



İNSAN HAKLARI BAĞLAMINDA İKLİM KAYNAKLI GÖÇ YÖNETİMİ: YENİ ZELANDA – PASİFİK ADALARI VAKASI

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THE MANAGEMENT OF CLIMATE-INDUCED MIGRATION IN THE CONTEXT OF HUMAN RIGHTS: NEW ZEALAND – PACIFIC ISLANDS CASE

ÖZ

Dünyayı küresel olarak şiddetli biçimde etkileyen Covid-19 krizinin ardından, küresel konsepti gerek siyasal gerek toplumsal düzeyde popülarite kazandı. Covid-19 kriziyle birlikte gündemde daha fazla yer kaplayan ve çeşitli ekonomik, sosyal, siyasal sonuçlara gebe olan diğer küresel kriz ise iklim değişikliği. Bu yönden iklim değişikliği tek boyutlu bir mesele değil; göç, sosyal-kamusal politikalar, insan hakları gibi başlıklarla ilişkili olarak ele alınmalı. Tahminler gelecek birkaç on yıl içinde milyonlarca insanın iklim değişikliğinden kaynaklı zorunlu göç riskiyle karşı karşıya kalacağını gösteriyor. Ancak iklim değişikliği ile göç arasında direkt bir ilişki olmamakla birlikte, insan haklarına erişim yoksunluğu da iklim kaynaklı göçte önem taşıyor. Bu nedenle çevre hukuku, insan hakları, göç hukuku arasındaki karşılıklı ilişki anlamına gelen (Corendea, 2018) uluslararası hibrit hukuk kavramı hesaba katılmalı. İklim değişikliği konusunda sadece azaltım politikalarının krizi kontrol altına almadaki yetersizliğinden hareketle adaptasyon stratejileri de göz önüne alınmalı. Bu yolla iklim değişikliğinin teknik boyutuyla birlikte sosyal ve politik boyutu da değerlendirilmeli. Bugün, uluslararası aktörler iklim kaynaklı göçe yönelik politikaların geliştirilmesi konusunda hantal. Diğer yandan, iklim değişikliğinden derinden etkilenen Pasifik Adalarına yönelik Yeni Zelanda'nın başlattığı insani vize ilk kez bir ulus devlet tarafından atılan önemli bir adım. Ancak, çok geçmeden, Yeni Zelanda mülteci olma durumunun Pasifik Adalarının son çaresi olduğunu anlayarak bu planın iklim göçünde etkin bir politika olmadığını kavradı. Bu kapsamda ODA programını devreye sokan Yeni Zelanda başlıca iklim değişikliği, sürdürülebilirlik, yenilenebilir enerji, bölgesel güvenlik, insan hakları üzerine Pasifik Adalarına yatırım planları geliştirerek iyi yönetim örneği sergiliyor. Bu durum iklim krizinin yönetiminde önleyici bölgesel adaptasyon stratejilerinin önemini gösteriyor. Bu sayede iklim kaynaklı göçün öznelere önceliklerini önemseyen, insanı merkeze alan iklim göçü politikalarının daha verimli olduğu anlaşılıyor. Bu noktada, iklim değişikliğine karşı yapılan ikili anlaşmalar enstrümantal rol oynayabilir. Ayrıca bölgesel kültürel, toplumsal, coğrafi farklılıkların varlığının tanınması anlamında bölgesel politikalar daha cazip görünüyor. Buradan hareketle, bölgesel politikalar küresel politikaların verimliliğini de arttırabilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İklim kaynaklı göç, İklim değişikliği, Adaptasyon stratejileri, İnsan hakları, Çevresel olarak yerinden edilmiş kişiler

