

**POLICY BRIEF**

# A Framework for Protecting Human Rights in the Context of Internal Climate-Induced Displacement

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## Introduction

Climate change and disasters, both slow- and rapid-onset, contribute to displacement. Some displaced individuals cross international borders and become refugees. Others face limited options inside their country's borders as internally displaced persons (IDPs).<sup>9</sup> At the end of 2022, the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) estimated the number of IDPs worldwide at 71.1 million, with 62.5 million IDPs displaced by conflict and violence and 8.7 million displaced by disasters.<sup>2</sup> That same year, over 305,000 people were newly displaced by disasters in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region. By comparison, 223,000 people were displaced in the region in 2021, mostly by severe drought, flash floods, and storms.<sup>3</sup>

It is crucial to protect the rights of IDPs who experience climate-induced displacement by providing humanitarian assistance, tackling disparities, and preventing conflicts, although this may be difficult amid ongoing hostilities.<sup>4</sup> All of these concerns fall under the umbrella of climate justice, which emphasizes equal access to resources and the right to exist free from harm.<sup>5</sup> Thus, protecting and empowering IDPs through a human security approach is vital.<sup>6</sup> By integrating human security principles with climate justice considerations, policymakers can formulate robust policies aimed at safeguarding IDPs, enhancing their resilience, and upholding their fundamental rights within the context of climate-induced displacement.

This brief examines existing international legal frameworks and their roles in providing protection for IDPs at the international, regional, and national levels. Recognizing that vulnerable groups — including youths, women, older adults, people with disabilities, and people residing in rural areas — are particularly affected by climate change, it proposes a human rights-based approach grounded in climate justice to ensure comprehensive and sustainable protection for IDPs.

## The Inherent Difficulty of Conceptualizing Climate-Induced Displacement

Human mobility can take on various forms, including displacement, migration, and planned relocation. It can be either voluntary or forced, with varying levels of freedom and constraint. In most cases, movement is not entirely voluntary or forced, but falls somewhere on a continuum between the two.<sup>7</sup> According to the 1998 Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, internal displacement may occur when, following a disaster or in anticipation of a disaster, people evacuate or flee their homes or places of habitual residence and remain within the country's borders. This brief acknowledges that planned relocation, or conscious migration, can be an effective strategy for adapting to climate change.<sup>8</sup>

Understanding the characteristics of these movements and how they relate to various climate shocks and stressors is key for developing effective policy responses and adaptation plans.<sup>9</sup> In the discourse of environmental migration, conceptualizing and accurately describing climate-induced displacement is an underlying stumbling block.<sup>10</sup> There is no universally agreed-on definition of “climate-induced displacement,” despite the first mention of the term in the 2008 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) assembly documents.<sup>11</sup> In this brief, “climate-induced displacement” refers to the movement of people within a country due to the effects of rapid- or slow-onset climate events, such as earthquakes, floods, and droughts.

## Scales of Protection: Legal and Policy Frameworks

The responsibility to protect people affected by climate-induced displacement primarily lies with a country's national authorities. The United Nations (UN) already outlined the rights of these individuals in relation to climate change in 2015.<sup>12</sup> Further, in 2017, the Human Rights Council called on states to take appropriate measures to safeguard the rights of displaced people vulnerable to climate change impacts.<sup>13</sup>

The UNFCCC also recognizes that states have common but differentiated responsibilities in the area of climate change: Developed countries should provide financial resources to assist developing countries in implementing the objectives of the UNFCCC.<sup>14</sup>

In the context of climate change, the issue of internal displacement lies at the intersection of various legal and policy fields, including international human rights law, international environmental law, international disaster relief law, disaster risk reduction, and sustainable development. It requires concerted action across these fields.<sup>15</sup>

### The International Legal Framework

While the Guiding Principles of 1998 are not legally binding, they are recognized by the international community as an “important international framework for the protection of IDPs.”<sup>16</sup> The Guiding Principles have also provided a basis for the creation of frameworks and operational guidelines at the international, regional, and national levels.<sup>17</sup> They explicitly include “natural or human-made disasters” as a cause of displacement in the definition of “internally displaced person.” This context was further addressed in normative frameworks, including the Guidelines on the Protection of Persons in Situations of Natural Disasters, which apply a human rights approach and are relevant to climate change and climate-related disasters.<sup>18</sup>

