RIDERS ON THE STORM

How Professionals Enable and Constrain Migration due to Climate Change

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Abstract

Climate change is expected to lead to an increase in the number of people who are displaced from their homes, and therefore have to migrate either within the home country or across borders. No institution, legal framework or network holds formal authority to alleviate this issue, despite these challenges being widely debated in public discourse. This thesis maps the actors and institutions attempting to exercise control over this emerging issue, guided by the research question "*Who exercises issue control over climate displaced persons, and what does this imply for future policy?"*

The answer to this question is rooted in the emerging literature on the importance of professional interactions in international relations. Using social network analysis, a core network of actors revolving around the UNHCR, the IOM, and the crucial Nansen Initiative is analysed, focusing on how specific professionals have risen to prominence within the network. Complementing this network analysis with qualitative content analysis, the centrality of actor positions is linked to policy reform proposals and substantive claims to expertise within this area.

Three conclusions stand out. Firstly, the Nansen Initiative has managed to act as a boundary organisation, uniting practitioners, academics, and legal scholars in a linked ecology working towards reaching a set of non-binding principles to be adopted by the end of 2015. One consequence of the Nansen Initiative's focus has been a shift away from the proposal of a new international treaty with corresponding legal obligations for developed countries towards a negotiated compromise building on existing institutions and mechanisms. Secondly, the key actors in the network have reframed the question of climate displacement as one characterized by complexity and multi-causality, thus removing the issue from a discourse of historical responsibility and moral obligations, implying that activists will face difficulty in campaigning on the issue, thereby leaving control over the issue to the identified network. Thirdly, actors working on the funding of migration flows as well as adaptation funding to avoid displacement in the first place are poorly represented in the network. Because these professional skills and relations are absent, additional funding is unlikely to flow to this issue, which will instead be anchored in institutions that are already overstretched in terms of financial resources and political capital. In conclusion, this thesis shows how the network has pushed a definition of the issue that is unlikely to lead to substantial change from the status quo, thus leaving one of the key challenges of climate change without a durable political solution.

Contents

Introduction

Climate change is set to be a formidably complex and difficult policy challenge, which will require widespread changes in governance structures at both national and international levels. The question of climate refugees has persistently been raised in media coverage on climate change and in negotiations about how best to adapt to the changing environment. On the one hand, scientists have warned that tens of millions of people will be displaced due to the effects of climate change (Myers 1997). On the other, no treaty, soft law instrument or international organization currently exists to alleviate this problem (Kälin and Schrepfer 2012). The fundamental paradox is thus that one of the most significant effects of climate change is governed by one of the least developed policy frameworks. Recent articles by Keohane (2014) and Javeline (2014) emphasize that crucial environmental issues, in particular the emerging challenges of climate adaptation, are still under-theorized by political science, which thereby avoids taking up the gauntlet of climate change, thus ceding the debate to the natural sciences. This thesis picks up the call for studies of climate adaptation as well as the call for a theorization of knowledge contestation in international environmental governance. It does so by focusing on this hitherto under-theorized aspect of climate change adaptation – the political and jurisdictional struggles over the definition and governance of climate displaced persons (CDPs). This is addressed through the following research question:

"Who exercises issue control over climate displaced persons, and what does this imply for future policy?"

This question is especially timely, as crucial moves have been made in recent years, with the discussion expected to heat up during the process towards the Paris COP21 meeting in November 2015. Questions abound concerning the legal classification of climate refugees as well as which institutions will govern the issue. The comprehensiveness of the definition itself will have tremendous implications for key notions of population, territorial sovereignty, distributive justice, international obligations, and the allocation of funds by climate finance initiatives. Who gets to make authoritative knowledge claims and to put forth solutions to these questions at this early stage will thus shape governance going forward. The relationship between knowledge and power, key to the study of international

environmental politics (Morin and Oberthür 2013; Smith 1993), is therefore crucial in understanding this early stage of the creation of a new international policy issue (Lall 2015).

This relationship is studied by following Carpenter's (2007a) call for more studies into the early stages of issue definition to complement the burgeoning literature on advocacy and campaigning in international relations. Therefore, to study the struggles over the definition of CDPs, this thesis builds on the emerging literature on professional struggles over jurisdictions in international relations (Djelic and Quack 2010; Faulconbridge and Muzio 2012; Henriksen 2014; Seabrooke and Tsingou 2014). Strongly influenced by the professional sociology developed by Andrew Abbott (1988, 2005), this literature considers the social world as a constant struggle over the authority to solve particular tasks. These are rooted within distinct ecologies, for instance those composed of lawyers and economists, which have their own distinct epistemic cultures (Cetina 1991). However, whereas the sociology of professions has traditionally focused on well-known occupations such as doctors (Freidson 1970) and lawyers, or considered professionalism as residing in particular organizations, Abbott takes a dynamic approach to studying professionals. The focus is here on jurisdictional battles between individuals and groups who compete and collaborate, often by linking professional ecologies beyond traditional occupational or organizational boundaries (Abbott 2005; Henriksen and Seabrooke 2013), to make particular forms of knowledge authoritative. Because Abbott does not privilege particular forms of interaction, or particular governance mechanisms, his theory is particularly well suited to studying the emergent issue of climate displacement, which is highly contested within a thin transnational field (Seabrooke 2014a). Thus, Abbott's framework illuminates key features of issue and norm emergence (Carpenter 2007a; Finnemore and Sikkink 1998; Keck and Sikkink 1998), and allows an empirically rooted analysis of both structure and substance of an issue that has yet to achieve a clear institutional anchoring. This allows for the study of important international policy issues that are not primarily state-driven or governed by formal institutional mechanisms or legal instruments.

