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Turning a threat of climate migration into an opportunity for development?

The gendered logics of the Asian Development Bank's climate migration discourses

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Abstract

Climate migration is an emerging topic of research and policymaking in the region of Asia and the Pacific. Migration in the context of climate change is mediated by social, political, and historical factors not solely dependent on the impacts of climate change. Also, migration, including climate migration, is a socially unequal process and has differential impacts on people based on their identity markers such as gender, race, ethnicity, class, and age. Meanwhile, various international organizations (IOs) such as the Asian Development Bank (ADB) engage in developing policy prescriptions on climate migration. Drawing on feminist poststructuralist theory and the gendered Logics approach, this research uncovers how ADB shapes discourses on climate migration that exacerbate the gendered structures of the global economy, such as paternalistic management, marketable subjects, and masculine and technical solutions. Suggestions for future research point to more nuanced understandings of the region's mobility practices in the context of climate change, moving away from the managerial approaches of policy interventions to further dialogues on the underlying causes of unequal burdens of climate change.

Keywords: climate migration, mobility, gender, Asian Development Bank, poststructuralism, the Logics approach, global economy

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Acronyms

ADB	Asian Development Bank
ADBI	Asian Development Bank Institute
AfDB	African Development Bank
DRR	Disaster Risk Reduction
EU	European Union
GMS	Greater Mekong Subregion
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
LTSF	Long-term strategic framework
MDB	Multilateral Development Bank
MTSF	Medium Term Strategic Framework
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
RDB	Regional Development Bank
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SIDS	Small Island Developing States
UN	United Nations
UNESCAP	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Abbreviations

e.g.	*exempli gratia* (for example)
et al.	*et alii* (and others)
ibid.	*ibidem* (in the same place)
i.e.	*id est* (that is/means)

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1. Introduction

The region of Asia and the Pacific has shown rapid economic growth leading to increased stresses on the environment and greater social inequality (Price & Singer, 2015). A range of natural hazards and climatic events have noticeably increased across the region of Asia and the Pacific, which affect people's mobilities (Gemenne *et al*., 2015). As environmental and climate change do not exist in a vacuum, climate migration[1] often intersects, reinforces, and alters existing mobilities such as the complex labor migration networks that have existed in the region for centuries (Hugo, 2010; Elmhirst, Middleton & Resurreccion, 2018; Scott & Salamanca, 2020). Shaped by underlying power relations, migration is a highly gendered and socially unequal process, as the powerless often have limited resources and networks for them to be on safer migratory journeys (Vigil, 2016; Zickgraf *et al.*, 2016). Therefore, migration in the context of climate change are complex and require a comprehensive understanding of intersecting social identities to understand the root causes of vulnerability to climate change both in communities and in broader dynamics of the global economy (Gemenne *et al.*, 2015).

Discourses on climate migration in the region are mediated by various international organizations (IOs), including IOM, UNESCAP, the World Bank, and the Asian Development Bank (ADB). Often these actors have framed climate migrants as the actors who aid the development[2] of the country of origin and destination, which, without a contextual understanding, may exacerbate the trope of climate migrants as entrepreneurial and adaptive agents (Ransan-Cooper *et al*., 2015). Such climate migration discourses have gained momentum as they are aligned with the gendered

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[1] This research roughly follows the IOM's definition of the term, "the movement of a person or groups of persons who, predominantly for reasons of sudden or progressive change in the environment due to climate change, are obliged to leave their habitual place of residence, or choose to do so, either temporarily or permanently, within a State or across an international border" (IOM, 2019). Meanwhile, it is also important to recognize that empirically distinguishing the environmental factors from other factors (i.e., economic, political, cultural) is difficult and often nearly impossible (Mayer *et al*., 2013). Therefore, climate migration is the temporary or permanent movement of people, compelled by sudden- and slow-onset environmental and climatic events, combined with existing socioeconomic and political factors.

[2] The word development in this research is conceived as a set of loosely defined societal changes that involves shifts in institutions, technologies, organizations of production, and ownership, often entailing the notion of improvement (Sumner & Tribe, 2008). Meanwhile, this research critically views such concept from the 'post-development' perspective, seeing how it has been a mechanism for the production and management of the 'Third World' and a discourse of power that privileges Western politico-economic models (see Escobar, 1992).

structures of the global economy and the managerial practices governing migrants which favor the traits assimilated to heterosexual masculinity (Griffin, 2007; Felli, 2013).

This research closely examines one of the most prominent actors in discussions of climate migration of the Asia-Pacific region, ADB. The institution is commonly acknowledged as an important financial, regional and international policy actor in climate migration (Bettini, 2014; Bettini & Gioli, 2016; Faber & Schlegel, 2017; Kelman, 2015; Mayer, 2013; Methmann & Oels, 2015). However, the understanding of ADB climate migration discourses identified in the existing literature is limited to emphasizing ADB centrality in climate migration policy and not investigating what is implicated in these discourses and how they are gendered.

Therefore, this research's purpose is to discuss and analyze ADB's climate migration discourses that reproduce gendered tropes and structures. From poststructural perspectives on IOs and discourses, I aim to answer the research question:

> How are the Asian Development Bank's gendered discourses on climate migration formulated, defended and maintained through different logics?

This research adopts a poststructuralist discourse theory method called Logics of critical explanation (hereafter the Logics approach) (Glynos & Howarth, 2007; Glynos *et al.*, 2009; Howarth, Glynos & Griggs, 2016; Glynos *et al.*, 2021). The Logics approach establishes a particular style of theory construction addressing problems through the concept of logics[3] as a basic unit of explanation. It aims to grasp the rules governing social practices and regimes and the conditions that make these rules possible (Glynos & Howarth, 2007; Diniz, 2019).

In addition, this research adopts a poststructuralist understanding of gender. Gender, and discourses of gender, are crucial to understanding how the world is structured and how individuals are enabled and prohibited to act in certain ways and to certain ends (Griffin, 2009; Celis *et al.*,

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[3] The definition of 'logic', by political theorist Ernesto Laclau whose theories aid Glynos and Howarth's conceptualizations, is 'a kind of relation linking different discursive elements and thereby serves as a condition of possibility for the operation of particular system of rules' (Laclau cited in Glynos & Howarth, 2007). Further conceptualization on logics will be provided in Section 3.3.

2013). Gender discourses produce historically specific gendered subject positions, attributions, and behavioral norms structured by and embedded in broader discursive narratives (Rothe, 2017). Thus, poststructuralists have argued against simplistic, binary comparisons of men versus women and respective gender roles, and they have instead pushed for a more fluid conceptualization of gender as relational, situational, and discursively mediated (Butler, 1990; Mahler & Pessar, 2006; Rothe, 2017). Such relational nature of gender understands that one's position can only be understood in multiple power relations where the activities coded as 'masculine' are seen as superior, receive higher status, and are perceived more professional to the 'feminine' which is devalued (Ridgeway, 1997; Peterson, 2009). Meanwhile, gender comes into play with other hierarchical categorizations and power dynamics, such as ethnicity/race, class, age, (dis)ability, and sexuality to produce multiple positions on a continuum of masculinity and femininity, with heightened complexities of such intersections in the context of globalization[4] (Celis *et al.*, 2013; Peterson, 2005). Combining the poststructural conceptualizations of gender and the Logics approach, this study develops an analytical framework on gendered logics (see Section 3.4). This study focuses on the gendered logics of ADB discourses of climate migration, especially within broader dynamics of 'neoliberal structures of governance.'[5]

This research paper is structured in the following order. First, it introduces ADB—its structure, history, and objectives. Then, it discusses varying strands of climate migration discourses and how gender dynamics come into play. The theoretical section explores three analytical components

[4] According to Luke and Tuathail (1998:76), globalization is "an inevitable leap into friction-free flows of commodities, capital, corporations, communication, and consumers all over the world." Peterson (2009:32) notes that globalization and its effects are highly uneven, "variously manifested in hierarchies of ethnicity/race, class, gender/sexuality, and nation." For example, discussions on globalization have taken place with emphasis on the 'formal' spaces, which is fundamentally masculinist in its exclusion of the economic, political, and cultural (informal) spheres in households and communities where women's contributions to globalization are located (Nagar *et al.*, 2002).
[5] Such phrase is directly taken up by Penny Griffin (2007, 2009, 2013)'s work in her conceptualizations of international financial organizations and contemporary structures that govern people. It is also important to understand that 'neoliberalism' has become a crucial axis of scrutiny for poststructuralist analysis, also entangled with the governmentality theories (see Rose, 1996, 1999 on neoliberal governmentality), rendering the term with diverse meanings. Griffin regards neoliberalism, predicated on economic 'development' (see footnote 2) through the social embedding of the market, "constitutes part of a tradition of classical and neoclassical economic discourse and is deeply embedded in a history of economists searching for so-called 'economic' answers to problems of social organization" (Griffin, 2009:xiv). Specifically, this research is interested in the 'neoliberalism' of governance, where governance is broadly understood as "the art of steering societies and organizations" (Plumptre & Graham, 1999:3), employing techniques that create subjects, spaces, and actions that operate under market mechanisms and enterprise, business-like models (Ferguson, 2010). By stating such, this paper aims to improve the analytical clarity on the discussions of neoliberalism.

from a poststructuralist standpoint: discourse from poststructuralist view; poststructuralist perspectives on the global economy and IOs; the gendered Logics approach. Then, a methods chapter explains assessed materials and how the gendered Logics approach was used in coding and analyzing the documents. The research presents its findings under the three logics of the gendered Logics approach. The conclusion summarizes the findings and makes suggestions for future research and policy engagement on climate migration.

This study does not investigate the genealogy of the term 'climate migration' and other terms such as 'climate-induced migration,' 'environmental migration,' 'climate refugee,' 'environmental refugee' and 'environmental displacement,' in its discourse analysis. There is ample research regarding the debate on the terminologies and conceptualizations of climate migrants (e.g., (McNamara, 2006; Biermann & Boas, 2008; Mayer, 2013; Faber & Schlegel, 2017; Wiegel, Boas & Warner, 2019), which can provide information regarding these terms and debates.

1.1 Asian Development Bank (ADB) as the case study

This section elaborates the rationale for choosing ADB as a case study. Although numerous studies explored the World Bank's role and influence, scholars noted the scant attention given to Regional Development Banks (RDBs) in academic and policy literature (Park & Strand, 2015). Very little has been written regarding RDBs such as ADB, despite sharing the same policy space with International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, whose work, power, and impacts are debated in major academic and policy spheres. It is necessary to conduct a closer examination of individual RDB with its specific features as it has diverged from World Bank due to region-specific development concerns, political dynamics, and organization-specific pressures and bureaucracies (ibid.). To address such gap in systematic analysis of RDBs' role in policymaking, this paper delves deeper into ADB. The following section aims to provide background information on ADB's history and structure.

1.2. ADB's organizational history and structure

With the context of growing economies in the Asia region, the creation of ADB, promoted by Japan's proposal endorsed by the First Ministerial Conference on Asian Economic Cooperation in 1963, gained impetus from the foundation of other RDBs such as AfDB (Wesley, 2003). The Bank

maintained a relatively stable membership, but geopolitical conditions and internal power dynamics that have been heavily oriented towards Japan and the United States have influenced policy, lending decisions, and patterns of geopolitical and commercial interests. (Kilby, 2006).