Under international environmental law, states have made commitments on climate change mitigation and adaptation that are essential for preventing and addressing displacement. Key instruments include the 1992 UNFCCC and subsequent agreements negotiated under its umbrella. In the 2010 Cancun Adaptation Framework, the Conference of the Parties (COP) to the UNFCCC recognized the need for measures regarding climate-induced displacement, migration, and planned relocation as part of action on adaptation and called on states to enhance climate change-related disaster risk reduction strategies.<sup>19</sup>

More recently, the UNFCCC's Global Stocktake — a comprehensive assessment of the world's progress on climate action and an updated road map to enhance ambition to meet the goals of the 2015 Paris Agreement — for COP28 made clear references to displacement.<sup>20</sup> It recognized the particular vulnerability of displaced groups, acknowledged existing efforts to respond to displacement, and called for governments and relevant institutions to make progress on their policies. COP28 also operationalized a “loss and damage” fund, to which countries immediately pledged more than \$700 million, and included displacement and displaced people in its scope.<sup>21</sup> This will allow the fund to support vulnerable developing countries to implement measures and policies related to displacement.<sup>22</sup>

The Paris Agreement contains explicit references to human rights. The Executive Committee of the Warsaw International Mechanism for Loss and Damage associated with climate change impacts was mandated to establish a task force on displacement related to the adverse impacts of climate change.<sup>23</sup> On the basis of its work, COP welcomed a series of policy recommendations and strategies that reflect integrated approaches to climate-related displacement in the broader context of human mobility.<sup>24</sup>

The Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015–30 (SFDRR) also recognizes the importance of addressing displacement caused by disasters and climate change; it provides opportunities to reduce risk and address displacement through disaster risk reduction policies and practices.<sup>25</sup> Additionally, the UN's 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development recognizes that climate change undermines sustainable development, with Goal 13 of this agenda dedicated specifically to climate action.

### Regional Legal Frameworks

The 2009 Kampala Convention (formally known as the African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa) sets out clear responsibilities for countries in the assistance and protection of IDPs in Africa, regardless of the cause of their displacement.<sup>26</sup> Given its comprehensive nature, the Kampala Convention presents a significant opportunity for addressing disaster and climate-induced displacement in the continent.<sup>27</sup> As outlined in Article 2(a), the convention also aims to address the root causes of internal displacement by working to prevent, mitigate, and eliminate these causes.

The convention is widely regarded as a major advancement toward building a legally binding regulatory framework for the protection of IDPs. This is partly due to the role it attributes to all stakeholders, including states, as well as other groups and entities involved in or affected by internal displacement, such as humanitarian organizations and other nonstate actors.<sup>28</sup>

In the MENA region, there is no specific regional framework or mechanism to address internal displacement, although some initiatives have taken place in recent years. These include Resolution No. 8244 of March 2018, which was adopted by the Arab Ministers of Foreign Affairs Council to support internally displaced people in Arab countries and in Iraq in particular.<sup>29</sup>

In September 2018, an additional clause was added to task the Arab Ministers of Social Affairs Council and the Arab Ministers of Health Council with designing an Arab project that would focus on providing humanitarian support for IDPs through self-reliance. The following year, another resolution tasked the General Secretariat of the League of Arab States (LAS) with forming a joint committee, composed of experts and representatives from the ministries of Interior and Justice, to study an Iraqi proposal to develop an Arab convention on assisting and protecting IDPs in the Arab region.

In December 2021, the Council of Arab Ministers of Justice of LAS adopted a resolution to assign Iraq, based on its proposal, to prepare the draft "Arab Model Guiding Law on Protection and Assistance of IDPs in the Arab Countries."<sup>30</sup> In addition to these initiatives, the LAS adopted an updated version of the Arab Strategy for Disaster Risk Reduction 2030 in April 2018 to accelerate the implementation of the Sendai framework in the Arab Region.

### **National Legal Frameworks**

The first Global Report on Law and Policy on Internal Displacement, published by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Global Protection Cluster (GPC) in December 2022, focuses on internal displacement in the context of disasters and climate change.<sup>31</sup> According to the interactive dashboard developed by UNHCR, as of February 2024, Africa and the Middle East have created 46 and 21 IDP-specific instruments, respectively, that address both conflict- and disaster-related displacement.<sup>32</sup> These have stemmed from legal obligations in Africa to incorporate the provisions of the Great Lakes Protocol and the Kampala Convention into domestic law.<sup>33</sup>