ABSTRACT

In the wake of the Covid-19 crisis sweeping the world globally, the concept of the global has gained popularity. In that sense, the other global problem that has the potential to cause the economic, social, political crisis is climate change. Climate change cannot be considered as a unidimensional issue but related to migration, social-public policies, human rights. Estimates suggest that millions of people face the risk of forced migration in the next few decades. There is no direct link between climate change and migration. The lack of access to human rights also matters. That is why I take international hybrid law meaning the interrelation of the environmental law, human rights and migration law (Corendea, 2018) into account. Considering that mitigation strategies alone will not be sufficient to control climate change, adaptation strategies should also be taken into account. In this way, the political and social aspects of climate change can be discussed along with its technical dimension. Today, international actors are slow to offer policy solutions in the climate-induced migration. Finding a global solution looks like a remote possibility. The humanitarian visa for Pacific Islanders heavily affected by climate change was the new and important step announced by New Zealand. However, not long after, New Zealand understood that this climate refugee plan does not work very well as taking refugee is the last option for Pacific Islanders. In this context, New Zealand, which has launched the ODA program, sets an example of good governance by developing investment plans in the Pacific Islands on climate change, sustainability, renewable energy, regional security, human rights. This case shows the importance of regional adaptation strategies to manage the climate crisis and its effects. To adopt a human-centred climate-induced migration policy in the context of human rights, we have to take into account the priorities of the subjects of the issue. Bilateral agreements or regional development projects against climate change can be an instrumental tool. In this way, regional policies may also increase the effectiveness of global policies.

Keywords: Climate-induced migration, Climate change, Adaptation strategies, Human rights, Environmentally displaced persons



INTRODUCTION

In the wake of the Covid-19 crisis sweeping the world globally, the concept of the global has gained popularity both at a political and societal level. The crisis has opened the door to do practise for nation-states for deliberating global issues and finding solutions in real terms. The other important global problem which is the main keyword of the article is climate change. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) defines climate change as a change of climate which is attributed directly or indirectly to human activity that alters the composition of the global atmosphere and which is in addition to natural climate variability observed over comparable time periods (UN, 1992). As it is seen, the UN does not claim that climate change has come out of nothing. In this sense, the climate crisis has also the potential to be the cause of other crises. Even though the climate change keeps in the background due to the danger of Covid-19, states need to take steps more than ever both at the national and international level before the climate crisis poses new global challenges. To demonstrate the severity, experts warn that the outcomes of the climate crisis will be more permanent than the pandemic (Euronews, 2020). Research shows that the rate of climate change is inaccurate with scientific predictions today. To put a figure on, expected that the global temperature increase, which predicted to be approximately 3 degrees by 2070, will be 7.5 degrees unless measures are taken (Euronews, 2020). Especially Maldives, Marshall Islands, Kiribati, and Tuvalu are the regions that face the danger of extinction in the world due to climate change. So much so that the crisis has the potential to weaken the 17 sustainable development goals of the UN. Therefore, climate change cannot be considered as a unidimensional environmental problem, but a problem related to the international economy, public health, migration, employment, and, ultimately, international peace and security (Atapattu, 2009).

Abraham Lustgarten from New York Times has laid the threatening reality bare: While only 1 per cent of the world is in the hot zone today, this rate will increase to 19 per cent in 2070 and what is worse, this zone is home for millions of people. They face the risk of forced displacement. Thus, one issue as the result of climate change is the international forced migration which is also the hot topic in today's world. Even if the main goal of the international organizations is to reduce the environmental pollution and control climate change, it is too late to bring greenhouse gases which have already been emitted into the atmosphere under control. That is why adaptation strategies along with the mitigation strategies s the cornerstones of liberal perspective towards climate-induced migration in international relations need also be implemented (Atapattu, 2009). The UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) 2018 report states that migration can be a part of the adaptation efforts for climate change (Wrathall et al., 2018). In this respect, we have to prepare for the scenarios in which we have to deal with more than one crisis. While the number of refugees as a result of civil war or conflict and its consequences can be foreseeable and bounded by a nation-state, the number of migrants as a result of the climate crisis has a low predictivity as the issue goes beyond the boundaries of the nation-state. Even if climate-induced migration has not been the world-embracing issue until now, there are serious migration scenarios on this unprecedented challenge. Projections suggest that



the extent of the problem will not only remain with the climate crisis but will also bring with it a big wave of international migration. That is, the climate crisis will create its migrants directly or indirectly. It is predicted that hooding everything else constant, asylum applications by the end of the century will increase, on average, by 28% (Missirian and Schlenker, 2017). Although there are various scientific scenarios, there are also some contradictions about what kind of policies need to be developed tackle with these scenarios. It should be noted that a conceptual gap for this kind of new migration typology should be reacted normally but also should be speculated.

