

## The Economics of Climate Migration – An Untold Story

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*This paper examines if there is a link between climate migration and worsening economic growth in Sub-Saharan Africa; whether climate migration is considered a negative externality; and what the implications for vulnerable populations are. In Part I, issues of terminology and definitions of climate refugees and development are discussed. In Part II, to capture the contextual reality, a case from Sub-Saharan Africa is studied. The case study proves that climate migration negatively affects economic growth in the region, exacerbated by pre-existing regional conditions including weak economies and climate-sensitive agricultural industries. Since climate migration can happen both internally and internationally, Part III offers policy recommendations for three main audiences: states of origin, host states, and the international community. While climate migration can have uncertain impacts on all sides, it can be concluded that absorption and resettlement issues are directly related to the capacity and condition of host states. This capacity includes general economic conditions, the nature of the labor market, the ability to ease cultural and language differences, and the particular demographic context of the country. We hope that this research study is useful as a guide for many Sub-Saharan African countries, other developing states, host states, and the international community.*

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## Introduction

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) recognized that environmental factors have been the dominant driver of global migration but forecasted that its scale will significantly increase due to a rapidly changing climate. The rising impact of climate change will disturb the lives of people in affected regions. By 2050, it is expected that one out of every forty-five people in the world will have to relocate due to climate change, which surpasses the present number of global migrants. According to the study, around 3% of the global population, or roughly 192 million people, are not living where they were originally born.<sup>2</sup>

According to a report published in 1990 by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), a major effect of climate change is human migration. Many researchers have forecasted that by 2050, forced climate migrants will exceed 200 million.<sup>3</sup> The impact of climate change on African nations is even more severe.<sup>4</sup> This is because of chronic problems faced by African nations, such as water and food insecurity, extreme weather events, and health problems. These factors are likely causes of mass and total migration in Africa.<sup>5</sup>

Due to its geographic location, low national incomes, a weak capacity to adapt to a changing climate, and greater reliance on climate-sensitive sectors, the implications for this rising region's development are both inevitable and formidable. The future of most national economies in Africa depends on the dynamics of climate change. The key sectors which drive their economic performance and livelihoods include agriculture, forestry, energy, tourism, and water and coastal resources.<sup>6</sup> All of these sectors are highly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change. Therefore, climate change harms economic growth. It is vital to examine the linkage between climate migration and worsening economic growth in Sub-Saharan Africa. Moreover, analyzing how climate migration could potentially be considered a negative externality, due to the burden

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<sup>2</sup> Cecilia Tacoli, "Crisis or Adaptation? Migration and Climate Change in the Context of High Mobility," *Environment and Urbanization* 21, no. 2 (2009): 516.

<sup>3</sup> Oli Brown and Alec Crawford. *Climate Change and Security in Africa*. Winnipeg, Manitoba: The International Institute for Sustainable Development, 2009, [https://www.iisd.org/pdf/2009/climate\\_change\\_security\\_africa.pdf](https://www.iisd.org/pdf/2009/climate_change_security_africa.pdf).

<sup>4</sup> Babatunde O. Abidoye and Ayodele F. Odusola, "Climate Change and Economic Growth in Africa: An Econometric Analysis," *Journal of African Economies* 24, no. 2 (2015): 277.

<sup>5</sup> Lere Amusan and Ademola Oluborode Jegede, "Adaptation in an Era of Vanishing Territory—the Political Economy of the Impact of Climate Change Versus Total Migration, the Status of Statehood and Refugees in Africa," *Environmental Economics* 5, no. 2 (2014): 99.

<sup>6</sup> Abidoye and Odusola, "Climate Change and Economic Growth in Africa," 277.

on both the sending and hosting states, is key to understanding its economic impact. This paper will therefore examine if there is a link between climate migration and the worsening economic growth in Sub-Saharan Africa, if climate migration is considered a negative externality, and what the implications for vulnerable populations are.