Iraq and Yemen, for instance, have adopted comprehensive frameworks specifically dedicated to the protection and assistance of IDPs. Yemen adopted the National Policy for Addressing Internal Displacement to demonstrate the country's commitment to assist IDPs, find durable solutions for them, and prioritize such efforts.<sup>34</sup> This is particularly relevant in light of the large-scale internal displacement in the country triggered by the ongoing civil war. As of 2023, more than 2.7 million individuals identify as IDPs in Yemen.<sup>35</sup>

In addition, approximately 6 million IDPs were identified in Iraq between 2014 and 2017. By 2023, this number had diminished, but 1.14 million remain internally displaced. This figure includes 135,498 individuals who remain displaced because of climate-related factors across most of the country. These include water scarcity, droughts, and sandstorms, which have affected central and southern Iraq in particular.<sup>36</sup> In Iraq, the main legal instruments for addressing internal displacement are the 2021 National Plan for Getting the Displaced Back to their Liberated Areas, the 2018 Principled Returns Framework, and the 2008 National Policy on Displacement.<sup>37</sup>

## **How Climate-Induced Displacement Impacts the Human Rights of the Internally Displaced**

Climate-induced displacement has significant consequences for the protection of IDPs human rights. Approximately 80% of IDPs reside in fragile environments, with displacement both a cause and result of fragility.<sup>38</sup> In several states in the MENA region, protracted armed conflict has displaced millions over the years. As a result, some of the highest numbers of IDPs worldwide are found in this region. In Syria, more than one-third of the country's total population was internally displaced as of December 2023.<sup>39</sup>

Climate-induced displacement disproportionately affects children, adolescents, and older adults and intersects with factors like gender, age, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, cultural background, and disability. This differential impact exacerbates existing inequalities and vulnerabilities, with over 30.5 million displaced children and youths and an estimated 2.6 million displaced older adults.<sup>40</sup>

## Children and Youth

Internally displaced children face persistent challenges in accessing basic services, which hinder their rights to education, health, protection, and nondiscrimination.<sup>41</sup> When they are forced to migrate, children are removed from stable homes and supportive communities, leaving them vulnerable to various forms of harm and danger, such as family separation, child labor, child marriage, violence, exploitation, abuse, and trafficking.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, children and adolescents are disproportionately affected by the severe consequences of climate change resulting from past generations' greenhouse gas emissions. Their limited resources and young age hinder their ability to adapt to the changing climate.<sup>43</sup> This is a concern, considering that the countries most affected by climate change have predominantly young populations.<sup>44</sup> Children who remain in affected areas are exposed to evolving environmental impacts and face the risk of disasters, potentially leading to continued impoverishment and eventual displacement.<sup>45</sup>

## Women and Girls

Climate-induced displacement also has distinctly gendered impacts. Primarily due to entrenched discrimination, women and girls experience displacement differently from men and boys. The gender-differentiated effects of climate change manifest in various areas, including health, food security, livelihoods, and human mobility.<sup>46</sup> Intersectional discrimination further exposes women and girls to increased vulnerability to climate change. Roles they may traditionally assume, such as gathering food and water, are directly affected by slow-onset climate processes.<sup>47</sup> Women might have limited access to land, property ownership, and livelihoods, which increases their dependence on other family members and exacerbates their vulnerability to slow-onset events, constituting barriers to achieving durable solutions.<sup>48</sup>

While men and boys are more likely to migrate in the early stages of a crisis, women and girls often stay behind, living in increasingly hazardous environments. As in other situations of internal displacement, women and girls displaced due to climate change impacts often have fewer livelihood opportunities and limited access to health care. Further, they are exposed to a higher risk of sexual and gender-based violence, forced labor, exploitation, abuse, and human trafficking.<sup>49</sup> In some societies, women and girls unaccompanied by a male family member may face discrimination and barriers to accessing basic services and obtaining civil documentation.<sup>50</sup> They may be subjected to child or forced marriage, and girls may drop out of school. For a rights-based, gender-responsive approach to climate action, it is crucial that policymakers facilitate meaningful, informed, and active participation by a diverse group of women and girls in decision-making processes.<sup>51</sup>

## Older Adults and People With Disabilities

Older adults and people with disabilities may face difficulties fleeing from areas affected by sudden-onset climate events.<sup>52</sup> When families flee disaster zones, they may leave behind vulnerable family members who would have difficulty traveling. These vulnerable individuals are then exposed to ongoing hazards.<sup>53</sup>

