# Climate Change and Labour Mobility in Pacific Island Countries Policy Brief<sup>1</sup>





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#### 1. INTRODUCTION

Pacific communities are affected by a range of sudden-onset and slow-onset hazards that have been intensified by climate change. Sudden-onset hazards affecting Pacific countries include tropical storms and related storm surges, king tides, heavy rains and winds. Slow-onset processes include drought, sealevel rise, rising sea temperatures, ocean acidification, coastal erosion, temperature rises and changes to rainfall variability and the El Niño and La Niña climate patterns (IOM, 2020). In many cases, sudden-onset and slow-onset events are linked, often affecting the same communities. Climate change impacts interact with other drivers that shape mobility patterns in the region and this is likely to increase the demand for both internal and international migration opportunities. In the short-term, migration linked to climate change is likely to follow current movement patterns toward labour market opportunities in urban areas and Pacific Rim countries. Many Pacific Island Countries participate in labour mobility schemes with Australia and New Zealand and some also have special access agreements with New Zealand and the United States of America. However, some countries that experience the greatest migration pressures, including Tuvalu and Kiribati, have the fewest international migration options (ILO, 2014b) as they have no special access agreements and have been less successful under the existing labour mobility schemes than other Pacific Island countries for a variety of reasons including remoteness, the lack of diasporas in Australia and New Zealand, and lack of resources in relevant government departments.

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This Policy Brief which is prepared under the <u>Pacific Climate Change Migration and Human Security (PCCM-HS) programme</u> aims to narrow the gap in understanding the link between climate change and labour mobility. It provides an overview of labour mobility in the context of climate change, discusses the impact of labour mobility on climate change adaptation and makes recommendations for policy design, labour mobility programmes and research. A better understanding of climate-induced migration and its myriad of drivers is needed to better inform policymaking and planning. The Policy Brief is based on a desk review of working papers, research publications, academic articles, policy briefs, reports and other publications produced by the International Labour Organization (ILO), the International Organization for Migration (IOM), and other organisations.

# OVERVIEW OF THE CLIMATE CHANGE AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

# Climate mobility

The 2010 Cancun Adaptation Framework of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) was the first major climate policy document that includes migration issues and recognizes migration as a form of adaptation (UNFCCC, 2010).

This policy brief uses the term 'climate mobility' in the context of climate change to refer to a broad range of movements, recognizing that all migration takes place on a spectrum between forced and voluntary. Climate mobility can be broadly categorised into three main areas (IOM, 2020), including:

- Migration undertaken voluntarily, for example, movement in search of employment or better access to services, internally or across borders;
- Displacement, or forced movement, where people are compelled to move, either within a country or across borders; and
- Planned relocation of communities or individuals, through the transplanting of communities and their assets to another location.

The exact nature of the movement depends on numerous factors, including the type of hazard and existing vulnerabilities. For sudden-onset disasters that have immediate impacts leading to the destruction of homes and productive assets, there is an increased likelihood of **displacement**. Often, the damage is temporary, allowing displaced people to return once recovery processes are in place. To mitigate risks of displacement, governments and communities are also considering planned relocation of vulnerable communities or individuals. Finally, some people proactively seek **migration** to adapt to climate change, especially when slow-onset hazards such as sea-level rise gradually erode livelihoods. Their decision to move may be understood as a voluntary choice, yet it is difficult to establish the exact thresholds when mobility decisions become 'forced' (IOM, 2020). The links between slow-onset events and migration are difficult to establish because climate variables interact with other key drivers, including lack of decent work and employment opportunities, weak governance, population growth, individual aspirations, and access to information on job opportunities. Moreover, internally displaced persons in particular may look for employment opportunities abroad or may be pushed across borders (International Bar Association, 2021).

# Background on labour mobility in the context of climate change

This policy brief focusses on labour mobility which falls under migration in the categorisation introduced above. Labour mobility, just like other types of mobility, is caused by a variety of complex and partially interlinked factors or 'drivers' of which the effects of climate change have become increasingly important.

Labour migrants may be seen as seeking opportunities, weighing costs and benefits of migration, motivated by push factors such as lack of opportunity and poverty in countries of origin, and pull factors such as perceptions of good jobs and services in countries of destination. Their opportunities are mediated by the existence of networks and regular migration pathways, and limited by legal barriers and costs. Often labour migration decisions are taken at household level as part of a collective strategy to diversify income and minimise exposure to risk.

Mobility decisions are multi-causal and influenced by levels of poverty and inequalities such as access to land and capital, gender inequality and access to services. Although people do not migrate because of climate change as such, but because of how climate change affects their livelihoods and well-being<sup>2</sup>, the impacts of climate change are also considered to be a factor increasingly influencing voluntary migration choices<sup>3</sup> (see e.g. IPCC, 2022). Cultural attachment to place and land is also an important factor in Pacific Island countries and one of the reasons why some people choose to stay (Farbotko et al., 2018). For some people affected by climate change, economic and social factors may mean that they are unable to move, even if they wanted to (IOM, 2022).

In the context of climate change, for those who decide to and can migrate, migration, if it is well managed can be a livelihood, coping, risk management, and/or adaptation strategy. On the other hand, it is none of these if it is not well managed, is forced or not aligned with international standards in light of the inherent risks of forced migration. Since climate mobility occurs on a continuum from voluntary to forced migration, it is important to note that in most cases, even seemingly "voluntary" movements will be motivated by external pressures that limit individuals' migration options (IOM, 2022c).

Areas in Pacific Island countries that are particularly at risk of displacement due to the impacts of climate change include coastal communities low lying areas such as atolls, informal settlements and remote outer islands. It is impossible to quantify the current number of climate migrants due to climate change being just one of several drivers of mobility. It is also evident that the impacts of climate change on migration will differ among various countries and places (ILO, 2019f).