Taking into account the pandemic that has led to unexpected changes in our lives in just a few months, we should not look for the consequences of the climate crisis in the long term. The data we have is enough to alarm about the future. In 2018 alone, 17.2 million new displacements associated with disasters in 148 countries and territories were recorded (IDMC, 2019) and drought displaced 764,000 people in Somalia, Afghanistan and several other countries (IOM, 2019). It is among the fundamental human rights to live in a safe environment or not to be displaced. In this sense, there is a tight link between climate migration and human rights. However, taking into account the climate migration data from the past years, it is seen that international organizations are insufficient to strengthen this link. Although it is true that nation-states have not yet reached an agreement on climate-induced migration and that international organizations are insufficient, this issue has gained a more serious place on the agenda of European states, especially with the 2018-2019 climate change protests.

It is not the first time that we have historically encountered migration caused by climate change. In 1984-85, approximately 10 million Africans fled their homes due to environment-related reasons (WCED, n.d). Today, human mobility has changed and became complicated with globalization. The fact that problems cannot address in one dimension in the global world, where everything is related to everything, results in evaluating global issues such as climate crisis in many aspects. Within this framework, the necessity of developing efficient humanitarian policies for climate-induced migration is blatantly obvious, taking into account the connection between climate crisis and migration in the multi-purpose, multi-factor, and multi-consequential world (Ünay, 2020). However, experiences so far show that global efforts are insufficient in managing climate-induced migration. It seems difficult for nation-states to unite in common policies today, where national interests are of utmost importance. On the other hand, it is necessary to discuss how efficient global policies are in climate-induced migration management. Even though climate change is a phenomenon that inevitably affects the whole world, these effects give different results in different geographies. Being aware of this is important to be able to interpret the consequences of climate change socially, economically, and culturally. It is difficult to achieve success unless the standard policies applied at the global level in climate change-migration management policies take into account regional differences, especially due to regionally changing economic, social and cultural conditions. Recently, a prime example of this has been seen in New Zealand's migration policy towards the Pacific Islands, which are severely affected by climate change. In 2017, New Zealand introduced a humanitarian visa for people displaced by climate change. Although this is an important step towards climate-induced migration management in the



world, its effectiveness is highly controversial. This policy, which started in 2017, was withdrawn by New Zealand in 2018, just one year later. Although the humanitarian visa was supposed to protect displaced Pacific Islanders affected by the climate crisis at first glance, this policy was costly for the Islanders and did not include their main priorities. The main priority of the islanders was not to take shelter in another country as refugees, but to improve the conditions of their region and to continue their lives in this region. For this reason, New Zealand has started to implement a kind of regional good governance plan by making investments in the region mainly in the field of combating climate change, sustainability and human rights within the scope of the ODA (Official Development Assistance) programme it has launched.

Within this context, this article which based on the desk research aims to reveal the necessity of regional adaptation strategies in the context of humanitarian policies towards climate-induced migration through the case of New Zealand – Pacific Island.

