



Climate Change and Migration

Contribution of the UN Team in Brussels to the EC discussion paper

I. Introduction

The United Nations team in Brussels¹ welcomes the focus by the EU on this often-overlooked aspect of the climate change question: the consequent likely displacement of population. Much remains to be explored, understood and reacted upon and EU leadership can be extremely helpful within the broader international community.

While the international community is still uncertain about the precise causes and consequences of recent climate-related disasters (such as the devastating floods in Pakistan, the famine in Niger, or the tropical storm in the Philippines which prompted millions of people to move), there is growing evidence to suggest that climate-related disasters are growing in frequency and intensity and that this is linked to the longer-term process of climate change².

The large-scale displacement of vulnerable communities due to natural disasters — most of which are climate-related — is already happening. In 2010 alone, 38 million people were newly displaced due to floods and storms³. Without significant efforts to adapt to increasingly frequent and intense disasters under climate, the number of people displaced is likely to increase, leading to new humanitarian emergencies.

In addition to those who will suffer the direct humanitarian impacts of natural disasters, an even greater number of people will be affected by the structural and ‘slow-onset’ adverse consequences of climate change, ranging from drought and desertification to salinisation, coastal erosion or loss of territory due to sea-level rise. For example, 108 million people have been affected by drought in 2010.⁴

At the same time, it has become increasingly clear that natural disasters and climate change cannot be regarded or addressed in isolation from the other global mega-trends that are conditioning the future of our planet and its people. Those trends are: population growth, urbanization, water scarcity, food and energy insecurity as well as volatile commodity prices.

¹ The United Nations Team in Brussels (UNTB) is composed of : DFS, DPKO, DPA, FAO, ILO, IOM, UNAIDS, OHCHR, UNICEF, UNDP, UNESCO, UN Women, UNEP, UNHCR, UN HABITAT, UNIDO, UNISDR, UNOPS, OCHA, UNODC, UNFPA, UNRIC, UNRWA, UNU-CRIS, World Bank, WFP, WHO, WMO.

² The number of recorded disasters doubled from 200 to 400 per year in the last two decades. Seven out of every ten disasters are now climate-related (source: letter submitted by Heads of Agencies of the Inter-Agency Standing Committee to the Executive Secretary of the UNFCC secretariat, 30th April 2009)

³ IDMC/NRC (2011) *Displacement due to natural hazard-induced disasters*. Oslo: IDMC/NRC.

⁴ Ibid.

The discussion paper rightly highlights the complexity of identifying climate/environmental factors as the main driver of migration and displacement, particularly in the case of slow-onset processes such as desertification. In many cases it will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to determine whether or not someone is migrating solely due to climate change. Displacement as a result of rapid-onset disasters provides an example of a more clear-cut case of 'environmental migration' but even here other factors will condition the exact form of movement (distance; duration etc.). Climate change, on its own, does not directly displace people or cause them to move but it produces environmental effects and exacerbates current vulnerabilities that make it difficult for people to survive where they are.

It is also worth noting that often the most vulnerable will be those who, lacking the necessary capacity or resources, are not able to move. Indeed, the majority of migration and displacement linked to climate change is expected to be within and between developing countries. International migration beyond the nearest border is likely to largely follow existing migration patterns established by migrant social networks.

Special consideration will need to be given to vulnerable groups such as women, who for example are statistically 14 times more likely than men to die as a result of natural disasters⁵.

Adaptation to minimise the displacement of individuals and communities will require a comprehensive approach to disaster risk reduction (DRR) based around three central components: (1) early warning systems to proactively alert communities to expected and unexpected threats, (2) infrastructure (such as coastal defence walls to counter flooding); and (3) actions to address underlying vulnerability, in particular strengthening and diversifying livelihoods. In addition, adaptation planning will also need to support mobility in case people need to move either temporarily or permanently (ranging from seasonal labour migration to permanent relocation).

Notwithstanding the above, adequate protection needs to be ensured when displacement cannot be avoided. The international humanitarian response system will therefore need to be reinforced, with the Inter-Agency Standing Committee's cluster system having a particularly important role to play.