Methodologically, the thesis combines a social network analysis (SNA) showing the structural relations in the current issue network with a qualitative analysis of substantive themes emerging out of the policy work being done by the actors identified. SNA is increasingly being used in international relations and international environmental politics (Green 2013; Hafner-Burton, Kahler, and Montgomery 2009;

Henriksen 2014; Morin et al. Forthcoming). SNA shows particular strength in cases where authority over an issue is fragmented or not based on formal authority, and where issues are emerging and therefore difficult to study as comprehensive regimes. Given these conditions, and the call by Carpenter (2007a) for more attention to be given to inter-network politics in the early stages of issue emergence, the method is particularly apt for studying the highly contested and ambiguous issue of climate displacement. In this thesis, two network analyses are performed, one studying the co-membership of key organizations, and the other studying the co-participation in key events. The qualitative content analysis backs up the network analysis by providing an overview of the emerging issue definition, thus linking the structural form of the network to policy content. Choosing the corpus of texts is aided by the network analysis, as the policy statements by the most central actors in the network are privileged, thus anchoring the qualitative analysis in objective measures of actor centrality. The mix of network centrality and qualitative methods provides a means of triangulation, and is used among others by Green (2013) in a well-regarded study of carbon emission standards, as well as within the literature on professionals in other policy areas (Seabrooke and Tsingou 2014).

This thesis thus contributes in a number of ways to existing literature. Theoretically, there have been no previous attempts at conceptualizing the issue at the level of individual professionals, nor much analytical focus by scholars of international environmental politics (IEP) on the international or transnational levels of governance around this issue. For instance, a search for the terms "migration", "climate migration", and "climate displacement" in the major journal Global Environmental Politics as of April 2015 yielded only two results, with one being a proposal for a new legal framework, not an analysis of current governance regimes. While a few papers have been written by legal scholars (Betts 2010a; Docherty and Giannini 2009; Nishimura 2015) and within other branches of political science than IEP, these offer either legalistic analysis of the current regime, a normative critique of CDP policy or its absence (Felli 2012), or offer policy suggestions (Biermann and Boas 2010). Mayer (2014) is the only scholar to consider the topic within a theory of norm emergence, but stops the clock at 2012, before the rise of the crucial Nansen Initiative, and mostly considers organizations themselves as norm entrepreneurs, ignoring the role of individual actors and missing the strategic alliances possible within the network. Furthermore, Mayer's focus on advocacy and campaigning misses the crucial stages of defining the issue and ensuring adoption by key organizations, before advocacy and campaigning can

begin. Likewise, Berringer's (2013) regime analysis of climate change displacement considers the issue's theoretical fit with particular international organizations, rather than examining actually emerging partnerships and policy frameworks. Empirically, the thesis thus focuses on a new set of actors and linkage, and brings the literature on the issue up to date by including data covering the period running up to the COP21 meeting, which has seen the most focused attempt yet to define climate refugees and institutionalize policy solutions. The applied methods provide a systematic mapping the network of actors contesting the climate refugee issue, thereby resolving issues of data quality in previous work and ensuring a consistent empirical focus.

Thesis structure

The thesis is structured as follows. First, a brief overview of the issue at hand is provided, to introduce the notion of CDPs and the controversies involved. Then the theoretical approach of the thesis is presented, summarizing Abbott's professional sociology, and showing how this was later broadened to include other types of ecologies, as well as how this approach has spread to International Relations (IR). This section furthermore presents the agent-centred constructivist ontology which Abbott's approach is rooted in, thus anchoring the utilized concepts in the philosophy of science. A number of dominant theoretical approaches to IEP are subsequently presented, with a discussion of the main differences compared to Abbott's approach. These sections help illustrate why the professionalism approach is necessary to answer the research question, owing to significant lacunae in existing literature on IEP. The theories considered are regime theory and global governance approaches. In particular, the sections discuss how the traditional IR focus on states is insufficient to answer the research question, given the early stage of professional issue definition and the lack of formal governance arrangements. A short section then presents an overview of the refugee governance regime, which provides the backdrop for the policy work analysed in this thesis. The methodological tools of this thesis are then presented. First, network analysis is introduced with a focus on the key concepts and quantitative measures used, as well as a discussion of the link to theoretical approaches of social interaction in general and Abbott's approach in particular. The section on qualitative methods discusses how document analysis can be applied to create knowledge, including a discussion of the standards of treating data and ensuring reliability. Following this section, the main part of the thesis is the analysis of the collected data. First, the results of the network analyses are presented, featuring visualizations of