TERMINOLOGY

There are several denominations to define people who flee from climate change and its consequences and who take refuge in another state. That is why it would be better to get clear on the terminology. The first definition was made by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) as environmental refugees to refer to those people "who have been forced to leave their traditional habitat, temporarily or permanently, because of a marked environmental disruption (Keane, 2004). Then, The Climate Institute refers them as "people fleeing from environmental crises, whether natural or anthropogenic events, and whether short or long term" (n.d.) as the institute did not consider environmental crisis and environmental disruption in the same way. In addition, while some use environmental refugee, others prefer using climate refugee as they think the term environmental refugee is blurred and there should be an emphasis on the term climate refugee to address specifically. However, UN prefers to use the term environmentally displaced persons (EDPs) to refer persons "who are displaced from or who feel obligated to leave their usual place of residence, because their lives, livelihoods and welfare have been placed at serious risk as a result of adverse environmental, ecological or climatic processes and events (Gorlick, 2007). In this article, I use the term, displaced persons due to climate change' as term climate refugee is not determined in international law. Besides, most people who suffered by climate change firstly prefer to migrate internally within nation-state borders as international migration has a higher cost. There called as internally displaced people and the term refugee is not suitable in this context.

In the global world where everything is related to everything, it becomes difficult to attribute migration to a single cause. Therefore, it may not always be possible to establish a direct relationship between climate and migration, taking into account the combination of causes that affect migration. Critics of the term climate migration mostly reject the underlying mono-causality (Brzoska and Fröhlich, 2015). In this respect, it would be more correct to say climate-induced migration rather than climate migration by considering multi-causality.



HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS SUFFERED BY ENVIRONMENTALLY DISPLACED PERSONS (EDPs)

Many communities worldwide migrate to start a new life as a result of climate change (UNHCR, 2020). There are limitations to provide accurate data on climate-induced migration due to the presence of multiple factors and various methodological challenges. However, miscellaneous estimates can be formed. While all countries in the world are affected by this change, those most affected are the poorest countries that have caused least to climate change (Ilık Bilben, 2019: 337). Considering that the climate crisis will affect disadvantaged groups more deeply, presumed that many refugees who could not cope with the crisis could be displaced again. Migration processes could become more layered, and refugees could become more disadvantaged compared to today. In this respect, the climate crisis will have a multiplier effect on refugees and other disadvantageous groups.

The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights argues that many developed states consider international migration due to environmental factors as a human rights issue. Nevertheless, these migrants are not allowed to enter these countries. There is a significant contradiction. This perspective is blind to see intersectionality. People who live in underdeveloped regions and engaged in agriculture are the most vulnerable ones against climate change as they lose their main means of livelihood. The richer countries in the Global North should prepare economic aid plans for the poorer countries in the Global South in order to make it easier for poor countries to implement adaptation strategies (Biermann and Boas, 2010). Otherwise, migration is the last resort for them. In other words, their vulnerabilities are overlapped and they become more open to human rights violations. The lack of a place to return for refugees in climate-induced migration is among the reasons that further increase the vulnerability of refugees. That is why supporting vulnerable communities are among the main tasks of the states. Famous sociologist Richard Sennett argues that because of climate change, more people will migrate than in the Syrian civil war (2020). When the Syrian refugees, whose number is around 7 million today, are taken into account, the severity of the situation becomes clear.

According to the theory of scarcity-conflict, the environmental scarcity that may be caused by climate-induced migration can create destabilization as people compete on scarce resources and resort to violence in order to survive. Climate change, by definition, also triggers conflict and chaos in countries where political stability is weak. There are grounded arguments on the relationship between the Arab Spring and climate change. In the face of natural disasters, finding water and food and staying in a safe place are the most basic needs of people. However, it is very difficult to meet these needs for people living in war and conflict zones. Also, trying to cope with the climate crisis further fuels instability in this region (Tanzler, 2019). This instability has the potential to turn into inter-state wars. It is why climate change has a global character and independent of the geography to some extent. In that sense, it is the cornerstone of the 17 sustainable goals of the UN. Additionally, climate change is not only a problem for poor and unstable countries. Conflicts may continue in the country of destination if it is considered that migration from countries with intense conflict to countries with abundant resources. We should take into account the



human rights violations experienced before climate-induced migration as well as the crises that will occur afterwards. In addition to the loss of economic resources, social and psychological problems such as integration problems and post-traumatic stress disorder are likely to occur in the post-migration period (Matias, 2020). Migration may itself lead to human-rights violations (Corendea, 2018). In short, historical and political factors are convenient tools to explain climate-induced migration (EC Science for Environment Policy, 2015).

