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Note from the Director 5

ARTICLES

- 1. Conflicting Narratives in Climate Change Security**
Ovidiu Chiorean 7
 - 2. Analysis of Stakeholders' Evaluation of the Community Based
Management Model in Muan Tidal Flats for Biodiversity
Conservation in the Yellow Sea Eco-region**
Sunyoung Chae, Seunghwa Lee, Shigeki Yasumura, Woong-Seo Kim...
..... 29
 - 3. Climate Change-Induced Migration: A Search for an Adequate
Institution**
Sieun Lee 49
 - 4. The Complementary Role of the Major Economies Forum
(MEF) in Addressing Climate Change**
Sukran Moon 83
- Instruction for Contributors 113
- Research Ethic Rules 118

Note from the Director

Recent attack of Typhoon Haiyan in Philippines has raised a fundamental question again of whether the global community has adequately worked together to prevent serious environmental problems such as climate change. Although there have been serious efforts in building global, regional and national institutions to cope with these challenges, they apparently are not sufficient, if not useless. Here, another question arises: how to enhance the effectiveness of international efforts to address the issues of climate change and sustainable development. One of the possible answers to this question will be to securitize the issues including climate change so that we can better mobilize global recourses to fight against those environmental challenges.

Furthermore, it is time for the global society to develop effective global governance in areas such as climate change and other environmental issues in order to better address those challenges. In case of climate change, past discussions at the global level have focused mainly on issues related to United Nations Convention on Climate Change. However, considering the limited results of the efforts made during the past two decades of UNFCCC regime as well as creations of new global organizations such as Global Green Growth Institute and Green Climate Fund, more attention should be given to enhance coordination among the relevant organizations and institutions.

In particular, those which emphasize the role of markets and technologies, such as the Major Economies Forum, will need to be better incorporated into the framework of global climate change governance since market-based approaches has become increasingly important as a way of tackling global climate change and other environmental matters. Moreover, the addressing of other issues such as climate-induced migration in dealing with climate change and sustainable development should be integrated into the process of building an effective climate change regime.

In the context of building strong governance regarding issues of climate

change and sustainable development, a so-called bottom-up approach is gaining more and more importance. As the global society is still fragmented, there are limitations in implementing policies at the local level as well as securing resources to deal with new challenges. In this sense, it is worth noting that how to engage various stakeholders during the process of addressing global warming and other environmental issues have become inevitable.

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Climate Change-Induced Migration: A Search for an Adequate Institution^{*)}

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Abstract

Climate change affects the livelihood of people around the world in various ways. In recent years, migration due to rapid onset climatic change as well as gradual environmental degradation has increasingly gained attention of policymakers. The link between climate change and migration is complex as migration behaviors are influenced by not only climatic drivers but also by non-climatic drivers such as economic, social, and cultural factors.

This article attempts to analyze the impacts of climate change on migration and the role of three international organizations in integrating the climate change-induced migration concerns into international agendas. The current discussions on the issue are divided mainly into three different dimensions: the refugee dimension; security dimension; and migration as an adaptation strategy. This work is based on the assumption that international cooperation is essential to provide a solution to this issue and that international organizations play a substantial role in the process of institution building. On this premise, three international organizations (UNHCR, UN Security Council and IOM) in each of the three dimensions have been analyzed. The analysis has focused on the activities which have been undertaken by the organizations and on how much potential they have shown in the agenda setting stage of institution building.

*) This article has been written exclusively in the author's own capacity and not as part of her official functions as a staff member of the International Organization for Migration(IOM). It cannot in any way be understood as to reflect the possible opinions of the organization for which the author works.

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Keywords:

Climate Change, migration, international organizations, agenda setting, institution building

Introduction

Climate change is a global phenomenon which is likely to bring many negative consequences, impacting the lives of people all around the world. One recent concern which has gained greater attention is that climate change impacts will lead to massive population displacements and migrations during this decade. The recent flood in Thailand prompted the evacuation of several districts and millions of people out of Bangkok¹⁾. This catastrophic event demonstrated indeed that environmental and climate change is likely to induce large-scale temporary or permanent migration.

The link between climate change and migration has only been studied in recent years and no international institution has yet been established to address the future problems and impacts of climate change-induced migration. In recognition of the scale of impact climate change has on migration and its urgency, the focus of this paper is to examine international organizations which have the mandate to address the issue at hand or are show relevant current activities, and analyze which organization proves most appropriate for effective prevention and response to climate change-induced migration.

In the search for an adequate institution, the theoretical framework of Breitmair and Young was applied. This framework examines the role international organizations play in the process of institution building. At current, the issue of climate change-induced migration is at the initial stage of institution building – the agenda setting stage. The discussions on the linkages between climate change and migration has been divided or perhaps even isolated into mainly three issue areas each with their own distinctive characteristics: “climate refugees,” migration as a source of conflict, and migration as an adaptive response to climate change. In each of the category of debate, one representative international organization was selected for analysis: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, United Nations Security Council, and International Organization of Migration. These organizations have all examined the issue of climate change-induced migration but have so far engaged in various degrees. This paper than

1) McKinnon, Ian. 2011. Bangkok districts evacuated as Thai floods continue, Telegraph, November 07, World News, Asia section.

examines how much the three organizations have contributed to the agenda setting stage of institution building.

Link between Climate Change and Migration

Climatic drivers of migration

The increase of scientific research and evidence supporting climate change has reduced many of its uncertainties and climate change is now perceived by the international community as well as the general public as a serious problem for which the international society must cooperate to reduce the resulting adverse consequences. However, proving the link between climate change and migration has been slow and the amount of empirical evidence is insufficient²⁾. The relationship between climate change and migration has been difficult to determine as the impact of climate change to migration is non-linear. In fact, the decision to migrate is attributed to economic, societal and human behavioral factors and thus climate change alone does not instigate migration³⁾. The combination of lack of empirical studies³⁾ and the number of factors to consider for the assessment of climate change's impact on migration is then "a daunting task" as Gemenne puts it⁴⁾.

Despite the complexity and the uncertainties, scholars and researchers have looked into past experiences and empirical evidence of environmental changes which have led to migration. By doing so, many conclude that climate change is one proximate factor in migration⁵⁾. The Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) points to increase of drought, extreme weather events such as cyclone activities and high sea levels as phenomenon which are likely to

2) Brown, Oli. 2008. *Migration and Climate Change*. IOM Migration Research Series, No.31. Geneva: International Organization for Migration. p 12.

3) McLeman, Robert and B Smit. 2006. Migration as an adaptation to *climate change*. *Climatic Change* 76(1-2): 38-40.