the networks, key quantitative measures, and an analysis of key features of each network. Secondly, the qualitative analysis is presented, showing the coding schemes applied, presenting the resulting coding matrix, and discussing key trends in the findings. The discussion then enters into a substantive analysis of these findings, discussing the emerging linked ecologies governing CDPs focusing on the key individuals in the network, the network structure, and the qualitative findings. Thus, the discussion considers who exercises issue control, how these actors have shaped the dominant forms of knowledge in the network, and the resulting policy compromises. Key findings include an absence of professionals working on climate finance within the network, the lack of a push for a new legal framework to protect CDPs, as well as a consistent insistence of the multi-causality of climate displacement and the corresponding need for integration within existing institutional structures. Finally, the thesis comments critically on these features of the network's policy work, focusing especially on the shift of responsibility for alleviating this international issue away from developed countries to a national level without any corresponding increase in funding.

The challenge of climate displacement

Not long after the Rio Summit in 1992 created the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), a number of authors and NGOs began to stress a link between migration patterns and climate change. While the theoretical possibility had already been suggested in the 1980's (Morrissey 2012), estimates of the number of refugees became prominent in the late 1990's. In particular, Myers (1997) presented controversial numbers both on the number of existing environmental refugees at that time, and an estimate of up to 200 million people at risk of displacement during the 21st century. The estimates have been subject to intense scrutiny and as Pearce (2011) notes, no scientists have produced global estimates since, focusing rather on particular events, countries, or regions. One consequence of this is that much information is only available outside peer-reviewed journals, and is therefore often dominated by particular institutional logics, for instance when NGOs use estimates for campaigning purposes (Piguet 2011). However, recent reports seem to bear out the warning signs raised by Myers, if not the high estimate. For instance, the Norwegian Refugee Council and International Displacement Centre recently published a report showing an average of 27.5 million refugees displaced by disasters a year, with many of these disasters being exacerbated by climate change (IDMC and NRC 2014). While affecting both developed and developing countries, most

climate displacement is expected to occur in the least developed countries, due to higher vulnerability of households and a much greater dependence on agrarian economies that are threatened by environmental change. Therefore, the debate is overwhelmingly centred on these countries, with Bangladesh often serving as a bellwether for future displacement trends.

Brzoska and Fröhlich (2015) note that the debate is split between maximalists, like Myers, and minimalists, who believe that the number of CDPs will be far lower. Generally, most work from the minimalists has been put into trying to establish the exact nature of the linkage between migration and environmental factors, often building on a critique of the deterministic and mono-causal assumptions behind Myers' estimate (Gemenne 2011; Gilbert 2009). The notion of a CDP mixes natural scientific, social, and legal claims, ranging from the intensity, speed, and regional distribution of environmental shocks, over the strategies available to the affected populations to the potential protection either within the home country or after crossing borders. Clearly, any estimation of the impact is at least highly sensitive to the core question of temperature increases during the 21st century, with very different effects on migration patterns and livelihoods depending at a 4 degrees Celsius increase rather than 2 degrees, as is the usual standard of estimation (Gemenne 2011). Despite these differences based on temperature estimates, most scholars studying climate change agree on the key factors that could potentially lead to migration, with much displacement being within countries. One factor is the increased intensity of extreme events such as cyclones, storms, and floods (Gemenne 2011; Piguet 2011), often referred to as rapid-onset disasters. The second is slow-onset disasters, for instance soil erosion, water scarcity, and desertification exacerbated by climate change. The third key factor is sea-level rise, which has often been a starting point for modelling the number of climate refugees expected, as topographical information can quickly be obtained for such estimates (Piguet 2011). Clearly, the choice to migrate in any of these cases is never a purely natural occurrence. Rather, familiar development issues lead to highly unequal impacts, for instance as scarce water is diverted away from already poor regions as the total water supply starts to decline. One of the clearest findings in the literature studying environmental degradation and migration is that affected populations may simply lack the resources to flee (Mayer 2013).

Due to the multiple possible definitions and focus areas, a host of linkages to other policy issues are conceivable. One of the most widespread issue linkages by individual developed countries is to security policy. For instance, the 2015 National Security Strategy of the United States lists climate change as a top risk factor, explicitly mentioning refugee flows (The White House 2015). Often this is linked to in-depth comparative studies of particular crisis situations, local settings or countries, where well known environmental stressors can be worsened by a changing climate (Feng, Krueger, and Oppenheimer 2010). For instance, studies have pointed to climate change leading to environmental breakdowns, conflict and migration in Yemen (Weiss 2015) and in Syria (Kelley et al. 2015). This potential for linkages to other policy priorities, combined with the absence of any form of international agreement to provide rights and obligations concerning this issue (Nishimura 2015), leaves the field open for contestation of the definition of CDPs as well as potential policies to alleviate the problem.

