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RECOGNITION OF CLIMATE REFUGEES BY THE EUROPEAN UNION

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"Climate migrants are the human faces of climate change"

François Gemenne, 6th of May 2011, Stockholm

ABSTRACT

Since the twentieth first century climate change and the climate refugee issues are the most popular discussion topics in the international relations field. The migration related to climate change has been increasing. Since 2008, on average 26.4 millions of people migrated according to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre. The response to the climate refugees problem in international or national areas has not been able to even agree on a definition for these in a common definition or a protection policy for them and consequently while the climate change continues to increase the refugee number will be increasing. According to United Nations Refugee Agency by 2050, up to 250 million people will be displaced as a result of climate change. International organizations, countries and non-governmental organizations are discussing the problem of definition and recognition of climate refugees in international relations. The undefined statue of climate refugees is causing the lack of protection in the same time. Especially the people who are living on the islands which are expected to be under the sea level and disappear such as Kiribati or other islands in the Pacific's. People living on these islands will lose their countries and as a result of this, they will have no identities or passports. They will not be recognized by the international system in this case and because of this un-recognized situation, this could even cause a violation of human has the rights. Because in their case, they have no legal rights. The turning point of all the discussions in the climate refugee issue was in 2014 when Ioane Teitiota wanted for himself and family to go to New Zaeland but this request was rejected by New Zealand. He was the world's first recognized climate refugee. Ioane Teitota was living in Kiribati which is about to remain under the sea level in the Pacific Ocean. He only wanted to live and survive with his family as every human being. After Ioane Teitiota's recognition as the first climate refugee, the international community could not ignore or keep the ongoing processes for the climate refugee's definition and protection in a slowly way. In international

relations, the issue has been an issue for governments and international organizations. There is a need for a cooperation because it is a global problem. The governments are not powerful enough to handle an issue this big by their own. On the other hand, the international organizations have to agree with each other on the subject to have a solution for the issue. As one of the most important international organization of international relations is the European Union's approach to the problem is highly important. This thesis aims to analyze EU's approach to climate refugee's situation in international politics. The research question of this dissertation is: "How does the EU define the climate refugees after Ioana Teitota's situation in international politics?".

In this context, I have used content analysis to analyze the definition of climate refugees and the connection of this to the climate change. The EU's perspective to the climate refugees after Ioana Teitota's recognition is analyzed by using content analysis method of the documents of EU written about climate refugees. The reports and documents written by the EU are the perspective of EU to climate refugees situation in international politics. The most important point of the recognition of the climate refugee is the protection gap of their situation. As a solution for this problem, climate refugees have to have a common protection and definition in international politics with a legal framework such as there is for refugees in the 1951 Convention of the UN.

Key Words: Climate Refugees, European Union, Human Rights

ÖZET

Yirminci yüzyıldan bu yana iklim değişikliği ve iklim mülteci sorunları, uluslararası ilişkiler alanında en popüler tartışma konuları arasında yer almaktadır. İklim değişikliği sonucu gerçekleşen göç, her geçen gün artmaktadır. International Displacement Monitoring Centre raporuna göre, 2008 yılından bu yana, ortalama 26.4 milyon insan göç etmiştir. Uluslararası veya ulusal alanlarda iklim mültecileri sorununa ilişkin ortak bir tanım veya onlar için bir koruma politikası üzerinde anlaşmaya mümkün olmamıştır. Bu sorunlar devam ederken, iklim değişikliği mülteci sayısını artırmaya devam edecektir. Birleşmiş Milletler Mülteci Ajansı'na göre 2050 yılına kadar, iklim değişikliği nedeniyle 250 milyona kadar insan yerlerinden olacak ve uluslararası kuruluşlar, ülkeler ve sivil toplum kuruluşları, uluslararası mültecilerin tanımlanması ve tanınması sorununu uluslararası ilişkilerde tartışmaya devam edecektir. İklim göçmenlerinin yasal olarak ortak bir tanımları bulunmaması, insan hakları ihlaline de yol açmaktadır. Çünkü, Pasifik Okyanus'undaki ada ülkelerinin yükselen deniz suyu altında kalma tehdidi ile karşı karşıyadır. Bu durumda bu ülkelerde. Yaşamakta olan yasal olarak, uluslararası bir kimliğe sahip olmayacaklardır. Bu ise insan hakları ihlali kapsamına dahil olmaktadır. İklim mültecilerinin tanınırlığı meselesindeki, tüm tartışmaların dönüm noktası 2014'te Ioane Teitiota'nın kendisi ve ailesinin Yeni Zelanda'ya gitmesini istediği ancak Yeni Zelanda tarafından reddedildiği zaman olmuştur. Ioane Teitota, Pasifik Okyanusu'nda deniz seviyesinin altında kalmak üzere olan Kiribati'de yaşıyordu. Tek isteği, sadece her insan gibi ailesiyle yaşamak ve hayatta kalmaktı. Ioane Teitiota'nın, ilk iklim mültecisi olarak tanınmasından sonra, uluslararası toplum iklim mültecisi tanımını ve onun korunması için devam eden süreçleri göz ardı edemedi. Uluslararası toplumda, devletlerin, uluslararası örgütlerin bu konuya olan yaklaşımı farklı platformlarda kendilerini ifade etmektedirler. Uluslararası ilişkilerin en önemli uluslararası örgütlerinden biri olan Avrupa Birliği'nin soruna yaklaşımı son derece önemli arz etmektedir. Bu tez, AB'nin iklim mültecisinin uluslararası

politikadaki durumuna yaklaşımını analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Tezimin araştırma sorusu: "AB, Ioana Teitota'nın uluslararası politikadaki durumundan sonra, iklim mültecilerini nasıl tanımlıyor?" olarak belirlenmiştir.

Bu bağlamda, iklim mültecilerinin tanımını ve bu tanımın, iklim değişikliğine olan bağlantısını analiz etmek için, içerik analizi yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Ioana Teitota'nın tanınmasının ardından, AB'nin iklim mültecilerine bakış açısı ve iklim mültecileri hakkında yazılmış AB belgelerinin içerik analizi yöntemi kullanılarak analiz edilmektedir. İklim mültecisinin tanınmasının en önemli noktası, durumlarının koruma boşluğu olmasıdır. Yasal olarak, iklim mültecilerinin uluslararası hukukta herhangi bir koruma sağlanmamaktadır. Bu soruna bir çözüm olarak, iklim mültecileri, BM'nin 1951 sözleşmesinde mülteciler için olduğu gibi yasal bir çerçeve ile uluslararası siyasette ortak bir koruma ve tanıma sahip olması, tezimin soruna yönelik çözüm önerisi olarak yer almaktadır.
Anahtar Kelimeler: İklim Göçmenleri, Avrupa Birliği, İnsan Hakları

To my father Halit Abdullah GÜLEÇ…

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EU: European Union

UN: United Nations

IPCC: Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

UNFCCC: United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

EDP: Environmentally displaced people

SIDs: Small island developing states

IOM: Internal Organization for Migration

CFSP: Common Foreign and Security Policy

INTRODUCTION

"No human life, not even the life of the hermit in nature's wilderness, is possible without a world which directly or indirectly testifies to the presence of other human beings."

Hannah Arendt

Today, climate change and climate refugees are the most important issues in international politics. To understand both issues, it is important to highlight the word "climate". The word was first used before b.c.e.6 by the Greeks. It was "clime" which was found by Parmenides a student of Pisagor who separated the world on a world globe with six parts according to the sunlight's angles to the world. In time, the Greeks worked on the world globe according to the geographic latitudes and added one more region. In the 15th and 16th centuries, the European explorers used the clime regions for their trips all around the world. The work on the clime continued and in 19th century, scientists like Alexander von Hombolt and Matthew Maury had published their works on the subject. The first quantative works on clime was done in the 20th century by scientists in Europe. Works on clime has been continuing since. [1] Clime and weather are not only a topic in science. Both effects human life and history. A good example of weather's effect on history and world politics is Ronald D. Gerste's work who is a professor in Dusseldorf University has published a book on how the weather effects history

[1] Mike Hulme, "İklim Değişikliği Konusunda Neden Anlaşamıyoruz?", çev. Merve Özenç, İstanbul, Alfa Bilim, Mart 2016, p.31-37.

called “How does weather writes history? Climate changes and disasters from ancient to the present”.[2]

In present, climate change has caused migrants and this one of the most important topics in international politics. In Joshua Busby’s article in Foreign Affairs, called “Why Climate Change matters more than anything else?”, he explains why the climate change is the most important problem in world politics. In his article, he is explaining that climate change’s importance is a result of its effects is global and in time the climate change and global warming will be getting worse.[3] Climate change has become an important issue since the 1970s and the most important definition of climate change has been agreed in the United Nations. According to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), climate change is defined as: ‘‘Climate change’ means a change of climate which is attributed directly or indirectly to human activity that alters the composition of the global atmosphere and which is in addition to natural climate variability observed over comparable time periods.”[4] According to Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) since 1750 human activities have been an important reason of global warming. As a cause and effect relation the foremost climate change’s impact is on human lives. Climate change has created a new group of people who are migrating related to the climate change in different times and places. These people have been named in various ways such as eco-migrants, ecological migrants, environmentally displaced refugees or climate refugees. For those people in 1985 the term “environmental refugee” has been used first in a report of United Nations

[2] Ronald D. Gerste, “Hava nasıl tarih yazar? Antikçağdan günümüze iklim değişiklikleri ve felaketler”, çev. Meltem Karaismailoğlu, İstanbul, Kolektif Kitap, 2017.

[3] Busby, Joshua, “Why climate change matters more than anything else?”, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2018-06-14/warming-world, (11.010.2018)

[4] https://unfccc.int/files/essential_background/background_publications_htmlpdf/application/pdf/conveng.pdf, (18.09.2018)

Environment Programmed written by Essam El-Hinnawi who has classified the environmental refugees and worked on the issue. By time the climate change has lift effectiveness and a result of this, the academicians, politicians have started discussing the issue more to find a solution to the problem. In time a result of the continuing discussions and works on environmental refugees, the term has transformed into different terms such as "famine refugee", "distress migrant", "ecological refugee" or "eco-refugee". Today since 2006, the term mostly used for these persons is the "climate refugees" and the discussions still are one of most important subjects in international politics. The name change is caused because the migration related to climate change has been increasing. Between 2008and 2018 averagely 26.4 million of people have migrated according to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre. The response to the climate refugee problem in international or national areas has not been able to even agree on a definition for these in a common definition or a protection policy for them and consequently while the climate change continues to increase the refugee number will be increasing. According to United Nations Refugee Agency by 2050, up to 250 million people will be displaced as a result of climate change.