ADB's broader strategic objectives were reflected in its emphasis on large-scale infrastructure, particularly in countries that supply natural resources to Japan or the states targeted by Japanese manufacturing interests and regional economic integration through mechanisms such as the Greater Mekong Subregion(GMS) Economic Cooperation Program (Adams, 2000). ADB is recognized as one of the most influential development institutions in the GMS that support large-scale infrastructure projects, such as hydroelectric dams, major roads, and cross-border electricity transmission systems (Jusi, 2006). In the 1990s, after sustained criticisms on development and the environmental and social impacts of development projects, ADB began to change its development philosophy and shift away from project financer to a "resource mobilizer" (Wesley, 2003:34), seeking to influence and set development agendas and, through the establishment of Asian Development Bank Institute (ADBI), aiming to introduce evolving discussions in the field of development (Wesley, 2003).

ADB's Long-term strategic framework (LTSF) of 2001-2015 stated that growth must be followed by a comprehensive program on social development that is people-centered and empowers the marginalized groups in society to gain access to resources and opportunities (Rauniyar & Kanbur, 2010). ADB highlighted 'inclusive development' underlining the benefits to the poor, particularly women and children, minority groups, people in rural areas, and people affected by natural and man-made disasters (ibid). Meanwhile, infrastructure development remained the core agenda and was further promoted by the institution during this period (ADB, 2007). LTSF 2008-2020 that superseded LTSF 2001-2015 also heavily focused on inclusive growth. Moreover, it gave special attention to the gender equality and women's empowerment as the fundamental components to achieving inclusive growth (Rauniyad & Kanbur, 2010).

Against the backdrop of a new millennium and the Agenda 2030, ADB has continued its commitments to the various development goals aligned with social and environmental objectives. Following other multilateral development banks, ADB also committed to aligning its operations

with Paris Agreement (Dunlop *et al*., 2019). In 2018, ADB Board of Directors approved a new Strategy 2030 that show commitments to the SDGs and Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction (ADB, 2018c). Under the strategy, ADB commits its efforts to eradicate extreme poverty and achieve prosperous, inclusive, resilient, and sustainable Asia and the Pacific, prioritizing various objectives including gender equality, climate and disaster resilience, and environmental sustainability, and regional cooperation and integration (ibid). While its mandate notes that it is a non-political organization[6] emphasizing its functions as an impartial actor, ADB is a powerful international organization with a significant impact on people's lives, which implies its character as a political actor (Uhlin, 2011). Especially since the 1990s, the impact areas of ADB have considerably expanded – including in the field of climate change and migration – and some analysts note that the Multilateral Development Banks (MDBs) have kept such broadened agenda within the old discourses of economic growth and technical, apolitical knowledge (Bøås & McNeill, 2003).

As briefly noted earlier, the impacts of ADB's infrastructure projects (e.g., human and social costs of community displacement and environmental degradation) were the hotbed of criticism from activists and NGO groups in the 1990s (Wesley, 2003). ADB responded to such criticism by upgrading its Environmental Division, putting more significant effort to take environmental impacts into account, and developing new policies concerning governance and social displacements resulting from ADB-funded projects (ibid.). In 2015, ADB set climate mitigation and adaptation financing target up to 6 billion U.S. dollars by 2020 (ADB, 2018b), and the Strategy 2030 further notes to commit its 75% of the operations to support climate change mitigation and adaptation by 2030 (ADB, 2018a). ADB's key areas for climate change include integrated disaster risk management, clean energy, green cities, resilience development, and strengthening policies (ADB, 2020). ADB is considered a strong player in development policies and climate-induced migration (Methmann & Oels, 2015), and its 2012 landmark report "Addressing Climate Change and Migration in Asia and the Pacific" embodies a crucial steppingstone of its climate migration discourses in the regional and international realm. In the report, ADB (2012:1) explicitly states the reasons for its intervention in climate migration:

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[6] "The Bank … shall not interfere in the political affairs of any members" noted in Article 36 *Prohibition of Political Activity* in ADB Charter (1965)

> Climate-induced migration is emerging as a major unresolved challenge for Asia and the Pacific, and will have an impact on many development areas in which ADB is active, including disaster risk management, infrastructure investment, regional integration and cooperation, and urban development.

Not surprisingly, ADB heavily focuses on the development impacts of migration. Especially within the context of labor migration, ADB recognizes that migrants bring ‘labor skills, trading networks, and an entrepreneurial spirit’ to the destination countries and communities and send remittances back to their origin that can reduce poverty (ADB, 2021). Although the ADB documents on labor migration are not included in this study's principle analysis, the implications from the labor migration perspectives will be discussed in the findings in conjunction with ADB’s discourses of climate migration.

2. Literature review

This literature review covers different academic debates on climate migration, followed by different strands of climate migration discourses and gendered discourses of climate migration, including in the context of the Asia-Pacific. This chapter's latter part investigates migration as adaptation discourse and how it may catalyze migration management.

2.1. Strands of climate migration discourses

The scholarship on migration and climate change has branched into several perspectives on the causes and consequences of climate migration and the necessary policy outcomes. The discussions took place in security, development, legal scholarships for many years. Faist and Scheade (2013) identified five strands of climate migration debates and the different rationalizations for potential policy responses. These five strands are the *ecosystem strand, refugee strand, relocation strand, conflict strand,* and *adaptation strand*. Meanwhile, several scholars (Hugo, 2010; Wiegel *et al*., 2019; Zickgraf, 2018) have emphasized the perspectives of im/mobility in the climate-migration discussions to encapsulate the dynamic, relational constellations of migration at multiple scales, comprising *mobility strand*[7]. Therefore, this section describes six different strands of climate migration discourses. While other strands are briefly introduced, conflict strand, adaptation strand, and mobility strand are elaborated in length due to their closer relevance to this research.

The ecosystem strand considers climate change as a major trigger for forced and impelled migration. The loss of land, desertification, and water stress leads to deprived livelihood assets and ecosystem services that will induce mass migration (Faist & Schade, 2013). The ecosystem strand becomes the initial base where the other strands depart, and some scholars regard this strand as a lobbying strategy by environmental activists to increase pressure on duty-bearers to carry out climate action (McGregor, 1994). Meanwhile, the refugee strand is more concerned with human security and governance topics – discussions on protections of climate refugees, legal analyses, and policy proposals (Wijnberg & Leiderman, 2004; Williams, 2008; Biermann & Boas, 2010).

[7] The mobility strand was conceptualized by the author of this research to contribute to the typology of Faist and Scheade (2013).

This strand concerns SIDS, IDPs, and questions of justice and compensation (Burson, 2010; McAdam, 2010; Zetter, 2010). Also, rights-based frameworks in designing policies have been promoted by some scholars including Burson (2010) and Oliver-Smith (2009) highlighting the importance of adequate legal protections and assistance programs for the climate-affected population. With the conflation of legal categories and the focus on large-scale governance, refugee strand scholars face a great challenge and backlash; meanwhile, many also uphold that such advocacy can help generate attention and mobilize civil societies (Faist & Schade, 2013). Similarly, the relocation strand advocates planned relocation to avoid uncontrolled displacement, especially in the disappearing Pacific islands, dislocations caused by floods, sea-level rise, soil salinization, and bank erosion (IPCC, 2007). Like the ecosystem strand, the relocation strand sees the scarce resource as a base problem of migration and seeks to solve such issues by resettling people to more viable conditions. Meanwhile, scholars have warned against the dominant discourse of sea-level rises and its consequence in displacement in Pacific atoll countries where existing mitigation and adaptation measures and practices are widely neglected (Hugo, 2010).

Then, the conflict strand encompasses the peace and conflict studies and security discourse, which views the implications of conflicts from environmental scarcities and subsequent climate-induced mass migration (Homer-Dixon, Boutwell & Rathjens, 1993; Suhrke & Hazarika, 1993). Again, like the ecosystem strand, the conflict strand understands environmental stress to intensify the impact of hazards, especially for the highly socially vulnerable, and thus cause or contribute to internal displacement, urbanization, and transboundary forced migration. Migration is thus considered a security threat in the context of climate change, which will cause territorial disputes and resource conflicts (Faist & Schade, 2013). However, Hartmann (2010) criticizes neo-Malthusian models of environmental conflict and degradation narrative that blames poverty on population pressure and peasants for land degradation, leading to their vicious cycle of migrating elsewhere. Moreover, narratives that environmental conflict is led by overpopulation regard the reproductive behavior of 'Global South' women problematic[8] (Hartmann, 2014). The conflict discourse also portrays such migration as a threat to national and international stability, which triggers conflicts and mass movements to the 'Global North' (Kaplan, 1994). Mayer *et al.*

[8] Some Western defense actors, women's rights activists, and NGOs have promoted family planning to ameliorate problems of environmental degradation (MacGregor, 2010).

(2013:188) stress that security-centered narratives underrepresent the "multicausal nature of environmentally-related migration and risk," while only focusing on dominant states' interests. Also, the framework revolves around recommendations towards more security and military-based policy responses to environmental migration (MacGregor, 2010). Therefore, many scholars consider the conflict strand narratives problematic for its hyper-masculine and racial imagery[9] of climate migrants as security threats and their orientation towards more alarmistic policy responses (Baldwin, 2013, 2017; Bettini, 2013; Høeg & Tulloch, 2019).

Then, the adaptation strand is concerned with the potential of migration for adaptation to climate change. This narrative focuses on the development-migration nexus, where remittance is a strategy to cope with livelihood risk—thus, circular migration and remittances have been seen to enhance people's capacities for adaptation (de Moor, 2011). However, Faber and Schlegel (2017:12) criticize the scholars who frame climate migrants as adaptation agents – calling it "neoliberal minimalist framing" – where the migrants become docile, highly mobile and adaptive, malleable to capitalist control, and even resilient to climate change. Meanwhile, the Pacific islands' conditions may diverge from what is projected and narrated in the climate migration as adaptation discourse. Barnett (2012) showed, in a case study of Niue, when the population at the origin becomes too small, climate migration has various negative implications for those who do not migrate, such as challenges to identity, increased demands on labor, and hyper-concentration of social capital. Thus, the complex dynamics of social inequality play into the migration as adaptation discourse (see Section 2.2).

The mobility strand involves the discussion of im/mobility in climate migration – to pluralize the understanding of how environmental change and human mobility are related (Wiegel, Boas & Warner, 2019). The mobilities perspective investigates the diverse aspirations and differentiated capabilities that determine particular practices of (non-)movement, affected by individual characteristics and uneven power dynamics from local to global scales (ibid). Some scholars have argued that climatic factors are often overstated and instead highlight that structures and institutions of political and economic power and the socio-cultural norms are much more important

[9] Baldwin (2017) notes that rapidly growing discourse on migration and climate change there are emerging racial scripts in depicting the climate migrants and refugees as being resembled to 'monsters,' where such figures designate a specific kind of Other in the context of climate change.

in mediating the migration decisions and affectedness by climate change (Zetter & Morrissey, 2014). Also, a growing body of empirical accounts demonstrates highly heterogeneous responses and reactions to migration pressures induced by climate change: climate-affected populations engage in cyclic migration patterns that are historically established or diversify their livelihoods to stay in their communities (Adams, 2016; Klepp, 2017; Farbotko *et al.*, 2018). Also, people make migration decisions as part of everyday, mundane dimensions of emotions and subjective realities (Parsons, 2019; Parsons & Nielsen, 2020). Scholars such as Zickgraf (2018) have noted the importance of understanding immobility dimensions, which are as essential as mobilities but are often excluded from the climate migration discussions. Therefore, the mobility strand emphasizes the need for a relational understanding of differential im/mobilities and embedded power relations in multiple scales that create and reinforce people's capabilities (Wiegel *et al.*, 2018). However, the policy responses reflecting such dimensions of im/mobility are still unclear. To such, Parsons (2019) notes that mobility perspective, as an emerging area of inquiry, is a problem posed rather than a solution offered where, over time, a bridge between concepts and practical structure would be built.