4) Gemenne, François. 2011. Climate-induced population displacements in a 4°C+ world. *Phil. Trans. R. Soc. A* 369. p 183.

5) Barnett, Jon and Michael Webber. 2010. Accommodating Migration to Promote Adaptation to Climate Change. In *Policy research working paper*. Washington D.C.: World Bank. p 19.

drive population migration⁶). Many are likely to quickly assume that extreme weather events such as flash floods and hurricanes are more prone to cause migration than slow-onset changes and in particular, lead to temporary displacement; however, there is now greater acknowledgement that extreme weather events can also induce permanent displacement⁷). Slow-onset climatic disasters such as land degradation and erosion, deforestation, desertification, drought increase water stress, salinization of agricultural land and sea level rise⁸). The impacts of slow climatic events to migration are even more complex compared to rapid events as migration will likewise occur over an extended period of time taking into consideration various non-climatic drivers. Each of the climatic events will cause diverse patterns of migration which calls for differentiated policy measures.

Non-Climatic Drivers of Migration

As noted, migration is not a single, direct ramification of events associated with climate change. Theories of migration behavior suggest that economic capital, societal structures and social capital, and human behavior and cultural dispositions all influence the decision-making process on migration⁹). These theories assume that people have a choice in the face of environmental changes and that some can even choose not to leave, even those residing in hotspots predicted of being impacted severely by climate change. An empirical study conducted in Funafuti of Tuvalu illustrates that human social behavior and cultural dispositions also have a role in shaping migration behavior. Contrary to what people might quickly assume, migration was not considered as

6) Parry, Martin et al. 2007. *Summary for Policymakers*. In: *Contribution of Working Group II to the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p 18.

7) Gemenne, François. 2011. Climate-induced population displacements in a 4°C+ world. *Phil. Trans. R. Soc. A* 369. p 184.

8) Barnett, Jon and Michael Webber. 2010. *Accommodating Migration to Promote Adaptation to Climate Change*. In *Policy research working paper*. Washington D.C.: World Bank ;

Brown, Oli. 2008. *Migration and Climate Change*. IOM Migration Research Series, No.31. Geneva: International Organization for Migration;

Tacoli, Cecilia. 2009. Crisis or Adaptation? Migration and climate change in a context of high mobility. *Environment and Migration* 21(2): 513-525.

9) McLeman, Robert and B Smit. 2006. Migration as an adaptation to climate change. *Climatic Change* 76(1-2): 38-40.

an option for the majority of Tuvaluans. This result was heavily attributable to their household income, religious beliefs, personal observations of environmental change, and their attachment to their lifestyle and home¹⁰.

The decision to move in the face of environmental change is tightly interwoven with economic, social and political variables. Identifying causation may be challenging, however the existing patterns of migration will influence the decision-making process of future migration and can give an idea of how migration flows will occur¹¹. For example, high unemployment, economic decline, and underdevelopment are economic push forces of migration whereas economic pull forces would be employment opportunities, prosperity and development¹². Social structures such as the restrictive policies of a state on migration could act as barriers that constrain the freedom of choice¹³. The existence of social networks at the destination of migration is also critical to migration decision-making and affect how well people can adapt in the new environment¹⁴.

International Organizations' Role in Agenda Setting

International Environmental Institutions and Organizations

In an increasingly globalized world characterized by interdependence and complexity, global governance to cope with global problems is in great demand. Climate change is a problem of global commons as well as a problem that must be solved through coordinated actions. My assumption is that climate change-induced

10) Mortreux, Colette et al. 2009. Climate change, migration and adaptation in Funafuti, Tuvalu. *Global Environmental Change* 19: 105-112.

11) ADB. 2011. *Climate Change and Migration in Asia and the Pacific* (Draft Edition). Manila: ADB. p 12.

12) Reuveny, R. (2007) Climate Change-induced Migration and Violent Conflict. *Political Geography*, 26 (2007), pp. 658.

13) McLeman, Robert and B Smit. 2006. Migration as an adaptation to climate change. *Climatic Change* 76(1-2). p 39.

14) Ibid. p 40.

migration can only be successfully managed through international cooperation and the success of such international cooperation will depend on the existence of effective international institutions.

Then it is important to define “institutions.” According to Young, “institutions” are “a set of rules or conventions (both formal and informal) that define a social practice, assign roles to individual participants in the practice, and guide interactions among the occupants of these roles¹⁵⁾.” Institutions are formed by human beings through conscious or unconscious behavior in the process of coping with problems of coordination and cooperation¹⁶⁾.

If institutions are rules that guide behavioral processes, than organizations are the actors or “material entities which possess budgets, personnel, offices, equipment, and legal personality” of which are affected by the rules set by the institution¹⁷⁾. For example, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) is an international organization whereas the Kyoto Protocol is the international regime¹⁸⁾ by which members of the convention abide.

Young uses the terms “international institutions” and “international organizations” distinctively in order to analyze their relationship and how they interplay in the process of building a governance system. International organizations are instruments of environmental regime formation; international organizations often serve as catalysts in the institutional bargaining process, which refers to “the processes of participants seeking to reach an agreement on the terms of constitutional contracts... which may be, but not necessarily, codified forms of instruments such as conventions and treaties,” of environmental negotiations and show strong leadership in pursuing an issue to be taken up by governments and the international society¹⁹⁾. Their role and influence in the preparatory phase of negotiating process has increasingly become principle in international environmental regime formation in addition to their technical capacity

15) Young, Oran R. 1994. *International Governance: protecting environment in a stateless society*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press. p 26.

16) *Ibid.* p 3.

17) *Ibid.* p 4.

18) “Regime” is “an institution that specializes in making collective choices on matters of common concern to the members of a distinct social group” which “deals with a more limited set of issues or a single area (Young 1994, 26).”

19) *Ibid.* p 164-169.

which has been critical at the implementation stage²⁰). Thus, it is reasonable to assume that international organizations will inevitably play a considerable role in the institution building process of addressing climate change induced-migration.

Role of International Organizations in Institution Building

Breitemeir and Young have proposed three stages of regime formation: agenda setting stage, negotiations stage, and operational stage²¹). Agenda setting refers to the identification of problem which demands policy actions. In this stage the problem is evaluated to confirm whether the issue is important enough to deserve priority over other competing issues at hand. Agenda setting can be described as the steps before any official negotiations commence. This includes the initiatives to make the problem an issue that should receive attention by the international society, the framing of the issue so that it may be considered as critical to the international community, and finally the rise to a level on the international political agenda so that it is recognized as an issue that demands sufficient time, resources, and political capital to move to the negotiation stage.²²

It is at the agenda setting stage where international organizations can play the most influential role. This is not to say other actors such as states and non-governmental organizations are not influential. However, the focus of this paper is on examining how existing international organizations are contributing to the process of agenda setting of the issue of climate change-induced migration, using the framework of Breitmer in which he proposed three functions that are demonstrated by international organizations during regime formation.

