun Adaptation Framework. Some mechanisms relevant to adaptation are under development to help coordinate Parties activities in Adaptation, such as the Adaptation Committee, the Adaptation Fund created at COP10, the Nairobi Work Program created at COP12, the Adaptation Committee created at COP16, the SBI Work Program on Loss and Damage created at COP16 and others. As discussions continue and become more profound on any issue complementary processes arise (such as the REDD+ dialogue). Expert-supported processes or other fora for exploring a topic like migration and displacement in more depth and focus, can bring additional insights and momentum to the UNFCCC process—as long as these additional processes recognize the role and mandate of the UNFCCC, and serve to support Party decisions in that framework (rather than trying to serve as a substitute forum).

In the longer run, some have speculated that a new UN process may be needed to address the full spectrum of issues related to migration and displacement in the context of climate change, particularly if concentrations of greenhouse gas emissions increase to levels that would put the world at more than 4 degrees Celsius warmer. In such scenarios, the impacts of climate change combined with other mega trends such as world population growing to a projected 9 billion by 2050, changes in technology, and other unforeseen shifts in society may be so profound as to require a fully new approach or forum for particular discussions such as migration and displacement. At the current time, however, there is appears to be little Party appetite for notions like an international convention to protect 'climate refugees', as

these require commitments, may imply liability, etc.[34] There is a precedence, however, for one UN forum giving birth to other more specific processes. Notably, the Rio Earth Summit in 1990 created three new fora for addressing environmental and development concerns: the Biodiversity Convention (CBD), the Convention to Combat Desertification (UNCCD), and the Framework Convention to Combat Climate Change (UNFCCC).

It is possible that further policy on climate-induced displacement may develop within the UNFCCC context. The key will be to align Party appetite and needs with a range of appropriate and politically feasible options—as noted above, there is sensitivity around issues of liability and compensation, assignment of blame or historical responsibility. Research and operational organizations (especially in the UN family) should avoid asking for overly complex arrangements or for things that require Parties to use large amounts of political capital to achieve. Calls for large new international agreements on "climate refugees" may seem, from a Party perspective, difficult to achieve at this point. Research suggests that the complex forms of migration and displacement will mix internal and cross border movements, as well as raising questions when people cannot return to their places of origin because of environmental reasons (sea level rise, desertification, water issues, etc.). Alternatively, a focus on dialogue, building regional understanding and cooperation, and helping States understand potential impacts of migration and displacement on their current institutional frameworks would likely have more resonance. One idea that has particular currency is the development of a set of Guiding Principles around Climate Induced Displacement, based on the positive experience with the guiding principles for IDPs in the late 1990s.

It is hoped that guiding principles will begin to emerge to help States prepare for the expected impacts of climate change on migration and displacement. In the mean time, a structured and inclusive discussion will contribute to progress under paragraph 14(f).[35] Effective policy development and implementation for migration and displacement will require multi-disciplinary and multi-stakeholder cooperation at the national, regional and international levels. Population movements for environmental reasons are generally found to be primarily local and will be the responsibility of governments. However, the involvement of other stakeholders such as international organizations, NGOs, civil society, the private sector and development partners is also critical. Experts and organizations from development, humanitarian, environment and climate as well as migration and displacement communities need to be included in discussions. Perhaps most importantly, the affected communities (both of origin and destination) and migrants themselves need to be actively involved in the planning and implementation of policies to address the challenges and take advantage of the opportunities of environmental migration.

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[34] F. Biermann and I. Boas, 'Protecting Climate Refugees. The Case for a Global Protocol' (2008) 50 *Environment* 6, 8-16; F. Biermann and I. Boas, 'Preparing for a Warmer World: Towards a Global Governance System to Protect Climate Refugees' (2010) 10(1) *Global Environmental Politics* 60.

[35] Martin and Warner, note 21 above.

5. Implications of migration and displacement in the Cancun adaptation framework for UNHCR

5.1 What can States and humanitarian organizations do to address environmental migration?

The most important message for States is that they need to increase the range of adaptation alternatives available to vulnerable populations. Humanitarian organizations can support States by helping them identify the range of options that could help people of concern manage the effects of climate change. Such options should reduce vulnerability in the short, medium and long run is the overall objective. In the context of migration and displacement, options should contribute to the prevention of forced migration and displacement. Further, in situations where displacement in unavoidable, assistance and protection must be provided to those who are or will be displaced. States and humanitarian organizations should also begin thinking of scenarios where facilitating human mobility in all its forms may be an adaptation strategy to climate change (or "better than the alternative" in cases where few positive options may remain).