Thus, this section noted different strands of climate migration and their arguments and rationalizations for potential policy responses. As we will observe later in this research, several ideas connected to these six strands feed into how ADB narrates its climate migration discourse, especially connected to the conflict strand and the adaptation strand. With such background knowledge, the research better situates itself within varying climate migration discourses and integrates such knowledge in analyzing ADB discourses using the Logics approach. The following section illustrates how climate migration discourses are gendered and highlight a key discourse—migration as adaptation.

2.2. Gender in climate migration

This section discusses how climate migration discourses are gendered. Meanwhile, although various studies address gender as a broader definition of power relations (see Section 3.1), several studies focus on the topic of gender within women/men binaries and essentialize 'women' as a single-handed category. Therefore, this section elaborates how the concept of gender is entangled

within climate migration discourses across scales from an individual ‘woman’ or ‘man’ to the broader structures of governance.

2.2.1. Gender and migration in the context of disasters and climate change

Although integration of gender within migration and climate change scholarship has increasingly received more attention in recent years, gender is generalized to mere statistical categories or disaggregated migration patterns (Mahler & Pessar, 2006), thus closer to the division made by ‘sex.’ While disaggregating data by sex and ethnicity, disability, and other categories is necessary for policymaking, it may also overlook the local power dynamics and intersectionality between people’s identities and social standings.

Also, Gioli and Milan (2018) warn against women's essentialization in climate change research, using the term gender as a synonym for women and neglecting the power relations and scale of a given context. The single-axis identity of the “climate-vulnerable woman” is assembled to legitimize “gender mainstreaming” in climate change-related activities, where gender is always understood as simple binaries of women/men; therefore, women are rarely mentioned in official climate change discourses except when it depicts women as climate victims or as mothers who defend families and household livelihoods (Resurrección, 2017:79). These norms are reproduced through further justifications of inclusion of women in development programs and climate policies, promoting women as ‘resilient’ actor, aligned with the commitments stated within international agendas (i.e., the 2030 Agenda and SDGs, Sendai Framework for DRR) and the regional, institutional adoptions of such frameworks.

This narrative is also true for climate migration discourses. In some instances, women are passive victims of the environmental conflict forcefully migrating due to climate change, where often they are portrayed as a homogenous and monolithic category (Rothe, 2017). In other cases, women migrants are the best adaptive agents who can benefit from climate adaptation and migration. They are the key managers of natural resources and can improve the entire household's adaptive capacity (Gioli *et al*., 2014). Kapoor (2020) criticizes such viewpoints for validating and reinforcing the heteropatriarchal capitalist relationship of development programming through taking the household for granted, especially in encapsulating women’s experiences and spaces. Kapoor

argues that in ‘participatory’ and inclusive development practices, “(heteropatriarchal) male gaze takes possession of the female-as-object to ogle at it or gain power over it” and “women end up monitoring *themselves* with a patriarchal eye,” which constricts their actual participation (Kapoor, 2020:152, italics in original).

Thus, the outcome of these narratives is often binary and contradictory as it portrays women both as victims and the solution providers, which reinforces the power structures and obscures the real gendered vulnerabilities (Sultana, 2014; Gioli & Milan, 2018). Also, by flattening the notion of gender to focus just on women and girls and boys and men, sexual and gender minorities are never considered in adaptation discourses (Myrttinen, 2017). Without a nuanced understanding of the broader context and intersecting social differences, attempts to reduce vulnerabilities may rebound and further entrench the social inequities (Nightingale, 2011).

Moving away from the binaries, some researchers have also focused on a broader structure of inequality and dissected social dynamics of multiple scales to conduct more robust analyses of how gender shapes the multi-scalar causes and effects of climate migration. The prominent examples provided by studies in Asia and the Pacific region points to disaster contexts and their complex realities of social dynamics, mobility, and environment. Resurrección and Sajor (2015)’s study in the Philippines challenged the notion of mobility as a singlehandedly gendered response to a disaster and climate change and instead located mobility and immobility within everyday life. Thus, mobility and immobility are rendered as complex, contextual, and relative degrees of stability and fragility rather than black and white phenomena (Resurreccion & Sajor, 2015). Elmhirst *et al*. (2018) conceptualized the intersection of floods and migration in different Southeast Asian contexts, stressing that migration and flooding in Southeast Asia are mostly an everyday experience of individuals that can exacerbate or alleviate impacts of climate change in their daily perceptions, perspectives, and opportunities. These analyses integrate the structural causes of inequality that (re)configures the dynamics of gender and migration in the context of climate change.

To these, gender and migration are continually reproducing contours of everyday life, especially gaining further relevance in changing climate. Therefore, rather than reproducing the gendered

tropes of climate migration and essentializing women as either ‘adaptive agents’ or ‘victims,’ various scholars observed how mobile and immobile populations are situated in socio-cultural norms and power structures, disrupted and reinforced during migration processes.

2.2.2. Migration management and adaptation

Gender can also be understood as constituting the more fundamental discursive practices of migration and climate change scholarship. Migration as adaptation discourse, which was noted in the adaptation strand, drives migrants to be situated within the broader political, environmental, and ecological settings where their actions count towards and are evaluated as ‘(mal)adaptation’ to climate change (Methmann & Oels, 2015). In such contexts, migrants’ *vulnerability* becomes a crucial axis of intervention for development actors, including IOs. The concept of vulnerability is implicated in ‘Global North-South’ dynamics, as vulnerability is often situated in the Other, especially the poor in the ‘Global South,’ that provides an entry point of intervention by ‘Global North’ actors (ibid.). Here, the ‘Global North’ is imagined as a space of salvation for ‘feminized’ victims[10], a provider of compassion, and protection for helpless Others (Ransan-Cooper *et al*. 2015). Thus, the conceptualizations of vulnerability are part of a “paternalistic framework (…) to reduce the vulnerability of those likely to be affected by environmental change” (Methmann & Oels, 2013:283), which helps development actors to identify the population ‘in need of intervention.’ Also, the discourse of vulnerability relegates the population in the South to non-political existence, where ‘Southern’ states are no longer sites of political struggles and action but merely “subordinated mechanisms within a global apparatus of governance” often managed by ‘Northern’ actors (Felli, 2013:352).

A concept closely tied to the discourses on vulnerability/adaptation is *resilience*. Instead of viewing climate migration as a threat, the resilience discourse sees it as an adaptation measure for local communities to effectively respond to changing environment (Rothe, 2017). Meanwhile, there is a real danger in resilience discourse as “[p]ractices of resilience promotion … produces new kinds of gendered, neoliberal subject positions in the developing world” and as the discourse re-frames the “suffering of people” in developing countries as a chance for transforming unequal

[10] In a broader scholarship of refugees and displaced persons, scholars have recognized the popular humanitarian, academic and media discourses tend to privilege one-dimensional representation of refugees, relying on feminized and infantilized images of ‘pure’ victimhood and vulnerability (Sigona, 2014:370; Wright, 2014)

gender relations (Rothe, 2017:44). Moreover, climate resilience practices and policies may put further burden and responsibility on women without providing them relevant resources to meet such demands (Rothe, 2017). Several empirical studies (Mercy Corps, 2015; Webb, 2015) also prove such accounts where resilience teaches the population to adapt to suffering in the world rather than to resist or overcome it. Climate resilience, therefore, risks reproducing the racialized discourse on the 'heroic narrative of black sufferers' (Leary, 2015), as often people of color are the most vulnerable to climate change.

Another crucial point is how migration as adaptation discourse goes hand in hand with migration management. Felli (2013) argues that the turn to the promotion of 'climate migration' (rather than 'climate refugees') should be understood with an attempt to manage the insecurity created by climate change. IOs enact such management within neoliberal capitalism, whose structure fosters "dominant forms of heterosexual masculinity" (Griffin, 2007:221) (see Section 3.3). With the interplay of *resilience* and *vulnerability*, "climate migration management is not just about using the existing 'entrepreneurial' ethos and skills of southern populations; it is about actively fostering and creating them, notably by promoting a form of neoliberal subjectivity" (Felli, 2013:352). Picturing climate migrants as entrepreneurial individuals and people 'acting in a highly rational manner' also provides a crucial advantage of neoliberal orientations of national, international policies and actions (ibid.). Thus, Felli (2013:337) concludes how the promotion of migration as an adaptation to climate change is "located within the tendencies of neoliberalism and the reconfiguration of southern states' sovereignty through governance." This turns migration into a productive activity for the accumulation of capital that eventually "drags the migrants into the global capitalist cycle or (re)production through the migration management"(ibid.:356). Indeed, framing migrants as adaptive agents drive them to "alter their own behavior in response to external pressures and change" (Ransan-Cooper *et al*., 2015:111), including their willingness to participate in capitalist markets as laborers (Felli and Castree, 2012). The discourse fits into what is considered desirable for environmental migrants to become—migrants who participate as laborers and assimilates to the West as a model neoliberal subject with little external assistance (Ransan-Cooper *et al.,* 2015).

This section elaborated upon how gender has been integrated into migration and climate change scholarship, highlighting the intersectional dimensions of mobilities. I also discussed the gendered tropes of climate migrants and how various discourses on migration as adaptation and migration management foster those tropes through neoliberal rationalities. Based on such discussions, the following chapter investigates how the discourses and underlying structures of the global economy can be understood as gendered from poststructuralist perspectives.

3. Theoretical framework

Very little is known about the gendered discourses on climate migration that IOs generate. This research understands both discourse and IOs from poststructuralist perspectives. The Logics approach by Glynos and Howarth (2007) helps us investigate how discourses by IOs emerge, are put in motion, and are sustained. Meanwhile, the discourses by IOs also manifest in gendered form (Griffin, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2013). By integrating insights on gender drawn from feminist poststructuralist understanding of the global economy to the Logics approach, the chapter draws out the analytical questions central to this research, inspired by Remling (2018b, 2020). Concluding this section is a discussion on the limitations and possibilities of poststructuralist approaches in development studies research.

3.1. Discourse and poststructuralism

Poststructuralism examines how the world comes to be seen and thought of in particular ways at specific historical junctures through *discourses* and studies how particular social practices work in power relations (Edkins, 2007). Then, what is a discourse to poststructuralists? Although not all poststructuralists would arrive at the same definition, they would agree that discourses entail the "ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledge and relations between them" (Weedon, 1987:108). Also, meanings produced by discourses become "the 'nature' of the body, unconscious and conscious mind and emotional life of the subjects they seek to govern" (ibid.). Thus, discourses are productive and constitutive of dimensions of the social relations (Howarth & Griggs, 2012; Remling, 2018a). Also, the ontological premise behind the poststructural understanding of discourse is that "social reality is nothing more than the contingent articulation of different elements in a hegemonic discourse" (Glynos and Howarth, 2007:11). This is what poststructural discourse theory scholars call 'radical contingency,' meaning that there is no necessary essence to subjects or objects (Remling, 2018a). Therefore, many poststructural discourse theory scholars uncover how objects or phenomena we see in the world are discursively mediated and constructed, including our ideas, behaviors, and even emotions (Butler, 1990), providing an entry point to perceive the world differently and critically.