### **Part I - Climate Migration Story and its Implications**

To gain a full understanding or picture of this complex issue, both the positive and negative effects of climate migration must be addressed. Climate migration has an impact at the local, national, and international levels. Addressing the ongoing movement of individuals impacted by climate change must be managed on all three levels, from the environment in which these migrants originate to their temporary or permanent destinations.<sup>7</sup> While anti-migrant sentiments are increasingly prevalent in the world, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) indicated that the international community will encounter the largest scale of displacement on record. Around 65.3 million people were forced to relocate due to climate change in 2015.<sup>8</sup>

In Europe, mass migration from Africa is considered a security threat related to climate change. Security researchers from the European Union (EU) have warned that climate migration will fuel conflict in affected areas of movement and destination.<sup>9</sup> As such, many Europeans are calling for more stringent immigration policies for entering Europe and for an expansion of migration control to Europe's neighboring areas.<sup>10</sup> Thus, it will be fundamentally important to study the nature of climate migration movements, including their temporal frames, spatial destinations, and overall make-up, in order to capture how they affect both sending and host states.<sup>11</sup>

Due to the lack of comprehensive data on migration flows, researchers are having difficulty predicting how climate change affects the movement of climate migrants.<sup>12</sup> In particular, researchers find it difficult

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<sup>7</sup> Tacoli, "Crisis or Adaptation?" 521.

<sup>8</sup> Adrian Edwards, "Global Forced Displacement Hits a Record High," *UNHCR News* 20, 2016.

<sup>9</sup> Leo Goff, Hilary Zarin, and Sherri Goodman, "Climate-induced Migration from Northern Africa to Europe: Security Challenges and Opportunities," *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 18, no. 2 (2012): 196.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid; Anne-Sylvaine Chassany, "Macron Government Plans to Tighten French Immigration Policy," *Financial Times*, Dec 18, 2017.

<sup>11</sup> Tacoli, "Crisis or Adaptation?" 521.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

to understand migration flows within national borders, especially for low-income countries that are most vulnerable to climate change. Current migration policies have problems because the majority of them focus on controlling the volume, direction, and types of movement of migrants instead of assisting and accommodating migrants or protecting their rights. Ultimately, a majority of governments today in both low and middle-income nations are becoming aware of the seriousness of forced climate migration as a key policy issue.<sup>13</sup>

To add to this, the category of forced climate migration is not adequately addressed in current international refugee and immigration policies or frameworks; in fact, the international community is reluctant to insert climate refugees into the category of political refugees.<sup>14</sup> The word *refugee* under international law is not described as those fleeing environmental pressures. Both the United Nations' 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol categorize refugees as those fleeing political persecution. According to these legal frameworks:

a refugee is a person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country.<sup>15</sup>

Despite that, environmentalists have continued to call for the need to protect “environmental refugees” or “climate refugees” to raise public awareness of the issue.<sup>16</sup> These activists argue that climate refugees are required to “seek refugee” status from the consequences of climate change. Furthermore, while the term “refugee” refers to someone crossing an internationally recognized border, those relocated within their own countries, known as “internally displaced persons”, cannot be considered refugees under current definitions. As most of the people relocated due to climate change are unlikely to migrate beyond their country's borders, this is a key problem. Furthermore, while the term *refugee*

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid; Carl Meyer, “Everything you Need to Know About the UN Climate Refugee Ruling and Canada,” *National Observer*, Jan 23, 2020.

<sup>15</sup> Gonzalo Fanjul Suárez, Tommaso Frattini and Massimiliano Cali, “Migration, Economic Welfare, and Development: Are Migration Policies Right?” April 2008, <https://www.odi.org/events/261migration-economic-welfare-development-migration-policies-right>.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

implies the possibility of a return to one's home country in the future, those displaced by rising sea-levels, as one example of the consequences of climate change, cannot.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, climate migrants, likely to be among the most vulnerable within a society, often cannot achieve their migration goal, given that it necessitates a substantial amount of resources and capital.<sup>18</sup>