While there is no legal protection, as will be shown below, a core network has arisen to attempt to construct an international consensus and to promote policy suggestions. This builds on previous campaigns to do so preceding the period studied in this thesis. A clear victory of these movements was the inclusion of a paragraph concerning climate displacement in the Cancun Adaptation Framework resulting from COP16 (Warner 2011). However, as stressed by Nishimura (2015), because this paragraph merely recognizes terms related to climate migration, without defining them, the paragraph does little to substantiate the debate. Therefore, as shown below, despite the early use by NGOs and academic as well as increasing coverage of climate refugees by the media (Randall 2015), little consensus on institutions or norms has been achieved since Myers originally made the issue salient in the late 1990's.

To avoid privileging particular narratives, this thesis will use the term "climate displaced persons" (CDPs). This follows the International Organization for Migration's (IOM) definition of environmental migrants, which seems to be the least controversial, and captures the most nuances of the discussion (Lyster 2015). For the IOM, the category covers:
"Persons or groups of persons who, for compelling reasons of sudden or progressive changes in the environment as a result of climate change that adversely affect their lives or living conditions are

obliged to leave their habitual homes, or choose to do so, either temporarily or permanently, and who move either within their own country or abroad." (International Organisation for Migration 2011:2)

This section has briefly summarized some of the major contestations over terms and concepts used in debating CDPs. As is evident, which definitions end up prevailing and which policy implications follow from these are hugely important in explaining issue control. At this early stage, this is difficult to explain from a state-based perspective. Rather, a theory that deals directly with the political implications of knowledge production is necessary. Therefore, the next section presents Abbott's theory of professional interactions to provide a framework for understanding such battles over who gets to make authoritative knowledge claims on a particular issue.

Professionals and ecologies

This section outlines the contribution to the IR literature that has been made in recent years by transplanting Andrew Abbott's concept of linked ecologies and focus on agent-based constructivism into the international arena. In doing so, it presents the concepts and frameworks that shine a further light on the interactions of agents in transnational contexts, and reflects on issue control in relation to the philosophy of science that Abbott's framework builds upon. The next sections will present alternative theories that are traditionally used to study environmental politics and contrast these to Abbott's approach. After this literature review, the methodology section will deal with issues of obtaining and analysing data within this theoretical perspective.

A useful starting point is Abbott's 1995 paper titled "Things of Boundaries", which presents a fundamental challenge to social theory, going beyond Abbott's usual focus on professions and organizational studies. Rather than considering fixed analytical units (a state, the family, an organization) and then theorizing from the boundaries between these units (national borders, genetic and demographic distinctions, ownership structures), Abbott's key claim is that the units are themselves constituted out of the boundaries. Thus, a unit is actually an outcome of the shaping of boundaries, not the other way around. This is a profound challenge to the traditional ontology of the social sciences, which has substances as the fundamental unit of inquiry (Emirbayer 1997). Indeed, to

large extent this is the key cleavage in sociological theory, and unites poststructuralist and postmodernist scholars of the 20th century, including Foucault, Bourdieu, and Luhmann (Ibid.:287).

Abbott conceptualizes social space as a number of boundaries, akin to drawing dots on a blank sheet of paper. The dots are tasks to be performed in social space. The set of tasks consists of ever-changing but objective elements, which develop with technologies and forms of social organization (Abbott 1988). These boundaries are sites of difference, with differences being those *"... that emerge from local cultural negotiations."* (Abbott 1995:863). This graphic metaphor illustrates the crucial point of Abbott's theory, namely that boundaries are defined in an oppositional manner within local interaction. However, these differences are essentially random, and do not immediately carry significance for the interests of social scientists. Rather, it is when these differences are linked together that social boundaries arise, at which point there is not just a boundary, but a boundary of something (Abbott 1995:862). This process is referred to as yoking, and involves the active linking of boundaries along a discernible dimension of similarity, so that proto-boundaries are created, keeping some social tasks inside, and others outside. According to Abbott, it is at this point that traditional social science will fall into the trap of missing the contingency of these proto-boundaries, and thus end up reifying the distinctions created, rather than conceptualizing the randomness of the original boundary creation, and the contingency of the yoking process. Many of Abbott's examples come from the medical profession and from care professionals. Abbott makes the point that what for instance constitutes a "social care worker" today is exactly the outcome of such boundary struggles, and that we mistakenly consider such analytical units as obvious or over-determined after these struggles have finished.

Consider a dentist. Most people would be able to describe some of the tasks carried out by a dentist – from annual check-ups over implants and root canals to surgery. A "dentist" thus seems to be a neat analytical unit. Abbott's contention is that each of the tasks that the dentist has responsibility for is defined by the boundaries of the tasks. This can be seen for instance in the historical appearance of the term itself, with dentists being a relatively recent occurrence. Even more clearly, and just as with social care workers, the distinction is not static. Indeed the field of dentistry is fractal, and contains ever more subtle distinctions as one looks closer – between whole categories of tasks (a dental surgeon or a dental

assistant) to distinctions based on the type of patient or customer (paediatric or veterinary dentists or dentists engaged in forensic odontology).