However, poststructuralist discourse theory has also been criticized for displaying methodological and normative deficits, such as the lack of explanatory capacity and a critical, reconstructive capacity (Glynos and Howarth, 2007). The limitations of poststructuralism will be more elaborated in Section 3.5. Meanwhile, many scholars have developed different approaches to fill the methodological shortcomings of poststructural discourse theory. In Section 3.4, this paper discusses one of them further—the Logics approach. In the next section, the gendered aspects of ADB discourses are further grounded in a feminist poststructural understanding of how gender inheres in the global economy and the IOs within it.

3.2. Feminist poststructural understandings of the global economy and IOs

In this section, I argue that IOs are involved in gendered forms of governance within the global economy. From the poststructural understanding of gender elaborated in the introduction, Griffin stresses that the global economy, and the IOs within it, are entirely gendered. Also, meanings, behaviors, and identities within the contemporary economic system presented as universal and neutral should be further examined from an analytical lens of gender. She poignantly argues (2010:3):

> To ignore, marginalise or trivialise gender in the global economy is to fail to appreciate the power of a basic and fundamental system of identification through which we understand the world; a system that organises how we respond to our environments, our abilities to survive, our goals in life, and how we approach our relationships. (…) [I]t is through a gendered analysis that the possibility of asking certain questions not available elsewhere is introduced, questions that interrogate the basis of power and representation in the global economy.

Moreover, Griffin (2011:47) highlights that poststructuralist understandings of power, identity, and representation can help us avoid "fetishizing" self and others, allocating historicity and shape to relations of exploitation, domination, and force. She notes that inquiring less on "what bodies *are*" but more on "what they are made to *do*" shows us how the emergence and perpetuation of knowledge are assembled into the existing assumptions about what is normal and expected about people (ibid.:49, italics in original).

In such understanding, the power of IOs rests with their ability to produce and disseminate "universal grids or frames of reference for the evaluation, rating, and discussion about how

societies should be governed" (Neumann & Sending, 2010:133). From such power, the IOs that we see today, including the UN, IMF, the World Bank, and ADB, reproduce across time and locale the conventional expertise, wisdom, and common sense of global politics (Griffins, 2009:8), which governs people of 'Global South.'

In her World Bank study, Griffin (2009) notes how the Bank discourse, in selecting and describing development issues, deploys certain assumptions, meanings, tropes, and practices that articulate the human behaviors and identities that are most suited to 'succeed' in a competitive capitalist market economy. Especially, the Bank's gender action plan and the launch of World Economic Forum entail 'neoliberalization of feminism' where women are fit to models of economic man so that empowerment is reformulated to giving women access to assets and opportunities, hoping that women perform just like the "standard rational economic actor in the market" (Prügl, 2015:619)[11]. Such discursive practices are predicated, prescribed, and reproduced according to a heteronormative[12] discursive framework—one that regulates people and the identities best suited to govern and be governed and allows maintenance of economic activities that are masculinized and ethnocentric (i.e., derived from the experiences of white, middle-class, and western men) (Griffin, 2009). Thus, the neoliberal structures of governance consider us marketable when we exhibit types of behaviors associated with dominant forms of heterosexual masculinity (Griffin, 2007). In such a structure, neoliberal free-market truths on the centrality of economic growth and accumulation of capital are reproduced through the power of acts embodied by local, national, or international legislatures and systems of governance (ibid.). Indeed, many studies have investigated how financial governance is gendered while not appearing as to be (Elson &

[11] Although Elisabeth Prügl would not necessarily identify herself as poststructuralist, the conceptualizations and insights on power that she mentions in her works are indeed indebted to poststructuralist theorizing. She mentions that she adopts "a constructivist reformulation of poststructuralist insights on power" (see Locher & Prügl, 2001:113). Therefore, I consider her theories to be relevant to this chapter.

[12] Heteronormativity is the implicit moral system or value framework around the practice of heterosexuality. Heteronormativity entails a convergence of binary opposites: "real" males and "real" females versus gender "deviants;" "natural" sexuality versus "unnatural" sexuality; and "genuine" families versus "pseudo" families (Oswald, Blume and Marks, 2005:3). Further, these binaries are organized hierarchically, such that those occupying the "real," "natural," or "genuine" positions have more power and legitimacy than those occupying the "deviant," "unnatural," or "pseudo" positions (ibid.). Therefore, especially in the context of neoliberalism, the heteronormative framework creates and reproduces the constraints by which bodies function through essentialized discursive boundaries, 'natural facts,' and gender/sex categories (Griffin, 2009).

Warnecke, 2011; Young, Bakker & Elson, 2011), stressing its 'strategic silence' (Bakker, 1994) about gender that inheres in abstract economic and financial models (Prügl, 2012).

Therefore, the Bank's discourse *straightens* development by creating and sustaining its practices and policies formulated through gendered hierarchies of meaning, representation, and identity (Griffin, 2009). In relations to Griffin's argument, in describing the Asian Financial Crisis and the (re)masculinized role of Western capital, Ling (2004:118) elaborates that "[h]ypermasculine capitalism" reconstructs social subjects, spaces and activities "into economic agents that valorize a masculinized, global competitiveness associated with men, entrepreneurs, the upwardly mobile, cities, and industrialization." Meanwhile, it also "assigns a hyperfeminized stagnancy to local women, peasants, the poor, and agrarian production" and recasts "economic development into a retrieval of cultural-national manhood due to collective histories of castration by previous invaders, occupiers, or colonizers" (ibid.). Peterson (2009:35) underlines such process as "feminization as devalorization," where the privileging of masculinity naturalizes power relations that constitute multiple forms of exploitation and subordination. Here, casting the subordinated as feminine devalorizes women and culturally, racially, and economically marginalized, 'effeminate' men (e.g.,'lazy migrants') (ibid.). Therefore, the gendered configurations of power within the global economy constantly reinforce the formation of 'masculine, rational, entrepreneurial, industrial, and economy-oriented' subjects, spaces, and actions.

Within this context, development strategies adopted by various IOs and other governance actors are gendered in terms of input, which comes from the foundational economic rationality where neoliberal strategy is formed, and in terms of outcome, in the experiences of the poor these strategies target and the future continuance of the neoliberal policies in question (Griffin, 2009). Based on such gendered operations, IOs integrate social concerns into their policies to use them as tools for promoting market efficiency (ibid.). For example, gender equality, which is considered a synonym for women's empowerment, is often measured according to women's market access to assets and opportunities (ADB, 2019). Also, gender in official development discourse remains the variable that can be added to or removed from the fundamental discussions of economic growth and market access (Griffin, 2009). Through their adherence to the macroeconomic frameworks, IOs often overlook how the global economy is power-laden and, in

doing so, reproduce gendered structures and tropes. Also, in normalized binary definitions of gender and essentializing views of men and women within institutional practices, the ideas that there is only one normal way to be a (successful) man or woman and that heterosexuality alone is 'normal' proliferate (ibid.).

Such dynamics also become relevant in the context of migration and climate change. The gendered discourses within the global economy forge liaisons with positivist and neoliberal managerial approaches oriented to the "material and measurable impacts to justify interventions and policy change" (Resurrección, 2017:79). As a result, climate change and disasters can be reduced, managed, and mitigated through technical means in ways that are depoliticized, masculinized, and scientized (MacGregor, 2010; Tschakert cited in Resurrección, 2017:79). Therefore, these approaches create persistent silences on political and socioeconomic root causes of climate change, disasters, and the disempowerment they exacerbate (Resurrección, 2017). Thus, a critical examination of the ADB's climate migration discourses, which exhibit such managerial and technical policy prescriptions, would reveal the underlying structures of gendered global economy that propel the silences of the root causes of climate change.

This section noted the gendered practices and assumptions of the global economy and, within such, how the IOs such as ADB would reproduce and manage gendered behaviors, ideas, and subjects. The following section describes the Logics approach, which will be the analytical basis of this research.

3.3. Logics approach

The Logics approach, developed by Jason Glynos and David Howarth (2007), is a theoretical framework within poststructuralist social and political theory. The approach focuses on analyzing the articulation of specific logics in a discourse, capturing its underlying assumptions, ideas, and norms (Remling, 2018b). Glynos and Howarth present a three-fold typology of logics—*social, political,* and *fantasmatic*—which are the basic explanatory units utilized to problematize, explain, criticize, and evaluate empirical phenomena (Remling, 2018a; Glynos & Howarth, 2007). Essentially, logics cannot be independent of the agents' (e.g., ADB) beliefs, values, intentions, and reasons. Instead, they account for the broader rules governing social practices and conditions that

made these practices emerge (Glynos & Howarth, 2007; Howarth & Griggs, 2012), such as those in the global economy. Therefore, the Logics approach relies on the meanings produced by the agents and aims to “grasp a wider net of social practices and patterns" (Diniz, 2019:18). Discourse, thereby in this approach, refers to particular systems of an articulatory practice that constitutes and organizes social relations (Howarth, 2010), highlighting the aspect of articulation to the general poststructuralist conceptualization on discourse (see Section 3.1). Also, the Logics approach understands that every discursive structure is uneven and hierarchical, involving the exercise of power and certain forms of exclusion and inclusion that construct political frontiers (ibid.).

Elise Remling (2018a, 2018b, 2020) conducted poststructuralist analyses with the Logics approach, from which she built concrete empirical research frameworks in analyzing policy documents. In doing so, she explored how the concepts of *social, political,* and *fantasmatic* logics can empirically be operationalized for the critical study of public policy (Remling, 2018a). In Glynos and Howarth’s definition, *social logics* comprise the grammar or rules of practice or regime. As an analytical concept, social logics help characterize a discourse and its implicit foundations and what expectations and rules a practice, such as a climate migration, would have to abide by (Remling, 2018a). *Political logics* enable us to explain and criticize the emergence, formation, and maintenance of practices or regimes (Glynos et al., 2021). In the empirical analysis, political logics help us investigate the development of a discourse and describe what(or who) is included within or excluded from a certain discourse. Lastly, *Fantasmatic logics* provide us with the means to explain why certain responses and demands succeed in gripping a particular constituency (Glynos & Howarth, 2007). Therefore, it helps us see why a certain social order is as it is or should be and what might happen if such order is disrupted. Based on these analytical viewpoints, Remling has developed analytical questions stemming from the three logics to help her analyze European Union climate adaptation policies and discourses on climate migrants by development actors in the Pacific Island region (Remling 2018b, 2020). This study utilizes an adapted version of Remling’s questions, complementing them with a gender lens (see Section 3.4).

This section discussed a poststructuralist discourse analysis method called the Logics approach and Remling’s analytical interpretations, focusing on its three logics. The following section

discusses the synthesis of gender and Logics approach as an analytical framework, drawing from feminist poststructuralist understanding of gender and the global economy.