The climate refugee problem has been discussed in the international system in different levels. The international level is constructed by perspectives of the United Nations Refugee Agency, International Organization Migration or the EU. The regional level where there had been two important meetings, The Kampala Convention and The Nansen Initiative. The third level is the country level, such as Norway and Sweden have been discussing the issue. Each level has a different solution to the problem which are unique as a result of their perspectives to the problem. The main aim of this thesis is to focus on the EU level where the union neither has a recognition nor a policy to protect the climate refugees, while overawing valuable information on the debates in the international level. The EU 's perspective on the subject is interesting because it's founding purpose was to keep peace and the climate refugee issue may be a cause

of war in the going years because of the homeless climate refugee numbers will increase each year and this could be an international security issue which international politics must find a solution to this.

There is also no common agreement in the international politics on a definition or legal framework for the climate refugees position. This causes a coas in the international politics because of this undefined term also causes a protection gap for the climate refugees. The main problem in the literature is same. The climate refugees do not have a common status or there is not even an agreement that there is category for people who are displace of because of environmental issues for some of the academicians. "Who is a climate refugee?" is not an usual question which has not have a specific answer. There is no concept or a legal framework for it. Even some scientists or academicians does not even accept that there is a climate change problem or as a result of a non-existing problem, there are no climate refugees. As a matter of fact, there is a climate change and humans who are affected by its results which is increasing day by day. Climate refugee is a term which was also named under the "environmentally displaced people (EDPs)" term in the first place. [5] In other words, it can be defined as, the displacement of people caused by environmental changes or climate change effects are called "climate refugees". [6] The term was defined first as "environmental refugee" by Essam El-Hinnawi in United Nations Environment Program's publication with the same name used in 1985. In time the name has also changed with the discussions on the topic. Essam El-Hinnawi used the word: "Environmental Refugee" and defined it as

[5] Issa Ibrahim Berchin, Isabela Blasi Valduga, Jéssica Garcia, José Baltazar Salgueirinho Osório de Andrade Guerra, "Climate change and forced migrations: An effort towards recognizing climate refugees ", GEOFORUM, Vol. 84,2017, p.148

[6] Nuray Ekşi, "İklim Göçmenleri", The Journal of Migration Studies, Vol.2, No.2, July-December 2016, p. 17

"Environmental Refugees are those people who have been forced to leave their traditional habitat, temporarily or permanently, because of a marked environmental disruption (natural/triggered by people) that jeopardized their existence and/or seriously affected the quality of their life. By "environmental disruptions" in this definition meant any physical, chemical and/or biological changes in ecosystem (or the resource base) that render it, temporarily or permanently, unsuitable to support by civil strife, and migrants seeking better jobs purely on economic grounds, are not considered environmental refugees."

Uwe Lübken assimilates climate refugees to ghosts.[7] In his article, he analysis the climate refugee's status and the discussions in the literature on the definition of the climate refugees. At least today everyone agrees on that there is a problematical issue on the climate refugees which means that climate refugees are recognized. By recognition in the debates, the climate refugees are known and confirmed even there is not a legal status or protection the international politics knows their situation. As a solution for this problem, climate refugees have to have a common protection and definition in international politics with a legal framework such as there is for refugees in the 1951 Convention, after the refugee definition was written again as : "owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted 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 formal habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it" [8]. Similar definition is in the literature and migration

[7] Uwe Lübken, "Chasing a Ghost? Environmental Change and Migration in History", Global Environment, Vol. 5, No. 9, RCC Special Issue on Environmental Change and Migration in History (2012), pp. 4-24

[8] http://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10.html, (18.09.2018)

area has been a field worked on for so many years unlike the climate refugees study field. Climate refugee is a new study field and it is not only an issue of an academic or political system, but it can also be a matter of death or life condition in some situations for the climate refugees. For example, in the IPCC working group report it is highlighted that in the Pacific's with the rise of the sea level, some of the island states will no longer exist and as a result of this, there will be stateless people who has no legal rights or any right to exist in the international law or international system. [9] In other words, the "small islands developing states (SIDS) is the most important problem in this situation because it the most affected and threatened areas by this situation. [10] For instance, Kiribati and Tuvalu are SIDS which have been also accepted by the international community.[11] So, the definition for the climate refugees and their legal rights in international law and system will even be the key for them to survive in these situations.

Another important issue in all these discussions is the gap of protection for the climate refugees. According to the international law and international system there is no addressed solution for a person who is a climate refugee. Since climate refugees are also refugees, they should have the same rights as any refugee, but they do not. In the international system, the 1951 Refugee Convention has offered a protection to anyone who is accepted as a refugee. But there is no protection for a climate refugee and this gap is a violation of human rights. Since 10 December 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by United Nations was

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[9] http://www.ipcc.ch/ipccreports/tar/wg2/index.php?idp=671 . (18.09.2018)

[10] Issa Ibrahim Berchin, Isabela Blasi Valduga, Jéssica Garcia, José Baltazar Salgueirinho Osório de Andrade Guerra, "Climate change and forced migrations: An effort towards recognizing climate refugees ", GEOFORUM, Vol. 84,2017, p.148

[11] I.b.i.d, p. 149

accepted, human rights have been protected by international system and international law. It is important to highlight that according to article 3 of this declaration, “Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security.” and the protection gap for the climate refugees in the international system and international law can mean a life or death situation in the further times for climate refugees.

My thesis suggests that both the EU and international system to make an agreement on the definition and protection of climate refugees as soon as possible which should be like the 1951 Refugee Convention for the refugees. Each human is valuable and deserves to live as a human all around the world.

Research Question

The main research question of this dissertation is as follows: “How does the European Union define the climate refugees after Ioana Teitota’s situation in international politics?”. In order to answer this question, this work will primarily discuss why the issue of climate refugees has become so pivotal in the world as well as in the European space as far as the human rights are concerned. In this sense, this thesis will be specifically concerned with the study of an understudied issue in Turkey, which has become even more important along with the debates on global warming and climate change affecting the whole world.

State of the Art

The EU was established to keep the world peace and keeping peace is an issue of tolerance to each diversity. The EU has tolerance overreach beyond the cultural differences between the French, Italians or Greeks. Because of this tolerance, the EU is expected to be friendly to

refugees. Today with globalization and technology, more and more people migrate to different countries or cities and the cultural differences or any other kind of differences sometimes a problem or not a problem for each other. Europe is one of the most cotenant which people migrate for a better life with high life standards. [12] As in King's article, it is highlighted that migration unfolds both time and space. [13] He likens migration to a coin with two sides which makes it important. The first side is migration's historical part in human life even today and the other part of the coin represents the number of migrants today, which is increasing each day and with the number increasing the types of migration is also changing with different perspectives. King highlights that the 21th Century is the "Age of Migration" as Stephen Castles and Mark Miller has defined it.[14]

King emphasizes, with the increasing migration the types of migration has changed according to the reasons or circumstances of the migrants. There are different kinds of migration. International migration is the most analysed and common migration type in international politics and the literature. It can be defined as crossing borders between countries and today there is areas which are border free, for example the European Union's Schengen Area. The borders can be opened in time to time, or some situations and on the other hand it could be

[12] Yuval Noah Harari, "21. Yüzyıl için 21 Ders", çev. Selin Siral, Istanbul, Kolektif Kitap, September 2018, p. 137.

[13] King, Russel, "Theories and Typologies of Migration: An Overview and Primer", Willy Brandt Series of Working Papers in International Migration and Ethnic Relations 3/12, Malmö Institute for Studies of Migration, Diversity and Welfare, Malmö University, Sweden, 2013, p. 7.

[14] I.b.i.d., p. 3-4.

closed. [15] As a good example for open borders, the Turkish-Syria border is opened, in the holidays for the Syrian migrants to join their families back in their home towns. On the other hand, King defines temporary migrants and seasonal migrants, which both are time-wise migrants. [16] An example for these, can be the employees who migrated to Germany from Turkey in the 1970s or the employees who went to Adana for being cotton pickers for the summers in Turkey as seasonal migrants.

As King highlights there is no such theory which shapes the migration subject by itself. In other words, from King's article: "Migration is a subject that cries out for an interdisciplinary approach." Which Brettel and Hollifield has expressed. There is multiplicity of types of migration which can be linked to different theories which can be related to climate, environment or other issues.[17]

In migration theories, King emphasizes that each theory is connected to Raventein's migration law because it is the foundation stone of all. King has summarized, Raventein's "International migration" definition in seven basics. Here are the characteristics of an international migrant:

1. Migrants move mainly over short distances; those going longer distances head for the great centers of industry and commerce.
2. Most migration is from agricultural to industrial commerce.

[15] I.b.i.d, p. 6-7.

[16] I.b.i.d, p.7.

[17] I.b.i.d, p. 11.

3. Large towns grow more by migration than natural increase.
4. Migration increases along with the development of industry, commerce and transpart.
5. Each migration stream produces a consterstream.
6. Females are more migratory than males, at least over and shorter distances; males are a majority in international migration.
7. The major causes of migration are economic. [18]

Even the Ravenstien's law is the characteristics of the main international migration theory and international migrant definition. In time the migration models has developed. Another example for transferring of migration is Wilbur Zelinsky's hypothesis of the mobility transition. His model was used by different scholars in different perspectives. His model has five stage model to explain the migration in Europe by historical background. These are:[19]

1. Pre-model traditional society: very limited migration, only local movements related, e.g. to marriage or to marketing agricultural produce.
2. Early transitional society: mass rural-urban migration, emigration to attractive foreign destinations for settlement and colonization.
3. Late transitional society: slacking of both rural-urban migration and emigration: growth in various kinds of circulation, e.g. commuting.
4. Advanced society: rural-urban replaced by inter-urban migration, mass immigration of low-skilled works from less developed countries, international circulation of high-skilled migrants and professionals, intense international circulation, both economic and pleasure related.

[18] I.b.i.d, p. 11.

[19] I.b.i.d., p. 14.

5. Future super advanced society: better communication and delivery systems may lead to a decline in some forms of human's circulation: international migration is inter or intre-urban; continued immigration of low-skilled labour from less developed countries; possibility of strict controls over immigration.

Today in migration studies, Nicholas Van Hear is one of the scholars, who has created the "mixed migration" terminology as an answer to all the different perspective studies going around international migration theory. [20] In Kings own words of definition of mixed migration is: "the mixed nature of migration flows, and the mixed motivation in may individuals embodiment of migration, such as the migrating student/worker, the tourist/migrant, the wandering migrant/trader and so on.''. On the other hand, even different scholars continued working on mixed migration, Stephen Castles who is one of the important scholars in migration scholars has highlighted that: "Migration is a part of the process of transformation of social structures and institutions, and the entire global political economy.". [21]

As a further view of Russell King's review on migration studies, he has shown that migration studies can be located to anthropology, sociology, human geography and cultural studies. King highlights today mixed migration or international migration leaded the scholars to "transitional migration" which can be defined as "transnational lives" or "transitional social spaces" for international or mixed migrants all around the world. [22]

[20] I.b.i.d, p. 24.