It is important to identify priority areas for action for addressing environmental migration. Such "hot spots" may include areas with a complex mix of environmental, social and political issues. These areas may have pre-existing tensions from ethnic disagreements, socio-economic inequalities and poor governance. Environmental variability and longer-term shifts in weather patterns may combine to form 'complex emergencies' where climate induced displacement could occur. Hotspots could also manifest themselves in areas where sudden-onset disasters happen with greater frequency and intensity in places also experiencing other kinds of environmental change (for example, a combination of extreme events and gradual environmental degradation). Within these countries, the focus needs to be on vulnerable and socially marginalized groups, such as the poor, children, women, older persons, indigenous peoples and, in some cases, migrants and displaced people who may be particularly exposed to environmental impacts.

To accomplish the above, organizations like UNHCR may consider helping States develop comprehensive policy and programmatic approaches at both the international and national levels by:

• *Mainstreaming migration and displacement considerations*: At the international level, implications of climate change for human mobility are considered within the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) (e.g. paragraph 14(f) of Cancun Adaptation Framework). At the national level, more systematic integration of migration and displacement in the contingency planning and existing national adaptation programmes is required. This needs to be coupled with efforts to incorporate environment and climate change considerations into national policies for managing human mobility, including internal and cross border migration, displacement, and planned relocation.

• *Proactive approaches*: The international humanitarian community needs to move from reactive to proactive approaches in order to ensure planning and preparedness for natural disasters and to increase the resilience of states and communities vulnerable to the effects of climate change. Some of the activities fall into the traditional areas of competence of humanitarian organizations, but many are cross cutting and will require a new mode of working with development and environmental organizations. Additionally, work should continue with member States to raise awareness and encourage activities at the State level;

yet there are a number of important discussions and measures that need to be taken at the inter-state (regional) as well as the provincial and community level.

- *Close gaps between the humanitarian, development and climate change communities and policies*: This would involve, for example, factoring climate change adaptation considerations into existing national development plans or into Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers as well as into Disaster Risk Reduction Strategies (DRRs) and other risk management strategies aimed at building resilience and reducing vulnerability. Discussions across "mandate organizations" could be useful to include climate induced displacement, migration, and planned relocation in measures like those mentioned here.

5.2 Reflections on UNHCR's engagement on climate induced displacement

UNHCR and other relevant actors have several opportunities and challenges in addressing climate related displacement. Now that the issue is part of the Cancun Adaptation Framework, Parties are more likely than ever to seek specific types of information about migration, displacement, and planned relocation. UNHCR and its partners have a unique chance to help frame issues, articulate questions and their responses, share experience from their operations on the ground, etc. UNHCR, in partnership with research and other partners, has the chance to provide sound practice-based and evidence-based responses to Party questions. With the SBI Work Program on Loss and Damage, it is foreseen that calls for submissions will be issued. UNHCR and its partners can respond and officially go on record as supporting the process with information. A challenge will be to keep a consistent and visible presence in the UNFCCC and other relevant policy processes, given the constant 'normal' burden of managing humanitarian crises worldwide (a trend which could be exacerbated by climate variability and longer term change). Ideally one person should be dedicated to attending each climate session to talk with delegates in collaboration with IASC sub-group members, or if full participation is not possible at a minimum collaborating with those colleagues in the IASC sub-group members which do participate in each session.

Specifically, UNCHR and similar humanitarian organizations could consider different levels and kinds of engagement on this issue in the UNFCCC process:

- Working with permanent missions to raise awareness (such as with a frequently asked questions document, or some other messaging consistent with what other members of the IASC Task Force on Climate Change sub-group on migration and displacement are sharing with Parties;
- Hosting or helping to shape UNFCCC delegate workshops to focus discussion and channel information;
- Making pledges to the UNFCCC Nairobi Work Program;
- Supporting Parties with information that will help them write related submissions, collaborate with regional groupings like AOSIS[36] to help support Party submissions on the topic, write submissions with other UN organizations and research, contribute high level statements, coordinate with other IASC Task Force on Climate Change members

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[36] Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS) (2008): Proposal to the Ad Hoc Working Group on Long-term Cooperative Action under the Convention (AWG-LCA). "*Multi-Window Mechanism to Address Loss and Damage from Climate Change Impacts*". Submission to the UNFCCC on 6 December 2008. http://unfccc.int/files/kyoto_protocol/application/pdf/aosisinsurance061208.pdf .

on media work/messaging (especially members of the sub-group on migration and displacement);

- Getting involved in the SBI Work Programme on Loss and Damage—particularly the slow onset impacts issues that may impact on displacement. This could include an analysis of rapid and slow-onset environmental processes (the questions tagged in the overview section)—these may require quite different policy approaches and management tools. Help regional groupings like LDCs, AOSIS assess potential impacts on migration and displacement and support initiation of discussions among States about policy options and exchange of experience;

- Playing a catalytic role, fostering dialogue and exchange of ideas (it may be too early to promote specific types of policies, but guiding principles would be very useful).