3.4. Analytical framework: synthesis of the Logics approach and gender

For this research, I have developed an analytical framework that integrates gender to the Logics approach, calling it the gendered Logics approach[13], based on the insights from feminist scholars. I re-labeled social, political, and fantasmatic logics as 'gendered norms,' 'gendered exposures,' and 'gendered persuasions' respectively, making the gendered aspects in these logics visible. Then, a set of analytical questions were outlined, inspired by Remling's (2018b, 2020) work. Since the gender element was not too prominent in her conceptualizations, I further modified the questions to integrate gender. In the analysis, these questions are used as a heuristic tool to understand how ADB inscribes their understanding of climate migration to respective policies and operations (e.g., infrastructure development). I argue that the analysis through these gendered logics aids in capturing various conditions that create, enable, justify, and sustain ADB's gendered climate migration discourses. The analytical framework including the set of questions is noted in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Analytical framework

Gendered norms (social logics)	(1) What creates vulnerability in the context of climate change, and how does this understanding relate to migration? (2) What kinds of gendered rules and responses are considered acceptable and gendered norms are reproduced?
Gendered exposures (political logics)	(1) What is climate migration associated with, and how? (2) What gendered meanings and courses of action are put forward or excluded?
Gendered persuasions (fantasmatic logics)	(1) What consequences do the documents promise or warn against and what vision of a better or worse future is projected? (2) How is the gendered view on climate migration sustained and justified through these visions and projections?

[13] The Logics approach itself is gender-blind, but some scholars have tried to integrate gender or feminist perspectives. See also Payne(2012) for the feminist applications on the Logics approach in the context of Swedish feminist grassroots publications; and Oliveira et al., (2019) for the application of logics, fantasmatic logics especially, in the context of curriculum policies of gender and sexuality in Brazil.

3.5. Limitations and possibilities of a postructuralist approach in development studies

This research's analysis is formulated with assumptions and perspectives mainly informed by poststructuralist scholars, which can be both a strength and weakness to this study. There have been numerous criticisms of poststructuralism – the most common critique is that it stays away from offering solutions to the social problems it studies (Hansen, 2017). Poststructuralist concepts and discourse are also frequently criticized as complex, over-written, and an example of academic navel-gazing (Lundy cited in Edgar, 2018). Also, conservative critiques have stressed the nihilistic tendencies in poststructuralist thinking (Taylor, 1989) and problematized poststructuralism's relativist and anti-foundational overtones (Howarth, 2013).

Meanwhile, these criticisms have also been rebutted by proponents of poststructuralism and poststructuralist scholars. Different works by poststructuralist scholars[14] seek to inject more normative proposals into their critical explanations along with their poststructuralist critiques (Howarth, 2013), of which characteristics this research also shares (see Chapter 6). Especially, poststructuralists have raised essential questions about the relationship between the assertion of universal values (e.g., human rights and social justice) and the particular contexts in which ideas are affirmed and reiterated (ibid.). Therefore, poststructuralist thought has expanded and modified through different generations while keeping its core activity of rejecting the commitment to positivist and empiricist conceptions of the human and social sciences. I also recognize that this research does not aim to find solutions or generate universally applicable knowledge but rather pluralizes and contributes to the understanding that ADB's climate migration discourses are situated within gendered structures of the global economy. Therefore, despite the critiques, the poststructuralist approach is well suited to my research aims. Future studies adopting similar approaches and principles must also recognize these limitations and potential setbacks of poststructuralist thoughts while appreciating its potential to provide theoretical ground to problematize the various situations, contexts, and norms.

[14] See works by Judith Butler, Bonnie Honig, and Aletta Norval, among others.

4. Methods

This section underlines the methods and materials utilized in this research. Also, I discuss in detail the assessed materials, coding mechanisms, limitations of data, and ethical reflections. The gendered Logics approach (see Table 1) serves as a basis for the coding and analysis.

4.1. Examined materials

The paper analyzes climate migration discourses presented in ADB documents. This paper also investigates how such discourses are gendered and what policies or actions are represented as relevant and necessary in the assessed materials. ADB documents (including reports, articles, briefs) from 2009 to December 2020 presented and published on the official ADB website were examined[15]. A total of 14 documents were analyzed (noted as D1, D2, … D14 in findings), including three long reports (90-150 pages), two short reports (around 15 pages), five short blog and news articles ('speech' included), one policy brief, and three working papers (20-30 pages). All assessed documents were in English. See Annex 1 for the examined materials.

This analysis assumes that the assessed materials, either directly or indirectly, represent types of discussion that ADB wants to bring to the table of academic and policy debate concerning climate migration and its preferred policy solutions. However, the individual authors of these documents come from different backgrounds, institutions, and experiences resulting in claims that are not always coherent or consistent. Some scholars or practitioners may emphasize particular discourses on climate migration, while others are more concerned with the respective policy prescriptions by the Bank. Such diversity is not problematic because this paper's analytical framework focuses on why certain kinds of norms and discourses are "reproduced," "sustained," and "expected," which can only be understood in the broader structures of governance. Therefore, it pays attention to the

[15] In searching for these documents, the research utilized a keyword search method, inserting the following keywords into the search bar on ADB website, www.adb.org: "climate migration," "climate migrant," "environmental migration," "environmental migrant," "climate-induced migration" "climate-linked migration," "climate refugee," "climate conflict," "relocation," and "climate change adaptation." When looking up keywords such as "climate migration," "environmental migration", "climate-induced migration," and "climate-linked migration," search results suggested similar materials – which enabled the double-screening of the relevant outcomes and inclusion of any omitted items from each search.

overarching narratives through which ADB advocates its policies and actions of its publications. Therefore, rather than focusing on what individual ADB consultants and employees 'think,' the paper focuses on what the documents 'communicate' to the broader public.

4.2. Coding

In answering the analytical questions, this study utilizes NVivo[16]. This tool was used to systemically organize patterns in a limited pool of data sources and enhance the coding process's efficiency. This study adopted a deductive approach to code the qualitative data with a pre-set coding scheme that was applied to texts. The codes were based on the analytical questions presented in Table 1. For example, the question "What kinds of gendered rules and responses are considered acceptable and gendered norms are reproduced?" was shortened to "norms reproduced" as a code, and the code was compiled under the Coding section of Nvivo. The complete set of NVivo codes is presented in Annex 2.

4.3. Limitations of the empirical data

This research only searched for the available ADB documents published from 1990 to March 2021 and did not retrieve any archival information due to limited resources and time constraints. This analysis did not include documents from other institutions that discuss ADB policies. Also, the keywords (elaborated in footnote 11) used for document search might not have picked up some documents that are conceptually relevant to this research. This points to a methodological limitation where future studies on the organizational documents can improve upon. Also, a Working Paper on the literature review of disaster and migration by Kayly Ober was excluded from this research, as the content is mainly drawn from academic articles without ADB's findings or recommendations. However, it must be recognized that the review covers various strategies of im/mobilities taken at the local and regional level to respond to disasters and climatic events, with more critical perspectives on gender and social inequities in these contexts.

[16] NVivo is a qualitative data analysis tool often used for unstructured data such as interviews, survey responses, and web content.

4.4. Ethical reflections on the research method

In developing "a suitable ethos" (Howarth, Glynos & Griggs, 2016:103) of poststructuralist research, I have to recognize my positionality and reflexivity in the research process. I consider myself a feminist researcher and agree with the proposal of other feminists to acknowledge a more nuanced understanding of the relations between the researcher and the researched, conducting "the self-conscious *analytical* scrutiny of the self as researcher" (England, 1994:244, emphasis in the original). It has long been argued that the researcher's positionality, based on class, gender, race, ethnicity, education level, among others, influence data (Madge, 1993). This study recognizes that different interpretations can be made based on the same ADB documents of climate migration.

Meanwhile, as an Asian scholar studying ADB and its discourses that impact policies of the Asia-Pacific region, my positionality is not reproducing the typical power dynamics of the 'Global North-South' in development research or 'fieldwork,' where 'Northern' researchers enter a community to extract data from the 'Southern' subjects (Sultana, 2007). In this research, I have tried to tackle the discourses by ADB, 'a key development player' and 'a knowledge institution' of the region (ADB, 2013b), an international institution with significant political power (Uhlin, 2011). Critiques on big international institutions and their actions and policy prescriptions have been documented by various scholars utilizing poststructuralist discourse analysis (e.g., Methmann, 2010; Carta & Morin, 2016; Remling, 2018), which validates the method's relevance.

This research is not only intended to fulfill an academic requirement, but it has also acted as a source of self-reflection as a researcher of climate migration and a source of conversation and engagement with other scholars in the Asia-Pacific region. I hope to share this work and other future works related to this research with broader communities of climate migration in academic and policy circles and with scholars and practitioners at ADB.

5. Research Findings

This section presents the findings of the research under the three logics of the gendered Logics approach. The analytical questions presented in Table 1 are the guiding elements of the findings. The last part of each section provides a summary of the findings under the logics.

5.1. Gendered norms (Social logics)

Social logics help characterize a discourse and its implicit foundations and what expectations, norms, and rules it must abide by (Remling, 2018a). In this section, I answer two analytical questions to uncover the social logics of ADB discourses: (1) What creates vulnerability in the context of climate change, and how does this understanding relate to migration? (2) What kinds of gendered rules and responses are considered acceptable and gendered norms are reproduced?

As discussed earlier concerning the discourse 'migration as adaptation,' vulnerability is a key concept that sets out ADB's normative understandings of risks and threats of climate migration. In ADB documents, vulnerability is understood from both exposure to climatic hazards and people's capacity and available resources to react to such changes, and when affected by "intensifying hazards will come under substantial pressure to migrate" (D6). However, vulnerability is also associated with how migrants render themselves and others at risk through their living arrangements in urban areas. For example, "the growing population of the region … puts more people at risk each day" (D4) as residents in large cities living in low-lying coastal areas are increasing. This "high population density" (D5) along the coastlines owning to "mass migration to megacities in recent decades" (D8) appears constantly as the apparent risk factor of the urban development. The constant references to vulnerability in the context of urbanization and overpopulation, caused by in-migration of rural areas to urban and coastal areas, are aligned with the neo-Malthusian, environmental conflict and degradation narrative that blames poverty on population pressure leading to the vicious cycle of 'poor people' migrating elsewhere (Hartmann, 2010). This narrative plays a role in securitizing climate change mirroring the conflict strand (see Section 2.1). Moreover, the narrative that environmental conflict is resulting from overpopulation also sees the reproductive behavior of 'Global South' women as problematic (Hartmann, 2014).

The notion of vulnerability is thus closely linked with neoliberal practices that aim to assess and intervene the risk (Walker & Cooper, 2011) and is implicated in North-South power relations that operate under the paternalistic urge of the 'Global North' to control the 'Global South' (Methmann & Oels, 2013).

Such vulnerability might not harm urban areas if the practices follow the 'rules' of climate migration. ADB notes, "If properly managed, and efforts made to protect the rights of migrants, migration can provide substantial benefits to both origin and destination areas, as well as to the migrants themselves" such as to "improve livelihoods, reduce poverty, meet labor force needs, bolster economies, and strengthen links between communities and countries" (D5). In addition, "urban migration can yield positive outcomes for development and the environment, but needs to be better planned" (D5). Such narrative is not new and mirrors discourses on climate migration in a UN report, which states "[a]dequately planning for and managing environmentally-induced migration will be critical" (UNGA, 2009:17). Therefore, 'properly managed and planned' is the key catchphrase for climate migration to become the (quasi-)panacea of societal and development problems. This idea operates under the assumptions that ADB and other 'Northern' actors are experts who can advise 'the rules of the game'—creating the binaries of 'expert' versus 'poor' and 'Global North' versus 'Global South' (Methmann & Oels, 2013). Such discourse will be discussed further in the following sections of political and fantasmatic logics, further uncovering how it is gendered, especially in the measures of proper 'management' of climate migration.