[21] I.b.i.d, p. 24.

[22] I.b.i.d, p.24-25.

In conclusion international migration studies has changed over time and the changing circumstances in international politics. In migration studies, the environmentally related international migration is a new area for scholars, and it has been discussed for thirty years after climate change has been an issue for politics. [23] The research and analysis on climate refugees which is named as environmentally international migrants will be discussed in the second chapter of my thesis. This will be my thesis main aim to research why the climate refugees are important for international politics. They are as important as any other migrant, but they are not valued as they should be.

Rationale of the Research

My thesis aims to highlight the main reason why climate migrants should be recognized by the EU while explaining the reasons why climate migrants are an important issue in international politics. The subject of climate refugees has been discussed in different fields of science. Such as environmental law, migration studies, international law, international relations, European studies or human rights studies. As discussed in the state of art part of this chapter, the theories in this field is lacking to clarify the main reason why climate refugees is an important issue in the literature without a perspective of climatic or environmental points of the issue. In my starting point of my readings, I have studied the link between climate change and climate refugees, but the field was discussed so many times in different

[23] Reiko Obokata, Luisa Veronisi Robert McLeman, "Empirical research on international enviromenlental migration: a systematic review", Population and Enviroment, September 2014, vol. 36, Issue 1, p.111

perspectives. After scrutinizing the field in different perspectives, I have chosen to define the link between climate refugees and the importance of their recognition, then analyze the debates on climate refugee and define the problem according to the European Union.

Methodology

In my thesis I have used content analysis. Content analysis can be defined as a technique using the context of the text in any subject. [24] Another name for content analysis can be called as "textual coding". [25] The reason I used content analysis is, it has different advantages than other research techniques which are: [26]

- Communication is a central aspect of social interaction. Content-analytic procedures operate directly on text or transcripts of human communication.
- The best content-analytic studies use both qualitive and quantitave operations on texts. Thus, content analysis methods combine what are usually thought to be antithetical modes of analysis.
- Documents of various kinds exist over long periods of time.

In my thesis, the first chapter, "climate refugee" term is analysed by using content analysis method. Here, the term will be explained first by its historical background with name groups according to the terminology's change. First the term, "environmental refugees", second "displaced refugees", then "environmental migrants", after "environmentally displaced

[24] Neuman, W.Lawrence, "Social Research Methods: Qualitive and Quantitative Approachs", America, Pearson Education Company, 1991, p.292.

[25] I.b.i.d, p.293.

[26] Robert Philip Weber, Edited:Clive Seale, " Social Research Methods", London, Routledge,2004, p.117.

persons", after that "climate change refugees" and in the end the term "climate refugees" was used which is still being used today. In the second chapter for analyzing the climate refugee's terminology, I have used, newspaper articles, academic articles, books, dissertations and websites of different climate refugee organizations which are in the international arena for a couple of years.

In the second chapter of my thesis, I have discussed the importance of climate refugee's condition in international politics and EU's role in this discussion. I have used different resources to prove the importance of climate refugee's recognition for them as a human rights issue. I have used policy documents, international treaties, newspaper articles. The most important documents in my thesis are the documents from EU which is a reflection of its own perspective on the subject. In the conclusion of my thesis, I have analyzed my statement and reviewed the scope of thesis.

Scope of the Thesis

In this thesis, the European Union's approach to the climate refugees will be analyzed after Ioane Teitiota's recognition as the first climate refugee in 2014 in the international media and politics. He wanted protection from the New Zealand government for himself and his family because he was living in Kiribati which is almost under the sea level in the Pacific Ocean. He only wanted to survive and live with his family as any other human being. Teitota's situation was a turning point for all the discussions in the climate refugee issue. The thesis has analyzed the European Union's perspective and discussions on the climate refugee's recognition issue between the 2014-2018. The thesis provides an overview to the related climate refugee recognition in the "The Concept of Climate Refugee, Towards Possible"

briefing written by Joanna Apap who is a member of the research service of the European Parliament.

CHAPTER 1

Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

"The gravest effects of climate change may be those on human migration as millions are displaced by shoreline erosion, coastal flooding and severe drought."[27]

As Mike Hulme asks, "Why We Disagree about Climate Change?" [28] and Jane McAdam's asks, "Does climate change cause' movement?"[29] Today, how one could define the climate refugees properly while the causes of climate refugees have not been agreed in social sciences? Since the beginning of humankind, people have moved due to environmental and climatic changes as they had to escape from danger. [30] People moving because of climate-related factors is nothing new. [31] Throughout history, environmental changes have definitely caused migration. Environmental and climatic factors effecting migration have different links

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[27] http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTSOCIALDEVELOPMENT/Resources/SDCCWorkingPaper_MigrationandConflict.pdf , (29.01.2019)

[28] Mike Hulme, "İklim Değişikliği Konusunda Neden Anlaşamıyoruz?", çev. Merve Özenç, İstanbul, Alfa Bilim, Mart 2016

[29] Jane McAdams, "Swimming Against the Tide: Why a Climate Change Displacement Treaty is Not The Answer", International Journal of Refugee Law, Vol. 23, No.1, January 2011, p.12.

[30] I.b.i.d, p.2.

[31] Nicole Marshall, "Environmental Migration in an Era of Accelerated Climate Change: Proposing a Normative Framework for International Migrant Rights and Domestic Migration Policy" PhD Thesis, Department of Political Science University of Alberta, 2015, p. 13.

with economic natureal, social or political factors. [32] As a result of migration caused by environmental changes, academicians had to find a new term for explicate the stories of such migrants, and they started a new literature on environmental migration. [33]

The climate refugees recognition is a salient issue in international politics today and the liaison between migration and environmental changes is undeniable. What are the reasons behind this connection? In the first figure, the five drivers of migration and influence of environmental change is shown which is a part of the "Migration and Global Environment Change" final report from 2011 prepared by the Government Office for Science in London. [34]

[32] Etienne Piguet, Antoine Pecoud, Paul de Guchteneire, "Migration and Climate Change: An Overview", Refugee Survey Quarterly, Vol.30, No.3, 2011, p.2.

[33] Diane C. Bates , '' Environmental Refugees? Classifying Human Migrations Caused by Environmental Change'', Population and Environment, Vol. 23, No. 5, May 2002, p. 465.

[34] https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/287717/11-1116-migration-and-global-environmental-change.pdf ,(01.02.2019)

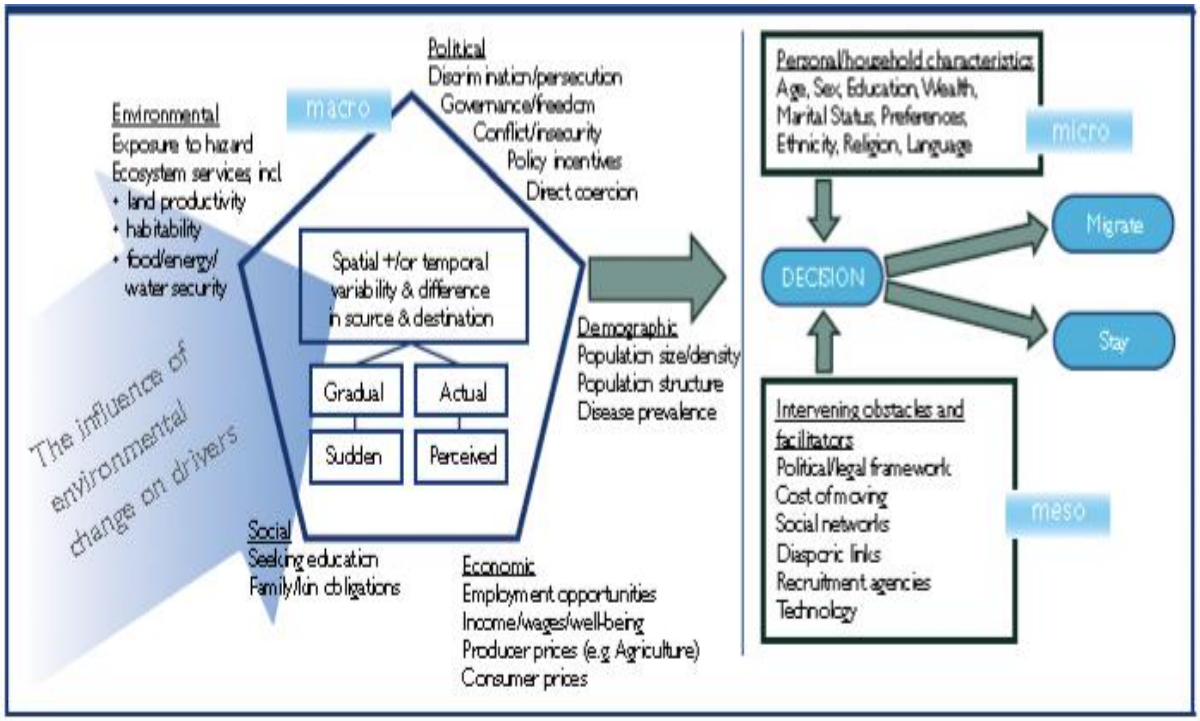

Figure 1: The Influence of Environmental Changes to Migration[35]

Even there is a connection between climate change and migration, it is not easy to define each of the disasters which causes people to migrate or it is not simple to define climate refugee term. [36]

At the present time, island Tuvalu, island Kiribati, the Republic of Marshall Islands or other many small islands are sinking. [37] As a result of this, many people even small nations will be stateless and homeless. The number of these people is rising each day while the sea level is

[35] https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/287717/11-1116-migration-and-global-environmental-change.pdf (01.02.2019)

[36] http://climatemigration.org.uk/getting-started-climate-migration/ (01.02.2019)

[37] Nicole Marshall, "Environmental Migration in an Era of Accelerated Climate Change: Proposing a Normative Framework for International Migrant Rights and Domestic Migration Policy" PhD Thesis, Department of Political Science University of Alberta, 2015, p. 1.

rising. Which makes the recognition of people as in these examples become a more important issue in international politics. Right now, it is an undeniable fact, that climate refugee's recognition is not just an important issue, but it is also a human rights matter for the people who will become stateless after the islands has sinked.