According to Breitmeir, an international organization or several organizations function as “gatekeepers”²³). This is referring to the role of international organizations as an information provider. International organizations can set the stage for negotiations by detecting a problem through monitoring activities. Collecting, analyzing, and

20) Ibid. p 171.

21) Young, Oran R. 1997. *Global Governance*. Cambridge and London: The MIT Press. p 11.

22) Ibid.

23) Breitmeier, Helmut. 1997. International Organizations and the Creation of Environmental Regimes. In *Global Governance*, ed. Oran R. Young, 87-114. Cambridge and London: The MIT Press. p 92.

disseminating data are critical in creating a consensus on a problem. If the scientific evidence and knowledge base are strengthened then there is an advantage for a relatively easy agenda setting.

In the case of IPCC and United Nations Environment Programme's (UNEP) success on the climate change issue and ozone depletion respectively, these international organizations provided the informational function which was the fundamental base for advancing political activities and norm making²⁴). Information functions are often not carried out independently by an international organization but through cooperation with other international organizations, national governments and government research agencies, non-governmental organizations²⁵).

There are naturally factors other than international organizations that play a role in determining the priority given to an issue. Certain features of the issue can render it important for a certain group of people or society. Sometimes it is existing cultural norms which make it easier for a problem to be accepted as deserving attention²⁶).

The second function that international organizations display is described under the heading of "a forum for articulation of interests and aggregation of interests groups"²⁷). Many international conferences and workshops are held under the auspices of international organizations before they develop into a formal international negotiation. These forums provided by international organizations are where states and other actors convey their interests, share information, and also form coalitions according to their interests. Also this is an arena where states and other actors begin to form their position and attitudes on the issue. In addition, by holding conferences and workshops on issues that have previously received little attention from the international community, such issues can receive new or renewed spotlight²⁸). Thus ad hoc international conferences and workshops all serve as significant settings for agenda building and the preparation for the negotiation process.

International organizations also function as developers or contributors in norms and rule making²⁹). While it has been customary to consider international organizations

24) Ibid. p 103.

25) Ibid. p 94.

26) Ibid. p 92.

27) Ibid. p 93-4.

28) Ibid. p 94.

29) Ibid. p 95.

as only providers of technical and administrative services, it is being increasingly recognized that international organizations show some influence in developing norms or rules of conduct that often are non-binding. This may occur at the agenda setting stage or mainly during the negotiation process. As it has been proven difficult for states to reach a consensus on a legally-binding treaty when the issue involves many complexities, such as the climate change issue, creating soft law may be a better alternative.

Soft law includes non-treaty agreements that have no legally binding effect on member states such as codes of conduct, action plans, declarations and other international agreements (Chasek et al. 2006, 57)³⁰⁾. Conference documents such as declarations, resolutions and reports are all normative statements which may guide states in developing their norms and also act as motivations for providing a solution to a problem³¹⁾. International organizations participate in drafting such texts by providing administrative support as well as drafting guidelines themselves. For example, UNEP ad hoc working group of experts contributed to drafting guidelines for management of hazardous waste and went on to producing the official guidelines and principles several years later (Chasek et al. 2006, 57).³²⁾

International organizations also contribute to the operational stage of regime formation. At this stage, international organizations provide the technical and administrative work in which they have gained expertise over the years. However this will not be further discussed as the issue of climate change-induced migration has not yet reached the operational stage and still remains mostly at the agenda setting stage. Thus the operational stage is outside the realm of the analysis and purpose of this paper. Moreover, much literature on institution building focuses on evaluating the effectiveness of institutions³³⁾. However, it is also too early to evaluate the effectiveness

30) Chasek, Pamela S., David Leonard Downie, and Janet Welsh Brown. 2006. *Global Environmental Politics*. 4th ed. Boulder: Westview Press. p.57.

31) Breitmeier, Helmut. 1997. International Organizations and the Creation of Environmental Regimes. In *Global Governance*, ed. Oran R. Young, 87-114. Cambridge and London: The MIT Press. p 95.

32) Chasek, Pamela S., David Leonard Downie, and Janet Welsh Brown. 2006. *Global Environmental Politics*. 4th ed. Boulder: Westview Press. p.57.

33) Young, Oran R. 1994. *International Governance: protecting environment in a stateless society*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press; Haas, Peter M., Robert O. Keohane, and Marc A. Levy. 1993. *Institutions for the Earth: sources of effective international environmental protection*. Cambridge and London: The MIT Press.

as no single institution that specifically deals with climate change-induced migration has emerged.

In sum, international organizations contribute to the process of institution building by providing the cognitive base as information provider, “a forum for articulation of interests and aggregation of interest groups” and as “arena for normative functions and rule making”³⁴⁾. This paper uses the framework of Breitmeier to assess how much international organizations have achieved so far in the agenda setting process and provide the diagnostics for the institution building of climate change-induced migration.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Since the popular term “environmental refugees” was coined, it was debated with some high hopes of expanding the 1951 *Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees* and its 1967 *Protocol* to fit the newly recognized concept. However, contrary to the expectation, the debate on climate change-induced migration has been moving away from the refugee debate. In fact, it is now widely recognized that “environmental refugees” or “climate refugees” are misnomers and that the Geneva Convention and its Protocol do not hold any promise for the protection of people displaced by climate change³⁵⁾.

The traditional concept of refugees is not appropriate to deal with climate change induced migrants for several reasons. First, this definition of refugee was originally formulated after the Second World War to protect individuals who left their country due to political persecution. In the case of climate change, no political persecution exists. Secondly, to fit the traditional definition of refugee people must flee from his or her country. In the case of climate-induced migration, there may be people who cross state borders however it is predicted that many of the displaced will be migrating

34) Breitmeier, Helmut. 1997. International Organizations and the Creation of Environmental Regimes. In *Global Governance*, ed. Oran R. Young, 87-114. Cambridge and London: The MIT Press. p 93.

35) Zetter, Roger. 2011. Protecting environmentally displaced people: Developing the capacity of legal and normative frameworks. Oxford: Refugees Studies Centre, University of Oxford. p 19.

within their country which in turn means that using the term refugee will not be able to provide the needed prevention, protection and remedies. The most critical element of the traditional concept which exempts climate refugees is the “well-founded fear of being persecuted.”