Meanwhile, ADB discourses reproduce a set of gender binary norms in several references regarding women's responsibilities and conditions in the context of climate migration. 'Women' are constantly mentioned as a single category, without considering their intersecting vulnerabilities based on differential social backgrounds[17], who are vulnerable and "less empowered than men to make decisions about mobility" (D4). While blaming the frequent portrayal of climate migrants as

[17] In the assessed documents, some other social differentiations (e.g. age, ethnicity, class) that affect migration are scarcely mentioned if not mentioned at all. Meanwhile, the news article titled "Migration can mitigate negative impacts of climate change on children" (D7) underlines how children's needs in the context of climate change ought to be recognized. However, in the article, children are portrayed as the sheer victims facing health and livelihood threats, often framed within the household, and considered attached to the adults who migrate. Several scholars have provided a counter-narrative to such 'victim' framing of children (see Tanner, 2010; Lopez *et al*., 2012; MacDonald *et al*., 2013; Haynes and Tanner, 2015).

"helpless victims of environmental forces beyond their control" (D5), ADB discourses fall into the same trap: "women who are voluntarily or involuntarily left behind by their husbands have extremely few rights in many traditional societies. Remarriage, migration, or sex work is often the only solution left; otherwise, women languish in extreme poverty" (D5). Although the existing social norms can indeed deprive women of certain rights such as participating in decision-making, having choices to migrate, or owning land and other key resources, epitomizing the consequences of disaster and climate change situations to merely as 'further trapped to poverty' only exacerbates paternalistic viewpoints (Ransan-Cooper *et al.,* 2015). Meanwhile, a source also notes how women migrants can enjoy greater autonomy, decision-making power, and independence as shown in the example of "Gulf wives" in India who are self-confident, independent female managers owning their land and bank account (D5). Therefore, women are portrayed as both 'adaptive agents' (Ransan-Cooper *et al.*, 2015) and the most vulnerable population (Gioli & Milan, 2018) in these references. Thus, the sources reveal ADB's formulation of 'women climate migrants'—the (poor or to-be-poor) women who are enabled and 'empowered' to be an effective agent of adaptation. Also, it is portrayed here how women's empowerment (e.g., Gulf wives) is achieved through their level of market access to assets and opportunities (e.g., land and bank account) (Griffin, 2009), which is assessing how well the women assimilate into the masculine ideals of the neoliberal market economy (Prügl, 2015).

Therefore, according to the social logics, vulnerability is created by climate hazards, high population density/pressure, and poverty. The most prominent 'solution' from ADB is to reduce vulnerability through 'planning well' and (well-managed) migration as adaptation. Meanwhile, the failure of such management has negative implications on the urban environment and exacerbation of poverty. In such formulation, gendered operation of power come into place – whereby binary comparisons operate (e.g., 'North' or 'South,' 'poor' or 'empowered') and masculine actions (e.g., control and plan) and figures (e.g., powerful and independent) are privileged (Peterson, 2009; Methmann & Oels, 2013). Within these structures, women are primarily portrayed as a homogenous group and vulnerable victims to climate change who become 'trapped' in their communities than migrate. Also, in general, there is a lack of reflection on how individuals' different intersecting identities would affect their migration in the context of climate change. This is shown in how the landmark report (D5)'s only gender-sensitive policy recommendation is on

systematically collecting "sex-disaggregated data on internal and cross-border migration flows" (D5) that focuses on quantitative information which does not encapsulate the underlying social dynamics of migration flows. Thus, the existing ADB documents on climate migration emphasize *who* is vulnerable, not *why* they are vulnerable, nor *how* the different vulnerabilities intersect due to their social status and identities. We will observe in the following sections how political and fantasmatic logics further extrapolate on the proper management of migrants and their identities.

5.2. Gendered exposures (Political logics)

Political logics help us explain and criticize the emergence, formation, and maintenance of practices or regimes (Glynos *et al.,* 2021). In this section, I answer two analytical questions to reveal political logics: (1) What is climate migration associated with, and how? (2) What gendered meanings and courses of action are put forward or excluded?

ADB acknowledges climate migration as an essential framework of development, often intersecting with "a climate adaptation strategy," "resilience of household and communities (e.g., through remittances)" (D5) and poverty reduction (D10). The institution strongly highlights the correlation between climate migration and poverty reduction strategy, and as elaborated in the earlier section, poverty reduction is the core agenda of ADB since the 1990s. One reference closely connects such relationships: "inefficient or missing poverty reduction strategies can increase the impacts of climate change and foster environmental migration" (D5). Another reference points to how such nexus of poverty and climate migration highlights its 'sexed' dimensions: "the strong relationship between women and poverty and vulnerability to environmental impacts highlights that the environmental impacts are strongly gender-specific" (D5). Therefore, climate migration has emerged as a poverty-reducing development strategy with ADB's broadened goals of the millennium and commitments to the 2030 Agenda, where policymakers in the region are prompted to consider the potential synergies[18]: "[Considering] human migration, climate protection, and poverty reduction in a joint context … maximize[s] the co-benefits from efforts in all these areas." (D10).

[18] Indeed, synergies between the SDGs are considered crucial to the 2030 Agenda, of which many governments, including ones of the Asia-Pacific, are recommended to prioritize in their SDG implementation (Weitz, Carlsen & Trimmer, 2019). Considering D10 was published in 2017, I observe the co-benefit narrative of poverty reduction and climate migration has gained impetus from the introduction of the 2030 Agenda and its implementation efforts.

Then, the motivation to mainstream climate migration as part of the development agenda with poverty nexus is framed as enhancing the resilience of the communities: "the resilience of communities needs to be strengthened, and this is the reason why climate-induced migration needs to be framed in a development agenda first" (D4). ADB promotes specific types of poverty-reducing strategies considered efficient in the context of disasters and climate change: "food or cash transfers can protect against poverty and hunger when natural disasters strike." (D5). Some case studies cited in ADB's documents have shown how aid and compensation can prevent massive outward migration and thus prove "promising ways of targeting poor people" (D5). Thus, development and humanitarian aid are promoted as effective supporting mechanisms for climate change adaptation (D13). Again, this angle is aligned with neo-Malthusian and blame-on-poor narrative—unless 'poor people' are targeted with aid, they cause mass migration[19] (Hartmann, 2010). Moreover, in such statements, structural causes of climate change and poverty are not fully addressed, but rather, their outcomes are something to be solved and adapted by being integrated into the development agenda (Rothe, 2017). Thus, the fact that ADB is imbricated in the gendered structures of the global economy which exacerbates poverty and climate change is left unspoken.

Then, various relevant courses of action were proposed in the documents, which maintain ADB practices. ADB recommends various stakeholders to enable adaptive climate migration or provide an alternative to climate migration. The complete documentation on ADB-suggested actions and responsibilities of different actors is noted in Annex 3. Throughout the recommended courses of action, ADB documents communicate somewhat ambivalent perspectives that create tensions—one proposal concerned with holistic approaches that focus on community empowerment, the other concerned with the heavy developmental focus on infrastructure development, aid efficiency, and finance. These tensions mirror the classical tension in development practices, often split between a focus on bottom-up approach versus top-down approach.

On the one hand, a set of promoted measures promotes "holistic approaches that emphasize climate-resilient development" to facilitate "orderly and sustainable adaptation and (where

[19] In D4, for example, mentioned how "studies have shown that massive outward migration does not occur if aid and its effective distribution (e.g., in Bangladesh) or economic incentives such as compensation (e.g., in India) are granted" (ADB, 2011:48).

necessary) migration" (D5). Also, some sources suggest that building communities' adaptive capacity needs to be facilitated: "the communities need to be empowered by promoting sustainable development as a means of building adaptive capacity" (D11). Another suggested action notes how there must be governmental actions on "community-driven development initiatives, skills training, alternative livelihood programs" (D5) for those who remain behind. Indeed, these measures share the premise of resilience discourse where further burden and responsibilities are put on the communities, responding to changing climate and environment that are often not driven by them (Rothe, 2017). Also, 'participatory' and 'inclusive' development practices take place within heteropatriarchal structures that constrict actual participation of communities (Kapoor, 2020. However, these proposals hold potentials for acknowledging the existing or evolving practices of the people who are facilitating their ways of adaptation and mitigation, including their mobility practices, which are advocated by various migration scholars (Hugo, 2010; Adams, 2016; Klepp, 2017; Farbotko *et al.*, 2018; Wiegel, Boas and Warner, 2019). Unfortunately, the potentials of these proposals are left untapped as these concepts are significantly downplayed in ADB documents compared to the other approaches that entail finance- and infrastructure-focused approaches. As proof of such, financing such community-based activities and ways to acknowledge community-driven strategies are left unclear in the assessed documents[20].

On the other hand, ADB promotes top-down interventions such as strengthened "social-protection systems (e.g., safety net programs), basic urban infrastructure, and disaster preparedness" (D7, D4) and financing these (D5). ADB notes how policies and programs need to be aligned "with the labor market interests of destinations and impacts in origin communities in mind," which render these policies "development friendly" (D5). Moreover, "development of appropriate funding mechanisms … expansion and improvement of development assistance mechanisms, and development of sound economic development policy and practice throughout the region" (D1) is considered crucial as a part of tackling climate migration. Also, other promoted measures include providing migrants with access to "formal finances to ease liquidity constraints" and "improving

[20] Meanwhile, D11, in its 'Recommendations for Future Studies,' has acknowledged how community members could implement strategies based on their own initiatives. However, this was followed by the sentence stating, "scientific experts and policy makers should consider also how to measure adaptive capacity more accurately in order to supplement it more effectively" (Jamero *et al.*, 2019:9), which still draws the boundaries of 'expertise' and 'community' implying the hierarchical relationships.

the targeting of aid to areas affected by natural disasters" (D13). Meanwhile, the development and maturing of the insurance market and other financing tools by private actors can provide "improved prospects to support the needs of post-disaster migrants" (D4, D5) and are essential approaches to reduce further risk of climate migration. Acknowledging the risk characteristics of climate migration is thus crucial to policy options, ADB suggests viewing risk management in the face of climate migration as a "collection of risk and capital management problems linked together by the common threads of climate change and migration." (D5). These perspectives are thus viewing vulnerability as a currency for financial intervention in climate migration situations. This is what Ling (2004:108) has called the "hypermasculine capitalism" that "reconstructs social subjects, spaces and activities … that valorize masculine, global competitiveness," where Western-style financial capitalism gains momentum through gendered configurations of power (Griffin, 2012). Especially, the outdated, 'detached' approaches of development narrative (e.g., improving the targeting of aid, developing sound economic development policy and practice, see more D4) that do not concretely address or even exacerbate various root causes of climate migration and migration in general (e.g., environmental degradation, lack of protections on land and resource rights, community and individual's limited decision-making power in large-scale projects) may only contribute to the economic and political instability and climate vulnerability of the region.

