

Disaster-induced Displacement: The Case of Small Island Developing States in the Pacific and the Caribbean

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Abstract

In 2015, 19.2 million people have been internally displaced globally in the context of disasters (IDMC, 2016). This is more than twice the number of people who have been newly displaced by conflict in the same period (IDMC, 2016). The small island developing states (SIDS) in the Pacific and the Caribbean belong to the most hazard-prone regions of the world. Yet, the dynamics of disaster-induced displacement and the drivers of displacement risk in SIDS are not well understood. As current data collection methods are inappropriate, many cases of displacement remain unnoticed. To better understand displacement risk drivers, dynamics and current approaches to displacement in the Pacific and Caribbean, 34 interviews with stakeholders from the Caribbean and the Pacific have been conducted, together with a review of 30 disaster risk reduction (DRR), climate change adaptation (CCA) and development policies, focusing on their integration of displacement considerations. The results indicate that generally, Pacific island nations consider human mobility related issues much more thoroughly in their policies and plans than their Caribbean counterparts. Nevertheless, both regions show a general neglect of mobility-related issues in their DRR and CCA policies and plans. Based on the results, it is recommended that displacement considerations are integrated into national DRR and CCA policies and plans. Displacement should be tackled from two angles: risk reduction activities need to be developed which directly target displacement risk, and protection schemes to protect the human rights of those affected, and help to recreate the livelihoods, should be in place.

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Abbreviations

5C/CCCC	Caribbean Community Climate Change Center
AOSIS	Alliance of Small Island States
CARICOM	Caribbean Community
CCA	Climate Change Adaptation
CCRIF	Caribbean Catastrophe Risk Insurance Facility
CDEMA	Caribbean Disaster Emergency Management Agency
CDM	Comprehensive Disaster Management
DRM	Disaster Risk Management
DRR	Disaster Risk Reduction
EM-DAT	Emergency Database
FRDP	Framework for Resilient Development in the Pacific
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GFDRR	Global Facility for Disaster Risk Reduction
GHG	Greenhouse Gas
HFA	Hyogo Framework for Action
IASC	Inter-Agency Standing Committee
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Center
IDP(s)	Internally Displaced Person(s)
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOM	International Organization for Migration
NAP	National Action Plan
NAPA	National Adaptation Programmes of Action
NDMO	National Disaster Management Office
NDRMP	National Disaster Risk Management Plan
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

PDD	Platform on Disaster Displacement
PIFS	Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat
PSIDS	Pacific Small Island Developing State(s)
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SFDRR	Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction
SIDS	Small Island Developing State(s)
SPC	Pacific Community
SVG	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines
TC	Tropical Cyclone
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCAP	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNISDR	United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Risk Reduction
UNU	United Nations University
UNU-EHS	United Nations University - Institute for Environmental and Human Security

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1. Introduction

In 2015, the latest year for which sound statistics exist, 19.2 million people have been internally displaced globally in the context of disasters (IDMC, 2016). This is more than twice the number of people who have been newly displaced by conflict (8.6 million) in the same period (IDMC, 2016). On average 26.4 million people have been displaced annually between 2008 and 2014 in relation to disasters. There is no data on how many people continue to be displaced by disasters over time (IDMC, 2016). Nevertheless, media and policy makers focus to a great extent on the so-called refugee crisis, arising mainly from the conflict-related displacement in the Middle East, with little attention being paid to those who are uprooted in disaster contexts. While the attention to the suffering of those displaced by conflict is important, it is essential not to neglect those who are uprooted in disaster contexts. Disaster-induced displacement has serious effects on those facing it, posing a constraint to their wellbeing and undermining their resilience (Rahn et al., 2017).

Despite the widely spread assumption that disaster-induced displacement is usually a short term round trip event, caused by a single hazardous event, displacement risk is complex and multi-causal, and we are yet to understand the patterns of the risk drivers of displacement, which are not necessarily the same as the risk drivers of disasters in general (Collins, 2017; Ginetti, 2015; Esnard et al., 2011). Disaster-induced displacement is often protracted in character, although little is known about actual numbers of such cases (IDMC, 2015). Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) and Climate Change Adaptation (CCA) have been identified as proactive tools to reduce displacement risk before it manifests itself. The Agenda for the Protection of Cross-Border Displaced Persons in the Context of Disasters and Climate Change (hereafter the Protection Agenda), developed by the Nansen Initiative, clearly emphasizes the need for governments to incorporate displacement risk and protection provisions for displaced people into DRR and CCA plans, policies and laws, both from a risk reduction and from a protection perspective.

As small island developing states (SIDS) have an inherently small and fragile economy (Pelling & Uitto, 2001), disasters can cause massive economic losses. SIDS face annual disaster-related losses amounting to an average of 2% of their Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (IMF, 2016). They make up two third of all countries with the highest annual disaster losses

(GFDRR, 2010). For example, Hurricane Ivan in 2004 caused a GDP loss of almost 200% in the Caribbean island country of Grenada. But not only in economic terms do SIDS carry an extraordinary burden from disasters, but also in terms of the impact on their population. They make up five out of the twenty countries which are facing most disaster-induced displacement relative to population size (IDMC, 2015). A citizen of a SIDS faces today three times greater risk of being displaced in disaster context than a person who lives in another region (IDMC 2015). Examples of extreme cases of displacement illustrate SIDS' extraordinary high-risk levels. When the volcano La Soufrière began erupting in the small Caribbean island of Montserrat in 1995, much of the island became uninhabitable, and around two-third of the entire population left the island, mostly towards other Caribbean states, the UK or the US (Hill, 2014).

Nevertheless, due to the small size and population, SIDS are rarely in the focus of attention of the public and policy makers. While the sinking islands narrative (Farbotko, 2010) has led to some level of attention to the issue of displacement, especially with a focus on sea level rise, in the Pacific, Caribbean small islands (with the exception of Haiti) are rarely in the center of the international attention.

With climate change being predicted to not only lead to sea level rise, but also to more intensive and unpredictable natural hazards such as hurricanes (IPCC, 2012), SIDS are likely to face difficult times ahead. Globally, the risk of being displaced in relation to a disaster is four times higher today than it was in 1970 (IDMC, 2015), and this trend does not show signs of reversion. The Platform on Disaster Displacement (2017a) called this issue “one of the biggest humanitarian challenges of the 21st century”.

These alarming prospects make it important to understand the dynamics increase the displacement risk, and how to address such a risk appropriately. Asking the question how current DRR and CCA strategies in SIDS in the Caribbean and the Pacific region address the risk of disaster-induced displacement, this research aimed at comparing current risk drivers and strategies towards addressing disaster-induced displacement risk in SIDS, to identify differences, similarities, learning points and current gaps. For this purpose, a comparative case study was drawn from the regions of the insular Caribbean and Pacific. A deeper understanding of particularities of SIDS with regards to exposure, vulnerability and

displacement risk was further developed, specifically, with regards to protracted displacement, as there are fundamental knowledge gaps. Through conducted interviews with stakeholders from the two regions, the researchers strived to contribute to close this gap.

2. Concepts and Context

This chapter outlines the key concepts used in this research and introduces different approaches towards policy making with regards to disaster-induced displacement identified in key literature. Current policy approaches are assessed. Finally, the case of SIDS, as a distinct category of countries with an exceptional level of disaster and displacement risk, is introduced.

2.1 Conceptual Background

In this section, the environmental stress - human mobility nexus is discussed, with a special focus on disaster-induced displacement. The latest literature on disaster-induced displacement is introduced, emphasizing the complexity and multi-causal nature of disaster-related displacement. Terminological and theoretical difficulties are introduced, alongside with definitions of key terms used throughout this research.

2.1.1 Environmental Stress and Human Mobility

Much has been written on the environmental stress – human mobility nexus (Zetter & Morrissey, 2014; Esnard & Sapat, 2014; McAdam, 2012). Since the mid-1980s, an increasing awareness has built up that manmade climate variations can have a potentially large influence on human mobility trends (El-Hinnawi, 1985). In the early 2000s, a number of publications emphasizing the potentially massive number of ‘environmental’ or ‘climate refugees’, resulting directly from climate change within a few decades have fueled the discussion (Myers, 2002; Christian Aid, 2007). More recent research points to the highly complex interactions of various factors (political, social, economic and environmental), which ultimately shape mobility trends, shifting away from a direct causality between environmental stress and mobility (Black, 2001; Piguet, 2012; Morrissey, 2012).

The terminology used in discussing human mobility and environmental stress varies widely (Warner et al., 2013) and a myriad of terms has been used to describe the different forms of environmentally related mobility; often, these are not properly differentiated (Renaud et al., 2007). Recent publications have advocated a distinction between three major categories of environmentally induced mobility: (forced) displacement, (voluntary) migration and (voluntary) planned relocation (see figure 1; AGCCHM, 2014). It is important to differentiate

between different types of human mobility, as people face different needs before, during and after their movement, depending on driver and type of mobility (Warner et al., 2013). Often, a clear-cut separation of these categories is difficult, and it is in most cases impossible to determine to what degree the movement is attributed to the environmental stress, or more specifically, to climate change (Black et al., 2013). Secondly, in many cases, no clear separation between voluntary and forced movements can be made (McAdam, 2012). Voluntariness is in this context not understood as a complete freedom of choice, but as the existence of realistic and viable alternatives (AGCCHM, 2014; Kälin, 2013). In this regard, Warner et al. (2013) suggest distinguishing between vulnerable and resilient forms of migration.

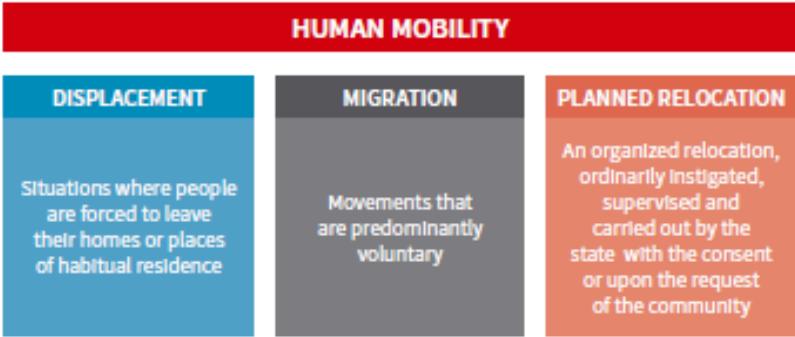


Figure 1: Human mobility in the context of environmental stress. (Advisory Group on Climate Change and Human Mobility, 2014).

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) made an important differentiation between voluntary migration and forced displacement, stating that the risk of being displaced increases for those households, which do not have “the resources to migrate [and] experience higher exposure to extreme weather events, in both rural and urban areas, particularly in low-income developing countries” (Adger et al., 2014). Migration, conceptualized as a voluntary movement, was here a strategy to reduce displacement risk and those who cannot migrate are in a situation of being trapped in a highly exposed setting, which might lead to forced displacement. Generally, an anticipatory voluntary movement can be a form of adaptation to environmental stress and a survival strategy (Hugo, 2008), while forced displacement is a loss suffered from environmental stress.

The authors avoid using climate-focused terms like climate change-induced displacement or climate refugees. Both from a protection and a risk reduction perspective, separating between

those displaced by climate-related hazards and, for example, earthquakes or volcano eruptions, seems arbitrary. These people are likely to face similar needs in the displacement situation and the underlying risk drivers influencing exposure and vulnerability are likely similar. Attributing a single hazard to climate change is impossible, which undermines the logic of a merely climate-based focus. There might be a few cases where this is possible, i.e. island nation which lose territory due to sea-level rise, but the discussion about attribution should take place in a legal realm (Biermann & Boas, 2008; Albrecht & Plewa, 2015; McAdam, 2012). Legally, the concept of a “climate refugee” does not exist (McAdam, 2012).

This being said, there is no doubt that climate change and the associated increased intensity, frequency and unpredictability of some natural hazards, both slow-onset and sudden (IPCC, 2012), sea level rise (IDMC, 2015, Yonetani, 2016), as well as less predictable growing seasons (Boyer & McKinnon, 2015), will increase population displacement, as the IPCC acknowledged in their latest assessment report (Adger et al., 2014). There is a considerable knowledge gap on how exactly climate change, migration, development, and disasters interact (Upreti & Shrestha, 2017).

2.1.2 Disaster-induced Displacement

This research focused on one type of human mobility, namely displacement in disastrous contexts. Displacement is defined as a “situation where people are forced to leave their homes or places of habitual residence as a result of a disaster or in order to avoid the impact of an immediate and foreseeable natural hazard” (PDD, 2017b).

Disaster-induced displacement (or, often interchangeably used, disaster displacement (Esnard & Sapat, 2014) or disaster-related displacement (Ginetti, 2015)), thus refers to a natural event, which has such effects that it exceeds the coping capacity of the affected population, forcing them to move. Such movement can be internal or trans-boundary. Importantly, the hazard is not the cause of displacement but the trigger, which leads to a manifestation of the underlying risk drivers (IOM, 2016). In most case, it is impossible to pin an increase in displacement risk to specific environmental processes. Rather, the increasing complexity of human-environment systems and the lack of proper management of these have been identified as the major drivers of an increased number of people generally affected by disasters (Ferris & Solís, 2007). This is consistent with the findings of the UK Foresight (2011) project, which concluded that

“environmental change will affect migration now and in the future, specifically through its influence on a range of economic, social and political drivers, which themselves affect migration. The range and complexity of the interactions between these drivers mean that it will rarely be possible to distinguish individuals, for whom environmental factors are the sole driver (‘environmental migrants’)”.

Thus, one needs to be careful about linear attribution of cause and impact when speaking of the connection of disasters and displacement. According to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Center (IDMC) (Ginetti, 2015), one of the causes of the increase in the number of displaced people is due to the decline in the number of fatalities per disaster, which can be attributed to increased levels of preparedness. An increase in displaced people could thus also be described as a reflection of better disaster management systems.

Nevertheless, displacement negatively influences recovery efforts, undermines resilience, increases the vulnerability of those who move, puts pressure on host communities, increases the risk of impoverishment and generally undermines the wellbeing of those affected (Rahn et al., 2017; Esnard & Sapat, 2014).

Disaster-induced displacement is usually separated from conflict displacement, where the trigger of the movement is a violent conflict, and development displacement, which relates to situations where people are forced to move to make space for development projects (IDMC, 2015). Notably, these three forms of displacement can also be interrelated, and a clear separation is not always possible (Wood, 2015).

There is a substantial data gap with regards to disaster-induced displacement (Black et al., 2013; IDMC, 2015; Ginetti, 2015). Often the categories “homeless”, “evacuee” and “displaced” are lumped together in current statistics on disaster-induced displacement (Black et al., 2013), regardless of duration and distance of movement, as well as the influence of the movement on livelihoods. This results in misleading data sets. For example, Cuba is widely considered a role model for disaster risk management (DRM) policies in the Caribbean (ECLAC, 2011); but ranks notoriously high in displacement statistics (IDMC, 2015). This can be explained by the strong evacuation system Cuba has in place¹. As a result of this data gap,

¹ For example, before the 2016 Hurricane Matthew, Cuba evacuated over one million people (10% of its population) out of the danger zone (OCHA, 2016a). All these are counted as displaced people in the available statistics.

it is difficult to identify successes in displacement risk reduction attributable to a specific project.