1.1. Historical Background of the Term: "Climate Refugees"

First of all, to understand the term, "climate refugee", the term "refugee" must be understood. The term was first used by the French in 1685. "Réfugié" is the original word for the word "refugee". The term was used to define the Protestans who moved from France to England in 1685. More than 400,000 French had to move because of the law had changed in that time period. [38]

In the present day, the term "refugee" used in international politics and academia is based to the definition, made by the UN (United Nations) in 1951. According to the article's definition, it is:

> *"Any person who owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted 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."*[39]

[38] https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/origin-and-meaning-of-refugee, (07.02.2019)

[39] https://www.unhcr.org/3b66c2aa10 , (07.02.2019)

The refugee term was needed to be defined in common, in international relations after the Second World War. During and after the Second World War, people were migrating all the time from countries or cities to be able to live. On the other hand, the definition of "climate refugee" has not been anything similar to the "refugee" discussions. The climate refugees do not have a common definition or a legally status like other refugees. There is another gap in the field which can be asked as: "Why climate refugees do not have a refugee status?''[40] . The answer to this question is another subject in the international law.

Arthur Westing has highlighted the problem of 'recognized' and 'unrecognized' refugees are increasing in numbers, all around the world in his article "Environmental Refugees: A Growing Category''. [41] In this way, he has shown even the climate refugees are not recognized in legal basis while he had written his article in 1992, the problem was still there. The number of climate related displacement was increasing. As an example, Norman Meyers has explained that up to 150 millions of environmental refugees were expected in the end of the twentieth one century.[42]

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[40] https://www.economist.com/the-economist-explains/2018/03/06/why-climate-migrants-do-not-have-refugee-status , (07.02.2019)

[41] Artur H. Wetsing, "Enviromental Refugees: A Growing Category", Environmental Conservation, Vol. 19, No: 3, Autumn 1, p.201.

[42] Etienne Piguet, Antoine Pecoud, Paul de Guchteneire, "Migration and Climate Change: An Overview", Refugee Survey Quarterly, Vol.30, No.3, 2011, p.4.

In academic literature, there are countless different terms and concepts to define climate related refugees. Even the term climate refugees have been more popular in literature in the twentieth century, it was first mentioned in 1889 by Ravenstien: "unattractive climate" and then he used to define it as: "produced and still producing, currents of migration" with different words. [43]

In the second part of this chapter, the conceptual issues of "climate refugee" term will be classified.

1.2. Conceptual Issues

"If the planet warms at the far end of the potential estimates, it would be catastrophic… the amount of migration, the number of refugees that could be resulting from something like that, would be unprecedented in human history… No nation, whether it's large or small, rich or poor, will be immune from the impacts of climate change."

Barack Obama[44]

"Who is a climate refugee?" is not an usual question and does not have a specific answer. Even some scientist or academicians does not even accept that there is a climate change problem or as a result of a non-existing problem, there are no climate refugees. As a matter of

[43] Etienne Piguet, Antoine Pecoud, Paul de Guchteneire, "Migration and Climate Change: An Overview", Refugee Survey Quarterly, Vol.30, No.3, 2011, p.3.

[44] https://www.independent.co.uk/environment/barack-obama-climate-change-refugee-crisis-human-history-unprecedented-global-warming-paris-a7727881.html , (10.02.2019)

fact, there is a climate change and humans who are affected by its results which is increasing day by day.

In the beginning of the discussion, it should be asked "Are environmental migrants considered refugees?[45]" as I Gede Eka Sarjana askes in her article "Climate Change and Human Migration: Towards More Humane Interpretation of Refugee"[46]. As an answer to this specific question, she first states the refugees definition in her work by the UN which was first signed in 1951. The Convention Relating to the Status of Refugee: "Someone who owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted 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". From this definition I Gede Eka Sarjana has pointed four important points of a refugees to be accepted as a refugee in international politics. These are [47]:

1. "Have an obvious fear or be under threat, or potential threat of persecution;
2. The persecution is on the grounds of race, nationality, religion, membership of particular social group, or political opinion;
3. Be outside of his/her home country;
4. Unable or Unwilling to avail himself of the protection."

[45] I Gede Eka Sarjana, "Climate Change and Human Migration: Towards More Humane Interpretation of Refugee", Udayana Journal of Law and Culture, Vol.02, No.02, July 2018, p. 229.

[46] I.b.i.d

[47] I.b.i.d

To define climate refugees, the terms to be a refugee should be highlighted. Climate refugees is a term which is the last name of "environmentally displaced people (EDPs)" term in the first place. [48] In other words, it can be defined as, the displacement of people caused by environmental changes or climate change effects are called "climate refugees". [49] The term was defined first as "environmental refugee" by Essam El-Hinnawi in United Nations Environment Program's publication with the same name used in 1985. In time the name has also changed with the discussions on the topic. Essam El-Hinami used the word: "Environmental Refugee" and defined it as:

> "*Environmental Refugees are those people who have been forced to leave their traditional habitat, temporarily or permanently, because of a marked environmental disruption (natural/triggered by people) that jeopardized their existence and/or seriously affected the quality of their life.*"

By "environmental disruptions" in this definition meant any physical, chemical and/or biological changes in ecosystem (or the resource base) that render it, temporarily or permanently, unsuitable to support by civil strife, and migrants seeking better jobs purely on economic grounds, are not considered environmental refugees.

After Essam El-Hinnami's definition, there were many articles written on the climate refugee problem. One of them is, an article called: "Environmental Refugees? Classifying Human

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[48] Issa Ibrahim Berchin, Isabela Blasi Valduga, Jéssica Garcia, José Baltazar Salgueirinho Osório de Andrade Guerra, "Climate change and forced migrations: An effort towards recognizing climate refugees ", GEOFORUM, Vol. 84,2017, p.148

[49] Nuray Ekşi, "İklim Göçmenleri", The Journal of Migration Studies, Vol.2, No.2, July-December 2016, p. 17

Migrations Caused by Environmental Change" which is written by Diane Bates who has categorized the environmental refugee term. First, she has summarized and categorized Essam El-Hinnami's definition. In her article, she hightlights that Essam El-Hinnami has categorized his term in three categories which are: "*1) those temporarily dislocated due to disasters, whether natural or anthropogenic; 2) those permanently displaced due to drastic environmental changes, such as the construction of dams; and 3) those who migrate based on the gradual deterioration of environmental conditions.*[50]" Second, in her own categorization she has two categories for environmental refugees. The first category has the same name "environmental refugee" who has no other chance but to migrate because of environmental causes and the second category is "environmental migrant" who has a chance in their migration situation more than the first category.[51]

Another definition which is used in the literature mostly is defined by the IOM (International Organization of Migration). IOM uses the word "Environmental Migrants" which they are defining as:[52]

> *"Those who for compelling reasons of sudden or progressive change in the environment that adversely affect their lives or living conditions, are obliged to leave*

[50] Diane C. Bates, '' Environmental Refugees? Classifying Human Migrations Caused by Environmental Change'', Population and Environment, Vol. 23, No. 5, May 2002, p. 469.

[51] I.b.i.d, p.468-469.

[52] https://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/shared/shared/mainsite/about_iom/en/council/94/MC_INF_288.pdf , (10.02.2019)

their habitual homes, or choose to do so, either permanently or temporarily, and who move either within their country or abroad.".

The IOM and UN's definition or other defitions made by the international organizations are important, the literature is far more than the organizations definitions. In the countuning part of this chapter, different definitions made by academicians will be summarized.

Norman Mayer's asks: "How many environmental refugees can we realistically anticipate in the future or rather, how many people are likely to become vulnerable to environmental problems that could force them to migrate?"[53]. It is an important question in his article "Environmental Refugees: A Growing Phenomenon of 21st Century". According to Myer's article in 1995 there were 25 million environmental refugees and 27 million traditional refugees as he defines traditional refugees as people who has migrated because of political oppression, religious persecution or ethnic troubles.[54] He highlights that there is a large scale of numbers of refugees which could be characterized or defined as environmental refugees all around the world however not all environmental refugees can migrate and has their places in the international migrant number scale.[55]

In Norman Myer's own words, an environmental refugee is:

[53] Myers, Norman, "Enviromental Refugees: A Growing Phenomenon of 21st Century", Philosophical transactions of the Royal Society of London. Series B, Biological sciences, vol. 357, April 2002, p.610.

[54] I.b.i.d, p.609.

[55] I.b.i.d, p.609.

"*These are people who can no longer gain a secure livelihood in their homelands because of drought, soil erosion, desertification, deforestation and other environmental problems, together with the associated problems of population pressures and profound poverty. In their desperation, these people feel they have no alternative but to seek sanctuary elsewhere, however hazardous the attempt. Not all of them have fled their countries, many being internally displaced. But all have abandoned their homelands on a semi-permanent if not permanent basis, with little hope of a foreseeable return*."[56].

In the end of his article, Myer's highlights there are two solutions for the climate refugee problem in international politics, first the international arena cannot continue to ignore those people and there should be an institutionalized definition for environmental refugees. Second, environmental refugees should be understood and known. [57]

Such as Myer, Emmanuel Boon and Tran Le Tra also highlight that environmental refugees are not seen or recognized, and they ask, "Are Environmental Refugees Refused?" in their article which also has the same name as the question. In their definition of environmental refugees, those are people who have no other chance not to move from their own homelands because it is not possible to continue to live there and they must migrate to other places where they have a chance to live. [58]

[56] I.b.i.d,p.609.

[57] I.b.i.d., p.611-612.

[58] Emmanuel K. Boon and Tran Le Tran, "Are Environmental Refugees Refused?" Studies of Tribes and Tribals; December 2007, Vol. 5 Issue: 2, p.87.

Carol Fartbotko and Heather Lazrus, have defined climate refugees in their article "The first climate refugees? Contesting global narratives of climate change in Tuvalu". In their own words:

> *"The conceptual lineage of the term 'climate refugee' relates closely to that of 'environmental refugee', a term used to describe people who undergo forced migration related to environmental change. The term climate refugee specifically has been mobilised to describe large numbers of people predicted to be permanently or temporarily displaced by climate change effects such as drought, desertification, deforestation, soil erosion, water shortages and rising sea levels."*[59] .

As in their definition, the climate refugee terms definition is based on the change of numbers increasement and the change in the situations.

To summarize, the definition of "climate refugee" is not an easy path. It has a long history and the discussions all around the term has made it harder to compromise on a single definition. Even the name has changed most of the time, environmental refugee, environmental migrant, international displaced migrant or climate refugee. In conclusion, the most known and used definition is Essam El-Hinnawi's "environmental refugee" in literature or international politics.

