

THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN RECOGNITION OF
CLIMATE-INDUCED MIGRATION: DISCOURSE ANALYSIS IN THE
EUROPEAN UNION, 2010-2020

by



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I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the role of international organizations within the framework of neoliberal institutionalism and the European Union's (EU) potential leadership in the inclusion of climate-induced migration into the international policy agenda. Although it has been on the policy agenda since the 1980s, it seems that the political debates on the issue have intensified since the 2000s. Especially since the issue has been taken up by organizations including the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), the EU, the International Organization for Migration (IOM), and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and media attention of climate-induced migration started to emerge, states have also started to become parties to climate-induced migration agreements and collaborations.

In this context, the study examines the development of the debate on climate-induced migration through the actions of international institutions, including the United Nations and the EU, on climate-induced migration, and evaluates the EU's potential leadership on climate-induced migration with the discourse analysis method. In specific, the debates on climate migration, which are officially on the EU's agenda since 2010, evaluates in the analysis chapters in the light of official documents published by the European Commission, the European Parliament, and the Council of the European Union. This thesis approaches climate migration as a global issue requiring collective action and investigates the role of international organizations in providing cooperation, and the EU's discourse on the legal status of climate migrants and international

cooperation. The thesis concludes that the EU is a significant institution with a rising potential to be a leader in mobilizing collective action towards climate migration.

Key words: *climate-induced migration, climate change, international institutions, European Union.*



ÖZET

Bu tez, iklim göçünün uluslararası politika gündemine girmesinde, neoliberal kurumsalcılık çerçevesinde uluslararası örgütlerin rolünü ve bu kapsamda AB'nin potansiyel liderliğini incelemektedir. 1980'li yıllardan itibaren "iklim mültecisi" terimi ile politika gündemine girmesine rağmen konuyla ilgili siyasi tartışmaların 2000'li yıllardan itibaren yoğunluk kazandığı görülmektedir. Özellikle Birleşmiş Milletler İklim Değişikliği Çerçeve Sözleşmesi (BMİDÇS), Avrupa Birliği (AB), Uluslararası Göç Örgütü ve Birleşmiş Milletler Mülteciler Yüksek Komiserliği (BMMYK) gibi kurumların konuyu gündemlerine alması ve iklim göçünün medyada yer bulmaya başlamasıyla birlikte devletlerin de iklim göçünü içeren anlaşma ve iş birliklerinin tarafı olmaya başladıkları görülmektedir.

Bu kapsamda çalışmada iklim göçü tartışmasının ortaya çıkışı, Birleşmiş Milletler (BM) ve AB gibi uluslararası örgütlerin iklim göçü konusundaki çalışmalarıyla incelenmiş ve AB'nin iklim göçü konusundaki potansiyel liderliği söylem analizi metodu ile değerlendirilmiştir. Özellikle AB tarafından 2010 yılından itibaren politika gündemine giren iklim göçü tartışmaları, 10 yıllık bir periyotta Avrupa Komisyonu, Avrupa Parlamentosu ve Avrupa Birliği Konseyi tarafından yayınlanan resmî belgeler ışığında ele alınmıştır. Çalışma sonucunda, iklim göçü bir kolektif eylem gerektiren sorun olarak değerlendirilmiş ve uluslararası örgütlerin iş birliği sağlanması konusundaki rolü ile AB özelinde iklim göçmenlerinin hukuki statüleri ve uluslararası

iş birliğine yönelik söylemlerinden hareketle, gelecekte bu konuda liderlik edebilme potansiyeline sahip bir kurum olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *iklim kaynaklı göç, iklim değişikliği, uluslararası örgütler, Avrupa Birliği*



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ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|--------|--|
| EU | European Union |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNFCCC | United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change |
| IOM | International Organization for Migration |
| UNHCR | United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees |
| UNEP | United Nations Environment Program |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization |
| IPCC | Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change |
| ILO | International Labor Organization |
| WMO | World Meteorological Organization |
| COP | Conference of the Parties |
| IDMC | Internal Displacement Monitoring Center |
| IMF | International Monetary Fund |
| IBRD | International Bank for Reconstruction and Development |
| IEA | International Energy Agency |
| NGO | Non-Governmental Organizations |
| IO | International Organizations |
| WHO | World Health Organization |
| FAO | Food and Agriculture Organization |
| CBD | Convention on Biological Diversity |
| WCC | World Climate Conference |
| ICSU | International Council for Science |
| PDD | Platform on Disaster Displacement |
| TFD | Task Force on Displacement |

INTRODUCTION

Global environmental issues have become one of the most significant problems facing our planet as of the 21st century. Climate change is not only an environmental problem, but it is perhaps the biggest threat facing the entire world that concerns our entire planet. For this reason, it has been the subject of various regulations of international law. The fact that people are unable to adapt to the destruction of the ecosystems caused by global warming gave rise to the concept of climate-induced migration, and millions of people had to leave their places, specifically in the 21st century. This thesis attempts to shed light on the necessity of climate-induced migration as an international politics issue, which can be one of the biggest problems that humanity may face in the future, especially if climate change continues to grow at this pace. The study aims to provide a perspective on climate-induced migration through international organizations that have played a significant role in resolving global problems since the 1980s. In this context, the study examines the role of international organizations on the international policy agenda in the issue of climate-induced migration. To examine the role of international institutions, this thesis presents its analysis by questioning the potential leadership of the European Union (EU), which is one of the leading international institutions against the issue of climate change, in terms of climate-induced migration. This thesis aims to assess the EU's potential to lead the collective action against climate-induced migration by seeking answers to the following research question: "What is the role of the EU in addressing climate-induced migration as an international politics issue?" For this purpose, it addresses the policies of international organizations from the date when global environmental issues are on the

agenda of international policy and aims to explain by discussing the policies and discourses of the EU.

For this purpose, the study, which starts with examining the relationship between climate change and migration, answers the following questions to clarify the main question; How have international organizations addressed this problem? What is international organizations' role in the climate-induced migration debates? How has the discourse on climate-induced migration evolved in the European Union? The thesis is conducted using a two-stage methodology in order to address these questions. In the first part, by literature review, secondary sources such as articles, books, electronic resources, websites, reports, agreements are used, and cooperation on climate-induced migration is explained. In light of the findings, it is concluded that climate-induced migration is a global problem and requires collective action. After examining the climate change and migration relationship, scientific studies, various conferences, official discourses, and the policy actions of international organizations are examined to address the importance and role of international organizations. In the second stage, the discourse analysis method has been used to analyze the significance of the EU in making climate-induced migration a significant agenda item in international politics with the discourses of the European Commission, the European Parliament, and the Council of the EU on climate-induced migration. Therefore, in these chapters, the evolution of climate-induced migration discourses of three institutions over a ten-year period is analyzed using keywords such as climate change, migration, and displacement. The official documents on the Publications Office of the European Union, EUR-Lex, and the official websites of three institutions are accessed for the three institutions examined. Official documents published by the EU Commission such as Proposals, Reports, and Staff Working Documents are examined, and quotations

from 28 of them are included and analyzed in Chapter 5. Official documents published by the EU Parliament such as Minutes, Resolutions, and Amendments are examined, and excerpts from 22 of them are included and analyzed in Chapter 6. Official documents published by the Council of the EU such as Council Meetings, Conclusions, Working Documents, Minutes are examined, and quotations from 25 of them are included and evaluated in Chapter 7. The thesis provides an analysis of the EU approach to climate-induced migration, especially in the context of international cooperation and assistance for the affected countries, by examining the EU discourse on climate-induced migration.

Many problems have emerged in the world as a result of globalization that states cannot solve by themselves, and climate-induced migration is one of them. In the discipline of International Relations, especially since the 1980s, when neorealism and neoliberalism theories began to enter the literature, the role of international cooperation and international organizations has been discussed. In the international system, the effects of international organizations cannot be ignored in terms of providing cooperation regarding the solution of many problems such as conflicts, disarmament, and environmental issues brought about by globalization. This thesis is going to examine the place of climate-induced migration in international politics with the assumption that the existence of international organizations is more effective than states in solving this problem because climate-induced migration is a collective action problem. Therefore, the theoretical framework for this thesis is neoliberal institutionalism, which supports the idea that international cooperation should be achieved by establishing regimes against such problems that require collective action. All in all, the regimes, which are defined as the norms, rules, and decision-making mechanisms agreed by international actors for the solution of any existing international

problem, currently play a role in many ways in International Relations (Krasner, 1982). The most important of these is the environmental issues. According to regime theorists, if success is achieved in organizing global activities, solutions will be reached in cooperation with these issues (Little, 2014). States, in fact, are not too likely to accept responsibility and take action on climate change, owing to the costs and the skeptical opinions of heads of state on climate change. Polluting states, such as the United States of America (USA) and Brazil, withdraw from climate agreements and refuse to accept responsibility. Accordingly, international institutions have a significant role in providing collective action. Especially as a result of the studies and collaborations carried out under the leadership of the United Nations (UN) since the 1970's on environmental problems, environmental issues started to gain importance in the international arena, and these studies became a milestone in the process that came to the recognition of climate change and climate-induced migration. At the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment of 1972, it was stated that the protection of the environment is a common responsibility of all countries, emphasizing the importance of people's welfare and economic development (UN, 1973). Furthermore, the establishment of The United Nations Environment Program (UNEP, 1992a) shows the significance of the need for a new institution to address environmental issues. The establishment of UNEP can also be considered an indicator that environmental issues are recognized as requiring collective action by international organizations.

Environmental degradations due to climate change, such as rising sea levels, extreme weather events, depletion of water resources, drought, push people to leave the regions they live in. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change's (IPCC) Fifth Assessment Report estimates that global average temperature has increased by 0.85 °C between 1880 and 2012. It is among the predictions that this temperature may increase

between 3 and 5 °C until 2100. Depending on the temperature increase, the melting of the glaciers in the polar regions will cause sea levels to rise. This can cause changes in ocean currents, resulting in extreme weather events such as major hurricanes livable. Due to climate change, it is expected that resources such as water will be depleted in some regions, fertile soil will no longer be cultivated due to drought or floods, and therefore poverty will be experienced (Mayer, 2016). The most striking reason for migration due to climate change is "displacements" due to rising sea levels. According to the IPCC, at the end of the 21st century, an increase of 28-43 cm is expected in sea levels as the glaciers melt. It is stated in the European Environment Agency 2006 report that an increase of 1 meter may affect more than 13 million people in 5 countries in Europe (Williams, 2018).

Rising sea levels also affect arable soils. Since there will be salt pollution in these areas, especially in Asia, rice fields and agricultural lands become unusable, and economically countries are in a difficult situation. Especially in Bangladesh, it is predicted that a large part of the country will be inundated, and this causes political problems in possible migration flows to neighboring countries (IOM, 2008). Moreover, in the coming years, conflicts are expected in these regions due to the shortage that may occur in agriculture and water resources due to the drought caused by the deterioration of environmental conditions. It is even predicted that it may cause further international wars (Mutlu, 2015).

Climate-induced migration, which started to take place on the international policy agenda since the 1980s, entered the agenda of international institutions after El Hinnawi in the UNEP defined it as a climate refugee in 1985. There are also instances where climate-induced migration, which typically happens as internal migration, occurs

as cross-border movements as a result of failing to avoid the adverse effects of climate change, and it is now recognized as a cross-border issue requiring international cooperation.

Today, with the opinion that climate change cannot be the only reason for the decision to migrate (Black, 2001; McAdam, 2012; Laczko & Pighuet, 2013) and that climate-induced migration will mostly occur as internal migration, climate-induced migration is a phenomenon that is still not accepted by the whole fields of the discipline of International Relations and has started to be discussed relatively recently. As the literature on the evolution of the concept of climate-induced migration is examined, it can be seen that it first emerged in the literature as environmental migration (Laczko & Aghazam, 2009). Discussions and studies on the legal status of climate-induced migrants (Suhrke, 1993; Myers & Kent, 1995; Biermann & Baas, 2010) persisted in the following years. By exploring the concept of creating regimes against global issues within the framework of regime theory (Krasner, 1982; Keohane, 1984; Aksoy, 2015; Karacalar, 2018) and analyzing it as a global issue (Sosa-Nunez & Atkins, 2016) the idea of creating regimes relevant to environmental issues (Arı, 2010; Habib, 2011; Little 2014; Khan, 2016; Ünver, 2017; Tarhan 2018) has emerged in the agenda. Following the assessment of international organizations' efforts to bring climate-induced migration to the international policy (Hall, 2010, 2015, 2016; Tıraş, 2012; McAdam, 2012, 2014, 2017; Rajnish, 2015; Nash, 2018), the discussions on climate-induced migration in the EU (Goria, 1999; Magnan et al., 2009; Heinrich Böll Stiftung, 2014; Mulligan et al., 2014; Yılmaz-Turgut, 2018; Talu, 2019) have started to emerge. Recently, though very limited, evaluations regarding the cooperation and leadership of the EU on the climate-induced migration issue (Popp, 2014; Werz & Hoffman, 2016) have been included in the literature.

As the adverse effects of climate change continue to increase, climate-induced migration poses a threat both as a security and human rights issue. In this context, this thesis questions the importance of international organizations in making climate-induced migration into the international policy agenda and is essential in terms of attracting attention to the yet recent and less-studied topic in the literature. Also, this thesis can be considered as a starting point for presenting the perspective to future studies intended EU's climate-induced migration policies, specifically due to the number of studies of the EU's climate-induced migration policies is limited.

The thesis will be structured in seven chapters. The first two chapters will discuss the conceptual and theoretical framework, which will outline migration, climate change, and regime theories. In the following two chapters, in order to explain the role of international organizations in the recognition of climate migration, the studies of organizations such as the UN and EU on the subject starts from environmental problems will be included, and historical infrastructure will be built up for the analysis chapters. The discourses of the European Commission, the European Parliament, and the Council of the EU on climate-induced migration will be analyzed in the final three chapters, and inferences will be reached about the EU's potential leadership, which is one of the thesis' key hypotheses. In this context, in the first chapter of the thesis, starting from the concept of migration and climate change, the relationship between climate change and migration will be explained. In this chapter, the question "Does climate change cause migration?", which is still not agreed upon by skeptical scholars, will be attempted to be answered. And at last, the chapter will explain that climate-induced migration is a global issue that requires international cooperation.

To examine the role of international institutions, Chapter 2 examines within the framework of regime theories neorealism, neoliberal institutionalism, and constructivism, which emphasize international cooperation, and addresses the question of "Which theory can be more useful in providing collective action in climate-induced migration?" Climate change and climate-induced migration are global concerns that will impact the entire planet. In such cases, the international system can ensure that problems are resolved by providing collective action rather than conflict. As a result, the thesis' adopts a theoretical framework in line with neoliberal institutionalism, which contends that international institutions change state behaviors and provide more ground for cooperation.

Chapter 3 evaluates the efforts of international institutions, especially the UN, to ensure international cooperation in the process from environmental problems to climate migration since the 1970s. Hence, it explains how this subject, which has started to be discussed under the title of environmental issues, has evolved into one of the most serious topics in world politics with the concept of sustainable development. Chapter 4 aims to develop a background for the analysis section by summarizing the development of the concept of climate-induced migration on the policies the EU's follows after briefly examining the studies of the EU, which is one of the leading institutions with its climate change policies, on migration and climate change.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7, provide a discourse analysis of the EU's institutions documents on climate-induced migration between 2010-2020. The reason for taking 2010 as a starting point is that this is when climate-induced migration officially entered the policy agenda in EU institutions, and future inferences are made regarding the expectations that the EU will play a key role in this field. For this purpose, the European

Commission, the European Parliament and Council of the EU's official documents including staff working documents, annual reports, agendas, minutes, council conclusions, resolutions, agreements are put under scrutiny in chapters 5, 6, and 7, respectively. The analysis focuses on the recognition of climate-induced migration, the legal status of climate migrants, adaptation strategy proposals on the subject, recommendations for international cooperation, and the final, the discourses of the EU institutions regarding the leadership in this matter. In the analysis of these documents, this thesis aims to provide an analysis of the EU's approach to climate-induced migration, especially with the discourses on international cooperation and assistance to the affected states. After evaluating the discourses of each institution, the conclusion subchapters discuss the development of the climate-induced migration discourse over the years and the EU's views on this issue and evaluate the three institutions' discourses on climate-induced migration accordingly the similar and different points. As a result of the analysis, the discussion of the EU's potential leadership in this field, despite the views claiming that the EU tends to follow the UN on climate-induced migration policies, will make this thesis one of the starting points for future studies.

1. AS AN INTERNATIONAL ISSUE: CLIMATE-INDUCED MIGRATION

1.1. What is Migration?

Throughout history, we see that people have changed places for various reasons. When we look at the reasons for migration, it is possible to say that people generally do not move for a single reason, and that many factors cause migration in relation to each other. The phenomenon of migration, which existed almost with the history of humanity, became more complex and studied by various disciplines, especially with globalization. Technological developments and the facilitation of relocation have made migration an essential phenomenon for states and international organizations, and in some cases a problem that is seen as a security threat.

In order to understand international migration, it is necessary to explain some of the definitions of migration used in studies and literature. According to International Organization for Migration (IOM);

International migration is the movement of persons away from their place of usual residence either across an international border or within a state (IOM,2019a; 113).

Immigration: From the perspective of the country of arrival, the act of moving into a country other than one's country of nationality or usual residence, so that the country of destination effectively becomes his or her new country of usual residence (IOM, 2019a; 103).

Emigration: From the perspective of the country of departure, the act of moving from one's country of nationality or usual residence to another country, so that the country of destination effectively becomes his or her new country of usual residence (IOM, 2019a; 64).

Migration is a phenomenon that has been observed and persists since human history. Basically, as mentioned above, it is possible to explain the concept of migration as people leaving their places permanently or semi-permanently (Lee, 1966). As a result of major developments such as the Industrial Revolution and the establishment of the European Economic Community, increasing migration movements have become an important issue in international relations. With the expansion of Europe in the 16th century and the Industrial Revolution of the 18th century, it has been observed that the rural population has shifted towards the developed industrial zones, especially due to economic reasons.

It is possible to see that there were migration movements from the European continent to America between the years 1820-1940 in the period until the Second World War. In the period between 1820 and the First World War, about 55 million Europeans immigrated to South America and Australia. During this period, immigration movements were also experienced within the European continent (Hatton & Ferrie, 2013). Especially after the First World War, immigration movements from Ukraine and Poland were observed, especially to the mines and steel factories in France and Germany. There is also immigration from Ireland to the industrial regions in England to work. It is possible to evaluate this situation as migration from economically undeveloped regions to developed regions (Bonifazi et al., 2008). As a result of the world wars, there were mass migrations. Between the First and the Second World Wars,

about 60 million Europeans left their lands and immigrated to new settlements such as America and Australia. After two world wars, forced migration movements started. Between 1945 and 1950, 15.4 million people moved from the East to the West, while 4.7 million people were seen to migrate from the West to the East. If we add the internal migration, it can be said that approximately 30 million people migrated (Fassmann & Munz, 1994; McKeown, 2004; Bonifazi et al., 2008).

When we examine the more recent history, it has become easier to move with the effect of globalization and people have started to migrate more easily with the developing technology and easier travel opportunities (de Haas et al., 2014). According to the *IOM World Migration Report 2020*, the number of international migrants, which was 174 million in 1995, increased to 272 million by 2019. While the ratio of the number of international immigrants to the world population in 1995 was 2.8%, it is possible to see that this rate increased to 3.5% in 2019 (IOM, 2019b).

1.1.1. Reasons of migration

The phenomenon of migration has become one of the most important problems of international relations due to the effects it causes. As a result of the political, economic, and social developments experienced, it is seen not only as an internal problem but as an international problem and affects not only migrants but also societies that receive immigration (Koçak & Gündüz, 2016).

While it has been observed that the migration, which has existed since the history of humanity, occurred due to famine and climatic reasons in the past years, people have started to migrate to increase their living standards with the developing

technology and easy accessibility. In the light of these developments, migration has started to gain different dimensions. It is seen that such migration movements are directed towards developed countries.

"Push and pull factors", which Everett Lee put forward in his *Theories of Migration* and are frequently referred to in migration studies, can help us understand the causes of migration. Lee laid out the basic characteristics of migration in his theory and tried to formulate his theory by revealing the push and pull factors for migration. According to Lee, four basic factors; factors related to the place of residence, factors related to the planned destination, obstacles and individual factors. Based on this, it is possible to say that the factors related to the place to be lived and to be visited are relative. In addition, Lee considered micro and macro factors as determinants of migration in his theory. Micro factors address the situation of the person, while macro factors are higher-level factors such as migration laws in the place of destination and reasons that encourage migration in the host country (Lee, 1966).

The literature defines the main drivers of migration as economic factors (Lewis, 1954; Borjas, 1989; Gross & Schmitts, 2012), political factors (Gibney et al., 1996; Shelman & Steward, 2007; Ibáñez & Vélez, 2008), and socio-cultural factors (Gross & Schmitt's 2012; Dustman & Okatenko, 2014, Root & De Jong, 1991). Among these reasons, the most common reason for migration is economic-based migration, which can also be described as labor displacement. International Labor Organization (ILO) states that around 164 million of the total number of international migrants, which was 258 million in 2017, were migrant workers (ILO, 2018), which corresponds to approximately two-thirds of the total number of international migrants.

Studies say that in the 1970s and 1980s, with the effect of globalization, work migration increased. In 1970, it was observed that approximately 80 million people, 2% of the total population, lived in a country different from their homeland. By 1990, it was seen that this number almost doubled to 150 million (UN, 2013). With the increase in globalization, we can say that this number has increased exponentially every year. According to the study conducted in 2016, it has been observed that more than 30% of the immigrants in the world live in the USA (Helms & Leblang, 2019). In light of these data, it is possible to say that many people leave their home country in search of better conditions, better job opportunities. These movements from less developed countries to regions with high employment rates are an indication that the integration of less developed countries into the world market has not been fully realized (de Haas et al., 2014).

1.1.1.1. Economic reasons

Economic migration is mostly seen as migration movements to developed cities. However, the main migration reasons accepted in the literature cannot be considered differently from each other and they are affected by both each other and environmental factors. For instance, in places where drought begins, migration movements due to economic reasons are observed.

According to the literature review of the European Asylum Support Office's the Push and Pull Factors of Asylum-Related Migration, scholars have focused primarily on economic reasons since the beginning of the 20th century, when the reasons for migration began to be investigated. The study of *Economic Development*

with *Unlimited Supplies of Labor* published by A. Lewis in 1954 indicates that migration from rural areas is economically based, as there will be a need for labor in urban areas due to the expansion of the capitalist system. In the first studies, macro levels such as the economic policies of the states and the need for labor in economically developing places are examined. By the end of the 1980s, we see that Borjas reduced the economic reason of migration from states (macro) to individuals (micro) level, upon the claim that the individual made a decision to migrate by making cost-benefit analysis (Borjas, 1989).

1.1.1.2. Political & security reasons

Migration movements that occur because people are under pressure due to differences such as ethnicity (Clay, 1984; Kaufmann, 1996), religion (Kolbe & Henne, 2014), and language in the regions/countries they live in or due to political instabilities, regime changes, civil conflicts, and wars (Adhikari, 2012; Cummings et al., 2015), terrorism are defined as political migration, which is also considered as security factors of migration with the increasing internal conflicts from the 1990s.

One of the security-related reasons people migrate is internal conflict. Factors such as political instability, corruption, and underdevelopment can increase conflicts within the country. It is seen as a very common problem especially in the African continent (Dinbabo & Carciotto, 2015).

According to Shellman and Stewart, the most significant risk factor among the driving factors of immigration is political violence and culture. In their study examining

the migration from Haiti to the USA, they concluded that human rights violations are directly proportional to the increase of guerrilla attacks (Shellman & Stewart, 2007).

The best example of security-related migration in recent history is the Arab Spring. In the regions where political violence and poverty meet, there have been migrations, especially to Europe (de Haas et al., 2014). But at this point, again, we see that political and economic reasons are intertwined.

According to de Haas, deprivations of political rights have a huge impact on the decision to migrate, and people are more likely to leave autocratic countries (de Haas, 2010).

Political migrations are generally considered as forced and irregular migrations and are more difficult to analyze than economic migrations. Crawley (2010) states that when the two are analyzed together, conflicts affect migration more than economic reasons. In his study, Crawley asked the questions to what extent individuals seeking protection can choose and how they make these choices and concluded that individuals who rarely make migration decisions have information about all alternatives and destination destinations. In his interviews with 40 asylum seekers and refugees in the United Kingdom, he concluded that most of them did not choose the UK as their destination when leaving their country and that the decision was made during the journey (Crawley, 2010).

1.1.1.3. Socio-economic reasons

The desire to receive education under better conditions, to benefit from health and public services better, or to immigrate to a region with better social conditions are

among the socio-cultural reasons of migration (Castelli, 2018). In Root and De Jong's work, it is mentioned that the family status and the socio-economic status of the family also play an important role in making a migration decision. The fact that the family member who made the decision to migrate is a family member who has previously settled in the country of destination is also an important factor for immigration to occur (Root & De Jong, 1991).

At the same time, it is possible to evaluate Borjas' reference to the relationship between the development level of the individual and migration in this sense. The more a person improves himself, the more he / she will have a say in making decisions to increase living standards. Therefore, due to the lack of conditions such as health and education in his current country, he can make a more comfortable decision to migrate to countries with better conditions (Borjas, 1989).

Also, the "brain drain" that individuals with a higher level of education for better job opportunities and status can be considered among the reasons for socio-cultural migration. The changes that developed countries have made in migration policies since the 1980's have changed in the direction of preferring and giving priority to educated and skilled immigrants. Given the value of highly educated and skilled people to their home countries' economies, their immigrant admissions quotas are being raised. As a result of academic researches, it has been observed that the number of temporary work visas given to educated immigrants by the USA increased from 110 thousand in 1992 to 355 thousand in 2002 (Özden & Schiff, 2006).

It has been observed that people migrated in response to environmental changes and natural disasters since human history. This is considered primitive migration (Petersen, 1958). It is acknowledged that it is not right to attribute migration

to a single reason, and the decision to migrate can be made by combining many reasons (Black 2001; McAdam, 2012).

Environmental migration is generally considered under economic reasons in the literature. It is not generally examined under a separate heading in terms of environmental degradation and the deterioration of people's economic levels or triggering civil wars as in the case of Syria. Some scholars evaluate migration due to environmental problems and natural disasters under these main headings. However, there are scholars that add environmental migration to this classification, apart from the above migration types that are addressed in the literature. According to Laczko and Aghazam, environmental migration includes migration from climate-related disasters such as desertification, sea level rise and drought (Laczko & Aghazam, 2009).

Also, due to environmental migration is more likely to occur as internal migration, it is not addressed under a separate heading among the causes of international migration (de Haas, 2010).

In this chapter, it will be tried to explain that climate-induced migration should take place more in the literature as a reason for international migration, especially since climate change started to take an important place in international politics. To understand the importance and threat of climate-induced migration in the global arena, climate change will be discussed in detail starting from the next subchapter.

1.2. What is Climate-Induced Migration?

Climate change is still a controversial and elusive issue for international relations. This is because both academic and political authorities have not reached a

consensus on considering this type of migration as an international concept. Nevertheless, climate-induced migration has been explored as an international phenomenon since the studies and publications made by the United Nations (UN) and its affiliated expertise organizations. Notwithstanding the conceptual discussion, climate-induced migration is directly affecting the lives of thousands of people and thereby the international relations each year. According to IOM data, only in 2018, 764,000 people were displaced due to drought (IOM, 2019b). Hence, this thesis focuses on climate-induced migration as an international phenomenon and seeks to explain it.

1.2.1. Climate change

The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change defines climate change as follows: "[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 other natural climate variability that has been observed over comparable time periods" (UN, 1992, p. 2).

The rate of greenhouse gas emissions released into the atmosphere has increased at an unprecedented rate in the world history with the industrial revolution due to industrialization and deforestation. The rate of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere directly affects the temperature of the earth. As the proportion of greenhouse gases that keep a certain part of the rays coming from the sun to our Earth in the atmosphere and keep the earth at a certain temperature, the temperature of our world increases in parallel. Carbon dioxide is the most emitted gas to the atmosphere, especially with the excessive use of fossil fuels for energy production.

The protection and sustainability of the environment has gained importance since the 1970s. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) was established in 1988 by the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) and the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) to carry out studies on climate change related to the situation our world faces. IPCC was established at these times when the effects of climate change began to be seen and scientific research was needed against climate change. Since its establishment, it has been measuring and evaluating the effects of climate change. As a result of the studies carried out by the IPCC, it has been revealed that climate change exists and occurs as a result of human activities (IPCC, 2018).

Throughout the history of the world, there have been climate changes, and there have been times when the world's average temperature was too high or low (like the ice ages). However, the human impact on today's climate change, whose effects have been seen since the mid-20th century, is at an unprecedented rate compared to the changes until now. According to the research conducted by the IPCC, the global temperature increased by an average of 0.85 °C from 1880 to 2012 (IPCC, 2018).

It is possible to see that the temperature in the ocean and land surfaces are also increasing rapidly with the global warming. The warming in the oceans has begun to cause the melting of glaciers, which will threaten human life, such as the rise of sea levels. The warming on the land surface causes consequences such as desertification and forest fires (especially in countries such as Europe and Australia), both damaging ecosystems and causing the world's resources to be destroyed (Schaik et al., 2020).

Environmental changes cause living things to be unable to survive or to change their habitats. With the melting of the glaciers in the polar region or the disappearance of coral reefs, the creatures in this region migrate to different regions. Animals and

plants are not the only creatures that cannot combat the negative effects of climate change. With its negative effects increasing exponentially, people also had to change places.

Although environmentally-induced migration was a subject that started to be mentioned in the 19th and 20th centuries, the period when it started to gain importance in the international arena coincides with the period of the Chernobyl disaster, which is also very close to the IPCC in 1985. As of these dates, it has begun to be understood that large-scale environmental disasters caused by humans, as mentioned above, may occur. Also, in this period, it started to be accepted with the UN IPCC panel that the drought and the increase in sea levels in various parts of the world were caused by global warming (Mayer, 2016).

1.2.2. Conceptual discussion on climate change

The ongoing debate over recognizing climate-induced migration as an international concept has been stated above. In this section, a conceptual assessment of climate-induced migration will be made by exploring the different views in the literature on this issue. Firstly, the lack of a consensus on the definition will be elaborated on. Secondly, the section will move on to consider the evolution of the definition of climate-induced migration. In this way, the conceptual framework of the thesis will be formed.

The conceptual discussion on climate migration is twofold. First and foremost, those who are reserved to addressing climate migration as a concept generally question whether the displacement caused by the climate is due to the climate, or some other

factor. According to Dun and Gemenne (2008), theories about migration often ignore the fact that the environment is a driving factor for migration (Mence & Parrinder, 2017). Climate skeptics argue that gradual warming and cooling of the planet has been normal since world history, and it has nothing to do with climate change / global warming. However, when looking at the studies on global warming, it is a common phenomenon that started to take place as a result of human activities after the Industrial Revolution. Apart from climate skeptics, some scholars accept climate change but claim that climate change cannot be the only cause of migration and that people can decide to migrate with a combination of different reasons (Black 2001; McAdam, 2012; Laczko & Pighuet, 2013).

The second obscurity in the conceptualization of climate-induced migration is related to the legal status of its subjects. In 2013, in *United Nations High-Level Dialogue on Migration and Development*, there were discussions about determining the status of people who migrated due to crises and natural disasters (Mence & Parrinder, 2017). The importance of climate migrants' status is important in determining whether they have international protection or not. People with the status of migrants are seen to make the migration decision on their own initiative to live in better conditions. Protection is provided by international law for people who cannot use their own initiative and have to leave their living quarters (as long as they meet the "refugee" conditions defined in international law). It is not clear whether the displaced persons will have the status of migrants or refugees. At this point, it can be argued that people who are displaced as a result of environmental degradation are obliged to do so. But according to the definition of refugee in 1951 Geneva Convention;

A person who, owing to a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it (Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, 1951, art. 1A, para. 2).

In this respect, the Geneva Convention clearly states that in order for a person to be evaluated as a refugee, s/he must be persecuted and “threatened” due to her/his “race, religion, nationality” characteristics. That is, the definition excludes the people who are displaced by climate. UNHCR also opposed the use of the term refugee for people displaced by climate change or natural disasters. According to UNHCR, the terms ‘environmental refugee’ and ‘climate refugee’ have no basis in international law and their use could confuse environmental factors with persecution, potentially undermining refugee protection standards (UNHCR, 2008).

Since there is no widely accepted definition of displacement due to environmental changes, many scientists consider it wrong to evaluate the concepts of environment and refugee together (Kibreab, 1997; McGregor, 1993). Some scholars argue that the concept of refugees should be evaluated within the framework of the original criteria specified in the definition in the Refugee Convention (Castles, 2002; Suhrke, 1992; Zetter, 2007).