The major concern is that if countries do not achieve to govern globally coordinated climate policy at an international level, clash environments may be triggered more (Brzoska and Fröhlich, 2015). In this sense, the international environment is likely to encounter new human rights crises. This means that there is a correlation between the lack of common policies in climate change and the emergence of human rights violations. From this point on, in the next chapters, I will mention that regional adaptation strategies against climate change can play an instrumental role both in preventing humanitarian crises and for the success of global adaptation policies.

CURRENT POLICIES IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA FOR ENVIRONMENTALLY DISPLACED PERSONS (EDPs)

The revision of refugee law against new refugee migration caused by the climate crisis is in the diary of the United Nations. A climate refugee is a concept emerging as a result of these discussions, but it has no equivalent yet in international law. As can be seen in the 2015-2016 period after the Syrian civil war, it is clear that the existing refugee regime did not create consensus before the nation-states. Geneva Convention (1951) which is the first international documents for the refugees still maintains its importance as it covers the universal definition of the term refugee, principle of non-refoulement, rights and obligation of refugees and emphasis on the cooperation of states (HBB, n.d.). Then, the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees (1967) played a complementary role for the Geneva Convention. While the Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, which has an essential place in international law, should be revised today in many respects. It is the necessity of the conditions to renew the Geneva Convention by taking into account the ongoing climate-induced migrations and expected scenarios. The Geneva Convention frames being a refugee as a status given as a result of the fear and fear of being persecuted by race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, and political thought. Therefore, although they are called climate refugees, these people are excluded from the terms of the convention. Their status in international law is uncertain. They generally have the right to benefit from temporary protection status. Although the proposal to expand the scope of the contract in favour of climate refugees has come to the commission several times, the stance of industrialized member countries is not favourable towards this revision (Biermann and Boas, 2008). The terms refugee, migrant, asylum-seeker were framed by the standards of politics in Geneva Convention and the Protocol in 1967 (HBB, n.d.). However, the concept of climate refugee is not a concept that can be demarcated by political criteria. That is the crux of the problem. The refugee law of modern times, determined by political criteria, falls short in seeking solutions to the problems of postmodern times (such as the environmental problem). In addition, as the globalization has



gained momentum particularly after the 1990s, migration has become a multi-level issue. In other words, migration has no longer been monocausal but connected to more than one push factor. Thus, the fact that asylum and migration due to environmental problems have more than one reason makes it difficult to handle (HBB, n.d). The other option could be the addition of a protocol on climate-induced migration to the UNFCCC (Kraler et al., 2012:6). A paragraph on climate-induced migration was included in the Cancun Adaptation Framework in 2010. This step can be developed by adding a new protocol in UNFCCC. Bilateral migration agreements with countries in the highest risk of climate change may also play an instrumental role in the short term to promote adaptation policies (Kraler et al., 2012). While the global community got the green light with the Paris Climate Agreement, now the light goes off. And, finding a global solution looks like a remote possibility. There are previous regional experiences that proven to be more effective than global ones like bilateral agreements or regional development plans (Corendea, 2018).

The understanding of national security prevails in today's immigration policies. However, in order to manage climate-induced migration without human rights violations, an understanding that focuses on human, not the state, must be adopted. It is clear that the understanding of national security is in contradiction to manage climate-induced migration that fosters conflict and insecurity by analysing the existing data. While the discourses of nation-states and international organizations are in favour of climate refugees, the interest of states come forward in practice. States put their national interests ahead of global interests (Matias, 2020) in climate-induced migration. In other words, while a discursively liberal perspective is adopted on climate refugees, nation-states take a realistic attitude in practice. Besides, to prevent migration in parallel with the rising securitization policies in world politics, the definition of refugees is aimed to be kept within a narrow framework (Eksi, 2016). It shows that we need to embrace the concept of climate justice to discuss not only the environmental side but also the political side of the issue (Eksi, 2020). That is why the human rights framework is important in a sense that it is an instrumental lens to look at the issue of human mobility in the context of climate change (IOM Environmental Migration Portal, n.d). The term hybrid international law meaning the interrelation of the environmental law, human rights and migration law (Corendea, 2018) should be underlined. The term puts forth the holism between these three. That is why it cannot be established a direct link between climate change and migration, the lack of access to human rights also matters (Corendea, 2018).