The terms “well-founded fear” and “persecution” might seem to be applicable to displacement of people from extreme weather events. However, the distinction occurs from the fact that for political refugees the origin of fear and persecution comes from their own states. In the case of climate change, it is not the states themselves that cause the migration but the environment and it is difficult to argue that although states have the obligation to protect their own citizens from harmful environments, it is far-fetched to claim that they are the ones that bring “persecution” for not being able to provide the adequate protection. Furthermore contrary to the political refugees who flee from their country, in the face of environmental disasters people will chiefly turn to their own government for help and support³⁶.

As the traditional definition of refugees proves inadequate for application to climate change refugees, many suggested extending its definition to cover climate refugees. Past attempts to extend the definition to environmental refugees has been unsuccessful and even if one becomes more lenient on terms of interpretation, it is doubtful that states will agree to the extension “given the object and purpose of the agreement and the narrow applicability of the Refugee Convention intended by the parties”³⁷. Another less powerful argument against the extension of the Article 1A(2) is that the emphasis on climate change and other environmental aspects may divert attention from more important rights and objectives and undermine the current human rights efforts. Furthermore, states fear that if climate refugees are recognized under the Refugee Convention, the burden of receiving climate refugees, which Williams coined as opening the “refugee floodgates,” would be on the signatory parties³⁸.

UNHCR has indeed recognized that there will be an increasing number of people displaced by environmental effects. However, it maintains the position of differentiating

36) Lopez, Aurelie. 2007. The Protection of Environmentally-Displaced Persons in International Law. *Environmental Law* 37(2): p. 377.

37) Williams, Angela. 2008. Turning the Tide: Recognizing Climate Change Refugees in International Law. *Law & Policy* 30(4): p. 508.

38) *Ibid.* p. 509.

the traditional refugees from “environmental” and “climate refugees” as it remains outside its mandate. The *Report of the OHCHR for Human Rights on the relationship between climate change and human rights* advised not to use the two terminologies as “these terms have no legal basis in international refugee law and should be avoided in order not to undermine the international legal regime for protection of refugees³⁹⁾. Since then UNHCR has constantly restated that the terms shall not be used as it brings confusion and complexity to the role UNHCR should play as an agency that “protects the victims of persecution and armed conflicts”⁴⁰⁾.

UNHCR’s Role in Agenda Setting

Although UNHCR has confirmed that they have no intention of stretching the mandate of the 1951 Refugee Convention, this does not mean that they have abandoned the issue altogether. At the Nansen Conference on Climate Change and Displacement held in June 2011, the High Commissioner of UNHCR, António Guterres stressed that climate change will trigger displacement and confirmed it as a concern of UNHCR (2011a)⁴¹⁾. This was not the first time the High Commissioner has made statements on climate change as a driver of forced migration. Since 2007, Guterres has continued to try to position UNHCR as a relevant agency to the issue and has even expressed the imperative for establishing a new instrument for the protection of climate refugees⁴²⁾. At the Nansen Conference, he also strongly stated his belief that “a global guiding framework for situations of cross-border displacement resulting from climate change and natural disasters” should be developed at a minimum⁴³⁾.

The rhetoric of the High Commissioner, however, has not yet been translated into

39) OHCHR. 2009. Report of the OHCHR for Human Rights on the relationship between climate change and human rights . A/HRC/10/61. 15 January 2009. Geneva: OHCHR. p. 20.

40) UNHCR. 2011b. *Nansen Conference on Climate Change and Displacement: Statement by António Guterres*. Geneva, UNHCR. p. 4.

41) UNHCR. 2011a. Nansen Conference on Climate Change and Displacement. Geneva, UNHCR.

42) Hall, Nina. 2011. Climate Change and Institutional Change in UNHCR. In *Climate Change and Migration: Rethinking Policies for Adaptation and Disaster Risk Reduction*, eds. Michelle Leighton, Xiaomeng Shen and Koko Warner, Studies of the University: Research, Counsel, Education (SOURCE) Series No.15. Bonn: United Nations University Institute for Environment and Human Security (UNU-EHS). p. 108.

43) UNHCR. 2011b. *Nansen Conference on Climate Change and Displacement: Statement by António Guterres*. Geneva, UNHCR. p. 4.

any substantial changes in the institution in terms of policy, structural, operational or mandate change in UNHCR⁴⁴). The 2009 UNHCR policy paper titled “Climate change, natural disasters and human displacement: a UNHCR perspective” identifies that climate change could lead to internal displacement which could fall under their mandate of providing protection to internally displaced persons. The paper further states that UNHCR would take consideration of the effects of climate change and build the capacity of their staff, however this has remained solely on paper and no substantial policy has been developed for operational changes⁴⁵).

In terms of structure, no division or department within UNHCR is responsible for this issue. Within UNHCR, the issue has been tossed on to different divisions since 2009, moving from Policy Development and Evaluation Service to Division of Operations, and now to the Division of International Protection⁴⁶). This indicates that the organization has not yet established how to deal with this issue and under what domain. It seems that even within UNHCR, no consensus has been reached on how to frame the climate change-induced displacement.

In terms of taking on the role as an information provider for agenda setting, UNHCR has not been the information provider as UNHCR itself relies on other organizations such as International Organization for Migration (IOM), International Federation of the Red Cross, European Commission and others to gather the needed empirical evidence. At current, no initiatives can be found for further independent research on the issue while UNHCR does provide funding for research institutions such as the Refugee Studies Centre.

UNHCR has taken some non-research initiatives such as submitting a paper to the 6th session of the Ad Hoc Working Group on Long-Term Cooperative Action in 2009 on the issue of people who can become stateless due to climate change in the low-lying island states. This paper was submitted with the support of IOM and Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) and the focus is on how UNFCCC should act to prevent

44) Hall, Nina. 2011. Climate Change and Institutional Change in UNHCR. In *Climate Change and Migration: Rethinking Policies for Adaptation and Disaster Risk Reduction*, eds. Michelle Leighton, Xiaomeng Shen and Koko Warner, Studies of the University: Research, Counsel, Education (SOURCE) Series No.15. Bonn: United Nations University Institute for Environment and Human Security (UNU-EHS). p. 108-111.

45) *Ibid.* p. 109.

46) *Ibid.* p. 110.

statelessness by making arrangements between states rather than what role UNHCR will play.

UNHCR remains vague in their position in providing protection for the stateless due to climate change and seems to pass the role on to the states to provide a solution first so that they would not have to deal with them. Of course prevention is a better solution, however if UNHCR admits that statelessness may be inevitable, it should also be able to propose their role in solving this issue rather than merely “be pleased to support efforts by States to devise appropriate solutions”⁴⁷⁾. This may be the limit to which UNHCR can contribute to providing protection to climate change-induced migration unless substantial change is made to their mandate.