There are substantial differences between Pacific Island countries, not least between small atoll countries and larger countries. In atoll states like Kiribati, Marshall Islands and Tuvalu, the coastal environment is fragile and vulnerable to climate change and rising sea levels (ILO, 2019b, 2019c, 2019d). A 2012 Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) highlighted the extreme danger that small island countries face as a result of climate change noting that: 'the small land area and often low elevation of small island states make them particularly vulnerable to rising sea levels and impacts such as inundation, shoreline change and saltwater intrusion into underground aquifers' (IPCC 2012, 185). Hence, it is not surprising that a 2015 household survey in Kiribati (Oakes, R., Milan, A., and Campbell J., 2016), which included 377 households, found that as many as 94 per cent of all households had been impacted by a natural hazard in the ten years preceding the survey, and 81 per cent had been affected by sea-level rise. More than 73 per cent of the households said that migration would be a likely response if either agricultural production became more difficult, sea levels rose, or flooding or saltwater intrusion worsened. The ultimate decision to migrate is based on a range of economic, social and cultural factors. The presence of an overseas diaspora is known to encourage migration. In larger countries, climate change-related threats are lower given the capacity for countries to adapt and respond, and at the same time, there are options for adaptation through internal migration (IOM, 2021c).

<sup>2</sup> See van der Geest et al, 2019 for the case of the Marshall Islands.

<sup>3</sup> There is also emerging research on the role of perception of climate change impacts in influencing migration decisions (De Longueville et al 2020).

# Regional and global policy frameworks

Several regional and global frameworks on climate change and migration highlight the unique human rights challenges associated with climate mobility and make recommendations for governments to pursue action at national and regional levels. In the Pacific, the regional frameworks that guide collaboration include the **2016 Framework for Resilient Development in the Pacific (FRDP)** and the Boe Declaration on Regional Security(2018) along with its action plan. The **FRDP** reiterates the need to ensure action on climate change and disaster risk reduction, and to protect individuals and communities most vulnerable to climate change through targeted national and regional policy. It recognizes that human mobility needs to be integrated into national policies. The Framework's implementation is complemented by the Pacific Resilience Partnership mechanisms which bring together stakeholders for coordinated action around identified priority areas including migration (IOM, 2021a). The Boe Declaration (2018) recognizes climate change as the "single greatest threat to the livelihoods, security and wellbeing of the peoples of the Pacific". The 2050 Strategy for the Blue Pacific Continent currently being considered also includes actions that relate to climate change and labour mobility. In addition, the process to develop a framework between Pacific Governments to address climate change-related migration, displacement and planned relocation is currently underway (IOM, 2020, 2022b). These ongoing initiatives show the importance of this thematic area for the Pacific region.

Regional and national consultations organized under the Pacific Climate Change Migration and Human Security (PCCM-HS) programme between 2020-2022 have recommended that a regional framework should address the issue of climate mobility in the Pacific region by creating safe migration pathways for communities that have no choice but to move, upholding the human rights of migrants and recognising the need to preserve culture and identity (IOM 2021a). Within these consultations, labour mobility as a means to offset climate change-related losses has been discussed, with the recommendation that this be considered as part of a regional framework to address climate mobility.

At the global level, the <u>Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement</u>, the <u>Nansen Initiative Protection Agenda</u> and the <u>Global Compact for Safe</u>, <u>Orderly and Regular Migration</u> (GCM) all set out important principles for strengthening protection of those affected by the impacts of climate change. amongst others (IOM, 2022b). The GCM, which was endorsed in December 2018, is the first inter-governmentally negotiated agreement covering all dimensions of international migration comprehensively. It recognizes that climate change and environmental degradation may lead to migration, and reaffirms states' commitment to addressing challenges of climate mobility.

The <u>ILO Guiding Principles on access of refugees and other forcibly displaced persons to the labour market</u> is a key guidance adopted by workers', employers', and governments that highlights the importance of labour market access and and labour rights in the context of forced migration.

The recommendations from the report of the Executive Committee of the Warsaw International Mechanism for Loss and Damage associated with Climate Change Impacts are also relevant, and incluse specific recommendations related to labour mobility and decent work.

# THE LINK BETWEEN LABOUR MOBILITY AND CLIMATE CHANGE IN THE PACIFIC

# Access agreements for permanent migration

In the Pacific, labour mobility has long been used to diversify livelihoods and as a response to environmental risks. Migration has been significant, particularly for the smaller island states of Micronesia and Polynesia. The population balance of some of these smaller Pacific Island countries has shifted to the Pacific Rim. There are several bilateral, sub-regional and regional arrangements that include seasonal and temporary labour mobility schemes and access agreements, even though none of the schemes explicitly refers to climate mobility (see Table 1).

Several PICs maintain close relationships with either New Zealand or the United States, and these relationships have resulted in access agreements. Cook Islanders, Niueans, and Tokelauans are New Zealand citizens with full residential and work rights in New Zealand. New Zealand recognizes the special relationship between New Zealand and Samoa and the Pacific Access Category (PAC) countries of Fiji, Kiribati, Tonga, and Tuvalu and grants residence to a certain number of citizens from these countries (see Table 1). The Compacts of Free Association (COFAs) between the United States and the Marshall Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, and Palau allow citizens of these states to live and work in the United States and its territories and commonwealths with some restrictions. There has been significant emigration from the Compact countries, which is likely to continue due not only to economic pressures but also to the increasing impacts of climate change. About half of the emigrants from the Federated States of Micronesia moved to the US mainland while the other half moved to Hawaii, Guam and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (IOM, 2016b). The majority of Marshallese moved to Hawaii while the state of Arkansas has also attracted a considerable number of Marshallese (Morris, Burkett, and Wheeler, 2019).

In addition to permanent migration flows, seasonal and temporary migration opportunities for Pacific Islanders exist in New Zealand and Australia. The schemes are employer-driven. The Recognized Seasonal Employer (RSE) scheme, in effect since 2007, is one of the oldest seasonal labour schemes in the Pacific region that offers employment opportunities in New Zealand's horticulture and viticulture industries. Through the Seasonal Worker Programme (SWP), Australia provides seasonal employment opportunities in agriculture as well as in select locations in accommodation and tourism. Australia's Pacific Labour Scheme (PLS) was designed to meet business demand across all sectors in rural and regional Australia with an initial focus on accommodation and food services, health care, non-seasonal agriculture, forestry and fishing. Since April 2022, the SWP and PLS have been consolidated under the Pacific Australia Labour Mobility (PALM) scheme (for more details, see e.g. ILO 2019f, 2021). These labour mobility schemes are linked to the Pacific Agreement on Closer Economic Relations (PACER) Plus between Pacific Island countries and Australia and New Zealand which is a regional free trade agreement complemented by a legally non-binding Labour Mobility Arrangement, though not all PALM and RSE participating countries are Pacer Plus signatories. The Labour Mobility Arrangement is aimed at enhancing the existing labour mobility schemes and has established the Pacific Labour Mobility Annual Meeting (PLMAM), which is a mechanism to advance the areas of cooperation identified in the Arrangement.