1.2. Statistics of Climate Refugees

Statics, numbers are important to make a frame of the subject in any academic issue. But in the case of climate refugees, is it possible to give numbers? The answer to the question is

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[59] Carol Farbotko, Heather Lazrus, "The first climate refugees? Contesting global narratives of climate change in Tuvalu", Global Environmental Change 22 (2012) ,p.384

both, yes and no. First of all, there is the definition problem. “Who will be considered as a climate refugee or not?’’, after defining this, there can be statics of climate refugees. Today there are some statics made by using the disasters in all around the world which causes people to migrate, but these are not enough to verify the climate refugees. The most common questions asked on the issue are 60:

- How many climate refugees are there now?
- How many will there be in the future?
- And, where are they?

The statics and numbers for climate refugees are not enough because there is not a definite number or reliable work on this. Even, there are different works to frame the numbers all around the world for climate refugees or with another name “internal displaced people due to the disasters”. In the next page, there is figure 2[61] which represents the numbers of internal displacement of persons due to natural disasters in 2016. The numbers in the figures are from the Global Report on Internal Displacement which has been published in 2017.

[60] http://climatemigration.org.uk/climate-refugee-statistics/, (10.02.2019)

[61] https://epthinktank.eu/2018/06/19/climate-refugees-towards-a-possible-definition/ , (20.02.2019)

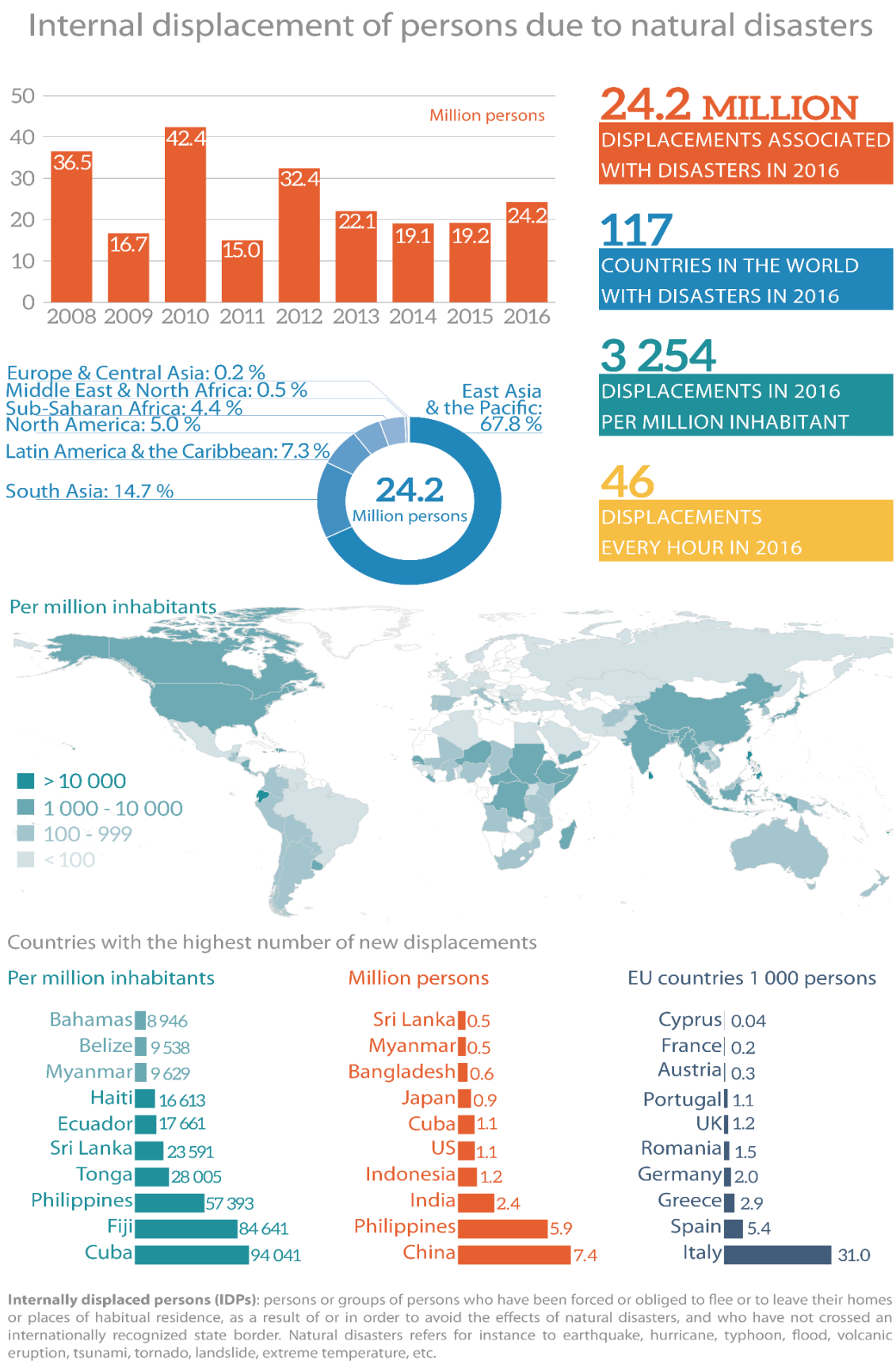

Figure 2: Internal Displacement of Persons due to Natural Disasters[62]

62 http://www.internal-displacement.org/global-report/grid2018/img/charts/new-displacements-2017.svg,

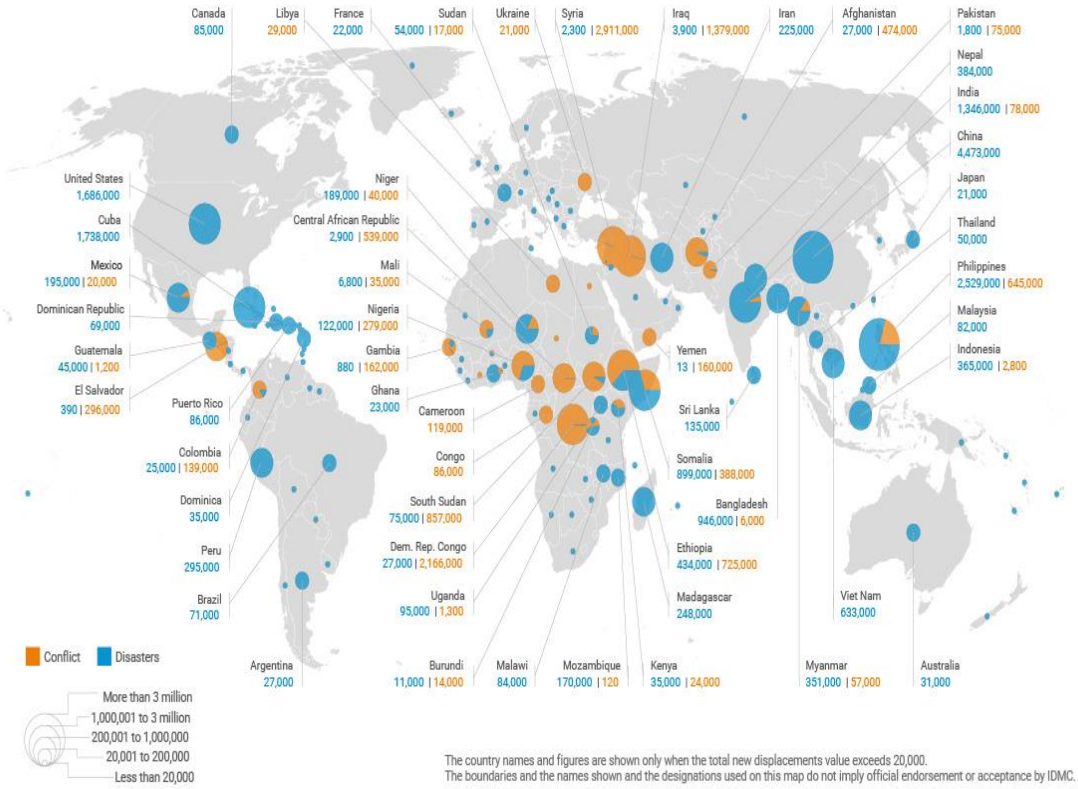

Figure 3: Internal Displacement of People due to Natural Disasters and Conflicts in 2017. [63]

In figure 2 and figure 3, the latest numbers in the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre reports has been used. In both figures, all the numbers all around the world has been overwide. According to the change in the numbers, it is increasing in all around the world.

In the present day, it is known that by 2050 there will be 250 million of climate refugees according to the UN. Even so, is this enough to verify or analyse the climate refugee numbers in academia or international politics? No, this is not enough.

(22.03.2019)

[63] I.b.i.d

To recapitulate, it is impossible to summarise simply, the definition of climate refugees in international relations academia or international politics. Eventually, "Environmental refugees: myth or reality" as Richard Black asks in his article for the UN Refugee Agency, even the reality of environmental refugees is a debate issue in international politics. [64] Climate change related to migration is not a myth but a reality. Today it is an undeniable fact that, environmental refugees are an important reality in international politics.

In conclusion, in this chapter the conceptual issues of climate refugees term have been presented and different definitions have been analysed. In the next chapter, t the EU's point of view to the climate refugees issue will be analysed.

[64] https://www.unhcr.org/research/working/3ae6a0d00/environmental-refugees-myth-reality-richard-black.html , (16.02.2019)

CHAPTER 2

European Union and the Climate Refugees

"Europe, it is true, is a geographical and, within certain limits, an historical cultural conception. But the idea of Europe as an economic unit contradicts capitalist development in two ways. First of all there exist within Europe among the capitalist States – and will so long as these exist – the most violent struggles of competition and antagonisms, and secondly the European States can no longer get along economically without the non-European countries. At the present stage of development of the world market and of world economy, the conception of Europe as an isolated economic unit is a sterile concoction of the brain. And if the idea of a European union in the economic sense has long been outstripped, this is no less the case in the political sense.

....

Only were one suddenly to lose sight of all these happenings and manoeuvres, and to transfer oneself back to the blissful times of the European concert of powers, could one say, for instance, that for forty years we have had uninterrupted peace. This conception, which considers only events on the European continent, does not notice that the very reason why we have had no war in Europe for decades is the fact that international antagonisms have grown infinitely beyond the narrow confines of the European continent, and that European problems and interests are now fought out on the world seas and in the by-corners of Europe."