There are some positive influences on agenda setting by the UNHCR in cooperation with other institutions. Another paper submitted to the AWG-LCA in 2009 stresses to the member states of the UNFCCC that states first and foremost have the obligation to prevent and provide protection to people displaced by climate change. And to do so, the UNFCCC’s National Adaption Programmes for Actions should incorporate climate change displacement⁴⁸⁾. This paper was also submitted with the support of NRC, the Representative of the Secretary General on the Human Rights of Internally Displaced Persons and the United Nations University. These efforts in conjunction with others have been recognized by the UNFCCC as an agreement was reached on the Cancun Adaptation Framework at COP 16 on the international commitment to address the climate change induced migration. Para 14(f) of the Adaptation Framework states as follows⁴⁹⁾:

“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.”

In general overview of the current work of UNHCR in agenda setting, it seems fair

47) UNHCR. 2009a. Climate Change and Statelessness: An Overview. Paper submitted to the 6th session of the Ad Hoc Working Group on Long-Term Cooperative Action under the Convention (AWG-LCA 6), June 1-12, in Bonn, Germany.

48) UNHCR. 2009b. Forced Displacement in the context of climate change: challenges for states under international law. Paper submitted to the 6th session of the Ad Hoc Working Group on Long-Term Cooperative Action under the Convention (AWG-LCA 6), June 1-12, in Bonn, Germany.

49) UNFCCC. 2011. Report of the Conference of the Parties on its sixteenth session, held in Cancun from 29 November to 10 December 2010. FCCC/CP/2010/7/Add.1. p. 5.

to conclude that so far UNHCR has played a limited role in pushing the issue of climate change and forced displacement into the agenda of the international community. Already UNHCR is at its limit in its mandate and its financial donors as it has provided assistance not only refugees but IDPs, stateless people and asylum-seekers. It seems unclear at this point how much UNHCR will engage in the future in providing a solution to climate change-induced migration.

United Nations Security Council

Some countries such as the United States have been fast to incorporate climate change as a threat to national and international security. The U.S. National Intelligence Council has published reports which examine the threats imposed by climate change to the United States and the most recent report has expanded its scope to include other countries: India, China, Russia, North Africa, Mexico and the Caribbean, and Southeast Asia and the Pacific Island States. These reports do mention climate change-induced migration as a problem although no in-depth research or analysis has been carried out by the institution⁵⁰.

At the international level, the UN Security Council attempted to discuss climate change as a security issue for the first time in April 2007. The purpose was to discuss the security implications of climate changes which included their “impact on potential drivers of conflict, such as access to energy, water, food and other scarce resources; population movements; and border disputes” as well as to consider the greening of peacekeeping operations⁵¹.

However, this occasion only proved how divided countries were on the matter of the UN Security Council including climate change within its mandate. China, in representing the developing countries’ view, was quick to argue that the Security Council should not engage in the issue of climate change and the Group of 77

50) National Intelligence Council. 2008. *Global Trends 2025: A Transformed World*. Washington D.C., National Intelligence Council.

51) UNSC. 2007. *Security Council holds first-ever debate on impact of climate change on peace, security, hearing over 50 speakers*. New York: UN Security Council.

was united in this opinion. It was perceived by the Group of 77 and China as “an hypocritical effort by some of the world’s worst emitters...to wrestle control of the climate change issue from the general assembly”⁵²⁾. The countries that were in favor of the UN Security Council dealing with climate change and security were the Small Island States. This meeting reconfirmed the complexity of the issue of climate change and security, and the division between developed and developing countries at the UNFCCC meetings was again displayed at this UN channel.

Four years have passed since the first UN Security Council meeting on climate change and security was held, however it seems nothing has changed. In July 2011, the Security Council convened a special meeting which attempted to focus on the security implications of climate change impacts which drive conflicts⁵³⁾. Germany expressed their concern that it was too early for the Security Council to engage as no appropriate scenarios and plans were thought out⁵⁴⁾. And again it was United States against China, Russia and 120 other developing countries who disagreed with Security Council dealing with climate change at all. They argued that climate change should remain only on the agenda under the UNFCCC and that the Security Council lacked resources and expertise⁵⁵⁾. This reflects the concerns of developing countries that climate change will be used by the powerful states to legitimize the military involvement in environmental issues.

The military involvement in climate change and other environmental issues has been argued against by many scholars. The concern is that once a military involvement becomes valid, it may justify their stay in a certain area even when the conflict has receded. Others see the military and intelligence agency involvement as a “pragmatic strategy designed to maintain current levels of funding for defense”⁵⁶⁾. Moreover, it is suggested that disarmament and budgetary reallocations are important policies as

52) Podesta, John and Peter Ogden. 2007-8. The Security Implications of Climate Change, The Washington Quarterly, Winter 2007-8. p. 130.

53) UNSC. 2011. *Security Council, in Statement, Says ‘Contextual Information’ on Possible Security Implications of Climate Change Important When Climate Impacts Drive Conflict*. New York: UN Security Council.

54) Goldenberg, Suzanne. 2011. UN security council to consider climate change peacekeeping, Guardian, July 20, Environment section.

55) MacFarquhar, Neil. 2011. U.N. Deadlock on Addressing Climate Shift, *New York Times*, July 20.

56) Barnett, Jon. 2001b. *The Meaning of Environmental Security: Ecological Politics and Policy in the New Security Era*. London: Zed Books. p. 106.

armed forces are incapable of meeting the challenges posed by climate change⁵⁷⁾.

The UN Security Council has endeavored to make climate change displacement and violent conflict as its mission however it has not been successful due to the opposition from many states. In terms of analyzing whether they have contributed to the agenda setting of the issue, it can be positively viewed that the implications of climate change and violent conflict were raised before the many state representatives although it was not deeply discussed. At this point it remains uncertain whether the UN Security Council will be able to play any role in the future. Unless the UN Security Council, as well as other traditional security institutions, undertakes structural change, they may not have the capacity in terms of both resources and expertise to provide any solution. Considering the current circumstances, then it would be extremely unwise to rely exclusively upon security institutions to address climate change-induced migration⁵⁸⁾.

International Organization for Migration

The International Organization for Migration was established in 1951 as an organization devoted to migration, providing services for migrants as well as governments and inter-governmental and non-governmental partners. The mission of IOM is to “ensure the orderly and humane management of migration, to promote international cooperation on migration issues, to assist in the search for practical solutions to migration problems and to provide humanitarian assistance to migrants in need, including refugees and internally displaced people”⁵⁹⁾. As stated in their mission, IOM does not limit their mandate to voluntary migration but also provides assistance to refugees and IDPs which would fall under the category of forced migration.