It is here that Abbott's ontological point gives way to his well-known theory of professions. Abbott claimed that previously *"The complexities of the individual professions forced case by case study…"* (Abbott 1988:1), which led to a focus on organizational or occupational narratives of each profession, rather than focusing on who could lay claim to particular task jurisdictions. Previous scholars had taken the profession as an analytical unit from the beginning, and therefore could not adequately explain the change that occurred in the process of the profession maturing (Ibid.:11). As a response, Abbott coined the term "ecologies" to denote the jurisdictions that are created because of professional distinctions. This biological metaphor implies firstly that professions grow, mature, and sometimes die, and secondly that any one ecology exists in a larger eco-system of tasks, as reflected in the ontology described above. Jurisdictions imply a form of exclusivity, which may come in many forms (Ibid.:59) – exclusive occupational licensing being the most easily identifiable. While occupational licensing (passing the bar, being certified as a psychiatrist) are indeed key features of professional life and provide the main link to the nation state as a repository of symbolic power (Bourdieu 2014), occupations are in fact often the artefacts of struggles over jurisdiction. They are the effect, not the cause. An occupational focus obscures the fact that *"Jurisdictional boundaries are perpetually in dispute, both in local practice and in national claims."* (Abbott 1988:2). That is to say, following the sociology of everyday life (Lefebvre 2014), that individual contestation at the workplace, at seminars, and at dinner parties with other professionals all link to the broader interdependent system of professions, beyond what a formal occupational status can describe.

Abbott states that jurisdictional claims are always made to a particular audience (Abbott 1988:60), with claims to the public often playing a key role in legitimizing a particular professional image or identity. This leaves the borders of jurisdictions quite porous and fragile. One consequence this is that *"… events propagate backwards in some sense, with jurisdictional vacancies, rather than the professions themselves, having much of the initiative."* (Ibid.:3). Empirically this prompts a focus on the actors who mobilize such claims to jurisdictional control. This has the key analytical benefit, especially for the study of IR, of not assuming pre-defined career paths, but rather studying competition between

different professionals over jurisdictions, which provides an important role for sequence analysis (Seabrooke and Nilsson 2015). The focus on audience is also important as this provides a way of distinguishing issue professionals from activists, in that professionals rarely need to campaign (Henriksen and Seabrooke 2013:12), but can make jurisdictional claims towards different audiences, many of which are not clearly in the public sphere.

Later in his career, Abbott introduces the crucial notion of a linked ecology (Abbott 2005). Thus, rather than studying an ecology in isolation, Abbott shifts his focus to the linkages between ecologies, and the strategies that take place between these different spaces of interaction. This implies, for instance, that the audiences identified above, the public, the state, the media etc. are themselves ecologies, and that cross-cutting alliances exist between these ecologies, introducing *"A further layer of contingency…"* (Abbott 2005:247). For instance, medical professionals sometimes have to enter political ecologies to contest health policy. Similarly, for Callon (1998), the social world is largely a series of attempts at frame creation, with the intention of creating a clearly delineated social space. However, very few frames are completely coherent and impermeable, and in fact constantly overflow their boundaries, for a good reason – *"… a totally successful frame would condemn the contract to the sterile reiteration of existing knowledge."* (Ibid.:8). Linked ecologies come from the same realization that there are constant attempts at utilizing other ecologies for strategic reasons at both an individual and an organizational level. For Abbott, a specific set of actor-location-relation is called ligation, to distinguish it from location, and thereby emphasizing the contingent and contested nature of the organization of social space (Abbott 2005:248). While stating that there are no empty locations in social space, Abbott nevertheless claims that locations are not equally constituted. This implies that yoking is an ongoing activity, with varying degrees of strength, with periods of relative stability. Abbott calls a space that is still going through a relational process of ligation an arena.

Abbott creates two useful concepts for explaining strategies pursued in the process of ligation. The first is that of a hinge, which are *"… issues that provide … dual rewards, differing in two ecologies*" and *"… create possibilities for alliances between actors and locations across the borders of ecologies."* (Abbott 2005:255).

For Abbott, the reason that these two ecologies do not simply merge is that they are organized differently, and populated by different kinds of actors, despite the overlap on some issues. Therefore, hinges remain within their distinctive ecologies but create linkages to another ecology. This is opposed to the concept of an avatar. The avatar implants itself into another ecology and stays there as an "institutionalized hinge" (Ibid.:265). Thus, a financier may implant herself within a legal context, to ensure that her preferred approach to modelling becomes understood among lawyers, and therefore considered legitimate when judging cases concerning financial institutions. Recognizing such strategies is helped by network analysis, as they are closely linked to the concept of brokerage.
Abbott's framework thus provides a number of useful concepts for analysing jurisdictional battles, the strategies pursued by individuals and questions of timing. The next sub-section presents benefits and challenges of using this framework within studies of International Relations.

Professionals in International Relations

For the purpose at hand, it is necessary to consider how Abbott's framework, developed mostly within a domestic context with its thick jurisdictional fields and law-based occupational licensing, can help us explain the contestation of ecologies in IR and IEP in particular. Transnational fields are "thin" (Seabrooke 2014a:2) and in particular lacks occupational licensing, although much work on services within an EU (the Services Directive) and GATS context attempt to introduce mutual recognition of national occupational licensing (Faulconbridge and Muzio 2012). As emphasized by Harrington (2015) these thin fields are particularly open to strategic action even by individual actors, who often improvise when conflicts within existing institutions or technological innovations cause boundaries to become destabilized. The focus on individual professionals thus provides a micro-founded model for familiar concepts in IR, such as norm and issue emergence and institutional change.