Rosa Luxemburg, Rosa Luxemburg Speaks

Being a member of the EU is a geographical matter as Rosa Luxemburg describes in her own words. A state of EU is tied with strong deals, bonds to the EU structure. As geography is a big deal, the EU has also been a peace protector all around the world. One of the main aims of EU is to protect world peace all around since the two world wars. It is important to understand the historical background of EU's foundation to protect the peace in Europe and the world. [65]

The idea of a Europe states union has a long historical background. Since old history, Europe as a continent has always had wars and each war, made peace more wanted between the Europe states. Since 1250 starting with Pierre Dubois an important philosopher in France, many European philosophers thought of an united European organization, like Abbe de Saint Pierre, Immanuel Kant, Boron de Montesquieu and Jean-Jack Rousseau. Each had similar ideas for keeping peace in Europe. Both Immanuel Kant and Abbe de Saint Pierre wanted the "permanent peace" in Europe. [66] Today, EU has been a protector of peace in all Europe and also the world.

Alex Warleigh-Lack starts his book "European Union the Basics" with his introduction: "Why "Europe" matters: the rise of the European Union as a problem-solving device".[67] In his own words, he defines the EU as: "The unique mixture of international organization and transnational polity that is the European Union of today (EU, the Union) does not lend itself

[65] Alex Warleigh-Lach, "European Union the Basics", New York, Routledge, 2009, p.16

[66] Serdar Palabıyık, Ali Yıldız, "Avrupa Birliği", Ankara, ODTÜ, 2006, 4-5.

[67] Alex Warleigh-Lach, "European Union the Basics", New York, Routledge, 2009, p.1

to easy classification in traditional academic categories.”. [68] As a result of EU’s uniqueness, it is a tool for solving problems in its own international organization. In other words, it coordinates the relations between the member states and also the other policies of all in the international politics.[69] Since EU’s establishment each day, there are more applications for being a member of the EU. But there are also some different examples. Such as, some unusual situations as UK is discussing to remain or leave the EU. England had a referendum to make a decision in 2016 and the result of the referendum was extraordinary. England has choosed to leave the EU and more than % 50 percent of the voters have voted to leave the EU. [70] EU may be the most unique international organization but not all countries wants to be a part of it. Even so, the EU still is an important international organization which has power in international politics. England’s votes have become an important issue in academia and international politics, but this does not reduce in value of the EU in anyway.

The EU has external policy and this policy is for each member state. Each member state has to obey the EU’s policies in their international relations and internal policies. This means that, each member state has to work with each other and also the world together. This situation of the EU makes it have a foreign policy and this has different parts. For example, trade policies, protecting the refugees, protecting peace all around the world, agriculture policies or other kind of policies in international politics.[71]

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[68] I.b.i.d

[69] I.b.i.d, p. 4-5

[70] Alisa Hendersen, Charlie Jeffrey, Dan Wincott, Richard Wyn Jones, “How Brexit was made in England”, The British Journal of Politics and International Relations, Vol. 19, No.4, 2017, p.631-632.

[71] Alex Warleigh-Lach, “European Union the Basics”, New York, Routledge, 2009, p.78-79.

Climate refugees or internal displacement caused by disaster is not only a problem for the EU. As a matter of fact, most of the internal displaced people are not from the European content or a member state or even a candidate for the EU. Below there is the numbers of internal displaced people from each country, to see the numbers and geographical context. The first number is the people who was internally displaced because of a disaster in 2017 according to the Global Report on Internal Displacement of the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre of Norwegian Refugee Council. [72]

Table 1: Displacement caused by disasters in 2017.

COUNRTY OF REGION	NEW DISPLACEMENT IN 2017 (DISASTER)	COUNRTY OF REGION	NEW DISPLACEMENT IN 2017 (DISASTER)
Afghanistan	27,000	Crotia	230
Albania	3,500	Cuba	1,738,000
Angola	14,000	Democ.Repub.Congo	27,000
Angulia	500	Dominica	35,000
Antigua and Barbuda	1,400	Dominican Republic	69,000
Argentina	27,000	Ecuador	3,000
Australia	31,000	El Salvador	390

[72] http://www.internal-displacement.org/global-report/grid2018/ (01.03.2019)

Bahamas	1,600	Ethiopia	434,000
Bangladesh	946,000	Fiji	370
Benin	3,500	France	22,000
Bolivia	3,500	French Polynesia	1,100
Botswana	2,000	Gabon	8
Brazil	71,000	Gambia	880
British Virgin Islands	6,000	Germany	220
Brunei	94	Ghana	23,000
Bulgaria	22	Greece	800
Burkina Faso	8,200	Greenland	78
Burundi	11,000	Grenada	150
Cambodia	15,000	Guatemala	45,000
Canada	85,000	Guinea	710
Central African Republic	2,900	Guyana	200
Chile	8,300	Haiti	15,000
China	4,473,000	Hong Kong, China	3,300
Colombia	25,000	Hungary	96
Comoros	94	Iceland	50
Costa Rica	11,000	India	1,346,000
Indonesia	365,000	Niger	189,000
Iran	225,000	Nigeria	122,000
Iraq	3,900	Norway	220

Ireland	62	Oman	320
Italy	2,100	Pakistan	1,800
Jamaica	29	Palestine	77
Japan	21,000	Panama	300
Jordan	160	Papua New Guinea	1,400
Kazakhstan	7,100	Paraguay	5,200
Kenya	35,000	Peru	295,000
Korea	4,300	Philippines	2,529,000
Kyrgyzstan	3,300	Portugal	6,800
Lao PDR	190	Puerto Rico	86,000
Liberia	970	Russia	5,900
Madagascar	248,000	Rwanda	5,000
Malawi	84,000	Saudi Arabia	100
Malaysia	82,000	Senegal	630
Maldives	76	Serbia	42
Mali	6,800	Sierra Leone	12,000
Mauritania	2,900	Saint Maarten	13,000
Mauritius	100	Solomon Islands	580
Mexico	195,000	Somalia	899,000
Montenegro	2	South Africa	15,000
Mozambique	170,000	South Sudan	75,000
Myanmar	351,000	Spain	2,100
Namibia	3,400	Sri Lanka	135,000
Nepal	384,000	St.Kitts and Nevis	33

New Caledonia	570	St. Martin	11,000
New Zealand	6,300	St. Vincent and the Grenadines	20
Nicaragua	20,000	Sudan	54,000
Suriname	6,000	United States	1,686,000
Switzerland	160	Uruguay	9,100
Syria	2,300	Vanuata	14,000
Taiwan, China	20,000	Venezuela	2,100
Tajikistan	4,700	Viet Nam	633,000
Tanzania	1,900	Virgin Islands	2,300
Thailand	50,000	Yemen	13
Togo	50	Zambia	2,800
Trinidad and Tobago	200	Zimbabwe	10,000
Tunisia	990		
Turks and Caicos Islands	60		
Uganda	95,000		
United Arab Emirates	850		
United Kingdom	6,200		

As seen in the table, internal displaced people caused by disasters is not only an EU issue. The recognition of the climate refugees by the EU does not mean that EU will take all the responsibility for them. The climate refugee problem does not exist in Europe as much as it

does in Africa or Asia as seen in the table. As a result of this, the EU has focused on the issue through Africa and Mediterranean areas[73] and this policy of EU is only for the migration and international security for the EU[74].

In this chapter, the main research question of my thesis will be analysed, "How does the EU define the climate refugees after Ioana Teitota's situation in international politics?". With answering this question, also these questions, answers will be discussed. "Why is EU's view and recognition of climate refugees are important in international politics?" and "How will the recognition of climate refugees by the EU change anything?".

2.1. Recognition of Climate Refugees by the European Union

"Climate change is one of the root causes of a new migration phenomenon. Climate refugees will become a new challenge, if we do not act swiftly."

Jean-Claude Junker

European Commission President,2015

As Andrew Gender and William Somerville defines the EU as: "European Union (EU) as the world's most developed form of regionalised, supranational governance linking twenty-seven member states within a common migration and asylum policy", in their article "Migration and Environmental Change in International Governance: The Case of EU" [75]. EU's policy

[73] https://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/87642.pdf, (5.03.2019)

[74] https://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/reports/99387.pdf, (5.03.2019)

[75] Andrew Gedder, William Somerville, "Migration and Environmental Change in International Governance: The Case of EU", Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy 2012, volume 30, p.1015.

toward climate refugees has an important place in international politics. [76] The EU action for migration linked to climate change does not fit in any EU strong framework. The development in this area cannot improve quickly or in a proper way as needed. The organizational boundaries and the legal framework of EU cannot be fixed in a day to adopt a climate related migration programme or any recognition.[77] The EU's climate policy is above foreign affairs and the climate refugee problem is an issue for EU's migration policy and both climate change policy.

This chapter will address "climate refugees" in the EU by analyzing the documents written about the "climate refugees" by the EU.

2.2. Who is a "Climate Refugee" for the EU?

> "*By recognising environmental refugees, you recognise the problem. By recognising the problem, you start on the road to accepting responsibility and implementing solutions.*"
>
> *Jean Lambert, 2002*

The EU has different studies and reports on climate refugee's situation in international politics. The word "climate refugee", does not pass in all the reports or studies. In the first place, climate refugee problematic was in the agenda of EU because of climate change. Climate change reports or studies of the EU has implied climate refugees in different words and in particular contexts. The climate refugees have been implied most in climate change

[76] I.b.i.d, p. 1015

[77] Andrew Gedder, William Somerville," Migration and Environmental Change in International Governance: The Case of EU", Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy 2012, volume 30, p.1023.

reports of EU because of the result of climate change, there will occur a new problem environmentally induced refugees or with its other definition climate refugees. According to the EU documents in the beginning, environmentally displaced migrants are a problem of migration and security for the EU.

Security is one of the top priorities for the EU due to this reason "Climate Change and International Security"[78] named Paper from the High Representative and the European Commission to the European Council is one of the most important documents for climate refugees situation from the EU's perspective. It is written by Javier Solana in 2008. In this document, environmentally induced migration can be a threat to countries with political stability and Africa, Middle East, South Asia, Central Asia, Latin America and Caribbean and the Artic are the regions which are accentuated. These are the regions which climate change will effect most and as a result of this, climate migrants will be more from here. The document suggests a security-oriented policy to overcome the climate refugee problem and it also highlights that there should be an international policy which all international politics would agree so they could compet against with the problems of climate migration could make.[79]

The other document which links climate refugees to the security problem of EU is the Green Paper or in other words "Adapting to climate change in Europe options for EU action". [80] Green Paper is one of the most important documents for the EU, it has been published in 2007. The Green Paper recommends that the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) of

[78] https://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/reports/99387.pdf, (21.03.2019)

[79] I.b.i.d

[80] https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52007DC0354&from=EN (22.03.2019)

the EU has an important role in fighting with climate change. On the other hand, the document only implies the climate refugee but does not highlight the issues about them. [81]

"Climate Refugees" Legal and Policy Responses to Environmentally Induced Migration, Directorate General for Internal Policies" [82] Study by the Policy Department, Citizens Rights and Constitutional Affairs of European Parliament is one of the most detailed documents of EU to analyze and summarise the "Climate Refugee" issue in their own words.