At present, IOM is working in eight categories of activities: 1) migration and

57) Barnett, Jon. 2001a. Security and Climate Change. Tyndall Centre Working Paper, No.7. Norwich: Tyndall Center for Climate Change Research. p. 3.

58) Matthew, Richard A. (2000). The Environment as a national security issue. *Journal of Policy History*. 12(1), 101-122.

59) IOM. 2011. Environment, climate change and migration: IOM's approach and activities. Geneva: IOM.

development, 2) migration and health, 3) facilitating migration, 4) movement, emergency and post-crisis, 5) regulating migration, 6) reparation programmes, 7) general programmes, and 8) migration, climate change and the environment⁶⁰). As clearly listed as one of IOM's main agendas, IOM has been working extensively on providing evidence to migration and climate change and this has reached the level of operation in certain areas of the world. IOM confirms that migration does not have to be the result of a worst-case scenario, but instead a strategy to increase the resilience of vulnerable people⁶¹). And if migration is adequately managed, positive outcomes on sustainable development are possible. The organization states as its primary objective to "ensure that migration can be a choice and to prevent forced migration"⁶²).

IOM's Role in Agenda Setting

The roles played by UNHCR and the UN Security Council are currently too minimal for extensive analysis applying the theoretical framework provided by Young and Britmeir. There may be activities that are pursued by UNHCR and the UN Security Council in this area that may not be generally available to the public's eye however this is also a reflection of the reality that not much has been done so far. In contrast, IOM's activities are readily accessible by anyone who pursues the information on the issue of climate change and migration. This could be interpreted as IOM's dedication to the issue and also its ambition to take leadership in politicize the issue to be taken up by the international community.

Informational Function

In recognition of the complexity of the relation between environmental changes and migration and the need to improve the knowledge base, IOM seeks to provide reliable empirical evidence to overcome the existing knowledge gaps. IOM has been providing policy-oriented data in the following research areas: Conceptualizing migration and the

60) Ibid.

61) IOM. 2009. Compendium of IOM's Activities in Climate, Migration, Climate Change and the Environment. Geneva: IOM. p. 24.

62) Ibid. p. 24.

environment; Data collection and estimates; Chronic environmental degradation and natural disasters; Managing environmental migration⁶³).

And following this agenda, IOM has continuously accumulated their database since 1992 and has offered numerous publications which are useful in developing policies and programs. Among the IOM Migration Research Series, the 31st publication *Migration and Climate Change*⁶⁴ has been influential and is very often cited in the works of other scholars whether the focus is on the refugee, security or migration and adaptation dimension. Other works on the climate change and migration issue in this series include *Climate Change and Migration: Improving Methodologies to Estimate Flows* and most recent publication *Climate change, migration and critical international security considerations*⁶⁵).

One recent publication which will surely contribute to the knowledge base is the book *Migration, Environment and Climate Change: Assessing the Evidence*. This five hundred page book attempts to systematically organize the dispersed data and evidence on environmental changes and migration and is one of the few publications targeting policymakers by providing policy implications and mapping out the fundamentals for further research at the global level. IOM has stated as one of its achievement that this publication has become a “key reference work”⁶⁶).

IOM’s research is non-comparable to any other organization in terms of number and in its depth and the organization is proving its considerable expertise in the field of migration. In terms of IOM as an information provider for agenda setting, it would not be an exaggeration to say that IOM is a leader among the three institutions.

Articulation of interests and aggregation of interest groups

To provide a solution to the challenges posed by climate change and migration, it is imperative to engage various actors including foremost states, inter-governmental

63) Ibid. p. 26.

64) Brown, Oli. 2008. *Migration and Climate Change*. IOM Migration Research Series, No.31. Geneva: International Organization for Migration.

65) IOM. 2011. *Environment, climate change and migration: IOM’s approach and activities*. Geneva: IOM.

66) IOM. 2011. *Environment, climate change and migration: IOM’s approach and activities*. Geneva: IOM. p. 2.

organizations, non-governmental organizations, private sector and academia for cooperation at local, national, regional and international level. IOM has been involving many actors to establish a common understanding on the issue and to facilitate cooperation. To achieve this goal, IOM has held international conferences which focused on the environment, climate change and migration agenda.

IOM's International Dialogue on Migration (IDM) is an annual forum where all relevant migration stakeholders at a global level gather to identify and discuss current challenges and policies of diverse migration issues, distinctively designed to engage and build the capacity of governments so that they may manage migration. The themes for the annual IDM and inter-sessional workshops are selected through regular and informal consultations process with member states, observer states and other organizations⁶⁷⁾. In 2007, in addition to the inter-sessional workshops a special seminar was held under the title *Expert Seminar on Migration and the Environment* where member states discussed the migration and environment nexus, methodologies to improve data and research, and possible policy responses⁶⁸⁾. And again in 2011, an inter-sessional workshop on *Climate Change, environmental degradation and migration* was held. These forums have been informative and has led stakeholders to agree that a multi-stakeholder partnership is necessary to address climate change-induced migration and that an interdisciplinary approached research must be further undertaken to clear the remaining uncertainties⁶⁹⁾. After the IDM's annual session and inter-sessional workshop, a "Red Book", which covers the key findings of the discussions and presentation materials, was published to better inform policymakers on the results which can be put in practical use in policy and program planning.

Another arena, where stakeholders gather to discuss the issue of climate change and migration, is the Climate Change, Environment and Migration Alliance (CEEMA). This alliance was founded by IOM and UNEP, United Nations University and the Munich RE Foundation. The objective of CEEMA is to raise awareness of the climate change and migration agenda through research, policy development and other practical actions so that it becomes a priority of the international community and

67) IOM. 2011b. *IOM's International Dialogue on Migration (Infosheet)*. Geneva: IOM. p. 2-3.

68) IOM. 2008. *Expert Seminar: Migration and the Environment*. International Dialogue on Migration

No.10. Geneva: IOM.

69) Ibid. p. 57-60.

incorporated into the discussions at the UNFCCC⁷⁰⁾. In this regard, CCEMA held a side event at COP 15 on *Climate Adaptation Continuum, Migration and Displacement: Copenhagen and Beyond* where representatives of IOM, UNU, NRC, UNHCR and the Representative of the Secretary General on the Human Rights of IDPs participated .⁷¹⁾

IOM holds conferences at the regional level as well to engage governments, organizations and other stakeholders. In September 2011, IOM co-hosted with Asian Development Bank (ADB) a four-day workshop and conference. ADB is another important regional organization which conducts and is already much progressed in research on climate change-induced migration in Asia and Pacific. The first day of the workshop gathered government officials of the Philippines and researchers (*Philippines Country Workshop on Climate-Induced Migration*). The second-day was an occasion for researchers in various countries of Asia and Pacific to share their research findings (*Researchers' Workshop on Climate Change and Migration in Asia and the Pacific*). The last two days was held under the name *Regional Conference on Policy Responses to Climate-Induced Migration in Asia and the Pacific*, where climate change-induced migration was discussed as an adaptation strategy, and thoughts on how to strengthen the knowledge base and to enhance international cooperation were shared.