As noted by several studies, forecasts for numbers of environmentally induced migrants under a climate change scenario vary greatly⁶. However, this does not mean that no action is justified because the possible harmful consequences far exceed the cost of preventive action. This could be understood as an application of the precautionary principle as laid down in the European Commission's Communication COM(2000) 1: "The precautionary principle applies where scientific evidence is insufficient, inconclusive or uncertain and preliminary scientific evaluation indicates that there are reasonable grounds for concern that the potentially dangerous effects on the environment, human, animal or plant health may be inconsistent with the high level of protection chosen by the EU".

The international community, the UN as well as the European Union are all called to action to collectively address this pressing agenda.

⁵ Peterson, K. (2007) *Reaching Out to Women When Disaster Strikes*. Soroptimist White Paper.

⁶ See IOM (2009) *Migration, Environment and Climate Change: Assessing the Evidence*. Estimates range from 25 million to 1 billion 'environmental migrants' by 2050.

II. Policy recommendations to be considered by the EU⁷

1) Prioritize, develop and improve systematic data collection

Data on displacement resulting from sudden-onset climate-related natural disasters is improving, thanks to the work of organisations such as the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre⁸. As noted above, IDMC estimate that rapid-onset climate-related disasters (mainly floods and storms) caused the displacement of over 38 million people in 2010 (the vast majority in Asia). However, data is lacking even here on the characteristics of post-disaster migration.

Data on displacement caused by slow-onset disasters such as drought is a key area for improving research and data. As IDMC acknowledges, “the best approach to monitoring such displacement has not yet been identified.”

Notwithstanding the above, the research agenda needs to focus more on internal and South-South migration, and on migration linked to slow-onset environmental change. It also needs to explore how migration can contribute to efforts to adapt to climate change (migration as an adaptation strategy). New studies should focus on what role climatic changes play among the other determinants of migration, rather than seeking to establish climate change as the predominant driver of migration.

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) proposes establishing a Commission on Migration and Environment Data which would bring together agencies which collect data on the migration and environment to work together on common methodologies/terminology and develop practical recommendations. One such recommendation could be to promote the systematic sharing of existing data through the creation of an online clearing house on migration and the environment.

Although there has been a profusion of studies and reports in recent years, very few are based on newly produced data. There is a particular lack of quantitative multivariate surveys. One option to address this would be to scale-up the research undertaken under the EU-funded EACH-FOR project, increasing sample sizes to achieve nationally representative samples and extending coverage to other countries/regions. Vulnerability assessments, household surveys, agent based models, GIS mapping and adaptation assessments could all be used to develop more comprehensive scenarios of future migration flows linked to future climate and environmental change.

One key part of addressing the research agenda is the need to strengthen research and policy capacity in many of the developing countries which are set to be hit hardest by climate change. This will include investing in new data collection systems and building capacity to make better use of existing sources. Work to strengthen research and policy capacity on environmental migration within developing countries is ongoing in the framework of the intra-ACP Migration Facility, including work undertaken by the ACP Migration Observatory⁹. This Facility, an

⁷ This section draws *inter alia* on the forthcoming report by UNEP in cooperation with CILSS, IOM, OCHA, and UN on “Livelihood Security: climate change, migration and conflict in the Sahel.”

⁸ IDMC started monitoring displacement caused by rapid-onset natural disasters in 2008. The most recently published report (June 2011, cited above) contains global estimates for 2009 and 2010.

⁹ For more information, visit: www.acpmigration-obs.org and <http://acpmigration.org/>

initiative by the ACP Secretariat and the European Union¹⁰, could serve as an example and be replicated in other developing countries not part of the ACP Group of States.

2) Promote adaptation policies that are migration sensitive

Migration should be mainstreamed into climate change adaptation policies. National Adaptation Programmes of Action (NAPAs), meant to help Least Developed Countries (LDCs) identify and rank their priorities for adaptation to climate change, could be revisited in order to more comprehensively address the migration and displacement implications of climate change. Most references in existing NAPAs relate to the need to reduce migratory pressures linked to climate change, particularly in regard to rural-urban migration. To date, only a few NAPAs identify migration as an adaptation option, mostly in the context of sea-level rise in small island developing states.

In parallel to DRR and community stabilisation approaches to adaptation which focus on minimizing forced migration, policy responses should also plan for potential forced migration, addressing such areas as: (1) humanitarian assistance for the displaced, (2) support for receiving areas, (3) potential population relocation. Adaptation policies should also consider the facilitation of mobility as a positive adaptation strategy.