In early 2020, in the decision made by the United Nations for an asylum application made due to climate change, referring to the principle of non-refoulment, which means that the immigrant is not gone out to countries where his/her life is at risk is an important step (Vatandaş, 2020). However, it is a priority to eliminate the status uncertainty of EDPs within the scope of human rights and environmental law without losing time. Otherwise, it is inevitable that the situation of EDPs, whose numbers are increasing day by day, and stuck between international law and domestic law, will turn into a global humanitarian crisis. To approach the climate-induced migration from a humanitarian point of view, the concept of climate refugee needs to be analyzed deeply (Ilik Bilben, 2019: 335).



International law can come into play where the nation-state is unable to perform its duties and responsibilities. This may be the inability of one nation-state which cannot provide basic services to its citizens due to serious environmental destruction. Then, international law should take action. However, it is not true that climate-induced migration will only occur at an international level. Rationally, people will act, extensively from rural to urban centres, within the borders of the countries with the idea that it would be less costly. They are called internally displaced persons (IDPs). In other words, international migration, most of the time, is the second option in terms of its high cost. Thus, environmentally induced population movements are usually internal, temporary and short term (Brzoska and Fröhlich, 2015). Technically, international law cannot intervene in the domestic policies of states such as the issue of internally displaced persons. However, with the internationalization of issues like environmental protection, human rights, this situation has changed (Atapattu, 2009). On the other hand, even if the UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement mentions persons who have been forced or obliged to flee due to natural or human-made disasters in the boundaries of the nation-state can be considered as internally displaced persons, the concept of the climate change is not included in this definition unless it creates a disaster (Atapattu, 2009). Waiting for climate change to cause a catastrophe means being late to prevent human rights violations. In other words, adaptation strategies need to be revised as not only reactive but also proactive (Biagini et al., 2014). Therefore, the problematic term „disaster“ needs to be revised and the term climate change needs to be emphasized. There were some efforts to establish regional instruments that expand the definition of refugee to some extent. For example, the Cartagena Declaration (1984) enlarged the concept of a refugee by noting the threat against lives, safety or freedom due to circumstances which have seriously disturbed public order.

UNPACKING NEW ZEALAND'S HUMANITARIAN VISA POLICY AND WITHDRAWAL

The Pacific Islands ecosystem, one of the regions most affected by climate change in the world, is alarming today. Increasing seawater levels, salt-water intrusion, pollution and other consequences of climate change have caused the region and naturally the islanders to suffer economically and socially. These impacts result in changes in food and water security, loss of identity, climate-induced migration and threats to sovereignty (McLeod et al., 2019). The devastating impact of climate change on the Pacific Islands, is, of course, attracting the attention of states globally. For this reason, the region functions as a laboratory in combating climate change.

New Zealand Climate Minister James Shaw's announcement in October 2017 that they will offer humanitarian visas to 100 people from the Pacific Islands severely damaged by climate change came to the fore. With this move, New Zealand also wanted to send the message that it is playing a leading role in combating climate change in the world. No other country in the world has taken such a concrete step in climate-induced migration management, and in this respect, this step of New Zealand resonated. However, in 2018, the New Zealand government had to give up this experimental step, which was taken without the Pacific people's opinion. This was because the islanders prioritized a constructive solution that would benefit collectivity and would not undermine autonomy rather than temporary individual solutions (Hall, 2019). With the idea that being a refugee can lead to new human tragedies, Pacific Islanders want to



migrate and continue their lives in a way that suits human dignity, not as refugees even in the worst scenario. For this reason, discussing climate-induced migration policies only under the refugee heading may cause problems in the coming years. This situation highlights the importance of mutual dialogue and preventive strategies in climate-induced migration management policies. The importance of regional adaptation strategies cannot be denied in ensuring mutual dialogue and directly taking into account the priorities of people in regions affected by climate change.