Among the challenges related to the labour mobility schemes is the unequal distribution of opportunities between Pacific Island countries with Samoa, Tonga and Vanuatu sending the vast majority of workers while climate-vulnerable countries like Kiribati and Tuvalu have had fewer opportunities due to remoteness, the lack of diasporas in Australia and New Zealand, lack of resources in relevant government departments and other factors. While the scheme aligns with international labour standards in many key areas, there is also room for improvement in certain key areas such as recruitment related costs and several issues around the vulnerability of workers that have been identified in a recent report (ILO, 2022).

Table 1: Summary of major labour mobility schemes and access agreements

DESTINATION COUNTRY	TYPE OF ACCESS	SCHEME	PARTICIPATING PICS	LIMITATIONS ON NUMBER P.A.	LIMITATIONS ON THE PERIOD OF STAY
New Zealand	Access through citizenship		Cook Islands, Niue, Tokelau	n/a	-
	Access agreements for permanent migration	Pacific Access Category (PAC) Scheme	Fiji, Kiribati, Tonga, Tuvalu	Fiji: 250 Kiribati: 75 Tonga: 250 Tuvalu 75	-
		Samoan Quota Resident Visa	Samoa	1,100	-
	Labour mobility schemes	Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE) scheme	Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu	14,400 (for 2021/22)	Up to 7 months (9 months for workers from Kiribati and Tuvalu) in any 11 months
		Construction Pilot	Fiji, Samoa, Tonga	Unknown small number	Unknown
		Fisheries Pilot	Kiribati, Tuvalu	Appr. 20	Unknown
Australia	Labour mobility schemes	Seasonal Worker Programme (SWP)	Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu	-	Up to 9 months (per year)
		Pacific Labour Scheme (PLS) <sup>4</sup>	Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu	-	Up to 3 years to be increased to 4 years under the consolidated PALM scheme
United States	Access agreements for permanent migration	Compact of Free Association (COFA)	Federated States of Micronesia, Marshall Islands, Palau	-	-

<sup>4</sup> The SWP and PLS have been consolidated under the new Pacific Australia Labour Mobility (PALM) scheme in April 2022 which entails a single PALM stream visa for the two separate streams.

Apart from permanent migration flows and labour mobility schemes, seafaring has been an important employment opportunity for workers from Kiribati and Tuvalu, although this opportunity has virtually come to an end during the pandemic and in the wake of seafarers not being able to be repatriated due to border closures.

In addition, intra-Pacific labour mobility occurs. Some of the flows are informal and initiated by individuals. Others are organised through bilateral labour agreements such as the migration of pearl divers and hospitality workers from Kiribati to the Cook Islands. In addition, there are sub-regional agreements. The Melanesian Spearhead Group's Skills Movement Scheme facilitates the movement of skilled professionals in the health, hospitality, education and construction sectors. This is open to citizens from Fiji, Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands and is capped at 400 workers per country. The Trade in Services Protocol under the Pacific Island Countries Trade Agreement (PICTA) also includes provisions on the temporary movement of natural persons. It is not yet in force.

# Labour mobility as part of climate mobility in the Pacific

The labour mobility schemes discussed above between Australia and New Zealand with countries in the South Pacific were established primarily to meet labour demands in Australia and New Zealand. When asked, most participants in these schemes provided economic reasons for their migration decisions (see e.g. Voigt-Graf, 2016b for PNG; and ILO, 2022c for Fiji, Kiribati, Samoa and Vanuatu). However, when considering that livelihoods are threatened by climate change and the vulnerability of households has increased in many PICs, it can be assumed that climate change has become a factor despite migrants not explicitly articulating this. This argument has been made by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (2022) and is consistent with other research that found that climate change impacts would be a factor in the decision to migrate for youth respondents in Fiji (IOM, 2016) and households in Kiribati (Oakes, Milan, and Campbell, 2016).

In addition, there have been instances of governments amending entry and stay regulations on humanitarian grounds in the context of disasters. Following Cyclone Pam in 2015, New Zealand extended the length of the seasonal worker visa for ni-Vanuatu, enabling workers to earn more to support their families back home. These remittances were important to the short- and long-term disaster recovery process, underlining the important role of labour mobility in enhancing climate resilience. The New Zealand Government also waived the visa fees for Pacific workers returning home and coming back to New Zealand (IOM, 2020). In a different context, also related to an unforeseen event, visas were amended in both Australia and New Zealand with the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, allowing workers to stay until borders reopened. Some workers have still not been repatriated and have stayed in Australia and New Zealand for over two years.

Such examples of using existing seasonal worker schemes as part of a humanitarian response provide evidence to the idea that labour mobility could be extended to fit the needs of communities affected by climate change. This is also in line with the provisions of the GCM that calls for the strengthening of flexible pathways available to climate migrants (IOM, 2020).

While climate mobility is likely to follow established migration pathways, it is important to note that most Pacific Islanders want to remain in their homes. This should be enabled to the extent possible through disaster risk reduction, climate change adaptation and development policies. Yet, planning for mobility is necessary so that people have options to move, should they require and choose, before disaster strikes. Smart migration policies provide people with choices to take control of their own lives, rather than being displaced when disasters occur (McAdam and Pryke, 2020).

International migration is complex, driven by a combination of factors, and difficult to predict. Yet, it is important to acknowledge that current labour mobility patterns offer pathways that migrants are likely to follow if migration becomes necessary due to climate change.