Furthermore, the lack of the state as a clear audience which jurisdictional claims can be made to makes the transnational field qualitatively different from the national professions studied by Abbott. The notion of an un-ligated arena is therefore a particularly apt designation for the spaces studied in this thesis and indeed in many emergent issues in transnational governance. Such spaces are particularly well suited for professionals' mobilization to link otherwise unconnected organizations and actors,

thereby filling structural holes and obtaining strategic advantages (Seabrooke 2014a). Indeed, as Abbott realized the metaphor of linked ecologies and its focus on strategies holds equally well outside traditional professional spaces. The term "settlement" can be helpfully used to indicate such spaces in academic ecologies that *"…lack the strongly exclusive character of professional jurisdictions."* (Abbott 2005:250), as can the notion of a "bundle" for a process of political ligation (Ibid.:252). Thus, Stone (2013) discusses the strategies of avatars and hinges in the co-production of knowledge between scholars and policy-makers in the World Bank's knowledge networks, showing how processes of ligation occur in the interstices between the two ecologies. Besides the differences in the contested tasks, the speed at ligation takes place also differs substantially, from Abbott's professional evolution over decades, to the daily combats over political outcomes that are especially likely given time compression in modern capitalism (Harvey 1990).

Before proceeding, it is useful to consider how the approach outlined above fits with two of the major streams of literature within IR, on international organizations as bureaucracies and epistemic communities. Since Barnett and Finnemore's (1999) seminal paper, international organizations designed to serve as secretariats for treaties and regimes have become key analytical foci. The fundamental paradox spelled out by these authors is that, for international organizations to be effective, these organizations must have a significant degree of autonomy. This fits well with the discussion of overflowing and boundaries above. However, this also implies that the organization starts having its own interests, if nothing else then to preserve this autonomy. This is exacerbated by the often vague nature of treaties, where key provisions are often deliberately left open for interpretation, which gives individuals and teams within IOs room to manoeuvre around this bureaucratic ambiguity (Best 2012). Thus, for the IMF, which did not adopt an institutional view on capital controls before 2012 (Gallagher 2015), changes in policy have mainly been driven by professional entrepreneurs within the Fund, often influenced by educational backgrounds (Chwieroth 2007). This also implies that staffing decisions are crucial for these organizations, for instance in maintaining diverse backgrounds (Momani 2007) and in developing the correct skillsets to tackle crises (Seabrooke and Nilsson 2015). The key takeaway from Barnett and Finnemore is therefore to consider organizations as actors in and by themselves.
In this thesis, IOs are treated as sites of action within linked ecologies, which has the benefit of treating organizations as autonomous actors by themselves, thereby acknowledging the insight of Barnett and

Finnemore, but also not pre-supposing particular modalities of action. This is avoided by conceptualizing institutional governance arrangements around policy issues as an organizational-professional network (Henriksen and Seabrooke 2013), where agency arises at both levels. Individual professionals may well have agency and contradict the organizational mandate, while the organization is constantly struggling to reproduce its authority vis-à-vis other organizations, as well as encouraging or limiting behaviour at the level of its professionals.

One consequence of the professional process is the creation of epistemic communities, one of the expert dynamics considered in this thesis. Epistemic communities are defined as a *"... network of professionals ..."* that put forth an *"... authoritative claim to policy-relevant knowledge..."* within an issue area (Haas 1992:3). They fit the core claim by Abbott that experts make problems soluble (Abbott 1995), by claiming jurisdiction over particular forms of knowledge. Furthermore they share a normative framework, and especially a conception of *"*proper science*"* (Djelic and Quack 2010:20). However, Abbott's framework adds needed nuance. There is little reason to assume that epistemic communities are necessarily as stable as Haas suggests. Avatars and hinges are all individual agents that strategize to challenge the boundaries inherent in the epistemic community. As Harrington (2015) notes, these strategies are a mix of professional practices and individual improvisation and innovation in response to the situation at hand. This is a considerably less deterministic vision of the individual in an academic ecology than that set forth by the epistemic communities literature. The constant struggle to link new issues to an existing agenda, as well as the observed occurrence of fractal distinctions (Seabrooke and Tsingou 2014) within professions in a "Chaos of Disciplines" (Abbott 2001) illustrates that we lose insights by regarding epistemic communities as monolithic structures. Epistemic communities are unlikely to coalesce around knowledge due to a simple process of socialization, in which actors gradually come to share norms and ideals with the community, as suggested in the original conceptualization (Adler and Haas 1992:374).