In review of IOM's activities, it appears that IOM is becoming progressively active in discussing climate change-induced migration with various actors at diverse levels. It does not seem yet that governments are at a stage where they are forming their perspectives on the issue or forming groups among themselves and much of the results of the discussion identify the need to bridge the knowledge gap to further pursue policies on the issue. The increasing number of forums provided by IOM where many stakeholders are actively engaging themselves could be positively interpreted as a bellwether for global governance on climate change-induced migration.

Arena for normative functions and rule making

70) IOM. 2009. Compendium of IOM's Activities in Climate, Migration, Climate Change and the Environment. Geneva: IOM. p. 28.

71) CCEMA website. 2010. "Side Event at Copenhagen". <http://www.ccema-portal.org/article/read/new-test>.

UNHCR and the UN Security Council do not offer their own definition or even a definite terminology to indicate people who will be displaced by the effects of climate change. As for IOM, in an effort to reach a consensus and go beyond the debate of definitional issues, it has offered a working definition at the 94th IOM Council in 1997 and has consistently used this definition to date. IOM defines “environmental migrants” as follows⁷²:

Environmental migrants are persons or groups of persons who, predominantly for reasons of sudden or progressive changes in the environment that adversely affect their lives or living conditions, are obliged to leave their home or choose to do so, either temporarily or permanently, and who move either within their country or abroad.

Providing a definition is important as it is the main starting point to discuss who will be included in the mandate for assistance. The definition also indicates what will be considered as the driver of migration. IOM’s working definition acknowledges both sudden and slow on-set environmental changes as drivers of migration. This definition does not use the term climate change specifically which gives some room for broader interpretation as climate change may limit the scope of protection which would be against the original intention.

It may be difficult to reach a consensus on what environmental changes are attributable to climate change as this is debated under the UNFCCC, and so it may be wiser to term it as changes in the environment. In terms of typology of migration, the definition covers voluntary and forced migration, and temporary and permanent migration, as well as internal and international migration.” IOM’s definition is the most comprehensive which includes all the possible typologies of migration that may arise out of adverse consequences of climate change. It is indeed true that all typologies of migrants will need to be provided with assistance though the degree will vary.

Although no common rules or standards have yet been discussed by the international community, this definition can be used to guide future negotiations. It also

72) IOM. 2009. Compendium of IOM’s Activities in Climate, Migration, Climate Change and the Environment. Geneva: IOM. p. 23.

provides a clearer picture for policymakers and other actors and be used to motivate states to engage in this issue in aggregate with all the other information provided by IOM. In addition, the extensive knowledge base of IOM can be used as the basis for drafting resolutions and documents at a later stage.

Challenges and Opportunities of International Organizations

From reviewing how much UNHCR, the UN Security Council and IOM have pursued the climate change and migration issue at the global level it is clear that the level of engagement differs greatly among the three organizations. In analysis of the current activities conducted under each organization, IOM proves to be the most promising and more appropriate than others in advocating the issue in terms of agenda setting. However, this does not suggest that UNHCR and the UN Security Council do not have a role to play at the operational stage and it would not be fair to blame these organizations for their lack of initiative as there are fundamental problems that must be overcome.

First, the major hindrance to agenda setting for institution building is the disagreement regarding the basic character of the problem and the appropriate procedures to solve it. There is no one dominant discourse on the climate change-induced migration yet, although the discussion on the refugee dimension is fading and the migration as an adaptation source discourse is gaining greater attention. The security dimension is much discussed but it is not supported by strong evidence. UNHCR and IOM are to some degree in agreement as they both recognize the link between climate change and forced migration. However UNHCR does not view migration as a source of adaptation and has only framed it as problematic.

The UN Security Council on the other hand recognizes forced migration as a problem but is mainly concerned with the conflict aspect of the issue. And neither UNHCR nor the Security Council has offered any working definition of a terminology. For the establishment of a single institution which addresses climate change-induced

migration, it is more favorable that various actors must come to an agreement on how the phenomenon will play out along with the terminology and the definition of the term to call people displaced by environmental changes which includes climate change.

It is the lack of consensus on the definition which has led to different degrees of activities pursued by the organization. At this point, UNHCR seems to be waiting for the issue to be taken up by other organizations as it has no plans to expand its mandate. Furthermore, although UNHCR could provide some assistance to those that will be displaced under their Guideline Principles of IDPs, they are not taking any initiatives to conduct any research or to assess the phenomenon. The organization has only stated the possibility of providing protection to IDPs but no guidelines have been formed which links IDPs to negative effects of climate change.

In the course of institution building, a consensus on a definition is not a precondition to move from agenda setting stage to negotiation stage. What is more important is that the issue is discussed enough and with the relevant actors so that it is placed on the political agenda to become negotiable⁷³. However, as a consensus on the phenomenon is not forthcoming this may affect governments and other important actors if the information they are receiving are not in coherence, which in turn raises confusion in clearly identifying a problem. It is important that if the organizations all have the will to provide assistance and solutions to the issue of climate change-induced migration, then basic grounds on the phenomenon must be agreed upon.

The second major hindrance to agenda setting is the minimal, but now increasing data and empirical evidence on climate change and migration which is linked to the definitional issue. As already reviewed, IOM is showing leadership amongst the three organizations in this regard. For the UN Security Council to have any role in the agenda setting of the issue and pursue the security dimension of the issue, it must be able to provide states with enough evidence that climate change can lead to violent conflicts. Then possibly, developing states can agree that it is reasonable to discuss climate change at the Security Council.

Some might say that in view of the status quo, perhaps UNHCR and the UN Security Council should not engage in this issue. However, at the operational level

73) Young, Oran R. 1997. *Global Governance*. Cambridge and London: The MIT Press. p. 137.

each has a role that they must take on. Neither UNHCR nor IOM are equipped to deal with violent conflicts which past evidence shows as plausible. They may provide the humanitarian assistance and provide adaptation measures to prevent conflict but they are not the proper institute to settle a conflict and so the UN Security Council should be engaged. UNHCR also has to contribute as IOM does not have enough resources to provide assistance for all migrants, and so UNHCR should cooperate to identify the IDPs due to climate change and provide protection. And so despite the disappointing level of activity at UNHCR and the UN Security Council at present, we cannot exclude them from the whole scene.