According to Siddiqui et al. (2015), it is important to focus on two goals: the primary goal is to prevent displacement from happening by carrying out specific risk reduction activities; and the secondary goal should be to prepare for an eventual displacement situation. Risk reduction activities are also important to prevent displacement from becoming protracted (IDMC, 2015).

2.1.3 Protracted Displacement

The International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC, 2012) notes that the scale and complexity of disaster-induced displacement are increasing, as is the proportion of affected people living in protracted displacement situations. According to the Crawford et al. (2015), 80% of all conflict and disaster-related displacement situations worldwide are protracted, with an average duration of a displacement situation of 17 years (UNDP, 2017).

No commonly agreed definition of what constitutes protracted displacement exists², nor is there a system which monitors disaster-induced displacement over time (Ginetti, 2015). Therefore, not many data-based facts on the extent of protracted disaster-related displacement are available. Thus, a crucial issue with protracted displacement is that often, displaced people “drop off the radar as residual caseloads” of humanitarian organizations and governmental programs after the immediate response period (IDMC, 2015)³. This is what Crisp et al. (2012) called the “invisibility factor”, meaning that especially people displaced in an urban context tend to blend into the urban life. This adds to the difficulty to determine when a displacement situation has actually ended. The Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC, 2010) stated that a displacement situation ends once those affected “no longer have any specific assistance and protection needs that are linked to their displacement and can enjoy their human rights without discrimination on account of their displacement”. This state is usually reached once

² UNHCR (2015) defined protracted displacement as a situation where “25,000 or more refugees from the same nationality have been in exile for five or more years”. This definition means that countries with small population numbers, as SIDS, will hardly ever fall within this definition. Others defined protracted displacement as situations which exceed a certain amount of time, e.g., one year (IDMC, 2015).

³ A 2014 survey among more than 2,500 households in Port-au-Prince found that 74% of persons who were initially displaced after the 2010 earthquake still consider themselves displaced although they do not reside in formal camps anymore (Sherwood et al., 2014).

persons have returned to their place of habitation, have been locally integrated into the community they were displaced to, or have been resettled somewhere else (IASC, 2010).

Planning for human mobility in disaster context has long been limited to evacuations, which was understood as a short-term round-trip⁴. With increasing exposure to and magnitude of disasters, there has been a shift away from this understanding (Guadagno, 2017; Yonetani, 2016; Esnard & Sapat, 2014; Sorenson & Vogt, 2006; Oliver-Smith, 2006). Esnard and Sapat (2014) speak in this regard of an “evacuation continuum” to illustrate that the border between being evacuated and being displaced is not clear cut.

2.1.4 A Risk Perspective

Disasters are increasingly seen as social constructs far from being natural events (Oliver-Smith et al., 2016), and such are the associated losses and societal changes, including displacement. The Platform on Disaster Displacement (PDD, 2017b) stated that disaster displacement “results from the fact that affected persons are (i) exposed to (ii) a natural hazard in a situation where (iii) they are too vulnerable and lack the resilience to withstand the impacts of that hazard”.

Thus, displacement risk can be summarized in the formula:

Hazard + Vulnerability + Exposure = Displacement Risk (Ginetti, 2015)

Factors and processes, which increase exposure and vulnerability, are called risk drivers (Oliver-Smith et al., 2016). A focus on risk drivers opens the window for an analysis, which accepts the reality that people are not moving for a single reason, but because of a complex interaction of various factors, which at the end can accumulate to a level where there is no other viable option than leaving. It allows for an anticipatory perspective, acknowledging that risk is socially constructed and can be reduced by appropriate actions, based on the knowledge of what the risk drivers are.

⁴ For an early critique of this assumption, see Quarantelli (1980).

Both vulnerability and exposure are not equally distributed among a society, but depend on a variety of socio-economical and political factors, which are related to the distribution of power within a society (Zetter & Morrissey, 2014; Oliver-Smith et al., 2016). Hewitt (2017) stated that “while environmental hazards are indiscriminate agents, in social terms their impacts become discriminatory disasters”. Thus, displacement can never be seen as a purely environmental issue, or natural outcome of a hazard, but must be addressed in a larger political and social context. Vulnerability and exposure are man-made characteristics, which result from “skewed development processes” (Ginetti, 2015) and “precarious social histories (Hewitt, 2017).

Risk only exists if there are elements of value which can be lost. These elements of value are inherently a social construction. Disasters do not exist independently of human systems (Oliver-Smith et al., 2016). Relating this to displacement, the most obvious element of value, which is lost, is the home. The home does not only apply to the physical structure providing shelter; the home rather entails the social structures as well as the livelihood, which forms the economic base (Zetter & Morrissey, 2014). Fragile livelihoods based in highly exposed areas are a major driver of increased displacement risk globally (IDMC, 2015). Extensive risks have the potential to gradually erode the livelihoods especially of the poor (López-Marrero & Wisner, 2012). Displacement is more than the mere loss of physical shelter; it also includes the loss of the social and economic backbone of a community.

It is increasingly acknowledged that there are specific risk drivers of displacement, which need to be addressed with special focus (Collins, 2017; Ginetti, 2015). While it is universally accepted that the exposure to a hazard increases the risk of being displaced, Esnard et al. (2011) wrote that “[o]ne cannot simply assume that factors, which are traditionally attributed to vulnerability, will have a positive correlation with displacement risk”. In other words, the set of factors, which create vulnerability to displacement, cannot just be assumed to be the same as the factors which create vulnerability to disasters in general.

2.2 Policy Approaches to Disaster-induced Displacement

In this section, the two main approaches applied in disaster-induced displacement policy research are described: the protection approach and the risk-governance approach. It is important to note that these approaches are not mutually exclusive.

2.2.1 Protection Approach

Much has been written about the lack of protection mechanisms for displaced persons, especially in the case of trans-boundary displacement. This approach sets out with the reasoning that persons displaced by disasters face a protection gap as they do not qualify as refugees in international law and are not sufficiently addressed in other international agreements such as the UNFCCC, the Sendai Framework, the Paris Agreement⁵ or the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (PDD, 2017a; Kolmannskog & Trebbi, 2010; Cohen & Bradley, 2010; Türk & Dowd, 2014; Albrecht & Plewa, 2015; McAdam, 2012; Wilkinson et al., 2016).

The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (UNHCR, 1998) are the primary tool for the protection of internally displaced persons (IDPs), in the context of disaster, conflict, and development. According to the Guiding Principles, a state has an obligation not to arbitrarily displace its citizens. Fisher (2010) argues that it amounts to arbitrary displacement if a state does not reduce its citizens' risk of being displaced by a disaster. Therefore, it is a state's obligation to prevent its citizens from being displaced as a result of disasters. The Guiding Principles is a non-binding instrument of international law, depending on individual countries to transfer them into national legislation.

Suggestions developed to overcome the protection gap include the integration of people displaced in the context of disaster into the 1949 Geneva Convention (Docherty & Giannini, 2009), a global compact (Wilkinson et al., 2016), the establishment of a separate international treaty providing protection (CRI-DEAU & CRDP, 2008), an amendment to the Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) (Bierman & Boas, 2008; Williams, 2008; Albrecht & Plewa, 2015), as well as regional treaties regulating disaster-related displacement (McAdam, 2012).

The Protection Agenda, which was launched in 2015 as a result of the work of the Nansen Initiative (renamed Platform on Disaster Displacement in 2015), aims at filling the protection gap for people who are displaced across borders in a disaster context. It points to two key approaches: the protection of cross-border displaced persons, and the management of

⁵ In its preamble, the Paris Agreement does however point to the need to “develop recommendations for integrated approaches to avert, minimise and address displacement related to the adverse impacts of climate change”.

displacement risk in the home country. In its recommendations for future action, it stated that “climate change adaptation and disaster risk management strategies, plans and laws” should be developed, which “specifically incorporate disaster displacement risk and protection needs”. Notably, the term protection does not only apply to those who are already displaced, but also to those at risk of being displaced.

2.2.2 Risk-governance Approach

The approach looking specifically at the risk of disaster-induced displacement, including the investigation of risk drivers and displacement risk mitigation activities has not received the same level of attention as the protection perspective. The underlying reasoning for this school of thought is that it is at least equally important to investigate the underlying risk drivers of disaster-induced displacement and address these through risk reduction measures as is protecting those who are displaced⁶.

In order to be able to address the risk adequately, information about the “ongoing changes to underlying risk drivers” (Ginetti, 2015) must be available. The New York Declaration (2016), the resulting document from the UN Summit for Refugees and Migrants, states the importance of finding “effective strategies to ensure adequate protection and assistance for IDPs and to prevent and reduce such displacement”, specifically referring to disaster risk reduction as an important tool to do so.

The risk governance approach has received increasing attention after Hurricane Katrina in 2005, with scholars investigating risk drivers of displacement (e.g., Koerber, 2006; Phillips & Morrow, 2007; Myers, Slack & Singelmann, 2008) and attempts to develop disaster displacement risk indices (e.g., Esnard et al., 2011; FEMA, 2006; French et al., 2008; Lin, 2009).

The Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction (SFDRR) acknowledged human mobility as a “global risk dynamic” (Guadagno, 2016), and that different forms of mobility can both be an outcome and a cause of disasters. This is a major shift in discourse from its predecessor, the Hyogo Framework for Action (HFA), which had one reference to human mobility, stating

⁶ Disaster risk reduction “aims to understand how socio-environmental processes produce or reduce vulnerability and risk [and] to prevent these processes from resulting in disasters” (Guadagno, 2017). Climate change related risk reduction measures are called climate change adaptation (CCA).

that population movement can cause vulnerability and exposure, as can the efforts addressing them. Paragraph 6 of the SFDRR identified “demographic change” as a driver of disaster risk. Interestingly, it specifically pointed to the importance of “prevention or relocation [...] of human settlements in disaster risk zones” (paragraph 27k), a strategy to reduce displacement risk. Paragraph 28(d) specifically mentions ecosystem-based approaches for displacement risk reduction.

From a national policy perspective, the 2015 Bangladesh National Strategy on Managing Disaster and Climate-Induced Displacement was the first national policy worldwide, which solely focused on the disaster-induced displacement issue. Bangladesh is known as being one of the countries with the highest displacement rates worldwide (IDMC, 2015), with every seventh Bangladeshi being projected to be displaced by climate change by 2050 (CDMP II, 2014). Actions for managing displacement are divided into the three displacement phases. The strategy describes different risk reduction and protection activities in each phase.

It acknowledges that both risk governance and protection are essential in managing displacement. In the pre-displacement phase, risk reduction measures are recommended for prevention of and preparedness for displacement. During the displacement phase, humanitarian action is supposed to protect those who have been displaced. During the post-displacement phase, the strategy recommends measures to reduce the risk of displacement becoming protracted. In this strategy, risk reduction activities are thus seen as essential in two phases of displacement. The strategy applies rights-based approach, focusing on human rights protection of displaced persons during all three phases of displacement.

2.3 Context: Disasters and Displacement in Small Island Developing States

This research focuses on disaster and displacement risk, and policy approaches thereto, in SIDS in the Caribbean and Pacific region. Several definitions of what constitutes a SIDS exist. This research does not dive into this political discussion and thus used a geographical approach to determine which countries and territories to include (annex a).

The World Bank (2014) found that two-third of the countries with the highest relative annual disaster losses in terms of GDP are SIDS. On average, SIDS lose approximately 2% of annual GDP as a result of natural hazards, which is four times the global average (IMF, 2016). Already more than two decades ago, the Barbados Programme of Action for Sustainable

Development (BPOA, 1994) stated that SIDS face substantially different levels of risk than other geographical entities and are thus “high-risk entities” (Art. 9).

It is well established that these geographical entities face unique challenges under environmental stress. In 1993, Briguglio found that nine out of ten countries most vulnerable to disasters are SIDS. This finding was explained by the basic characteristics of these countries: small size and insularity and the consequential challenges arising from these. These characteristics limit the options for safe development activities and settlements. Hazards can impact the entirety of a SIDS, thus having a disproportionately high impact on the country’s population and economy (Nurse et al, 2014).

Also in economic terms, SIDS face inherent challenges. The small size reduces the availability of natural resources and thus the dependence on imports, which makes the countries vulnerable to global economic fluctuations (Briguglio et al., 2009). Due to their remoteness and small size, SIDS are considered by economists to face a comparative disadvantage on the global market, i.e. inherently, the prices of their products can hardly compete with other nations, as per unit production costs are high (Winters & Martins, 2004). Many of the states are highly indebted, which limits their access to funds for preparing for and responding to disasters (Calderon & Fajnzylber, 2009; Auguste & Conerjo, 2015). The level of debt in many of these countries has steeply risen since the 1990s, as a result of changing global trade regulations (López-Marrero & Wisner, 2012). Economies on SIDS are extraordinarily dependent on functioning infrastructures. At the same time, per unit adaptation costs especially in terms of infrastructural improvements are much higher in SIDS than in continental territories. Resulting from these high costs, island infrastructures are often not redundant (Winters & Martin, 2004; Nurse et al., 2014).

SIDS are considered as the biggest losers of climate change. While only contributing marginally to global greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, they belong to the countries which face the greatest negative effects of climate change (Nurse et al. 2014). Kelman (2013) noted that climate change in itself does not create formerly unknown challenges for SIDS but is rather a continuation of a marginalization and development challenges of these countries which face a constant lack of resources to deal with the challenges.

Empirical analysis clearly states that SIDS face an extraordinary displacement risk (IDMC, 2015; Ginetti, 2015). While in absolute terms, the number of affected people is relatively small, even small damages can have large social and economic impacts, including displacement, which is why disasters here should be perceived in relation to scale (OHCHR, 2011). Inhabitants of SIDS face three times higher displacement risk than the global average (IDMC, 2015). Relative to their population size, five of the twenty most affected countries in terms of disaster-induced displacement are SIDS (IDMC, 2015).

However, specific analyses for displacement risk in SIDS hardly exist, as the total number of people affected in a single case is often relatively small and overshadowed by larger countries (IDMC, 2015). There is a substantial lack of literature on disaster-induced displacement with a focus on SIDS, especially with a regional focus on the Caribbean. The authors could not identify a single scientific paper on disaster-induced displacement and its risk in the Caribbean, apart from work focusing on Haiti, whereas some exist in the Pacific context.

Available data also show very high annual fluctuations with regards to disaster-induced displacement in SIDS (see figure 2).