## **Part II - Case Study on Climate Migration in Sub-Saharan Africa and the Effects on Regional Economic Growth**

### *Characteristics of Sub-Saharan Africa*

To examine the correlation between climate-induced migration and economic growth, Sub-Saharan Africa will be used as a case study. Sub-Saharan Africa has several distinct characteristics. The main economic sector in Sub-Saharan African countries is agricultural, meaning that national economies are mostly rural-based rather than urban.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, Sub-Saharan Africa is especially vulnerable to the consequences of climate change such as natural disasters, high temperatures, temperature volatility, drought, and low precipitation.<sup>20</sup> These consequences may result in the lowered productivity of crops, livestock, and fishery resources, thereby drastically cutting family income and pushing people to look for employment opportunities elsewhere.<sup>21</sup> Agriculture makes up 15% of the total GDP of Sub-Saharan Africa, which goes from 3% in Botswana and South Africa to 50% in Chad. The agricultural sector employs more than 50% of the total labor force in the region.<sup>22</sup> Thus, drastic changes in the productivity of agriculture can induce the population to migrate from rural to urban areas or outside of their country. As Sub-Saharan Africa relies on agriculture, the destruction of the agricultural sector will inhibit

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Koko Warner, Charles Ehrhart, A. de Sherbinin, Susana Adamo, and Tricia Chai-Onn, "In Search of Shelter: Mapping the Effects of Climate Change on Human Migration and Displacement," CARE International; United Nations University (UNU), 2009.

<sup>19</sup> Robin Leichenko and Julie A. Silva, "Climate Change and Poverty: Vulnerability, Impacts, and Alleviation Strategies," *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change* 5, no. 4 (2014): 546.

<sup>20</sup> Frank Biermann and Ingrid Boas, "Preparing for a Warmer World: Towards a Global Governance System to Protect Climate Refugees," *Global Environmental Politics* 10, no. 1 (2010): 69.

<sup>21</sup> Clara Ariza and Henri Rueff, "The Climate Change, Migration and Economic Development Nexus in North Africa: An Overview," The Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, parentheses and no agency? Thematic input paper prepared for the thematic regional meeting of the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, 2016.

<sup>22</sup> OECD/FAO, "OECD-FAO agricultural outlook 2016–2025," *Agriculture in Sub-Saharan Africa: Prospects and Challenges for the Next Decade* (2016), 60.

the ability of many poorer populations to sustain or support themselves. Furthermore, the region's socio-economic context cannot be ignored. The region faces issues, from the shortage of good governance to widespread poverty, as well as a lack of resilient economic and social infrastructure.<sup>23</sup> Subsequently, this leads to a conflict-prone region due to limited human, institutional, and financial capacities.<sup>24</sup>

#### *Implications of migration for both sending and host states*

There are four ways in which forced migration from climate change hinders development. Firstly, because of the sudden jump in population, urban infrastructure and services are being overused; secondly, it curtails the growth of domestic economies; thirdly, it fuels conflict over access to limited resources; fourthly, it negatively affects newly arriving immigrants' health, education, and other community-related public services.<sup>25</sup> Most Sub-Saharan countries, including Ethiopia, Zambia, Ghana, and Lesotho, are non-OECD and have poor populations where urban residents have an income of less than \$1.25 per day.<sup>26</sup> Urban areas in those countries face increasing population flow from rural areas due to demand-pull because urban cities are centers of economic activity and provide more financial opportunities compared to traditional farming sectors.<sup>27</sup> Consequently, this leads to a decrease in wages in urban areas as a result of an over-supply of labor. This worsens the financial situation of many urban workers who originally lived in the region. Furthermore, climate migrants are likely to end up getting low-income, insecure, and informal jobs because climate migrants from rural areas lack training in other forms of employment besides farming.<sup>28</sup> This will result in undesirable living spaces in host regions.

The UK Ministry of Defence's think tank, Development, Concepts and Doctrine Centre (DCDC), published a report in 2018 titled "Global Strategic Trends". According to the report, there will be huge population movements, particularly from the Sub-Saharan African region

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<sup>23</sup> Brown and Crawford, "Climate Change and Security in Africa."

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Suárez, Frattini and Cali, "Migration, Economic Welfare, and Development.," Brodie Ramin, "Slums, climate change and human health in sub-Saharan Africa," *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*, (2009): 886-886A, <http://www.who.int/bulletin/volumes/87/12/09-073445/en/index.html>.