In the study[83], the EU aims to analyze the environmentally induced migration. It is highlighted that the term "environment migrants" is not used in the study because it is still a debate issue in both academia and politics. In the study, EU recommends a legal framework to define the environmentally induced migrants. If it is possible to recognize the migration statue for the EU according to definition and help the environmentally displaced migrants. To change the Lisbon Treaty and the migrant and migration statues, all the member states have to agree the new deal and confirm it. The study analyzes if it is possible to define the environmentally induced migrants with the Lisbon Treaty and recommends this to be a part of the Lisbon Treaty. On the other hand, the study analyzed the different numbers of environmentally induced migration all around the world and proposes to find a way to help these people to harmonize to their new homes and places. There should be a protection for these people. The most important suggestion of this is, European Parliament's advice to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCC) to make a new protocol on the environmentally induced migrants to the migrant's chapter of the UNFCC. Another

[81] I.b.i.d

[82] http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/etudes/join/2011/462422/IPOL-LIBE_ET(2011)462422_EN.pdf (01.04.2019)

[83] I.b.i.d

suggestion of the study is that the there are protection gaps for the environmentally displaced migrants, and these should be closed in a way appropriate to human rights. For this, the study also suggests Temporary Protection Directive might be applicable in a new form such as not in mass influx cases but in other small cases of it. The most important part of this study is that, the European Charter of Fundamental Rights could be reviewed, and new additional mechanisms could be considered according to a human rights-based approach for environmentally induced migrants for the EU.

According to the study, how does the EU decide, who is a climate refugee or not. “Which environmental changes causes climate refugees or with another name “Environmentally forced migrant”, the questions answer is in the next page in a figure named as: “A decision framework for environmentally induced migration” from the “Climate Refugees “Legal and Policy Responses to Environmentally Induced Migration, Directorate General for Internal Policies” Study.

This study is the most detailed study on climate refugee’s recognition by the EU. In the beginning of study, UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development report is highlighted to show that the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development has targets for the climate refugees, and this shows the importance of the issue in international politics. The increasing number of climate refugees has drawn the attention of international organizations. According to the study, the table on the other page, it shows how the EU decides if someone is a climate refugee or not.

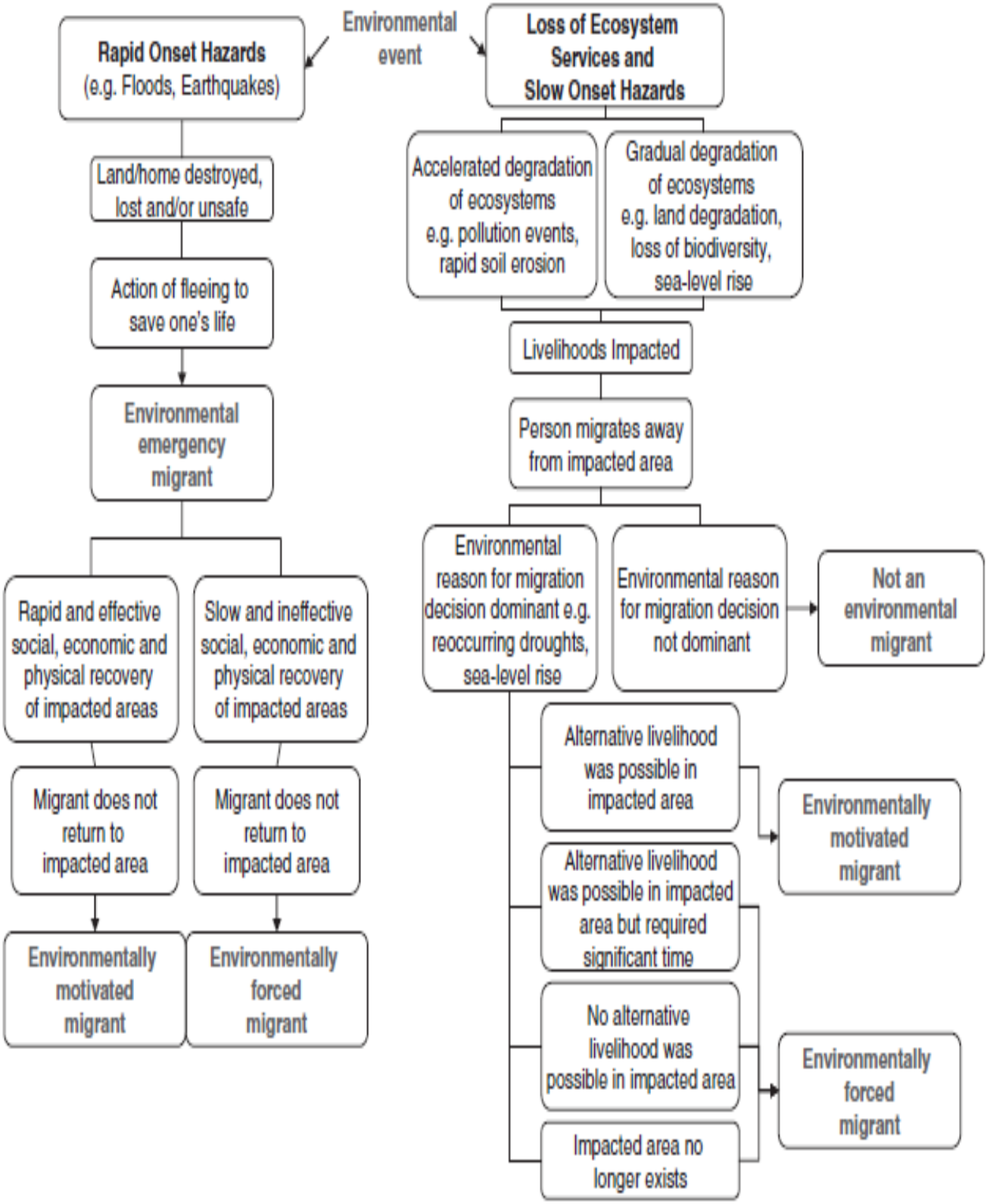

Figure 4: A decision framework for environmentally induced migration [84]

[84] http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/etudes/join/2011/462422/IPOLLIBE_ET(2011)462422_EN.pdf

As seen in the framework of EU for deciding if a refugee is a climate refugee or not? The EU has made it difficult to recognize a refugee as a climate refugee. After making the decision of whom is an environmental refugee. The EU has used a typology of environmentally induced migration. According to this, there are three different types. Environmentally induced temporary displacement, environmentally induced permanent displacement and environmentally induced migration. The first category of environments induced temporary displacement is caused by rapid-onset natural disasters or slow-onset natural disasters, the nature of this was temporary displacement within national borders or temporary forced displacement across international borders. Here there are protection gaps as in each category which are, displacement across borders, temporary protection, displacement within countries or limited internal protection. The second category is environmentally induced permanent displacement which is a caused movement by rapid-onset natural disasters, slow-onset events or sea-level rise, the nature of this movement category is, permanent forced displacement within national borders or permanent forced displacement across international borders. The protection gap here are, displacement across borders, permanent protection, durable solutions, displacement within countries and limited internal protection. The last category is environmentally induced migration which is caused by slow-onset natural disasters or rapid-onset natural disasters. The nature of movement here is temporary or permanent voluntary migration within or across national borders and the protection gap is, weak protection framework for migrants both at internal or international levels. [85]

(08.03.2019)

[85] I.b.i.d.

The most important part of the study is that it highlights that EU cannot solve all the problems of environmentally induced people and there must be an international solution which is accepted by international politics. [86]

One of the most important documents of the European Commission for climate refugees has been written in 2015, named "Science for Environment Policy Thematic Issue: Migration in Response to Environmental Change". [87] This is the most comprehensive scientific work on environmentally displaced people of the EU.

In the study, it claims that almost 250 million people will migrate because of environmentally caused disasters in 2050 and this migration is not like any other migration example because in this situation the migrants may not turn back to their own homelands. Such as the sinking island problems, after the islands are gone, the people living there will have no home or country, so this is an unique situation in multiple ways. Such as migration can be only for temporary or permanent. To overcome the problems which this will bring to international politics and governments, there must be an action plan before the problem occurs. In the study, first it explains the extreme environmental events and human migration and highlights that it is hard to explain the link between because there are different cases and studies but there is no simple explanation of all. One of the important points of this study is that the study examines the answer of the question: "Human migration as a result of climate change: How should governments respond?". This is the fourth chapter of the study and European

[86] I.b.i.d

[87] http://ec.europa.eu/environment/integration/research/newsalert/pdf/migration_in_response_to_environmental_change_51si_en.pdf (19.03.2019)

Commission highlights that each government has to be a part of this process. Each government is equally responsible of climate change and the human mobility as a result of this each has to be a part of the solution. According to this process, each government also has to be a part of protecting the climate refugees. The study highlights that the climate refugees need to be protected is human rights. The sixth chapter of the study is named as "Environmental Migrants Need Better Human Rights Protection". In this chapter of the study, the European Commission analyzes the protection gap in international law and suggests a new protection law for these in international law. The European Commission purposes that a new study should be made to define the terminology for environmentally displaced people so there would be a specific definition and according to this, there would be a protection law for people in similar situations in international law and international politics.

After the suggestions in Science for Environment Policy Thematic Issue: Migration in Response to Environmental Change, EU had to continue on working the climate refugee issue and publish a new study. The next document after, Science for Environment Policy Thematic Issue: Migration in Response to Environmental Change and the most important document to understand EU's perspective to climate migrants has been published in May 2018 and named "The concept of "climate refugee": Towards a possible definition"[88] which was written by the European Parliament. In this study, the European Parliament has implemented the suggestions in Science for Environment Policy Thematic Issue: Migration in Response to Environmental Change.