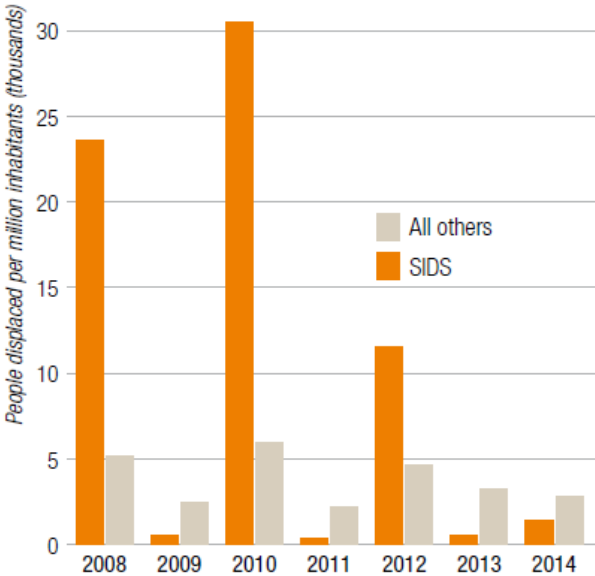


Figure 2: Comparison of disaster-induced displacement in SIDS and other countries (IDMC, 2015)

These extreme fluctuations shown in figure 2 can be explained by the characteristics of SIDS described above, especially the fact that a single disaster can have devastating effects on the entire population of a country at once⁷.

It is important to note that SIDS are by no means a homogenous group of countries with the same vulnerabilities and capacities. They are substantially different in terms of geography, culture and socio-political organization. Nevertheless, there has been a tendency to analyze them as a group (Nurse et al., 2014), which is due to a certain set of characteristics which “have distinguished them as a particular group in international affairs” (Nurse et al., 2014).

⁷ The extraordinarily high values of 2008 and 2010 can be explained by two major events: Hurricane Ike (2008) which caused great havoc in the Greater Antilles and the 2010 Haiti Earthquake.

3. Research Methodology

The research draws on a comparative case study between the two regions of the Caribbean and Pacific, which are treated as cases. The methodology of this research is based on a triangulation of data sources. It includes up-to-date literature on the issue of disaster-induced displacement, with a focus on SIDS, secondary quantitative data from the disaster database EM-DAT and the IDMC, and primary qualitative data collected through conducted interviews. A policy review of current development, disaster risk reduction and climate change adaptation strategies in the two regions was performed, with an in-depth analysis of a number of selected countries.

3.1 Data collection

Qualitative semi-structured interviews (Bryman, 2016) were conducted with international, regional and national professionals with different backgrounds, engaged with DRR, CCA and displacement in SIDS in different ways. The approach of semi-structured interviews enabled flexibility in the interviews, together with some structure ensuring cross-case comparability. Additionally, as both researchers were carrying out the data collection, this approach ensured comparability of interviewing style (Bryman, 2016).

Respondents were selected on the basis of their affiliation, location, and experience with projects on DRR, CCA, and displacement. They were categorized into the following four categories: 1) UN/International/regional agencies; 2) Non-governmental Organizations; 3) Governmental agencies, and 4) Research institutions. Through the snowball-strategy (Maaløe, 2002) it was possible to expand the network of respondents. The number of interviews was determined as the research reached the saturation point, where new interviews were no longer contributing with new knowledge and mostly repetitive. In total, 34 interviews (13 in the Pacific, 13 in the Caribbean and 8 with an international focus) were conducted through face-to-face (10), Skype/telephone (23) and written (1) interview methods. The interview respondents in total represent 15 different countries within the two regions, with most of the interviews conducted in English; three interviews were conducted in Spanish.

The rationale for using qualitative interviews was the opportunity to collect in-depth information, based in the context of the research (Andersen et al., 2012), to fill the

information gaps, to reduce personal bias in the research and to collect cases of displacement, which are not reported in databases. Semi-structured interviews had the advantage of not being as time-consuming as non-structured interviews and present an opportunity to question new emerging themes and to rephrase questions to match the specific context, which the structured interview does not equally allow (Berg, 2009). Additionally, semi-structured interviews allowed the researchers to have the same starting point for the interview, as interviews were conducted simultaneously in the two regions. The interview guide (annex c) was developed on the basis of three themes; current disaster-induced displacement in the region/country, disaster-induced displacement risk drivers in the region/country, and reducing disaster-induced displacement risk in the region/country. Additionally, the respondents were asked to describe their personal experience with DRR, CCA, and displacement.

To avoid “aggregate fallacies” (Lor, 2011) the respondents were asked before the interview, to clearly state whether they in their answers refer to the region (Caribbean or Pacific), to a particular country, or to SIDS in general, providing a contextual understanding. The respondents were asked for their understanding of the term displacement and were informed about the definition of the term used in this research to ensure that all parties have a mutual understanding of the used concept. The respondents were also asked for what they see as the major risk drivers of displacement and to provide examples of displacement from their professional experience. Due to the limitations of the methodology, the results should not be generalized, but interpreted as the opinion of those interviewed based on their professional experience.

All interviews were recorded and transcribed to make all interviews available for both researchers. Each interview was given a code consisting of a letter and a number, with the letter indicating whether the respondent answered with regards to the Caribbean (C), the Pacific (P) or generally with regards to small islands in general (I). In this way, the anonymity of the respondents was ensured. Through open coding (Andersen et al., 2012), relevant quotes from the interview transcriptions were grouped in a matrix, based on identified themes and subthemes, identified based on repetitions, similarities, and differences in the interviews (Byron, 2016). In the matrix, interviews were compared, contrasted and analyzed between the respondents.

For the policy analysis, in total 25 national (13 Caribbean and 12 Pacific) and 5 regional (3 Caribbean and 2 Pacific) mechanisms were reviewed (annex b). The researchers aimed at identifying and analyzing policy documents, which shape the regions' and countries' DRR and CCA policies. As not all countries have official DRR and CCA strategies, especially in the Caribbean, proxy documents had to be picked. These included development, resilience building, and sustainability strategies.

The strategies were analyzed using a matrix method, which assessed to what extent they include provisions to prevent, prepare for and address displacement, and incorporate displacement risk as proposed by the Protection Agenda. Further, it was assessed if any provisions aiming at preventing the displacement from becoming protracted, such as durable solutions (e.g. local integration, facilitation of return or resettlement), and if any measures aiming at protecting displaced people, specifically measures based on the Guidelines for Internal Displacement, are included.

The researchers have used the most up to date literature on displacement, aiming at only including literature not older than five years, which has been identified through keyword searches in the Lund University library database and recommendations from respondents.

Key regional policies, frameworks, and networks, endorsed or attended by government representatives from the regions, have been assessed to understand the existing regional mechanisms for DRR and CCA, in relation to disaster-induced displacement. Additionally, three countries of each region were selected for in-depth analysis, to get a deeper understanding of the policies in place on a national level. In the development of the criteria for the selection of these countries, the researchers assessed data from EM-DAT. EM-DAT only keeps a record of events, which have killed ten or more people, affected 100 or more people, where the country declared a national emergency or where country asked for international support (EM-DAT, 2009). This data will therefore most likely not include several small-scale displacement situations, which are relatively common in SIDS. The researchers developed the following criteria for the selection of countries: 1) cases mentioned by respondents, 2) representative example of the region and SIDS (size, population, and economy), 3) Countries that have experienced displacement, 4) Available and initiated DRR and CCA strategies. Further, due to the lack of literature, the researchers prioritized countries

from where they had an interview partner. Extraordinary cases, such as Haiti and Papua New Guinea, were omitted as these have substantially different characteristics from the rest of the regions, and a focus on these would exceed the scope of this research. The identified countries therefore showed to be: Fiji, Kiribati and Vanuatu in the Pacific, and Jamaica, Grenada and St. Vincent and the Grenadines in the Caribbean.

3.2 Limitations

One of the main limitations is the fact that displacement is a political issue, which has led to a lack of respondents from government agencies, together with potentially overly cautious answers threatening both the validity and reliability of the research.

A risk of using the snowball strategy is that respondents might be too similar in their perspectives, leading to the same type of information (Miles & Huberman, 1994). This study does not claim to be statistically generalizable. The interviews helped to develop a deeper understanding of how respondents and key actors in the regions experience and address the risk of disaster-induced displacement and to overcome the knowledge gap together with the researcher's' personal bias. The lack of data, e.g. exact numbers of people displaced in both regions, challenged the researchers' ability to provide a quantitative perspective of disaster-induced displacement.

Another limitation is that this research focuses on two large macro-social regions, which makes this approach prone to obscuring intra-regional differences. With a large number of countries to consider, there is no way around a broad abstraction. Treating the Caribbean and Pacific island states as distinct cases with special climatic vulnerabilities is relatively common (see for example ECLAC, 2011; UNU-EHS, 2015). Both regions have some kind of regional disaster risk governance approach, and they are organized jointly in the Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS). Nevertheless, the intra-regional differences and intra-country differences are vast (López-Marrero & Wisner, 2012), which do get lost to some extent throughout a comparative study of macro-social regions (Lor, 2011).

4. Results and Discussion

In this section, the results of the interviews and the policy are presented. First, it is stated what respondents identified as the most pressing risk drivers. Next, the Pacific and the Caribbean cases are analyzed, with regards to how the regional DRR and CCA mechanisms incorporate disaster-induced displacement. The policies of three country examples per region are reviewed in greater detail. It is investigated if displacement risk management or protection measures are integrated into policies. Any statement not referenced in this section is a result of the qualitative research.

There is a substantial lack of data and literature on displacement in both regions, and the patterns and trends of displacement are yet to be mapped out. Generally, respondents stated that they could not provide any hard data on the overall displacement trends or current displacement figures in either of the regions. Nevertheless, almost every interview partner was able to give an example of a displacement situation, many of which were currently ongoing and of a protracted nature, which is consistent with a study conducted by the IDMC (2015). Respondents had a high level of agreement that displacement numbers have increased over the past decade in both regions. Almost all respondents from both regions emphasized that they expect an increase in displacement numbers during the next few decades.

4.1 Displacement Risk Drivers in the Caribbean and Pacific

It is essential to understand what the displacement risk drivers are, in order to adequately address them in policy making. Hence, respondents in this research were asked to state the most pressing displacement risk drivers in their opinion. The results are outlined below. The researchers do not claim that the drivers described below offer a complete list; they have to be seen as the opinion of those interviewed. Across the two regions, the respondents named very similar risk drivers and had a high level of agreement on what the displacement risk drivers are. No major differences in the identified risk drivers between the studied regions were identified. The risk drivers have been categorized into socio-economic, political, physical and complex drivers. While many of these displacement risk drivers will overlap with generic drivers of disaster risk (Ginetti, 2015), one cannot simply assume that these are the same.

4.1.1 Socio-economic Drivers

The majority of respondents emphasized that displacement risk is not equally distributed among the society, but affects certain population groups more than others. In both regions poverty, aggravated by socio-economic factors, was pointed out as a major driver, increasing the exposure and vulnerability of those being displaced by disasters. Several respondents from both regions emphasized the interaction between poverty and informal settlements (also referred to as ‘squatter settlements’), which are often located in high-risk zones. Due to the small size of many islands, available land for safe settlements is very limited. This is especially aggravated in volcanic islands, where much of the land is either located along the coastline or on slopes (Wilkinson et al., 2016).

As a result, people are pushed to settle in these high-risk areas, increasing their exposure to potential hazards. Lack of available safe land interacts with the population growth and urbanization that both regions are currently facing (Donovan, 2014; UNU, 2016), which shrinks the availability of safe land. For example, in late 2015, heavy rains in Dominica have caused landslides and the destruction of the community Petite Savanne, which was located along steep slopes displacing approximately 300 families. The lack of save land and other political issues delayed the assistance, leaving those affected in a state of protracted displacement and the government is currently looking for relocation possibilities to a new community in 2017 (Government of Dominica, 2016).

Connected to this, several respondents in both regions underlined insecure land tenure rights systems as a risk driver. The Caribbean system is largely paper-based, whereas in the Pacific the characteristic of customary tenures, which is the majority of land, is that land titles are usually not written down (Fingleton, 2008). Several respondents mentioned how the land tenure systems lead to issues of proving ownership of land after the passage of a disaster, which often prolongs displacement situations. One respondent stated: “*So you lose documents on ownership, [...] and you are now recovering - there comes the quarrel or the struggle over who owns what*“ (C-1). This issue further unfolds in the Pacific, where government representatives describe how customary land challenges the government’s ability to facilitate and keep track of internal movements within customary land. Without official land titles, people lack access to insurance markets (López-Marrero & Wisner, 2012).

The collapse of the traditionally strong social bonds in both regions was mentioned several times as a factor prolonging the displacement situation. For example, people cannot rely on the system of remittance as strongly as before. Previously, when people moved to urban areas, or abroad, it would be expected that they would send money back home to the communities. Due to changes in demographics and urbanization, this link has started to erode. This has to be seen in a context of the absence of strong social protections schemes or livelihood insurance schemes, through which people are especially dependent on communal support in times of hardship. This leads to a lack of resources, which can be used to rebuild and recreate livelihoods affected by a disaster.

4.1.2 Political Drivers

Respondents pointed to the political sensitivity of displacement, resulting in a lack of attention and neglect in policies (see for example IDMC, 2013), which can increase displacement risk and the risk of displacement becoming protracted.

During the interviews, it became evident that most governments try to avoid the discussion on the issue for various reasons, especially internally. One respondent from the Pacific underlined: *“An interesting point in our region to notice globally is that our countries are leading the debate and discussion on this issue. Regionally, it’s not getting a mention”* (P-1).

Correspondingly, many respondents from outside the government reflected on how disaster-induced displacement is frequent, but often not registered by the governments, resulting in the mentioned lack of data. One respondent explained, with regards to Vanuatu that the government perceives this type of movement as a local coping mechanism rather than displacement, and does not intervene as they fear an increase in the dependency on the government or to damage the self-reliance. The term ‘displacement’ seems to let the governments appear passive, which is why this is not accepted in politics: *“Displacement is considered as a disrespectful term”* (C-4). In this regard, studies reveal a psychological and political resistance in the Pacific to be seen as climate refugees, as islanders feels a threat to their identity (Barnett & Webber, 2009; Barnett & Chamberlain, 2010; McAdam & Loughry, 2009; McNamara & Gibson, 2009; Barnett & O’Neil, 2012).

A civil society movement in the Pacific refers to islanders as “climate warriors”, rejecting the notion of climate-change-related displacement and emphasizing the need to enable the islanders to remain on their land (350 Pacific, 2014). This challenges the development of a policy for migration as an adaptive strategy (Campbell & Warrick, 2014).

As governments and humanitarian actors do not properly monitor disaster-related IDPs, they will not be aware of any special needs or if human rights are compromised. Without being officially registered, the legal standing of those displaced is limited. Several respondents in the regions mentioned that displacement management is responsive in the regions, as helping those displaced is more visible than reducing the displacement risk, making responsive measures more attractive to the political side.

Displacement situations in SIDS often go unnoticed by the international humanitarian community, as humanitarian actors prioritize their actions based on the total number of people affected, rather than on the affected ratio of the population, as was pointed out by several respondents. One respondent underlined: *“As a humanitarian, we are supposed to go according to needs, the highest number of people affected. So that is why a lot of the humanitarian attention is on South Sudan, you have tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of people displaced. Or Somalia. But then people in the Caribbean would argue: But it is ten percent of our population! [...] But from a humanitarian perspective, it is kind of hard to say this, we are more concerned about the 100.000 than about the ten percent because it only represents a few hundred”* (C-5).