The reason why the scholars who support the use of the definition of refugee for the displacement caused by climate change in the literature support this view is that

people living in island countries that will be flooded by the impact of climate change or in lands that can no longer be lived due to drought are believed to be forced to become cross-border refugees. If these people are seen as “asylum seekers,” they will attract attention to provide social protection and gain the legitimacy they deserve (Biermann & Baas, 2010; Myers & Kent, 1995; Suhrke, 1993). Myers and Kent have described environmental refugees as “[P]ersons who no longer gain a secure livelihood in their traditional homelands because of what are primarily environmental factors of unusual scope” (Myers & Kent, 1995, p. 18).

The concept of "climate refugees" proposed by Hinnawi in 1985 evolved over time as "climate migrants, climate induced displaced persons". IOM and IPCC also prefer to use the concept of environmentally / climate induced displaced persons. It is seen that as the number of academic studies on environment and migration increases, the concept of "refugee" used with environment and climate change decreases (Laczko & Pighuet, 2013).

It is possible to find Hinnawi's definition in UNEP in 1985 in many academic studies on climate-induced migration. According to Hinnawi, environmental refugees are “people who have been forced to leave their traditional habitat, temporarily or permanently, because of a marked environmental disruption (natural and/or triggered by people) that jeopardised their existence and/or seriously affected the quality of their life[...].” (El-Hinnawi, 1985, p. 4). Hinnawi divides "environmental degradation" into two as natural or as a result of human activities. He states that there may be natural disasters such as volcanic eruptions and earthquakes, as well as disruptions caused by humans. These degradations can be temporary or permanent, in this sense, it is a very comprehensive definition.

Climate-induced migration is considered as the subtitle of environmental migration due to anthropogenic climate changes. Migrations that occur due to natural events independent of human influence such as earthquakes and volcanic eruptions are not covered by climate migration. In the international arena, climate migration is more prominent than environmental migration with the necessity of collective action and cooperation. Because, if the necessary measures are taken and changes are made, it is predicted that climate-induced migration can be prevented (Mayer, 2016).

Myers, an environmental scientist and known for his work on environmental refugees, also used the concept of environmental refugee. According to Myers, an environmental displacement that is seen as a problem that cannot be ignored in the international arena can simply be defined as people who no longer feel safe in their living areas due to drought, deforestation, desertification and therefore have to leave their places of residence. Although it is generally seen that it occurs internally today, it is predicted that millions of people will be forced to migrate across borders due to the effects of global warming, especially as a result of the increase in the projected sea levels (Myers, 2002).

As addressed in the definition of Hinnawi, those who make temporary or permanent displacement are called an environmental refugee. The fact that hundreds of thousands of people lost their homes as a result of disasters such as the big earthquake and tsunami and had to change places, albeit for a short time, puts them in the status of Environmental refugee according to this definition (Williams, 2018).

So how did the concept of climate migrants/refugees come about? In Kollmanskog's study, the definition of IPCC "disaster displacement" is summarized as follows; In the first group, natural disasters caused by global warming are pointed out.

These disasters are classified in themselves as long-term natural disasters such as environmental damage, rising sea levels, drought, water scarcity; and, short-term natural disasters such as sudden floods and hurricanes. The second group includes disasters such as Chernobyl as a result of human activities. In the last group, disasters such as earthquakes and volcanic eruptions that occur independently of human intervention and climate change are included (Kollmanskog, 2008).

Environmental displacement, which is a significant problem that should not be ignored in the international arena, is generally seen as internal migration today. However, it is estimated that millions of people will be forced to migrate across borders due to the effects of global warming, especially the increase in projected sea levels.

However, there is still no widely accepted definition of Environmental refugee/migrant in the literature. For this reason, to be able to name immigrants this way, according to Kollmanskog, migrations should occur for the following reasons;

- Natural/sudden disasters
- Environmental conflicts
- Industrial accidents
- Environmental changes caused by humans
- Temporary or permanent climate change
- Internal / external

Kollmanskog discussed the causes of environmental migration in a broad framework. Human activities and natural disasters are common problems that can cause environmental migration. Therefore, migration due to climate change should be considered as a subtitle of environmental migration. Migration due to natural disasters, where there is no effect of increasing or preventing the occurrence of people, will not

be examined in this study. The existence of migration due to changes in the world's climate as a result of human activities and how it is handled in the international arena will be examined.

Due to the term "climate refugee" is not included in international law, the United Nations uses the term climate migrants for people displaced due to climate change. In this study, definitions of international institutions such as the UN will be adopted, and the term climate migrants will be used when referring to people displaced due to climate change, and the term climate-induced migration will be used when referring to the displacement movements of these people.

1.2.3. The Concept of Climate-Induced Migration

Throughout human history, people have migrated due to climatic/environmental factors. According to Lovelock's *Gaia Theory*, it has been observed that the planet provides sustainability with "self-regulation system" in these environmental and climate changes throughout history. However, he mentioned that it is difficult to talk about this sustainability with global climate change. Humans have now upset the natural self-regulation of Gaia According to him, "[w]e will not be able to kill of Gaia, but Gaia will rid herself of parts of her that are too destructive humans- unless we make peace with her" (Lovelock, 2006, as cited in Kolmannskog, 2008, p. 6).

However, in recent years, due to extreme weather changes observed with the effect of global warming, melting of glaciers and rising sea levels, soil inefficiency, drought, and erosion, an increase in migration due to environmental factors has recently been observed and predicted (Ekşi, 2016). Considering climate change's historical

background, it is possible to say that climate change has had an impact globally, not regionally, for nearly 50 years (Mutlu, et al., 2015).

Environmental problems did not receive much attention from the United Nations until 1968. The UN Scientific Conference in 1972 first addressed the issue of protecting and improving the environment. In this conference, it was put on the agenda that climate change may cause problems in the future and that measures should be taken by states. In the 1980s, after acid rains in Europe and North America began to be seen as evidence of climate change due to air pollution, UN bodies started to accelerate their work on this issue.

Depletion of the ozone layer and global warming gained importance in public debates at the end of the 1980s and the UN IPCC was established in 1988 to discuss these issues. In the IPCC in 1990, it was mentioned for the first time that climate change could cause large flows of migration.

The increase observed in migration movements, which have an important place in the discipline of international relations with climate change, has made global climate change not only an environmental problem but also a political and humanitarian problem. The inability of people to adapt to the destruction caused by global climate change in ecosystems gave birth to the concept of climate-induced migration, and millions of people remained displaced for this reason, especially in the 21st century.

Failure to adapt to changing climate conditions has forced millions of people to migrate. In the migration and climate change studies of IOM, it is foreseen that in 2008, 20 million people had to leave the region where they lived as refugees/migrants, and this rate could increase to 25 million and 1 billion people by 2050. Due to the increasing migration rates, the UN and the EU have been actively working on the relationship

between migration and climate change, especially since the early 1990s (Laczko & Aghazarm, 2009).

According to The Fifth Assessment Report of the IPCC, published in 2014, it was stated that there was a human factor in the changes that took place as of the 1950s and there was a rapid warming-change that has not been seen throughout history. As a result of the increase in greenhouse gas emissions, The IPCC's Fifth Assessment Report estimates that global average temperature has increased by 0.85 ° C between 1880 and 2012. It is among the predictions that this temperature may increase between 3 and 5 °C until 2100. Depending on the temperature increase, the melting of the glaciers in the polar regions will cause sea levels to rise. This can cause changes in ocean currents, resulting in extreme weather events such as major hurricanes livable. Due to climate change, it is expected that resources such as water will be depleted in some regions, fertile soil will no longer be cultivated due to drought or floods, and therefore poverty will be experienced (Mayer, 2016).

The most striking reason for migration due to climate change is "displacements" due to rising sea levels. According to the IPCC, at the end of the 21st century, an increase of 28-43 cm is expected in sea levels as the glaciers melt. These increases are thought to affect not only island states but also states with low-lying coastal areas. It is stated in the European Environment Agency 2006 report that an increase of 1 meter may affect more than 13 million people in 5 countries in Europe (Williams, 2018).

Rising sea levels also affect arable soils. Since there will be salt pollution in these areas, especially in Asia, rice fields and agricultural lands become unusable and economically countries are in a difficult situation. Especially in Bangladesh, it is predicted that a large part of the country will be inundated, and this causes political

problems in possible migration flows to neighboring countries. A fence along the border started to be built by the neighboring country India in 2002. The purpose of this fence-wall is to contain future climate migrants, prevent smuggling and illegal migration (IOM, 2008).

Migrations due to global climate change are generally seen in the Asia-Pacific region, in the Southern regions that will be submerged by rising sea levels and in Africa due to the ongoing drought.

In the coming years, conflicts are expected in these regions due to the shortage that may occur in agriculture and water resources due to the drought caused by the deterioration of environmental conditions. It is even predicted that it may cause further international wars (Mutlu et al., 2015).

Conflicts in Darfur are stated in UNEP Environmental Assessment (2007) that there is a relationship between reasons such as land degradation, drought, and conflicts. However, it is not possible to say that the only reason for the conflicts is the global environmental problems. Because other countries in the Sahel region have drought due to climate change, but there is no conflict in these regions. It is also said that the major cause of the conflicts is the conflicts between the tribes (Kolmanskog, 2008).

As the rate of impact of climate change on countries increases, it may vary not only according to environmental activities but also according to the development level of the countries. The communities that are economically dependent on agriculture, living in coastal areas prone to flooding, and drought soils has greater risks. Economically developed countries are more advantageous because they have the power to make more economic investments to develop advanced warning technologies against natural disasters or to reduce the effects of climate change. As an example, we can

consider two recent natural events. As a result of Tropical Cyclone Gorky, which affected the Chittagong region of Bangladesh in 1991, approximately 140,000 people died and nearly 10 million people became homeless. One year later, Hurricane Andrew, a stronger storm in the USA Florida and Louisiana killed only 65 people (IOM, 2008, p. 19). As the development level of a country increases, the rate of damage from environmental disasters decreases and recovery periods after environmental disasters become shorter.

Climate change is a problem that is accepted as a result of human activities and causes environmental degradation that affects all living things. Environmental degradations due to climate change (such as rising sea levels, extreme weather events, depletion of water resources, drought) also push people to leave the regions they live in. Generally observed as internal migration, "climate induced migration" is also seen as "cross border movements" as the effects of climate change increase. At this point, the problem is no longer a national or regional one, but a problem that requires international joint action.

1.3. As an International Issue: Climate-Induced Migration

Although it has been seen that climatic changes have caused migration throughout history, environmental migration, which is an important issue in international relations, is seen as a recently discussed problem in this area. In the 1980s, the changes in the climate were first mentioned at UN climate and environment summits due to the damage caused by humans and in 1985 Essan El-Hinnawi defined climate migrant / refugee for the first time (El-Hinnawi, 1985; Öztürk, 2018).

Today, it is seen that migration due to environmental factors is not yet taken into consideration, as they are not at a level that threatens states. As mentioned in previous examples, migration due to natural disasters is generally limited as internal migration. However, it is predicted that these problems will lead to greater disasters in the coming years if measures are not taken against ongoing climate change. Considering that 20% of the world cannot reach clean drinking water, which is the main source of human life and today, it is predicted that immigration will increase due to the predicted water shortage and water resources will be a cause of war between states.

Climate change can be seen as the most complex global problem. It is a stock rather than a flow pollution problem. It can be thought of as the combination of past emissions created by developed countries and current emissions created by developing countries. It is expected that it will show its effects more severely in the coming years. However, its negative effects are expected to hit the poor rather than developed countries (Sosa-Nunez & Atkins, 2016).

As mentioned above, global environmental problems have adverse effects for the entire planet, not just one region. The effect of climate change is high in the occurrence of global environmental problems. Hence, climate change is really a collective action problem, there is a built-in compulsion for addressing the root causes through international cooperation (Sosa-Nunez & Atkins, 2016). However, states are not very keen on sharing responsibilities in this matter, and countries such as the USA and Brazil can ignore it because the cost is high. President Trump announced that one month before the 2019 United Nations Climate Change Conference (also known as COP25), the United States left the Paris Climate Agreement, the most important international agreement on climate change. Russia, which ranks fourth in the world in

terms of greenhouse gas emissions, is among the countries that do not participate in the Paris Agreement. Turkey ratified the Agreement can not be de Paris is one of two countries in the G20 (Mulvaney, 2019) Climate change in Europe is also criticized by climate sceptist right wing populist leaders. The rise of nationalist populism also increases the suspicion of climate change and climate migrants (see Figure1).

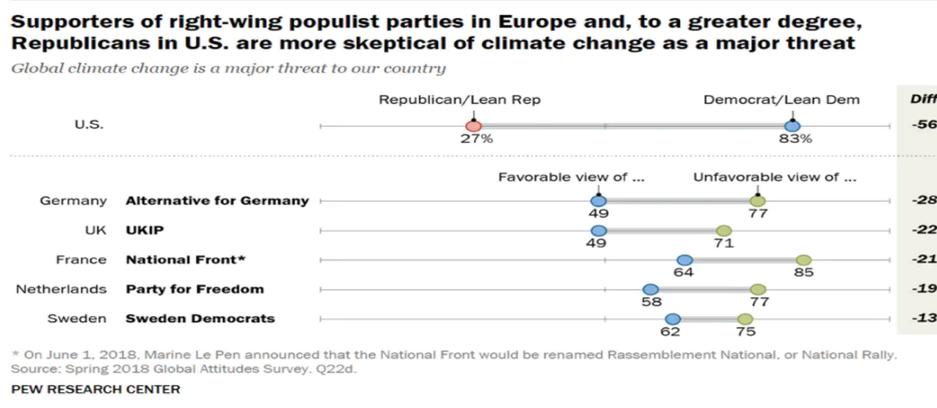


Figure 1: View of the US and EU populist parties supporters on climate change. (Adapted from *The Conversation*, 2020. <https://theconversation.com/why-is-climate-scepticism-so-successful-in-the-united-states-129826>)

According to the study carried out by the Internal Displacement Monitoring Center (IDMC) in 2008-2018, it was found that 265 million people were displaced due to environmental disasters. This number is 3 times the displacement caused by the conflict and violence in the specified years. And according to the same study, it is predicted that displacements predicted to occur related to weather events will constitute 87% of displacements due to all disasters (see Figure 2). According to IDMC, the problems faced or experienced by people displaced by disasters are the same as those displaced by conflict and violence. These people lose their homes, income, and have

difficulty in accessing basic needs such as food, water, education, and health (IDMC, 2019).

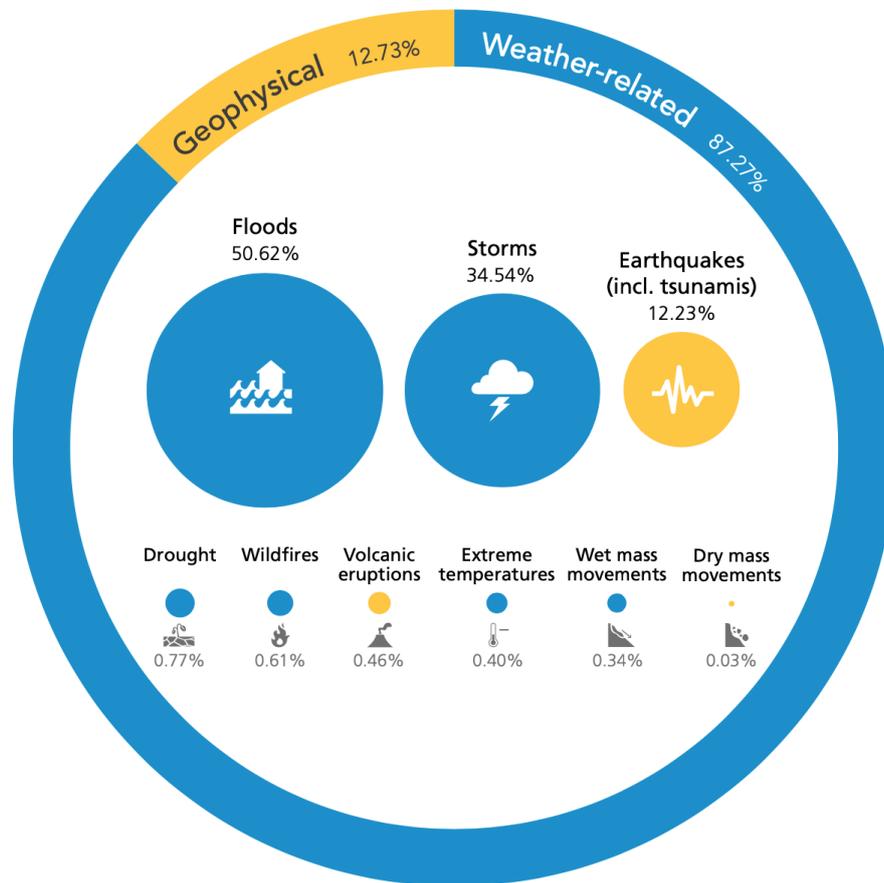


Figure 2: Displacement by hazard categories (Adapted from "Disaster Displacement, a global review 2008-2018" by S. Ponsérre and J. Ginnetti, 2019, May, p. 8. IDMC)

In the study, it is stated that those displaced due to disasters are a global problem that includes all high- and low-income countries, but when we look at the process until today, it is possible to say that it has a more devastating effect on low-income countries (IDMC, 2019).

The reluctance of states to undertake legal obligations regarding climate-induced migration has been the aim of bringing the issue to the agenda of both

international politics and national policy by taking more responsibility from the intergovernmental organizations regarding this issue. To examine the leading role of international organizations in climate-induced migration, which is the main argument of this study, the importance of international organizations in providing international cooperation within the scope of regime theories will be reviewed in chapter two, and the research works and strategies of international institutions on climate-induced migration will be addressed in detail in the following chapters.



2. COLLECTIVE ACTION IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORIES: INTERNATIONAL REGIMES

With globalization, it is possible to see the effects of political, economic or technological developments taking place anywhere in the world. While the world is so integrated, we see that traditional international relations theories such as realism and liberalism are insufficient to explain the current order. Cooperation in the changing international system has begun to be discussed under the name of regime theories in order to understand what issues and why states cooperate.

In the globalizing international system, environmental problems have started to gain importance with the increase of scientific research on climate change, especially since the 1980s. Actors are expected to deal with this problem in cooperation by adopting a collective understanding of the environment. In this chapter, Neorealism, Neoliberalism, and Constructivism theories will be tried to be explained and which theory will be useful in creating collective action on climate change which is the common problem of all humanity. The main argument of this study, that international organizations can form collective action on climate-induced migration, will be supported by explaining regime theories.

2.1. Regime Theory

With the impact of globalization, various problems have arisen in the international arena, which states can no longer resolve independently. Regimes, in this sense, are institutions established by states to find solutions to these problems and to protect their common interests (Aksoy, 2015). According to regime theorists, since the

20th century, states exist in the international system with mutually accepted principles, norms, and institutions formed under them (Little, 2014). Regime theory suggests that cooperation between states is possible in international relations. Especially after the Second World War, the change of the international system and the increase in the number of international organizations as a result of the increasing dependence of the states on each other started to be criticized by scholars such as S. Haggard and B. Simmons (1987) on the grounds that the current international relations theories could not explain the international politics. In the 1970s, the questioning of the USA's being the hegemonic power in the international system has also revealed problems such as how to maintain order in the anarchic international system.

Globalization has both positive and negative aspects in the international system. Regimes now play a role in regulation in many areas of international relations. The most significant of these are environmental and safety issues. According to regime theorists, it is stated that if success is achieved in organizing global activities, solutions will be reached in cooperation with these issues (Little, 2014).

Mainstream theories define the system as an anarchic structure since there is no central authority in the international system (Waltz, 1979). In this anarchic environment, states follow a foreign policy that prioritizes their own security and welfare. For this reason, there is a perception that the anarchic environment is more suitable for conflicts than cooperation. But today, with the effect of globalization, we see that states cooperate even in the process from production to distribution of a good. The main purpose of regime theories, which has been discussed in the international relations discipline since the 1970s, is to find a solution to the question of how states cooperate in an anarchic environment (Aksoy, 2015).

Since the 1970s, the concept of the international regime has been included in the literature by scholars like Stephen D. Krasner and John G. Ruggie. However, as the definition of regime theory in the literature, the definition in Krasner's article *Structural Causes and Regime Consequences: Regimes as Intervening Variables* published in the journal *International Organizations* in 1982 is accepted. According to Krasner, "Regimes can be defined as sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of international relations" (Krasner, 1982, p. 185). We can express regimes as the norms, rules, and decision-making mechanisms agreed by international actors for the solution of any existing international problem. The principles in Krasner's definition of the regime are causal beliefs and purposeful orientations. For instance, sustainable development was a principle in the 1972 Stockholm Conference. Environmental issues are analyzed within the framework of this principle. Norms cover rights and responsibilities regarding the issues negotiated. The polluter pay principle for the environment is a norm. In regimes, the norms specified in official agreements are regulated. It is necessary to avoid conflicts between rules, norms, and principles. Rules such as eliminating inequalities can be introduced to prevent conflicts between states. Decision-making procedure is a practice carried out for collective choices. It can also be called the voting systems of regimes (Özçelik, 2012). Principles and norms constitute the basic features of the regime. Changes in rules and decision-making procedures in a regime can be made to the extent that they do not contradict the principles and norms. Otherwise, the regimes will also have changed.

Regimes can also be international institutions. Keohane defines the regime as the rules, norms, and procedures that guide the behavior of the actors. Although written rules and agreements are accepted as sufficient for regime formation by some scholars, some scholars studying the subject (Levy et al., 1995) stated that the unwritten discourses of states and informal agreements are also significant in understanding regimes (Aksoy, 2015).

Oran Young defines the regime as an international institution composed of actors with rules, agreements, and roles attached to them (Young, 1989). Oran R. Young talks about how we live in the age of international regimes in *International Regimes: Problems of Concept Formation*, published in 1980. In his study, "Regimes are social institutions that govern the actions of actors in relation to certain activities..."(Young, 1980, p. 332). Unlike Keohane, it is seen that it deals with behaviors, not norms. It refers to the social aspects of regimes. Scholars like Raymond Hopkins and Donald Puchala also see regimes as part of social interaction and argue that in the international system, if harmonious regimes are not developed, behaviors cannot sustain themselves (Krasner, 1982).

The weakening of regimes also occurs when the regime's components, that is, practices, norms, and rules are inconsistent. Differences between regimes and agreements, regimes do not change whenever power or interests change, regimes aim to facilitate agreements. Actors should not create regimes by calculating their short-term interests. States should also consider the interests of their re-interdependence or cooperation in the future. Regimes are seen as variations between power or interests and the outcome of those interests. Regimes arise for a specific purpose, and they affect

actors' behavior and outcomes related to that goal. Therefore, regimes are important in the international system (Krasner, 1982).

Decomposition in the regime theory started in the 1990s. According to the classification of Oran Young and Gail Osherenko in 1993, it is examined in three groups as approaches based on power, knowledge, and interest. Afterward, this classification was developed by the representatives of the Tübingen School (A. Hasenclever, P. Mayer, and V. Rittberger) (Hasenclever et al., 2004). Realist theorists study power-based, neoliberal theorists interest-based, and constructivist theorists, information, communication, and identity-based. Apart from these, some scholars examine them structurally, game theory, and functional cognitive (S. Haggard and B.A. Simmons'). Neorealist hypotheses are examined in structuralist, neoliberal, and constructivist hypotheses are examined functionally and cognitively (Karacalar, 2018).

Table 1.

Comparison of regime theory approaches

| APPROACH | KEY CONCEPTS | HYPOTHESES RELATED TO THE REGIME THEORY |
|---------------|--|--|
| Structural | Power / hegemony | Great powers set the framework for international cooperation. |
| institutional | Interest / corporate bargaining | Institutional factors are important in collaborative behavior. |
| Cognitive | Consensual knowledge / epistemic community | The transnational network and network of experts and new knowledge strongly influence decision-making processes. |

Note. Taken from “Uluslararası Rejim Kavramı Üzerine Kavramsal Bir İnceleme: Yapısalcı, Kurumsal ve Bilişsel Temel Teoriler,” by Özçelik, S. 2012, *Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Dergisi*, 7(1), p. 236.

Traditional international relations approaches focus on conflict and cooperation. However, there is no order in the international system that is neither completely conflict nor cooperative. Rationalism expresses the system of international relations as a mixed system in which conflict and cooperation coexist. In Krasner's regime definition; Norms, behavior patterns that include rights and obligations, orders and prohibitions (necessary regulations for action), decision-making procedures (to achieve collective goals) refer to the hierarchy between 4 elements. Principles and norms are fixed elements of the regime. Rules and decision-making elements refer to the instrumental/variable elements of the regime (Karacalar, 2018).

According to Realist theories, due to the anarchic nature of the international system, states would be reluctant to be a party to agreements that would restrict their sovereignty. One of the main points that realists criticize is that the establishment of a regime depends on the existence of a hegemony that will support the regime and take part in its administration. It is stated that the regime will continue as long as the Hegemon maintains his interest. Another criticism includes Gricce's fears of losses within the scope of "relative gains". A state does not want another state to earn more in the deal than it does. States are afraid of relative losses. If earnings are equal, they may be more prone to cooperation (Gjul, 2011). According to the Realist and Neorealist theorists, a change in the regime is due to the change in the distribution of power taking place internationally. In the anarchic international system, states follow their national interests, that is, power (Özçelik, 2012). Therefore, they argue that cooperation and regimes cannot be established very easily.

Neoliberal Institutionalism emphasizes the importance of international cooperation by accepting the assumptions in the Realism theory that the international system is anarchic and that states are the main actors. They state that anarchy and power are diminishing in importance in the globalizing international system. International cooperation is not possible in the "zero-sum" international system envisaged by Realists. For this reason, Neoliberals defend absolute gain. Neoliberals attach importance to issues such as the economy and the environment, while Neorealists attach importance to security and power distribution (Baldwin, 1993). They say states want to maximize their interests as the main actor, but they benefit from cooperation to achieve this in the global new order. Here, there is an assumption that states approach with the logic of instrumentalists as they choose the most appropriate policies by calculating benefit-loss to maximize their interests. For this, states should turn to this if the cooperation of states to increase their interests in any situation will enable them to achieve absolute gains. The basic fact is that states should have common interests. This is how they tend to cooperate. In explaining this, they refer to the prisoner's dilemma game theory. Assumptions are made based on the situations in which two independent actors act separately and jointly. If one accepts cooperation and the other does not want it, those who do not want to cooperate will win the most, and those who want cooperation will lose the most. If neither cooperates, they will both earn the least amount, and if they both cooperate, they will gain equal. This situation is assumed for two actors with no communication between them. In the real world in the international arena, actors have the chance to observe each other's preferences over time. For this reason, the situation in which cooperation is adopted is considered to be the most beneficial choice for both actors in the long term (Keohane, 1984). According to Neoliberal Institutionalism, existence in the international system is possible through

cooperation, and cooperation is provided by regimes. Trade agreements, security regimes, and regimes to prevent environmental degradation, which is the subject of this study, can be given as examples. Although the state of individual states implementing their own policies seems to be the most profitable situation in the short term, other actors applying the same policies, in the long run, may have negative consequences for that actor. The biggest obstacle to establishing cooperation in the international arena is the distrust of states towards each other. Neoliberals state that the role of the regimes is essential in eliminating this insecurity situation. Adhering to the norms and rules created by regimes is significant in eliminating this insecurity. The control systems of regimes are major in monitoring the implementation of these norms. Since the state that does not obey the rules of the regime will not want to be subject to sanctions by the international community, the states will act more carefully. Apart from sanctions, it is expected that due to the reputation factor, a state will avoid actions that will damage its image in the international community and therefore comply with the norms of the regimes. States that do not comply with these norms will be deemed insecure in the international community and will impair their credibility for further cooperation (Aksoy, 2015).

In the discipline of International Relations, besides Neorealism and Neoliberalism, Constructivism also has discourses about regimes. Constructivism theory studies international relations as social constructions. They argue that the behavior of states is shaped by social roles, not material interests. They focus on issues such as how ideas emerge, how they are used, and how they are implemented. Poor cognition evaluates the effects of ideas on international actors. They create goals such as creating ideas, roadmaps, institutions, and focal points. An environment with consensus ensures that policies are created and these policies are more permanent.

Strong cognitive argue that the international system is a social system and that social structure constructs the identities of the actors. They argue that regimes can be useful in building identity by producing acceptable norms in this sense (Gjul, 2011).

Failure to solve many problems brought about by globalization, such as conflicts and environmental problems in the international system is a matter of debate. States still have problems in cooperating. The climate change issue is also an important global problem that has not been cooperating until now, although various negotiations have been held. Finding solutions to reduce the effects of environmental degradation and climate change since the 20th century has made it necessary to establish international regimes. However, reaching an international agreement with the Paris Conference in 2015, even on reducing emissions specific to environmental problems that have been on the agenda of international relations since the 1990s, shows that creating effective regimes can be a slow and difficult process (Little, 2014). However, the increasing effects of climate change have emerged as a problem that states should put on their priority agenda for their survival. Apart from the fact that the economic development level of countries plays a role in terms of adaptation to a certain point, development factors such as military power will not be of any use to countries in solving the climate crisis. For this reason, it has become a necessity for states to address this problem with international cooperation with self-sacrifice (Ünver, 2017).

In the international system, the role of regimes is one of the issues discussed by Neorealist, Neoliberalists, and Constructivists. With the Neoliberal Theory being economy-based and the efforts of the USA regarding economic regimes after the Second World War, regimes also have an important place in this theory (Little, 2014). Neoliberalism is considered the mainstream theory in theoretical debates on regime

theories. The concept of common interest in the establishment of regimes is also essential in the theory of Neoliberalism. In this sense, it is possible to say that Neoliberal Institutionalism is the leading theory that defends the possibility of interstate cooperation in the international system called anarchic. Therefore, in this study, the problem of climate change, which is the common problem of all humanity, will be tried to be addressed from a Neoliberal perspective.

2.2. Neorealism

Theories are the mechanisms that assist in explaining the rules and norms in the international system, and there is no single and absolute theory in the International Relations discipline. Each theory interprets the international system differently concerning the events it focuses on and examines (Ertoy, 2019). International Relations theories emerged with the idealism theory in order to prevent a war to break out after the First World War. However, the views of this theory were also criticized as a result of the failure of the League of Nations and its failure to prevent the Second World War. In light of these criticisms, the theory of Realism emerged from the lack of interpreting the international system with a more realistic perspective in 1939, jointly with Edward Hallett Carr's criticism. In his book *The Twenty Years' Crisis*, Carr tried to explain international politics by rejecting the law, ethical values, and justice in idealism (Aydin, 2004). Realism is one of the oldest and most adopted theory of International Relations, which also describes as power politics (Donnelly, 2005). The historical origins of Realism base on philosophers such as Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes, and Rousseau. The recognition of Realism as the dominant theory of International Relations relies on Hans Morgenthau's thoughts, especially after the Second World War. The theory, which

is primary arguments such as the politics governed by the laws of human nature, and universal moral principles not included in international policy, has been the primary theory that shaped international politics for a long time, including the Cold War period (Eralp, 2010).

International Relations Theories have tried to explain the structure of the international system with the concept of anarchy throughout history. The reason why the concept of anarchy is taken as a basis in international politics is to explain the problems that exist due to the lack of a central authority as in the domestic policies of the states. Realism and Liberalism and its successors Neorealism and Neoliberalism, which are among the mainstream theories, also put anarchy on the basis of their institutional frameworks.

According to Classical Realism, the main actors in the international system are states and they exist in an anarchic environment where there is no mechanism to control the behavior of states. They see states as rational actors and their main purpose is to maximize their national interests with material power. In Classical Realism, International Relations is an area of conflict and power struggles. They explain this with the human nature condition of Hobbes. According to Hobbes, competition, insecurity, and fear prevail due to human nature (Morgenthau, 1948). Realists also explain the international system in this way. The main aim of states in the international system is to continue their existence. In order to achieve this, states have essential purposes such as being forceful in foreign policy (Mearsheimer, 2013). The assumptions of Classical Realism include universal assumptions and judgments regardless of time and space. They treat the state as actors with a fixed and predetermined identity with the holistic state understanding. Despite the current power

of states, they always behave in the same way in international politics, and the policy priority of states is national security, that is military-strategic issues (Kolasi, 2013).

However, since the late 1970s, Realism has been criticized for reasons such as trying to explain the system in terms of units, that is, the state (Ertoy, 2019), ignoring the increasing importance of non-state actors in international relations, and economic issues beginning to play a decisive role in international relations (Aydm, 2004).

According to Realists, achieving international cooperation is not impossible, but hard. The reason for this is that since there is no supreme authority in the anarchic environment, the states have security concerns against each other and that it is difficult to cooperate as a result. Edward H. Carr argues that there is no such thing as social interest, and big states approach, partnerships in order to protect their own interests and do not adopt the common good (Carr, 1981). After the states cooperate, they can terminate the cooperation as a result of any dispute. We can briefly summarize Realism's view of international cooperation and organizations in this way.