REGIONAL vs GLOBAL ADAPTATION STRATEGIES TOWARDS CLIMATE CHANGE

Today, the irreversible effects of climate change on human life are a reality in the eyes of nation-states and international organizations. For this reason, many international actors are implementing adaptation policies as well as policies aimed at controlling climate change. There is an indisputable need for adaptation policies at every level in combating climate change. In this article, I would like to draw a conclusion by comparing adaptation policy efforts at the global and regional level. I will use a few policy examples in making this comparison.

While the devastating consequences of climate change have escalated all over the world, the Paris Climate Agreement which was the first international environmental convention addressed to the concept of climate-induced migration was signed with the participation of 195 countries in 2015, became a ray of hope on a global scale. Goals such as limiting global warming to 1.5 degrees, preparing and submitting reports on greenhouse gas reduction as of 2020, financial aid of countries in the global north to countries in the global south that are insufficient in combating climate change, and countries sharing transparent data in greenhouse gas emissions are among the important points of Paris Climate Agreement. In this respect, the fact that 195 countries around the world have signed under these substances is an important global adaptation strategy in terms of combating climate change. While the Paris Climate Agreement was signed, many countries were in a celebratory mood as if the climate crisis had stopped. However, the theory was not reflected in practice. Today only 16 of 195 countries fully complied with the agreement (LSE The Grantham Research Institute on Climate Change and the Environment, 2020). Unfortunately, it turned out that none of the European Union member states, including France, which was the pioneer of the agreement, fulfilled their responsibilities (Gokkus, 2018). There is no need to go back to old times. Copenhagen Accord, which was signed in 2009 in line with the main goal of reducing greenhouse gas emissions globally, failed due to not being legally binding, not setting realistic targets for emission reduction, and being prepared under the leadership of only 5 countries. From this point of view, it is seen that global agreements, which are an important part of global adaptation strategies, fall short of combating climate change. What could be the reasons for this? Considering that we live in a world where the concept of the nation-state still maintains its strength and where the interests of the nation-state are prioritized, it is inevitable that agreements, especially where the responsibilities of the parties are ambiguous, there are no sanctions, and the regional economic and social conditions are not analyzed in-depth, will fail.



On the other hand, taking into account the socioeconomic and cultural conditions of the region directly affected by the climate crisis, generating solutions for the needs of the region within the framework of dialogue can also make global adaptation strategies efficient in the long term. For instance, in addition to New Zealand's efforts, The Nansen Initiative, which was founded under the leadership of Norway and Switzerland and is trying to find solutions to the problems of people displaced due to environmental disasters and to climate change, and Platform on Disaster Displacement, which is under the administration of 15-20 countries, are important and successful examples of regional adaptation strategies that nation-states have developed in the fight against climate change and its effects (Hall, 2017). In this context, it is useful to approach the phenomenon of climate-induced migration, which occurs as an important result of climate change, from this perspective. In other words, opening up space for regional adaptation policies more instead of global adaptation policies, which have little chance of success in the short term in climate-induced migration management, may prevent the emergence of new humanitarian crises.

FINAL RECOMMENDATIONS

It is seen that policies against the climate crisis are stuck at an international level. Their influence on the domestic policies of nation-states is insufficient. As we have experienced in the coronavirus pandemic, only global responses to global crises fail unless supported by nation-state policies. At this point, regional policies can be a tool for global policies to penetrate the agenda of nation-states. In other words, regional policies in which nation-states find a closer mutual contact area can enable nation-states to take an active role in combating climate change, which is a wide-ranging issue. Although climate change poses a risk for the whole world, sensitivity to climate change varies regionally. For example, along with the Pacific region, the northern half of South America and the Scandinavian region of Europe are among the regions that show high sensitivity to climate change (Nield, 2016). Adaptation policies towards climate change in these regions may produce more effective results.