Political factors can contribute to the risk of disaster-induced displacement. For example, due to recent changes in the immigration law of the Dominican Republic, many people of Haitian background were forced to leave the country towards Haiti (Amnesty, 2016), where they did not have resources to sustain themselves and ended up in squatter settlements in high-risk zones on the Haitian side of the border in Anse-à-Pitres, and when hurricane Matthew hit in 2016, it led to displacement of these communities.

4.1.3 Physical Drivers

Many respondents across the regions pointed to environmental degradation as a risk driver, such as clearing of slopes for settlements and agricultural purposes, or the deforestation of

mangroves. Degradation increases disaster and displacement risk as natural protective barriers disappear, which might lead to environments becoming uninhabitable, pushing people into migration (Warner et al., 2009).

Informal settlements are often built in unsafe manners in terms of building materials and techniques and do not offer safe shelter, providing protection against hazards. This does not only apply to people living in informal settlements, but also regular communities. Problematically, even if formal building codes are in place, they are not always being followed, as they are either not enforced or as residents do not have the means to follow them, or both. One respondent described how *“Some households cannot afford to obey the laws and regulations of Tonga’s building codes to build houses to be resilient up to a category 5 (...) and this is poverty, some are poor, they cannot afford to build houses up to these standards, and during a disaster they will be the first to move”* (P-8).

Additionally, due to the inherent geographical structure, SIDS usually have located a large part of their infrastructure, producing assets and livelihoods located in exposed coastal zones (Nurse et al., 2014). This *“massive global migration towards coasts”* (I-6) was mentioned by many of the respondents as especially worrying, as it increases the exposure to several hazards.

4.1.4 Complex Drivers

The drivers of displacement are complex, diverse and interacting. Several respondents emphasized that displacement in the regions often is linked to extensive risk, slow-onset, and complex events, and it is the sum of these events, which gradually erode livelihoods. As an example, one respondent presented a case from the Dominican Republic where, a group of farmers was forced to take a loan from a bank with their land and house as security, following the drought in 2013. In 2016, many of these farmers were displaced, as they could not repay the loan in time, and the banks seized the assets they had put in as security. Such indirect effects of slow-onset hazards are not registered as disaster-related displacement, and once more stress the gap in the current data on displacement and the complexity of factors playing a role in displacement situations.

The complex connection between disaster risk, conflict and displacement was mentioned in both regions. Pre-existing social conflicts can be enforced under disaster situations. This can be exacerbated in relation to the integration of relocated or displaced people, increasing the population density in the host community and the competition for resources (Warner et al., 2009). It is not always clear to what degree violence is actually a driver or an outcome of displacement situations, blurring the line between conflict- and disaster displacement. An increase in competition for resources will impact traditional livelihoods, which indirectly forces people to move, mostly to take jobs in the cities. One respondent explained: “*So people might say it [the movement] is because of getting a job, but that might be because the fishing is not good enough anymore, and that is because of climate change*” (P-4).

4.2 The Pacific

This section gives a short overview of the Pacific context with a focus on vulnerability and exposure to disasters and displacement. The regional DRR and CCA strategies are assessed in a detailed policy analysis, focusing on the inclusion of displacement and human mobility issues in general. The three countries of Fiji, Kiribati, and Vanuatu are investigated in greater detail.

4.2.1 Pacific Context

The Pacific small island developing states (PSIDS) are among the smallest and most remote countries in the world. They are divided into three sub-regions; Melanesia, Polynesia, and Micronesia, consisting of 14 sovereign countries and 8 non-sovereign territories (SPC, 2016; see figure 3). Melanesia consists of large, mountainous and mainly volcanic islands, whereas the two other sub-regions are made up by significant smaller island landmasses, mostly atolls with low elevation, where some countries are single islands and others comprise hundreds of islands and cays (IDMC, 2013).

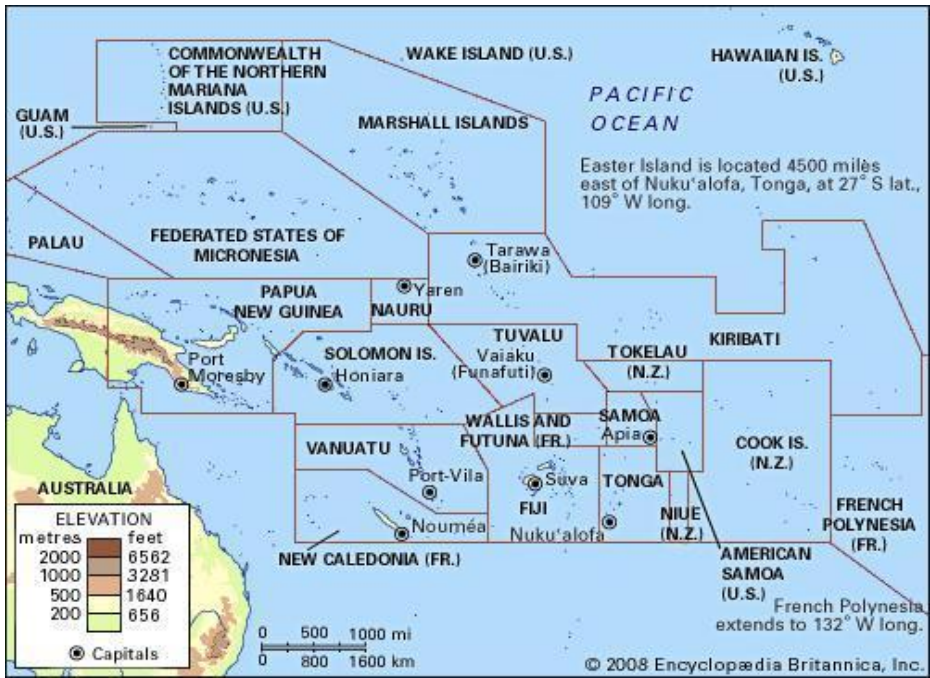


Figure 3: Map of the Pacific Islands Region (Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 2008)

All countries are considered to be particularly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change (PSIDS, 2009; Campbell & Warrick, 2014). The PSIDS have a total population of around 3.3 million. Over half of the countries have a size of under 1,000 km² (PSIDS, 2009). Currently,

more than 35% of the Pacific islanders are living and working in urban areas, and it is projected that by 2020 more than half of the population will be urban (UNU, 2016).

Most countries became independent from the colonial rulers between the 1960s and 1980s. Still, France, USA, and New Zealand are in possession of territories in the Pacific (Toki, 2016). Thus, colonialism is still reflected in the current political organization in the Pacific. The imprint left on politics, culture, and economy has resulted in a complex mixture of customary and colonial systems of both governments and administrations (Toki, 2016; Aldrich, 2000). The region is prone to a wide range of natural hazards, including cyclones, floods, landslides, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, and tsunamis. The effects of climate change, including sea level rise, water resource impacts, coral reef health decline, agricultural production decline and human health challenges related to diseases, increase the countries' risk (OHCHR, 2011; Campbell & Warrick, 2014). The exposure among PSIDS is more or less similar (SPC et al., 2016). Since 1950, extreme events have affected around 9.2 million people in the Pacific region, caused around 10,000 deaths and caused an aggregate damage of US\$3.2 billion (World Bank, 2013). The majority of the population lives in coastal areas, and mainly relies on natural resources for livelihood (IPCC, 2007; SPC et al., 2016), making them especially vulnerable to the effects of climate change and disasters. Climate change is predicted to lead to an increase in temperature, extremely hot days, ocean acidification, rainfall and sea level rise in the region (ABM & CSIRO, 2011). Figure 4 indicates a clear increase in the number of disasters in the Pacific throughout the last century, although we can assume that some of this increase is due to improved reporting systems over time.

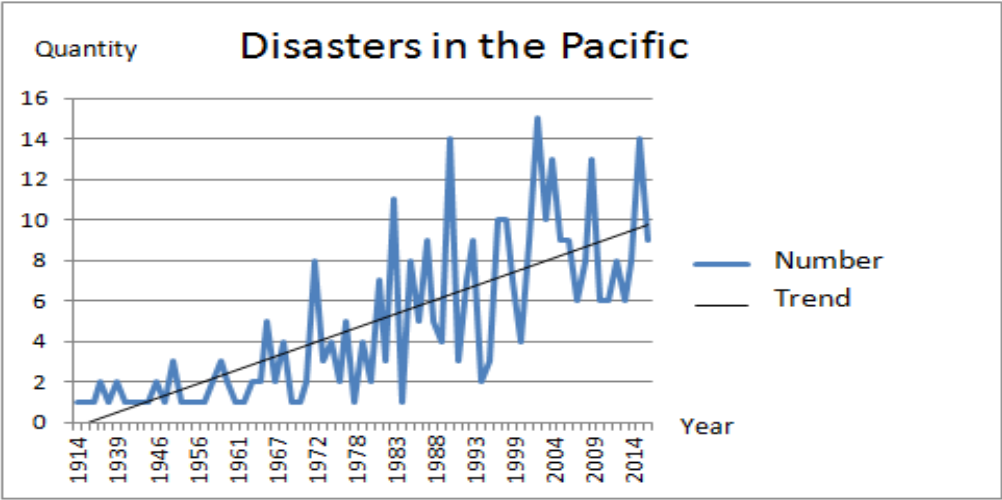


Figure 4: Number of disasters in the Pacific 1900 – 2016 (Data source: EM-DAT)

The region has experienced large scale disaster-induced displacement in relation to tropical storms and tsunamis. Recently, the two strongest tropical cyclones (TC) ever recorded in the region, TC Pam (2015) in Vanuatu, and TC Winston (2016) in Fiji, together affected 500,000 people and displaced more than 100,000 (Government of Vanuatu, 2015; IOM, 2016). The impacts of these cyclones indicate great capacity challenges in relation to DRM (Connors & Ayobi, 2016). In 2007, a tsunami displaced 24,000 in the Solomon Islands and 5300 in Samoa (OHCHR, 2011).

4.2.2 Regional Pacific Mechanisms

This section describes the current regional disaster governance approach in the Pacific. The Framework for Resilient Development in the Pacific (FRDP) and the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (PIFS) are introduced.

i. Framework for Resilient Development in the Pacific (FRDP)

The FRDP was developed on a request from the Pacific Island Forum Leaders in 2012, in order to have a consolidated regional framework targeting both climate change and DRM (SPC et al., 2016). The FRDP provides voluntary guidelines on how to enhance resilience to climate change and disasters.

The framework includes three main goals and also touches upon disaster-induced displacement. Under the priority actions for the first goal for national and subnational governments and administrations, it mentions to “Integrate human mobility aspects, where appropriate, including strengthening the capacity of governments and administrations to protect individuals and communities that are vulnerable to climate change and disaster displacement and migration, through targeted national policies and actions, including relocation and labour migration policies”, and thereby applies a protection approach. This is not a very concrete action point, and may result in various levels of inclusion of human mobility aspects or lack thereof.

Under the third goal, future displacement is included in relation to anticipation and preparedness, and in general to include human mobility issues within disaster preparedness, response and recovery programs, and actions. These actions do not include the scenario of cross-border displacement or relocation, as there is no mentioning of targeted regional

policies or actions. Two respondents in this regard highlighted how current frameworks and policies, such as the FRDP, slightly touch upon the issue of disaster-induced displacement but fall short in details. Finally, in relation to post-disaster displacement, the FRDP outlines an action point for increased protection of vulnerable groups, through national and regional policies and regional labor migration schemes.

The FRDP has been released in 2016, and any impact it has had at this stage is limited, which should be kept in mind as the following country examples most likely were developed before the FRDP.

ii. Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (PIFS)

The Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (PIFS) is an international organization, aiming at stimulating economic growth and improve political governance and security in the region through policy advice and strengthen regional cooperation and integration of Pacific leaders decisions (PIFS, 2016). The Pacific Islands Forum consists of 16 independent and self-governing states, and in 2014 the forum leaders implemented the Framework for Pacific Regionalism, aiming at ensuring sustainable development and safe human, environmental and political conditions for all, among others (PIFS, 2014). In December 2016, PIFS and UNESCAP organized a regional meeting on climate change and migration in the Pacific, with ten countries represented by senior government officials, who pushed for immediate solutions for forced human mobility, by creating a regional framework (Corendea, 2017). As outcome, the ten countries aimed to create internal guidelines to address mobility, while at the same time respecting the sovereignty of the states in their internal decision-making. Leaders were looking into the development of a binding document to regulate human mobility, focusing on sharing experience, mutual respect and cultural identity (Corendea, 2017).

4.2.3 National Pacific Mechanisms

In this section, the countries Fiji, Kiribati and Vanuatu are investigated in greater detail. Key documents, policies and frameworks on DRR, CCA and development are analyzed with regards to their inclusion of disaster-induced displacement, both in direct and indirect terms. In the interviews, government officials from the Pacific SIDS, in stark contrast to the Caribbean, generally acknowledged that displacement is a real and pressing issue, which needs to be addressed.

i. Fiji

Fiji consists of 330 islands with the major ones being volcanic. The largest of the islands are Viti Levu, which is inhabited by ca. 70% of the 892,000 people living in Fiji (IDMC, 2013; World Bank, 2015c). Tropical cyclones represent a major natural hazard primarily during both the cyclone season, running from November to April, and El Niño events. On average, one or two cyclones affect the country each season (NIWA, 2016; IDMC, 2013; Government of the Republic of Fiji, 2012). The following policy analysis is based on: the National Climate Change Policy, the National Climate Change Adaptation Strategy for Land-Based Resources, the Relocation Guidelines, and the National Humanitarian Policy.

The 2012 **National Climate Change Policy (NCCP)** aims to guide an efficient and integrated approach to address climate change issues in Fiji. It underlines the strong effects disasters can have on people living in poorly built houses located in risk zones, with marginalized communities likely to be more affected (IDMC, 2013; Government of Fiji, 2012). The policy explores the linkages between the impacts from land loss and arable land, potentially leading to urban migration, resulting in overcrowding. It discusses the impact of climate change on displacement and human mobility, together with the associated psychosocial impacts related to displacement and income loss. The policy outlines eight objectives to reduce the vulnerability and enhance the resilience of the communities. Although none of the objectives are directly referring to displacement or human mobility issues, numerous of them indirectly have a preventing prospect on displacement through e.g. a review of building codes, incorporation of climate change impact projections into infrastructure, and urban and rural planning.

Another climate-change-centered policy is Fiji's **National Climate Change Adaptation Strategy for Land-Based Resources (NCCAS) 2012-2021 (draft)**, which has been developed in the absence of a Joint National Action Plan (JNAP) and concise CCA and DRR strategies (latter is currently under development). The long-term objective of the NCCAS is to prepare Fiji to cope with the anticipated impacts of climate change, by reducing the vulnerability of its people, environment, social and economic resources and systems including infrastructure (Government of Fiji, 2012). Displacement is not explicitly included but addressed indirectly. The NCCAS includes sector adaptation action plans, where one of the identified measures is to "Promote relocation of highly vulnerable coastal communities", with

associated action points including relocation plans for coastal communities, land-use policies, and alternative options for coastal protection. After the relocation in 2014 of residents of Vunidogoloa village, the Fijian government started planning the development of **national relocation guidelines**, which are yet to be published. Vulnerability assessments identified 676 villages across the country threatened by loss of coastal land, infrastructure flooding or storm surges, and of these 42 have been identified for relocation (Government of Fiji, 2014). The guidelines have been years underway, and respondents have indicated their criticism, as the guidelines do not seem to be developed in consultation with potentially affected communities.