These groups have specific protection needs, especially with regard to accessing health care. They often encounter multiple forms of discrimination and obstacles in accessing basic services and essential information and participating in decision-making processes. People who are older or have disabilities experience heightened risks of neglect, violence, exploitation, and abuse.<sup>54</sup> They may even lose access to natural resources they used to control and means of production, affecting their livelihoods and their status within their households and communities.<sup>55</sup>

## Durable Solutions to Climate-Induced Displacement

In the case of internal displacement, three solutions are typically recognized: returning to the place of origin, local integration, or resettlement in another part of the country.<sup>56</sup> However, climate-induced displacement requires more complex and flexible approaches. A combination of solutions, including seasonal or temporary movements to the community of origin, may be necessary.<sup>57</sup> Different family members may utilize different solutions, with some permanently or seasonally returning while others work elsewhere or do not return.

With this in mind, durable solutions for climate-displaced individuals should be integrated into national development plans and backed by financial and technical support from local governments and the international community. Flexibility is crucial, considering that some slow-onset disasters may prevent a safe return. As such, it is essential to



explore preventative, diverse solutions and integrate them into national planning processes. In extreme cases where living conditions become untenable, as is the case for many low-lying island states, durable solutions may involve regional and international cooperation, leading to new options like cross-border migration.<sup>58</sup>

## Policy Recommendations

Despite emerging recommendations on how to manage climate-induced displacement, there are few comprehensive international frameworks or national policies that address the issue.<sup>59</sup> Bridging the policy gap requires establishing comprehensive, continental policies, coordinated frameworks, and strategic action plans. However, adopting new laws and policies is only the first step. Success will also require the political will to implement those frameworks effectively.

To that end, this brief proposes the following recommendations for protecting human rights in the context of climate-induced displacement:

- Adopt a regional framework tailored to the needs of the MENA region and drawn from existing international agreements, such as the UNFCCC, the Guiding Principles, and the Kampala Convention. The development of a regional framework will strengthen the quality of institutional engagement, build internal capacities, and promote more systematic, cross-regional action.
- Adopt a rights-based and gender-sensitive approach to ensure that responses to climate-induced displacement are sustainable and include measures for the specific protection of vulnerable displaced groups, such as children and women separated by disasters.<sup>60</sup>
- Apply a climate justice perspective to focus on fairness and equity in resolving the obstacles faced by IDPs.
- Clearly address the roles and responsibilities involved in an effective and coordinated response to displacement. This includes designating specific officials and ensuring they have adequate legal and administrative authority and institutional capacity.
- Review national and local disaster risk reduction laws, policies, strategies, and plans to ensure the various instruments and approaches align with national, regional, or international legal frameworks that address climate-induced displacement.
- Focus on adaptation measures that increase resilience in place and reduce displacement risk — unless the community identifies migration as an opportunity.
- Law and policymaking processes should be participatory and inclusive of all relevant stakeholders across sectors. This in turn can promote buy-in, long-term engagement, and effective coordination in implementation.
- Consolidate databases to bridge existing data deficiencies and provide gender-disaggregated data, which is essential for informed policy implementation.

## Notes

1. The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement defines IDPs as “persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or leave their homes or places of habitual residence for reasons including natural or human-made disasters and who have not crossed an international border” (United Nations Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs [OCHA], *The UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement* [Geneva: OCHA, 2004], <https://www.internal-displacement.org/sites/default/files/publications/documents/199808-training-OCHA-guiding-principles-Eng2.pdf>).
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3. *Global Report on Internal Displacement*.
4. “A/75/207,” United Nations General Assembly (UNGA), <https://www.undocs.org/A/75/207>.
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6. Lisette R. Robles, “Reflecting on Climate-Induced Migration as a Human Security Issue: An Internally-Displaced-Person-Centred Approach to Understanding Displacement” *Journal of Human Security Studies* 10, no.1 (June 2022) 1–20, <https://doi.org/10.34517/jahss.10.1.1>.