With the beginning of Realism's criticism and economic issues beginning to play a decisive role in the international system, the theory of Neorealism was developed by not entirely rejecting the arguments of Classical Realism. The emergence of the theory coincided with a period of economic and political problems in the 1970s when the US hegemony started to shake, the EU developed to rival the USA, and fluctuations in oil markets (Serdar, 2015). *The Theory of International Politics* (1979) by Kenneth Waltz is accepted as the starting point of the theory of Neorealism. The book argues that that state behavior is determinant in the structure of the international system (Kolasi, 2013; Lamy, 2014). The most important difference from Classical Realism is that Waltz explains state behavior with the state of nature, not with human nature. In

other words, it differs from classical realism with its analysis method. According to Waltz, international relations not only the relationship between states, many different mechanisms such as economic, political, social, and cultural factors also affect international relations (Waltz, 1986; Serdar, 2015). However, they consider the state as an actor independent of social relations. The power struggle arising from human nature in Classical Realism exists in neorealism to ensure survival due to the anarchic nature of the international system. Fear and insecurity experienced by humans in the state of nature also exist in the international arena. Unlike Classical Realism, the power struggle is not explained by human nature. Waltz argues that it originates from the state of nature, namely the international structure (Kolasi, 2013). In the case of anarchy, which arises from the lack of authority above the states, states that feel insecure aim to strengthen with the instinct of survival. States fear that any others have sufficient power to attack them, and there is no higher authority in the anarchic international system to back up states. International politics is an area where war is always possible. States that want to survive must compete to become the greatest power, assuming the intentions of other states in the worst way (Lamy, 2014). To this end, states must utilize power as an instrument, not a goal, contrary to Classical Realism in the necessary circumstances.

One of the differences between Classical Realists and Waltz's Neorealism is the importance attributed to the elements of power. For the Classics, the most significant factor for a state to survive in the international system is military power, while Neorealists see power as a combined ability with other power elements such as the state's economic resources and technology. The features that differentiate states in the system are the sum of their power elements. They also draw attention to the importance of power distribution in understanding the international system. He argues

that in the anarchic international system, two states with different development (or different conditions) can take different measures to survive (Waltz, 1979). This situation, which Realists see as sufficient only to increase their military power, gives an example that states that are not among the great powers can take measures against a security problem that may arise by joining international or regional organizations in the middle of anarchy. The main differences between Classical Realists and Neorealists in approach to power are that while Classical Realists see power as an aim Neorealists see power as a means of survival (Mearsheimer, 2013).

Neorealists ignore such factors as the way states are governed or the cultural differences of states. They treat states as similar structures except for the power they have. They see states as units. They are all similar. The only thing that sets them apart is a distribution of capabilities. This is about how much power states have. Therefore, to understand world politics, we must focus only on the great powers. They say that the international system determines the number of great power. Various classifications such as bipolar, unipolar, or multipolar have been made (Mearsheimer, 2013).

Neorealism is divided into two as offensive (Mearsheimer) and defensive (Waltz and Barry Posen, Jack Snyder and Stephen Van Evera). The basic question for both is "How much power is enough for great powers?" Kenneth Waltz (1979), the pioneer of Neorealism, says that sufficient power must be possessed. He argues that states that being too fragile may cause problems in their survival, and that being too strong will be seen as a threat by other states. Therefore, they must be strong enough to ensure their safety. Posen argues that states should take lessons from their past and adopt status quo policies instead of expansionist policies (Ertoy, 2019). Having more power spoils the balance of the international system and leads to penalties by the

system. We can give an example of how the strengthening of Nazi Germany is perceived as a threat by other states and they want to remove the power they see as a threat. While theorists such as Barry Posen, Jack Snyder, and Stephen Van Evera agree with the view that states are appropriate amount is enough, they stated that Neorealism cannot fully explain the actions of great powers and that this requires alternative theories (Lamy, 2014). Mearsheimer accepts the main assumptions of Waltz but says that a state should maximize its power as much as possible. It is strategically more logical for states to fight for hegemony. Countries with overwhelming power will have protected themselves in the anarchic international system. They see the attack as the best defense in the anarchic international system. The relationship between states is based on mistrust, so they should always be ready to attack against any threat (Ertoy, 2019). It is their powers to maximize the guarantee of survival. Contrary to Waltz's view, small states do not always tend to attack hegemonic power, they can also follow hegemonic power. An example of this is that Europe follows the USA instead of a balancing policy against the USA that got stronger after the Second World War (Mearsheimer, 2013).

The theory that focuses on material power is seen as insufficient to explain why states go to war. In today's international system, the assumptions that states fight only to maximize their power or to increase their security are insufficient to explain wars for ideological or economic reasons. Apart from this, the Neorealists, who examine the possibilities of war, have made examinations according to the number of hegemonic powers in the international system or the powers of the great powers. Some theorists argue that the bipolar world system is less prone to war because it is equal in economic and military aspects, as in the case of the Cold War. Theorists of different views are said to have found that the greater the number of great powers in a multipolar

system, the greater the hope for peace. If there is an aggressive state, the party that provides the majority can be successful in preventing a conflict-war situation. Having more actors as a balancing factor can create a safer environment. Besides, there are views that hostility may be less in the multipolar system, as in the bipolar system, the states do not focus on just one state (Mearsheimer, 2013).

The establishment of institutions and the low probability of their success are explained by Neorealists with the concepts of relative and absolute gains. Joseph Grieco (1988) was one of the first realist theorists to address these concepts. It suggests that states will cooperate with other actors in the system in order to increase their absolute gain, that is, their power and their effectiveness in the international system. However, he states that states take into account relative gains, that is, how much power and efficiency other actors have also gained, apart from cooperation. States are not very willing to cooperate because they cannot be sure that the other state provides more power as a result of the cooperation provided. In order to ensure cooperation, the hegemonic state has to offer or enforce. For this reason, they see international organizations as a tool that powerful states use to shape their interests (Rittberger & Zangl, 2006). This is one of the main points that Neoliberals and Neorealists differ. Neorealists claim that cooperation cannot be easily achieved due to the possibility of fraud and relative gains. They argue that when the norms of international organizations conflict with the interests of powerful states, cooperation will cease and the international organization cannot survive (Schweller & Preiss, 1997). In cases where the rules of the institutions do not comply, the state parties may give up cooperation by prioritizing their interests. When one state in cooperation sees that the other gains more, this cooperation is likely to end. Since the main concern in the anarchic international system is survival, states pay more attention to which side will earn more in the case of

cooperation than whether all parties are making a profit. At this point, it coincides with the Classical Realist. John Mearsheimer (1990; 1994), one of the pioneers of Offensive Realism, suggests that relative gain is more important for states and therefore they should follow policies that will increase their power and weaken their rivals. Because states have different aims and interests, there is a world politics susceptible to conflict as well as cooperation (Lamy, 2014). Mearsheimer examined international organizations and argued that it would not be easy for states to transfer their sovereign rights to a higher authority, and stated that cooperation would not be very functional. Because states need to trust each other in international cooperation, but insecurity prevails in the current international system. He exemplified the failure of international organizations with the collapse of the League of Nations (Mearsheimer, 1994).

Neorealism has rejected the development of states, domestic politics and socio-economic dimensions, and the opinions of state leaders in the historical process. It was consequently criticized for not being able to explain the end of the Cold War, and for not envisioning the change in the world system during the Cold War (Kolasi, 2013).

Overall, according to neorealism, the actors interact in an anarchic international system. The structure of this system shapes the behavior of the actors. States focus on their own interests and prefer to take care of themselves rather than cooperate because of the threat of cheating/insecurity. They see all other actors as a threat to their own security. Waltz, unlike classical realists, argues that states should be evaluated separately according to their own competencies, rather than actors who make decisions in the same way on equal terms. He argues that Grieco's views on relative and absolute gains cannot be absolute, unlike neoliberals, that both are very important for a

state/actor in an anarchic international system. This is one of the major obstacles to cooperation (Lamy, 2014). Neorealism has been criticized for seeing international organizations only as an instrument in increasing the sphere of influence of powerful states, and ignoring economic factors, which are now a very significant phenomenon with globalization.

2.3. Neoliberal Institutionalism

As a result of the fact that the theory of realism started to be criticized due to the reasons referred above, the Neoliberalism Theory, which argues that international cooperation can be achieved with institutions in the anarchic international system, has emerged. As a solution to the anarchic international system in realism being war and conflict-oriented, a more peaceful international system was needed. The theory of Neoliberalism has emerged as a hope for peace and cooperation (Serdar, 2015). Unlike Realism, Neoliberalism treats individuals and non-governmental organizations as the major actors in the international system (Arı, 2010). In terms of maintaining international peace, it has a more optimistic perspective compared to Realism by bringing the concepts such as democracy and interdependence to the fore. The theory examines how to cooperate in international politics and how to create institutions. As stated by Neorealism, it seeks an answer to the question of how states provide trust and cooperation in an anarchic system of fear and uncertainty.

The fact that international institutions play a significant role in solving the problems seen as obstacles to cooperation in international relations has made the questions of how these institutions were established and what purposes they serve,

making it one of the important study subjects of Neoliberalism. When examining international institutions, it starts with researching which common purpose or objectives the institution serves. It then deals with the success of the institution in achieving its purpose.

Neoliberalism argues that institutions play a more active role in international relations and have a critical role in ensuring long-term cooperation, and is therefore also referred to as neoliberal institutionalism (Dunne et al., 2013). Besides, Keohane, the pioneer of the regime theory, called the theorists institutionalists, who argued that with the increased economic interdependence, interstate cooperation has become an inevitable need, and the institutions that contain international norms and rules are needed to fill this necessity. Since the emergence of regime theory, the notion of the regime has also evolved into the notion of the institution. In other words, the concepts of Neoliberalism, Neoliberal Institutionalism, and the Regime have begun to be used interchangeably (Pekcan, 2019). According to Keohane and Joseph Nye (1971), the pioneers of theory, the term transnational relations was used to describe the increasing international interaction between states. It acknowledges that such as Neorealism and Constructivist Realism states are fundamental actors in the international system. In common with Neorealism, the anarchic structure of the international system is considered. However, this structure is not seen as the main obstacle to cooperation. With globalization, the interdependence among the states is growing and the economic power is now considered more important than the military force. Therefore, as in the Liberalism theory, states can cooperate on economic issues. In Neoliberalism, the phenomenon of power covers not only military power but also forces in the fields of economic, education, technology (Serdar, 2015).

However, they argue that states make decisions by making a benefit-loss analysis in the anarchic international system, and contrary to Realism, they express that collective benefit plays an crucial role in the discipline of international relations. The interaction and information exchange between actors in the international system is essential. It is stated that increasing the interaction of actors in achieving prosperity and peace globally will be more successful in achieving collective results. Unlike Idealism, collective action is considered challenging in the anarchic international system. It is referred that international institutions play a major role in overcoming this difficulty. In other words, institutions play a helpful role in reducing the adverse effects of anarchy (Moravcsik, 1997; Pease, 2010; Sterling-Folker 2013; Serdar, 2015).

The seeds of Neoliberalism were sown with regional integration efforts in the 1940s and 1950s. To ensure peace and prosperity in the international system, it has been suggested that independent states pool their resources and form integrated communities. It has been influenced by pluralism, which argues that non-state actors play a major role in regulating and handling relations since the 1960s. The EU is an economic community that started in this way. Since the 1970s, Neoliberal Institutionalism has emerged as a new approach of liberal theories. They argued that with the change of the international system and the increasing interaction of actors in world politics, interdependence also increased. The characteristics of the changing world politics; the increasing relationship between actors, the high politics- the low politics divide is now lifted, the military force of states is considered less important than before, and the diversity of communication channels that can increase interaction between actors (Lamy, 2014). They argue that military power is no longer the most crucial factor in international politics and that the most critical power factor in the changing international system is economic development (Zacher & Matthew, 1995).

Because, in this current system where states are economically interdependent, this interdependence will play an essential role in maintaining peace.

Neoliberals, unlike Neorealists, see institutions as mediators. Neoliberals base their studies on the principles of establishment and sustainability of institutions in the globalization process. Developments in the international system since the twentieth century indicate that it is now easier for states to cooperate with the globalizing international system. The developments experienced have contributed to the increasing importance and growth of international institutions, with results such as greater interdependence of states and more problems that may involve collective action. It is seen that states voluntarily form institutions such as the United Nations, which have the personnel, budgets, and physical assets in their common interests. Apart from these, they also form unofficial institutions that contain norms and regulations for a certain subject (Krasner, 1982). International regimes can be named as systems developed to create unity in cooperation with states for any international problem (Sterling-Folker 2013). It has been emphasized that states will be successful in gaining absolute gain with the cooperation provided by international organizations (Haar, 2009).

While the USA was planning the world system after the Second World War in a way that it is in the position of hegemonic power, Bretton Woods developed an international regime for the capitalist economic system with official institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). It is seen that this system has developed to show itself as a global hegemonic power that protects the USA's own interests. According to Neoliberalism, the attempts of the USA to create this regime have been the basis for the mutual dependency of the states. The significant factors for the economic growth of

states are no longer just production and distribution within their own states, but also countries have begun to enter each other's markets. Such results paved the way for states to establish international regimes in line with their collective interests. However, mutual economic dependence is not the only reason why states cooperate. States need to cooperate against problems such as global pandemics, environmental degradation, and nuclear weaponization (Sterling-Folker 2013). According to the theory of Realism, which compares the structure of the state of human nature, states, even though states have common interests, they may not be able to cooperate easily because they do not have precise information about what they think, and may fear that one side will cheat. Structural Realists see this insecurity as a formidable obstacle to cooperation. They fear that in the case of cooperation, even if both parties gain joint gains, the greater the earnings of their partners in the future will be used for competition. That's the main point they differ from Neorealism. Not only states but also organizations from the system, and have a significant impact in shaping international politics. In Neorealism, against the view that the international organization will disappear with the weakening or withdrawal of hegemonic power, neoliberals emphasize that after the establishment of international organizations, they have the competence to continue their existence without the need for hegemonic states (Ruggie, 1982).

Neoliberals argue that fear of greater future gains will not hinder cooperation. If states alleviate these concerns, they will be able to achieve absolute gains thanks to their cooperation. They have tried to analyze realist views that force cooperation with game theories. The most commonly used theory is the Prisoner's Dilemma. In the Neoliberalist perspective, this theory is often used, as long-term gains will result if they cooperate (Sterling-Folker 2013). Developed in the 1950s by Merrill Flood and Melvin Dresher, this theory is the agreement that the prisoners, who were in two separate

interrogation rooms, made on behalf of each other in the bargain presented by the police, unaware of each other. If one of the prisoners speaks about the other and the other is silent, the speaker is free, the one who does not speak is sentenced to ten years. If both prisoners do not speak against each other, they will be sentenced to one year each, and if they both blame each other will be sentenced to five years. The most rational choice of prisoners, who do not communicate, would be for both to confess to the crime (Ari, 2010; Keohane 1984). If we evaluate it on the basis of states, it will be difficult for them to cooperate because of the fear of being deceived and that they will never be sure of the intention of the other party. However, since the game is constantly played in the international system and states have the opportunity to get to know each other, according to Neoliberal Institutionalism, states may come to cooperate with a reciprocity strategy. In other words, they approach cooperation by making rational decisions with the cost-benefit analysis they make for their long-term interests (Pekcan, 2019).

In summary, in Neoliberal theory, it is accepted that states are important actors in the international system, but not the only actors. Similar to Realists, they see states as rational actors trying to maximize their interests. They predict that states can maximize their interests through cooperation through institutions in an anarchic system of a competitive environment. And states are less interested in what other states gain in this cooperation. Neoliberal Institutionalism examines the role of international institutions in ensuring cooperation. How it is provided, how it is encouraged and maintained. While searching for solutions to these questions, they examine what institutions should do to achieve success and ensure their continuity.

It would be correct to apply this theory in areas and problems where states have mutual interests. It seems unlikely to cooperate on a zero-sum perspective or on military security issues. Neoliberalism is criticized by critical theories in this respect, as it believes that the growth of international institutions will also have affirmative effects on global capitalist relations.

2.4. The Neo-Neo Debate

The Neo-Neo Debate has occupied an essential place in IR theories in the USA since the mid-1980s. Unlike its pioneers, Realism, and Liberalism, they are not only a theory but also approaches that form field of study and define the agenda. Scholars such as Robert Jervis (1999) state that there is not much gap between the two theories. Nevertheless, they come face to face with issues such as ensuring cooperation, their perspectives on alliances, and fields of study.

One of the common points of both theories is that they admit that the international system is anarchic. They define it as anarchy in the international system that there is no higher authority to control or restrict the behavior of actors. In an anarchic system, states want to maximize their interests. But the point where they contradict is how states will maximize their interests in the international system, that is, they do not look at the issue of cooperation from the same perspective. Neorealists, from a more pessimistic point of view, think that actors in the anarchic international system can be powerless against potential rivals whenever they interact. In an anarchic world politics, the most important thing is to ensure the security of states. For this reason, a state must always maximize its power because it does not know the intentions of other states. Under anarchy, states can only rely on themselves. For these reasons,

Neorealists see alliances as a threat. Alliances are those that will restrict or constrain their independence. States that are allies today may become enemies tomorrow (Grieco, 1990; Waltz, 1979). Neorealists' positive view of alliances is that they advocate that two or more states can form an alliance against a state that is perceived as a threat to states that they perceive as a threat to balance in the anarchic international system. The aim is to be at the same level, to prevent one from becoming stronger than the other. In other words, the reason for an alliance is to be a common threat. These threats are determined by political conflicts. According to Neorealist scholars like Stephen Walt and Glenn Snyder, states tend to ally with distant states as they see neighboring states of states as a threat. They want to balance against close states. According to Neorealists, states are rational actors and, in the case of an alliance, primarily analyze their impact on their security. Neoliberals, on the other hand, argue that the competitive nature of the international system will be mitigated by the cooperation provided by the institutions to ensure mutual benefits. Institutions reduce the possibility of cheating and adapt to collaboration. As long as the governments follow the norms, procedures, and rules in the institutions, cooperation and stability will increase. As opposed to Neorealists, the interests of states are affected not only by national capability but also by establishing norms and procedures. They see the institutional character of institutions as one of the significant reasons for the strengthening of alliances. Unlike Neorealists, they claim that actors who want to increase their interests, build regimes within the framework of joint decisions rather than acting independently. In the globalizing new world politics, problems are multidimensional and states cannot produce solutions alone, encouraging them to cooperate. Institutions ensure the willingness of states to cooperate by both providing acquaintances on the common issue

between the states and reducing costs at some points (Hellmann & Wolf, 1993; Lamy, 2014).

Another point where they differ about institutions is why the institutions were created and their place in foreign policy. Neorealists admit that institutions can determine foreign policy regarding the problem with which they are established. Neoliberals argue that apart from foreign policy determination, it can facilitate the new policy formulation and cooperation. The policies of international institutions can also affect the internal policies of the actors. Policies regarding environmental problems can be given as an example (Haas et al., 1993). For this reason, Neoliberals argue that international institutions should be considered as vital actors in International Relations. As the number of institutions increases, international cooperation will increase and it will be facilitated to solve global and regional problems (Hellmann & Wolf, 1993; Lamy, 2014).

Lastly, there are points where institutions do not agree on their effects of globalization. Neorealists do not consider that globalization has made any significant changes in world politics. They think that the efforts of the states, which have the classical realist argument, to increase their power in order to maintain their sovereignty, will be provided by the states themselves. In other words, they still see states as the strongest and only actors in the international system. The major problem facing Neorealists regarding globalization is the new security threats. They think that with globalization, especially with globalization in economic systems, inequalities have increased and this may create a critical security problem for the future and instability due to divergence between regions. Neoliberalism, as an economy-based theory, demands that the intervention of governments in both the national and international

markets be reduced by the effect of globalization. Institutions have norms that have an impact that keeps the market open and can encourage states. Apart from the economic system, it can be stated that citizens also expect international institutions to solve these issues, especially regarding environmental problems such as climate change, which are the subject of this study (Lamy, 2014).

Another point where the two theories differ is their field of study. Neorealists focus more on issues such as international security known as high politics. Neoliberals, on the other hand, state that there are not only classically high politics areas in foreign policy with the effect of globalization, and aside from this, they focus on new problems that may pose serious threats to the actors of the international system. For this reason, they consider it as a solution to create institutions in these areas where there are mutual interests. They mostly deal with issues such as the international political economy and the environment (Jervis, 1999).

Although they have been accepted as the mainstream theories of the discipline of International Relations for a long time, there are points where they are criticized by critical theories for not addressing. The common point of both theories is the anarchic international system and their desire to maximize the interests of states in this system. Apart from these, how issues such as morality and ethics take place in foreign policy or developing states and poor states are ignored. As stated above, they are state-centric theories focusing on great powers. They do not take into account such factors as political culture, identity, and domestic politics, individuals (the opinions of political leaders and their influence accordingly). They see states as rational actors who want to maximize their interests (Lamy, 2014).

However, this debate is not a discussion of two opposite world views, they study on similar assumptions and questions. Both theories are rational, and both theories examine status quo problems. They ask questions about how to protect. The areas they only examine are different areas of politics. Therefore, they do not reach the same conclusion about the existence and sustainability of institutions.

2.5. Constructivism

While Neorealism and Neoliberalism appeared as the two dominant theories in international relations theories in the 1980s, their inability to predict and explain the end of the Cold War caused them to be subjected to serious criticism. This condition has led academics to search for new explanations and to evaluate factors that existing theories do not address. Constructivism theory emerged as an alternative to understanding world politics when it began to be questioned in the discipline of international relations due to the understanding of materialism and individualism at the end of the 1980s (Barnett, 2014). The basis of social constructionism is the influence of human consciousness in international politics. The theory interprets international politics from a sociological perspective, different from mainstream theories. Although material power in realism is the most significant factor in the international system, constructivists claim that the social is the most important phenomenon. The international system is not a material object and is shaped by the thoughts and behaviors of its actors (Jackson & Sorensen, 2007). They started to be seen as a response to Neorealism and Neoliberalism. They state that mainstream theories such as Neorealism and Neoliberalism focus on fixed interest and do not take the regimes of states into account. They did not accept the state-centric perspective of the international system

and put social, economic, and political factors in the foreground. Nicholas Onuf and Alexander Wendt are the pioneers of the theory (Serdar, 2015). Constructivism was first included in Nicholas Onuf's *World of Our Making* as a concept. This theory, also known as Social Constructivism, first appeared as a sociology-based thought, not as a theory of International Relations. Since the 1980s, International Relations have started to affect the discipline. As a theory, Alexander Wendt gained an essential place in the discipline of International Relations. According to Alexander Wendt's famous article (1992), *Anarchy Is What States Make of It* a social structure allows states to be influenced and influenced by their environment. He states that the conditions in international politics have changed depending on the development of relations of states over time. For instance, EU countries used to be enemies, but over time have learned to cooperate and are now acting as unions. It is possible to mention that the Constructivism philosophy is essentially grounded on the Kantian philosophy of science. It is based on "knowledge is learned by being interpreted by cognitive structures". Constructivist scholars, George Herbert Mead, Irving Goffman, Ludwig Wittgenstein, John Searle., Peter L. Berger, and Thomas Luckman explained the basic assumption of the theory as "the social construction of realism". Constructivists state that social factors and the balance of power are variables that shape each other, whereas material power is seen as the main element that shapes world politics in mainstream theories. Wendt also views anarchy as the result of the meaning attributed to actors in the international system by saying that anarchy is what we do. This is shaped by the behavior of states and sociocultural structures. The elements that make up this sociocultural structure are norms, rules, and ideas. Norms are standards of behavior determined in accordance with the identity of the states. States also define their interests, according to these norms (Rumelili 2014; Fierke, 2013). Wendt opposes the

case that states act with self-help in the anarchic system, which is the main argument of neorealists. He rejects this state of anarchy and states that the mutual relations of states shape the system. For this reason, he does not see states as actors who have to adapt to the system. According to Neorealists, the identities and interests of states are clear and act accordingly, but Wendt says that states' behavior is shaped by their interactions with each other (Arı & Kıran, 2011).

The main point that Constructivists see themselves as different from other theories is that the theory is ontologically based. They have added factors such as the intellectual and the importance of knowledge and identity construction to the mainstream theories that a strong state is the determinant of their military or economic power in influencing the behavior of other states (Barnett, 2014). Against the independent evaluation of states and individuals as separate entities in mainstream theories, constructivists consider the state and individuals as social entities and argue that they cannot be evaluated separately from each other. They investigate how actors in the international system are created. They say that actors are created by their cultural environment and that way national identities are built. The identities of states also shape their national interests. They consider knowledge as an essential element in actors' constructing identities. That is, the importance of cultural background and historical past is emphasized. They explain the social construction of reality with the historical process. They use it in the sense that their meanings change or evolve. Actors cannot suddenly change the world order whenever they want, concepts such as sovereignty and the nation-state have gained importance in the international system with the historical processes and experiences. In material ontology, materials such as wind, ocean, and rock exist in nature, regardless of the meanings attributed to humans. But socially constructed assets, such as globalization, have been shaped by developments and

changes in world politics, and have become what we talk about today. They state that many phenomena we have seen in International Relations throughout history, such as civil wars, genocides, and racism, are also socially constructed. These concepts exist and shape world politics as long as people agree to certain agreements (Fierke, 2013; Rumelili 2014; Barnett, 2014).

Alexander Wendt says, in order to understand International Relations, as an alternative to mainstream theories, we should not only look at the states that try to maximize their interests, also ideas, norms, identities that affect the behavior of actors. Hence, we can explain world politics by looking at non-material factors as new dynamics. Wendt (1992) says that "Anarchy Is What We Do" looking at anarchy here as the result of the meaning attributed to actors in the international system (Rumelili, 2014). Grounded on this, Constructivists say that what caused the Cold War to end is not military balance or international institutions, but impacts of ideas transform world politics. People's actions, non-governmental organizations, international organizations help to understand the changes in world politics. Idea and identities develop historically and shape world politics. They seek an answer to the question how actors in the international system are created. They state that actors are created by their cultural environment and that way national identities are built. The identities of states also shape their national interests. States can have multiple identities that are socially constructed through interaction with other actors. Identities are often associated with interests and are shaped. If we know who we are, we know what we want. Since identities are socially constructed, they can vary with interactions. Interests also generate the actions of states. Also, identities and interests are not fixed and define one another (Barnett 2014; Arı & Kiran, 2011).

Identity, one of the key concepts of constructivism, is significant as it shapes states' interests, preferences, and situations they perceive as threats. According to the Constructivists, states feel the need to have their identity affirmed in the international system. For instance, Turkey sees itself as Western interests and preferences when it wants to join NATO in this direction to shape international policies, such as whether to register the identity of the various actions. Constructivists argue that identities can evolve or be reconstructed as a result of processes in domestic or international politics. According to Wendt, states can create collective identities within the framework of common rules, norms, and understandings. As an example, he claimed that the increase of this formation in the international system can turn into a norm of friendship by giving the formation of collective identity seen in Europe. This situation is evaluated as a result that increases security and reduces the risk of wars (Rumelili, 2014).

When explaining the international system, they are the state behaviors and norms, rules, and ideas that form the sociocultural structure. The adoption of established norms and rules in the community as a result of the increase in the interaction of states and the sociocultural structure in the international system is explained by the concept of socialization. Norms, a standard of appropriate behavior of actors with a given identity. States that conform to a certain identity are expected to comply with the norms that are associated with that identity. States' identity should not be against the rest of the world. A norm only becomes an expected behavior when a critical mass of relevant state acts adopt it and internalize it in their own practices. Some Constructivist academics stated that not only state behavior is at the center, but also non-state actors (such as non-governmental organizations) play an essential role in the formation of norms (Finnemore & Sikkink 1998; Price 1998). Constructivists state that the formation and application of norms are determined by moral leadership rather than by a state-

centered approach. States sometimes cannot apply norms to doing what is right for their situation. In such cases, moral motivation comes into play (Price, 1998; Rumelili 2014). States also determine and define their interests, according to these norms. They examine the norms in two categories as regulatory and founding norms. Founding norms are norms that exist to mark the existence of any activity (this could be an international institution) and its difference from other activities. Regulatory norms are responsible for ensuring the continuity of these activities. It is possible to revise or change these norms according to the interests of states, such as the development of human rights. The role of norms can explain with the definition of power. According to Constructivists, power is also constituted by non-material factors, which means legitimacy. Legitimacy is acting according to and pursuing the values of the broader international community. If a state has legitimacy in action and the greater the legitimacy, it's easier to convince others to cooperate with their policies. But in this case, making a decision that will react or disapprove of other actors in world politics, causes both prestige and allies to be lost and costs to rise. As an example, the US entered Iraq without the approval of the UN Security Council, other states did not find it legitimate, and as a result, the costs of this action increase to the USA. They also emphasize that the norms can internationalize by interacting with the domestic politics and local actors of the state and this result can change the policies of the states. Here, actors who cannot be effective in the domestic politics of states can achieve results in making changes in their own governments under the influence of international organizations and other states. Keck and Sikkink (1998) called it the boomerang effect (Rumelili, 2014). Thus, briefly, notions such as pre-existing sovereignty are a product of both historical development and human interaction (Barnett, 2014).

Constructivism refers that states, which are the most important actors of the anarchic international system, tend to change this anarchic system. Again, contrary to Realism, they say that for this reason, the structure of the international system can constantly change. It does not reject the concepts of power and interest but tries to understand the effects of the construction of identity and ideas about these concepts (Serdar, 2015).

In brief, Constructivism theory examines the actors' ideas as structural actors that determine how they interpret the world, depending on human consciousness and knowledge. In addition to the material power of states, such as military and economic power, ideas are also factors that determine how actors interpret themselves. It is substantial in terms of bringing a different perspective to the international relations discipline by putting the intellectual factors in the foreground to understand world politics.

2.6. Climate Change and IR Theories

Failure to solve many problems (conflicts, disarmament, environmental problems) brought about by globalization in the international system is a matter of debate. There are disagreements about cooperation in international negotiations. Climate change is also an important global issue that has not been cooperated until now, although various negotiations have been held. However, the increasing effects of climate change have emerged as a problem that states should put on their priority agenda for their survival. Apart from the fact that the economic development level of countries plays a role in terms of adaptation to a certain extent, development factors such as military power will not be of any help to countries in solving the climate crisis.

For this reason, it has become a necessity for states to address this problem with international cooperation with self-sacrifice (Ünver, 2017).

Although global environmental problems began to emerge with the Industrial Revolution, they started to attract the attention of academic writers in the international system since the 1960s. Especially, Rachel Carson mentions in her book *Silent Spring*, published in 1962, that economic development and progress caused environmental degradation. Her study pioneered the studies in the scope (Blewitt, 2015).

Due to the effect of the Realist theory in International Relations, environmental problems were not included in the concept of high politics until the 1970s. In International Relations, with the end of the Cold War, politics are entered a period of softening and the effects of environmental problems are seen on a global scale. Environmental issues came to the agenda in the discipline of International Relations, first of all, when they were treated as a security threat. In 1968, in Garret Hardin's article *The Tragedy of Commons*, environmental problems were starting to be theorized in the discipline of International Relations. The core of the article is the process of the inevitable depletion of the resources of society because people use or destroy more than their share of social property. He explains the damages that states the cause while using the environment with the following example; everyone takes advantage of grazing their cows in the meadow and gets a profit. But nobody does not bear the cost of grazing every additional cow in the grassland and releases the new cows in that meadow. Afterward, there is no pasture left to graze cows (Hardin, trans. 2010). With this example, he wanted to express that states should be more sensitive when using the environment.

From the end of the 1960s, non-governmental organizations such as Friends of Earth (1969) and Green Peace (1971) began to be established shortly before environmental problems were discussed in the field of international politics. Since these dates, environmental disasters have started to increase the awareness of people on this issue. States have started to be criticized for using the environment as their own property and as an inexhaustible resource (Tarhan, 2018). At the same time, international organizations started to make their first studies on environmental issues. The Stockholm Conference, organized by the United Nations in 1972, which will be discussed in detail in the following chapters, is considered to be the first international effort.

In the theories of International Relations examined above, it is essentially accepted upon that the basic goals of states are survival and power maximization. Nevertheless, one of the essential answer to the question of in which situations, states prefers cooperation rather than power maximization in the international system will be climate change. Climate change and climate-induced migration are problems that are the common concern of the whole world and can affect the whole world. In such cases, the international system can ensure that problems are resolved by providing collective action, not conflict. All the theories examined above are prone to cooperate against the problem of climate change. But they follow different perspectives and pathways towards cooperation.