In the aftermath of TC Evans (2012), subsequent droughts and floods, and latest TC Winston (2016), the government of Fiji has begun to realize that climate change is already influencing the country, and have thereby commenced the development of a **National Humanitarian Policy** (NDMO & RMNDM, 2016). The policy is still a draft, waiting for the Cabinet's approval. The policy only indirectly touches on displacement issues, through the objective to strengthen and reinforce national, institutional, community and individual capacity, resilience, self-reliance, and inclusiveness for medium- and long-term by addressing key thematic priorities. Thus, the policy does not directly include human mobility in any form, key priorities will potentially have an indirect positive influence on vulnerable population groups' resilience and self-reliance.

ii. Kiribati

The multi-insular state of Kiribati is based in the center of the Pacific Ocean and consists of 33 atolls, clustered in three separate groups, all with a maximum height of 3-4 m above sea level. It is considered as one of the most vulnerable countries to climate change in the world (Government of Kiribati, 2007; O'Brien, 2013). The population of Kiribati is around 112,000, with approximately half of the population living in the capital South Tarawa (World Bank, 2015d; Oakes et al., 2016). Vulnerabilities in relation to overcrowding, informal and unplanned settlements, inadequate water supply, conflict over land ownership and others are expected to be intensified by the impacts of climate change (Storey and Hunter, 2010). Internal migration primarily occurs in South Tarawa (Kiribati Census, 2010). Kiribati experiences emigration to mainly Fiji, Australia and New Zealand, with the government actively supporting the labor migration of its population (Oakes et al., 2016).

The following national documents have been reviewed for this research: Kiribati Development Plan, Kiribati's National Disaster Risk Management Plan, Kiribati National Adaptation Programmes of Action, and the Migration with Dignity Vision.

To guide the formulation of future policies and programs the **Kiribati Development Plan (KDP) 2016 - 2019** was developed. The KDP identifies six key priority areas for future action. In terms of mobility, it mostly touches upon labor migration from Kiribati to especially Australia and New Zealand. It reflects on the continual migration of people from the outer islands, by including a strategy for addressing the access to economic and social infrastructure in the outer islands. It aims at reducing urbanization, especially in South Tarawa and Kiritimati, where overcrowding already puts pressure on housing, land management, infrastructure, and increases the number of informal settlements. While the KDP acknowledges the vulnerabilities of certain communities and informal settlers in relation to migration, it does not include displaced population groups in the analysis. This is consistent with one of the respondents, a government official, who underlines that “[...] *we really haven't sat down and looked at the details and talked about internal relocation or displacement, and I think that is the first approach*” (P-5).

Kiribati's **National Adaptation Programmes of Action (NAPA)**, published in 2007, particularly underlines the vulnerability from inundation, erosion, and contamination of fresh groundwater, and acknowledges the exacerbated socio-environmental challenges that arise from climate change, particularly in South Tarawa (Government of Kiribati, 2007; IDMC, 2013). The NAPA refers to a relocation in the 1930's to the Phoenix islands, as a consequence of overcrowding, pressuring the subsistence livelihood, together with relocation of traditional settlements, which have led to conflicting claims over resettled land; however, no project component on relocation or another type of mobility is included in the NAPA (Government of Kiribati, 2007; IDMC, 2013). It refers to different mitigation measures, but without a direct mention of any direct human mobility interventions. Projects including DRR components might have indirect effects on the displacement risks from both sudden- and slow-onset disasters (Government of Kiribati, 2007; IDMC, 2013).

In order to make disaster risk management and disaster planning more effective, **Kiribati's National Disaster Risk Management Plan (NDRMP)** was developed in 2012 (Government

of Kiribati, 2012). The NDRMP acknowledges Kiribati islands as being among the most vulnerable communities in the world to disaster events, with high social and economic ramifications caused by hazardous events due to the high level of vulnerability. It refers to the complex effect climate change has on the environment, social disparity, struggling economies and other factors that determine the communities' vulnerability. Under the early recovery section, the NDRMP includes reintegration of displaced populations, as a durable solution for displacement. It also describes how chronic hazardous events arising from social, economic and environmental factors can lead to migration from islands. Thus, it indirectly acknowledges the issue of forced migration.

Kiribati has recognized the need for a proactive adaptation policy for migration, in order to gradually manage climate change processes, which has been the foundation of the **“Migration with Dignity” Vision** (Smith & McNamara, 2014). The vision is a long-term relocation strategy, focusing primarily on the labor mobility of especially the younger generations. It reflects the potential of international migration to address overcrowding, unemployment and generate remittances that support communities in Kiribati (Oakes et al., 2016, O'Brien, 2013). Further, as the first country, Kiribati has purchased 20 km² of land in Fiji, in the anticipation of being gradually submerged, as an option for relocation. For the immediate future, the land will be used for agricultural and fish-farming projects, to strengthen the food security in Kiribati (The Guardian, 2014). This is an indication of displacement starting to shape the country's policies, which was also highlighted by a government official in Kiribati. Currently, political priorities are shifting away from the “Migration with Dignity” vision, towards assisting communities building coastal resilience and protection, which might result in a decreased influence from displacement issues on policies (Ives, 2016).

iii. Vanuatu

Vanuatu is a group of over 80 volcanic islands and submarine volcanoes located in the western Pacific Ocean, with an estimated population of 270,000 people (IOM, 2017b; NACCC, 2007). Around 26% of the population is living in urban areas, with around 75% of these residing in the capital Port Vila (World Bank, 2015e; UN Habitat, 2012). Vanuatu is exposed to cyclones, El Niño/La Niña driven droughts and wet-conditions, storm surges, coastal and river flooding, landslides, as well as frequent earthquakes, occasional tsunamis

and volcanic eruptions (NACCC, 2007). Climate-related disasters have a huge impact on the economic growth and development, with cyclones being especially damaging (NACCC, 2007; Government of Vanuatu, 2015). Around 65% of the population is relying on small-scale agriculture, why changes in the precipitation and climate, which may disrupt agricultural practice, livelihoods and coastal infrastructure (NACCC, 2007). The policy analysis for Vanuatu is based on the following documents: the National Action Plan (2006-2016) for DRR and Disaster Management, the National Adaptation Programmes of Action, the Vanuatu Climate Change and Disaster Risk Reduction Policy 2016 – 2030, and the Vanuatu Displacement Policy Project.

The National Action Plan (2006 - 2016) for DRR and Disaster Management was developed to promote and ensure a safe, secure and resilient Vanuatu (Government of Vanuatu, 2007). The NAP recognizes the need for a whole-of-government approach and emphasizes that DRR needs to be mainstreamed into national development plans and budgets (Government of Vanuatu, 2007; IDMC, 2013). The NAP barely deals with any aspects of human mobility. An identified key action suggests the development of “a sustainable national financing mechanism for supporting response and recovery activities into communities at times of disasters”. The mechanism could potentially support people displaced by disasters, but displacement is not explicitly mentioned (Government of Vanuatu, 2007; IDMC, 2013).

In order to address existing and anticipated adverse effects of climate change, the **National Adaptation Programme of Action (NAPA)** was developed in 2007 (NACCC, 2007). The NAPA highlights a relocation project of a settlement in the Northern part of Vanuatu, which was based on vulnerability and adaptation assessments. The NAPA includes a list, suggesting the relocation of settlements and relevant infrastructures, as potential adaptation solution for six provinces. Subsequently, “Relocation of vulnerable settlements and infrastructure” is among 19 prioritized adaptation strategies (NACCC, 2007; IDMC, 2013). Seven of the 19 priorities were selected for NAPA projects, but relocation is not included in any of the proposed projects. The only NAPA project left referring to human mobility, is, therefore, the “Sustainable Tourism Development”, including a climate risk profile for Vanuatu, with specific attention to tourism. Thus, displacement is not as such spelled out but is an implicit part of the debate of the existing vulnerabilities.

Among others, the **Vanuatu Climate Change and Disaster Risk Reduction Policy 2016-2030** incorporates key elements of the two plans presented above and integrates both CC and DRR under this one framework. It is based on six strategic priorities contributing to achieving the strategic goal of a resilient development in Vanuatu (SPC, 2015). The fourth priority suggests a strategy to tailor the national CCA and DRR measures to urban and rural communities, to achieve effective projects and programs, which acknowledge the different requirements the communities have. Displacement is however not mentioned directly. Under the last strategic priority, the need to “provide special support for internally displaced populations” is mentioned. The kind of special support is thus not further specified in the document. This being the only mentioning of displaced population groups, clearly indicates the relatively low priority of displacement in the policy.

Most recently, the ministry of Climate Change and Adaptation with technical and budgetary assistance from IOM started the **Vanuatu Displacement Policy Project** (MoCCA, 2017). As the project is in its early days, no actual draft could be reviewed, but internal documents from the government have been shared to contribute to this research. The key deliverable of the project is to get an overview of national internal displacement and forced migration patterns, to identify challenges and gaps in achieving a strengthened displacement cycle management and ensuring protective-sensitive durable solutions (MoCCA, 2017). The gaps in current policies were underlined by one of the respondents: *“What is mentioned now is one line about evacuation centers - that is CC and DRR policy. Other than this, there are no specific policy documents to protect the rights of those who are displaced. This is going to be the first in Vanuatu, and as far as we know, first in Pacific”* (P-7). The background and scope of the policy acknowledge that displacement is related to disasters. Additionally, it acknowledges that displacement is hard to track due to the lack of technical capacity and resources, leaving the displaced populations unattended and vulnerable. This is so far the first attempt in the Pacific region and one of the first attempts globally, to develop a policy specifically focusing on displacement.

4.3 The Caribbean

This section gives a short overview of the Caribbean context with a focus on vulnerability and exposure to disasters and displacement. The regional DRM approach in the Caribbean is explained, followed by a policy analysis of the selected countries (Jamaica, Grenada, and St. Vincent & the Grenadines), which assesses how displacement risk is addressed in the development, DRR and CCA policies of these countries.

4.3.1 Caribbean Context

The insular Caribbean consists of over 700 islands, divided into 24 island states and dependencies, of which 13 have full sovereignty (figure 5). The total population of the insular Caribbean is 42 million (Higman, 2010).



Figure 5: The Caribbean (Higman, 2010)

Similar to the Pacific region, the history of colonialism still reflects itself in today's political organization. Most Caribbean states gained independence from their colonial rulers between the 1960s and 1980s (Higman, 2010). Still today, quite a few islands are dependencies of European governments or the USA. The urbanization rate in the Caribbean is below the

global average, with 45% of the population living in urban areas, with an urban population increasing rapidly. More than 70% of the Caribbean population lives along coastlines (Donovan, 2014). Development levels vary widely among the Caribbean islands (López-Marrero & Wisner, 2012; UNDP, 2017). While Haiti belongs to the world’s poorest countries, for example, Barbados has a high level of human development (UNDP, 2017).

The Caribbean is exposed to various natural hazards and is considered to be one of the most hazard-prone areas of the world (Carby, 2011; López-Marrero & Wisner, 2012). It is not uncommon that a single disaster amounts to massive losses of GDP; for example, in 2015, damages caused by Hurricane Erika amounted to 90% of Dominica’s GDP in 2015 (World Bank, 2015b), and Hurricane Ivan in 2004 caused a damage in Grenada of 200% of the country’s GDP (World Bank, 2005). Data shows that the number of recorded disasters in the Caribbean is continuously rising, although some of the increase is due to improved reporting and data availability (see figure 6).

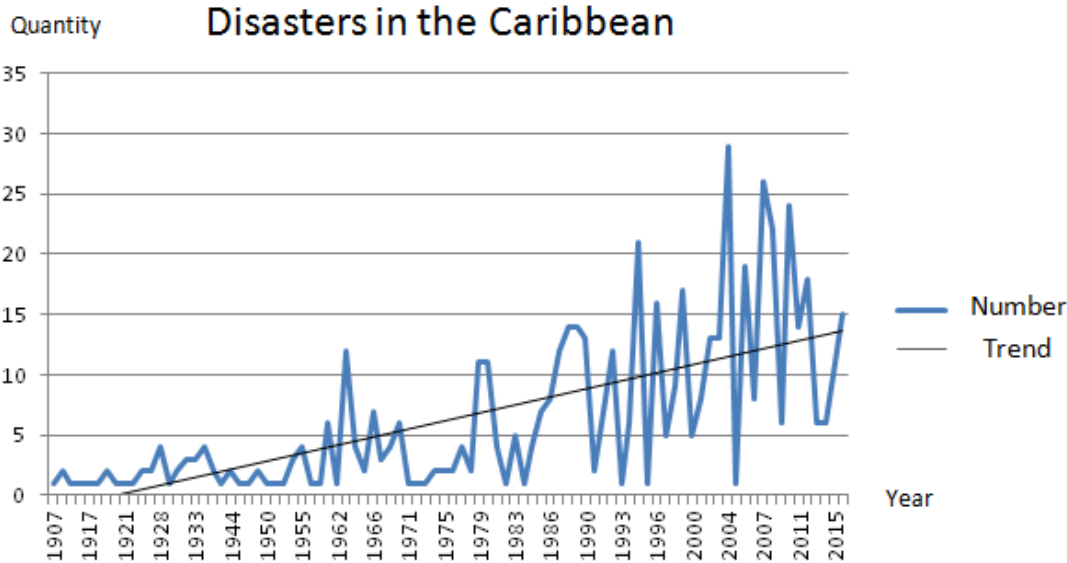


Figure 6: Number of disasters in the Caribbean 1900 – 2016 (Data source: EM-DAT)

The entire insular Caribbean is exposed to hurricanes, although the exposure varies from country to country (López-Marrero & Wisner, 2012). While hurricanes usually cause the greatest damage and loss of life when they happen, floods are the more frequent hazard events, and on average cause greater loss of lives and asset damage annually (López-Marrero & Wisner, 2012). Heavy rainfall, especially during the rainy season, also frequently leads to

mud- and landslides (López-Marrero & Wisner, 2012). Some of the Caribbean islands are volcanic in nature (Wilkinson et al., 2016). Major volcanic disasters are the eruption of La Soufriere in Montserrat starting in 1995, causing a reduction of 60% of the island's population size, due to cross-border displacement (Hill, 2014), and an eruption of a volcano with the same name in St. Vincent and the Grenadines in 1979, rendering 20,000 people homeless (Wilkinson et al., 2016).

The insular Caribbean faces the slower effects of climate change, with sea level rise and the associated problems, such as salt water intrusion, beach erosion, and coral bleaching, negatively affecting key economic sectors of fisheries, agriculture, and tourism (5C, 2009). A recent report found that a one-meter sea level rise would displace approximately 110,000 Caribbean citizens directly, and many more indirectly through damages to agriculture and economic assets (Simpson et al., 2010). Notably, the insular Caribbean only contributes less than 1% to global GHG emissions, but is considered to be “among the earliest and most impacted by climate change in the coming decades” (Simpson et al. 2010).