<sup>26</sup> Leichenko and Silva, "Climate Change and Poverty," 540.

<sup>27</sup> Salvador Barrios, Luisito Bertinelli, and Eric Strobl, "Climatic Change and Rural-Urban Migration: The Case of Sub-Saharan Africa" *Journal of Urban Economics* 60, no. 3 (2006): 358.

<sup>28</sup> Abidoye and Odusola, "Climate Change and Economic Growth in Africa": 298; Biermann Boas, "Preparing for a Warmer World": 72.

toward the Mediterranean, Europe, and the Middle East as a result of climate change.<sup>29</sup> International climate migration has both costs and benefits. For sending states, climate migration can reduce the labor supply of that state because young and skilled workers can be drawn into other regions in the search of better living conditions and higher-paying jobs.<sup>30</sup> For host states, an oversupply of workers from a different region can negatively affect the local workforce and cause congestion.<sup>31</sup> In terms of benefits for sending states, remittances from migrants can be beneficial in helping to reduce poverty in the region. This can provide an insurance cushion against negative shocks in national economies as the remittances can lead to an aggregation of capital. Increased capital can boost consumption and investment, and although it is speculative to predict by how much it will actually increase given their weak consumption power, it can help the rural economy and its population. Furthermore, the sending state, with the presence of migrants in the host state, can have more investment opportunities and linkages to that state.<sup>32</sup> The sending state can thus build new networks using these connections.

Moreover, additional concerns present themselves. Firstly, Sub-Saharan African migrants might lack the capacity to adapt to a new job in a new country due to limited exposure to non-agricultural industries. This is considered a job mismatch problem as migrants might not be absorbed into the labor force of the host state.<sup>33</sup> The informal markets that are accessible to those migrants offer lower wages and poor working conditions, including the risk of exploitation and abuse.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, language and cultural differences might pose additional challenges. There are also costs and benefits of migration for hosting states. In terms of benefits, these migrants can fill holes in the domestic labor market by increasing the supply of labor.<sup>35</sup> However, it may be difficult to assess how much additional labor these developed host countries might need. They may not require unskilled labor. Employers might welcome decreasing wage rates from an oversupply of workers but, from the per-

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<sup>29</sup> Biermann and Boas, "Preparing for a Warmer World," 72.

<sup>30</sup> Mahamat K Dodo, "Examining the Potential Impacts of Climate Change on International Security: EU-Africa Partnership on Climate Change," *SpringerPlus* 3, no. 1 (2014): 194.

<sup>31</sup> Uri Dadush and Mona Niebuhr, "The Economic Impact of Forced Migration (RP-16/03)," Rabat, Morocco: OCP Policy Center. 2016, [https://carnegieendowment.org/files/RP\\_16-03\\_Final.pdf](https://carnegieendowment.org/files/RP_16-03_Final.pdf)

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Suárez, Frattini and Cali, "Migration, Economic Welfare, and Development."

<sup>34</sup> Dadush and Niebuhr, "The Economic Impact of Forced Migration."

<sup>35</sup> Suárez, Frattini and Cali, "Migration, Economic Welfare, and Development."

spective of the employee, this is not desirable.

There are still other major concerns. As previously mentioned, social and cultural tensions are quite high. Many migrants may lose their jobs depending on the economic conditions in host states. Migrants are often perceived as a burden to society, thereby creating a negative externality. Additionally, host states can be defensive and restrict access to the labor market for migrants in order to protect existing workers.<sup>36</sup>

Host states might have a low capacity for absorbing migrants. For example, neighboring African states, mostly developing states, may find it difficult to manage issues, such as social tensions emanating from migration flows, because of scarce resources and low management capacities. In the case of small flows of refugees relative to the host state population, these refugees can be an investment but the host state still has to manage basic costs such as housing, food, and other infrastructure, with a potential negative effect on business and investment.<sup>37</sup> Adding to this, the host state, as well as neighboring states, have to manage migrants who are not able to find jobs, creating political as well as economic negative externalities such as alienation and social tension with the host population. The ability to absorb migrants requires and depends on local conditions and the demographics of the host state because a strong investment climate, more flexible labor markets, and an aging population can more readily absorb refugees. Thus, relatively developed countries with these conditions might be better able to accommodate more migrants. However, cultural and language differences remain as impediments.<sup>38</sup>