Another promoted set of actions was putting the explicit and repeated emphasis on infrastructure development and urban planning, accompanied by the reference of mass migration of rural poor people to megacities in recent decades (D4). Indeed, one document mentions how there is a need for urban development and settlement planning to "accommodate the likely influx of climate-induced migrants" (D5) as "climate change will reinforce the strong urbanization trend in the region, thereby accentuating the need for upgraded soft and hard infrastructure in cities" (D4). The policy recommendations concerning infrastructure suggested by ADB include urban planning with incentives for people to settle in less vulnerable areas (D4); climate-proofing urban infrastructure as part of disaster risk management (D5); investment in sustainable infrastructure and basic services for new arrivals (D8); affordable housing, slum rehabilitation, public health, water supply, sewage, and sanitation (D5); new houses, roads, bridges and other infrastructure, such as water systems, built to withstand extreme weather (D8). These prescriptions seem like the old wine in a new bottle – the heavy focus of ADB as an infrastructure-building agency in the region of Asia

Pacific, generating more rationale for building new ‘climate-resilient’ infrastructures in the region, framed within the narratives of ‘increasing resilience, reducing vulnerability and poverty.’ This, again, exhibits the tendencies of hypermasculine capitalism that values "cities and industrialization” (Ling, 2004:118). Moreover, underlying structures of inequality is left unaddressed and even exacerbated through such neoliberal managerial approaches where climate change and disasters are “reduced, managed, and mitigated through technical means in ways that are depoliticized, masculinized, and scientized” (Tschakert cited in Resurreccion, 2017:79) emphasizing material and measurable impacts (Resurreccion 2017).

Thus, with the political logics, climate migration is heavily associated with poverty reduction and development, which is a long-standing concern for ADB. Although there are countering proposals on bottom-up, community-driven alternative efforts in the courses of action, ADB again accentuates the top-down measures such as the need for financial risk management tools (e.g., insurance) and infrastructure development. Such policy recommendations foster and maintain the neoliberal discourses on the centrality of economic growth (e.g., by mitigating the financial risk) and of material and measurable impacts (e.g., by building infrastructures) (Griffin, 2007; Resurrección, 2017). Again, in emphasizing the ‘poverty-reducing aspects’ of the climate migration, ‘poor people’ are advised to (not) migrate by ADB, of which recommendations are compelled by the institution’s ‘paternalistic urge’ (Methmann & Oels, 2013). Moreover, in such statements, structural causes of climate change and poverty are not mentioned but rather something to be solved and adapted. Thus, in such technocratic and masculine discourses, the root causes of climate migration and mobilities are depoliticized and dehistoricized, and gendered notions of ‘relevant’ courses of action are proliferated.

5.3. Gendered persuasions (Fantasmatic logics)

Fantasmatic logics help us see why a certain social order is as it is or should be and what might happen if such order is disrupted. To this concept, I answer two analytical questions in this section: (1) What consequences do the documents promise or warn against and what vision of a better or worse future is projected? (2) How is the gendered view on climate migration sustained and justified through these visions and projections?

The consequences when the 'appropriate' policy action to climate migration does not take place are represented as devastating. First, climate migration is an overall "threat" to the region and the societies. ADB projects that "human displacement resulting from climate change will pose a major threat to the sustainable growth and security of Asia and the Pacific unless measures are taken soon" (D1, D3). Also, as the Asia-Pacific region is highly affected by disasters and large populations live in high-risk zones, "it could experience population displacements of unprecedented scale in the coming decades" (D2), which will be "further reinforced by both climate change and population growth" (D5). The consequences from this displacement pose a societal threat: "large-scale migration could threaten social cohesion and stability in receiving communities, leading to conflict over resources" (D2), which keenly mirrors the conflict narrative (see Section 2.1). Urban areas will be significantly affected, as "the massive growth in megacities in coastal areas significantly increases the population exposed to the risks posed by climate change" (D5). A case study draws a correlation between 'urban disorder' and 'climate migrants' as "people displaced by floods[21] shows a positive association with urban disorder events, especially in developing Asia" (D12). Another source has recommended to "steer migrants from vulnerable rural areas to nearby medium-size cities equipped with the necessary services to absorb them; this, in turn, will prevent megacities from growing unsustainably" (D8). Thus, "inaction is a risky and therefore *costly* response to climate-induced migration" (D5, emphasis added). These perspectives that view climate migrants as a security threat involved in 'mass-migration' is a highly problematic angle that portrays migrants with hyper-masculine imaginaries (Baldwin, 2017), while the relevant policies suggested in such narratives are also military-based, masculine responses (MacGregor, 2010; Mayer et al., 2013).

ADB accentuates that the region's adaptation to climate change can fail based on the responses to climate migration, which will marginalize social groups when appropriate measures do not occur. The importance of planned intervention is stated multiple times to protect the most vulnerable: "If migration is not carefully planned and assisted, there is a serious risk that it can turn into

[21] In this research, the floods having direct impacts on the cities and the floods that affect other areas of the same country were distinguished. The number of 'people displaced by flood' did not overlap with the largest city in that country. Thus, the research tried to show how 'people displaced by flood' elsewhere (often, rural) migrate into the cities and cause 'urban disorder' which I see as a heavily problematic angle.

maladaptation, i.e., leave people more vulnerable to environmental changes" (D5) Also, "[i]f these risks are not addressed adequately, they may result in chronic vulnerability and increased social and economic marginalization of already disadvantaged social groups" (D1), such as causing "[l]andlessness, homelessness, socioeconomic marginalization, food and health insecurity, and loss of belonging" (D1). Meanwhile, some sources note how rural-urban migration can further marginalize the migrants and exacerbate their vulnerabilities, as migrants, mainly from poor rural backgrounds, often settle in slums or near construction sites. There, the rural-urban migrants' living environment in the destination will be devastating as "[t]he high population densities, unregulated and limited water supply, and lacking sanitation and sewage operations are favorable conditions for spreading diseases" (D5). In line with this, ADB emphasizes that the personal security concern will be crucial, especially in the case of women migrants, as "they are more likely to be exposed to sexual violence, trafficking, and other risks" (D4). These references once again communicate the paternalistic managerial approaches on the population (Methmann & Oels, 2013). Also, the "hyperfeminized stagnancy" is assigned to "women, peasants, the poor, and agrarian production" (Ling, 2004:118) who cannot migrate or migrate 'without a plan' to urban areas, pointing to the importance of ADB's intervention and protection of the population so that the goals of adaptation (and poverty reduction) do not fail.

Finally, climate migration, if not managed well, can be economically damaging. A source underlines, "[c]limate-induced migration will undermine economic growth; increase pressure on infrastructure and services; enhance the risk of conflict; and lead to deterioration of social, health, and educational indicators. It represents an important potential brake on the region's recent rapid economic growth" (D1, see also D3). Although it is not limited to climate migration, one source states how forced migration leads to economic costs resulting from administrative and accommodation costs and lost productivity, citing UNHCR, describing such condition: "protracted refugee situations in particular often result in an economic deadweight loss when refugees are constrained by poor information, language barriers, restrictions on movement, limited economic activity, isolation from commercial centers, and lack of assimilation in local economies" (D5). In this view, ADB suggests that various actors need to help the 'vulnerable population' because when they become 'refugees,' there is a high cost and lost productivity – which could have been turned into labor in the regional economy. The lost productivity view (D5) instrumentalizes the affected

population and migrants as ‘productive, flexible being’ (Felli, 2013). This view coincides with how the population is simplified to the labor suppliers in this source: “[f]urthermore, alterations in the physical environment could make living conditions in some regions unbearable and cause large-scale migration, which would affect the labor supply” (D14). In these references, the migrants are viewed as the population to be controlled to prevent humanitarian crises and yield productive and economic outcomes through their labor as an adaptive mechanism. The narrative follows: the uncontrollable poor population moves to the urban area and causes socioeconomic and political chaos, but when they are ‘managed well,’ they become productive units that can boost the growing economy. Therefore, the promotion of the common tropes of migration as adaptation is indeed “located within the tendencies of neoliberalism” (Felli, 2013:337) that eventually “drags the migrants into the global capitalist cycle or (re)production through the migration management” (ibid.:356).

To such projections, ADB acknowledges that taking action is crucial to prevent a humanitarian crisis and adopt the most socio-economically efficient pathways to the future. ADB pushes further on the government’s role: “By taking actions today, governments can reduce the likelihood of future humanitarian crises and maximize the possibilities that people can remain in their communities or … that they have the real option to relocate to a more secure place with livelihood options” (D5). Also, the governments of Asia and the Pacific can turn the ‘threat of climate migration’ to an opportunity to “improve lives, advance the development process, and adapt to long-term environmental change by altering development patterns, strengthening disaster risk management, investing in social protection, and facilitating the movement of labor” (D5). Although in a general migration context, a reference from ADB formulated that migrants are the ones who bring ‘labor skills, trading networks, and an entrepreneurial spirit’ to the destination countries and communities, while they also send remittances back to their origin that can reduce poverty (ADB, 2021). Through such discourses, ADB is fostering climate migration management that focuses on creating neoliberal entrepreneurial ethos and skills of the ‘Southern’ populations (Felli, 2013:352), (e.g., maximizing the benefits, advance the development process, well-managed flows of migration) and which is thus aligned to “dominant forms of heterosexual masculinity” (Griffin, 2007:221). However, not taking into account the histories, assumptions, and practices at the basis of neoliberal structures of governance lies upon, the responsibilities for the

socioeconomic instabilities of the Asia-Pacific region—increased production and capitalistic development, uncontrollably spewing infrastructures, a damaged environment, which all again factors into the greenhouse gas emissions and climate change—are directed elsewhere to individual migrants and the governments of the targeted countries. Felli (2013:357) noted:

> The discourse of climate migration, as it abstracts from social (and, indeed, class) relations, obscures the questions of dispossession, responsibility, or compensation and replaces them with a mixture of humanitarianism and entrepreneurialism.

Such dehistoricization of global inequality, poverty, and climate change, and neoliberal structures where IOs such as ADB are built upon would only exacerbate what they promise to solve. It is highly doubted how much of ADB activities can truly 'aid' the people without considering historical structures, networks, practices of im/mobilities in the Asia Pacific region, as the gendered discourses on climate migrants continue to be sustained under the current structural forces to subjugate people and render their complex experiences trivial and monotone.

Therefore, under the fantasmatic logics, ADB discourses are concerned with the threat of 'unmanaged' climate migration, such as to the people and the urban areas, to the adaptation and poverty reduction agendas, and the economy. These discourses operate and are sustained under the gendered structures of the global economy. The three gendered logics help to reveal what and how ADB communicates through its climate migration discourses. This analysis concludes that the climate migration discourses, whether by ADB or any other institutions, should be under the further scrutiny of scholars, practitioners, and policymakers of different positions and perspectives.

6. Conclusion

Intersecting social identities of migrants affect decisions and capabilities to migrate, migration processes, and migration outcomes. These conditions are also true in the context of climate migration in the Asia-Pacific, as it often intersects with the region's existing mobility patterns. In this research, I investigated how ADB discourses on climate migration are gendered and situated in the gendered structures of the global economy. Overall, in ADB documents, climate migrants are portrayed as a homogenous group on climate migration without recognizing social identity markers such as race, ethnicity, age, disability that affect the migration process. When gender is mentioned, it often portrays the binary contrast between men and women in their migration process: men leave, and women stay; men adapt, and women are trafficked (Rothe, 2017). Thus, ADB documents generally emphasize *who* is vulnerable, not *why* they are vulnerable, nor *how* the different vulnerabilities intersect due to individuals' social status and identities.