Generally, disaster-induced displacement receives a greater attention recently in the Pacific than in the Caribbean. The number of reviewed policy documents, which include references to human mobility and displacement in disaster context, is by far greater in the Pacific than in the Caribbean. Data is not available to explain this in quantitative terms, e.g. by a larger number of displaced persons in the Pacific; on the contrary, the IDMC (2015) found that among the twenty countries with the highest per capita disaster-induced displacement globally, there are four Caribbean, but no Pacific, island states represented. A study from 2013 found both a lack of literature as well as data on Caribbean migratory movements in general (ACPOBS, 2013). Throughout the conducted interviews, it became clear that displacement is a real and pressing phenomenon in the Caribbean.

A possible explanation for this greater attention on a policy level in the Pacific is that the international discussion on disaster-induced displacement, and specifically climate change induced displacement, has mainly circled around the ‘sinking islands’ in the Pacific (Farbotko, 2010). On the other hand, in the Caribbean context, Haiti has received most of the attention, overshadowing the smaller islands.

4.3.2 Regional Caribbean Mechanisms

This section describes the regional disaster governance approach of the Caribbean, by introducing the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), the Caribbean Disaster Emergency Management Agency (CDEMA), the Caribbean Catastrophe Risk Insurance System (CCRIF) and the Caribbean Community Climate Change Center (5C). It is investigated how these mechanisms include displacement considerations.

The regional integration with regards to disaster management and climate change is more advanced in the Caribbean than in the Pacific. With the 5C and CDEMA, the Caribbean has two regional bodies specifically addressing disasters and climate change. Currently, these bodies do not deal with human mobility related issues. Potentially, such regional bodies could drive the discussion on a regional approach on disaster-induced displacement. Several respondents from the Caribbean mentioned the need for such a regional approach. Currently, there is no coordinated activity underway to achieve this.

i. The Caribbean Community (CARICOM)

The Caribbean Community (CARICOM) is an association of 20 Caribbean states and dependencies promoting the regional integration of the Caribbean nations. While the CARICOM Strategic Plan 2015 – 2019 does not include measures directly aimed at managing displacement situations or reducing their risk, it recognizes that disasters have caused “severe hardship and dislocation” in the Caribbean states. Interestingly, it also points to a reduced resilience stemming from a lack of social cohesion, a point which has been mentioned several times by the respondents. In order to advance CCA and DRM, CARICOM points towards two strategies which need to be implemented on a national and regional level. This concerns the Regional Framework for Achieving Development Resilient to Climate Change (and its Implementation Plan) 2011 – 2021, prepared by the Caribbean Community Climate Change Center (5C); and the Comprehensive Disaster Management Strategy (CDM), prepared by the Caribbean Disaster Emergency Management Agency (CDEMA).

ii. Caribbean Disaster Emergency Management Agency (CDEMA)

CDEMA is the regional body in the Caribbean dealing with disaster management and risk reduction. Established in 2005 under the CARICOM system under the name Caribbean Disaster Emergency Response Agency, CDEMA published the Comprehensive Disaster

Management Strategy (CDM) in 2015, which establishes a shift from a responsive approach towards a risk reduction and preparedness focus, emphasizing livelihood-based approaches for disaster risk reduction. It promotes the integration of hazards into development planning and strengthening of community resilience. Specific measures to achieve the latter include safeguarding livelihoods in addition to assets and lives, which is being measured by the percentage of insured assets in communities; to integrate local knowledge into DRM; and to build capacities for DRM on community level, which is measured by the number of vulnerable communities with disaster management program.

The strategy does not specifically address displacement or displacement risk. It does include several provisions, which can reduce displacement risk indirectly. A CDEMA representative, referring to these measures, stated: *“I do think that those practices, if appropriately applied, can reduce the level of potential displacement in the medium- to long-term [...]”* (C-6).

iii. Caribbean Community Climate Change Center (5C)

The 5C is a body established under the CARICOM system, dealing with climate change impacts in the Caribbean and promoting mitigation and adaptation measures. The 5C coordinates the Green Climate Fund in the Caribbean.

Similar to the CDM, 5C’s Regional Framework for Achieving Development Resilient to Climate Change (and its implementation plan) does not include any displacement related considerations. A few measures included in the Framework can indirectly contribute to the reduction of displacement risk, namely the integration of adaptation considerations into new infrastructure developments, including the establishment of new building codes. The Framework aims at enhancing secure livelihoods and promotes the testing of new and more weather tolerant crop varieties, which can withstand hazardous events. Subsequently, it promotes education and awareness programs, and the development of new legal tools for a more effective insurance industry.

iv. Caribbean Catastrophe Risk Insurance Facility (CCRIF)

After devastating Hurricane Ivan in 2004, which damaged 89% of Grenada’s housing stock (World Bank, 2005), the Caribbean Community founded the Caribbean Catastrophe Risk Insurance Facility (CCRIF) in 2007, “the first multi-country risk pool in the world [aiming at limiting] the financial impact of devastating hurricanes and earthquakes by quickly providing

financial liquidity when a policy is triggered” (CCRIF, 2016). CCRIF has currently 16 member countries, all of which are SIDS (CCRIF, 2015). Payments are made few days after the impact, without the need to wait for actual damage assessments (Carby, 2011), to the government of the affected country in order to “...help mitigate the short-term cash flow problems small developing economies suffer after major natural disasters“ (CCRIF, 2016).

Insurance payments can enable the government to provide functional services directly after impact, including early recovery activities, which can potentially prevent a displacement situation from becoming protracted. For example, after hurricane Matthew in 2016, funds provided by CCRIF to Haiti was used to “purchase of tarpaulins for houses [...] and the replacement of roofs for schools, churches and courthouses”, with a total of 18,000 houses being repaired (CARICOM, 2016). Such measures can allow people to rebuild their lives relatively quickly. A regional insurance organization such as CCRIF is especially valuable for SIDS, as their inherent characteristics make national disaster insurance markets often are inefficient and expensive. The risk of an entire nation facing massive destruction, such as Grenada in 2004, is basically insurable on a national level (Joyette et al., 2015). This lack of risk sharing mechanisms is “particularly burdensome for the poor and for small farmers as repeated hazard impacts deplete resources and increase the level of their vulnerability” (Carby, 2011).

None of the regional mechanisms reviewed focuses directly on displacement, neither with regards to reducing its risk nor concerning the management of displacement situations or protection of those affected. They do include measures, which can contribute to reducing displacement risk. Clearly, displacement is not a priority for the regional bodies governing disaster risk and climate change in the Caribbean. This finding is confirmed by the respondents.

4.3.3 National Caribbean Mechanisms

For this section, DRR, CCA and development policies of Jamaica, Grenada and St. Vincent and the Grenadines are analyzed with regards to their inclusion of disaster-induced displacement risk.

It is important to mention that the country with by far the largest displacement numbers and disaster-related fatalities, both in absolute and relative terms, in the Caribbean is Haiti, which is not covered in the country examples below (IDMC, 2015; López-Marrero & Wisner, 2012). This is due to the special circumstances, which cannot be adequately represented here as they are substantially different from the rest of the Caribbean. For example, the CARICOM Strategic Plan refers to Haiti as “a special case” and suggests that the circumstances in Haiti are of such a different nature that regional plans do not meet the country’s needs. Therefore, it recommends that national plans are developed for Haiti, tailored to its specific needs.

A major difference to the Pacific island countries is that most Caribbean nations do not have any comprehensive DRR and/or CCA plans. To overcome this shortcoming, several Caribbean nations have published Country Documents on DRR, which aim at summarizing the scattered legislation, plans and policies governing disaster risk. For this study, Country Documents were read and identified key policies reviewed. In contrast to the Pacific, Caribbean officials were quite reluctant to participate in interviews on the issue, and if they did, they emphasized that displacement is not an issue in their country.

i. Jamaica

Jamaica is one of the largest Caribbean islands (Carby et al., 2014), with a total population of 2.7 million (World Bank, 2015a). Jamaica’s economy is mainly based on tourism and agricultural exports; two sectors highly vulnerable to disasters (Kirton, 2013). In recent years, Jamaica has suffered from several major hurricanes, including Ivan (2004), Dean (2007) and Sandy (2012), causing deaths, widespread damage, and displacement (Carby et al., 2014). For example, in 2004, the community of Caribbean Terrace in Kingston was destroyed by hurricane Ivan, displacing about 17 households. It was only in 2016 that the government identified a site for the reconstruction of the community, leaving the population displaced for over a decade (see e.g. The Gleaner, 2016).

Jamaica lacks an overarching policy framework for DRM, but a rather scattered, decentralized and partially outdated set of policies exists, which has evolved over the course of several decades (Carby et al., 2014). For this study, four policy documents were reviewed: the Disaster Risk Management Act (2015), the National Disaster Plan (1997), the Strategic Programme for Climate Resilience (2011), and the development strategy Vision 2030.

Jamaica's **2015 Disaster Risk Management Act** aims at reducing the duplication and confusion in Jamaica's disaster laws and established rules and regulations for emergency preparedness and response, including the declaration of no-build zones, especially vulnerable areas and evacuation orders. It emphasizes the need for community-based risk reduction and adaptation programs and the integration of local knowledge which was also encouraged by several respondents from Jamaica. It does not include any references to human mobility or displacement.

On the other hand, the **National Disaster Plan** from 1997, Jamaica's disaster preparedness, mitigation, response and recovery framework, states that: "It is anticipated that a large percentage of housing stock will either be destroyed, extensively damaged, or unsafe during and after a major disaster. It is, therefore, likely that large numbers of victims will be displaced or homeless for extended periods, necessitating the provision of emergency shelter and care for up to several months". While this passage recognizes the risk of protracted displacement, it fails to offer durable solutions to those affected by suggesting long-term camp settlements. It has been criticized that the plan is outdated and not harmonized with other legislation in the country (Carby et al., 2014).

Similarly, the 2011 **Strategic Programme for Climate Resilience** directly acknowledges that displacement can be an outcome of disasters, with a focus on the negative effects on livelihoods and the associated psychological stress, especially for children and marginalized groups, such as the disabled. With regards to displacement, it promotes two interventions: the identification of settlements vulnerable to climate change and the development of long-term plans for their relocation.

Jamaica's Development Strategy **Vision 2030** envisions Jamaica to reach the developed country status by 2030, establishing priority areas of action, one being that: "Jamaica has a healthy environment". In this section, the potential effects of climate change are discussed, with a specific focus on the effects of climate change on livelihoods and reduction in agricultural resilience. DRR and CCA are addressed as important tools to reach this goal, focusing on the reduction of costs associated with disasters to less than 1% of GDP annually. The strategy outlines several areas of intervention, which can reduce displacement risk, including the promotion of risk transfer mechanisms, hazard mapping, risk awareness and

education programs, hazard-resistant construction techniques, the location of settlements outside hazard zones, reduction of squatter practices and update, and professionalize the DRM and response system. Squatting is relatively common in Jamaica, with an estimated 20% of the population living in informal conditions (Carby et al., 2014). Some squatter settlements reach a size of about 2,000 households (Government of Jamaica, 2008). One respondent mentioned that they can also be found in communities, which have been abandoned by the original inhabitants in connection to a disaster. Informal settlers then move to the abandoned houses; where the location and the physical state of the structures represent a great risk for the settlers.

While the development strategy does not directly address displacement and its risk, one of the goals is to ensure safe and affordable housing for all outside hazard zones and to minimize squatting, so that by 2030, 95% of the population has secure housing tenure.

Throughout the interviews, it became clear that preventive relocations of squatter communities take place quite regularly in Jamaica. One respondent stated that such relocations are hardly ever forced, as the authorities attempt to incentivize the affected population to move voluntarily. In a few cases, people were asked by the authorities to identify potential relocation sites themselves, to ensure local ownership of the process.

ii. Grenada

Grenada is a volcanic small tri-island state in the Eastern Caribbean, with a population of approximately 106,000 (World Bank, 2015a). Grenada has a narrow economic base with a high dependency on tourism and agriculture (Charles, 2014). Grenada has experienced one of the most destructive disasters in the history of the Caribbean when hurricane Ivan in 2004 destroyed and damaged around 89% of all physical structures and devastated the year's entire agricultural produce. It is estimated that over half of the population was displaced after the hurricane (World Bank, 2005). As no monitoring system or long-term assessment on the impact of the livelihoods of those affected was in place, no statistics on how long these displacement situations lasted exist⁸. According to a government official, most people could move back to their houses "*quite quickly*" (C-2).

⁸ According to the World Bank (2005), one year after impact, a little more than half of the damaged houses had been repaired. Problematically, only 15% of the affected population had some kind of home insurance, so the majority could not rely on a systematic procedure to be provided with funds for livelihood restoration.

Grenada does not have distinct DRM and CCA plans, but a rather scattered policy system governing disasters, risk and climate change. Surprisingly, despite the experiences of hurricane Ivan, none of the reviewed documents covers displacement, which is consistent with the statement of a government official: “*In Grenada’s DRR activities, there is usually no displacement included*” (C-2). The following documents were reviewed for this research: the National Hazard Mitigation Policy (2003), the National Disaster Plan (2005), the Strategic Programme for Climate Resilience (2011), and the Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy 2014 - 2018.

Grenada’s 2003 Hazard Mitigation Strategy aims at reducing the vulnerability of the population, especially the poor, to reduce hazard susceptibility in high-risk areas, by promoting DRR activities on a community level and promote environmental protection at the same time. It consists of rather vague measures to achieve these activities, focusing on awareness raising in communities. It aims to increase the overall awareness among the population on disaster risk and activities, which increase risk. It does not refer to human mobility, and no displacement considerations are included.

The same applies to **Grenada’s National Disaster Plan**, the country’s disaster response law, which covers evacuation procedures but does not refer to any other aspects of human mobility in disasters. Generally, this document reflects the country’s centralized disaster management approach. Both plans have not been updated after Hurricane Ivan, and can thus be considered as outdated.

The **Strategic Programme for Climate Resilience** acknowledges that Grenada’s DRR policies urgently need updating and strengthening. The strategy does not include any provisions directed at displacement risk management either. It identifies Grenada’s key vulnerabilities as weak infrastructures and lack of knowledge management mechanisms, suggesting investments in these areas. Subsequently, it voices a concern of weak policies and laws regarding DRM and CCA. The main activities lined out in this document are engineering-based, but target livelihood protection.

On the other hand, Grenada’s **Poverty Reduction Strategy** acknowledges that displacement after Hurricane Ivan has increased poverty levels. There were substantial challenges in

reconstructing the damaged or destroyed houses, especially concerning the poorer parts of the population. The World Bank (2005) reports that insecure tenure status and development regulations constrained reconstruction and prolonged displacement. A humanitarian who worked in the recovery confirmed that: “...one of the challenges they faced during the resettlement phase was the whole issue of property rights and many people were not able to demonstrate that they had a right to the land. In many cases, people could not demonstrate that the property was theirs” (C-3).