### **Part III - Policy Recommendations for States of Origin, Destination States, and the International Community**

Policies should continuously evolve and be formed by learning from previous policy practices and examples.<sup>39</sup> Therefore, more information is needed to successfully and appropriately inform policy responses at the local, national, and global levels. Essentially, what is needed is innovative and practical thinking to solve human security problems emanating from climate migration. Action by stakeholders at all levels must be tak-

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<sup>36</sup> Dadush and Niebuhr, "The Economic Impact of Forced Migration."

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> Tacoli, "Crisis or Adaptation?" 523.

en.<sup>40</sup> Increasing evidence suggests that “labor mobility and income diversification” can constitute an innovative plan to decrease environmental and security risks, which include economic and social alienation of the poor. In a number of instances, mobility improves resilience as well as increasing the accumulation of assets and incomes. Therefore, for successful development goals, policies should be centered on addressing and supporting labor mobility as it is key to adaptation.<sup>41</sup> However, migration is considered by many policy makers in the government as burdensome and necessitating controls and regulations.<sup>42</sup>

Firstly, for sending states, it is recommended that engagement with the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change be required in voicing their country's concerns at international climate change conferences. This will allow countries faced with environmental challenges to build a platform and network. For example, given the dire situation faced as a result of climate change, low levels of economic growth and pre-existing poverty, Sub-Saharan African countries can form a coalition with many other developing countries to claim “common but differentiated responsibilities.” This concept suggests that both developing and developed countries must mitigate and adjust to the impacts of climate change, but in distinctive ways given their different geographical locations, economic capacities, and other conditions.<sup>43</sup> If this policy recommendation is successful, Sub-Saharan countries will have the ability to not only gain public as well as academic attention from the international community but also the potential to secure funding/employment opportunities, engage in stricter adaptation/mitigation measures to attempt to minimize the consequences of climate migration and find ways to effectively deal with such changes.

Furthermore, another policy recommendation is that sending states should cooperate with host states to create agencies that connect vulnerable populations to resettlement spaces in the host state. Better communication measures between the two states will enable the population to more smoothly immigrate to new places; for example, host states could ideally share the burden of transportation/shelter for the newly arriving population. This should also strengthen disaster relief and adaptive capacity to natural disasters such as droughts. Additionally, a remittance

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<sup>40</sup> Warner, Ehrhart, de Sherbinin, Adamo and Chai-Onn, “In Search of Shelter.”

<sup>41</sup> Tacoli, “Crisis or Adaptation?” 520.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Dadush and Niebuhr. “The Economic Impact of Forced Migration (RP-16/03).”

process that allows for smoother financial transactions should be enacted via negotiations with host states.<sup>44</sup>

Boosting growth in various sectors related to economic development and strengthening the capacity for good governance is recommended. Adopting this recommendation would prevent population leakage to neighboring countries as there would be more economic opportunities for resource exploitation, considering the Sub-Saharan African region is resource abundant. That being said, adaptation measures should be put in place to mitigate migration from the beginning. These can include devising more efficient irrigation techniques and other less water-intensive technologies in the agriculture sector. However, in order to make countries less dependent on climate-sensitive agricultural sectors, diversification of sources of economic activity should also be undertaken, such as taking measures to boost tourism. Furthermore, implementing an effective wastewater system to resolve water scarcity is recommended in urban areas.<sup>45</sup> This system hopefully will reuse water given that 80 percent of wastewater in the world goes back to the environment without being recycled.<sup>46</sup>

Policy recommendations for host states include, first of all, more efficient border control to ease the flow of immigration. This should be supported by immigration policies with less expensive, less stringent, and better long-term outlooks. Furthermore, these states, along with sending states, should provide opportunities for education to newly arriving migrants. This would minimize language, cultural, and social barriers, reduce conflict and tensions, and smoothen resettlement and adaptation to new countries. Public awareness of the existing population is also necessary. It is vital to change the perception of refugees, using information from media and think tank reports.