Apart from the nation-states, city-dwellers should promote environmental policies from the perspective of urban citizenship in global cities, which are now significant points of connectivity among nation-states and attractions for immigrants. From this aspect, the bottom-up movement in urban policy making will also increase the effectiveness of state policies. In the management of the climate crisis, it is necessary to create a management network starting from cities, municipalities and citizens, from micro to macro, which is a necessity for a policy that puts humans in the centre. In this way, it may be possible to produce climate change management policies in line with the principle of protection of human rights. States play an important role in the establishment of organizations among civil citizens for climate change in cities. Especially municipalities and people's councils should be supported by the state in this regard. In short, the implementation of climate policies should be supported by global cooperation at the macro scale; city and nation-state policies at the micro-level, and the balance between the three should be paid regard. In this sense, regional adaptation strategies can play a functional role in establishing the balance between the three levels.



CONCLUSION

Climate change is a global and multidimensional problem that must be tackled today. Even if we feel the effects of climate change in our daily lives in many ways, experts state that it is difficult to make a clear estimate of the impacts and costs of climate change. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) forecasts a temperature rise of 2.5 to 10 degrees Fahrenheit over the next century (NASA, n.d.). In addition to the technical consequences of climate change, we also have to consider the impacts on social structure worldwide. Climate-induced migration, which is the core of these social effects today. Forecasts by the UN International Organization for Migration posit that there could be between 25 million to 1 billion environmental migrants by 2050, moving either within their countries or across borders, on a permanent or temporary basis (Bassetti, 2019). What needs to be done under these conditions is to develop the most efficient and optimal adaptation strategies along with the mitigation strategies against the effects of climate change. In developing these adaptation strategies, attention should be paid primarily to the integrative context between climate change, migration and human rights. In this way, the technical and social dimensions of climate change can be taken into account together and more robust steps can be taken in terms of solution.

Although climate change inevitably has a global impact, regions have different levels of sensitivity to these effects. In addition, if we consider the differences in the social structures of the regions, we come across a world map that differs in the face of the effects of climate change both geographically and socially. For this reason, it is essential that we adopt adaptation strategies to the needs and differences of these regions. In this way, success in global adaptation strategies can also be increased. However, today, adaptation policies towards climate change are predominantly at the global level and homogeneous without considering regional differences. In this article, I tried to make sense of the necessity of regional adaptation policies towards climate change in the context of climate-induced migration, based on examples from the climate policy of the New Zealand government on the Pacific Islands.

The Paris Climate Agreement, which 195 countries came together in 2015 and signed with an attitude towards climate change, aroused great enthusiasm globally. However, the Paris Climate Agreement, which is an international agreement today, continues to be an ineffective element in the agenda of the nation-states. Based on this, in the adaptation strategies for climate change, especially nowadays, when nation-states tend to retreat into their shell, bilateral agreements or development projects implemented by the actors of a particular region instead of non-binding international agreements can be more effective and efficient. At this point, the regional adaptation strategy implemented by the New Zealand government against the destructive effects of climate change in the Pacific Islands sets an important example. New Zealand announced in 2017 that it would issue humanitarian visas to 100 Pacific Islanders damaged by climate change. However, Pacific Islanders did not lean towards refugee status because of its high costs and saw only the last possibility to emigrate with dignity. What the islanders wanted was to eliminate the damage they suffered from climate change and to live under better conditions where they were. The New



Zealand government gave up the humanitarian visa application in 2018, taking into account the needs and ideas of the islanders, and started investing mainly in sustainability, human rights, and renewable energy in the Pacific region as part of its regional adaptation strategies (ODA programme). Apart from the policies implemented by New Zealand in the Pacific region, there are successful structures in which such regional adaptation strategies are implemented in other regions of the world.

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