Based on these experiences, the Poverty Reduction Strategy employs a livelihoods based approach, recognizing that unstable livelihoods, poverty, and displacement are often connected. It aims to reduce disaster-induced crop and housing damages by improving the overall quality of the housing stock to avoid displacement. Additionally, it aims at increasing the percentage of the population with secure tenure status and reducing the number of informal settlements. It includes a provision, aiming at reducing the number of housing disputes after a disaster, a measure, which can help to avoid displacement situations becoming prolonged.

iii. Saint Vincent and the Grenadines

St. Vincent and the Grenadines (SVG) is a volcanic small multi-insular state in the Eastern Caribbean, consisting of over 30 islands and cays, of which seven are inhabited (NEMO, 2014). SVG has a population around 109,000 (World Bank, 2015a), and is one of the least developed countries in the Caribbean (UNDP, 2017). In recent years, SVG has suffered a series of disaster events, which have emphasized the vulnerability of the country and its population. In December 2013, floods caused the death of twelve people, and the displacement of more than 2,300 (CDEMA, 2013), many of which have resided in risk zones (Wilkinson et al., 2016). Wilkinson et al. (2016) point to the mix of natural hazards and manmade development failures, stating that severe landslides resulted from medium intense rainfall, due to deforestation of slopes, and that poor waste management practices, blocked the drainage systems so that many parts of the country were flooded. Additionally, SVG faces risk from the volcano La Soufrière. The most recent eruption was in 1979 and displaced 20,000 people “for months” (NEMO, 2014)⁹.

⁹ Approximately 15% of SVG’s population lives in volcanic “high risk” or “very high risk” zones, according to a 2007 estimate (Boruff & Cutter, 2007).

As Jamaica and Grenada, SVG does not have concise DRM and CCA strategies, but a rather scattered legislation. SVG's Country Document on DRR recognizes that disaster-induced displacement is a reality, which can have substantial negative effects on the psychological well-being of those affected (NEMO, 2014). Based on an initial review of this document, the following policies have been reviewed for this research: the National Emergency and Disaster Management Act, the National Disaster Plan (2005), the Strategic Programme for Climate Resilience (2015), and the Economic and Social Development Plan 2013 - 2025.

The **National Emergency and Disaster Management Act** of 2006, SVG's legal framework for disaster response, covers evacuations in cases of disasters. The act is the country's key disaster-related legislation. While it is very clear on the process of providing shelter after a disaster, it does not consider measures avoiding long-term displacement situations or measures protecting those displaced.

SVG's **National Disaster Plan** (2005) on the other hand, includes a set of provisions to deal with situations of displacement. It details out evacuation procedures and surveys to assess the damage on livelihoods of the disaster. It foresees allowances for friends and relatives who shelter displaced people. For persons who are not being sheltered by friends and relatives, the plan foresees the provision of "adequate shelter". Regarding the avoidance of displacement becoming prolonged, the plan includes procedures for the identification of safe locations for displaced persons in case they cannot return to their old place of residence. In fact, high-risk settlements were identified as a major issue in SVG during the interviews. One respondent stated: *"In the cases of SVG and Dominica, the ones who are being displaced are the ones who have the most vulnerable housing and the least means to live, so these are the most vulnerable people"* (C-8).

This vulnerability is to some degree addressed in the **Strategic Programme for Climate Resilience**, which focuses on the need to improve the country's infrastructure to adapt to climate change. It points out some physical measures to protect citizens and assets, including slope stabilization and river defenses. It outlines necessary risk analyses of informal settlements and the implementation of building codes. The program strongly emphasizes that the housing needs major reforms, and proposes the establishment of a Physical Development plan, which mostly addresses high-risk settlements. It does not directly refer to displacement.

SVG's Economic and Social Development Plan 2013 – 2025 also emphasizes the need for the improvement of preparedness, response and risk reduction capacities, focusing on community-based DRR, including the need for greater awareness to minimize environmental degradation. In fact, several respondents reasoned that the accumulation of small hazardous events in recent years has gradually eroded the resilience of the population and that this, together with the effects of large-scale environmental degradation, has increased the risk of such events turning into disasters. One respondent stated with regards to flood events happening in late 2016: *“What happened in SVG, in a series of what would have been normal rainfall events, leading to massive flooding, slope destabilization and landslides, so three significant events in the space of two months, and that gives you a snapshot of what is happening, this is something which has not happened before [...]”* (C-6). The development plan also recognizes a problem with SVG's housing and tenure system, pointing to the need to reduce squatter settlements, and formalize and upgrade inadequate housing situations, by improving and enforcing building codes and create better access to safe housing.

4.4 Synthesis

SIDS are among the most vulnerable countries to disasters and climate change. This has affected and will continue to affect, human mobility in various ways, as acknowledged throughout the interviews and in several of the reviewed policies. The findings clearly show that disaster-induced displacement is, despite a substantial data gap, a real phenomenon in both regions.

The absence of systematic data collection or continued monitoring of the displacement situations and recovery leads to a crucial gap in the understanding of the actual level of disaster-induced displacement in both regions. The lack of data makes it difficult to state exact size of the issue on a national or regional level. Thus, it is not possible to compare the Caribbean and the Pacific in terms of actual numbers of displaced people. Several of the reviewed policy documents, both national and regional, from both regions, acknowledge that displacement and disasters are connected. Only very few of the documents specifically refer to measures to either manage the risk of displacement or to manage the displacement situations in itself. None of the documents seem to have been directly informed by the Protection Agenda. This is not surprising, as the Agenda has only been published recently. However, the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, which are almost two decades

old, do not appear to have been integrated into regional and national policies in the two regions, either. Findings also indicate that many national policies yet fail to integrate recently published regional agreements. The policies reviewed show no signs of awareness of the issue of protracted displacement situations on either side, although many respondents were able to give examples of cases of protracted displacement in both regions.

While displacement is not a priority in disaster-related policies, it is generally recognized that it is linked to disasters and that such displacement negatively affects the population. Most policies and plans fail to take the necessary steps resulting from this, for example by developing measures directly aimed at reducing the displacement risk or including protection provisions. Currently, displacement management in both regions is responsive, and preventive measures are mostly limited to relocations. The policies, which do include displacement considerations, do so mostly from a protection perspective. This indicates how displacement in the regions is seen as a humanitarian issue, rather than a development issue, which is consistent with a finding from a study run by the IDMC (2013) in the Pacific. As stated earlier, locating disaster-induced displacement in the humanitarian realm alone is problematic, due to the usually limited time span the humanitarian actors are active after the disaster, which leaves displaced people unattended after the initial response phase (IDMC, 2015).

Strikingly, the respondents from both regions stated very similar points, with regards to what they consider to be the most pressing risk drivers. Notably, these drivers have been identified by persons who have not been affected by displacement themselves. The similarities can partly also be explained by the snowball strategy applied in identifying respondents. This limitation needs to be kept in mind, and further investigation of risk drivers, including actually displaced persons, is crucial in order to develop a deeper understanding of the displacement dynamics and based on these develop appropriate policies.

The risk drivers interact in a complex manner, which is currently not reflected in the reviewed policies, nor in the current humanitarian system. This results in cases of displacement, which are not adequately being addressed. As displacement is a politically sensitive issue in both regions, and the terminology used, especially in the refugee debate, is often rejected by decision makers in the regions. This challenges an open discussion on the topic and constrains the development of policies.

On a positive note, generally, current developments in the legislative frameworks on disasters and climate change in both regions, embrace risk management and adaptation approaches, focusing on preparedness and planning, rather than response. Community involvement, early warning, awareness building and education, livelihood-based approaches and hazard-zone mapping are emphasized in the policies in both regions. Such activities can, even without directly aiming at it, reduce the displacement risk (IDMC, 2013).

The most often mentioned risk reduction activity in relation to human mobility is relocation. Preventive relocation of communities in high-risk zones can be problematic, as these affect the livelihoods of those affected and can increase the risk of impoverishment (Cernea, 2004; IDMC, 2013). The potentially negative effects of relocations are only discussed in very few of the reviewed documents in either region, and not in great detail. A few documents discuss problematic issues related to relocations, such as land rights and tenure issues, lack of safe settlement areas and the strong cultural bond to the land.

Post-disaster relocation, i.e. resettlement of displaced communities, who cannot return to their place of original inhabitants as a durable solution, is mentioned in several documents in both regions. Other durable solutions, such as the local integration of displaced persons or the facilitation of the displaced to return to their homes (IASC, 2010) are only shortly mentioned in a few Pacific documents, but not elaborated upon. This can increase the risk of displacement becoming prolonged, as no procedures are in place to prevent this.

5. Conclusions

This research set out to identify how disaster-induced displacement is reflected in national and regional DRR and CCA policy mechanisms in SIDS in the Pacific and the Caribbean. To understand the problem of displacement in greater depth, the most pressing displacement risk drivers in the regions were identified.

The complexity of disaster-induced displacement makes a thorough investigation of underlying risk drivers and actual displacement dynamics paramount, to be able to develop adequate policy-based solutions for it. The dynamics of displacement are not well understood, which is reflected in the lack of data availability on the issue. Despite the large data gap in relation to disaster-induced displacement and protracted displacement, it has become evident that it is a real and pressing phenomenon in SIDS across the Pacific and the Caribbean. Available data clearly shows that SIDS face a considerably higher level of displacement risk compared to other geographical entities. This research revealed several cases of displacement, some of which are of protracted and ongoing nature, however, finding more data on these cases were not possible, as it does not exist.

The risk drivers of displacement are overall quite similar within the two regions. The informality of settlements, the lack of safe land available for settlements, poverty, lack of insurance schemes and social security mechanisms, environmental degradation, the lack of building codes or the lack of their enforcement, as well as the erosion of traditionally strong social bonds, interact in a complex manner with political factors shaping the displacement risk, which can manifest itself in case of a hazard. Their complex interaction makes it sometimes difficult to track a displacement situation back to the triggering event. Some of these drivers increase disaster risk in general, while others are specific to displacement risk. Identifying, analyzing and managing these drivers should be given a high priority, to prevent displacement situations in the first place. This requires a wider acceptance on the governmental level that disaster-induced displacement is a genuine and urgent phenomenon.

People affected by displacement experience negative effects in various ways, with decreasing resilience and weakening livelihoods. It constraints the countries' prospect of reaching the SDGs, as it has the potential to create and manifest poverty and makes those affected

dependent on national or international aid, if not properly and timely managed. Especially, in situations of prolonged displacement, people are often caught in limbo, as safe return is not possible, but durable solutions do not exist. Thus, disaster-induced displacement has been called “one of the biggest humanitarian challenges of the 21st century” (PDD, 2017a).

The results indicate that generally, displacement risk is not considered regularly in DRR and CCA policies and plans of SIDS in both regions. Nevertheless, current developments in the Pacific, such as the displacement policy project in Vanuatu, both indicate an increasing awareness on displacement by governments and a careful shift in the attitude towards displacement. In general, the Pacific island nations consider human mobility related issues much more thoroughly in their policies and plans than their Caribbean counterparts. Nevertheless, both regions show a general neglect of mobility-related issues in their policies. Other than relocations, targeted risk reduction and protection measures are mostly missing. Evacuations are understood as short-term events, which ignores the reality of protracted displacement situations. Mostly, the fact that many displaced people do not necessarily live in camps but with host families is ignored, putting additional pressure on these individuals. Durable solutions for those displaced are mostly not included in the reviewed policies, nor are the effects of relocations.

Considering the potential effects climate change will have on disaster patterns and processes, which drive social vulnerability, there is no reason to assume that displacement levels will decrease anytime soon. Adequate action is, therefore, necessary and should be followed with a bit of urgency. The international community has started to realize that disaster-induced displacement is a major humanitarian challenge, which is currently not being addressed adequately. This is reflected in the development of the Protection Agenda, which was published in 2015, together with in the Sendai Framework, which in contrast to its predecessor, acknowledges that displacement is regularly connected to disasters, and that action is necessary to address it.

There seems to be a perception on a governmental side that cases of displacement implicate governmental failures. As a result, most governments perceive the term displacement as disrespectful and do not acknowledge the plight of displacement. This constrains any open discussion on the issue and thus also the attempts to develop solutions. The fact that recent

international agreements such as the Protection Agenda, the Sendai Framework and the Paris Agreement acknowledge disaster-induced displacement as a major challenge of our time, underlines the increased attention to the issue and gives reason for hope that this changed understanding will trickle down to a national level in the coming years.

Not only do national governments need to have a shift of mindset, much of the academic and humanitarian debate on climate change and SIDS have been quite alarmist, with debates circulating around so-called climate refugees and “sinking islands”. The reality is much more complex than this, and displacement can manifest itself in various ways and is in the vast majority of cases internal rather than across borders. A shift in the debate from alarmism towards adequate action is needed and will require fact-based actions and durable solutions. Therefore, this research brings forward a set of suggestions to be considered by policy makers, the international community and researchers.

6. Recommendations

Based on these findings, in this chapter, recommendations for future actions are given for the Pacific and the Caribbean. This is followed by general recommendations on how to address disaster-induced displacement risk. Finally, areas in need for future research are highlighted.

6.1 Recommendations for the Pacific

Most Pacific countries have a DRR and/or CCA policy in place, although some of them are quite outdated. The inclusion of human mobility issues in these policies is mostly limited to relocations. The focus on relocation has been criticized by several of the Pacific respondents, who recommended an integration of other types of risk reduction measures and durable solutions into the national DRR and CCA policies. None of the analyzed countries have formal relocation guidelines in place, which increases the risk of rights violations of those affected. Fiji is in the process of drafting guidelines and Samoa has developed a quite limited checklist draft on relocation. With increasing risk of major displacements within the next decades, clear guidelines should be developed, covering all phases of the relocation process, ensuring rights-based and livelihoods-sensitive relocation practices (IDMC, 2013; Cernea, 2004). It is important that these guidelines include the human rights standards such as the Guiding Principles and the Protection Agenda. The same situation applies to the Caribbean, also experiencing an increasing need for relocation guidelines within the countries, as it already a commonly used procedure.

The increased awareness of the growing numbers of displaced people and their special protection needs is reflected in the current policy development in Vanuatu, which is one of the first countries in the world to develop a national policy solely concerning displacement. It is recommended that the Pacific countries observe the efficiency and implementation of the Vanuatu displacement policy closely, to determine if this is a model that can close the current policy gap on disaster-induced displacement in other countries as well. From the implementation, best practices and shortcomings can be developed before implementing similar policies around the region.

In the meantime, it is recommended that Pacific countries mainstream displacement issues into their existing DRR and CCA policy frameworks. The Bangladesh National Strategy on

the Management of Disaster and Climate-Induced Internal Displacement can act as an inspiration for the development process, to strengthen a holistic understanding of the process and needs of the (potentially) displaced population groups, during the different phases of displacement. Further, an open discussion on displacement needs to be encouraged on a national level, including key stakeholders, who should be engaged in the development and implementation of these policies (UNISDR, 2015).

Several respondents raised their concern about how the Pacific, from a global perspective, is getting both financial and political traction, together with a moral imperative, using its vulnerable image; however, regionally political attention and policies are generally lacking, and respondents fear that a major event has to happen before the displacement issue will get the political attention and priority it requires. This complements the need for a shift in the governmental attitude towards displacement.