Finally, policy recommendations for the international community include working on the correct terminology and enhancing frameworks to identify vulnerable populations. The debate between the terms “climate refugee” and “climate migrant” will continue until the international community takes action to understand the legal implications of these in-

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<sup>44</sup> Suárez, Frattini and Cali, “Migration, Economic Welfare, and Development.”

<sup>45</sup> Clara Ariza and Henri Rueff, “The Climate Change, Migration and Economic Development Nexus in North Africa: An Overview,” The Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, Thematic input paper prepared for the thematic regional meeting of the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, 2016.

<sup>46</sup> Lisa Hänel, “Why the world needs to recycle its wastewater,” DW. Mar 22, 2020, <https://www.dw.com/en/why-the-world-needs-to-recycle-its-wastewater/a-43078934>.

terchangeable terms and its impact on individuals. Therefore, they must distinguish and prioritize different types of migration.<sup>47</sup> The international community needs to recognize that Sub-Saharan Africa has a relatively low adaptive capacity for dealing with climate migrants compared to ordinary migration. A new agreement for safeguarding climate refugees is advisable, with a special focus on disaster-prone areas.<sup>48</sup> This could help trigger special support and rights mechanisms, especially financial support and resettlement via several fund programs, such as the Least Developed Countries Fund and Special Climate Change Fund.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, strategic partnerships, for example the Africa-EU Strategic Partnership on Climate Change and Environment, coined as ClimDev Africa, should be expanded as it offers important and accessible information to African leaders.<sup>50</sup>

Despite the recommendations outlined above, potential challenges and costs remain. For example, it takes time and money to educate newly arriving migrants; this can be a burden for countries that find it hard to manage their host population. However, considering the long-term benefits of education, host states should provide such means to migrants to the extent that they are capable. Social tension and alienation are problems that emanate from cultural differences. Thus, host states and sending states should cooperate in making the public aware of different cultures and the importance of being open to these differences. The international community, while working on clarifying the definition of “climate refugee” or “environmental refugee”, needs to conduct more studies and research into the potential ramifications of such definitional changes and the risk of manipulation for political reasons. As such, based on these policy recommendations, what is essentially needed is support from developed states in terms of resources, knowledge, and capacity-building for developing states in order to better accommodate climate migrants. On the basis of moral claims and responsibilities as leading economic powers that have been the major contributors to human-induced climate change, developed countries should offer support to developing states that are most vulnerable to the impacts of a changing climate.

In conclusion, there is a clear correlation between climate migra-

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<sup>47</sup> Biermann and Boas, "Preparing for a Warmer World," 73,74.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid; Dodo, "Examining the Potential Impacts of Climate Change on International Security," 194.

<sup>49</sup> Biermann and Boas, "Preparing for a Warmer World," 80.

<sup>50</sup> Dodo, "Examining the Potential Impacts of Climate Change on International Security," 194.

tion and lackluster economic growth in Sub-Saharan Africa. Additionally, climate migration constitutes a negative externality for both host states as well as states of origin. Research has also shown that there are implications for vulnerable populations, such as their controversial status as refugees. In Part I, issues of terminology and definitions of climate refugees and development were discussed. In Part II, to capture the contextual reality, a case study of Sub-Saharan Africa was examined. The case study proved that climate migration negatively affects the economic growth of the region especially when combined with pre-existing regional conditions including under-developed economies and the exposure of climate-sensitive agricultural industries. Since climate migration can happen domestically and internationally, Part III offered policy recommendations for three distinct audiences: states of origin, host states, and the international community. While migration can have positive as well as negative impacts on both sides, it can be concluded that absorption and resettlement issues are related to the capacity and structural condition of host states. This capacity includes economic conditions, the structure of the labor market, the ability to ease cultural and language differences, and the demographic context of receiving countries. Hopefully, this research study will be useful as guidance for many Sub-Saharan African countries, other developing states, host states, and the international community.

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