Few of the major middle income developing countries which are the main source countries of international migrants, such as Mexico, India and China, have included any reference to migration in their climate change adaptation plans. National adaptation plans should take full account of the linkage between climate change and human mobility. Such plans must recognize that a growing proportion of the people who are forced to leave their land will move to urban areas, where it makes no sense to accommodate them in camps or to establish separate services for them. A development-oriented and holistic approach is thus required, ensuring that the most vulnerable and marginalized members of society are able to enjoy the human security and human rights to which they are entitled. The potential displacement implications of adaptation projects themselves should also be systematically analysed.

3) Strengthen national and local capacities in developing countries

There is broad consensus that much of the movement prompted by climate change will be within national borders. Primary responsibility for the protection and well-being of affected populations will therefore rest with the states and local authorities concerned. Investing in capacity development of local governance structures will be critical since local authorities will often be at the front line in responding to the challenges outlined above.

Strengthening institutional capacity to respond to environmental migration and displacement linked to climate change should include a broad range of stakeholders, including institutions that are responsible for climate change coordination, economic development, natural resources management, migration, environmental protection, statistics, social protection, social dialogue, employment and skills development and infrastructure planning. Particular attention needs to be placed on creating the link between national and local institutions to enable the planning and execution of local adaptation measures.

¹⁰ The primary donor to the Facility is the EU

4) Disaster Risk Reduction / Community Stabilisation

a) Prioritize and establish early warning systems

The establishment and use of early warning systems can help to mitigate livelihood insecurities by providing foresight and attention to issues of food insecurity, or disaster preparedness. This recommendation is strongly tied to the need for further data collection and regional coordination. Drawing on the work of International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (ISDR),¹¹ specific action should include the following:

- Ø Understand the risks by systematically collecting data and identifying what hazards and vulnerabilities exist and where;
- Ø Develop monitoring and warning services in order to establish timely warnings;
- Ø Communicate early warnings and ensure that those most at risk are reached.
- Ø Build capacities at the national and community level to respond to these warnings.

b) Enhancing resilience through support to livelihoods

The loss and damage caused by climate change relating to employment and livelihoods is becoming increasingly evident (especially in the case of natural resource dependent livelihoods). Several studies demonstrate that extreme environmental events contribute to migration¹² because people do not see an opportunity to make their living in their area of origin. In this context it has been noted that in Mexico and Central America extreme climate events contributed to an already existent migratory process¹³. In developing countries in particular, the consequences of environmental degradation tend to amplify the negative impacts of other drivers of change that affect employment and livelihoods. Population pressure, rural poverty, unsustainable agricultural practices, and poor natural resource management have combined to render large areas of arable land in developing countries unproductive. With climate change accelerating degradation, two-thirds of Africa's arable land, for example, could be lost by 2025.¹⁴

Resilience-building activities such as restoration of degraded lands, construction of flood-mitigation infrastructure, and coastal tree planting can have benefits for livelihoods and risk reduction, and hence reduce the number of people who would be forced to migrate.

Importantly, efforts to enhance resilience should focus on the most vulnerable populations, and those who are most likely to be affected by climate-related hazards. Establishing mechanisms to ensure that assistance and resilience-building interventions target the most vulnerable will be important in preventing distress migration. Social protection mechanisms, such as asset transfers (cash- or food-based safety nets) can enable the poorest and most vulnerable community members to participate in and benefit from resilience building

¹¹ <http://www.unisdr.org/ppew/info-resources/ewc3/checklist/English.pdf>

¹² Laura Elena Ruiz Meza (2010) *Climate Change, Poverty and Migration Processes in Chiapas, Mexico*. International Journal of Labour Research Vol 2 Issue 2, p. 193

¹³ Laura Elena Ruiz Meza (2010) *op cit ibid*, p.195

¹⁴ FAO (2008) Challenges for Sustainable Land Management (SLM) for Food Security in Africa 25. The Regional Conference for Africa, Information Paper 5.

measures, such as land rehabilitation and sustainable natural resource management at the landscape level, and therefore reduce migratory pressure..