According to the Realists, states are the primary actors in an anarchic international system, where there is no supreme authority to adjudicate the relations between states (Mearsheimer 2001). Realism divides world politics into high & low politics and attaches importance to high political issues. Since environmental problems have been considered in low politics for a long time, Realism has not been an issue on

which to fall. States need to consider a problem as a traditional security threat to address it. For this reason, states, as expected, approach to cooperation on climate change, considering their own national interests rather than being inclined to cooperation, seeing collective action as a problem (Habib, 2011). However, with the concept of sustainable development, which has come to the fore in the 1970s, they have accepted the continuity of the environment in order for states to continue their existence and to be protected from various threats (Erçandırlı, 2019). It was accepted as a global problem with the Chernobyl disaster in the 1980s and was included in the field of high politics within the scope of security (Sümer, 2014). Even so, Realism falls short of explaining today's system as theories based on ensuring the security and continuity of the states.

Neorealism also treats environmental problems like Realism as security problems. They argue that, in the problem of global warming, due to the lack of hegemony in the anarchic system, states push to produce solutions in their own energy policies. States fight each other to have limited energy resources. In this sense, proposals for reducing carbon emissions to reduce global warming are considered by governments as an element to prevent economic competition. It is perceived in this way, especially in developing countries. In this sense, Neorealism can explain the failure of the negotiations carried out since the 1990's to prevent climate change. From a realist perspective, the efforts of states to maximize their own interests can be evaluated as ensuring energy security and economic growth in this sense, and can be explained as creating problems in the implementation of international negotiations to reduce the effects of global warming (Ünver, 2017). Due to the fact that it has not been able to explain the issue of climate change, which is one of the biggest problems faced by the world, especially since the 1980s, and environmental problems are a global problem

that requires collective action, it will be tried to be explained through the theory of Neoliberal Institutionalism, which defends international cooperation.

The fact that international efforts for climate change, which will be examined in detail in the following chapters, did not achieve great success until the Paris Agreement in 2015 can be explained with relative gains by Realism. In the globalizing world order, energy and environmental issues are not studied with the military power of states, but rather through their economic growth. The biggest causes of climate change, such as carbon emissions, are calculated on the basis of the energy use of the states, which results in the higher production and consumption of states with high energy use. If countries reduce their carbon emissions (if they do not use environmentally friendly energy models) in order to prevent climate change, they will produce less. This slows down its economic growth. For this reason, developing countries are seen as failing to achieve their carbon emission targets, and many countries do not even make these commitments. States like Turkey and Russia that have not participated in the Paris Agreement, are examples of this situation. The process of transition to environmentally friendly, renewable energy sources also requires investments for infrastructural works, so it is not preferred by developing countries. Communities, consisting of countries with high GNPs such as the EU are more willing and favorable to move towards new environmentally friendly energy resources. When we look at the climate change policies of the EU and the member states, we see that they make investments in terms of turning to these resources. This is the reason why the Kyoto Protocol signed in 1997 was unsuccessful. Christopher Napoli attributes the reason for the failure in his *Understanding Kyoto's Failure* study published in 2002. He claimed that setting targets by taking into account the balance of forces of states would yield healthier results (Napoli 2002, as cited in Ünver, 2017). In the Kyoto

Protocol, the main reasons for the failure are that states reduce emissions with high costs but gain low profits as a result (Nordhaus & Joseph, 1998). As states' carbon emission reductions would reduce their energy production, so their growth rate would also decrease, so there were conflicts. It is not a very realistic approach to expect each country to reduce their emission rates at the same level, while setting these targets, targets should be set by taking into account the energy production and consumption of the states and their developmental levels. In this sense, the EU is a pioneer in determining its goals within the union, according to the developmental levels of the countries. So far, it is possible to explain the failure with Neorealism, but the success achieved in the Paris Agreement in 2015 can be understood with Neoliberal Institutionalism, where mutual interests are pursued. In this way, the success of the Paris Agreement was made by each country determining its own commitment (Ünver, 2017).

With Liberalism, the international system explained by Realism with conflict has been tried to be explained with the cooperation and mutual interest relations. Environmental problems are also considered as a phenomenon that states should solve in cooperation within the scope of liberal theory (Erçandırılı, 2019). But since Liberalism is essentially a theory that tries to integrate the capitalist system like free trade into the international system, it is not a fully adequate theory for dealing with climate change and related problems. Therefore, its successor, Neoliberal Institutionalism, can be seen as a more useful theory in dealing with global climate change, as it characterizes international organizations, pressure, and interest groups, and individuals as important actors in international relations (Arı, 2010). The problem of global warming is one of the most significant struggles that connects the states, albeit indirectly, and forces cooperation. The change in the climate of the planet does not

affect only one part of the world or the environmental degradation caused by a country does not only affects that country. Ecosystem breakdown can lead to large and irreversible breakdowns as a chain. Neoliberals emphasize that long-term gains are more important in energy and climate issues, and therefore cooperation is more important to eliminate the risk factor of conflict. They argue that cooperation of states for absolute gain rather than being vulnerable in a competitive environment will have an impact on their development and growth in the long term, and they will reduce the negative effects of the anarchy environment. They illustrate the benefits of institutions such as the International Energy Agency (IEA) in terms of increasing cooperation in terms of energy. Before the Paris Agreement in 2015, states have come a long way in terms of establishing energy security regimes. They have come to be able to develop new regimes for the adverse effects of climate change (Ünver, 2017). Since Liberal theories are economics-based theories, it is thought that developing finance and trade partners will be encouraged to adapt to climate change. States are trying to be encouraged through economic partnerships in order to prevent significant problems that may cause interregional conflicts such as climate-induced migration. We also see the situation of cooperation by making cost-benefit analyses in Neoliberalism in important agreements on climate change (Khan, 2016). Setting targets by taking into account the economic development of the states with the Paris Agreement is an indication of the lessons learned from Kyoto. Neoliberals attribute the desire of China, which ranks first in the world in terms of carbon emissions, to be a pioneer in reducing carbon emissions, to their own domestic political policies. Air pollution has reached significant levels in the country as a negative result of the country's economic growth and its leadership in many sectors in the world. For this reason, China has started to include carbon emission reduction in its domestic policy (Ünver, 2017).

In Constructivism theory, socially constructed interests and identities are shaped by interaction in the international system and can adapt to international conditions (Eckersley, 2004). For this reason, states can change their interests and shape their preferences against the problem of climate change. In these processes that affect the foreign policies of the states, states can change their understanding and interests through international agreements (Habib, 2011). Since it is an epistemic theory, it has an approach that prioritizes knowledge, norms, and values. Since it is not a problem-solving theory, institutions such as the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) that make scientific evaluations of climate change are valued rather than how to solve the problem (Khan, 2016).

On the issue of climate change, states should abandon their own interests and obtain cooperation. But mainstream International Relations theories are fundamentally based on the maximization of states' interests. In this sense, although it seems challenging to base a solid study on theoretical foundations, problems such as global climate change and climate-induced migration among the existing theories are thought to be resolved if they act with the thought that the long-term interests of the states. Neoliberal Institutionalism will be taken as the basis of this study as an approach that can be beneficial to take necessary measures against the issue of climate change.

3. THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS IN RECOGNITION OF CLIMATE-INDUCED MIGRATION

With globalization, especially in the 21st century, it is possible to state that the problem anywhere in the world can now be a global problem. In particular, climate change and epidemic diseases, where the global impact is more likely to be seen in recent years, have made international cooperation required for the problems that can be encountered in this regard (Taqwadin, 2013).

Since the 1970's, environmental problems, which are a new field of study in the international relations discipline, have started to take a critical place in public opinion with the increase of issues such as ozone depletion, global warming, and decrease in biological diversity. For these purposes, it is now on the agenda of international politics as a cross-border problem, especially with support from the media and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Environmental issues are state and interdisciplinary concerns as they affect the entire planet. It does not only concern the country where the problem is an experienced or only natural science. Since environmental problems began to be comprehended as a global problem, some International Relations scholars have argued that the problem can be solved by international cooperation, referring to the neoliberal institutionalism theory (Rajnish, 2015). Matthew Paterson argues that mainstream theories, such as realism, are insufficient to explain problems such as global climate change and that today's environmental problems can be explained by neoliberal institutionalism (Paterson, 1996). Neoliberal institutionalism argues that inter-state cooperation can be achieved

by establishing international institutions or regimes, and this is possible through interstate cooperation (Keohane, 1984).

Before environmental problems entered the agenda of international relations, bilateral environmental agreements were made between states. For instance, the Helsinki Rules on the Uses of the Waters of International Rivers agreement, which was accepted in 1966 under the leadership of the International Law Association, was signed to determine the mutual use and usage rights of rivers or underground waters of states that share common water borders (Ekmen & Firat, 2016). However, these agreements are generally agreements made to prevent conflicts between countries for economic purposes, and states had no aims such as avoiding environmental degradation (Taqwadin, 2013).

The reason why states collaborated on the environment in the later dates was that they estimated that environmental problems, which they considered as a global problem, could harm the interests of the states in the long term, rather than increasing their profits. The cooperation of states in this sense will also benefit economically as it will cause division of the costs in joint works to reduce the effects of global warming. While defining neoliberal institutionalism, we have said that states manage their cooperation to maximize their profits through international institutions they establish. Benefits provided by these institutions can be listed as alleviating the burden on states, providing information on the relevant subject, offering common policy recommendations for cooperation, and trying to reduce costs (Chandler, 2009).

To find solutions to environmental problems, many international organizations and non-governmental organizations have been established since the 1970s, since the environment is the heritage of all humanity and must be protected and transferred to

future generations in an optimum method. Neoliberal Institutionalists argue that these institutions have a role at least as critical as states in resolving environmental problems (Rajnish, 2015). In particular, institutions such as the UNEP, the UNFCCC, IPCC have institutionalized environmental issues, and offered them suggestions and cooperation options to the states in this sense and put environmental issues into the political agendas of the states.

Climate and human life are phenomena that considerably affect each other. Human activities have adverse effects on our planet's environment, and the subsequent climate change also has adverse effects on human life due to the disasters it creates. These issues concern those who live in poverty as a result of climate change and migration. Also, changes in natural resources due to climate change, restrict access to staple materials such as water and nutrition and cause injustice and inequality in access to these resources (Demirbilek, 2016).

In international politics, discussions on environmental problems started at the end of the 1960s. Before analyzing the works on climate-induced migration, it is necessary to understand the studies and agreements on climate change and related environmental problems. On this basis, this chapter will address the works of international organizations in this field and the conferences organized since the 1960s. Since they are mainly interrelated issues, transitions between subchapters will be made up to the current climate-induced migration debate based on the dates when the terms first entered the international policy agenda.

3.1. Environmental Issues

Environment, with a general definition, is the sum of physical, chemical, biological, and social factors at a particular time that can directly or indirectly affect human activities and living things for a long time. Environmental problems occur with the deterioration of living environments such as soil, air, and water due to human activities. Environmental issues started to be perceived as a global problem as they began to affect the natural life as a result of the destructions experienced, and it has been concluded that this problem can be solved with international cooperation. Especially with the Industrial Revolution, the damages people gave to the environment and social order started to increase. With the industrial revolution, the developed states in the northern hemisphere continued their development by processing the resources of our planet. These resources have been processed with the industrial revolution, have suffered irreversible damage to the environment, especially with the use of hydrocarbon fuels. Other than that, environmental degradation has begun as industrial production waste is disposed of in a series of efficient soils. Aside from environmental degradation, the gap between the states' development levels has become increasingly unfolded, and the problems of the underdeveloped states in the southern hemisphere, such as population growth, nutrition, and resources, are also being seen as global environmental issues (Keleş & Hamamcı, 2005).

Since the 1960's, environmental degradation and the behavior of states in this direction have started to cause reactions. In 1962, Rachel Carson drew attention to the harm caused by agricultural spraying to animals and humans with her book *Silent Spring* (Blewit, 2015). However, in the race for development, the states tended to neglect the influence of the environment until the 1970s. The United Nations

Conference on the Environment, organized by the United Nations in Stockholm in 1972, and the *Limits to Growth* report, also published by the Club of Rome the same year, emphasized the importance of the connection between economy and the environment. Also, the establishment of the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) after the UN Stockholm Conference is significant in bringing environmental issues to the international policy agenda (Tıraş, 2012).

3.1.1. Stockholm Conference

With the Industrial Revolution, the damages people gave to the environment and social order started to increase. Environmental degradation started with the use of fossil fuels and the disposal of industrial production wastes to streams or fertile soils. Apart from environmental degradation, the gap between the development levels of countries started to widen gradually, and problems such as population growth, nutrition, and resources in the undeveloped states in the southern hemisphere also emerge as global environmental problems (Keleş & Hamamcı, 2005).

Since the 1970s, the international community has taken steps regarding this issue, thinking that measures should be taken against environmental problems. In this sense, the emergence of the concept of sustainable development is critical. This concept, which emerged that the environment should be protected with economic growth and development, started to be on the agenda of countries, regional organizations, and non-governmental organizations with various conferences organized under the leadership of the United Nations.

The first step on the subject is the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (a.k.a. Stockholm Conference), organized by the United Nations in 1972 in Stockholm and attended by 113 countries. In the conference report published in 1973, the aim of the conference was stated as “[t]he protection and improvement of the human environment is a major issue which affects the well-being of peoples and economic development throughout the world; it is the urgent desire of the peoples of the whole world and the duty of all Governments [...]” (UN, 1973, p. 3). The goals determined within the scope of the conference were collected in the Stockholm Declaration and Action Plan for the Human Environment. The report emphasized that developing states' environmental problems stem from being undeveloped, and suggested that these states develop by protecting the environment. This point was based on the assumption that through the promotion of development, problems such as education, food, and housing would be resolved more quickly. Accordingly, the report put forward two resolutions: The international community should not let ignorance and indifference lead to irreversible damage to the environment, and the human environment should be improved for future generations. In order to achieve this goal, the signatories underlined the need for international cooperation, especially for developing countries. Besides, the need for the protection of limited natural resources, which is vital for the continuation of human life in prosperity and peace, was emphasized. Thus, the report invited all countries to fight pollution, mainly through not disposing of production wastes to resources that significantly affect humans' vital activities and other creatures such as the sea. The report put forward the premises that these developments will be possible with an educated young generation and underscored the importance of education, science, technology, and economic developments (UN, 1973).

It is an essential evaluation because it discusses the relationship between human rights and the environment, imposes responsibilities on states and international organizations for the protection of the environment, advocates international cooperation, education, and population planning (Yılmaz-Turgut,2009; Sezer,2007).

The UNEP, which is seen as the first and most significant program of UN regarding environmental activities, was established after the Stockholm Conference in the same year. Program tasks include assessing global, regional, and national environmental conditions and trends, developing international and national environmental instruments, and strengthening institutions for the wise management of the environment (UNEP, 1992).

After the Stockholm conference, besides UNEP, UN specialized organizations such as United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), and World Health Organization (WHO) started to carry out environmental works (Keleş & Hamamcı, 2005).

One of the essential results of the Stockholm conference is that it spearheaded the opening of national environmental ministries (Stephan & Zelli, 2009).

3.1.2. World Commission on Environment and Development

The relationship between environment and development, especially in poor countries, was not mentioned in the Stockholm Conference in 1972. With the industrial revolution, the developed states in the northern hemisphere continued their development by processing the resources of our world (Keleş & Hamamcı, 2005). It

has been recognized that countries need integrated development strategies with environmental protection in order to reduce the imbalance between the north and south.

The World Commission on Environment and Development (a.k.a. Brundtland Commission), chaired by Gro Harlem Brundtland, which was established by the UN in 1983, is significant in terms of examining the relationship between environment and development. The Our Common Future report, known as the most critical work of this commission and completed in 1987, brought the concept of "sustainable development" to the agenda for the first time. Despite the infinity of human needs, the limited natural resources are a significant problem. The rapid development of industrialization has led to the rapid destruction of the environment and the rapid exhaustion of resources. For this reason, since the swift consumption and destruction of natural resources will affect development adversely in the future, ecological balance and development should be considered together. As a result, a new approach to development has emerged that includes environmental protection (Yücel, 2003). The Our Common Future report sets out the targets for these issues to ensure that future generations do not limit both their economic and life rights. The most significant of these targets are protecting and enriching natural resources, and combining economic and environmental issues in the decision-making process. This conference report contains the principles set by the UN as the primary target, such as poverty elimination, equal utilization of natural resources, and control of population growth (Tıraş, 2012). The report by the Brundtland Commission developed the most widely used definition of sustainable development as "[S]ustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (UN, 1987, p. 41).

The report stated that with sustainable development, a lifestyle that is compatible with the ecological tools of the planet should be adopted. The report also emphasizes social inequality. The problems related to economic development and the impossibility of separating them from environmental issues are addressed. It has been argued that poverty is the most influential cause and effect of global environmental problems, and therefore, environmental problems can be solved by eliminating international inequality (UN, 1987). The fact that this concept, which has been used frequently in international politics since the Our Common Future report, is among the goals of the United Nations, proves its importance. It is significant in terms of limited resources and emphasis on the rights of future generations. In terms of ensuring development, the most critical dimension referring to future generations is the environmental dimension. To not threaten both the economic and living rights of future generations, the Our Common Future report sets targets on these issues. The most majors of these goals are to protect and enrich natural resources and to combine economic and environmental issues in the decision-making process. It was emphasized that the components of the economy, environment, and society should manage together to implement sustainable development (Özmehmet, 2008).

The Our Common Future report has a significant impact on subsequent environmental assessments, such as the Rio Conference in 1992.

3.1.3. Environment and Development (UNCED)

Twenty years after the Stockholm Conference, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), which is considered the most substantive environmental meeting of the 20th century due to the large number of participants, also known as the Earth Summit / Rio Conference in Brazil in 1992 has been realized. Conference participants were specified as political leaders, diplomats, scientists, representatives of the media, and NGOs from 179 countries. The conference adhered to the principles of the Stockholm conference and referred for the first time to sustainable development mentioned in the Brundtland Commission. (United Nations, Conferences, Environment and Sustainable Development [UNCED]).

In the conference report, ensuring a healthy and efficient sustainable development in harmony with nature was stated as the chief goal. Given that global poverty was seen as the greatest obstacle to sustainable development, the report put forward the primacy of an action for poverty eradication in cooperation with all humanity and states in light of the Stockholm and Rio Conference's proposals. To protect and restore the ecosystem, the conference output proposed collaboration with the global partnership and recommended governments to implement sustainable development goals in production and consumption models in their internal policies (UN, 1993).

It is an essential conference in terms of addressing climate change besides the sustainable development goals for environmental protection. Agenda 21, published at the end of the conference, was involved as a strategy plan for states and organizations in order to ensure sustainable development in the 21st century. It was significant in

terms of addressing issues such as the protection of natural resources and regulation of education systems. In the action plan consisting of four parts, the adverse effects of climate change were generally referred to in the Conservation And Management Of Resources For Development section. Besides, targets such as protection of the atmosphere, soil, biological diversity (land and sea), water resources, and waste management were determined in the action plan (the UNCED).

The two critical conventions of UNCED on the environment are the UNFCCC and the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD). The CBD emphasizes that, as a convention, which stands that the conservation of biological diversity is a common concern of humanity, states also need to protect their biological resources by considering sustainable development (UN, 1992a). The UNFCCC, which was decided to be established in Rio in 1992 and started operations in 1994, should be important in terms of being the first specialized institution to carry out works on climate change. UNFCCC, which mainly works on greenhouse gas emissions and human impact, will be elaborated on in the climate change subchapter of this thesis.

Besides, the UN Commission on Sustainable Development was established to serve in line with the 3-year targets for the control of the implementation of Agenda 21 and the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development. It consists of 53 member states. Its task is to advise UN relevant departments to assist in sustainable development by organizing meetings with governments and other non-governmental organizations (UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) (UN, 1992b).

The Rio Conference is substantial in terms of adopting a development approach that puts human rights and the environment at the center.

3.1.4. The 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development

The 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development (a.k.a. Johannesburg Summit on Sustainable Development) was held after the Rio conference to assess how well the Agenda 21 goals were implemented.

The Political Declaration and Implementation Plan were adopted for the topics discussed at the end of the Summit, the issues to which the states made commitments and the measures to be taken. The report stated that each country will achieve sustainable development with good governance at the national and international levels. Good governance is defined as follows; “[A]t the domestic level, sound environmental, social and economic policies, democratic institutions responsive to the needs of the people, the rule of law, anti-corruption measures, gender equality and an enabling environment for investment are the basis for sustainable development” (UN,2002, p. 8).

The report, referring to the Stockholm and Rio Conferences, declared that the previous decisions had been followed and that responsibility would be taken for their further development. It has been suggested to states to increase the use of environmentally renewable energy resources and to ensure access to environmentally healthy energy resources. For this reason, it was advised to states to both develop national energy policies in this sense and to cooperate in regional, international and institutional dimensions for the use of reliable, easily accessible, and environmentally sensitive energy resources (UN, 2002).

A significant place has been given to climate change in the report. “[...]Change in the Earth's climate and its adverse effects are a common concern of humankind[...]"

(WSSD, 2002, p. 28). The adverse effects of climate change such as biodiversity loss, desertification, floods, and storms were pointed out. The report also recommended preventing the adverse consequences of climate change with regional, international or institutional cooperation such as improve climate and weather information, developing early warning systems against disasters, and protecting the ocean, sea, and coastal areas (UN, 2002).

3.2. Climate Change

The first research on climate change dates back to the 19th century. The greenhouse effect was analyzed in 1859 by John Tyndall. In 1938, Guy Stewart Callendar demonstrated that the rising rate of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere is connected with the earth's warming. However, these studies, which were ignored in those years, gained momentum in the 1950s and the first conference on climate change, the World Climate Conference, was held in 1979. At the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, organized in 1988, it was decided to establish a scientific committee to reduce emissions and conduct studies and studies on the subject until 2005 (Hall, 2016).

The increase in activities related to climate change due to global warming by nongovernmental organizations and international institutions since the 1980s has caused states not to remain indifferent to this issue in their internal policies. At this point, it is possible to say that it is now a significant problem to overcome with a global collective action plan.

It was also in the 1980s that the countries included climate change in their domestic policies. In 1988, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher delivered a speech at the Royal Society of London on climate change. "[B]ritish Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher proclaimed that "the health of the economy and the health of our environment is dependent upon each other. ... Protecting this balance of nature is, therefore, one of the great challenges of the late twentieth century" (Mathews,1990, p. 10). In the same year, the Soviet Union Foreign Minister made a call for cooperation on climate change at the UN General Assembly (Hall, 2016). George Bush also held a global conference on climate change. In order to reach an agreement on the reduction of emissions after the Kyoto Protocol in 2007, The Major Economies Meetings (MEM) were organized by Bush. This forum, which was renamed as the Major Economies Forum by Obama in 2009 and included countries that account for nearly 80% of greenhouse gas emissions, is essential in terms of cooperation on climate change and adaptation (Michonski & Levi, 2010).

The essential conferences, examined under the title Environmental Issues, also highlighted the effects of climate change. But under this subchapter, conferences, and agreements with more specific decisions and discourses on the subject will be discussed.

3.2.1. The World Climate Conference (WCC)

The WCC, was organized by the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) in collaboration with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations

Environment Programme (UNEP), and the International Council for Science (ICSU) in 1979. The conference consisted of 350 participants with representatives from 53 countries, 24 international organizations, and experts from different disciplines such as environment, economy, ecology, and energy. It aimed to determine what was known about the climate until then, to take steps to develop this knowledge, to determine the changes in the climate as a result of human activities and was intended to prevent these changes (Zillman, 2009).

The conference discussed the critical impact of climate on human activities and in many different areas and recommended that countries urgently include climate information in their social and economic development. After the conference, it was decided to establish the World Climate Programme. The program aimed to study the effects of climate change on humans and the environment (Zillman, 2009).

3.2.2. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC)

With the growing realization that some human activities may cause changes in global climate activities, creating a program for the need for scientific research against climate change came to the agenda at the 1988 UN General Assembly. The United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) established the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) in 1988.

Resolution of the UN General Assembly of 6 December 1988 stated that IPCC's objectives were: encourage governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to address climate change as a priority issue, to conduct scientific research on cooperation and action on climate change; conducting studies to understand

the causes and consequences of climate change, and contributing to efforts to protect the global climate (UN, 1988).

The first session of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change was held at the Geneva International Conference Centre (CICG) on 9-11 November 1988. In the opening of the session in 1988 (agenda item 1.1), it was stated that “the Secretary-General stressed that the predicted global warming is one of the most important long-term challenges facing humanity” (IPCC, 1988, p. 1).

The report called for members to prepare a comprehensive report on climate change, and the work program was determined until the Second World Climate Conference to be held in 1990. In order to quickly plan this report and to assess the social and economic effects of climate change, the participating states are split into three working groups. The 1st working group was tasked with making climate and sea-level predictions for the future and factors that trigger climate change such as greenhouse gases and evaluating existing reports. The 2nd working group was tasked with examining the regional/national impacts of environmental and socio-economic changes on the sectors and their effects. The 3rd working group has undertaken tasks such as forecasting future greenhouse gas emissions and adaptation of current technology to climate change (IPCC, 1988).

According to the first report in 1988, working groups are significant in terms of evaluating both the scientific, technological and socio-economic impacts of climate change. In the light of these studies, the first report on anthropogenic climate change was published by the IPCC in 1990. According to the First Assessment Report, it was stated that the greenhouse effect increases the temperature of the earth. And with the emission of harmful gases such as carbon dioxide, methane, chlorofluorocarbons

(CFCs), and nitrous oxide into the atmosphere as a result of human activities increases more and retains the heat.

In the predictions of the IPCC for greenhouse gas emissions, it was stated that by 2050, carbon dioxide concentrations will double compared to the level before the industrial revolution. The report forecast that the temperature rise would be 0,3 °C higher than observed over the last 10,000 years. The five years with the world's largest temperature rise in the last 100 years is recorded in the 1980s. The consequences of climate change can not be forecast as it is impossible to foresee the pace of adverse human activities. Also, these changes make predictions even more difficult because they occur not only as a result of human activities but also with natural climate change (IPCC, 1990).

The report in 1990 found that the temperature rise was not uniformly distributed worldwide. Therefore, it was expected that agricultural production would decrease in regions such as Brazil, Peru, Sahel Region, Asia, the Asian Region of the USSR, and China, and an increase in grain production in regions such as Northern Europe.

The increase in temperature is due to changes in rainfall and climate zones are expected to move towards the poles. It is expected that the productivity of flora and fauna, which cannot adapt to this, will be reduced or their species will be compromised. It was also predicted that it could cause uncontrollable fires in forests.

As for water resources, it has been predicted that climate change in arid and semi-arid regions will lead to contamination and unavailability or depletion of Water Resources. As greenhouse gas emissions also change rainfall systems, it is predicted that a 2 °C increase in resource-limited regions such as Africa will reduce annual rainfall by 40-70%.

The IPCC has been conducting fundamental research on climate change and making recommendations to international organizations and governments with the assessment reports it has published regularly since its establishment. The IPCC plays a critical role in bringing climate change and climate-induced migration to the attention of the international policy agenda.

3.2.3. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCC)

In 1992, the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCC) was established at the Earth Summit in Rio and started on 21 March 1994 the activities for reducing the impact of the human climate, in particular greenhouse gasses. The Convention is a substantial agreement in terms of providing the developed states a guide of activities aimed at reducing the effects of climate change.

The report, published in 1992, while describing the goals of the convention, firstly described the adverse effect of climate change. According to the report “[A]dverse effects of climate change means changes in the physical environment or biota resulting from climate change which have significant deleterious effects on the composition, resilience or productivity of natural and managed ecosystems or on the operation of socio-economic systems or on human health and welfare” (UN, 1992b, p. 3).

Similar to the IPCC report, the UNFCC also stressed the human impact on natural climate change and the increase in greenhouse gas emissions. The expectation from the parties of the contract was to prevent human intervention that reaches

dangerous levels in greenhouse gas emissions. Considering the difficulties that developing countries may face in reaching the determined goals, it was stated that developed countries should lead this struggle. The importance of cooperation of the parties was emphasized for the success of the policy measures taken.

The Framework had expectations in terms of education to adapt to climate change and reduce its adverse effects. National-level training recommendations have been given, such as raising public awareness by providing training on climate change, ensuring public participation in improvement efforts, and raising awareness of administrative and technical personnel at the national level.

One of the most significant activities of the UNFCCC to reduce the effects of climate change at the international level is to organize meetings with broad participation. The UNFCCC established the Conference of the Parties (COPs) in 1992 to coordinate these meetings. In the report of 1992, The Conference of the Parties was recognized as the highest body of the UNFCCC. Its primary purpose is to promote the effective implementation of the Convention. In doing so, the Convention stated that the legal documents on climate change would be examined regularly and could take decisions in line with the authority given to it (UN, 1992b). The COP's tasks in this regard can be summarized as follows: To examine the contract parties' obligations, to encourage and facilitate the flow of information between the parties on the measures taken to prevent climate change, to evaluate the implementation of the commitments to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, and to prepare and publish reports on the implementation of the Convention.

At 1992 the Earth Summit, it was decided that the first COP would be held one year after the Convention came into force and that subsequent meetings would be held

regularly every year. The first Conference of the Parties (COP1) was held in Berlin in 1995 after the UNFCCC entered into force in 1994. The COP pioneered substantial works on climate change including The Kyoto Protocol, signed at COP3 in 1997, The Cancun Agreement at COP16 in 2010 and the Paris Agreement signed at COP21 in 2015. In the Kyoto Protocol, the contracting states made commitments to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and keep them at a certain level and it was decided to control the emission rates by the commission. In this sense, it is accepted as one of the most significant agreements on climate change. Cancun Adaptation has played a very significant role in bringing climate-induced migration to the international political agenda.

Besides its own bodies, the UNFCCC cooperates with the IPCC in accessing scientific information on climate change. The IPCC has contributed to the establishment of the UNFCCC in the Assessment Reports it has published regularly since 1990. An agreement was reached on coordination and information interchange with the Joint Working Group established in 1995 through the Subsidiary Body for Scientific and Technological, which is the advisory body of the UNFCCC. Apart from the assessment reports, IPCC organizes technical papers, special reports, workshops, expert meetings with the request of the UNFCCC's Subsidiary Body for Scientific and Technological (UNEP, 2012b).

Climate change has become a significant issue in the scientific world since the 1950s and in the international policy agenda since the late 1960s. The expected collective action on climate change, which has been attached importance by international organizations since the 1970s, could not be achieved. As mentioned in the previous subchapter, these goals were not achieved because the targets were not set

according to the state's development levels, and some states were refrained from taking responsibility. Climate change has started to threaten people's lives and living spaces, as its adverse consequences could not be prevented. Climate-induced migration also emerges as a crucial global problem due to the adverse effects of climate change.

3.3. Climate-Induced Migration

Concerns about climate change cause environmental injustice and inequalities, and people leave their places as a natural adaptation to combating climate change.

Climate-induced migration is “[t]he movement of a person or groups of persons who, predominantly for reasons of sudden or progressive change in the environment due to climate change, are obliged to leave their habitual place of residence or choose to do so, either temporarily or permanently, within a state or across an international border” (IOM, 2019a, p. 31).

Shortly after climate change began to be discussed in the international arena, it was mentioned in the IPCC in 1990 for the first time that climate change could cause human migration. According to the report, millions of people would be displaced due to floods, erosion, and agricultural desertification (IOM, 2008). Myers and Kent reported that in 1995, 25 million people were severely displaced due to environmental degradation/disasters, which is more than the number of refugees displaced due to conflict and political persecution (Myers & Kent, 1995).

In this subchapter, data on two important institutions working in the international field will be conveyed. These institutions are IOM, which was established in 1951 to coordinate the activities of European labor migrants, and UNHCR, which

was established to protect refugees in Europe in the post-war period. Then, international conferences at the UN level, and organizations such as The Nansen Initiative and its successor The Platform on Disaster Displacement, established with organizations at the state level, will be addressed.

Nina Hall mentions two types of intergovernmental organization in her work; Functional and Normative. Normative organizations have powers to oversee international law and have a duty to ensure compliance with these rules. Hall gives the ILO, which oversees nearly 200 labor contracts as an example. Functional organizations, on the other hand, do not have any control or ensure that the rules on international law are complied with. Organizations have the task of advising states or managing programs only for their own purposes. Today, IOM operates all over the world in the field of migration. But it has no mandate for climate change and environmental disasters. Since it is a functional organization, it has no right to object to the policies of the states. UNHCR has the right to sanction the protection of asylum seekers with the refugee convention signed by countries in 1951. However, like IOM, UNHCR does not have a comprehensive study on people displaced due to climate until recent years (Hall, 2015).

3.3.1. International Organization for Migration (IOM)

The Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe (PICMME, now called IOM), was established in 1951 to coordinate the activities of European labor migrants, is the only intergovernmental organization for migration, including migration due to climate change and disasters. It aims to ensure the regular migration of refugees under human rights law and to protect their rights.

Since 1990, IOM has been working on migration due to climate change and environmental degradation. The IOM has been conducting researches and studies on climate-induced migration in recent years and has received funds for more than 500 projects on the subject (McAdam, 2012).