7. “FCCC/CP/2010/7/ADD.1,” United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), <https://undocs.org/FCCC/CP/2010/7/Add.1>.
8. Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), *Cities, Settlements and Key Infrastructure* (Geneva: IPCC, 2022), [https://www.ipcc.ch/report/ar6/wg2/downloads/report/IPCC\\_AR6\\_WGII\\_Chapter06.pdf](https://www.ipcc.ch/report/ar6/wg2/downloads/report/IPCC_AR6_WGII_Chapter06.pdf).
9. Emily Wilkinson et al., *Climate-Induced Migration and Displacement: Closing the Policy Gap* (London: Overseas Development Institute [ODI], October 2016), <https://cdn.odi.org/media/documents/10996.pdf>.
10. Jane McAdam, “Environmental Migration Governance” (working paper, University of New South Wales Faculty of Law Research Series, Sydney, 2009), <https://law.bepress.com/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=&httpsredir=1&article=1143&context=unswwps-flrps09>.
11. McAdam.
12. “To mitigate climate change and to prevent its negative human rights impacts: States have an obligation to respect, protect, fulfil and promote all human rights for all persons without discrimination. Failure to take affirmative measures to prevent human rights harms caused by climate change, including foreseeable long-term harms, breaches this obligation” (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights [OHCHR], *Understanding Human Rights and Climate Change*, 2015, <https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/ClimateChange/COP21.pdf>).
13. “A/HRC/35/2,” UNGA, <https://undocs.org/A/HRC/35/2>.
14. “A/HRC/10/61,” UNGA, <https://undocs.org/A/HRC/10/61>.
15. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), *Mapping of Existing International and Regional Guidance and Tools on Averting, Minimizing, Addressing and Facilitating Durable Solutions to Displacement Related to the Adverse Impacts of Climate Change* (Geneva: UNHCR, 2018), <https://www.unhcr.org/protection/environment/5c9e13c77/unhcrs-mapping-international-regional-guidance-tools-averting-minimizing.html>.
16. “A/RES/60/1,” UNGA, <https://undocs.org/A/RES/60/1>.
17. Walter Kälin and Nina Schrepfer, *Protecting People Crossing Borders in the Context of Climate Change: Normative Gaps and Possible Approaches* (Geneva: UNHCR, 2012), <https://www.unhcr.org/media/no-24-protecting-people-crossing-borders-context-climate-change-normative-gaps-and-possible>.
18. “A/HRC/16/43/Add.5,” UNGA, <https://undocs.org/A/HRC/16/43/Add.5>.
19. “FCCC/CP/2010/7/ADD.1.”
20. “FCCC/PA/CMA/2023/L.17,” UNFCCC, <https://unfccc.int/documents/636608>.
21. Loss and damage refer to the negative consequences that arise from the unavoidable risks of climate change, like rising sea levels, prolonged heatwaves, desertification, the acidification of the sea and extreme events, such as bushfires, species extinction and crop failures (“What Do You Need to Know about the COP27 Loss and Damage Fund,” United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), November 29, 2022, <https://www.unep.org/news-and-stories/story/what-you-need-know-about-cop27-loss-and-damage-fund>).
22. “COP28 Ends with Progress on Loss and Damage, Santiago Network and Transition Away from Fossil Fuels,” United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNDRR), December 13, 2023, <https://www.undrr.org/news/cop28-ends-progress-loss-and-damage-santiago-network-and-transition-away-fossil-fuels>.
23. “FCCC/CP/2015/10/Add.1,” UNFCCC, <https://unfccc.int/resource/docs/2015/cop21/eng/10a01.pdf>.
24. “FCCC/CP/2018/10/Add.1,” UNFCCC, <https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/resource/10a1.pdf>.
25. “Sendai Framework at a Glance,” UNDRR, <https://www.preventionweb.net/sendai-framework/sendai-framework-at-a-glance>.
26. The Kampala Convention entered into force in December 2012. Predating the Kampala Convention was the 2006 Great Lakes Protocol on the Protection and Assistance to Internally Displaced Persons.
27. States’ obligations under the Kampala Convention extend to prevention, which in the context of disasters and climate change includes “take appropriate measures that allow to prevent and mitigate against the effects of disasters, including devising early warning systems; establish and implementing disaster risk reduction strategies, emergency and disaster preparedness and management measures”.