# The impact of labour mobility on climate change adaptation

Different mechanisms through which labour mobility can enhance the resilience of migrant-sending communities, as discussed below. Moreover, it can help build resilience in destination countries especially if labour migrants work in sustainable industries (International Bar Association, 2021).

# Opportunities associated with labour mobility in the context of climate change

#### Lowering population pressures

Mobility reduces the population in sending communities at least temporarily during the period of absence of migrants. This also reduces pressure on the environment and its natural resources which is particularly important in atolls and overcrowded urban areas such as South Tarawa in Kiribati and Funafuti in Tuvalu.

#### Diversifying household incomes and generating remittances

While climate change threatens to destroy livelihoods in Pacific Island countries, labour mobility can produce a lifeline for some households to continue to diversify their income. Remittances have increased as a result of the steadily growing seasonal migrant workers schemes, particularly in the countries that have sent the largest number of workers under the schemes (Samoa, Tonga, Vanuatu). As Table 2 shows, remittances accounted for over 10 per cent of Gross Domestic Product in three countries in 2020, including 37.7 per cent in Tonga, which is the highest of any country in the world.

Table: Remittances in selected Pacific Island countries, 2020

COUNTRY	REMITTANCES, 2020 (US\$ MILLION)	REMITTANCES % OF GDP, 2020			
Fiji	312	7.2			
Kiribati	19	9.5			
Marshall Islands	31	13.2			
Palau	2	0.9			
Papua New Guinea	2	0.0			
Samoa	150	18.7			
Solomon Islands	28	1.8			
Tonga	194	37.7			
Tuvalu	0	-			
Vanuatu	76	8.8			

Source: World Bank, Migration and remittance data,

https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/migrationremittancesdiasporaissues/brief/migration-remittances-data

Remittances strengthen the resilience at the household, community and national levels and potentially constitute an alternative source of climate finance. Remittances can be used to build climate-resilient houses, improve the general quality of houses, purchase water tanks, improve seawalls at their property, and increase the overall resilience of households. Moreover, they can be used to invest in climate-proof community infrastructure (see Box 1). The extent of such measures has not been quantified (ILO, 2019h).

In this context, it is important to emphasise that diasporas have often been important sources of income in the Pacific, helping alleviate the distress caused by disasters, contributing to small business liquidity in post-disaster situations and supporting consumption (WTO 2019).

#### Seasonal work as a climate mitigation strategy

Participation in the RSE scheme in New Zealand has been a climate change mitigation strategy in the following ways (Nunns, Bedford and Bedford, 2020; Bedford, Bedford and Nunns, 2020):

Ongoing improvements in livelihoods

- Seasonal work is a means to improve an extended family's wellbeing and livelihood and achieve specific goals requiring a significant cash injection such as new/improved housing, income-earning ventures, and paying school/university fees;
- Diversifying income streams is a common Pacific strategy for minimising risk and enabling families to cope with unforeseen challenges, such as the destruction of cash crops and houses by cyclones;
- RSE money has enabled families to build permanent concrete block houses, and install water tanks and solar power.

Meeting basic needs in times of disasters

- Remittances provide a 'safety net' to meet basic needs when resource-based livelihoods are less productive due to extreme weather events such as cyclones or longer-term climate trends;
- Earnings from seasonal work are important to compensate for the loss of income from damaged horticultural crops.

#### Recovery after natural disasters

- Several Pacific countries including Vanuatu, Fiji, Solomon Islands, Samoa and Tonga experience cyclones on an annual basis that destroy crops, damage houses and disrupt infrastructure. Money earned through the RSE scheme helped families in affected countries recover such as in Tonga following Cyclone Gita in 2018, and in Vanuatu from Cyclone Pam in 2015;
- If RSE workers are in New Zealand at the time of such disasters, they are often encouraged by family members to remain for the term of their contract to earn income for rebuilding efforts rather than returning home. Support is typically provided by workers purchasing building materials and equipment in New Zealand to ship home for the repair of houses and community facilities;
- Since the start of the RSE scheme, many RSE employers, churches and local NGOs from communities that host RSE workers have provided funding, labour, building and other materials for recovery efforts in workers' communities. Such activities have for example included the installation of new water storage and supply systems in Vanuatu;
- Following Cyclone Pam in 2015, a range of rebuilding projects were undertaken in Vanuatu with on-the-ground management of the projects overseen by returned RSE workers. Projects included a mobile sawmill loaned to communities to cut timber for the rebuilding and the building of water supply projects (tanks, water pipes, spouting, taps).

#### Skills development

The acquisition of new skills by migrants can increase climate resilience, especially if the newly acquired skills are useful in their home countries. In general, participants in labour mobility schemes develop skills in different areas and through different means. These include English language skills which are enhanced through working overseas and through training courses during pre-departure preparation or while overseas; generic workplace skills such as time management, communication, planning and organisation and work ethic through participation in labour mobility; work-specific skills such as horticultural skills through participation in labour mobility; and specific other skills such as financial literacy, numeracy, computer literacy, and first aid through participation in training courses which are attended by some workers in Australia and New Zealand.

This upskilling increases the chances of workers to find better employment or expand their businesses at home. To be beneficial for workers and sending countries, skills acquired overseas have to be useful in the countries of origin. Many work-related soft and hard skills acquired by Pacific labour migrants in New Zealand were found to be transferable to the home environment and are frequently shared with family members and the wider community (Bedford, Bedford and Nunns 2020). This includes horticultural skills such as thinning, pruning and weeding which are transferable for use with local crops even if the crops are different. The World Bank's Social Impact Study (2017) found that SWP participants in Australia had improved their financial literacy skills and had better control and management of their finances. Female seasonal workers highlighted positive changes emanating from gaining new skills and knowledge, including increased levels of financial literacy, English language proficiency, leadership and entrepreneurial skills (World Bank, 2017b).

In sum, labour mobility can be an important means of increasing resilience to climate change if labour mobility governance systems and social protection mechanisms are in place that establish and maintain safe and regular pathways that provide decent work opportunities. Migration has long served as a strategy for individuals and households to cope with climate change and it can enhance the adaptive capacity of migrant-sending communities through the generation of remittances, reduced population pressure on homeland environments, and the transfer of knowledge and skills. While the priority of adaptation planning must be to build community resilience, consideration should be given to the impact of labour mobility on such efforts (ILO, 2016a, 2017).