Today, IOM associates environmental migration with climate change and related environmental degradation and continues its studies in this direction. The Migration Portal of IOM stated that environmental changes have been the driving factors of migration throughout history. However, in the current century, it is mentioned that the adverse effects of global warming will affect these migrations more than expected and on a vital scale (IOM, 2020).

After the 1990 IPCC report of International Organizations and affiliated expert boards, they started to mention climate change-induced migration. *The Migration and Environment* report, published with the Refugee Policy Group in 1992, is the first report of the IOM on this issue. According to the report; “[l]arge numbers of people are moving as a result of environmental degradation that has increased dramatically in recent years. The number of such migrants could rise substantially as larger areas of the earth become uninhabitable as a result of climate change” (IOM 1992 as cited in Laczko & Aghazarm, 2009, p. 13). This definition, which is similar to the expression stated in the IPCC First Assessment Report published at that time, mentions that environmental degradation may affect human mobility.

The IOM did not carry out any significant work on climate-induced migration until 2007. It took some time for the concept that emerged with the term climate refugees to be addressed by international organizations on the grounds that the term refugees were used and the estimates were not realistic. With the media coverage of the

subject and the publication of Al Gore's documentary on climate change, the subject was again on the agenda of IOM. In 2007 and 2008, IOM has created a focal point in itself on climate change and migration (Hall, 2010). In the report, *Discussion Note: Migration and the Environment*, published in 2007, it was explained that there may be both internal and international migration movements due to climate change and was presented as a solution to global environmental change. The report proposes the following definition; “[E]nvironmental migrants are persons or groups of persons who, for compelling reasons of sudden or progressive changes in the environment that adversely affect their lives or living conditions, are obliged to leave their habitual homes, or choose to do so, either temporarily or permanently, and who move either within their country or abroad” (IOM, 2007, p. 1).

In the Report, slow-onset or sudden-onset events, which are considered as environmental changes or degradation, and their effects in some challenges such as human security are discussed in various scenarios. These problems, called environmental problems, are caused by global warming. Preventing environmental migration with early intervention will be the most humane solution. In line with the sustainable development goals, policy recommendations such as preventing environmental degradation or increasing the adaptation of the affected regions are presented. In the future, it has been suggested that bilateral agreements can be made to send people living in areas affected by environmental degradation to other states or regions as temporary workers. In the case of environmental degradation, where migration becomes unavoidable, suggestions such as preparedness for disasters and developing early warning systems are offered to states in order to prevent this. It has been suggested that states should make mutual agreements against temporary or permanent migration against possible cross-border migration movements, and studies

should be carried out to protect and ensure the rights of immigrants. Against the expected large flows of environmental migrants, greater steps are needed to prevent irregular migration. Examples may be given, such as encouraging some states to accept immigrants or reviewing and improving legal regulations on human trafficking and illegal immigration. To develop migration strategies, states should conduct regular researches such as environmental degradation, changes, environmental impact assessments, and determine migration strategies in the light of these (IOM, 2007).

In the report named *Migration and Climate Change* published by IOM a year later, it was stated that to make predictions on climate change is complex because the reasons of climate migration can be associated with many social, economic, and political reasons, however, future changes may reduce the difficulty in determining these reasons. It would not be a highly correct approach to attribute the extreme weather events, such as Hurricane Katrina, and the migrations that occurred due to it, with climate change only. Because the hurricane alone may not cause the people in that region to be displaced by force. At this point, have any precautions taken against climate change and the expected disasters in that region, how the infrastructure or the urbanization situation of the region should be taken into consideration (IOM, 2008).

There is no accepted definition of climate-displaced people in the current international system. Therefore, the study advocates expanding the refugee definition to include climate migrants. Because, the fact that these people are not recognized internationally means that they do not have any right to shelter, meet their health needs, and educational support when they migrate in case of a disaster. The report, highlights the importance of The Environmental Change and Forced Migration Project (EACH-FOR) project, which is funded by the European Commission, in order to eliminate

information gaps related to forced climate migration. The committees within the scope of this project have been working to collect statistical data on the movements after events such as desertification and floods that have occurred due to climate change, since 2007. Besides, it is recommended to make moves that will ensure the adaptation of countries to climate change in their domestic policies. Currently, many countries have started to take various measures such as building sea walls to combat them. But while making these moves, they plan these adaptation strategies by making economic benefit-loss calculations.

Although migration is seen as an adaptation failure, in some regions such as low coastal island states, there does not appear to be a more appropriate adaptive strategy than migration if sea levels rise and floods. OECD countries are the ones that will be relatively less affected by climate change, although developed countries have tremendous harm in increasing global warming. For this reason, the policies followed by these states which are less likely to both internal migration and cross-border migration, are significant. Currently, there are no developed countries that have adopted an immigration admission plan that will cover persons displaced due to global warming/climate change. It is known that countries such as Sweden and Finland have started to accept these immigrants within the scope of environmental migration in their domestic policies and take special coverage for their protection. However, here, too, there is no information on how to follow the path of migration that occurs specifically due to climate change, as they are considered in a broad scope as environmental migrants (IOM, 2008).

Since this date, IOM managers have mentioned that IOM has an essential role, especially in works related to migration movements due to climate change. In

particular, William Lacy Swing, general secretary of IOM in 2009, spoke at the climate change summit that a joint project should be developed with other institutions to develop policies and research on environmentally displaced persons and that migration is an adaptation strategy. On this date, IOM joined the UNFCCC and the two institutions started to take part in joint work (Hall, 2015).

One of the significant works of IOM was regarding migration due to climate change is the establishment of the "Division on Migration, Environment and Climate Change" (MECC), which carries out works at the global and regional level. The primary purpose of these studies carried out by MECC, which was established in 2015, is to reduce climate-induced migration at the national, regional, and international levels by implementing reciprocal policies against the challenges posed by climate change and to provide assistance to people affected by disasters. It cooperates with UN specialist agencies and various regional organizations, thus achieving these targets. It supports the work of the Nansen Initiative, which is an important regional initiative on displacement due to disasters other than UN bodies, and its successor the Platform on Disaster Displacement (PDD), and the Migrants in Countries in Crisis Initiative (MICIC) (IOM, 2018).

In her analysis, Hall stated that an international organization can seek concrete resources such as finance and abstract concepts such as prestige in order to bring any problem to their agenda. This is how it can be explained that the concept of environmental migration, which UNEP first mentioned in 1985, came to the agenda so late within IOM. It is seen that IOM has focused on this issue of climate-induced migration after this date, especially with the increase of studies carried out since the beginning of the 2000s and getting wide coverage in the media. Besides, it is seen that

it started to participate in UNFCCC summits as of 2007 and is seeking funding through this tool to carry out studies on this issue (Hall, 2015). However, adopting climate-induced migration into its agenda and leading role in both international and regional works is remarkably valuable.

3.3.2. United Nations High Commissioner For Refugees (UNHCR)

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), which was established in 1950 to help millions of Europeans who fled or lost their homes after the Second World War, has been working to help refugees all over the world ever since.

During the 1990s, when IOM first started to address climate-induced displacement, UNHCR was not involved in any work on climate change. And it was stated that the term climate refugee, which is applied to express people who are displaced due to climate, is not correct to use because it is not included in the Convention (UNHCR, 2015).

UNHCR's legal mandate does not cover disaster displacements. However, the current UN Secretary-General, António Guterres, who was the UN High Commissioner for Refugees at the time, stated at the annual executive committee meeting in 2007 that people will be displaced due to the rise of sea levels, and the international community is currently not equipped to take action on this issue. Therefore, he argued that current forced displacement should be re-examined and its causes should be investigated. In fact, this speech is a significant development in terms of UNHCR's views on forced migration movements related to climate change. Because the subject that is not included in the scope of the institution's work has been ignored for years. Even though Gutarres's

discourse on climate change and forced human migration continued, concrete steps were not taken at that time within the body of UNHCR. In 2008, within the scope of the UNFCCC summit, the UN asked its affiliated expertise organizations to create focal points on climate. Accordingly, UNHCR has established its working position on climate change. With the efforts of Guterres, a task office on climate change was established in the same year and it was aimed to determine the place of UNCHR in the face of climate change. However, as there have been objections to the issue before, some staff within UNHCR expressed their reluctance to work on this issue, stating that migration due to climate change is not a serious problem, but most serious political issues. In the policy paper on *Climate Change, Natural Disasters and Human Displacement: A UNHCR Perspective*, prepared in 2008, it was stated that the term climate refugee is not in line with international refugee law and that the use of the concept may weaken the scope for the protection of refugees (UNHCR 2008). Besides, in this review, it was emphasized that the issue of helping people displaced due to climate change is not included in the UNHCR job description, but that the states should develop an international dialogue to solve this issue (McAdam, 2014).

Although UNHCR did not actively deal with displacements due to environmental disasters until 2010, it intervened in internal displacements in disasters such as the Asian Tsunami in 2004 and the 2010 Haiti Earthquake. However, UNHCR's mandate to protect against displacements is focused on managing disasters that will occur in the short-term effects of climate change rather than the expected long-term effects. It is not equipped for long-term disasters (McAdam, 2012).

In 2010, UNHCR's *Background Paper to the High Commissioners Dialogue on Protection Challenges* is one of the substantial steps that UNHCR has taken in this

regard. It is foreseen that the effects of climate change can increase the tendency of people to act by combining with conflicts. UNHCR's next essential effort on climate change was the Bellagio Expert Meeting on Climate Change and Displacement in 2011. At that point, there were critical agenda items such as whether the existing legal frameworks for climate change and displacement are sufficient, if not, how to make arrangements, and how to take measures regarding the island countries that sink with the rise of sea levels. Due to the lack of knowledge on this subject, the UNHCR asked an expert group consisting of scientists to conduct research on this subject and determine the global framework. At the end of the consideration, it was decided to develop a global guideline for forced migration cases outside the Refugee Convention (McAdam, 2014)

In 2011, at the Standing Committee of UNHCR's Executive Committee (ExCom), a proposal was made by the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) that UNHCR should be the chief institution for protection and interventions on displacement due to natural disasters. Previously UNHCR intervened in seven major natural disasters between 2004 and 2011 (droughts in Somalia in 2011 and 2012, floods in Pakistan 2010-2012, storms and flooding in Myanmar in 2013, and typhoons in the Philippines) (UNHCR, 2015). It is possible to say that it was presented to justify this task. However, at the UNHCR ministerial meeting in December 2011, it was suggested that substantial questions on this issue should be resolved before taking responsibility for becoming the chief institution for natural disasters and that this issue should be postponed until then. In this meeting, the UNHCR director-general said that climate change would be the key accelerator for forced displacements (McAdam, 2014).

Protection for those displaced due to climate change and natural disasters that were not included in the 1951 Refugee Convention and eliminating the lack of concept that would define people displaced by climate was not yielded positive results at ExCom in 2011. These demands were rejected and sparked reactions by the participating countries other than Norway, Switzerland, Costa Rica, Germany, and Mexico. Walter Kälin, one of the founders of the Nansen Initiative (a platform for international disaster displacement), considered this situation as the reluctance of states to give the necessary importance to this issue and their unwillingness to transfer their sovereign rights as such responsibility lies with the management of non-state actors (McAdam, 2017).

It became clear after the ministerial council meeting that UNHCR could not be the chief institution in global climate-induced displacements. However, the Nansen Initiative, which was founded by the Norwegian and Swiss governments and conducts joint studies with many international organizations and non-governmental organizations, was initiated during these dates. The foundations of this initiative were the discourses of these two governments at the UNHCR ministerial meeting in 2011. Besides, apart from Germany, Mexico, Costa Rica, which expressed their positive views on this issue at the UNHCR council of ministers meeting, Australia, Bangladesh, Kenya, and the Philippines also were in the steering group of the initiative. Apart from the states, there was also an advisory board of international organizations, NGOs, academics, and scientists. The presence of UNHCR is substantial in terms of being a member of the executive committee among international organizations. UNHCR still a permanent guest of the Nansen Initiative in disaster-induced displacements internationally and its successor The Platform on Disaster Displacement (McAdam, 2014).

The Environment & Climate Change published by UNHCR in October 2015 is a historical summary of UNHCR policies on climate change and human displacement and a working report on how they address the issue. Guterres, the UNHCR High Commissioner of that time, mentioned that climate change is a significant problem that states should put on their agenda and that in the future, it may lead to conflicts in vital resources such as water and nutrition. It was mentioned in the report that the 1951 Convention does not cover people displaced due to climate change. In the fourth assessment report of the IPCC, it was foreseen that the increasingly adverse effects of climate change would increase poverty in the 21st century and cause conflicts and civil wars due to this and UNHCR also put the issue on the agenda (UNHCR, 2015).

The reason UNHCR considers itself responsible at this point is that vulnerable people live in disaster-risk areas. It was stated that disasters caused by climate change could also cause social stresses and therefore communities that are already vulnerable to disasters and displacements are at risk. In case of a conflict that may arise due to water shortage due to climate change in these regions, UNHCR should support these areas. UNHCR also recommends taking precautions against disasters, developing adaptation strategies, and determining development goals in displacements due to climate change. For cross border displacements; “[R]ather than calling for a new binding international convention on cross-border disaster- displacement, UNHCR supports an approach that focuses on the integration of effective practices by States and sub-regional organizations into their own normative frameworks and practices under their specific situations and challenges” (UNHCR, 2015, p. 7).

According to the research conducted by UNHCR on refugees and internally displaced persons, it was concluded that in 2013 and 2014, 380,000 people were

exposed to more than 150 disasters such as floods, violent storms, and fires in 16 countries. Since the welfare of refugees and internally displaced persons is the duty of UNHCR, it is significant to sustainable environmental management. However, this can be done with the participation of refugees and internally displaced personnel, so ensuring that they are involved in energy and environmental issues and activities such as education and sanitation will help create livelihood opportunities for refugees. Besides, natural resource management plans such as the adoption of sustainable agriculture methods and afforestation activities should be made for the camp areas. Environmental impact assessments that emerge with the concept of sustainable development should be done regularly (UNHCR, 2015).

UNHCR has also provided technical support to the UNFCCC since 2008. In line with the findings in the IPCC's Fourth Assessment Report in 2007 that climate-induced migration, IOM, UNHCR, UN University, and the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) stated that it is their joint responsibility to address the migration caused by climate change. It has been decided that the specified institutions will submit reports to the UNFCCC in COP15 to make researches and offer solutions to close the gaps between climate change and migration. Reference has been made to certain articles of the UNFCCC and documents such as the Bali Action Plan, and the Nairobi Work Program (AWG-LCA 5, 2009). The IASC established a Task Force on Climate Change in 2008, the suggestions and presentations of the IOM and UNHCR on the issue that climate change may cause migration have been significant in the acceptance of Cancun Adaptation in COP16 in 2010. According to paragraph 14 of Cancun Adaptation, it was accepted that climate change caused migration and all States parties were invited to develop cooperation and coordination on this issue. This decision has led to many international studies on the subject (such as 2012 DOHA, COP21 Paris). It continues

to play a role as a member of the Task Force on Displacement (TFD) and the Advisory Group on Human Mobility and Climate Change led by the Executive Committee of the Warsaw International Mechanism on Loss and Damage, which were established in 2013 at COP19. Under this advisory group, UNHCR contributed to the works in 2018 by reporting on what could be done internationally and regionally to find permanent solutions to displacements caused by climate change and to prevent displacements. Also, within the scope of the 2015 Paris Agreement, it actively works with the TDF to contribute to the agreement parties and to maintain technical support (UNHCR, 2015; UNHCR 2018).

UNHCR also acknowledges that there are gaps in international law regarding the adverse effects of climate change that fall under the refugee definition, such as conflict and exposure to violence. For this reason, it conducted the research *In Harm's Way: International protection in the context of nexus dynamics between conflict or violence and disaster or climate change* in 2018. In this research, the cases of conflict and violence due to climate change and environmental disasters-induced displaced persons and the protections provided by the countries of destination have been examined. Although the research argued that the refugee law should be applied to people who have problems that can be contacted within the scope of refugee law, there is still not enough work in this field (UNHCR, 2018).

It is seen that UNHCR approaches the issue more cautiously than IOM and prefers to adhere to the Refugee Convention. However, it did not stay entirely away from the subject and participated in UNFCCC summits and worked with the Norwegian Refugee Council at the 2011 Nansen Conference, which was an essential effort on international environmental displacement. UNHCR is one of the authoritative

organizations in the fight against climate-induced migration, both with its scientific work and its help for people who are displaced.

3.3.3. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)

UNFCCC's main field of work is climate change, and there is no expression related to climate-induced migration in the original document. However, with the Conference of the Parties (COP) held annually under the framework, especially since 2007, climate-induced migration has started to be on the agenda. According to the IOM World Migration 2020 Report, policies covering migration movements due to climate change were shaped between COP13 in 2007 and COP24 in 2018 in the international arena (see Figure 4) (IOM, 2019b).



Figure 3: Emergence of human migration as a risk management topic in international climate policy (IOM,2019b, p.265).

In 2007, with COP13 the Bali Action Plan, critical goals such as risk management, risk reduction, strategies to reduce loss and damage were set, and financial planning was made for the financial resources required for strategies. It was also decided to establish The Ad Hoc Working Group on Long-term Cooperative

Action under the Convention (AWG-LCA) in the Bali Action Plan published at the end of the conference. The first session in Bangkok from 31 March to 4 April 2008 was held. The work done is presented in the 2008 year COP14. According to AWG-LCA, it is substantial for collaboratively exchange data to raise awareness of and improve climate-induced migration (UNFCCC/AWGLCA/2008).

This document was developed in the fifth session of the Ad Hoc Working Group on Long-Term Cooperative Action under the Convention in 2009 and submitted to COP15 held in 2009 in Copenhagen. The written report significant in terms of its publication under the title climate change, migration, and displacement. It was a joint presentation prepared by IOM, UNHCR, the United Nations University (UNU), and The Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) to be presented to the UNFCCC in Cop15. The Paper starts by referring to the fact that climate change can cause human movements in the IPCC's First Assessment Report published in 1990. They stated that migration and displacements caused by climate change should be handled by the international community and that it is their responsibility to ensure this. By referring to the Kyoto Protocol, it was stated that the Kyoto Protocol must be accepted in order to achieve these results. In addition, it includes recommendations such as preparing for the prevention or minimization of migration and displacement and developing policies for climate change mitigation and adaptation consistent with other policy areas such as humanitarian aid, migration, and health (UNFCCC/AWG-LCA 5, 2009). COP15 called for international cooperation on the effects of climate change on human movements. “[W]e have come to see a world united for once, with a singular vision of saving our frail mother planet[...].” (UNFCCC, 2009, p. 10). Another significance of COP15, which took place in Copenhagen, is that it is seen as a milestone in the increase in the number of participants in summits aimed at climate change. Notably, while the

participation in the UNFCCC in 1994 was 42 organizations, the number increased to over 100 at the 2009 Copenhagen summit (Hall, 2016).

Since the phrases in the draft text regarding migration and displacement were not included in the final text in COP15, Copenhagen, no progress was made on the subject. Nevertheless, with the fourteenth paragraph of the Cancun Outcome Agreement, which was published at the end of Cop16, which took place in Cancun the following year, climate change-induced migration was officially on the agenda of the UNFCCC (Thorp, 2014).

“(Para 14) Invites all Parties to enhance action on adaptation under the Cancun Adaptation Framework, taking into account their common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities, specific national and regional development priorities, objectives and circumstances, by undertaking, inter alia, the following: [...] (f) Measures to enhance understanding, coordination, and cooperation with regard to climate change-induced displacement, migration and planned relocation, where appropriate, at the national, regional and international levels” (UNFCCC, 2011, pp. 4-5). The addressing of climate change and human mobility in the Cancun Outcome Agreement is a turning point in terms of this issue entering the field of international discussion, and since the Paris Agreement, the issue of human mobility and climate change has started to come to the agenda more at the international level, especially as of 2015.

In 2013 the UNFCCC established the Warsaw International Mechanism (WIM) in the framework of COP19 to avert consequences of climate change and displacement and make arrangements for those who had to migrate (IOM, 2019b). In COP19 decided to establish the Executive Committee (ExCom), consisting of twenty permanent

members and ten temporary members, in order to contribute to the more effective operation of WIM. The work plan approved in 2014, identified nine action items on migration and displacement caused by climate change. Developed countries were held responsible for this sense, but did not lean towards compensating for these damages. However, in Doha at COP18, developed countries agreed to approach the issue more moderately and take action to compensate for damages and strengthen the institutional mechanism in place (Shamsuddoha, 2019). The handling of two significant issues, such as displacement and loss and damage, which were ignored due to climate change, in COP16 has also affected states, NGOs, and International Organizations (IOs). However, this situation reversed again in COP21 Paris, and developing states did not accept to take responsibility in this sense.

Summing up, handling the problems dealt with in Cancun as a technical issue rather than a political one facilitated the participation of states. However, it was only a recommendation as it was not legally binding. Nevertheless, it was very significant in terms of putting the existence of human movements related to climate change on the agenda of states (McAdam, 2014).

According to IOM, the Paris Agreement in the COP21, which was the first major multilateral agreement of the 21st century, is considered very significant with regard to including climate change and migration after the Cancun Agreement.

“[A]cknowledging that climate change is a common concern of humankind, Parties should, when taking action to address climate change, respect, promote and consider their respective obligations on human rights, the right to health, the rights of indigenous peoples, local communities, migrants[...]"(UNFCCC, 2016, p. 2). Although the inclusion of this phrase in the agreement is a substantial reference to climate-

induced displacement, it does not contain any legal provisions for the parties. However, the fact that the two countries with the world's largest economy, the USA and China, agree to reduce greenhouse gas emissions at the 2015 UNFCCC Paris Conference signals that climate change has gained a considerable place in the international arena (Hall, 2016).

However, the Warsaw International Mechanism (WIM) has been tasked by COP21 to conduct work to develop recommendations to address and minimize displacement related to the adverse effects of climate change (UNFCCC, 2016). Mainly, WIM has various responsibilities set by the COP. It is possible to see that WIM carries out works, including displacement and migration during its term of office. Especially between 2014 and 16, they included the issue of migration among their priority action plans. In COP21, Task on Forced Displacement was established within WIM in order to cooperate with other UN specialized organizations, working groups within the UNFCCC, non-governmental organizations, and governments. The recognition of the displacement caused by climate change in the Paris Agreement and the establishment of a task force within the WIM is an indication that this issue is widely accepted on the international agenda. The Warsaw Executive Committee and Task for Displacement presented recommendations on prevention and minimization of displacement due to climate change at COP24 in 2018 (The Platform on Disaster Displacement, 2019). According to accepted duties at COP24 in 2018, Task Force on Displacement's suggested that states should adopt policies within the scope of researches to prevent or minimize displacements, measures should be taken before disasters occur, and ensure the safety of people during migration (IOM, 2019b). In line with the 5-year targets approved in COP22, action plans have been determined to ensure planned displacement regarding migration and displacement (UNFCCC, 2016).

It also has duties such as encouraging governments, NGOs, IOs to take action in the battle against the adverse effects of climate change, making and enforcing financial support plans to reduce loss and damage. In this sense, although it has not been as successful as expected so far, it is awaited that it will be more successful and effective with the expansion and strengthening of its domains.

The period between the Cancun Climate Negotiations 2010 and the Paris Climate Negotiations 2015 is quite critical because climate-induced migration has begun to be debated and involved in the work of relevant organizations in the international arena. Other reasons why Cancun is considered to be a milestone in this regard are the fact that both the establishment of task forces and the fact that the Nansen Initiative references the climate change clause in paragraph 14 of the Cancun Outcome Agreement are the reasons for their works (Nash, 2018).

The reason for the UNFCCC's failure to achieve remarkable success as a result of climate-induced migration/displacement meetings and agreements is that the articles on these issues remain as commitment, particularly in significant agreements such as Cancun. If the decisions are taken and policy recommendations are not implemented, there is no sanctioning power of the agreements. However, it is still very valuable in terms of addressing the issue and bringing it up. Apart from this, only efforts are made to take measures against sudden onset events and to develop adaptations. But due to slow-onset events (such as rising sea levels, the inefficiency of soils, changing rainfall regimes), thousands of people in many countries have to leave their habitats. But the agenda items discussed are generally focused on events such as sudden hurricanes and storms (Shamsuddoha, 2019).

The proposal to establish a global platform for displacement and migration in Cancun 14(f) also needs to be assessed and implemented. The Nansen Initiative and the Disaster Displacement Platform are substantial institutions in this regard, but they are managed and financed by governments. A competent international organization is needed on issues such as the identification of action plans and adaptation processes for these issues, the determination of the status of climate migrants, and the protection of their rights.

3.3.4. The Nansen Initiative

The Nansen Initiative, which was initially established under the leadership of states, but later contributed by the UN and EU, is the first platform established for international disaster displacements.

The Nansen Conference on Climate Change and Displacement, held in June 2011, was the first and most comprehensive conference on cross-border displacement. Following the organization of the Nansen Conference, the Nansen Initiative was launched in October 2012 with the initiative of Sweden and Norway to protect people displaced by climate change (EU Parliament, 2019a). The Nansen Initiative, builds on paragraph 14 (f) on the 2010 UNFCCC Cancun Agreement on climate change adaptation calls for (The Nansen Initiative, 2015). In 2011, the UNHCR's reference to the lack of protection interventions for displaced persons due to climate change and natural disasters not covered by the 1951 Convention also played a critical role in the establishment of the Nansen Initiative. Norway and Sweden have pointed out the existence of an international practice regarding people displaced as a result of disasters and environmental disasters, including the effects of climate change, and have decided

to initiate an intergovernmental study to provide measures, assistance, and protection to these people. In this way, the Nansen Initiative has emerged to cover a period of 3 years (McAdam, 2017).

The Nansen Initiative is recognized as the most significant initiative ever to address human mobility due to climate change and disasters. The institution defines itself as a consultation process that aims to protect and assist people displaced across borders as a result of disasters, including the adverse effects of climate change, and to develop consensus and practices in line with this objective (The Nansen Initiative, 2015). The initiative has been able to draw the attention of States to climate change challenges through seven regional meetings and numerous studies since its inception until 2015. With regard to migration, it has been proposed policy actions focus on the whole process (preparation, protection during migration, and resolution of problems after migration). The Initiative's priorities have been to investigate why people have remained displaced. To this end, the aim was to carry out the process in a planned manner and to find permanent solutions (McAdam, 2017).

Within the scope of The Agenda For Protection of Cross-Border Displaced Persons adopted in Switzerland on 12-13 October 2015, suggestions were made to assist states and other actors for displacements due to climate change and environmental disasters. These recommendations were primarily focused on preventing displacement due to disasters. Another priority was the protection of displaced persons. The lack of organization of states so far on this issue has been mentioned and called for cooperation, offering proposals for joint work. Besides, instead of establishing a new international organization for disaster displacements, it has supported the adoption and implementation of its suggestions within the framework of existing organizations and

government structures. They also addressed the problem of not finding a permanent solution to the protection of cross-border disaster displaced persons. The Agenda stated that states receiving immigration provide temporary protection in regions where people come due to disaster risk or disasters. It suggested that uncertainties must be resolved, such as disaster-affected areas are no longer livable, displaced persons are unable to return, or how long they will remain. It has been emphasized that in international law, there is no statement about in which situations these people would be accepted or how they will be protected. It was argued that the purpose of using the concept of protection in the Agenda was not to make any changes in human rights law or refugee law, and the notion of protection was used for positive action (The Nansen Initiative, 2015).

The Nansen Initiative's work has not only been theoretical, but also has shown its effects on international activities such as the Paris Climate Change Negotiations held in 2015 within the scope of the Paris Conference and the 2016 World Humanitarian Summit. In 2015, within the framework of Paris Climate Change Negotiations, it was stated that displacement due to climate change could be one of our major humanitarian problems for the future, hence, it is necessary to address the issue and carry out national and international works. It recommended that human rights policies be developed for people affected by conflict and disasters at the World Humanitarian Summit in Istanbul in 2016, at the invitation of the UN Secretary-General. Likewise, the people displaced due to climate change have also been recognized within the context of this summit and targets have been determined in line with the recommendations of the Nansen Initiative. The UN Secretary-General recommended that states adopt an international or regional framework for cross-border displaced persons by 2025, even if they do not have refugee status. Although they were not binding agreements, it could be considered positive that

States recognize climate-induced displacements and become parties to related works (McAdam, 2017).

The Disaster Displacement Platform was established as a follow-up to the Nansen Initiative in May 2016. The platform aims to continue and advance the objectives of the Nansen Initiative.

3.3.5. The Platform on Disaster Displacement

Like its successor Nansen Initiative, the Platform on Disaster Displacement (PDD) is a State-led program that aims to strengthen the security of people displaced across borders in the scope of disasters and climate change. The platform, which is a continuation of the Nansen in terms of its establishment purpose, was established in 2016 with the approval of more than 100 government delegations at the World Humanitarian Summit. The platform aims to continue and implement the protection Agenda published by the Nansen Initiative, which essentially tells the states to prevent displacement due to disasters or to prepare for these disasters in 2016 (The Platform on Disaster Displacement [PDD], 2017).

Agenda for the Protection of Cross-Border Displaced Persons in the Context of Disasters and Climate Change, which was launched in 2015 after the work of the Nansen Initiative, was formed to carry out the necessary works on this issue and to continue Nansen's goals. Consequently, it has started to work in line with the main purposes such as reducing the risks of people at risk of displacement and protecting the affected people (Jakobsson, 2019).

The Steering Group, which is part of the Platform's management team, is the group that provides coordination, policy, and leadership over the two-year working period. A president and a deputy are elected from the member states every two years. This group consists of 15-20 states and the EU. UNHCR and IOM are standing invitees to the Steering Group. In terms of the involvement of the EU, IOM, and UNHCR, the steering committee is an essential body of the organization (PDD, 2019).

The PDD's strategy document covering the years 2019-2022, states that the IOM and UNHCR have a significant role in the implementation of the Nansen Initiative Protection Agenda and the PDD strategies. It cooperates with these institutions in actions such as preventing and reducing disaster displacements (PDD, 2019).

The PDD is also one of the major institutions that make regional studies and make recommendations to states to facilitate the resolution of problems for disaster displacements, including climate-induced migration, and is still working in this context.

3.3.6. Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015-2030

It was accepted at the Third UN World Conference in Sendai, Japan in 2015 and supported by the United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction at the request of the UN General Assembly. Adopted in 2005, Hyogo Framework for Action (HFA) is the successor of 2005-2015: Building the Resilience of Nations and Communities to Disasters. The framework mainly aims to guide governments and institutions on issues such as disaster risk reduction, strengthening resilience, and focusing on environmental, biological, and technological risks caused by nature and humans. It is expressed that governance, including international platforms, should be strengthened to address the

vulnerability of societies against disaster risks and in order to eliminate them. UNDRR is tasked by the UN with supporting the implementation, follow-up, and review of the Sendai Framework (UN, 2015).

Hyogo Framework for Action, which was accepted as Resilience of Nations and Communities to Disasters in 2005 at the Second World Conference on Disaster Reduction with the participation of 168 countries, is very significant in terms of mentioning that nations and communities should take measures against disasters (Thorp, 2014). However, in the Hyogo Framework for Action report, climate change was stated among the factors that could cause disasters, but displacement was not included.

Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction, referring to Hyogo, stated that disasters over the last 10 years now have a greater negative impact on the welfare and safety of communities. Between 2008 and 2012, approximately 144 million people displaced due to disasters. Increasing the number of disasters also adversely affect sustainable development. In order to eliminate these risks, governments need to collaborate with academic circles and scientific boards to manage disaster risk (UN, 2015).

The Sendai Framework is a critical document for influencing the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants, which is the preliminary document of the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly, and Regular Migration (GCM), which has a critical role in recognizing climate-induced migration.

3.3.7. The New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants

The document adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at UN Summit 2016 is a significant declaration in terms of accepting the relationship between migration and climate change. The Declaration indicates that environmental migration is based on more than one reason and mentions that throughout history, people have been displaced due to economic reasons voluntarily or due to reasons conflict, terrorism, and persecution forcibly. It states that adverse effects such as natural disasters caused by climate change also caused migration as of recent history. The relationship between climate change and migration also affects sustainable development goals, thus suggests that adverse effects should be reduced. For this, developed states that cause or increase the effects of climate change are called to reduce these effects. The purpose of the declaration is to investigate the factors that cause climate change, to offer solutions, and to ensure that the affected communities live comfortably in their own countries. To achieve this, targets such as the elimination of extreme poverty and the implementation of international human rights have been set. The main goal is to regulate migration as a choice people make rather than an obligation (IOM, 2018).