28. Ibid.
29. UNHCR and Global Protection Cluster (GPC), *Global Report on Law and Policy on Internal Displacement* (Geneva: UNHCR, 2022), <https://www.unhcr.org/media/global-report-law-and-policy-internal-displacement>.
30. The meeting originally revolved around studying the Republic of Iraq's proposal to develop a draft "Arab Agreement to Protect and Assist Internally Displaced Persons in the Arab Region." Given that some countries (not mentioned in the resolution; the minutes of the meeting were not published) raised questions about the importance of the existence of this agreement and what this related to internal issues that may affect sovereignty, the decision was issued to prepare a "draft model law for guidance only," and Iraq was assigned to do so. The resolution did not specify a time period for submitting this draft, nor the nature of the members of the committee that would discuss this draft after its preparation. It was explained that the reason behind this decision was the presence of about 15 million displaced people stationed in Syria, Iraq, Sudan, Yemen, Somalia, and Libya, and the absence of an agreement on internal displacement at the international level, but rather nonbinding guidelines for states.
31. Ibid.
32. The dashboard is available at: [bit.ly/4aAmsro](https://bit.ly/4aAmsro).
33. Article 3, section 2 of Kampala Convention requires state parties to incorporate their obligations under the convention into domestic law by enacting or amending relevant legislation; designate an authority or body for coordinating protection and assistance for IDPs; and adopt other measures as appropriate, including strategies and policies on internal displacement at national and local levels, taking into account the needs of host communities; and finally, allocate the necessary resources to state efforts in this area.
34. "Yemen: National Policy for Addressing Internal Displacement in the Republic of Yemen, 2013," UNHCR, <https://www.refworld.org/legal/decrees/natlegbod/2013/en/120331>.
35. "Yemen — TFPM Report 4 (7 July — 5 August 2015)," IOM, <https://dtm.iom.int/reports/yemen-%E2%80%94-tfpm-report-4-7-july-%E2%80%94-5-august-2015?close=true!>; "Yemen: Displacement Tracking Tool," IOM, <https://dtm.iom.int/yemen>.
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41. IDMC, *Multidimensional Impacts of Internal Displacement* (Geneva: IDMC, October 2018), <https://www.internal-displacement.org/sites/default/files/publications/documents/201810-literature-review-economic-impacts.pdf>.
42. United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), *Guiding Principles for Children on the Move in the Context of Climate Change* (New York: UNICEF, July 2022), <https://www.unicef.org/globalinsight/reports/guiding-principles>.
43. IOM and UNICEF, *Children Uprooted in a Changing Climate* (New York: UNICEF, October 2021), <https://www.unicef.org/media/109421/file/Children%20uprooted%20in%20a%20changing%20climate.pdf>.
44. "A/74/261," UNGA, <https://undocs.org/A/74/261>.
45. UNICEF, *Lost at Home: The Risks and Challenges for Internally Displaced Children and the Urgent Actions Needed to Protect Them* (New York: UNICEF, May 2020), <https://www.unicef.org/sites/default/files/2020-06/Lost-at-home-risks-and-challenges-for-IDP-children-2020.pdf>.
46. "A/HRC/36/46," UNGA, <https://undocs.org/A/HRC/36/46>.



47. “CEDAW/C/GC/37,” Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), <https://undocs.org/CEDAW/C/GC/37>.
48. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), *Institutional Strategy on Development Solutions to Internal Displacement* (New York: UNDP, August 2023), <https://www.undp.org/publications/institutional-strategy-development-solutions-internal-displacement>.
49. Sonja Ayeb-Karlsson, “I Do Not like Her Going to the Shelter”: Stories on Gendered Disaster (Im)Mobility and Wellbeing Loss in Coastal Bangladesh,” *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction* 50, art. 101904 (November 2020), <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2020.101904>.
50. United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), 2023 *State of the World Population Report* (New York: UNFPA, July 2023), <https://www.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/swop23/SWOP2023-ENGLISH-230329-web.pdf>.
51. *Institutional Strategy*.
52. “A/HRC/42/43,” UNGA, <https://undocs.org/A/HRC/42/43>.
53. “A/HRC/44/41,” UNGA, <https://www.undocs.org/A/HRC/44/41>.
54. “A/HRC/40/2,” UNGA, <https://undocs.org/en/A/HRC/40/2>.
55. “A/HRC/54/26,” UNGA, <https://undocs.org/A/HRC/54/26>.
56. OCHA, *Guiding Principles*.
57. “A/HRC/13/21/Add.4,” UNGA, <https://www.undocs.org/A/HRC/13/21/Add.4>.
58. “A/75/207.”
59. Center for Participatory Research and Development (CPRD), *Climate-Induced Displacement and Migration: Policy Gaps and Policy Alternative: A Likely Legal Instrument for a Rights-Based Political Solution* (Dhaka, BD: CPRD, November 2015), [https://unfccc.int/files/adaptation/groups\\_committees/loss\\_and\\_damage\\_executive\\_committee/application/pdf/briefing\\_paper\\_climate\\_induced\\_displacement\\_and\\_migration.pdf](https://unfccc.int/files/adaptation/groups_committees/loss_and_damage_executive_committee/application/pdf/briefing_paper_climate_induced_displacement_and_migration.pdf).
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