Capitalizing on migration's adaptive potential can begin only if labour mobility is governed in a manner that meets international labour standards, fills genuine labour market shortages, and protects the rights of migrant workers. Kiribati is an example of a country that has taken steps to develop national policy frameworks that address climate-induced displacements through pre-emptive labour mobility opportunities abroad. Despite the adaptive capacity of labour mobility, labour mobility has yet to feature as a key element in adaptation planning and represents a largely untapped mechanism in the Pacific region (ILO 2017).

# Challenges arising from labour mobility in the context of climate change

The economic costs (loss of livelihoods and economic viability of communities) and the social, cultural, and psychological costs for migrants (loss of tradition, language, identity) can be high and have been reported elsewhere (see e.g. ILO, 2019f, Clissold and McNamara, 2022). There is also the potential risk of exploitation in the context of labour mobility. Some challenges associated with labour mobility are discussed next.

#### Skills drain, brain drain and loss of traditional knowledge

Depending on the number and occupational background of labour migrants, Pacific Island countries risk the consequences of brain drain (in the case of semi-skilled and skilled migrants) and of not having enough labour available locally (in the case of low-skilled migrants). In Tonga, the number of workers participating in the seasonal schemes in Australia and New Zealand is considerable and has led to a shortage of agricultural labour in some sending communities, especially during peak harvest times. Employers in some Pacific Island countries have noted that skilled migrants are taking up labour mobility opportunities leaving them with notable skills shortages. In addition, traditional knowledge and skills may be lost due to labour mobility. In Vanuatu, for instance, concern was expressed at the effect of increasing wealth on children's learning about village life. A negative consequence of the electronic and other goods purchased with income generated overseas was that children were losing important resilience skills including traditional skills in housebuilding, gardening and fire making as well as their connection with working the land (Bedford, Bedford and Nunns, 2020).

#### Impacts on families

With family members not allowed to join the workers, there are social costs for families especially if workers are absent for up to three or four years under the PLS or participate in successive seasons over multiple years under the SWP or RSE scheme.<sup>5</sup> The absence over long periods of time or multiple seasons may be detrimental to marital relationships. The children of an absent parent may miss significant periods of parenting which may impact their education and their mental health although the long-term consequences of ongoing parental absences has yet to be fully examined. With more men than women participating in labour mobility, the social costs are more likely to be borne by female family members as women assume the roles of their absent husbands and additional responsibilities for the day-to-day wellbeing of the family and may take on work in the household or village that is traditionally malegendered (Bedford, Bedford and Nunns, 2020). Labour mobility may result in maladaptation and have negative impacts during disaster recovery. For example, demographic changes can occur as youths and men usually move away from the villages creating a gap in community support during disasters.

#### Lack of pathways to permanent residence

At present, there are no pathways to permanent residence or citizenship in Australia or New Zealand from participating in any of the seasonal or temporary labour mobility schemes. The Australian Government has flagged the intention to introduce a permanent migration visa for Pacific Islanders similar to New Zealand's PAC scheme. This will be welcomed by many Pacific Islanders if implemented, it does not represent a direct pathway from participation in a labour mobility scheme to permanent residence.

#### Negative impacts of disrupted migration flows

The COVID-19 pandemic has not only exposed migrant workers and their families to risks but has also disrupted migration flows as one of their principal adaptation strategies. In South Asia, a large number of migrant workers had to return to their areas of origin where they did not have any source of income or, in some cases, a shelter of their own. The loss of income of migrants resulted in a reduction in the flow of remittances exposing many households to major food insecurity (ILO 2021b). While the situation was not as severe in Pacific Island countries, border closures during the pandemic have left migrants stranded in destination countries and on ships. This has impacted negatively on their mental health and has placed financial burdens on migrants, their families and employers. By June 2022, Kiribati was one of the countries that has not yet reopened its borders for the repatriation of citizens which has directly

<sup>5</sup> The Australian Labor Party that won the May 2022 elections in Australia has proposed to introduce changes to the PLS whereby family members would be allowed to join the workers.

led to several hundred seafarers losing their jobs and might also negatively impact the employment of I-Kiribati under other labour mobility schemes.

#### Increased risks of exploitation, trafficking and deteriorating working conditions

Rising levels of climate mobility bear the risk of increased trafficking, especially of women and children. This is particularly the case where there are limited accessible, rights-based migration pathways. Suddenand slow-onset events have been found to impact human trafficking and can lead to various forms of exploitation (IOM, 2016c). In several Asian countries, some displaced persons see irregular migration as the only viable option to pursue better opportunities, placing themselves at risk of many forms of exploitation that are commonly associated with trafficking, such as sexual exploitation and forced labour. It was found that in areas affected by natural disasters women and women-headed households were especially vulnerable to human trafficking and the associated forms of exploitation. The United Nations Special Rapporteur on trafficking in persons is currently preparing a report on trafficking of persons in the context of climate change that will be presented to the General Assembly in October 2022.6

Moreover, changing environmental conditions due to climate change are leading to worsening labour conditions (UNDP, 2016), especially affecting the large share of the global workforce that operates outdoors and in non-climate controlled conditions. Injury rates increase with extreme heat entailing health. Furthermore, workers face income loss when less is achieved within the same period due to hotter conditions, or a loss of leisure/family time if more work is required. If workers receive less income due to diminished productivity there are often negative impacts on child health, women's health and elderly health, which is exacerbated by lack of social protection for migrant workers and their families (ILO 2021a). Rising temperatures due to global warming will likely make working conditions in agriculture, horticulture and viticulture in Australia and New Zealand where many seasonal workers from Pacific Island countries work more challenging.

#### Unequal opportunities for women

In many countries, conditions of poverty, traditional gender roles and lack of autonomy place women at a disadvantage when it comes to dealing with the effects of climate change. In a social context marked by unequal power relations, men and women are not equally equipped to face and adapt themselves to disaster; and if disasters occur, they are affected differently (for Chiapas, see Ruiz, 2010). Women are hardest hit in terms of socio-economic impacts and experience high rates of mortality in the context of disasters (ILO, 2022a). Human mobility may lead to shifts in gender roles that may contribute to changing oppressive gender relations, but it may also exacerbate existing inequalities between women and men (GIZ, 2019). In general, women are not only differently affected by climate change, but they also have different, usually more constrained, opportunities to participate in labour mobility.