Adopting Glynos & Howarth's (2007) Logics approach, I analyzed different three gendered logics—social, political, fantasmatic—in ADB climate migration discourses by answering the research question: how are ADB's gendered discourses on climate migration formulated, defended, and maintained through different logics? Under the social logics, ADB discourses accentuated that climate migration can be beneficial only when appropriately managed, improving livelihoods, reducing poverty, and bolster economies. This belief strongly relies on the 'rules and norms' that view migrants (especially female) as 'victims' who can turn into 'efficient agents of adaptation' (Ransan-Cooper *et al.,* 2015). These portrayals idealize and praise the migrants who can assimilate the masculine ideals of the neoliberal market economy, thus fostering gendered 'norms' on whom migrants should become (Griffin, 2009; Prügl, 2015).

Under the political logics, ADB discourses focus on poverty reduction, which gives emergence to climate migration as a poverty-reducing mechanism. Several proposals on community-driven approaches appearing in some ADB documents create tensions with the top-down approaches; meanwhile, the bottom-up approaches are rather regarded as trivial than their counterparts. ADB discourses communicate that infrastructure development and finance-focused policies are an essential part of responding to climate migration. However, these heavy finance and infrastructure

policy and action prescriptions do not concretely address or may even exacerbate the root causes of climate migration, often intersecting with the economic and political instability of the region. These prescriptions reinstate ADB as an infrastructure-building agency in the Asia-Pacific region, generating more rationale for building new climate-resilient infrastructures. In such discourses, climate migration is dehistoricized, and the focus is on adapting to the impacts of such migration, where masculine, technical 'solutions' are regarded appropriate (Felli, 2013; Resurrección, 2017).

Finally, analyses on the fantasmatic logics revealed how these discourses are sustained. As an overarching theme, ADB documents emphasize that the consequences are devastating when there is no adequate policy action to climate migration. First, uncontrolled migration becomes an overall threat to the region and the societies. Then, when climate migration is not well-managed, the region's adaptation to climate change can fail, which will further marginalize social groups. Lastly, climate migration can be economically damaging to the countries and communities of destination. Based on such projections, ADB stresses the urgent need to prevent a humanitarian crisis and adopt the most socio-economically efficient pathways to the future. These discourses operate and are sustained under the gendered structures of global economy – the paternalistic migration management that focuses on creating neoliberal 'entrepreneurial' ethos and skills of the 'southern' populations, and thus aligned to "dominant forms of heterosexual masculinity" (Griffin, 2007:221; Felli, 2013; Methmann & Oels, 2013). Promotion of such interventions entails diffused responsibilities of ADB and other IOs in affecting the socioeconomic instabilities in the region via development.

The most striking problem of ADB discourses is a disregard for the underlying structures and causes of poverty, mobility, and climate change that render certain populations more exposed to the environmental and sociopolitical impacts than others. Such depoliticization and dehistorization of the narratives and responsibilities further exacerbate the instabilities that the people of the Asia-Pacific region face every day, including their mobility practices. The discourse of climate migration presented by ADB and many other institutions is fueling depoliticized vision of political relations with important implications on strengthened neoliberal structures (Felli, 2013). More critical studies on the overarching structures of the global economy, especially from a gender perspective, need to be carried out by scholars within various fields of scholarship such as

migration, climate change, geography, international political economy, and others. Also, the focus of climate migration scholarship and policy needs to be further directed to the local efforts and actions taken by climate (non)migrants. This research focused heavily on ADB's top-down discourses and policies communicated through their documents. Meanwhile, diverse efforts to contest and resist the neoliberal paradigm of climate migration in Asia and the Pacific need to be further examined. Scholars and practitioners, including those from ADB, should aim to continuously tackle the normalized structure of neoliberal governance and push for an alternative agenda that envisions a 'new' social foresight. In light of this, climate migration needs to be analyzed within the embedded, multi-scalar gendered dynamics that reinforce or hinder one's decisions and capabilities of mobilities in the context of climate change.

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Annex 1

Table 2. List of examined materials

Number	Type	Author	Date published	Title
1	Report (Technical Assistance)	ADB	Dec 2009	Technical Assistance Report: Policy Options to Support Climate-Induced Migration
2	Speech article	Édes, Bart W.	5 Feb 2011	Climate Change Impacts on Health and Migration
3	Article	ADB	15 Sep 2011	Climate-Induced Migration in Asia and the Pacific
4	Brief	ADB	Sep 2011	Facing the Challenge of Environmental Migration in Asia and the Pacific
5	Report	ADB	2012	Addressing Climate Change and Migration in Asia and the Pacific
6	Report (Technical Assistance Completion)	Édes, Bart W.	Sep 2014	Technical Assistance Completion Report: Policy Options to Support Climate-Induced Migration
7	Blog article	Édes, Bart W.	22 Jan 2015	Migration can mitigate negative impacts of climate change on children
8	Op-ed	Groff, Stephen P.	26 Dec 2016	The next migrant wave
9	Blog article	Édes, Bart W.	3 Mar 2017	Heading off an environmental migration crisis in Asia
10	Report	ADB	2017	A Region at Risk: The Human Dimensions of Climate Change in Asia and the Pacific
11	Working paper	Jamero, Ma. Laurice; Esteban, Miguel; Chadwich, Christopher; Onuki, Motoharu	June 2019	Rethinking The Limits Of Climate Change Adaptation
12	Working paper	Castells-Quintana, David; McDermott, Thomas K.J.	July 2019	Climate, Urbanization, And Conflict: The Effects Of Weather Shocks And Floods On Urban Social Disorder
13	Working paper	Murakami Enerelt	Dec 2020	Climate Change And International Migration: Evidence From Tajikistan
14	Report	Volz, Ulrich; John, Beirne;Preudhomme, Natalie A.; Fenton, Adrian;Mazzacurati, Emilie; Renzhi, Nuobu; Stampe, Jeanne	Oct 2020	Climate Change and Sovereign Risk

Annex 2

Figure 3. NVivo Codes

The following NVivo Codes were used for the analysis. Notice how each code was aligned to the analytical questions of Table 1 with the questions of three logics (PL1 meaning political logic, question number 1). Also, climate migration was abbreviated to CM for convenience.

- Analytical questions
  - Associated with CM (PL1)
  - Courses of action (PL2)
  - Factors of vulnerability (SL1)
  - Norms reproduced (SL2)
  - Sustain and justify views of CM (FL2)
  - Vision and consequences (FL1)

Annex 3

Table 4. Relevant courses of action presented by ADB documents

<table>
<tr><th colspan="3">General recommendations</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">• Building effective and sound migration management capacity, both international and internal(D4)
• Policy needs to provide “an alternative to migration” to address what is needed to allow communities not to migrate (D5).
• “[R]educing the barriers to migration—both within and across countries—and facilitating regional mobility” (D4)
• “[A]dequate protection frameworks will be needed on a regional and global scale” (D4).
• Promoting regional cooperation on “knowledge sharing, risk pooling, and security provision for environmental migrants” (D4).</td></tr>
<tr><th>Governmental actors</th><th>International actors</th><th>Municipal / local actors</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Labor and social protection-related policies
• Policies, programs “with the labor market interests of destinations and impacts in origin communities in mind” that are “development friendly” (D5).
• Policies better-integrating jobseekers in cities (D2)
• Develop proactive policies to “minimize the human displacement caused by climate change” (D9)
• Far-sighted national policies that “provides education and vocation training to citizens of low-lying Pacific Island state to improve their chances of finding decent work abroad” (D8).
• Strengthened “social-protection systems (e.g. safety net programs), basic urban infrastructure, and disaster preparedness” (D7, D4) and financing these (D5) to build community resilience (D4)
• Adopt “measures recognizing that migration can be a useful way for children and their parents to cope with environmental changes” (D7)
• Country-specific data such as inclusive, thorough national census (inclusion of marginalized communities) to “monitor progress and identify</td><td rowspan="3">• “The creation of task force to develop ways of avoiding or minimizing human displacement caused by climate change,” promoted by the Paris Agreement (D9)
• “Greater efforts should be made to familiarize national governments with useful guidelines[22] and their relevance to environmental migration” (D5)
• As the resettlement process is costly, “international involvement and support” is critical to successfully resettle those displaced by climate change (D5).
• It is vital to have in place “international institutional capacity, systems of governance, funding arrangements, and programs in order to facilitate and support development of mobility as an adaptation and, in extreme cases, resettlement” (D5).
• Drawing from some case studies, “Aid and its effective distribution” and “economic incentive such as</td><td>• Disaster risk management in disaster-prone area (D4)
• Populations involved in the resettlement process at all stages of the process (D5).
• At-risk communities need to be aware of adaptation options and risks of migrating and staying. They should be able to decide for themselves the best way to adapt to climate change (D11)</td></tr>
<tr><th>Private actors</th></tr>
<tr><td>• The development and maturing of the insurance market and other financing tools that can provide
• “[I]mproved prospects to support the needs of post-disaster migrants” (D4, D5)</td></tr>
</table>

[22] Such as Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement or the Inter-agency Standing Committee Operational Guidelines on the Protection of Persons in Situations of Natural Disasters

vulnerable populations, and shared across the region" (D8). *Disaster risk reduction and response policies* • Address environmental migration in nationally determined contributions under COP process, country development plans, and DRR strategies (D9) • National disaster risk assessments, comprehensive hazard maps, and disaster early-warning systems (D8) • School curricula including climate-change adaptation and disaster risk reduction (D7) • Disaster risk management further mainstreamed into adaptation policies, with a view to preventing forced displacement (D5) • Develop new and effective governance systems and policy mechanisms to cope with sudden-onset and slow-onset climatic events (D5). *Infrastructure related policies* • Urban planning with incentives for people to settle in less vulnerable areas (D4) • Climate-proofing urban infrastructure as part of disaster risk management (D5). • Investment in sustainable infrastructure and basic services for new arrivals" (D8). • Urban development and settlement planning to "accommodate the likely influx of climate-induced migrants" (D5). • Affordable housing, slum rehabilitation, public health, water supply, sewage, and sanitation" (D5) • New houses, roads, bridges and other infrastructure, such as water systems, should be built to withstand extreme weather." (D8).	compensation" can be "promising ways of targeting poor people" and to prevent "massive outward migration" (D5). • "Holistic approaches that emphasize climate-resilient development" to facilitate "orderly and sustainable adaptation and (where necessary) migration" (D5). • Accommodates the needs of migrants including "permanent shelter, energy and water supplies, sanitation, and school and health facilities" and "a diverse range of adaptable livelihood security opportunities, capacity-building of national and subnational government entities, and relocation and settlement services." (D1). • "In the event of a climate-induced migration, a sizeable financing facility will be required." (D1). • "Development of appropriate funding mechanisms … expansion and improvement of development assistance mechanisms, and development of sound economic development policy and practice throughout the region." (D1). • Provide migrants with access to "formal finances to ease liquidity constraints" and "improving the targeting of aid to areas affected by natural disasters."(D13) • "[T]he communities need to be empowered by promoting sustainable development as a means of building adaptive capacity." (D11)	and to reduce risk of uncertainty (D5). • public and private funding mechanisms for climate-induced migration, such as "personal savings, remittances, and other private funds; public grants and aid; private donations; loans subsidized or guaranteed by public entities; equity investments, bank loans, and other private credit; public insurance pools; and private insurance and risk transfer" (D5). • A sizeable financing facility will be required in the event of a climate-induced migration (D1).