Informal settlements located in high-risk zones, combined with current land and tenure rights issues, represent a major risk driver of displacement and prolonged displacement situations (Rahn et al., 2017). In the light of the effects of climate change and more intense disasters in the Pacific region, governments should develop and implement land-rights reforms to reduce the number of informal settlements, and find durable solutions for the informal settlers through spatial planning, focusing on already overcrowded areas (IDMC, 2013). Respondents highlighted how the creation of new laws on settlements and building codes is inadequate, why governments will have to develop an implementation plan, supporting the population with resources and skills to follow the laws.

6.2 Recommendations for the Caribbean

The Caribbean, in general, lacks actual policies for CCA and DRR and has a rather scattered policy framework. Many of the national policies governing disaster risk and management are quite outdated and thus not aligned with regional and international standards. Therefore, the Caribbean nations should consolidate their national disaster management, risk management and adaptation plans, by developing concise policy documents. The recently published Country Documents on DRR are a first step in this direction. In the process of doing so, displacement considerations should be integrated, specifically by incorporating the Protection Agenda into these policies. For this, it is important to investigate the risk drivers in greater

detail, especially on a national and local level, including the experiences of those affected by displacement. Respondents repeatedly emphasized the need to include local knowledge in the research on displacement risk reduction.

Displacement risk reduction activities should be directed towards livelihood-based approaches. Displacement often goes hand in hand with the loss of the economic base of those affected. As many of the Caribbean economies are based primarily on agriculture, a positive example for such an initiative is the 5C's plan to test new hazard resistant crop varieties, which can help to protect the livelihoods of those affected by a disaster and consequently reduce displacement risk.

A major problem in the Caribbean, which has been recognized by most policies and respondents, is the large percentage of informal settlements. Informality increases displacement risk in various ways and the risk of displacement becoming protracted (Rahn et al., 2017). Therefore, spatial planning and land-rights reforms are needed. The currently predominantly paper-based tenure rights system should be modernized, in order to avoid problems concerning property rights in the recovery phase and reduce the risk of protracted displacement. Clarified land titles will improve the access to insurance markets for small-scale businesses and private persons need to be improved. This will require additional governmental support to overcome the inherent insurance problems SIDS face (Joyette et al., 2015).

6.3 General Recommendations

A regional initiative on implementing standards on how to deal with internal disaster-induced displaced persons, as currently being pushed by the PIFS, can bring advantages to those affected. Currently, none of the regions have a regional strategy on cross-border mobility, although this is currently a topic of discussion in the Pacific region.

6.3.1 Regional Approach to Displacement

In the face of the prospects of climate change, and examples of almost total destruction of infrastructures of entire countries (e.g. Grenada), several respondents mentioned the need for a regional framework to deal with cross-border displacement. In the Caribbean context, one respondent suggested a large-scale resettlement of vulnerable population groups from island states to the low-lying continental states of Guyana and Belize.

Such regional initiatives are recommended by the IDMC (2013) and the Sendai Framework (2015). McAdam (2012) emphasizes that regional initiatives will have a greater chance of success than the attempt to develop international treaties on disaster- or climate-induced cross-border displacement. This approach should ensure the protection of human rights of persons who cross borders, in relation to devastating disasters, as well as the provision of safe transfer to hosting countries (McAdam, 2012). Subsequently, several respondents underline how a regional approach will reduce the likelihood of any potential conflict between countries or within countries over land in the future, as negotiations will already have taken place. This approach will be crucial for some of the smallest countries, especially those only consisting of one or few islands, as they are more likely to experience cross-border displacement (Nansen Initiative, 2015).

Strong regional networks and agencies, strengthening the regional relations and collaborations, are already in place in the two regions. At this point, no agreed regional approaches, offering protection for those forced to leave their country due to the disaster impacts, exist in either region. Pacific government officials have already met on the issue of developing guidelines for human mobility within the region; with no official results up to now. This research could not find indications of a similar initiative in the Caribbean. It is thus recommended that both regions develop a regional approach to address cross-border displacement.

The regional approach will have to debate some of the tough questions, e.g. on how island communities can maintain their culture, identity and right to self-govern, if one day islands or whole countries will be uninhabitable, which has been a topic of concern for the public and governments for over twenty years (Farbotko & Lazrus, 2012).

A few Pacific countries already support the planned migration of their citizens towards neighboring islands, primarily in the form of labor migration. An intra- and inter-regional dialogue on cross-border disaster-induced displacement and relocation, should entail discussions on migration as a form of adaptation to climate change (IDMC, 2013), including, but not limited to, labor migration within the regions.

The experiences made in the two regions should be shared, to fill the current knowledge gap and identify best practices. By developing a better understanding of displacement dynamics, and by sharing knowledge and experiences with other islands states, can benefit both regions. A knowledge sharing mechanism was one of the major recommendations given throughout the interviews for this research. The overall risk drivers faced by SIDS in the Pacific and the Caribbean are quite similar. This opens the door for a knowledge sharing initiative across SIDS. As the SIDS are jointly organized in the AOSIS, there is an opportunity to use this platform to create a knowledge sharing mechanism. The knowledge sharing platform could administer and fund research in relation to displacement, and the improvement of relocation/resettlement processes with a specific focus on SIDS.

6.3.2 A New Displacement Measurement and Tracking System

There is a need for addressing disaster-induced displacement as the complex phenomenon it is, with an understanding of the nonlinear interaction of risk drivers, the hazard and the actual displacement (Ginetti, 2015). This does not only apply to SIDS but also to the way displacement is being measured in general. The currently dominant measurement of the number of newly displaced persons per year (IDMC, 2015) does not adequately reflect the complexity of disaster-induced displacement. This also applies to the way protracted displacement is currently defined, namely as a certain number of people of the same nationality, being displaced for a certain amount of time (UNHCR, 2015). A displacement monitoring and measurement system should not solely focus on the distance moved, the duration of displacement or the total number of people displaced, but also on the impact of displacement on the livelihoods of those affected. For such measurement, indicators would have to be developed. One respondent suggested the number of working days lost by a displaced person, as a measurement of displacement.

As displaced persons often stay with relatives or friends, rather than in governmentally run camps, the impact on the hosts would also need to be measured. Displacement tracking systems, which follow those displaced from the start to end of the displacement situation, should be implemented. The end of displacement should be determined based on whether the displaced face special needs due to the displacement (IASC, 2010). As seen in the case of Haiti, although neither the political nor humanitarian system might consider a person displaced, the person might consider her- or himself displaced, and face the same needs as an

officially recognized displaced person (Sherwood et al., 2014). Therefore, it is important to take into consideration the perception of the affected population on their own situation. Such measurement system could be implemented on a regional level, with assistance from the international humanitarian and scientific community.

Currently, the humanitarian community is not prepared for situations of protracted displacement, once the humanitarian response phase is over (IDMC, 2015). Displacement is still predominantly seen as a short-term roundtrip event, which does not reflect the reality. Adjusting the humanitarian activities towards including longer term assistance to those displaced until durable solutions are found, is a necessity. Standards for measuring and tracking protracted displacement should be developed on an international level, potentially by the IDMC, to aid national institutions and organizations to create sound and comparable data-based knowledge.

6.4 Recommendations for Future Research

As presented, there are still substantial knowledge gaps on the issue of disaster-induced displacement, and how this issue is affecting SIDS specifically. Therefore, more research is necessary to be able to address the issue adequately.

First, in order to overcome the gap in quantitative data, more research is needed on how protracted displacement can be measured. Cases of displacement need to be followed over time, to better understand the complex displacement dynamics, together with the effects of displacement on the affected population. Researchers should investigate the specific drivers, which increase the displacement risk. The lack of knowledge, specifically with regards to extensive risks, should ideally be researched on a community level, to gain a deeper understanding of the specific processes driving the disaster-induced displacement risk locally.

Finally, the process of implementing new displacement-related policies, such as the Bangladesh displacement strategy and the currently drafted displacement policy project in Vanuatu, should be carefully observed. Following up on the successes and failures of these pioneering policies can help to understand better how displacement risk can be addressed on a national policy level.

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Annex

a) Small Island States and Dependencies/Territories in the Pacific and Caribbean

Caribbean	Pacific
Anguilla (UK)	MELANESIA:
Antigua and Barbuda	Fiji
Aruba (Netherlands)	New Caledonia (France)
Barbados	Papua New Guinea
Bonaire (Netherlands)	Solomon Islands
British Virgin Islands (UK)	Vanuatu
Cayman Islands (UK)	MICRONESIA:
Cuba	Federated States of Micronesia
Curacao (Netherlands)	Guam (US)
Dominica	Kiribati
Dominican Republic	Marshall Islands
Grenada	Nauru
Guadeloupe (France)	Northern Mariana Islands (US)
Haiti	Palau
Jamaica	POLYNESIA:
Martinique (France)	American Samoa (US)
Montserrat (UK)	Cook Islands
Puerto Rico (US)	French Polynesia (France)
Saba (Netherlands)	Niue
Saint Barthélemy (France)	Pitcairn Islands (UK)
Saint Kitts and Nevis	Samoa
Saint Lucia	Tokelau (NZ)
Saint Martin (France)	Tonga
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	Tuvalu
Sint Eustatius (Netherlands)	Wallis and Futuna (France)
Sint Maarten (Netherlands)	<i>Highlighted = Independent State</i> <i>Non-highlighted = Dependency/Territory</i>
The Bahamas	
Trinidad and Tobago	
Turks and Caicos Islands (UK)	
US Virgin Islands (US)	

b) Reviewed Policy Documents

Caribbean				Pacific			
Regional	Jamaica	Grenada	St. Vincent and the Grenadines	Regional	Fiji	Kiribati	Vanuatu
Comprehensive Disaster Management Strategy (2015)	Disaster Risk Management Act (2015),	National Disaster Plan (2005)	National Disaster Plan (2005)	Framework for Resilient Development in the Pacific (FRDP) (2016)	National Climate Change Policy (NCCP) (2012)	Kiribati National Adaptation Programmes of Action (NAPA) (2007)	Vanuatu National Adaptation Programmes of Action (NAPA) (2007)
Regional Framework for Achieving Development Resilient to Climate Change (+ implementation plan) 2011-2021	Climate Change Policy Framework (2015)	National Hazard Mitigation Policy (2003)	National Emergency and Disaster Management Act (2006)	Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (PIFS) (Network)	National Climate Change Adaptation Strategy for Land-based Resources (2012-2021)	Kiribati Disaster Risk Management Plan (2012)	Vanuatu Disaster Risk Reduction and Disaster Management - National Action Plan (NAP) (2007)
CARICOM Strategic Plan 2015-2019	Vision 2030	Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy 2014-2018	Economic and Social Development Plan 2013-2025		National Humanitarian Policy - Draft (2016)	Kiribati Development Plan (2016-2019)	Vanuatu Climate Change and Disaster Risk Reduction Policy (2016-2030)
	Strategic Programme for Climate Resilience (2011)	Strategic Programme for Climate Resilience (2011)	Strategic Programme for Climate Resilience (2015)		Relocation Guidelines (not finalized))	Migration With Dignity	Vanuatu Displacement Policy Project (not finalized)
	National Disaster Plan (1997)						

c) Interview Guide

Questionnaire for Research Project

Disaster-induced Displacement: the Case of Small Island Developing States in the Pacific and the Caribbean

1. Concept Note

1.1 Introduction

The purpose of this project is to assess and compare the risk drivers of disaster-induced displacement in the small island states in the Caribbean and the Pacific region, and further understand how disaster risk reduction (DRR) and climate change adaptation strategies can contribute to a reduction in displacement risk by addressing its drivers. For this purpose, expert interviews are being carried out in both regions, including representatives of regional and national governments, UN organizations, non-governmental organization and local and regional disaster management agencies.

1.2 Rationale of the project

Evidence indicates that environmental factors and changes, influence human mobility (PIFS, 2015), yet, this connection is highly complex and not well understood. Studies show that environmental changes, including climate change, are not the actual cause of mobility, but rather the unaddressed consequences of it, such as hazards, deterioration of lands, water, infrastructure, economy and social challenges, which together force people to migrate (ibid).

The international attention on this topic is increasing. In contrast to the HFA, the Sendai framework addresses human mobility as a consequence of disasters, and the international commitment to tackle the issue has further been emphasized by the creation of the Platform on Disaster Displacement earlier this year. The fifth IPCC assessment report (2014) states that “there is an urgent need for robust methods to identify and measure the effects of the drivers of migration on migration and resettlement“. This thesis aims at contributing to filling this gap by addressing the following question:

How do DRR and CCA strategies address disaster-induced displacement risk in the small-island developing states in the Caribbean and the Pacific region?

1.3 General Information

Interview Code:	
Date of Interview:	
Name:	
Email:	
Place of work:	
Organization:	
Do you wish to remain anonymous:	
In what way are you dealing with disaster risk reduction and climate change adaptation in your work?	
In what way are you dealing with disaster-induced displacement in your work?	
Do you wish to receive a copy of the research once it is finalized?	

2. Questionnaire

I. Disaster-induced Displacement in [region/country]

- a) What does disaster displacement mean to you? How do you define it?
- b) What is your experience with disaster-induced displacement in the region? Can you give any examples from [region/country]?
- c) Do you think disaster-induced displacement risk has increased over the last decade in [region/country]? What are the reasons for this?
- d) Do you think disaster-induced displacement risk will increase further in the future in [region/country]? What are the reasons for this?
- e) How do you see disaster-induced displacement is influencing the [region/country]?

(Politically/socially) Any estimation/figures of the number of disaster-displaced in the region?

- f) Do you see any side-effects caused by disaster-induced displacement on [region/country]? Which? How are they influencing the [region/country]?

II. Disaster-induced displacement risk drivers in [region/country]

- a) Based on your knowledge and experience, what factors do you see increase people's risk to being displaced by disasters in [region/country]?
- b) Have these factors been increasing/decreasing? What is the reason for this?
- c) Which types of hazards do in your opinion especially increase displacement risk in [region/country]?
- d) According to the World Bank, 8 out of 10 countries with the highest annual relative disaster loss, belong to Small Island States in the Caribbean or Pacific region. Why do you think is this the case?
- e) What do you think make Small Island Developing Nations especially vulnerable to disaster-induced displacement?

III. Reducing Disaster-induced displacement risk in [region/country]

- a) Do you know any examples/specific projects aiming at reducing disaster-induced displacement risk in the region? On local/country/regional level.
- b) Do you believe that the issue should rather be dealt with on a country, regional or international level?
- c) Do you think that disaster risk reduction and climate change adaptation can adequately address the identified risk drivers? In what way?
- d) What role do you see local knowledge have in reducing disaster-induced displacement risk in [region/country]?
- e) Do you have any suggestions on how disaster-induced displacement risk should be addressed in [country/region]?
- f) Do you think disaster-induced displacement has received adequate political attention from governments/ policy-makers in [region/country]? Are decision makers in [region/country] willing to tackle the issue?

IV. Any additional Information/Comments