The declaration refers and agrees to recommendations from COP21 and the Sendai Mechanism for Disaster Risk Reduction, which has taken migration to the international policy agenda due to climate change. This declaration paved the way for the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly, and Regular Migration (GCM), which was agreed to be formed in Morocco after the 2018 conference. This agreement, which was adopted by UN members to make regulations and improvements on migration following, The New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants, is the first global agreement on international migration. During the consultation phase of this agreement,

it has been acknowledged that climate change and natural disasters are the drivers of migration. In the preparation phase of the agreement, in addition to the acceptance that climate change is one of the essential factors that cause migration, it was mentioned that more studies and concrete information are needed to understand the relationship between them. States have proposed that people displaced due to climate change and related disasters should be protected, their needs should be addressed and all these efforts should be carried out in international cooperation (IOM, 2018).

The agreement accepts that environmental changes are not the only cause of migration, but more than one factor (political, economic) causes migration. But also accepts that the effects of climate change that force people to leave the places where they live need to be reduced. For this, it recommends that states develop programs such as poverty reduction, investments in education, health programs, and gender equality in line with sustainable development goals.

The GCM is an essential document that unites all policy recommendations submitted since climate migration was included in the international policy agenda.

The New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants declaration is also crucial in the acceptance of the Adoption of a Global Compact on Refugees (GCR) in 2018, which is critical in terms of accepting refugee movements caused by reasons such as climate change and natural disasters (IOM, 2018). The Convention provides an action plan with policy measures for countries affected by forced displacement. Regarding climate-induced migration, disasters such as the GCM accepts as a critical driving force in human mobility, and recommendations make to states to reduce the disaster risks due to climate change and protect people who have to move. Fundamentally, it has similar policy recommendations with GCM regarding climate-induced migration. It differs

from the GCM only in that it can implement shared policies with the UNHCR when necessary. Some other essential difference is that it includes suggestions such as strengthening infrastructures to determine the camp areas where these people can settle in possible displacement situations. It has the same policies as GCM on issues like that as sustainable development and disaster risk reduction (IOM, 2018).

Although the concept has been discussed since the 1980s, climate-induced migration, which has been addressed by international organizations since the early 2000s, has in a short period of time gained a significant position in international politics. As one of the major organizations at the regional level, the EU is also setting an example with chiefly climate change policies. The next chapter will examine how the EU, a regional organization, deals with climate-induced migration with climate change.

4. CLIMATE-INDUCED MIGRATION IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

The EU defines itself internationally as a global actor, not just as an economic community. Therefore, it is closely following the international policy agenda and is part of many regional and international agreements. Climate change is also an essential international policy agenda for the EU. The EU Institutions' concern over European regional climate changes, and the fact that EU citizens consider climate change a major problem are the reasons why climate change is a key policy agenda.

In this context, the EU acknowledges that environmental incidents will become one of the most essential global challenges in the coming years, with the impact of climate change, and states that the development of measures and harmonization plans that must be taken against it can be possible with international cooperation.

As remarked in the previous chapter, the fight against climate change has commenced by the UN and its affiliated expertise organizations since 1990, but the EU is one of the most significant and enthusiastic actors in this fight and the leading international organizations.

4.1. Climate Change Policies of the European Union

Europe is one of the regions where it is expected to be subjected to the adverse effects of climate change in terms of its location. Drought, extreme temperatures and fires in the Mediterranean region; floods due to large rivers in Western, Central, and

Eastern Europe; storms with the effects of high mountains in Western Europe and landslides are already being seen. The adverse effects of climate change are expected to have serious consequences, such as European economic development, food production, and the destruction of ecosystems (Talu, 2019). Hence, the EU has begun to take relatively early measures to combat climate change.

Environmental policies have begun to come up at the same time as the United Nations. The EU, which developed actions since the 1970s, is establishing environmental policies to spread over certain periods under Environmental Action Programs (EAP) starting in 1973. The first program covers a period of 5 years and is important to address international cooperation in the implementation of EU environmental policies. The last published EAP entered into force in 2014 and encompasses 2013-2020. Achieving effective use of resources within the Union, and leading the green economy, which is among the key objectives in this document, is a longstanding element of the EU's environmental policy. For this, it is aimed to focus on sources where low carbon emission will be provided. Another central goal of the document is to invest more in climate change and induce the EU more active in the International climate and environmental issues, which can be interpreted as an indicator of the EU's enthusiasm to become key actors in this struggle (Flautre et al., 2013).

Climate change has been discussed in the EU since the 1980s. In 1988, the first statement was submitted by the commission to the council of ministers (European Commission, 1988). There was no action plan in this statement, but it was significant in the sense that climate change is starting to be on the EU agenda.

In 1990, with the publication of the IPCC's first assessment report, the EU started to put climate change on its policy agenda. In 1990, the union's environment and energy ministers decided to fix carbon emission rates to the 1990 level in the next 10 years. Besides, a package was prepared by the EU Commission in 1992, aiming to reduce the carbon dioxide emission of the union by 12% by 2000 and containing measures to this end. One of the essential items of these measures is to reduce carbon dioxide emissions and encourage the use of sustainable energy resources by imposing a coal and carbon dioxide tax (European Commission, 1992). Getting to this commitment in unity before the 1992 Rio Conference is seen as a significant step in ensuring the EU as a leading institution in climate change policies.

As stated in the previous chapter, the problem of climate change has been carried out globally since the 1990s under the leadership of the UN. However, the EU is one of the leading institutions in this struggle with its recommendations and policies, both in the union and in the global agreements and conferences it participates in. One of the essential factors supporting the EU's struggle on this issue is that the majority of citizens in the union accept that climate change is a result of human activities and see climate change as a significant threat. It is one of the highly accepted facts that efficient use of energy resources is supported and that these policies will be more beneficial in terms of economic growth.

According to *Eurobarometer 2019 Climate Change Reporting*, 93% of the citizens of the European Union see climate change as a serious problem and 79% as a very serious problem. 84% of the respondents think more government support is needed for the transition to clean and renewable energy sources. 72% of the respondents think that the EU's transition from fossil fuel-dependent energy sources to renewable and

clean energy sources will be positive in terms of energy security. Sweden responded with a 50% rate of climate change to the question that includes options such as poverty, international terrorism, armed conflicts, "the single most serious problem facing the world as a whole?" Denmark is followed by 47% and Malta and Finland with 33%. Denmark is followed by 47% and Malta and Finland with 33% (European Commission 2019a).

The EU is a party to important conventions in combating climate change, such as the UNFCCC, the Kyoto Protocol, and the Paris Agreement, and the Conference of the Parties held annually within the UNFCCC. In addition to these international arrangements, in its internal policy, the EU also implements several practices to avoid climate change and aims to reduce the long-term climate change consequences (Talu, 2019). The EU's global leadership in climate change started with the Kyoto Protocol. Being a party to the Kyoto Protocol organized in 1997, the EU, together with all its members, committed to reducing carbon emissions by 8% between 2008-2012, which covers the first term targets of the Protocol. It is an exemplary commitment for other parties to the contract. In line with these commitments, a different target has been set by the European Union for each member state, taking into account the development levels of the states. Also, the EU has made great efforts for the Kyoto Protocol to come into force and has demonstrated its fight against climate change in international policy. In 2002, in the same year when the EU announced that it ratified the Kyoto protocol, it was declared that within the scope of the UNFCCC, the EU achieved its goal of reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 8% by 2000 (European Commission, 2002).

The goals of the Kyoto protocol have not been achieved by other participants, hence the search for new solution recommendations has been entered. In 2009, the EU played a major role in forming the Paris Agreement by forming coalitions with the

states, following the failure to sign a global climate agreement in COP15, and became one of the parties of the Paris Agreement, which was recognized by the most significant global conventions of the 21st century (Talu, 2019).

Aside from global or regional agreements, the EU continues to develop policies within it. It has integrated international agreements to which it is a party into its legal system. The issue of combating climate change has continued to be among the priority agendas of the EU in the 2000s. The Lisbon Treaty was signed in 2007 to include solutions to challenges such as terrorism and energy security, including climate change. With this agreement, essential principles regarding the environment have been embraced. According to the agreement, a new and expanded energy policy has been adopted in solidarity and combat against climate change (European Union, 2007). With the Treaty of Lisbon, the task of developing measures within the scope of combating regional or global environmental problems is given to the EU Commission. The 20-20-20 Goals were adopted in 2010, which includes a 20 % increase in energy efficiency, 20% reduction of CO₂ emissions, and 20% renewables by 2020 (European Commission, 2010a). In this context, it was aimed for member countries to realize sustainable and smart growth. In 2018, the "2050 long-term strategy" was determined for "Climate Neutral Europe" by the European Commission (European Commission, 2018a). The Council Conclusions on Climate Diplomacy, which aims to strengthen the global struggle in combating climate change, is one of the leading steps of the EU in this struggle.

Apart from the agreements and strategies, the control of the activities of the member states by the EU system is effective in the success of the EU in combating climate change. States that do not fulfill their responsibilities may be referred to the European Union Court of Justice by the EU Commission and the court of justice can

take decisions against these states. The most recent example of this situation is Greece's failure to protect its biodiversity adequately in 2019 by the European Commission and the decision to refer it to the court of justice in 2020 on grounds of poor air quality due to high levels of particulate matter (PM10) (European Commission, 2019b; European Commission 2020a).

In brief, the EU is displaying an exemplary struggle on climate change both as a union and on the basis of its member states and making significant efforts to become a leader in this struggle. However, the policies for climate-induced migration, which have been discussed for a relatively short time, do not currently involve efforts to make the EU a leader. But it might be predicted to play a more active role in the future, as in the case of climate change. In especial, the European Commission's funding for the Nansen Initiative, the first and most comprehensive international study on climate change and displacement, and the European Union's membership of the Nansen Initiative's successor Platform on Disaster Displacement's Steering Group are essential in this sense. The following section of the chapter will examine how Europe deals with climate-induced migration with its short history of migration.

4.2. Climate-Induced Migration in Europe

4.2.1. Migration and the Effects of Climate Change in Europe

Mass migrations from Europe started at the end of the nineteenth century. The immigration of 40 million Europeans between 1850 and 1914 caused a major loss of labor (Easterlin, 1961). These immigrations, mostly the USA, were made in North and

South America. In the period before the Second World War, Europe turned to Southern Europe, especially Southern Mediterranean and Northern European states to close the labor shortage. Colonial states such as England and France also turned to their colonies, in the mid-1950s, Europe enough labor force. By the 1970s, Europe began to face a rapidly increasing migration flow (De Haas, 2011; Hansen, 2003; Bade, 2003). From the 1990s, with the collapse of the Soviets and the end of the Cold War, migration movements from Eastern Europe began (Mulligan et al., 2014).

With the establishment of the European Economic Community, free movement within the continent has also caused an impact on migration. However, harsh restrictions against immigrants from outside Europe have started to increase the number of illegal immigrants this time (Fassmann & Munz, 1994). Many factors such as economic, political, security, and environment cause migration in Europe. Economic factors are the primary reason for immigration to Europe in these years. Especially when we look at the history of European migration, we see that migration movements have taken place due to the acceleration of post-war development since the 1950s (De Haas, 2011). In 2004, with the enlargement of the EU and the addition of new states, there was an increase in immigration rates.

However, with the effects of climate change being felt more and more in recent years, people who are displaced by climate, and their status has become one of the agendas of international politics. Environmental factors causing migration are, as stated before, sudden environmental degradation or disasters, and environmental degradation with long-term effects. And it has been predicted that these effects may cause problems in undeveloped or developing countries (Sosa-Nunez & Atkins, 2016). But Europe, of course, has the potential to be affected by these environmental changes. For this reason,

the European Commission has participated in the Environmental Change and Forced Scenarios (EACH-FOR) project to investigate the effects of environmental changes on migration (Mulligan et al., 2014). The EACH-FOR project covered the years 2007-2009, and its report stated that natural and human-induced environmental changes will probably be the most important factors among the causes of forced migration. The intents of the European Union to participate in the project were to ensure that European policies are shaped in accordance with the forced migration scenarios and to collaborate with projects and institutions related to other migration and environmental degradation. By conducting case studies on 23 different regions, the effects of natural and human-made environmental changes were tried to be analyzed. At the end of the studies, it provided significant data about the potential flows of climate change refugees entering Europe. In order to better understand forced environmental migration, it is an essential project in terms of study on methodological aspects and case studies. The surveys conducted have formed the groundwork for both creating policies and academic studies to be done in this sense (EACH-FOR, 2009).

So far, mass migration movements to Europe, especially from regions vulnerable to environmental degradation due to climate change, have not been observed. It is mostly regarded as migration within the country or to nearby regions, but as a result of studies on climate change, it is predicted that this situation may reverse over time.

It is observed that mass migration to Europe occurs due to problems such as war, deportation due to political events, and Europe places more emphasis on these issues regarding security. However, it is argued by relevant institutions such as the IPCC and the UNFCCC that environmental problems, such as not reducing the speed

of climate change, may lead to major disasters and displacements. For this reason, it is an inevitable necessity for Europe to address this problem with both security and environmental measures and improvements. Nevertheless, rather than immigration from abroad, it is stated that problems such as drought in Europe, the inefficiency of the lands, and related famine and floods may be mass migration problems within the continent (Goria, 1999). Foremost, it would be useful to briefly touch upon the disaster scenarios that climate change may cause in the European Continent.

Possibly the most essential negative impact of climate change will be on water-related environmental changes. The most significant of these changes is the reduction in water resources in regions that do not receive sufficient rainfall, due to the change in rainfall regimes and rapid population growth. This rapid consumption of water resources will be an essential factor in conflicts in the future. The fact that the Syrian civil war began as a consequence of one of the major droughts in the history of the country is an essential example in this sense (Due Châtel, 2014; Femia et al., 2013). River floods are also a serious problem caused by climate change. Due to infrastructural problems, especially urban areas around the world are in danger of flooding. The growth in flood risks increases, according to factors such as the effects of climate change, land and water management. The effects of flood disasters on settlements in coastal areas can cause displacement actions in these areas. Rising sea levels due to climate change also increase the risks of floods and will even affect more populations as it may cause critical water transport. In this context, failure to take various infrastructural measures, especially climate change, may lead to flood disasters in any coastal region of the world, and this may cause migration movements in Europe. Approximately 50 years from now, it is predicted that the rise in sea levels will increase five times, and the annual flood rates will increase accordingly (Nicholls et al., 1999).

Deltas in the lowlands, such as South Asia and the Southern Mediterranean, are expected to be more affected by flood disasters. In regions such as the Indian and Pacific Ocean islands, the Caribbean, where floods are also expected to increase due to the rise of sea levels, as regions that have previously migrated to Europe, migration can also be estimated (Mulligan et al., 2014). It is the population growth in those areas that will allow this to cause even greater disasters. For this reason, it is recommended that the regulations and policies made for the coastal zones should also be aimed at reducing the population density (Nicholls, 2010).

With the drought due to temperature increase and changes in rainfall regimes, it seems possible that the citizens of the poorest countries in the south of the Mediterranean will choose Northern Europe as their migration destination (Magnan et al., 2009). In Europe, especially the Mediterranean Basin is expected to be the region most affected by drought by the end of the current century. It is predicted that this drought that is expected to be experienced will considerably affect the agricultural sector with land degradation, and the industry and tourism sectors where water is used a lot, with a critical decrease in water resources (Mulligan et al., 2014). Drought can also cause larger security problems. Especially the fact that water, which is now a limited resource and it affecting to agriculture, can lead to nutritional problems for communities. These also carry the risk of causing various conflicts. Although it is expected that drought-induced desertification will affect Europe, the result of desertification in the African region is seen as migration to Europe rather than immigration in Europe. Desertification and land degradation, which cause a decrease in agricultural production, force the people living in this region to migrate economically. Desertification can also affect underground water resources by reducing the moisture of the soil. It has meaning and often steep terrain in dry farming regions

like Italy and Turkey will have done more to combat desertification in this sense (Mulligan et al., 2014).

The increase in sea levels, which is one of the most dreaded consequences of global warming, which is expected to affect the coastal and delta regions where the population is concentrated, poses a significant risk. It is difficult to make predictions on this issue, depending on the rate of occurrence of climate change and people's attempts to reduce climate change. According to the Space Shuttle Radar Topography Mission (SRTM) data, which analyzes the scenario of a two-meter increase in water levels, it will seriously affect regions with high population density and strong GDP. It may lead to consequences that will cause forced migration in areas such as England and the Netherlands in Northern Europe, Venice in the Northern Mediterranean, and the Nile delta in the Southern Mediterranean (Farr & Kobrick, 2000). According to The World Bank's 2009 estimates of sea-level rise, an increase of one meter will affect approximately six million people in the Nile Delta and about 10% of the fertile land (World Bank, 2009).

Coastal cities in Europe, especially in the Mediterranean Region, are at risk of flooding. Changing precipitation regimes with the effect of climate change further increase the risk of flooding. Northern Europe's humid climate and high population density are both increasing threats in this area. Besides, the permanent melting down of snow and glaciers due to increased warming will lead not only to changes in precipitation systems but also to problems with flooding and drought. Prime examples of regions vulnerable to this problem are Italy, France, Germany, and Eastern Europe (Mulligan et al., 2014).

In brief, the European continent is also affected by climate change, and if precautions are not taken, the impacts may threaten the continent more. The environmental degradation that will occur, with the impacts of climate change, will affect the whole continent. But in the developed/urbanized regions where the population is concentrated, and especially in the Eastern and Mediterranean regions with relatively fragile economies, will be more likely to be affected by these changes. Notwithstanding, the EU is currently trying to minimize these negative impacts with emergency planning and disaster prevention strategies for hazardous areas, and migration within the EU is not considered as a critical threat. In the following subchapter, perspectives and policies of the European Union on climate-induced migration will be addressed.

4.2.2. Climate-Induced Migration in the European Union

With the enlargement of the European Union, immigration intake within the union and from foreign countries is also increasing. However, this increase is mostly due to economic reasons and is considered as regular migration. The first groundwork for climate-induced migration was brought to the agenda by the European parliament as early as 1999. In the 1999 Resolution on The Environment, Security and Foreign Policy, the relationship between environmental degradation and security was mentioned and added the notion of climate refugee (Heinrich Böll Stiftung, 2014). According to the report, the number of climate refugees was evaluated as more than the number of "conflict refugees". To attract attention to this problem, it was outlined that a formal definition of those who migrated due to environmental reasons is required

(European Parliament, 1999). However, the European Parliament has not published a study containing targets for climate refugees until 2011.

Since the EU does not yet have a legal regulation of the legal status of climate-induced migrants, it has tried to consider this issue primarily within the scope of refugee law. However, since they cannot be considered refugees and lack the competence to establish a new legal system, the EU has been forced to pursue alternatives to macro-level issues such as protecting environmental migrants and assessing their rights. The most significant step in this direction is to state that the article of the "EU Temporary Protection Directive" that covers displacement due to widespread violence, human rights abuses, and armed conflicts should also be extended to all who are displaced due to climate change disasters (European Commission, 2013a). The Temporary Protection Directive often protects those who are exposed to sudden-onset events. Ensuring safe displacement for victims of natural disasters is covered by this directive. Nevertheless, there is no solution to climate change slow-onset events (European Parliament, 2020a). However, it is seen that there are many difficulties in the implementation of this temporary protection. First of all, according to the temporary protection directive, the condition of displacement in large groups, being exposed to torture or inhumane treatment, and the condition of not being able to obtain protection anywhere in the state of origin makes it difficult to apply. Even if any of these requirements are fulfilled, the Council of Europe must have a competent majority for the implementation to take place, and there have been cases where this has not occurred (Yılmaz-Turgut, 2018). Subsidiary protection has also been proposed to be extended for climate-induced displacements. Many that do not have refugee status are still likely to face harm if they return to their home country to seek subsidiary asylum. Nevertheless, the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) recommends that people affected by climate

change and natural disasters be included in subsidiary protection. It has been resolved to include climate change in the secondary protection status as a significant damage factor (European Parliament, 2020a).

Climate-induced migration began to be on the policy agenda of the union with the presentation of climate change and security concerns to the council by Javier Solana, who the High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy, and the inclusion of migration in *a Green Paper on Climate Change* in 2007-2008. This document indicates climate migration as a threat and recommends the EU to develop early warning systems. With an emphasis on the multilateral leadership of the EU, it has been advised that the EU is at the forefront in ensuring global climate security (European Parliament, 2020a).

In 2008, a report titled *Environmentally Induced Migration and Displacement: a 21st Century Challenge* was published by the Council of Europe. In this report, it was stated that environmental migrants should be recognized, legally protected, and accepted in international conventions on their status (Council of Europe, 2008). In 2009, with *the White Paper on a European Framework for Action on Adaptation to Climate Change*, suggestions were made for the development of adaptation strategies regarding migration (European Parliament, 2020a).

The Stockholm Programme, adopted in 2009, was recognized as a milestone in climate migration studies within the union. This 5-year plan, for the years 2010-2014, was the first document to eliminate the relationship between climate and migration. In The Stockholm Program document published on 16 October 2009, the Council invited the Commission to present an analysis of the effects of climate change on migration and development (Council of the EU, 2009). As an outcome of this invitation, the

European Commission promulgated, the Commission Staff Working Document on Climate Change, Environmental Degradation, and Migration (CSWD) in 2013 on these issues. As a result of the analysis, it was concluded that more studies should be carried out to ensure cooperation on environmental migration and to eliminate the lack of information. Furthermore, the CSWD includes a statement that human rights law should be applied to all people forced to migrate for environmental reasons (European Commission, 2013a).

In 2011, the European Parliament Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice, and Home Affairs analyzed the legal gaps in the climate refugees both within the EU and at the international level (Heinrich Böll Stiftung, 2014). In this work titled *The Concept of 'Climate Refugee' Towards a Possible Definition*, it is stated that the term climate refugee is not legally equivalent in the EU. However, it has been proposed to include the EU's asylum legislation people displaced due to slow and sudden-onset events caused by the effects of climate change (European Parliament, 2019). Based on this decision, the EU, like IOM and UNHCR, does not accept the term climate refugees because it has no legal basis but admits that human mobility due to climate change is a global problem. Several policy measures within the EU against displacements prove this.

In the EU Global Approach to Migration and Mobility (GAMM), which has been an EU external migration and asylum policy since 2005, it has been underlined once again that climate-induced migration is an important issue that should be addressed globally (European Commission, 2011a). Justice and Home Affairs, referring to the Cancun Adaptation Framework, recognized climate change as a global challenge for migration and displacement, and added to the Global Approach to Migration and

Mobility that this issue should be addressed as part of the global approach (Popp, 2014). *The EC Thematic Program on Cooperation with third countries in the areas of Migration and Asylum (strategy for 2011–2013)* is considered to be one of the documents in which the EU's action plans for climate-induced migration are dealt with most clearly and concretely. Points such as the driving forces of migration and which regions are evaluated in this sense are also stated. The fact that the EU is an important global actor indicates that it will play an essential role in climate-induced migration in the future as it is today (Popp, 2014).

It is crucial to mention that the EU preferred to adapt rather than its leading position in migration due to climate change by integrating the decisions in Cancun into the GAMM at that time. The reason for this is the reluctance of EU member states to implement these policies. It was recommended that the EU cooperate with international organizations such as IOM and UNHCR to prevent this reluctance. According to the report, the fact that the 1951 Geneva Convention does not respond to the challenges of today's globalized world order must be formally acknowledged that climate immigrants acted by force. It is significant to emphasize the need to establish a new international institution (European Parliament, 2012a).

When we examine the policies up to this date, we can interpret that the EU was reluctant to lead internationally on climate migration until 2014. Migration and climate change did not seem to be a high-priority item on the policy agenda, especially by the EU Parliament. However, it is more on the agenda of the European Commission and in particular a few Directorate-Generals that assist in preparing CSWDs. We can say that the EU has started to see climate-induced migration as a positive adaptation/development process besides the security issue (Heinrich Böll Stiftung,

2014). The fact that the EU is a significant party and advocate of the Paris Agreement shows that it is on the agenda of climate-induced migration. The EU has invited the member states to lead both the significant responsibility of keeping the Paris Agreement warm below 2 °C and the recognition that climate change can lead to mass human mobility.

In the *European Commission: Migration in response to environmental change* published in 2015, it is stated that when immigration becomes compulsory due to environmental reasons, governments should produce policies or intervene to regulate them. Moreover, it is necessary to decrease environmental degradation impacts and pursue policies under the sustainable development plan before migration becomes obligatory. It was emphasized that policymakers should work on the adaptation of socioeconomically low-level citizens for immigration for environmental reasons. States should take measures before immigration is required, and mass displacement and the resulting negative consequences must be prevented early. The measures to be taken should also be done in cooperation with neighboring states. Although there is no protection in the literature for those who are displaced due to climate, this will be a critical problem for the present and especially for the future, and therefore these displaced persons should be protected within the framework of human rights law. National and international plans are needed to ensure this adaptation (European Commission, 2015a).

In the 2016 *Climate Change and Migration: Legal and policy challenges and responses to environmentally induced migration* parliamentary study, it was stated that environmental degradation has a critical role in affecting human movements and that climate change should be considered among the push factors. It was advised by the

parliament in 2017 that the impact of climate change on displacements will gradually increase, hence the EU should play a leading role in recognizing that climate change causes human mobility (European Parliament, 2020a).

In the reports and studies published by the European Union, it is generally mentioned that climate-induced migration is not possible for the only climate or climate change to cause migration by ignoring multiple causalities. According to the European Union's report titled *International Migration Drivers: a quantitative assessment of the structural factors shaping migration* published in 2018, been exposed to a climate hazard does not necessarily result in a decision to migrate; coping capacity and resilience dynamics could result in increased adaptability of the population exposed to increased levels of climate-related threats. According to the report, natural events such as rising sea levels or sudden floods that force, leaving a settlement can be directly associated with migration. However, factors other than this, such as the displacement of the agricultural sector due to drought, as a result of economic damage, are evaluated in a causality relationship and are not examined only as migration due to climate change (European Commission, 2018a).

The report *A legal status for climate refugees* suggested that the 1998 UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement could be adapted internationally to climate-displaced persons (Council of Europe, 2019). 1998 UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement is the first worldwide effort to provide human rights protection for those displaced within the country due to natural disasters.

Since the displacement of citizens within the EU does not have a legal difficulty, in this case, facilities such as protection and resettlement within the scope of human rights should be provided for those coming from outside the EU. According to this

fairly recent report, the fact that the EU supports taking steps regarding the legal status of climate immigrants and supports the steps of the EU member states in their domestic policies on a national basis can be considered as a promising action for the future. In this sense, the EU can take a more role as a global power and be a pioneer in the international field of addressing the issue and establishing a legal framework rather than following the UN actions (Council of Europe, 2019).

Regarding the regions outside the EU where displacements are expected to occur due to the effects of climate change, the study named *The concept of 'climate refugee' Towards a possible definition* refers to the UN's sustainable development goals. The research suggested that to prevent irregular migration from developing countries and to improve these regions and eliminate inequality, it is necessary to cooperate with Africa, the region that will be most affected by climate change (European Parliament, 2019a). The reaction of people in North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa, where the adverse effects of climate change on agriculture, animal husbandry, and water resources are expected to be seen at a high rate, is a problem that closely concerns Europe. In the history of migration in Africa, it threatens Europe due to the migration routes are towards Europe. Against the massive migration from Africa, Europe is taking measures such as increasing maritime security and making agreements with the African Union for migration coordination. However, the EU takes these measures to reduce illegal migration, these are not a sanction for direct climate-induced migration (Werz & Hoffman, 2016). The African Union (AU) Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Africa, known as the Kampala Convention, signed in 2012, has been proposed to expand the definition of IDPs to include people displaced due to environmental factors. The EU is aware that national governments and international organizations are reluctant to establish a legal

framework for people displaced by climate or environmental factors. However, the EU sees that the actions of non-governmental organizations in this sense have increased to protect climate migrants and to guarantee their rights legally. Besides, European citizens are also aware of the plight of people all over the world due to climate change. The EU stated that, in France, one of the member states, started parliamentary initiatives on this issue, and there is no doubt that other member states will continue this (Council of Europe, 2019). Moreover, as one of the activities outside the European Union, the EU – Africa Summit on Migration (a.k.a. Valletta Summit on Migration) was organized in Valletta, Malta in 2015. The summit, which focused on migration between the two continents, was important in terms of mentioning that people can be displaced by environmental effects (European Commission, 2015b).

Regarding regions where the adverse effects of climate change have seen a lot, the EU and the international community are obliged to ensure the protection of the people in that region. In regions that are not damaged yet, but risky, efforts should be made to prevent such conditions from occurring. To achieve this, it can help the relevant regions such as irrigation systems, infrastructure works, building flood-resistant walls (Werz & Hoffman, 2016).

In sum, The EU has played a leading role in policy development and solution generation for climate change from an early stage. However, rather than being a pioneer in the issue of climate-induced migration, it was stated in the *Human Rights and Climate Change: EU Policy Options* study published by the European Parliament in 2012 that it preferred to follow the steps of the UN in this regard, and the EU is seen climate change as a foreign policy issue. However, as of 2017, after the USA announced that it would withdraw from the Paris Agreement, The EU has been compulsory to lead

in this field (Yılmaz-Turgut, 2018). Climate-induced migration is a phenomenon that has just begun to be addressed. In the EU, the date when the issue was first addressed is seen as quite recently as 2007. In this sense, it is very challenging to evaluate how effective the policies are. However, considering the attitudes of the developed states on climate change and migration, we can say that the EU has initiatives that can be considered quite important in this regard.

Since the phenomenon of migration differs according to factors such as gender, age, and occupation as well as regions, it is very challenging to predict what kind of consequences an environmental degradation experienced in any place could lead to migration or not. But the complexity of the problem should not be seen as an excuse. Climate-induced migration is a problem that is predicted to have critical consequences for the future. The EU should adequately address the issue and lead the way in preventing climate-induced migration, both due to its own security and aspiration to be a global power. Before the negative effects of climate change put the economy and social life of more countries in an inextricable situation, they should start to intervene early with preventive measures. It should support the protection and regular transport of the people in the areas that are already negatively affected within the scope of human rights law (Werz & Hoffman, 2016). Otherwise, large-scale humanitarian crises are at the door, and the EU must lead in this sense as a major political power in the international arena.

Therefore, in the following three chapters, the discourses of the European Commission, the European Parliament, and the European Council on climate-induced migration between 2010 and 2020 will be analyzed to make clearer inferences about the EU's perspective on this issue and its potential leadership. The debate on climate-

induced migration within the European Union is started with the Stockholm Programme, published in 2009 and covered the years 2010-2014. For this reason, how the discourses on climate-induced migration in the EU developed and changed in the years 2010-2020 will be analyzed based on the findings in documents such as staff working documents, annual reports, and decisions reports. The recognition of climate-induced migration and how EU institutions cope with the relationship between climate change and migration will be presented in light of the evidence in the related documents for each EU institution. Discussions on climate change and migration as an adaptation strategy would be included in this context. The second discursive theme would focus on how international cooperation on climate-induced migration, which is one of the thesis' major hypotheses, is addressed in terms of the EU and what sort of recommendations are made. It will be attempted to demonstrate how the EU has evolved in terms of climate-induced migration over time, and the handling of climate-induced migration by the three EU institutions, as well as the gaps between them, will be examined.

5. CLIMATE-INDUCED MIGRATION DISCUSSIONS IN THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION

In this chapter, an analysis of the debate on climate migration within the European Commission will be examined in five subchapters on the ground of information in documents published between 2010 and 2020 by the Commission of the EU. The discussion of climate migration within the European Union is based on The Stockholm Program, which was officially published in 2009 and spans the years 2010-2014. For this reason, how the discourses on climate migration in the EU developed and changed in the years 2010-2020 will be analyzed based on the findings in documents such as staff working documents, annual reports, and decisions reports. Firstly, the discussion of the relationship between climate change and migration and the date on which the Commission included climate-induced migration in the field of politics will be explained in the light of the statements in the relevant documents. In the second part, how the "climate refugee" discourse is handled and defined by the EU Commission and the Commission's statements on the legal status and protection of climate-induced migrants will be discussed. In the next part, the Commission's recommendations on adaptation strategies, which were frequently mentioned by significant institutions such as the UN, will be included. Then it will be examined that the Commission begins to address climate-induced migration as an international issue and the proposals for international cooperation. Finally, whether the EU's pioneering strategy on climate change also follows climate-induced migration will be analyzed.

5.1. Recognizing the Relationship Between Climate Change and Migration

Since the beginning of the discussions on climate migration, climate change cannot be a cause of migration alone and that more than one factor can come together and affect the migration decision was mentioned in previous chapters. In the first dates when climate-induced migration came to the agenda in the EU Commission, there are similar expressions;

Regarding migration, migration decisions are multi-causal, and climate change is projected to have influence on several of the already existing causes of migration rather than being a driver in it. Recent evidence suggests that no significant increases of external immigration to Europe solely due to climate or other environmental changes can be expected (European Commission, 2013b, p. 44).

Decisions to migrate are usually the result of multiple considerations that reflect a complex combination of environmental, economic, social, security and political factors. Economic and social factors are in most cases considered both by social scientists and migrants to be the most important drivers of migration (European Commission, 2013a, p. 7).