Then the critical question that must be raised here is do we even need to form a single institution which specifically focuses on climate change-induced migration? To answer this question on whether to create an independent institution or what Young called “piggyback[ing] on an existing organization created initially for some other purpose”⁷⁴⁾, we need to be aware of the negative side of this approach that piggybacking causes considerable disadvantage as each arrangements of the organization may not be a fit solution to problem solving at a global level. And my argument is that the climate change regime is already overloaded with its own agenda, and still focuses on the mitigation aspect and adaptation in general which is not yet firmly connected to the discussion on climate change and migration.

Paying due regard to such limit, international organizations, especially IOM, should take a proactive stance to act as a catalyst in the process of a regime formation. Moreover, in terms of providing assistance for international climate change-induced migrants from the sinking low-lying small island states, at this point nothing much can be said unless states engage in negotiations on how to address them. In other words, all three organizations can only provide marginal protection within their mandate, not being able to cover all typologies of climate change induced migrants. For global cooperation on climate change-induced migration, international organizations especially UNHCR and the Security Council must exert themselves beyond the scope of current activities to engage relevant actors and to advocate the issue of climate change-induced migration to the international community.

74) Young, Oran R. 1994. *International Governance: protecting environment in a stateless society*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press. p. 177.

The Way Forward for Institution Building

First and foremost, the knowledge base on the linkages between climate change and migration must be firmly established and strengthened which would help formulate the general principles of a climate change-induced migration regime. Environmental issues are often challenged with scientific uncertainties as it has been the case with ozone depletion and acid rain. However, once this phase of uncertainty passed, it led to the creation of strong regimes.

To prioritize the issue of climate change-induced migration, more data must be gathered systematically and with the cooperation of diverse institutions. A project in this regard is being carried out by ADB and IOM to create an experts network for knowledge sharing on climate change-induced migration. In strengthening the empirical evidence base, it must also be kept in individual researchers' and organizations' mind that much of the migration is likely to occur internally and thus it would be important to place some priority to generating knowledge that can be used to inform national policies and adaptation programs.

The second suggestion is that international organizations must enhance cooperation amongst themselves. As the climate change and migration issue is linked to not only environmental factors but also economic, social, and cultural factors, interdependence among the individual governance systems is inevitable and necessary to provide a wholesome solution. Although this paper was limited to reviewing only three major institutions in each dimension, many other organizations in the UN can contribute to address the issue.

For example, as the line is blurred between simple labor migration and climate change-induced migration which would be taken in consideration of economic opportunities, International Labor Organization (ILO) can share some responsibility and provide its service. Within ILO there is the International Migration Program which "provides advisory services to member states, promotes international standards, provides a tripartite forum for consultations, serves as a global knowledge base, and

provides technical assistance and capacity-building to constituents⁷⁵⁾.”

UNEP and UNDP can also be major contributors or partners especially in terms of providing adaptation strategies which also take in development considerations at the national and local level. In terms of funding, the UN Population Fund (UNFPA) can be a contributor as capital resources are limited in all of the three agencies to handle all possible migrants. In terms of rapid-onset disasters, the International Committee of the Red Cross and other disaster relief agency should be engaged to provide humanitarian assistance for migration.

Lastly, international organizations must take a multi-stakeholder approach and engage in dialogue with national governments, private corporations and individuals. This process does not necessarily have to take place after an institution has been built and prior engagement may actually have positive influence on regime formation. The phenomenon of climate change-induced migration will require behavioral changes on actors at all levels. Governments will have to incorporate migration factors into their national adaptation policies. Private corporations can offer economic options for migrants which would be a significant factor in determining the destination of migration. For adaptation policies to be successful in order to provide individuals and communities with a choice between in situ adaptation and migration, individuals must be informed about the issue especially in highly vulnerable hotspots.

The suggestions are quite general however given that the debate and international organizations’ engagement on climate change-induced migration is at its infancy, the most fundamental aspects must be established first to place the issue at a higher priority rank of the international community. The steps to building an institution for climate change-induced migration must not be delayed as the recent Bangkok flooding showed that migration en masse due to adverse effects of climate change is indeed becoming a reality.

75) Martin, Susan. 2010. Climate Change, Migration, and Governance. *Global Governance* 16(3): p. 408.

Conclusion

The impact of climate change on migration has gained greater attention in the international society however it has not yet been discussed as a major issue at the climate change negotiations under UNFCCC or in other forums. The progress in formulating effective response has been slow as the linkages between climate change and migration have not been explored to the necessary extent and more critically, no adequate institution has been established to address climate change-induced migration. In view of these circumstances, my argument is that the urgency and severity of the issue calls for much more attention and resources from the international society and an institution must be established to prevent abrupt mass migration and provide an effective solution beforehand.

The divergent perspectives on and approaches to climate change-induced migration hinders the development of a global governance system. At present, discussions on “climate refugees” and migration as a source of conflict has been generally evaluated in less favorable terms. It is more likely that migration as a source of adaptation will be able to provide the international community the basis for acknowledgement and negotiations on this issue in the hopefully near future.

On the premise that international organizations do play a substantial role in the agenda setting of regime formation, IOM has been a leader among the three organizations in the agenda setting stage by providing the cognitive and normative framework for institution building. And in review of the organizations’ willingness to engage and in their mandate, IOM also holds the most promise in planning and managing population displacement and migration in comparison to other organizations.

However, IOM cannot act alone as a catalyst in institution building, and nor will it be able to effectively manage climate change-induced migration. UNHCR and the UN Security Council must push beyond their current scope of activity and contemplate how they can contribute. All of the three organizations have a role to play in the breakout of various patterns of climate change-induced migration and its adverse consequences. Thus they must proactively act to offer their own policy measures to address climate change-induced migration in the present absence of an institution at the global level.

In addition, IOM must engage and create a network with relevant international organizations to strengthen the knowledge base and reduce uncertainty on linkages between climate change and migration. Cooperation is also necessary among various international organizations to provide adequate and sufficient response as migration is a complex phenomenon intertwined with economic, social, and cultural factors. Furthermore, engaging various stakeholders such as national governments, private sector and individuals will be another significant task to effectively address climate change-induced migration.

The agreement on Para 14(f) of the Cancun Adaptation Framework is a minor but critical success and a starting point for further discussion at the international level. However, the rapid on-set as well as the slow on-set climatic changes do not wait for the establishments of institutions and may trigger large-scale migration. International organizations must act now to build an adequate institution in order to provide effective response to climate change-induced migration.

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