Furthermore, communities may well have norms concerning proper science within a field of expertise. Nevertheless, the focus on causal beliefs leads to a loss of focus on how individuals and ecologies are based also on principled beliefs. Equally, the emergence of new markets for expertise is also difficult to theorize within the epistemic communities literature, as for instance the creation of the expert group,

the Society of Trust and Estate Practitioners (Harrington 2012), constitutes a strategic creation of a new socio-economic system, rather than an objective claim to a scientific solution to particular policy problems. The literature on epistemic communities thus misses Abbott's contention regarding linked ecologies. This is the case because epistemic communities will always need to build alliances with governments, activists, firms, NGOs, and perhaps with epistemic communities in other fields, to establish standards and create norms of behaviour that will reach a critical mass for internalization within the international community. These resemble political settlements more than fixed jurisdictions. Here, Djelic and Quack's notion of a transnational community (2010) better captures the complexity of transnational interaction, of which the types of knowledge-claims made by epistemic communities are only one form of strategy.

At an individual level, newer work on professional trajectories (Chwieroth 2010; Seabrooke and Nilsson 2015) shows how issue professionals move between organizations, and therefore can both enhance the position of the organization as well as strengthen their own position in the network, perhaps to the detriment of the organization's exclusive control over an issue. In these situations, the behaviour of the individual agent becomes a key theoretical focus. For instance, style and manners (White 1992) or habitus (Bourdieu 1987) is crucial to maintaining a professional presence. This includes knowing when to speak up on controversial issues, and when to stick close to the mainstream opinion, deferring to other professionals. Adler and Haas actually recognized this at the level of the epistemic community, stressing how *"... ideas close to the mainstream have a greater propensity to acquire influence than those further away ..."* (1992:382) but did not consider this factor at an individual level. Recognizing the two-level linkages in both professional and organizational networks exacerbates the need for maintaining a professional habitus, as one might well end up sitting on multiple committees or working in multiple organizations during a career. The perception of expertise is crucial in allowing individuals to put forth controversial standpoints. For instance, Baker (2013) shows how professionals at the Bank of International Settlements had long developed respected theories of macroprudential regulation, seemingly against the general intellectual milieu at the institution. While these ideas did not gain traction until the financial crisis destabilized the theoretical orthodoxy, this perception of expertise and a history of writing about the topic allowed a rapid reorganization of the field after 2008. Such individuals that are particularly skilful at mobilizing

knowledge by linking ecologies can become epistemic arbiters (Seabrooke 2014a), who go beyond avatars and hinges by choosing which forms of knowledge gets introduced from one ecology into another, thus arbitraging differences of knowledge in ecologies and establishing a central position in the network.

The professional perspective thus allows a comprehensive view of knowledge contestation that adds to and challenges existing frameworks. This section has considered the theories most closely linked to knowledge contestation and the role of professions and organizations in IR. The next sections briefly presents the two main branches of theory applied within international environmental politics, considering their limitations and showing how the professional perspective allows a complementary view on key empirical questions within this field of inquiry.

Alternative approaches

The following sections examine the field of IEP, to gain insights into the analytical approaches applied within the rapidly expanding number of sub-fields that are part of this policy area. After the Earth Summit in Rio in 1992, Smith (1993) wrote an influential article claiming that environmental issues would always be at the periphery of IR, as climate change and cross-border pollution represented too fundamental a challenge to the Westphalian conception of the state. This critique came just before a flood of new literature focusing on crosscutting international environmental regimes, the role of transnational activists, private and hybrid governance arrangements, and the role of regions and cities. A clear cleavage between theories thus exists in the approach to the "who" question that guides this thesis, with differences in analytical units and levels. Thus, these approaches assume different sets of actors to be central, rather than following Abbott in emphasizing contingent boundaries and processes of ligation. As pointed out in the introduction, the empirical issue of CDPs is almost absent from IEP literature. Therefore, the following sections present influential conceptualizations of issue control in IEP, which could have been drawn upon to analyse CDP governance. As will be shown, these alternative approaches fail to adequately deal with issue control at the important early stages of issue definition.

Downie (2013) categorizes the literature on actors in international environmental politics in three groups – state-based approaches, transnational approaches, and regime theory. Regime theory has long dominated the study of IEP, as shown by Morin and Orsini (2013:3) who find that regimes are mentioned in the major Global Environmental Politics journal almost four times as often as in the key IR journals International Organization and International Studies Quarterly. Therefore, the first section deals with regime theory and discusses this approach as an enhancement of traditional state-based approaches. The second part of the literature review considers transnational global governance approaches, and in particular discusses the benefits and limitations of traditional approaches to norm and issue emergence.

The literature review is concerned with IEP, rather than with refugee studies. The key reason is that CDPs are usually discussed and theorized within broad frames of environmental justice and in particular climate adaptation (Javeline 2014). Both academic literature and most organizations frame the issue in the way. For instance, as shown below, traditional refugee organizations such as the International Organization of Migration target jurisdictions consisting mostly of environmental organizations, activists and the international legal framework of the UNFCCC. Furthermore, as the literature review shows, many of the most useful theoretical frameworks for analysing global governance at multiple levels of social interaction were developed with reference to environmental politics. Therefore, the general analytical tools explored here can also be applied in studying refugee regimes, governance arrangements, activists etc. The last section will briefly summarize recent refugee governance theory to provide a backdrop for the discussion of the ecologies studied in this thesis.