Another way of promoting resilience to climate change (thereby reducing migratory pressures) is to create decent work and enable a “Just Transition” meaning creating the conditions that will ensure that those whose livelihoods, income and employment are affected by the adverse impacts of climate change and climate variability are supported in a transition to other livelihoods, income and employment. For adaptation approaches and measures to be sustainable in the long term, they need to advance climate resilience - not only in environmental terms - but also in social and economic terms. So-called “soft adaptation” options that build the capacities of individuals, businesses, communities and societies to adapt to climate change (e.g. investing in social protection and income security, support for diversification of local economies to create climate resilient jobs and sustainable enterprises, skills development and creating more responsive and adequately designed labour market institutions) should be a clear pillar of any national adaptation plan.

Adaptation actions should also seek to maximise the generation of green employment. This can be done through the use of labour-intensive construction methods for adaptation infrastructure where feasible, maximizing the use of local resources as well as other active labour market measures, such as subsidies or other financial incentives.

Many adaptation measures are likely to create new types of employment opportunities. Because of this it may also be necessary to anticipate new skill needs and respond to these by providing new training programmes. The ILO has already carried out research on skills for green jobs in 21 countries to understand how skills requirements are changing because of climate change among other drivers of change in skills needs. A key concern identified is that skills development strategies are rarely included in National Adaptation Plans of Action (NAPAs). The development of skills needs and skills policy assessments should be incorporated into adaptation programmes, strategies or policies.

5) Harnessing mobility for successful adaptation

a) Seasonal/circular migration

Slow-onset events and gradual degradation such as droughts and desertification can directly threaten rural household income sources, especially those from agriculture, leading many rural agricultural families to diversify their income through the seasonal or temporary labour migration of a family member. Seasonal or circular migration patterns have been identified as a coping strategy, for example, at the end of the growing season in Mali, Senegal, Ethiopia, Argentina and India among others¹⁵. Such migration is primarily internal, to urban areas for paid employment. International migration has also been documented during periods of drought, though primarily within the same region such as the Sahel, but also from Mexico to the United States. However, it has also been suggested that drought may actually inhibit and lead to a decline in longer distance international migration, for example from Mali to France, during drought years, as the financial resources needed to undertake long distance travel are affected.

¹⁵ IOM (2009) *op cit ibid* (p24)

Governments in origin and destination countries should be encouraged to broaden their analysis, moving beyond the traditional negative framing of migration as a failure of adaptation. Facilitating the mobility of people whose livelihoods are threatened by the effects of climate/environmental change can in fact contribute to building the resilience of the affected communities, notably through income diversification and skill/technology transfer. However, any measures to promote mobility of workers in developing countries should be sensitive to the already serious problem of ‘brain drain’ as those with larger reserves of financial and social capital are more able to move away.

b) Explore and enhance the role of the diaspora

The financial flows of migrants play a significant role for the financial and economic architecture of developing countries (e.g. the establishment of fixed exchange rates)¹⁶. For example, the countercyclical movement of remittances relative to the recipient country’s economy can have a significant economic impact. Consequently, the potential role which diaspora communities could play in regard to supporting adaptation in their countries of origin should be explored further, for example in regard to private investment or mobilising foreign assistance.¹⁷ Policy options such as dual (or even regional) citizenship, temporary work permits for seasonal migrants and promoting voting rights for migrants in their home country should be considered to strengthen the ties between the diaspora and their country of origin.¹⁸

6) Strengthen regional and international coordination and response

The complex interlinkages between migration and climate change need actions at the national and local level but also **at the regional level**, notably through regional frameworks and institutions. The harmonization of national laws and policies (including national adaptation plans) across regions on natural resource and environmental issues is considered as key. An illustrative example is provided by the inter-agency Security In Mobility (SIM) initiative in the Horn/East Africa. Seeking to reduce/prevent localised conflicts between pastoralist groups which are moving further in search of pasture and water due to the effects of climate change (including across international borders), SIM advocated for regional cooperation to facilitate peaceful cross-border movements¹⁹.

Empirical research suggests that regional cross-border migration is likely to occur on a larger scale than international migration across long distances. Cooperation on these issues should therefore be encouraged through Regional Economic Communities and other regional bodies.