With the effects of the adverse consequences of climate change-related to migration reasons, scholars and some politicians, who are called skeptics, state that the migration decision is made for many reasons (Black 2001; McAdam, 2012, Laczko & Pighuet, 2013). At the same time, we see that the EU Commission, as in many

international organizations, approached the concept of climate-induced migration with skepticism and interpreted it by relating to other migration reasons.

2010 is regarded as the year when the relationship between climate change and migration began to come to the fore in the EU. The EU commission starts to conduct studies and meetings in terms of both eliminating the effects of climate change and understanding its relationship with migration;

[...]The Commission also organised an expert meeting in May 2011 to discuss environmentally induced migration as part of the EU external migration policy within the GAMM framework (European Commission, 2012, p. 63).

One priority and responsibility for the Commission is to mainstream adaptation measures into EU policies and programmes, as the way to ‘climate-proof’ EU action. Adaptation has already been mainstreamed in legislation in such sectors as [...] and migration and mobility. The Commission staff working document on climate change, environmental degradation and migration accompanying this Communication provides further insight on the latter (European Commission, 2013c, p. 8).

However, as the Commission expands its studies on the adverse effects of climate change, it begins to acknowledge a direct link between climate change and migration. The *Climate Change and International Security* paper and published in 2008, and the EACH-FOR project carried out by the EU Commission, which was stated in the previous chapter, are significant in raising awareness in this sense. It is shown

that with this researches, the Commission began to see climate-induced migration as an international issue that requires cooperation.

In 2008, the paper on 'Climate Change and International Security' prepared by the High Representative and the European Commission drew attention to the fact that climate change could act as a 'threat-multiplier', exacerbating trends, tensions and instabilities which would already have an influence on migration patterns (European Commission, 2013a, p. 6).

The European Commission has been one of the first to sponsor multi-country comparative research on environmental change and different kinds of human mobility worldwide, the "Environmental Change and Forced Migration Scenarios (EACH-FOR) Project (European Commission, 2013a, p. 6).

In terms of future studies, the Commission's statement that it is one of the first institutions to research climate-induced migration is essential. This indicates that the Commission has been addressing this issue since its inception and that it is a significant political issue. Following such projects and studies, the direct link between climate change and migration has been recognized by the Commission, and climate-induced migration has emerged as the EU Commission policy area;

It is now widely recognised that climate changes, increased frequency and severity of droughts and storms, changes in rainfall patterns and losses of agricultural productivity are likely to increase migration in the coming decades... Migration within and between countries tends to

increase in areas facing water shocks (World Bank 2016) (European Commission, 2016, p. 46).

[...]With great differences in population growth and living standards across the world, and with global temperatures continuing to rise and ecosystems disappearing, we will inevitably see an increase in forced displacement and migration across the globe. For example by 2050, it is estimated that hundreds of millions of people will flee their homes as a result of climate change and environmental degradation[...] (European Commission, 2019c, p. 13).

Notwithstanding, with the recognition of the relationship between climate change and migration, the EU Commission predicts that these displacement movements will remain as internal migration and will take place in undeveloped regions. It states that the EU will not be affected by climate-based migration. For this reason, in the first handled documents, there are suggestions and help-based decisions regarding third countries;

[...]evidence currently available would suggest that most movements will happen in an intra-state context or within developing regions, and mainly from rural to urban environments. Those most likely to migrate will be persons in the poorest segments of societies affected by climate change who already face multiple stressors to livelihoods and are therefore highly vulnerable to the effects of environmental degradation. Given that international migration requires substantial resources, especially if it is inter-regional, new large-scale international population

movements to developed regions such as Europe are unlikely (European Commission, 2014, p. 55).

[...]Current evidence suggests that although future environmental change is likely to significantly impact on population movements, most environmentally induced migration will occur within or between developing countries rather than towards the EU (European Commission, 2013d, p. 11).

The above excerpts states that migration actions may occur in less developed and fragile regions such as small island states, the Africa region, or South Asia, where the effects of climate change are expected to be more experienced. In these studies, there is no reference of any migration towards the EU or within the EU due to climate change.

However, it is acknowledged that climate change will affect the EU in the upcoming dates with the increase of evidence that the adverse effects of migration increase over the years; The Commission's recognition of migration toward the EU is a significant step forward in terms of both adopting climate-induced migration into its policy and ensuring international cooperation. The significance of this evaluation will be shown by the fact that the Commission is beginning to see climate-induced migration as a security issue, which will be analyzed in the following subchapters.

Evidence is growing that Europe is also vulnerable to climate change impacts beyond its borders through, for example, trade, international financial flows, migration and security[...] (European Commission, 2018c, p. 3).

On climate and migration, recent scenarios confirm a relationship between climate change and fluctuations in asylum applications in the EU ... asylum applications are projected to increase by 28 % due to climate impacts by the end of the century (an average of 98 000 additional asylum applications per year) (European Commission, 2018c, p. 4).

[...] Climate change impacts in third countries can also have spillover effects on Europe, for example by affecting trade routes and patterns and triggering climate-induced migration (European Commission, 2018d, pp. 5-6).

Since Europe is a developing region that will be relatively less affected by climate change, populations in fragile and underdeveloped regions prefer Europe as their migration destination, and the Commission acknowledges in its related studies and made relevant measures and recommendations.

Although migration due to climate change is an issue that the Commission started to work on as early as 2008, establishing a direct link with the impacts of other EU institutions and international organizations appears more clearly in the post-2013 period. Behind the initiation of the relationship between climate change and migration, the issue of legal status, which is an essential debate in international politics, and how they will be termed, is also substantial in understanding the EU Commission's perspective on the issue.

5.2. Legal Status and Uncertainty of Concept

Perhaps one of the most significant issues in the climate-induced migration debate is the refugee debate. There is still no regulation protecting people displaced due

to environmental and climate change under international law. People displaced due to climate change or environmental degradation have been defined as climate refugees since the 1980s. However, as stated in the previous sections, this definition does not accept by institutions such as UNHCR and IOM because it did not comply with the 1951 Convention (UNHCR, 2008). The legal status of displaced persons due to environmental factors also addresses by the European Commission;

No legal framework specifically addressing environmentally induced migrants exists. However, a number of instruments, both at the international and national level, legally binding and soft-law, might offer some form of status and/or protection to some types of environmentally induced migrants and/or displaced persons (European Commission, 2013a, p.16).

Even though they are not specifically referred to as climate refugees by the Commission, it is implied that climate change could result in refugee crisis. The fact that it began to included in official documents as early as 2010, despite being evaluated within the refugee label, could be seen as a significant step that lays the groundwork the way for future discussions.

The steady increase in humanitarian needs in recent years is due to a combination of factors: larger numbers of refugees and displaced people because of conflicts that are often long-running, more natural disasters linked to climate change, and an economic crisis that has increased the vulnerability of many people (European Commission, 2010b, p. 145).

Nevertheless, the Commission states that there is a need for regulation regarding their legal status. Considering that these people should not be victimized and harmed due to their lack of legal status, it is essential to propose a framework within the scope of human rights, albeit temporarily. Although the EU Commission defends that it is wrong to call these people refugees, it emphasizes that they should be protected with an international convention. As referred to in the previous chapters, it is very significant to say that they should be protected under a different legal status in the EU Commission in parallel with other international institutions. Referring to an exemplary framework of the UN in the excerpt below may indicate that they have adopted similar policies.

[...]Although no legal framework addressing the specific case of environmentally-induced migration currently exists, a number of international and national instruments in areas such as international human rights law, international refugee law, and environmental law may provide frameworks for addressing related challenges (e.g. the UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement for the protection of victims of natural disasters)[...] (European Commission, 2014, pp. 55-56).

In the Commission Staff Working Document dated 2013, it is stated that the term “environmentally induced migrant” is used temporarily to include the adverse effects of environmental disasters and climate change. We see that the EU Commission started to mention it with a similar concept in a very close to the date when it was mentioned "climate-induced displacement" in UNFCCC COP16 (UNFCCC, 2011). At this point, it is possible to say that the EU Commission has taken similar actions on parallel dates with institutions such as the UNFCCC and IOM.

For the purposes of this paper, the broad term ‘environmentally induced migrant’ is used provisionally as a broad category encompassing all types of migrants moving internally and crossing international borders for reasons related to climate change or environmental degradation. The term ‘environmentally induced displaced person’ is also used when referring specifically to migrants who move as a ‘last resort response’ to the effects of environmental change (European Commission, 2013a, p. 15).

As with international institutions such as the IOM and UNHCR, which operate on Climate-induced migration, the EU Commission recognizes the importance of their protection in international law after recognizing climate migrants and takes care not to use the term refugee, which is not legally equivalent.

5.3. Adaptation Strategy

As mentioned in the third chapter, especially as of the Conference of the Parties¹⁶ organized under the UNFCCC, many institutions considered migration as an adaptation strategy against climate change in the early stages of human displacement resulting from adverse effects of climate change (IOM,2020). Since the first dates of both climate change and climate-induced migration, the European Union has provided proposals and studies for adaptation as an institution that implements important and effective policies against climate change;

[...]Addressing environmentally induced migration, also by means of adaptation to the adverse effects of climate change, should be

considered part of the Global Approach (European Commission, 2011a, pp. 6-7).

[...] The EU also has experience in implementing measures which could promote the use of migration as a climate change adaptation strategy and an opportunity for migrants, their families and countries of origin[...] (European Commission, 2013a, p. 35).

The excerpts above evaluate migration as an adaptation strategy against the adverse effects of climate change. It suggests that the negative consequences of climate change could be adapted by displacement.

Nevertheless, just like the UN, the EU Commission states that rather than the act of displacement against the adverse effects of climate change, including migration, it is necessary to provide solutions and adaptation of countries to changing conditions and to cooperate on this issue; At this point, we can consider the strategy of adaptation to migration by mitigating the impacts of climate change, which requires global cooperation, as an essential step toward ensuring international cooperation.

Reduction of forced climate migration (internal and external) through the development of adaptation policies in potential source countries and regions (including EU member states) could reduce the need for people moving away from marginal areas and supporting livelihoods that are more resilient (European Commission, 2013e, p. 87).

[...]Climate change adaptation is seen as an effective tool to tackle root causes of migration[...] (European Commission, 2018d, pp. 9-10).

[...]The 2017 IOM report ‘Making mobility work for adaptation to environmental changes’ shows how migration, displacement and planned relocation can affect adaptation to environmental and climate change [...] (European Commission, 2019d, p. 225).

The development of adaptation strategies against climate change, especially in the regions that are underdeveloped and with a tendency to migrate mentioned above, and the emphasis on taking measures against slow-onset disasters, which are thought to cause migration in the long term, shows that the Commission has started to develop adaptation strategies to prevent migration especially after 2013. The analyzed discourses show that, just like other international institutions, the EU Commission is starting to acknowledge that issue of climate-induced migration can be prevented by international cooperation.

5.4. International Issue and Cooperation

The European Commission considered climate-induced migration as a human movement that would take place as internal migration from the first dates of its adoption. However, with the evidence obtained and the increasingly adverse effects of climate change, it was seen to have caused cross-border migration, and it was perceived as a security threat. For this reason, it has begun to be considered an international problem, and the importance of international cooperation to prevent it has been emphasized. The EU Commission, just like the institutions mentioned in previous chapters, has adopted the one of main hypothesis of this thesis, which is the importance of international cooperation in addressing climate-induced migration.

Discourses of the EU Commission on the realization that it may lead to cross-border migration and that it may pose a security threat;

The draft NCCS-II specifically assesses disaster risk reduction and security concerns and considers the projected impacts on key infrastructure, industrial security, ecological security, food safety and impacts on health care, and national security (including for instance climate migration) [...] Since 2013, EU policies on migration and external relations have increasingly taken into account climate-related disasters as potential triggers to displacement, and the increasing challenges posed by climate change in this context[...] (European Commission, 2018e;, pp. 9-10).

In the above excerpt, both directly referring to climate-induced migration and counting among the significant threats in terms of national security express the need for both national and international cooperation. As seen through the scope of regime theory, it is significant that the Commission included "climate migration" as one of the problems to be addressed in cooperation with the international community in 2018. Climate-induced migration has officially started to take place in politics as a problem that requires global action. It is very critical for the EU Commission to state that as early as 2011, the relationship between migration and climate change should be integrated into the EU's foreign policy;

[...]Special attention should be given to the relationship between migration and climate change. Consistency between internal and external policies is essential to produce sound results as is coherence and

complementarity between Union and Member States' actions (European Commission, 2011b, p.16).

European climate diplomacy after COP21 (Foreign Affairs Council Conclusions dated 15 February 2016) In the overall context of climate diplomacy the Council refers to the development of a climate diplomacy action plan, including efforts to address the nexus of climate change, natural resources, including water, prosperity, stability and migration (European Commission, 2016, p. 6).

The relationship between climate change and migration has been efficient in the internal politics of the EU, which is one of the convention's parties since it began to be considered in the COPs held within the UNFCCC. As in the above examples for the prevention and reduction of Climate-induced migration, the EU Commission on the reduction of the impacts of climate change tends to deal with this issue in terms of international cooperation, especially in the post-2013 period.

[...]Since 2013, EU policies on migration and external relations have increasingly taken into account climate-related disasters as potential triggers to displacement, and the increasing challenges posed by climate change in this context (European Commission, 2018d, p. 9).

Environmentally induced migration continues to be a priority under the EU's external cooperation instruments for the period 2014-2020...Moreover, the EU financed a number of projects to develop knowledge and practices to address climate induced migration (European Commission, 2013a, p.113).

As referred to in the quotations, climate-induced migration is now a global problem and is among the priority policies of the EU. Furthermore, the fact that the Commission, as the institution in charge of the EU's budget, states in official documents that it funds projects related to the struggle against climate-induced migration shows that the Commission considers it as a serious issue. Since climate change is a global struggle, it is expected that this global problem will be prevented through international cooperation;

The EU should promote the involvement of multiple stakeholders, particularly the diaspora, social organisations, local authorities and the private sector in order to ensure addressing the challenge of environmentally induced migration in a comprehensive and sustainable way (European Commission, 2013a, p. 36).

[...] Anticipate and prepare for geopolitical shifts, including migratory pressure, and strengthen bilateral and multilateral partnerships, for instance by providing support to third countries in defining low-carbon resilient development through climate mainstreaming and investments (European Commission, 2018f, p. 25).

In periods when climate-induced migration is foreseen to affect undeveloped regions, and when immigration to the EU is expected, the most basic strategy is to prevent immigration in these regions by supporting underdeveloped and fragile regions. For this reason, recommendations for reducing the effects of climate change, especially in Africa, and policies such as allocating budgets to help these regions are enforced.

One of the most critical actions to ensure international cooperation is to establish an international institution on the issue. In this sense, the European Union has been

willing to cooperate and participating in international organizations since the first days of the discussion of the climate change problem. The EU, which is a member of Platform on Disaster Displacement the Steering Group, which is one of the significant international institutions in climate-induced migration, stated in the Commission report of 2018 that the PDD should be supported is a major discourse on international cooperation on climate-induced migration;

Promote the operationalization of the Agenda for the Protection of Cross-Border Displaced Persons in the Context of Disasters and Climate Change, including by supporting the Platform on Disaster Displacement (European Commission, 2018g, p. 6).

The EU Commission considers climate-induced migration as an international issue and offers a proposal for cooperation. For this, the Commission proposes to eliminate the adverse effects of climate change, and to help and invest in regions where the adverse effects of climate change will be felt more, and to provide them with a coordinated work in cooperation. The Commission's recognition of the issue as a topic that requires collective action, as well as its suggestion to assist affected countries both financially and through the establishment of alliances, can be seen as very promising advances in terms of ensuring international cooperation.

5.5. The leadership of the EU

In terms of combating climate change, the European Commission presented its first declaration to the Council of Ministers in 1988 (Altunok, 2013). From this date on, the EU is one of the most important and willing actors in this regard, both with its

policies within the Union and with its exemplary policies in international conventions. It is expected to be one of the leading actors in terms of climate-induced migration in the coming years. The European Commission also mentioned for the first time in 2012 that the EU should be a major actor in the issue of climate-induced migration when the discussion of climate-induced migration was only beginning;

An enhanced partnership with the Overseas Countries and Territories (OCTs) in the field of environment, climate change adaptation and mitigation and disaster risk reduction will reinforce the role of the EU as a global player. This positioning of the EU was underlined by the Commission in its Communication of 29 June 2011. This Communication outlines the main elements of the action of the EU as a global player for the period 2014-2020 and underlines the European Commission's view that the instruments can "facilitate the EU's engagement (...) on issues that are of global concern, such as climate change, environmental protection, irregular migration and regional instabilities, and allow the EU to respond rapidly and effectively to natural and manmade disasters (European Commission, 2012b, p. 78).

Stating that the EU plays a leading role in various collaborations, such as the Paris Agreement, the International Convention in which climate-induced migration first took place, and suggesting that it should lead the way in implementing these conventions, are substantial statements in terms of predicting the EU's role in this regard in the future.

The EU played a leading role in the implementation of global agreements, notably the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, the

Paris Agreement on climate change and the negotiations for the Global Compacts on Migration and on Refugees[...] (European Commission, 2019e, p. 6).

Climate change and environmental degradation are increasingly one of the biggest threats to peace and security in the world and without decisive action they will become an even greater source of global risk, including forced displacement and migration. The EU needs to lead the way, including in the rigorous implementation of the Paris Climate Agreement and in pursuing international efforts to decarbonise the transport sector[...] (European Commission, 2019f, p. 39).

However, the EU Commission documents do not currently refer directly to a leadership role regarding climate-induced migration. One of the most significant reasons is that the policy priorities have been directed to different areas with the effect of the pandemic that has been experienced since the beginning of 2020 and that the issue is not given the necessary sensitivity due to unpredictable reasons. Nevertheless, the EU Commission's statements that it supports international efforts to address climate-induced migration, can be seen as an indicator that it will take a more involved role in the future.

5.6. Conclusion

The EU Commission's handling of climate-induced migration between 2010-2020 shows a similar evolution with other international organizations. Early on, the Commission has hesitation about acknowledging the direct link between climate

change and migration, but, with the increase in displacements, it has realized its importance and, along with various policy proposals, has begun to see it as a security threat as of 2018. At this point, the Commission supports the necessity of establishing norms and regulations against any international problem defined by regime theories with both budgeting for combating climate-induced migration and agreements with regions such as Africa and proves that the Commission sees it as a problem. It is possible to say that it is pursuing policies aimed at increasing aid and international cooperation, especially in areas where migration flows to the EU are likely, such as the African region. Also, there is not a single term expressing climate-induced migration. It can be said that while there was a more general environmental emphasis such as environmentally-induced migration at the time of its first use, in recent years there was a use such as a climate-induced migration that emphasized direct climate change and separated it from the environment. It is possible to say that the EU, one of the institutions that have always assumed the leadership role with its policies as a Union in terms of combating climate change, may be one of the leading institutions in this regard in the coming years in the light of the Commission documents examined, for reasons such as the security threat stated above.

6. CLIMATE-INDUCED MIGRATION DISCUSSIONS IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

The European Parliament is the only institution among the three examined institutions whose members are elected by citizens of EU member states. It consists of representatives elected every five years with the votes of citizens of EU member states and represents the democratic interests and political views of the citizens of the member states. This institution, which shares the legislative power with the Council, acts as an advisory body on foreign politics.

In this chapter, as in the previous chapter, the statements of the European Parliament on climate-induced migration between 2010-2020 will be analyzed. Firstly, the relationship between climate change and migration in the early years when climate-induced migration was on the agenda in the European Parliament will be examined. Afterward, specifically, after it is referred to as “climate refugee” by the Parliament, discussions on its definition and discourses related to its legal status will be included. Statements on how the adaptation strategies, which the EU has included in the fight against climate change, should be in the prevention of climate-induced migration both within the Union and internationally will be including. In the fourth subchapter, with the perception of climate-induced migration as a security problem, the recommendations of the Parliament for international cooperation, and finally, how the EU takes a leading role in this field will be outlined.

6.1. Recognizing the Relationship between Climate Change and Migration

After it was raised that climate change could lead to migration, the EU Parliament, just like other international institutions and the EU Commission, approached the issue with suspicion. First, the Parliament noted that climate change cannot be the only cause of migration, and it will be difficult to detect it. They stated that more than one factor may have an impact on immigration decision-making.

The extent of climate-induced displacement is hard to estimate with certainty. It is difficult to attribute migration to climate factors only, as broader environmental pushes often add to already existing political or economic push factors [...] (European Parliament, 2011a, p. 1).

[...] whereas climate-change-related developments can destabilise communities and societies, be a driver of problematic migratory flows and help provoke or fuel tensions and conflicts [...] (European Parliament, 2014, p. 29).

However, the Parliament acknowledged that climate change could cause displacement movements in vulnerable areas, and stated that more vulnerable populations, especially women and children, would be adversely affected;

[...] whereas climate change and environmental degradation are becoming an increasingly common cause of migration[...] (European Parliament, 2011b, p. 3).

Points out that climate change will inevitably lead to migration from regions affected by calamities such as droughts or floods, and that the EU must keep in mind the need to protect women in any camps set up for internally displaced persons and refugees[...] (European Parliament, 2012b, p.10).

It has been stated that the adverse effects of climate change as early as 2012 may cause mostly internal displacement, but will emerge as global migration movements in the future. It was stated that the EU should support the protection of the adversely affected people even if it occurs as the internal displacement; It is possible to observe this situation as a sign that the Parliament will support aid and cooperation in future policies. Besides, since the date of involvement of climate-induced migration in the Parliament's policy, It has been aware that migration is a global issue.

Reminds the Member States that, although climate-induced displacement is currently mainly internal[...] (European Parliament, 2020b, p. 5).

Being aware that the adverse effects of climate change will mostly affect the population that can make a living from the sectors dependent on the climate, and third countries, it has been stated that they may cause migration movements in these regions. For this reason, the European Parliament also suggested that the problems in the regions where adverse effects will be seen more and immigration movements are expected more, specifically in the neighboring countries, should be addressed as the Union and assistance should be provided to these regions;

[...]whereas climate change is an important risk multiplier for conflict, drought, famine and migration, especially in the poorest countries; whereas vulnerable groups may be more severely affected by the effects of climate change[...] (European Parliament, 2020b, p. 3).

Acknowledges that climate change exacerbates the conditions that lead to migration in vulnerable areas and recalls that future migration will increase if the negative repercussions of climate change are not adequately managed[...] (European Parliament, 2018a, p. 8).

Although climate-induced migration is expected to occur mostly as internal migration since the first dates when it enters the agenda, it has been predicted that the EU will be exposed to migration flows both within the Union and from different regions with the increase of adverse effects;

Emphasises that climate change is likely to induce large-scale environmental migration from regions which are already at the origin of migration flows to Europe (Africa, the Middle East, south and south-east Asia) (European Parliament, 2010, p. 14).

[...]whereas climate change impacts in other parts of the world may affect the EU through trade, international financial flows, migration and security (European Parliament, 2020c, p. 20).

The introduction and creation of policy recommendations for climate-induced migration by the European Parliament were included in official documents earlier than by other EU institutions, as can be observed. As stated in the previous chapters, the Parliament, the institution representing the interests of the EU citizens, has sensitively

takes issues such as climate change and climate-induced migration as a policy, as climate change is considered a serious issue by the majority of EU citizens and they support the steps to be taken in this regard. At this point, it can be argued that this significant issue, which could pose a threat to both the world and the EU, is on the policy agenda earlier than the other institutions. Although the relationship between climate change and migration is considered suspicious, a direct link was adopted in 2011 and supported by various international agreements and included in the policy area. The Parliament expected that more effect will be observed in the future at the point of affecting Europe, and the proposal of various collaborations and aids, especially for undeveloped and fragile regions also shows that climate-induced migration is an important policy issue.

6.2. Legal Status and Uncertainty of Concept

The most substantial problem faced with the adoption of climate-induced migration is the uncertainty regarding the legal status and protection of these people. It was mentioned in the fourth chapter that the EU Parliament handled this issue as climate refugee in the early stages and supported the establishment of the necessary framework for their protection. As of 2011, we see that they are often referred to as climate refugee in Parliament documents; In this case, we can interpret that as the Commission, the Parliament used the term refugee by following the international community in the early stages.

whereas environmental problems – caused and exacerbated by climate change – are currently responsible for the growth of forced migration, and whereas there is therefore an increasing link between

asylum-seekers and areas of environmental decline; whereas there is a need for better protection and resettlement of ‘climate refugees’, and for special attention to be given to women who are most vulnerable[...]
(European Parliament, 2011c, p. 5).

The use of the term climate refugee continued in the post-2011 years, but many times it was emphasized that these people did not have legal status. The Parliament, with particular emphasis on human rights, suggested that the displacement of these people will increase with the effects of climate change and that this challenge should be tackled as soon as possible by providing both humanitarian aid and legal protection;

whereas people forced from their homes by large-scale disasters brought on by climate change need to be assisted and protected; whereas, however, existing law on refugees does not recognise the right of climate refugees to international protection (European Parliament, 2011b, p. 4).

Calls for serious recognition of the issue of climate refugees, and the scope thereof, resulting from climate disasters caused by global warming[...]" (European Parliament, 2016a, p. 11).

From 2011 to 2015, the Parliament stated that agreements such as the Refugee Convention and the Kampala Convention should be extended to cover people displaced by climate change, and called them refugees. But in the following years, it was stated that this scope does not comply with the 1951 Geneva Convention and may damage the current status of persons considered refugees under the convention. Therefore, it has been proposed to eliminate the harm and adverse impact on these people by granting them a different international protection status instead of including climate refugees in the Convention. At this point, it is possible to see similar processes with the other

international organizations. In the uncertainty regarding their legal status, the Parliament first referred as refugees, but then clarified that it is not appropriate to use the refugee status with similar evaluations.

whereas people who migrate for environmental reasons do not benefit from refugee status nor from the international protection granted to refugees because they are not recognised by the 1951 Geneva Convention (European Parliament, 2018a, p. 6).

[...]Including persons fleeing from environmental degradation under the scope of the 1951 Geneva Convention would harm the case for those refugees currently protected under the Convention[...] (European Parliament, 2011a, p. 2).

Calls on the Union to participate actively in the debate on the term 'climate refugee' and in the possible formulation of a definition in international law (European Parliament, 2016b, p. 123).

It has been recognized that the lack of a universal definition poses many difficulties. However, it has been stated that countries such as Italy, Sweden, and Finland have developed their own national protection frameworks and that displacement is no longer within the scope of the refugee, especially as of COP23 after 2017, as climate-induced migration or climate migration;

whereas today there is no international legal instrument in place that would address cross-border migration as a consequence of climate change, natural or human-made disasters; whereas Italy, Sweden and

Finland have developed national protection grounds for victims of climate change and natural disasters (European Parliament, 2020b, pp. 3-4).

[...]’is open to a debate on establishing a provision concerning “climate migration”; calls for the establishment of a panel of experts to explore this matter at international level, and urges that the issue of climate migration be placed on the international agenda[...] (European Parliament, 2019b, p. 47).

With all this legal framework and uncertainty about what name they will be titled, the Parliament has suggested that a common protective framework should be determined by expressing legal deficits and how these people should be protected within the state and internationally rather than how they are named.

6.3. Adaptation Strategy

The EU Parliament also described the displacements, which were carried out as a response to the adverse effects of climate change, as an adaptation strategy from an early date. Migration was considered as an adaptive tool that could make vulnerable communities more resilient to climate change;

whereas in some regions most affected by climate change and the resulting loss of biodiversity, such as the Sahel, migration has become the only form of adaptation to the changing climate[...] (European Parliament, 2011b, p. 4).

Highlights that migration in this context can be associated with greater vulnerability of affected people, particularly if it is forced and that

migration can also be a form of adaptation to environmental stressors, which helps affected individuals and communities to become more resilient[...] (European Parliament, 2020b, p. 4).

As mentioned in the above quotations, it is stated that in regions that are expected to be most affected by climate change, migration may be the only way to cope and that vulnerable people can use migration as a defense and an adaptation mechanism. Besides, it is critical to note that women and children are most affected by the adverse effects of climate change in terms of shedding light on future studies for adaptation and solution proposals.

With the adverse effects of climate change increasing and more felt, it was realized that migration would not be an adequate solution for adaptation, and it was thought that mass migration could be prevented along with solutions to reduce or eliminate the adverse effects of climate change. For this purpose, the Parliament recommends making long-term development plans and developing effective policies. Among these proposals, it was proposed to develop policies such as ensuring sustainable development, which was stated in the previous chapters, working to reduce disaster risks, raising awareness of people in affected areas, and cooperating with them.

Calls for the subject of adaptation to be addressed in the same way as economic recovery and growth, ensuring water and food security, turning to lowcarbon energy sources and the consequences of global population growth, one the one hand, and of extreme weather phenomena, on the other, on international migration; notes that the Commission will present a new strategy (European Parliament, 2020d, p. 43).

whereas it is increasingly recognised that preventing, addressing, and resolving displacement and migration related to climate change is primarily a development challenge; whereas local and regional governments in some developing countries have started to integrate management of displacement risks and the finding of durable solutions for displacement-affected communities as well as disaster risk reduction and climate action plans and adaptation strategies, while cooperating with their peers in initiatives such as the Covenant of Mayors (European Parliament, 2020e, p. 55).

Calls on the Commission to devise programmes to raise EU citizens' awareness of the connection between climate change and migration, poverty and conflicts regarding access to resources (European Parliament, 2018a, p. 9).

Regarding climate-induced migration, the EU parliament initially regarded migration as an adaptation strategy, however in the following periods, it started to consider it as a preventable issue by reducing or eliminating the effects of climate change. For this purpose, solutions for adaptations such as eliminating poverty and conflicts, ensuring sustainable development in all parts of the world, but especially in underdeveloped regions have been presented. Apart from these, suggestions such as designing programs for raising awareness of the citizens on this issue were made within the Union. It can be interpreted that in its adaptation strategies for the prevention of migration, it follows parallel policies with the institutions referred to in the previous chapter.

6.4. International Issue and Cooperation

As referred above, after the debate that climate-induced migration can take place not only within the state but also across the border, it has now begun to be addressed as a global problem within the context of international migration;

within the not too distant future; whereas the issue of climate migration should therefore be placed high on the international agenda (European Parliament, 2016a, p. 3).

In the documents of the EU Parliament, it is stated that the adoption of climate-induced migration within the Union was realized with the Stockholm Program. Besides, the COP16 Cancun Agreement and the Valletta Summit, which are the international agreements to which the EU is a party, refer to climate-induced migration, shows that climate-induced migration has been recognized by the EU within the Union and through international agreements. And the following excerpts underline the importance of its integration into domestic and foreign policy;

[...] At the COP 16 in Cancun, an Adaptation Framework was agreed that invites parties to undertake inter alia "measures to enhance understanding, coordination and cooperation with regard to climate change induced displacement, migration and planned relocation", as well as a 2 year work programme on loss and damage. The Commission is now focusing on implementing these. The Commission also engages in dialogues on climate change through a range of other formal and informal meetings, including bilateral discussions with all key players, encompassing the issue of migration (European Parliament, 2011a, p. 2).

Recalls that migration is a global and complex phenomenon which also requires a long-term approach that addresses its root causes, such as poverty, inequality, injustice, climate change, corruption, ill-governance and armed conflict; urges the Commission and the Council to focus the Valletta Summit in November on such root causes; underlines the need for a comprehensive EU approach, strengthening the coherence of its internal and external policies, and notably its common foreign and security policy, development policy and migration policy; questions plans to link development aid to more border controls or readmission agreements by third countries (European Parliament, 2015, p. 7).

With the increasing adverse effects of climate change, it is accepted that the migration problem is now transboundary. However, the cross-border problem begins to pose a significant security threat to the states. Along with current political instabilities, terrorism, or infectious diseases, climate change is now seen as an international security issue.

It has begun to be acknowledged by the EU Parliament that the adverse effects of climate change have increased and that adaptation programs should be developed accordingly. Significantly, the EU Parliament mentions climate change as a threat multiplier in many documents, especially in 2018;

The extent of climate-induced displacement is hard to estimate with certainty...Climate change is a “threat multiplier”, and extreme climate events can be trigger factors especially in countries with inadequate climate change adaptation measures in place, or poor disaster risk prevention and management policies. To address this multifaceted

issue, it is important that climate change is integrated into all external policies and in particular development cooperation policies of the EU (European Parliament, 2011a, p. 1).

Emphasises the deepening implications of climate change for international security and regional stability stemming from environmental degradation, loss of livelihood, climate-induced displacement of people and associated forms of unrest where climate change can often be regarded as a threat multiplier; urges the EU and the Member States, therefore, to work with their partners around the world to better understand, integrate, anticipate and manage the destabilising effects of climate change; stresses accordingly the importance of mainstreaming climate diplomacy in the EU's conflict prevention policies (European Parliament, 2018b, p. 41).