Table 3 shows the number of RSE and SWP participants in the year before the pandemic for Fiji, Kiribati and Samoa. It is obvious that men far outnumbered women from these countries in both schemes.

<sup>6</sup> See: https://www.ohchr.org/en/calls-for-input/calls-input/call-inputs-trafficking-persons-context-climate-change

Table 3: The number of RSE and SWP participants from Fiji, Kiribati, and Samoa by gender in the last pre-pandemic season

SEASON		FIJI		KIRIBATI		SAMOA	
(YEAR)	GENDER	RSE	SWP	RSE	SWP	RSE	SWP
2019-20	Female	15	39	104	32	67	36
(2019)	Male	482	377	259	330	2,342	483
	% Female	3.0	8.7	28.7	9.1	2.8	6.9

Note: Data was provided by the governments of Fiji, Kiribati and Samoa, for ILO, 2022c. The Fiji government records information by calendar year and not by season. Therefore, the numbers for Fiji refer to the calendar year (as per brackets).

The situation is similar in the PLS where currently the largest industry is meat processing (67%) with horticulture and agriculture (24%) in second place and aged-care services in third place (2%). At the end of 2021, only 10% of PLS meat industry workers and 37% of horticulture workers were women, resulting in an overall female share of the PLS workforce of about 19% (Howes and Sharman, 2022).

Given the very unequal labour mobility access, the gender dimension must always be taken into account. Overall, women who are economically, politically and socially marginalized within communities affected by environmental degradation experience the effects of climate change most acutely. Women generally have fewer opportunities to access information, prepare for the impacts of climate change, migrate, and are more likely to remain in communities of origin with dependent family members (IOM, 2014b, 2021d).

#### *Immobility*

The option to migrate is only available to those that have the required financial and social resources. Poor and socially excluded populations lack the resources that would enable them to move. (International Bar Association, 2021). Disadvantaged groups including women, children, the elderly, people living with a disability and members of the LGBTQ community are also those who have the fewest opportunities to access information, prepare for the impacts of climate change and disasters, and move. Mobility requires economic and social capacities that are not available to everyone (GIZ, 2019).

#### Range of different interests

There is a range of different interests in how labour mobility in the context of climate change is managed and supported. Migrants themselves, their families, their communities, countries of origin, destination countries, employers in countries of origin and destination, trade unions, marginalised population groups and others might all have different and even divergent interests when trying to make labour mobility schemes work for climate change resilience. These interests are difficult to reconcile, which necessitates multi-stakeholder dialogue to ensure mutually beneficial approaches.

# The employment impact of climate change: Green Jobs and a Just Transition

Climate change has negative impacts on employment while also offering the possibility to create jobs and protect workers and income through adaptation measures. Investment in adaptation infrastructure and reforestation can lead to employment gains. Skills development and social protection policies can help displaced workers and workers directly affected by climate-related hazards (ILO, 2018a).

Climate change is expected to negatively affect employment in several industries including agriculture, fisheries and tourism. While the initial impact on labour markets is likely to be adverse and there will be

job losses, climate change will also create new job opportunities in replacement industries (ILO, 2019i).

No estimates of the number of job losses and new job opportunities that may result from climate change mitigation are available for the Pacific Island region. According to a 2010 study in Fiji, the Solomon Islands, Samoa and Vanuatu, tourism, renewable energy, food production, and recycling and waste management have the most potential for green job creation (ILO, 2010). Expected impacts include job losses in forestry/logging, and mining, new types of jobs in agriculture, tourism, and fisheries, as well as jobs in growing industries such as waste management, renewable energy, and constructing climate change resilient infrastructure. It was also found that action to address climate change and improve resilience have the potential to provide job creation, green economy growth and innovation in Fiji, Kiribati and Vanuatu (ILO, 2019a, 2019b and 2019e).

In the case of certain occupations there may be a significant flow out of the sector's workforce to other sectors or to emigration. Countries with labour shortages could receive the labour required to boost adaptive capacity while migrant workers could gain practical skills in areas such as green construction and in turn support resilience at home through remittances or through developing their skills to help rebuild their own communities upon return.

The notion that the transition process to a greener economy has to be inclusive of all stakeholders, and that the unavoidable employment and social costs of the transition have to be shared by all is encapsulated by the concept of "Just Transition". A Just Transition involves maximizing the social and economic opportunities of climate action, while minimizing and carefully managing any challenges, through effective social dialogue, respect for fundamental labour rights and consistency with international labour standards. The ILO adopted <u>Guidelines for a Just Transition</u> towards environmentally sustainable economies and societies for all (ILO, 2015a) which are a non-binding practical orientation to Governments and social partners with some specific options on how to formulate, implement and monitor the policy framework, in accordance with national circumstances and priorities for a just transition.

As noted in the forthcoming ILO Policy Brief Human Mobility and Just Transition, 'in In the longer term, re-skilling migrant workers in green and decent jobs, ensuring their social protection and better and more employment opportunities can actively support the transition to an environmentally sustainable economy and society' (ILO 2022b). Given that the Pacific Island region is particularly threatened by climate change impacts and that there is a long history of migration in the region, the nexus between climate change, decent work and migration offer the potential for a just transition (ILO, 2019i).

#### 4. RECOMMENDATIONS

# Recommendations for policy design

Policy coherence and general policy design considerations

- · Consider labour mobility as a potential climate resilience strategy.
- Ensure complementarity of migration policies with climate change adaptation and disaster risk reduction policies, national adaptation plans, disaster management strategies, employment policies, social dialogue and other relevant plans and policies.
- Integrate migration into the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of development cooperation interventions that have an environment and climate change focus, including based on international labour standards, tools and guidance and considering IOM's Toolkit on Integrating Migration into Environment and Climate Change Interventions and based on a multi-stakeholder dialogue including governments of countries of origin and destination, employers' organisations, migrants and workers' organizations.
- Make a rights-based and human security-based approach central to all policy frameworks on labour mobility in the context of climate change.
- Base the policy design and implementation on social dialogue, with effective engagement of employers' and workers' organizations.