[88] http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2018/621893/EPRS_BRI(2018)621893_EN.pdf (20.03.2019)

The text, “The concept of “climate refugee” Towards a possible definition” Briefing of the European Parliament starts with the statics of Internal Displacement Monitoring Center which shows that since 2008, every year an average of 26.4 million people has been displaced because of climate change. In consequence of this, the climate refugee number will increase directly proportional to the climate change each year. This study is a general explanation of climate refugee’s situation in international politics. First the reports start with analyzing the issue, then it explains how complex to define the “climate refugee” term, the protection gaps in the international legal framework and the EU’s policy towards the climate refugees. [89]

This study is the most detailed study on climate refugee’s recognition by the EU. The study begins with an analyze of the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development which has several targets related to climate refugees because in the UN 2030 Agenda Sustainable Development highlights that the number of climate refugees will increase each year. The UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development making targets for climate refugees shows the importance of the issue in international politics. In international politics there are different organizations which refer to climate refugees in different levels. These are:

- At international level:

  Human rights conventions;

  UN principles related to internally displaced persons;

- At regional level:

  The Kampala Convention (2009);

[89] I.b.i.d

The Nansen Initiative (2012);

- At national level:

Subsidiary protection

Norway, Sweden,Finland and Denmark;

Policies facilitating economic migration

New Zealand, Spain

So far, there are several organizations working on climate refugees situation the most important point of the study and the situation of climate refugees in international politics is when does the climate refugees situation is a human violation? "In 2008, the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) studied the effects of climate change on human rights and found three obstacles that need to be overcome before climate change could be treated as a human rights violation:

- proving that one country's emissions cause a specific effect on another country;
- showing that human rights issues are caused solely by global warming; and,
- considering the fact that the human rights framework is usually utilised in response to violations, whereas climate change regulation is concerned with potential future harm"[90]

OHCHR's definition of a human violation for a climate refugees are significant, and this is valid in international politics. Despite the definition is significant and valid for international politics, still there are protection gaps in the legal framework for climate refugee's situation.

[90] I.b.i.d

2.3. The "Climate Refugee" or "Environmental Displacement of Persons" and the European Asylum Law

Climate refugees is a new category in international law and European Asylum law. As a new category in law means there are gaps in the of protection of climate refugees and there is a definition problem of the issue. [91] Paulina Tandiono has analyzed this situation in her dissertation named: "Legal Conundrum in the Plight of Pacific Island Countries: Climate Change, Displacement and Human Rights". In her own words she analyzes climate refugee's situation as a category which is under refugee law, environmental law and human rights law. In her own words she has summarized the situation as: "Refugee law determines the kind of protection that accommodates the need of a displaced person the 'what'. Human rights law determines if one is in need of protection based on the potential harm if returned the 'when'. Finally, environmental law establishes state responsibility for climate change so as to trigger the obligation to extend protection the 'who'. Only when all of these are cumulatively transplanted in international response would the protection towards climate change displaced persons become effective." [92]

Furthermore, in international law or the European asylum law there is no legal basis for the terms "environmental refugee" or "climate refugee". Both of these create a new area of confusion for the link climate change and environmental displacement in the literature and international politics. IDPs should be recognized and this recognition is an answer to a necessity. These people should be recognized in international law and there must be a category for these people to be defined by law. These people's rights should be developed and

[91] https://www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk/blog/climate-refugees-and-the-role-of-international-law (12.04.2019)

[92] Tandiona,Paulina,"Legal Conundrum in the Pacific Island Countries: Climate Change, Displacement and Human Rights", MsC Human Rights, London School of Economics, 18 August 2016, p.27

strengthened by law in international politics. Even these are done, there still may be a normative gap because this an extra ordinary situation. [93]

For the EU or the European asylum law there are no policies or studies for the situation for the climate refugees as a specific work. The European Court of Human Rights has no example of cases for climate refugees.[94] On the other hand, EU and European asylum takes part in the international politics and international law. The problem of climate refugee's situation is not only EU's responsibility to take care of. This is a result of the definition problem of climate refugees also. EU's policies and European asylum laws decision on climate refugees is not enough to change all the international politics. There must be a common law to protect them and save their lives.

To recapitulate, the European asylum law also suggests as same as the international law and any other actor in the situation. There must be an international climate refugee law such as the 1951 Convention which defines and protects the status of refugees all around the world. Only a similar status given to the climate refugees will be able to solve all the problems in international politics.

[93] Vikram Kolomannskog,Finn Myrstad,"Environmental Displacement in European Asylum Law",European Journal of Migration and Law,11, 2009, p.314

[94] I.b.i.d,p.321

2.4. Is Mass Migration of Environmentally Displaced Refugees Expected to EU Countries?

Mass migration to EU countries is not expected as a big result of environmentally displaced people. It is not expected in EU countries to have massive migration in itself. On the other hand, there can be massive migration from Middle East and Africa to EU countries.

In Sebastian Paul's article "Climate Change and the Process of Migration to Europe"[95], he analyzes the migration possibilities to Europe countries as a result of climate change. Sebastian Paul begins his article with the data to highlight the numbers of people who will be affected by climate change. By 2050, it is almost 86 million people will migrate from their homelands as a result of climate change and these migrations will mostly be from East Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa. In the article, Sebastian Paul has analyzed the answer to the question:" How does climate change process affect the migration from Africa to Europe?". As the answer of this question can be summarized as East Africa and the Sub-Saharan Africa regions are expected to be the most effected regions by the climate change until 2050 and as a matter of fact this will cause a massive migration from here. But it is not certain where the people will migrate. The EU cannot guess any numbers for the future that how much people will migrate to Europe and how much will migrate to other continents. But there certainly will be massive migration of environmentally displaced people in the future. [96]

Quentin Wodon, Andrea Liverani, George Joseph, Nathalie Bougnoux's book on "Climate Change and Migration, Evidence from the Middle East and North Africa" is another

[95] Paul, Sebastian, "Climate Change and the Process of Migration to Europe", Cornvinus Journal of International Affairs, 3:1, 2018.

[96] I.b.i.d

important example which analyzes the data of climate migrant numbers in North Africa countries and the Middle East. Even the book analyzes the old data's, it is an important example which shows that if is there any chance of massive migration as a result of climate change it will be from North Africa or Middle East regions. [97]

To recapitulate, it is impossible to make a clear guess of numbers of how much people will migrate to Europe as a result of climate change. But it is highly guessable to see that the migrants will mostly be from Africa and Middle East.

[97] Quentin Wodon, Andrea Liverani, George Joseph, Nathalie Bougnoux, "Climate Change and Migration, Evidence from the Middle East and North Africa", The World Bank, 2014.

CONCLUSION

One of the most important problems of today's world is climate change and another problem related to this is the climate refugee's situation in world politics. The huge problem with climate refugees is their recognition problem in international politics. There is no specific definition to decide who is a climate refugee or who is not. As a result of this uncertainty, there is no legal rights for climate refugees specifically in international law and this causes a human rights violation. In international relations this uncertainty causes bigger problems. To solve the problems, international organizations and states has to act with responsibility. One of the most important actors in this case is the EU and UN. From the very beginning both international organizations have been working with climate change and the climate refugee's situation problem. This thesis attempted to analyze the climate migrant's situation in international politics. It attempted to highlight the human rights violation in climate refugee's situation. This thesis attempted to underline the EU's role in climate refugee's recognition.

In literature both climate change and climate refugee topics have been treated several times. The literature on climate change and climate refugees are to different areas in academia. Most of the studies on the migration of environmentally displaced people is a result of climate change but this does not mean that all environmentally displaced people has migrated because of climate change, there are also other examples. Such as, disasters which are not related to climate change in the first place. In my thesis, the migration related to climate change is the issue, so this is the only part of the subject was analysed. Especially climate change is one of the most popular topics in literature in international relations since the twentieth century. There have been many conferences, panels, meeting on the topic all around world in different levels, such as UN Conferences, EU discussions in the European Parliament or panels in

schools. On the other hand, the climate refugee problem is another important issue related to climate change, but it is not as popular as the climate change issue and it is not an issue which people are interested in different levels. For example, today Greta Thunberg a student from Sweden has been protesting climate change in front of the Sweden parliament every week and she has been a role model for other students all around the world or youth to save the earth. After her protests, similar protests from students started in different cities from different countries. In Delhi, Istanbul or England. The world is aware of the importance and exigency of the climate change effect to the world. She has put up a strike on climate change in more than 105 countries.[98] Her movement is called "Youth Strike for Climate". Greta Thunberg has been nominated for the Nobel peace prize. [99] These Youth Strike for Climate movements all around the world is showing us the awareness of people to the climate change and this awareness may help the recognition of climate refugees in the international politics.

Even climate change has a huge impact on youth and any age of people all around the world, climate refugees do not have the same effect and it is an issue which is not wanted to be dealed with.

In literature climate change, climate migration has written in same articles or studies since the topic has become popular but the climate change and climate refugees both being analyzed in a study is much rarer than them studied separately. The perspective of international organization and the EU perspective to the climate refugees has not been worked as much as the other issues has. Furthermore, even there are some examples of EU's perspective on the

[98] https://www.bbc.com/news/world-47581585 (12.04.2019)

[99] https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/mar/14/greta-thunberg-nominated-nobel-peace-prize (15.04.2019)

subject as articles or some master thesis, all of those work are on the security of Europe and migration policies of the EU. On the other hand, this thesis demonstrates that the recognition of climate migrants is not just a simple issue of defining a group of people, but it is much more than that. In some situations, as in the sinking islands people can be homeless and this can be a situation of life or death. Such as Ioana Teitota's situation in 2014, he was a regular man who wanted to live happily ever after with his family in Australia because his homeland was unviable to live. But his request to live in Australia was denied and after this, his situation was on the press and it was an unique situation as being the first example of a climate refugee considered in international politics.

The most important point is that, the climate refugee issue is a junction of security, migration and human rights issue for the international politics and also the EU. Ever since Ioana Teitota's situation in international politics, the climate refugee situation is a highly important issue for international relations. In order to show the importance of the climate refugees situation in international relations and how the uncertainty of the definition of climate refugees in the first chapter of this thesis, the conceptual and theoretical framework has been analysed. The name of "climate refugee" and the definition made by El-Hinnawi had a long process before being approved by the UN. The approval of the UN also means the approval of the international political arena, so the definition and name were approved by all the actors of international politics. But this was only the beginning of the problem even the definition was commonly accepted. Still there was uncertainty of two questions. The first question was: "Who were the climate refugees?" and the second question was "What were their protection rights?". The answers to these questions are still not explained and approved on the same definitions in international relations and this the reason why there are not as much as studies

as in climate change in climate refugee's situation. Because of the uncertainty and the debates going on, it is harder to discuss the uncertainty analysis.

In this thesis, the question "How does European Union define the climate refugees after Ioana Teitota's situation in international politics?" has been researched. To analyze this question, the EU reports, briefings and studies about climate change, security, migration and climate refugees has been analyzed. According to the EU studies and reports, climate refugees will be legally defined as soon as possible to make it able to protect their rights. But on the other hand, the issue is a matter of security for the EU because even in the beginning of climate change there had not been any migration to Europe, in time this has changed. The discussions in the EU has shown that the recognition of climate refugees will not be a problem any more in the coming years. The policy towards the climate refugees by the EU will be specific and it can make a change in international politics also. It can change the protection gap towards the climate refugee's situation and give the basics rights to them. This is not an easy issue to handle but each international actor has to take their responsibility in this situation.

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