With the association of climate-induced migration with the refugee crisis in recent years, the need for international cooperation has increased. For this reason, it is recommended to both eliminate the adverse effects of climate change and to accomplish bilateral agreements or international alliances with the sender states regarding migration. Bilateral agreements to solve the issue of climate-induced migration are quite significant actions when considered in the context of regime theories. It reveals that the Parliament recognizes as an institution the need for collective action to address climate-induced migration. Also, addressing this issue, especially within the UN, and making international interventions are among the recommendations produced by the EU Parliament;

Calls on the Commission and the Member States to launch high-ambition alliances to lead by example in the mainstreaming of climate action across different foreign policy issues, including trade, international migration, the reform of international financial institutions and peace and security (European Parliament, 2018b, p. 41).

[...]calls for the EU to support the launch of discussions at UN level with a view to delivering a tangible response to the movement of people that is expected to occur as a result of climate change, and highlights that any international response should focus on regional solutions in order to prevent unnecessary large-scale movements (European Parliament, 2018c, p. 37).

Proposed that regional solutions and interventions should be made regarding the international protection of climate-induced migrants, referring to the various international agreements to which the EU is a party;

Highlights that the Global Compact on Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration identifies climate change as a driver of migration and urges countries to introduce channels and to plan for people who move due to natural disasters and climate change (European Parliament, 2020b, p. 3).

Recalls the adoption of the Global Compact on Refugees by the UN General Assembly of 17 December 2018; calls on the Member States and the Commission to promote its implementation, both at EU and global level, to ensure more effective protection, via complementary pathways and appropriate financing, for persons displaced by the consequences of climate change or natural disasters (European Parliament, 2020b, p. 4).

With the Global Compact on Refugees adopted in 2018, with the recognition of climate-induced migration, states are expected to be more active in the resolution of this issue in the international arena. The fact that the problem of the lack of legal status of Climate-induced migrants has now disappeared with this convention has relieved both the international community and the EU to be able to take more concrete steps in this sense. It has been proposed that the international community should produce permanent solutions to use emergency response mechanisms in the event of sudden-onset events, as well as cooperation proposals such as raising and strengthening awareness of both the receiving and sending countries with the various proposals contained in this convention. When we examine the discourses of the Parliament, as expressed in regime theories, the Parliament's cooperation with other institutions in combating climate-induced migration and being a party to various agreements shows that the Parliament included it on the policy agenda as a subject that requires collective action.

6.5. The leadership of the EU

With the increasing adverse effects of climate change and the USA withdrawing from Paris Agreement, which is a significant agreement on climate change as the, it is possible to state that the EU has assumed the leadership role regarding the issue. It sets a model with its stance on fulfilling both the policies within the Union and the commitments in international agreements. Therefore, it is expected to act as a leading role in struggling climate-induced migration.

Calls on the EU and Member States to take their responsibilities seriously concerning the challenge of climate change, to swiftly

implement the Paris Agreement and to take a leading role in recognising the impact of climate change on mass displacement [...] (European Parliament, 2017, p. 13).

Primarily, quotations about the EU's proposal to adopt policies to the member countries in the Union and the EU's leadership expectations were included. With climate-induced migration began to take part in international agreements, the EU's leadership in implementing the set goals was supported and proposed by the EU Parliament. Besides, the Parliament declared that it will provide support to institutions such as IOM that are working on the subject and to ensure cooperation;

Considers it important that the EU takes a leadership role on the issue of climate migration in order to facilitate the establishment of a North/South cooperation plan aimed at protecting the rights of people forced to leave their homes because of the effects of climate change (European Parliament, 2016a, p. 12).

The USA's withdrawal from the climate agreements, especially during Trump's term, has been regretfully welcomed and it was stated that in the absence of power like the USA, and suggested the EU should take over the leadership role in the global sense;

[...]deeply regrets, therefore, the decision of the US administration to end its participation in the negotiations for a Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration; calls for the EU to show leadership in this process and to condemn other countries which exit the negotiations or succeed in watering down the content of the final Compact[...] (European Parliament, 2018d, pp. 9-10).

Parliament expects the EU to play a leading role in the implementation of conventions such as the 2016 New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants and the Paris Agreement, which are significant documents on the international status of climate-induced migration and the protection of migrants;

Calls on the Member States to show progressive leadership in the ongoing negotiations on a global compact for safe, orderly and regular migration, prepared under the auspices of the United Nations and building on the 2016 New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants, which recognised that vast numbers of people are moving ‘in response to the adverse effects of climate change’ (European Parliament, 2018a, p. 9).

As can be determined from the above excerpts, the EU, like climate change, attaches considerable importance to climate-induced migration and is willing to take a leadership role in both the implementation of international agreements and cooperation in the protection of people displaced by climate change.

6.6. Conclusion

In the European Parliament, we see that the development of climate-induced migration discourse is developing, just like other EU institutions and international organizations. Although it seems that it took a little longer than the EU Commission and the EU Council to qualify those displacements by climate change as “climate refugees” since 2011, the Parliament states that they cannot be named as refugees on the grounds that they do not comply with the 1951 Convention, and underlines that these people should be protected under a different legal framework. Similar

recommendations have been made by the EU Commission within the scope of adaptation. With the New York declaration for Refugees and Migrants, it was officially seen as an international problem after 2016, and it was included in more documents. With its inclusion in international agreements, policy recommendations regarding climate-induced migration have also developed to include both the EU and other states. At this point, the 2016 New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants can be considered a significant milestone in the EU Parliament's recognition of climate-induced migration as an issue requiring collective action. It may be concluded that the fact that international organizations highlight the importance of cooperation on this issue is influential in the Parliament's evaluation of the issue from the same perspective. This chapter also explains the sensitivity of Parliament as it is an institution tasked with representing the interests of EU citizens, and EU citizens support actions against the adverse effects of climate change. As early as 2011, the EU's leadership began to be stated, and with the US exiting the Paris Climate Agreement, it began to take on a voluntary leadership role.

7. CLIMATE-INDUCED MIGRATION DISCUSSIONS IN THE COUNCIL OF THE EU

The Council of the European Union, also known as the Council of Ministers, consists of the ministers of the EU member states. The Council is the institution that represents the member states' national interests. The relevant ministers from the member states attend the meeting to address the topic under discussion. It approves the EU budget together with the Parliament and the Commission. One of its most important tasks is to harmonize the economic policies of the member states.

The Council of EU suggested in the *Climate Change and International Security* paper published in 2008 with the increase of the adverse effects of climate change, that a comprehensive definition should be developed regarding the protection and rights of people who are displaced. Since this date, studies have been initiated by the Council to develop a protection mechanism following international law regarding climate-induced migration and to investigate the gaps in the law. The Stockholm Program, which was adopted by the Council in 2010, is also accepted as a pioneering document for the inclusion of climate-induced migration in the EU agenda. However, it is possible to state that the proposals and policies of The Council of EU regarding climate-induced migration progressed like other EU institutions in the succeeding years. The Council's statements on the recognition, legal status, and adaptation strategies of climate-induced migration will be examined below, and discourses on international cooperation and EU leadership will be included.

7.1. Recognizing the Relationship between Climate Change and Migration

As mentioned in previous chapters, the relationship between climate change and migration first came up with the Stockholm Program, published by the 2010 Council. This document suggests that more research is needed on the issue, and studies on the possible effects of international migration, including the EU, are required. In 2011, it was emphasized that climate change was a global problem and its adverse effects had an impact on migration;

Climate change is a global environmental and development challenge. Next to the most immediate effects, it also has important security implications since it acts as a "threat multiplier", exacerbating tensions over land, water, food and energy prices, and creating migratory pressures and desertification. It is a threat to global growth, prosperity and stability (Council of the EU, 2011a, p. 1).

Accepting the direct link between climate change and migration in 2011 and 2012, the Council stated that there were not enough studies on the issue and made a research suggestion;

[...]Interestingly enough, however, there is no reference to environmental migration due to climate change. It would be of interest to give some more thought and background to this aspect within the Working Group[...] (Council of the EU, 2011b, p. 22).

The Council recognises the need to further explore the linkages between climate change, migration and development, including the

potential impact of climate change on migration and displacement
(Council of the EU, 2012a, p. 8).

Stating that migration is linked to stability and sustainable development goals, the Council mentioned that the EU should work consistently on climate-induced migration and willing to do so. The EU will work in coordination to address these causes of migration;

Migration, sustainable development and stability are strongly interlinked. The EU and its Member States are committed to coordinated action to address the root causes of irregular migration and forced displacement, such as conflicts, state fragility, insecurity and marginalisation, poverty, food insecurity, inequality and discrimination, and environmental degradation, including climate change[...] (Council of the EU, 2017a, p. 36).

The Council of EU recognized climate-induced displaced persons in the EU Action Plan on Human Rights and Democracy 2020-2024, published in 2020, and made policy recommendations regarding them;

Support measures to address the high risk and serious impacts of climate change, environmental degradation and biodiversity loss on the exercise of human rights, such as rights to life, health, safe drinking water and sanitation, food, adequate housing and standard of living, including for climate-induced displaced people (Council of the EU, 2020, p. 11).

The Council of EU acknowledged that the EU is in a more advantageous situation in climate-induced migration than underdeveloped countries and pointed out that the adversely affected regions should be assisting.

The Council recognises climate change as a contributing factor to migration resulting from state fragility, insecurity and resource scarcity. By further analysing climate vulnerability links with fragility and security risk, the EU will be in a better position to identify areas where combined risks are particularly high and where there are critical opportunities for conflict prevention and resilience, including in the context of a wider migration challenge. One of the key aspects of the EU climate diplomacy should be practical support for mitigation and adaptation policies in third countries through the implementation and update of INDCs and comprehensive long-term low emission development strategies aiming at global peaking of greenhouse gas emissions as soon as possible and increasing climate resilience, while taking into account third countries' priorities and circumstances (Council of the EU, 2016a, p. 5).

From this discourse, it can be concluded that climate-induced migration, as in other EU institutions, is expected to be more internal migration and will not affect the EU.

As with other EU institutions, the Council has acknowledged that migration caused by climate change is primarily seen in small island states, rural areas, third countries, and fragile regions and referred to the assistance provided by the EU to these regions;

The Joint Council underlines that the most vulnerable populations live in developing countries, in particular in Least Developed Countries (LDCs) and Small Island Developing States (SIDS), where climate related extreme weather phenomena is more frequent, severe and intense. The Joint Council is also deeply concerned about the impact of climate change on food and livelihood security which may lead to environmentally induced displacements in ACP countries and emphasises that gender should be integrated in all aspects of climate change action[...] (Council of the EU, 2010, p. 2).

Conflicts, violence, environmental degradation, climate change and natural and man-made disasters continue to drive people to flee their homes. By the end of 2017, the total number of people who had had to flee their home stood at more than 68.5 million. As a global player, the EU acted to tackle and solve the main crises through diplomatic means. As the leading global aid donor in the world, we provided humanitarian assistance and support to refugees, asylum seekers, and internally displaced people in the majority of displacement crises[...] (Council of the EU, 2012b, p. 89).

Furthermore, the Council noted in 2017 that maintaining peace and stability in the African region, which is the EU's neighbor, is also critical, and that instability caused by migration in the continent as a result of climate change is a substantial concern not only in Africa but also in Europe.

It is possible to assert that the Council of EU has accepted climate-induced migration before most EU institutions. The most significant reason for this can be attributed to The Council of EU's rapid handling of climate-induced migration.

7.2. Legal Status and Uncertainty of Concept

As in other EU institutions, the Council of EU used the term climate refugee for those displaced due to climate change in the early dates and stated that their legal status and protection should be discussed;

helping partner countries in coping with the challenge of displacement and migration induced by the effects of climate change, and rebuilding climate refugees' livelihoods (Council of the EU, 2013a, p. 76).

Although the Council referred them to as environmentally-induced migrants in 2008, it is possible to see that the Council referred them to as a climate refugee in various documents in the succeeding years. In 2011, it was termed as "climate refugee" and again emphasized that they should have official status with an international agreement;

[...]called on the Commission and the Council to promote an official, judicial legitimisation of the term "climate refugee" (intended to describe people forced to flee their homes and seek refuge abroad as a consequence of climate change), which is not recognised yet in international law or in any legally binding international agreement (para 36) (Council of the EU, 2011c, p. 20).

On behalf of the shadow rapporteur Ms MUNIZ DE URQUIZA (S&D, ES), who was absent, Mr PASCU asked for support for her amendments on women's rights as well as for a definition of "climate refugee" (Council of the EU, 2014a, p. 5).

In the document released in 2012, the Council suggested that people who migrated due to climate should be recognized within the scope of human rights law and if required, their legal status should be settled, including documents such as the 1951 Convention.

This thematic programme will, in the context of its new strategy, also take into account migration that results from climate change. The respect of democratic principles and the rule of law, as well as of human rights and of fundamental freedoms, will constitute an essential element for the application of this instrument. If necessary, and as far as possible, the actions financed will be associated with measures aimed at strengthening democracy and the rule of law and compliance with international instruments in this field, including the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the status of refugees (Council of the EU, 2012c, p. 79).

In 2019, the Council was not used the term refugee and underlined that a legislative mechanism for the protection of people displaced as a result of climate change should within the scope of human rights.

Strengthening the promotion and the protection of human rights as proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the fulfilment of related international instruments, supporting and protecting human rights defenders, contributing to the implementation of global and regional pacts and frameworks, increasing the capacities of civil society in their implementation and monitoring, and laying the foundations for the creation of a legal framework for the protection of persons displaced due to climate change (Council of the EU, 2019, p. 180).

When we analyze the evolution of the concept and legal status, the Council used the term refugee in the early stages and stated that the status of people displaced due to climate change should be included in the 1951 Convention. However, in later dates, the Council referred to them as persons displaced due to climate change without mentioning that the definition of the refugee term was wrong. Regarding their legal status, the Council highlighted the need to protect their rights under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, such as other international organizations such as IOM and UNHCR, and EU organizations. Although the Council has had various discourses over the years about how to classify climate-induced migrants, the emphasis that they should have an internationally legitimate status is quite valuable. The above statements can be interpreted as a proposal by the Council to consider climate-induced migration as an international issue, and therefore to create a regime with an internationally legitimate document.

7.3. Adaptation Strategy

In the first place, it was thought that adaptation to climate change could be a response to threats created by climate change, including migration. As well, we see that the Council of EU was also considered migration as a temporary adaptation strategy against the adverse effects of climate change;

The efficient adaptation to climate change is a response to contemporary threats, i.e.: deteriorating access to water, soil and forest degradation, decreasing production, desertification, famine and migrations[...] (Council of the EU, 2017b, p. 2).

Develop tailored migration schemes of various duration, including planned temporary and permanent relocation, to facilitate migration as an adaptation strategy to slow-onset environmental degradation related to the adverse effects of climate change, such as desertification and sea level rise (Council of the EU, 2018, p. 7).

The Council of EU highlighted that in 2018, temporary or permanent migration programs should be made for people displaced due to climate change. Protection and acceptance agreements with emigration and migration destination countries have been suggested as a means of accomplishing this; It can also be considered as an effort to establish a regime for the solution of the climate-induced migration issue with conservation and acceptance agreements.

Provide temporary or permanent protection and reception schemes for migrants compelled to leave their countries of origin temporarily or permanently in cases when return is not possible, due to sudden-onset natural disasters, slowonset environmental degradation, emergency situations, and other lifeendangering circumstances, including by providing humanitarian visas, private sponsorships, access to education for children, and temporary work permits (Council of the EU, 2018, p. 10).

Also, the EU has committed to helping people displaced by climate change and meeting their needs and to work to facilitate their adaptation as the Union;

address the needs arising from the displacement of people, such as refugees, displaced persons and returnees, following natural or man-

made disasters so as to meet, for as long as necessary, all the needs of refugees and displaced persons, regardless of where they are located, and facilitate action for their voluntary repatriation and re-integration in their country of origin; and [...] (Council of the EU, 2013b, p. 23).

helping partner countries in coping with the challenge of displacement and migration induced by the effects of climate change, and rebuilding climate refugees' livelihoods (Council of the EU, 2014b, p. 19).

As in other EU institutions, various policy recommendations have been presented, such as ensuring sustainable development for adaptation to climate change to prevent climate-induced migration. Based on these suggestions, we see that sustainable development, one of the essential priorities of the international community, has been adopted in all of the EU institutions examined.

Invest in programmes that accelerate fulfilment of the Sustainable Development Goals to minimize the adverse drivers and structural factors that compel people to leave their country of origin, including poverty alleviation, disaster risk reduction, climate change adaptation and mitigation, conflict prevention and resolution, as well as creating and maintaining peaceful and inclusive societies with effective, incorrupt and accountable institutions that provide access to justice and human rights protection for all (Council of the EU, 2018, p. 7).

As with other EU institutions, the Council of EU follows the policy agenda of other international institutions and has likewise adopted adaptation strategies aimed at reducing the adverse effects of climate change and recommended participation in these

programs. When analyzed within the scope of regime theories, it is possible to conclude that the goal is to create collective action not only as a Union but also through adaptation strategies internationally.

7.4. International Issue and Cooperation

The fact that climate change is considered by the Council as a security threat has started to come up before the climate-induced migration debate. The Joint Progress Report published by the Council in 2008 addressed the relationship between climate change and international security. In 2009, a case study was conducted in South West Asia, South East Asia, Middle America, and Indian-Pacific Ocean Island States, examining climate change adaptation and potential security threats. With the recognition that climate change causes migration, the The Council of EU, similar to many international institutions, has started to address this issue as an international issue and has taken it as a priority policy issue as a security issue. The fragility of states and economic uncertainty have been listed as significant factors that can lead to migration. Climate change, it has been stated, would have adversely affected countries as well as development and can lead to migration. Undeveloped and weak economies countries were expected to be the hardest hit.

The Council recognises climate change as a contributing factor to migration resulting from state fragility, insecurity and resource scarcity[...] (Council of the EU, 2016a, p. 5).

Environmental degradation, climate change, extreme weather, and natural or man-made disasters can offset development gains and

economic progress, especially for the poor. This can increase vulnerabilities and needs, jeopardise peace and stability and cause large-scale migration (Council of the EU, 2017c, p. 9).

For this reason, the Council makes recommendations such as creating permanent solutions within the scope of human rights for people who have to migrate due to the adverse effects of climate change, determining protection programs, and building capacity for returning. It has been stated that, with the consideration of climate change as a security threat, the adverse effects of possible effects such as rising sea levels and rising temperatures on existing resources may push people to migrate.

In particular, the Council stresses the urgency to focus on the potential destabilising effects of climate change and the development implications of energy poverty on resilience, security and migration... EU and the Member States should work towards a broader awareness, analysis and management of climate risks and support EU partners around the world to better understand, integrate, anticipate and manage the impacts of climate change on domestic stability, international security and the displacement of people (Council of the EU, 2017d, p. 17).

EU and its Member States find it crucial to work with partners around the world in all relevant international fora, from the G7 and G20 to the UN Security Council, to better understand, integrate, anticipate and manage the severe impacts of climate change on domestic stability, international security and the displacement of people (Council of the EU, 2017e, p. 10).

Therefore, in order to prevent and control migration caused by climate change, the Council has made various international cooperation proposals such as ensuring sustainable development both within the Union and at international platforms;

Migration is a multi-faceted phenomenon with numerous inter-linkages with other areas of intervention - such as employment, health, education, social protection, climate change. Against this background, the Council recommends a more systematic incorporation of migration in the dialogue with partner countries and regions as well as into the programming of development cooperation, both at EU and MS levels, and into national and regional development strategies, wherever relevant (Council of the EU, 2014c, p. 4).

Strengthen joint analysis and sharing of information to better map, understand, predict and address migration movements and trajectories of persons affected by sudden-onset natural hazards, slow-onset environmental degradation, including the adverse effects of climate change, and life-endangering situations (Council of the EU, 2018, p. 7).

One of the priority points within the scope of these collaborations is third countries where the effects of climate change are experienced more. Especially developing cooperation with these regions; is aimed at further strengthening them against the adverse effects of climate change such as eliminating poverty and ensuring development. It is very significant in terms of international cooperation that the Council outlined that it is the supporter of various agreements and platforms to which the EU is a party for climate-induced migration, which was mentioned in the previous chapters;

The EU partnered with UN ESCAP, ILO and UNDP to fund the three-year Pacific climate change migration project, which aims to improve the capacity of Pacific island states to address the human rights and migration-related impact of climate change in the region (Council of the EU, 2014d, p. 327).

Addressing migration cuts across many policy areas, including development, good governance, security, human rights, employment, health, education, agriculture, food security, social protection and environment, including climate change... Through these strengthened efforts, the EU and its Member States will actively support the further implementation of the joint 2015 Valletta Action Plan and the elaboration of the UN Global Compacts on Migration and Refugees, as called for by the 2016 New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants (Council of the EU, 2017c, p. 8).

The fact that the Council works on regions that are expected to be more affected by climate change and makes recommendations for assistance suggests that climate-induced migration is a substantial policy item on the Council as an international issue.

7.5. The leadership of the EU

The Council of EU stated for the first time in the 2008 *Climate change and International Security* document that climate change could pose a threat to international security and that the EU should maintain its leadership after the 2007 COP13. In the Council documents published in the following years, no direct reference was made to

the EU's leadership on climate-induced migration. It is possible to say that the EU tends to follow the leadership of institutions such as the UN in combating climate-induced migration. In the document dated 2013, the Council acknowledges that international organizations such as IOM have taken the leading role in this regard and states that the EU is in a supportive position;

EMPHASISE that IOM, as the leading international organisation active in this field and as member of the Global Migration Group (GMG), should take a proactive role to further enhance coordination with the UN system (Council of the EU, 2013c, p. 9).

However, stating that the global combat against the adverse effects of climate change, including climate-induced migration, will continue and be involved in the fight can help make inferences regarding the future global leadership of the EU. It is possible to say that the EU plays a critical role in both scientific and global studies on adaptation and prevention;

[...]Moreover, by facilitating the development of world-leading social science perspectives on climate change and migration, the Action aims to enhance development and build adaptive capacity amongst those most vulnerable to climate change (Council of the EU, 2011d, p. 3).

The EU will continue to support the implementation of the Paris Agreement and will engage with other countries to support full implementation of their reduction pledges as contained in their Intended Nationally Determined Contributions. Efforts will continue to address the nexus of climate change, natural resources, including water, prosperity, stability and migration. The destabilising effects of climate change will be

further dealt with by the EU with some of its partner countries, including through climate risk assessments and support to capacity building (Council of the EU, 2016b, p. 48).

[...] The EU will continue to raise global awareness of the security risks to, and threat multiplier nature, of climate change, particularly in vulnerable regions. The Council recognises the need to drive the global debate on climate change and international security forwards (Council of the EU, 2011a, p. 2).

In the current situation, the Council supports the implementation of the Paris Agreement, which also refers to the issue of climate-induced migration, which was signed under the leadership of the UN, and states that the EU will be supportive in producing global solutions on the issue and some issues will be addressed more by the EU. From this perspective, it is possible to say that the EU will be more prominent in the future regarding climate-induced migration.

7.6. Conclusion

The Council of EU started to include climate-induced migration on its policy agenda with the *Climate change and International Security* document in 2008 and the Stockholm Program adopted in 2010. The issue of immigration, which might be the critical adverse effect, has started to be part of the The Council of EU's agenda by following climate change as a global problem. The issue was stated from the earliest date and it was necessary to work to the lack of information on the subject. Even though it describes migration as an adaptation much like other EU institutions, the Council has

accepted that migration can be prevented by reducing the effects of climate change, especially as of 2015, with policies such as sustainable development. Regarding the use of the concept of refugee, the Council not stated that it did not strictly comply with the 1951 Convention like the Commission and Parliament, but in the following years the term "displaced people" was used instead of refugee. The Council's emphasis on protecting them with an international document, as in other EU institutions, not the legal status of climate-induced refugees, indicates that the Council regards climate-induced migration as an international issue that needs to be addressed and resolved by creating a regime. Although there are no definite statements about the EU being a pioneer in the field of climate-induced migration, it has been signaled that it may take a more active role in this field in the future with the studies included and supported.

Although the interests represented by the three EU institutions are distinct and generally they speak on different pitches, when we look at their discourses, I conclude that the climate-induced migration discourses have a similar language in the analyzed 10-year period. I reached the conclusion that, unlike many other issues, they have a more uniform approach towards climate-induced migration. Despite representing different interests, these three institutions have even similar language, and by ignoring their own interests they suggest similar and mutually supportive policies. It might be explained that these three institutions consider climate-induced migration as a critical challenge, which requires urgent cooperation before it causing potential problems in the future. Also, mentions to various agreements in which the EU is a party, show the significance of international cooperation for all EU organizations. In this regard, the agreement reached with African leaders at the Valletta Summit stated in the previous chapters can be used as an example. Chapter 2, also states that any agreement made on any issue requiring international cooperation is also intended to establish a regime

(Levy et al., 1995). The Valetta Summit, which includes measures regarding climate-induced migration, can be considered as a regime established by the EU on the issue.

Regarding all this discourse, the fact that the USA, which has a dominant role in setting the international policy agenda, did not sign the Kyoto Protocol in the Bush administration and withdrew from the Paris Agreement in the Trump administration shows us that the climate change policies of the USA may change according to the presidents. For this reason, in the light of the discourses of the EU institutions examined in the last three chapters, the EU's progress in a more consistent way and having a clearer approach is seen as a long term, and in this sense, the EU stands out more. Besides, the increasing responsibilities of institutions such as UNHCR in recent years with civil wars and conflicts have made the UN an international institution calling for cooperation by offering solutions to the international community instead of taking responsibility for climate-induced migration. The fact that the EU is one of the most important actors in the fight against climate change and is a binding institution that includes several important developed countries across the world made me think that the EU can be a leading institution in this field. It is possible to say that the EU is one of the leading institutions in the struggle against climate-induced migration in terms of emphasizing that it is a problem that requires collective action and showing that they give importance to the issue as a result of financial and political efforts. The fact that the EU draws a more consistent profile gives us a clue about potential leadership in this area.

CONCLUSION

This thesis aims to reveal the role of international organizations in the entry of climate-induced migration into the international policy agenda and to make inferences regarding the future leadership of the EU in this context. With the increasing effects of climate change, the problems faced by humanity have started to diversify. In cases where adaptation to climate change cannot be achieved, it is seen that people have to leave the places where they live. However, it is seen that states do not have regulations regarding the protection or relocation processes of people forced to migrate due to climate change. It is known that countries such as Sweden and Finland have started to accept these immigrants within the scope of environmental migration in their domestic policies with the issue being brought to the agenda through international organizations and media, and they have a special scope for their protection. However, here, too, there is no information on how to follow the path of migration due to climate change, as they are considered in a broad scope as "environmental migrants" (IOM, 2008).

The concept of climate-induced migration, which has entered the literature through international organizations since the 1980s, has become a topic that has started to be discussed more, with its international recognition and its place in the media as a climate refugee. In this study, while expressing the importance of international organizations in addressing climate-induced migration as an important international issue, neoliberal institutionalism was determined as a theoretical framework and the role of international organizations in establishing regimes in global problems was tried to be explained through literature review, international conferences and agreements.

In the first part, within the scope of the analytical research that explains the recognition of climate-induced migration and the potential leadership of the EU, which is a significant regional institution, the concepts of migration and climate change are explained, and the direct link between climate change and migration is tried to be revealed. Not only animals and plants are affected, but also people are forced to leave their habitats due to the effects of climate change, such as the increase in the temperature of the oceans and the melting of glaciers, increasing sea levels, and increasing temperatures causing drought and fires. Although this relationship between climate change and migration has not been accepted by skeptical academics and it is argued that climate change cannot be a direct cause of migration, but studies show that; between 2008 and 2014 total of 184.4 million people were displaced by sudden-onset disasters, an average of 26.4 million people newly displaced each year. Of these, an annual average of 22.5 million people was displaced by weather- and climate-related hazards (Nansen Initiative, 2015).

Although there is no definitive consensus on the concept of climate-induced migration, the term climate refugee has been used by several international organizations from an early date. However, most international organizations, including the EU, no longer recognize it because it does not conform with the 1951 Convention, even though it is considered to be a particularly useful use for highlighting the severity of the issue and drawing media interest. Today, institutions such as the IOM and the UNHCR also use the terms climate-induced migration or climate migration instead of climate-refugee. While some scholars argued that they should have legal status within the scope of the refugee by being included in the 1951 Convention (Suhrke, 1992; Castles, 2002; Zetter, 2007), some scholars stated that this use was wrong because it would harm the status of the existing refugees (McGregor, 1993; Kibreab, 1997). According to the

findings, they should be identified as climate migrants rather than refugees under a new legal status.

At the end of the first chapter, it was stated that climate-induced migration can not take place only in one region of the world or only within the country and is an international issue that requires collective action. International Relations Theories neorealism, neoliberal institutionalism, and constructivism, which highlight the importance of cooperation, are explained in the second chapter within the context of regime theories. The theoretical framework was developed to show the progress of international institutions in providing cooperation with neoliberal institutionalism, which started to establish as a new approach in the 1970s and defended the view that international organizations play a significant role in solving the problems seen as obstacles to cooperation in international relations. Neoliberalism, which argues that particularly with globalization, international actors become more dependent on each other, has been determined as a theoretical framework in this study because it sees international organizations as mediators in environmental issues in particular.

In the third chapter, from the 1970s, when the adverse effects of humans on the environment started with the Industrial Revolution began to be discussed in international politics, especially the conferences and institutions that under the leadership of the UN, were examined, and the processes that international organizations passed until the date when climate-induced migration began to be discussed are summarized. In this sense, the first international conference, the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, organized by the United Nations in 1972, can be considered as the first step in the sense of collective action because it emphasizes that the protection of the environment is important for both human welfare and

economic development and all governments have a common responsibility. With the Brundtland Report in 1987, the goal of leaving a clean and usable future for future generations, especially with the first appearance of the concept of sustainable development, has become one of the main goals of the UN to prevent environmental issues, including climate change.

With the establishment of the IPCC in 1988 and the UNFCCC in 1992, institutional steps have been taken regarding anthropogenic climate change, and with various agreements and research have been trying to reduce the adverse effects of climate change. Agreements that specifically target developed and developing countries and include commitments to reduce the impacts of climate change, specifically to reduce carbon emissions, have started to come into force under the leadership of the UNFCCC. In parallel with these developments, in addition to within the international agreements, the EU's targets for reducing carbon dioxide emission within the union have started to be seen since the 1990s. Successfully achieving the first term goals of the Kyoto Protocol signed in the 1990s, the EU played a pioneering role in the Paris Climate Agreement, which is significant in terms of both the largest participation agreement of the 21st century and the statements regarding climate-induced migration. Also, EU citizens' awareness of climate change and seeing climate change as a critical problem, can be seen as the motivation of the EU's leadership in climate change.

Being a party to international agreements and frameworks, the EU is a model and leading institution with its role in both internal and international agreements to avoid climate change. In order to support the argument that the EU will progress consistently on climate-induced migration and have the capacity to lead this issue with this profile, in the fourth chapter, the EU's climate change and climate-induced

migration policies and the legislative institutions of the EU were examined. The statements on climate-induced migration between 2010 and 2020, the date when the European Parliament, the European Commission, and the Council of EU officially included climate-induced migration on their policy agenda, were presented as discourse analysis in the following three chapters. Through the official documents of these institutions, the recognition of climate-induced migration, its discourse on the legal status of climate migrants, its proposals for adaptation strategy for climate-induced migration, its views on international cooperation, and lastly their views on future EU leadership on this issue was analyzed in the following three chapters under five titles. As a result of this analysis, this thesis concluded that the EU's having a clearer approach and consistent discourse regarding climate-induced migration draws an essential profile for the EU in the long run. Also it is possible to assume that the EU will probably play a key role in this issue in the future, particularly in the context of international cooperation, with the assistance provided to third countries and regions underdeveloped, where climate immigration is expected to be seen more, and by proposing to create an international legal status framework by all three institutions. Especially, as time goes on, the issue of climate-induced migration is included in the official documents more and more shows that the subject gains importance. In particular, the fact that all three EU institutions representing different interests have a similar language and harmony between their discourses gives us a clue that the EU has a more uniform approach in this field and its potential to become a more consistent leader in the future. More research and studies are likely to be conducted on this subject in the future.

This thesis marks itself as the starting point of future studies regarding the importance of international institutions on the issue of climate-induced migration and

the potential leadership of the EU in this area. In this thesis, in which current studies and discourses were examined, climate-induced migration was not examined within the scope of a security threat, but primarily included studies on the recognition of climate-induced migration and determination of its legal status. However, since the potential migration waves from the African continent and the Middle East, which with the adverse effects of climate change and pose a threat to the EU, it may also be helpful to discuss possible policy suggestions by evaluating the issue as a security issue in the future. Also, the perspective of the populist leaders, who have started to rise in Europe and are known for their anti-immigration policies, towards climate migrants, and the possible policies they can follow can be evaluated as future research areas.

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