Adherence to relevant international frameworks, International Labour Standards and ILO policy instruments and guidelines

- Align regional efforts with the recommendations from the report of the Executive Committee of
  the Warsaw International Mechanism for Loss and Damage associated with Climate Change Impacts,
  most notably recommendation iv: "facilitate orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and
  mobility of people, as appropriate and in accordance with national laws and policies, in the context of
  climate change, by considering the needs of migrants and displaced persons, communities of origin,
  transit and destination, and by enhancing opportunities for regular migration pathways, including
  through labour mobility, consistent with international labour standards, as appropriate."
- Align policy, programmes and regional coordination efforts with the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration, particularly objective 6: "Facilitate fair and ethical recruitment and safeguard conditions that ensure decent work."
- Consider ILO's Fair Migration Agenda<sup>7</sup> and adhere to the relevant ILO conventions and recommendations, and tripartite guidance to ensure the protection of international and internal migrants and promote decent work opportunities.

<sup>7</sup> The <u>ILO's Fair Migration Agenda</u> consists of: Making migration a choice and not a necessity, by creating decent work opportunities in countries of origin; Respecting the human rights, including labour rights, of all migrants; Ensuring fair recruitment and equal treatment of migrant workers to prevent exploitation and level the playing field with nationals; Formulating fair migration schemes in regional integration processes Promoting bilateral agreements for well-regulated and fair migration between member States; Countering unacceptable situations through the promotion of the universal exercise of fundamental principles and rights at work; Promoting social dialogue by involving Ministries of Labour, trade unions and employers' organisations in policy making on migration; Contributing to a strengthened multilateral rights-based agenda on migration.

A full list of the relevant conventions and recommendations is included in Annex 1. Some key principles in the ILS that relate to labour mobility include but are note limited to:

- Freedom of association: All migrant workers have the right to freedom of association and equality of treatment and non-discrimination with respect to membership of trade unions, the exercise of trade union rights and eligibility for office in trade unions.
- Equality of treatment with nationals: Migrant workers have equality of treatment with nationals with respect to accident compensation, social security, unemployment benefits, security of employment, access to public work schemes intended to combat unemployment, access to alternative employment in the event of loss of work or termination, access to training, union membership, protection against dismissal, and others.
- Migration costs: Workers should not pay recruitment fees or related costs (including medical costs, insurance costs, expenses incurred for travel, and lodging while migrating for work) and migration frameworks should include alignment with ILO's General Principles and Operational Guidelines on Fair Recruitment.
- Promote the ratification of ILO Conventions No. 97 and 143 and the 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families among Pacific Island countries and the receiving countries of labour migrants from the Pacific Island countries.

#### Adoption and review of national labour migration policies

- Ensure climate change considerations are mainstreamed into new national labour migration policies, or through the process of revising existing policies.
- Promote the development and adoption of national labour migration policies in Pacific Island countries to set out protection principles for migrant workers, outline the responsibilities of governments in ensuring effective support for migrants and develop strategies to increase safe labour mobility.
- Ensure that gender and disability issues and the specific needs of vulnerable groups are adequately taken into account in national labour migration policies and put the four pillars of the Decent Work Agenda social dialogue, social protection, rights at work and employment –at the centre of the policies.
- Take into account the Just Transition aspect when adopting labour migration policies.

#### Skills development for the international and domestic labour market

- Equip Pacific Islanders with qualifications that are in demand in countries of origin and destination to prepare for a future overseas, should the need arise.
- Adopt educational and training standards that are in line with those of the main destination countries, and focus training on skill areas that are also potentially useful at home so that when migrants return home their skills can be used.
- Undertake regular skills gaps assessments to assess the needs and identify training opportunities.
- Support skills training required in Green Jobs and for a Just Transition.
- Provide skills development opportunities specifically to industries, regions, communities and workers whose livelihoods might experience the hardest impacts from climate disasters. Workers in such regions and sectors may be re-skilled in green jobs so that they may enhance their employment opportunities and potential for migration.

- Identify opportunities to build the skills of youth through apprenticeships as part of well-managed labour mobility schemes.
- Invest in training systems and tertiary scholarships especially in skills areas that benefit the labour market in the country of origin, while also meeting areas of demand overseas.
- Facilitate the portability of skills accreditation and skills recognition.
- Develop strategies to address brain drain if it emerges in the context of climate mobility.
- More research is needed to understand the skills and training implications of this process and how to
  enable Pacific Islanders to take advantage of emerging opportunities in the green economy in their
  home countries.

# Recommendations for labour mobility programmes and access agreements

- Explore options to grant special access and concessions under labour mobility agreements to states that have experienced economic loss as a result of climate change.
- Promote the signing of special access agreements for permanent migration with Pacific Island countries
  in order to support the growth of diaspora communities that could help migrants if climate change
  makes migration necessary.
- Consider negotiating bilateral or regional agreements that facilitate labour mobility as an adaptation measure adhering to international labour standards and decent work principles, and developed through a process of social dialogue.

#### Enhancing and improving access to destination countries

- Review and strengthen the existing programmes to ensure full compliance with the protection of migrant workers, human rights, including labour rights. Include strong social protection measures in all new bilateral labour agreements that are signed. Bilateral labour mobility agreement should also mainstream climate change considerations. All these considerations can be informed by the <u>UN</u> Guidance on Bilateral Labour Migration Agreements.
- Identify new markets (such as Canada, Japan, Republic of Korea) and negotiate access to these destination countries through BLAs or MOUs.
- Identify opportunities in green sectors in destination countries for migrants from climate-affected communities and regions.
- Reduce the high cost of movement for migrants and make them more accessible to climate-affected communities and individuals as well as vulnerable and underrepresented groups.
- Emphasise the importance of allowing families to join longer-term migrants in receiving countries and introducing pathways to permanent residence, particularly for Pacific Islanders threatened by climate change.
- Provide a suite of options for migration from Pacific Island countries including enhancing and strengthening current labour mobility programmes, humanitarian visas, permanent migration options, and longer-term mobility flows as a climate resilience option to lay the foundation for Pacific Islanders to migrate in a dignified, safe and regular manner in case this became necessary.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> For implication for New Zealand, see Farguhar, 2014; for Australia, see McAdam and Pryke, 2020.