International cooperation should buttress action at national/regional level and contribute to building capacity. Neither the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, nor its Kyoto Protocol includes any provisions concerning specific assistance or protection for those who will be directly affected by the effects of climate change. The Cancun Agreements adopted at

¹⁶ David Singer (2010): “Migrant Remittances and Exchange Rate Regimes in the Developing World.” *American Political Science Review*. 104 (2):307-323.

¹⁷ David Leblang (2010): “Familiarity Breeds Investment: Diaspora Networks and International Investment,” *American Political Science Review* 104 (3):584-600.

¹⁸ David Leblang (2011): “Harnessing the Diaspora: Dual Citizenship, Migrant Remittances and Return” <http://polisci.duke.edu/uploads/assets/PEWorkshopLeblang.pdf>

¹⁹ For more information on SIM, see: IOM (2009) “*Compendium of IOM’s Activities in Migration, Climate Change and the Environment*” pp145-148

COP16 in December 2010 for the first time address these issues. The Cancun Agreements include a paragraph inviting all parties to undertake adaptation action, including “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.”²⁰

Traditionally, the international community’s focus, including the EU, has focused on disaster response (addressing displacement in emergency mode, establishing camps, distributing food and water, etc). More focus should be given to the sustainable strengthening of national and local capacities, disaster preparedness, linking relief with rehabilitation and sustainable development.

7) Improve coordinated and prioritized investments and donor commitment

These recommendations strongly depend on committed investment to all the above mentioned issues. Investment is necessary to enhance the stock of reliable data, to strengthen governance capacities, to create early warning systems, to implement innovative and comprehensive adaptation strategies. The following should be prioritized:

Ø Support the inclusion of the environmental migration/displacement dimension within international funding instruments for development, DRR, emergency response and climate change adaptation. In regard to the latter, ensure that the UNFCCC funding instruments (Adaptation Fund etc) can be used to address these issues (in line with the commitment made at COP16 in Cancun).

Ø Ensure donor commitment to rehabilitation and long-term investments focused on protecting and strengthening the resilience of poor and vulnerable communities.

Ø Coordinate and prioritise investments for migration management aimed at minimizing forced migration, and relocation strategies.

Ø Commit funding to the regional level to allow for transboundary projects. Most commonly funding is available to national governments, as currently seen by the increasing financial resources becoming available for climate change initiatives.

Ø Investing in local governance structures since local authorities are often on the front line of responding to the challenges. The EU could support adaptation approaches which build local capacities and institutions to enable the harnessing of local knowledge, in particular with regard to the local environment and the priorities of those most affected. This would enable rapid local responses that do not depend on centralized decision-making and approval. The participation of relevant stakeholders - in particular workers, employers, and other members of civil society - in the design of climate adaptation policies and the planning and implementation of adaptation actions should be supported by the EU as this leads to better, and more widely supported policies and measures. As with the formulation of national adaptation plans, the principle of broad participation at the regional and local levels in planning and implementation needs to be promoted and supported. This requires not only effective mechanisms and structures for participation but often capacity building of local organizations and actors to be able to meaningfully participate in the planning processes.

Ø Recognise the critical role of the international humanitarian response system in responding to displacement caused by natural disasters. UN OCHA and the Inter-Agency

²⁰ Cancun Agreements: Outcome of the work of the Ad Hoc Working Group on Long-term Cooperative Action under the Convention (UNFCCC/CP/2010/7/Add.1 Decision 1/CP.16) - Paragraph 14(f)

Standing Committee's cluster system play key roles in ensuring coordinated and rapid responses from the international community.

8) The national and international protection angle

The UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement already provide a framework to protect those who will be 'displaced' by natural disasters within their own borders. The African Union has also devised the first binding international treaty regarding protection and assistance for internally displaced persons on the basis of the Guiding Principles. Natural disasters, including those resulting from environmental factors, prompting displacement are covered by the AU's 2009 Kampala Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Africa.

It is also important to recall that all migrants and displaced people are covered by a range of international bodies of law, notably human rights law. A multitude of other instruments may also cover those moving across borders, such as the two ILO Conventions on Migrant Workers C97 and C143 as well as the UN's International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Their Families (ICMW).