Additionally and more broadly, the UNHCR could discuss some of the following activities with its member States, complementary to the UNFCCC process:

- Building a case (see above), supported by evidence from research and practice, that States should bolster humanitarian action with adequate resources to meet the growing challenge of climate change, including measures to ensure adequate assistance and protection for people on the move as a result of environmental factors;

- Encouraging win-win perspectives about engagement with the UNFCCC process as well as support for humanitarian organizations. It would be helpful if States did not consider the two competing for investments. States could be persuaded that humanitarian organizations have an important role to play in supporting adaptation measures, in supporting sustainable development and vulnerability reduction in the most vulnerable countries to increase their resilience. This can help reduce migration pressures and minimize forced migration;

- Consulting with States and relevant international organizations the development of planning for orderly relocation, sensitive to local contexts, in areas that are expected to become uninhabitable to avoid a crisis situation and ensure sustainability of the move. This requires close cooperation with the affected communities as well as the communities of destination. If relocation outside the country of origin is considered, there is a need for close cooperation with a potential receiving country; and

- Advocating with member States to factor climate change and altered population distributions into rural development and urban planning policies.

6. Conclusions and Policy Reflections

Research has substantiated the fact that environmental change is one of a larger set of factors that affect human migration and displacement worldwide. Processes such as natural disasters and shifts in climate patterns which may bring glacial melt, sea level rise and desertification are and will increasingly affect migration and displacement. Some of the most vulnerable regions include areas like low-lying islands and deltas, coastal areas, areas dependent on glacial-fed water systems and areas subject to persistent drought. Field-based research suggests that most environmentally induced migrants and displaced people will move within their own countries. Some movements will resemble familiar migration and displacement patterns, but other movements will likely occur under emergency circumstances or complex humanitarian crises, particularly where climate change exacerbates natural hazards, such as cyclones, and communal violence and conflict.

This paper outlined a process by which research and the humanitarian community helped bring these issues to the UNFCCC climate negotiations process. In 2008, a combination of factors contributed to drawing policy maker attention to migration and displacement in the context of climate change. From 2009 and moving forward, research will continue responding to Party questions about migration and displacement and operational organizations will offer insights about the implications of climate change on resilience and vulnerability of populations of concern. With the inclusion of climate induced displacement, migration, and planned relocation in the Cancun Adaptation Framework, many new windows of opportunity have opened for work on the issue. States have asked what kinds of activities they could undertake to start getting prepared. These final thoughts reflect several policy alternatives that States could consider.

Policy makers need to take a holistic approach to this emerging issue which addresses both the drivers in origin areas (e.g., livelihood insecurity, environmental hazards, conflict, demographic pressures, gender inequality, etc.) and the pull factors in destinations (e.g., demand for labour, aging of the population). Some of the following policy perspectives could help shape activities around climate induced displacement and migration:[37]

Foster adaptation alternatives to prevent displacement: Human mobility can be part of strategies to help people adapt to climate change. It can be an effective way to manage the risks associated with climate change when done voluntarily and with appropriate planning. However, displacement (especially when it is not orderly and insufficiently managed) can be an indicator that adaptation is failing if few other realistic options exist for people (move or perish, distress migration).

Where possible, help people stay through sustainable rural and urban development: In many cases, climate induced displacement can be avoided by ensuring livelihood security for affected people both in rural and urban areas. Up to 25% of the world´s population today are farmers, with higher percentages in many developing countries. Climate change will take its toll on the ability of these people to feed themselves and their families in the future. When livelihoods fail, people may experience forced migration or displacement.

Where necessary, help people go in safety and dignity: Paragraph 14(f) notes the possibility that planned relocation may be part of future adaptation scenarios. In cases where movement of human populations is the best or possibly only adaptation strategy, effective policy responses can help to ensure that movements are orderly and safe. Policies should avoid situations where people are forced to move (distress migration) or move in emergency situations. Policies should aim to ensure that displaced people do not become more vulnerable.

Support disaster risk reduction and conflict mediation strategies while strengthening humanitarian responses. If governments do not take action to reduce the risks people face from acute crises arising from natural disasters and competition over resources leading to conflict, they will be called upon to help later, and then the problem will be much more difficult to address. Invest today in resilience building strategies designed to pre-empt uncontrolled crisis situations.

Identify guiding principles, effective practices and institutional frameworks to help governments in developing appropriate laws, policies and programs to address

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[37] These policy reflections can be found in Martin and Warner, note 21 above.

environmentally induced internal and international migration. Current laws, policies and institutional arrangements are inadequate to deal with complex movements of people. Of particular concern is the possibility that large numbers of people may be rendered stateless if rising sea levels inundate island countries and low-lying, densely populated delta areas. Guiding principles are needed today to shape thinking about how to manage potential larger-scale relocation in the future.