- Provide a tailored approach to account for Pacific Island countries being differently affected by climate change and ensure that migration opportunities are available to those who live in the most vulnerable locations and circumstances.<sup>9</sup>
- Consider the implications of all policy responses for immobile people.

#### Increasing intra-Pacific labour mobility and localizing selected positions

• Improve access for Pacific Islanders to opportunities within the region through bilateral, sub-regional or regional schemes and by directing training in areas of labour market demand such as tourism/hospitality, mining, construction, and forestry. At present, many skill gaps within the Pacific region are filled by migrant workers from outside the region, with particularly large foreign workforces in Papua New Guinea, Palau, and the Cook Islands.<sup>10</sup>

#### Improving the use of remittances

 Provide incentives for migrants to invest in national, community and household resilience to climate change and provide information and/or the technical know-how to channel remittances into climate action.

#### Gender responsiveness

• Ensure gender analysis and gender responsive action planning in all pathways of mobility to take into account that human mobility affects men and women differently, how men and women face different risks, and have differentiated capacities to support change.<sup>11</sup>

#### Recommendations for data collection and research

#### Labour force data

- Implement regular full labour force surveys in all countries to help governments to adequately respond to disasters.
- Establish labour market information systems in all Pacific Island countries to strengthen strategic skills development and jobs matching.
- Develop harmonized labour market indicators with which to compare data between countries and over time.
- Conduct skills gaps analysis between domestic skills supply and domestic and overseas skills demand.
- Conduct comprehensive empirical research on the current status and prospects of green job creation

<sup>9</sup> While the priority for small vulnerable countries is long term climate security, the larger Pacific Island countries are largely interested in labour mobility for employment and remittances (IOM, 2021c). Atoll countries are especially at risk of climate change impacts and there have been suggestions to give them preferential access under existing schemes (see e.g. Kagan, 2015). This could go as far as to supporting the World's Bank (2016) suggestion to provide open labour market access by Australia and New Zealand to atoll countries on grounds of their acute climate change risks, given the contribution that developed countries around the Pacific Rim have made to greenhouse gases and the disproportionate effects experienced by the Pacific Island countries. According to the World Bank, open access would likely result in modest outflows. While surveys show that many households feel that migration will be a necessary strategy as a result of sea-level rise, most lack the financial means to migrate.

<sup>10</sup> In Papua New Guinea, the Work Permit System has functioned well and employers have been able to import skilled workers, even at the height of the LNG construction boom (see Voigt-Graf, 2016b). In Palau, where foreign workers accounted for 41.7 per cent of total employment in 2014, limiting the presence of foreign workers has become a key component of Palauan labour law (ILO, 2017b).

<sup>11</sup> See toolkit developed by GIZ, 2019 for guidance.

initiatives in Pacific Island countries, and for the introduction of coherent policies to ensure a just transition in Pacific Island countries.

• Identify current and anticipate future skills requirements for green jobs as well as the sources of skills supply.

#### Social impacts of labour mobility schemes

- Assess the negative social impacts of temporary and seasonal migration including on family and community structures related to the long-term or repüeated absence of workers.
- Conduct research on the impacts of the inequality that exists between the homes of those who receive remittances and those who do not, of households run by women, the impact of brain drain and the loss of workers in sending communities.
- Assess the impacts of labour mobility in the context of climate change on those staying behind, including in light of social and gender equality issues.

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# ANNEX 1: RELEVANT INTERNATIONAL LABOUR STANDARDS, ILO POLICY INSTRUMENTS AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS

#### ILO conventions and recommendations

- Migration for Employment Convention (Revised), 1949 (No. 97)
- Migration for Employment Recommendation (Revised), 1949 (No. 86)
- Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention, 1975 (No. 143)
- Migrant Workers Recommendation, 1975 (No. 151)

# ILO instruments and guidelines:

- The 2006 ILO Multilateral Framework on Labour Migration
- The 2015 ILO Guidelines for Just Transitions towards environmentally sustainable economies and societies for all
- The 2016 Guiding principles on the access of refugees and other forcibly displaced persons to the labour market
- The 2016 General principles and operational guidelines for fair recruitment
- The Employment and Decent Work for Peace and Resilience Recommendation, 2017 (No. 205)
- Guiding principles on the access of refugees and other forcibly displaced persons to the labour market

# Regional and global instruments:

- The 2016 Bali Declaration<sup>12</sup>
- The 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families<sup>13</sup>
- The 2018 Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration<sup>14</sup>
- Recommendations from the report of the Executive Committee of the Warsaw International Mechanism for Loss and Damage associated with Climate Change Impacts

<sup>12</sup> In December 2016, the ILO's constituents from the Arab States, Asia and the Pacific adopted the Bali Declaration, which calls for enhancing labour migration policies based on relevant international standards that recognize labour market needs; promote fair recruitment; provide adequate protection to all migrant workers, and redress employer-employee relationships impeding workers freedom of movement and their right to terminate employment or change employers.

<sup>13</sup> The 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families is a UN multilateral treaty governing the protection of migrant workers and families that came into force in 2003. Fiji is the only country in the Pacific that has signed the Convention, with Australia, New Zealand and all other Pacific Island Forum members showing no interest. With the backdrop of increasing temporary migrant workers schemes involving Pacific Island countries, a re-examination of the relevance and value of this Convention would be timely.

<sup>14</sup> The 2018 Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration was adopted by the majority of UN member States and formally endorsed by the UN General Assembly. The Compact includes a section on migrants who cross borders because of natural disasters, the adverse effects of climate change or environmental degradation. It includes several actions that States can implement to address environmental and climate drivers of migration, including slow-onset drivers (objective 2); and to enhance the availability and flexibility of regular migration pathways, such as visa options for those affected by climate impacts (objective 5).