However, notwithstanding the existing protection framework as (partially) outlined above, there is still a *de facto* protection gap in relation to people who are displaced across borders due to environmental factors, as well as those who have already moved to another country and are unable to go home. Under the provisions of the 1951 Refugee Convention, such people are unlikely to be recognized as refugees under international or national law.

UNHCR has refused to embrace the new terminology of "climate refugees" or "environmental refugees," fearing that this will complicate and confuse the organization's efforts to protect the victims of persecution and armed conflict. However, even if they are not refugees, such people are entitled to support and to have their voices heard and taken into account.

IOM has put forward a working definition of environmental migrants: "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 homes or choose to do so, either temporarily or permanently, and who move either within their country or abroad."²¹

IOM's working definition is not intended to serve a legal / normative purpose or have implications for the granting of rights. Rather, it represents an attempt to capture the complexity of the issue at hand. The definition has been cited frequently in academic and other literature on the subject.

There is a general recognition that there is need to develop a global guiding framework for situations of cross-border displacement resulting from climate change and natural disasters. An approach similar to the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement could provide a

²¹ See 94th Council Session Document [MC/INF/288](#), [World Migration Report 2008](#), IML No. 25 [Glossary on Migration](#) Second Edition

useful tool to address the specific situation and potential protection needs of those displaced across borders. The European Union is invited to constructively contribute to these developments.

At the same time, steps must be taken to address the plight of people living in small and low-lying islands, whose lives, livelihoods, culture and identity are threatened by rising sea levels. Such scenarios are quite different from the situations of statelessness which have confronted us in the past. The international community, including the EU, has an obligation to support such states and their citizens, not only by means of preventive and mitigating measures, but also through orderly and equitable migration programmes for those at most serious risk and innovative legal frameworks for statehood to preserve national identity.

9) The gender perspective

The effects of climate change and environmental degradation severely impact on women's economic rights and security, particularly for women living in poverty, and women who rely on agriculture and natural resources for their livelihoods. While migration can be a survival response to climate change, gender roles, as well as prohibitions and cultural prescriptions can make it impossible for women to migrate in response to environmental changes. Moreover, those who can and do migrate are often at increased risk of gender-based violence. Women in least developed countries are also statistically more likely than men to die as a result of natural disasters, which is directly linked to their socio-economic status, to behavioural restrictions and poor access to information.

Climate change is likely to increase existing challenges around migration. Male migration further burdens women with increased workloads and exacerbates poverty and vulnerability. In some cases, women left behind by male migrants may experience more autonomy and have greater decision-making power and greater control over household resources because they become de facto household heads after their husbands migrate. At the same time, these responsibilities are often added to existing household responsibilities including rearing children and taking care of elderly relatives, often in states with few or no social services. Government provided social services and safety-nets are thus needed to help women overcome various crises and to prevent families from falling into extreme poverty.

The very conditions that encouraged migration due to natural hazards or environmental stressors are also likely to place added burden on those who stay behind—to rebuild post-disaster, or find sufficient resources such as clean water and fuel—compounding the challenges of being a sole provider for a household.

Also, changes in gender roles may be a challenge in countries where women are not allowed to have control over land and other productive assets because of restrictions on women's property and land rights. Ensuring property rights and women's access to land should be a priority, as well as supporting successful advocacy initiatives working towards this end.

Migration affects men and women differently driven by social, economic and cultural processes. While women migrants will face similar challenges to their male counterparts in finding employment, affordable housing, and accessing social services, they may have a more

difficult time due to gender-based discrimination.²² When migrating or displaced from areas of climatic stress, women are at higher risk of disease and violence. A human-rights based approach addressing the social, political and economic obstacles that impede the full rights and empowerment of women and men equally should be supported through an EU normative framework to address climate change and induced migration.

Conclusion

What impact climate change-related population movements ultimately have on development will be a function of policy decisions both of the countries themselves and the international community. However there is clearly much which the EU can do to address the different challenges outlined in this paper (research, DRR/community stabilisation, humanitarian assistance, protection frameworks, exploring the potential of migration as adaptation). The migration and climate change theme should be addressed within the EU Policy Coherence for Development agenda, covering as it does a wide range of policy domains (notably development, humanitarian, and migration policies).

²² Brown, O., Migration and Climate Change, International Organization for Migration, IOM Migration Research Series, N° 31, Geneva, 2008, p. 34-35