Regime theory and International Environmental Politics

IEP as a sub-field of International Relations emerged in the early 1970's (Zürn 1998). This coincided with the popularization of the tragedy of the commons theory (Hardin 1968), which describes the negative externalities associated with the overuse of common resources and territory, particularly relevant for transnational environmental issues. Indeed, such collective action problems (Olson 1965) has become a key element of IR. Neoliberalist IR scholars in particular have questioned the pessimistic interpretation of collective action problems in IR, and focused instead on the possibilities of

cooperation anchored in international institutions (Keohane and Martin 1995). The role of international institutions in providing a stable bargaining environment, providing information and fostering norm diffusion were all emphasized by the neoliberal institutionalist (NLI) scholars (Keohane 1984).

Regime theory became an increasingly popular variant of neoliberal theory, and quickly became dominant in IEP (Zürn 1998). This strand of theory has always been fragmented, and sensitive to the comprehensiveness of the definition used. Krasner's well known definition of regimes state that they are *"... principles, norms, rules, and decision making procedures around which actor expectations converge in a given issue-area."* (Krasner 1983:1). This definition had the key benefit of leaving open the exact instruments or institutions of interest, but risks becoming too broad to be effective, as norms and principles are difficult to adequately specify and separate in empirical studies (Haggard and Simmons 1987). Furthermore, the state tends to remain analytical unit of focus (Strange 1982) for regime theory, particularly in IEP (Okereke, Bulkeley, and Schroeder 2009:59). The key benefit of regime theory is to create a common methodological and theoretical framework to deal with general questions of cooperation and institutionalization in IR. Regime analysis is limited to a particular issue-area, as *"...more specialized arrangements that pertain to well-defined activities, resources, or geographical areas and often involve only some subset of the members of international society.*" (Young 1989:13). Thus, in contrast to Abbott's open framework above, early regime theory works with a quite rigid division of the social world into discrete issue areas.

Theoretical work on actor expectations become key to this development (Mitchell 2013), emphasizing social solutions to the tragedy of commons (Ostrom 1990) and building on both formal mechanisms as well as the potential for cooperation in game-theory (Axelrod 1984) and the role of trust and shared norms and values in networks in sustaining communities (Granovetter 1985). Some regime theorists (Haggard and Simmons 1987; Kratochwil and Ruggie 1986) went beyond rationalist approaches to stress the importance of regimes in more fundamentally changing the norms and ideas of affected states, often explained as a process of policy learning and diffusion (Haas 1982), which change the perceived interests of states.

Much of the original definitional work on regime theory was carried out in a context of IEP, for instance Young's (1982) early focus on regimes of resource management and regime efficiency. Young's influential conceptualization of environmental regimes was narrow in scope. Here, regimes are multilateral agreements, within a particular issue-area, that can *regulate* particular actions (Haggard and Simmons 1987:495). Strange (1982) argued that Young's conceptualization of regimes took a pragmatic approach, at the cost of having to give up a number of interesting perspectives in the process. This is evidenced by the broad range of topics studied within this approach (Mitchell 2013). Within IEP, regime theory has for instance been used to study a wide range of environmental issues, focusing not just on climate change but also e.g. the governance of fisheries (Stokke, Anderson, and Mirovitskaya 1999) and acid rain (Munton et al. 1999).

As environmental governance has become progressively more complex, with multiple and often overlapping organisations covering the same issue-area, regime theory has evolved to allow studies of these fragmented governance arrangements. Here, the focus has been on identifying hierarchies of institutions or regimes, e.g. by studying how regimes are nested in Aggarwal's (1998) terminology. This could be pictured for instance in international law, where a specialized regime may make reference to broader customary law or international institutions, similar to the umbrella clauses included in many bilateral investment treaties. However, this is difficult to identify in environmental governance, where neither the UNFCCC nor the UNEP serves such a purpose (Abbott 2012). Raustiala and Victor (2004) later developed the theory of regime complexes, which recognizes the potential for overlaps with regimes and institutions in other issue areas, allowing for multiple legal mechanisms and international organisations addressing similar issues to coexist. Questions of forum shopping, pathological competition, and the corresponding increase in transaction costs then became a key analytical focus (Ibid.).

Regime complexes are closer to the kinds of boundary contestations studied by Abbott, but are still state-centric and oriented around formal governance mechanisms at an international level. For instance, Keohane and Victor (2011) map the climate change regime complex, showing the multiplicity of actors that all attempt to provide e.g. development assistance or standards for emissions trading and monitoring. However, due to the limitations of regime complex theory, a substantial number of crucial

transnational organizations are left out of the mapping by Keohane and Victor (Abbott 2012). Abbott (2012) further argues that, contrary to Keohane and Victor, the regime complex is only loosely coupled, and find that overlaps are mostly benign, for instance when multiple emission standards begin to recognize each other. Therefore, though an improvement, regime complex theory does not adequately solve the lacunae towards regimes that are not fully formed, or that operate outside formal state-based instruments. As Morin and Orsini (2013) note, the almost exclusive focus on regime theory in IEP has also led to a deficit of theoretical exchange with other fields. It has also limited the questions that IEP has asked. As stressed by Okereke et al. (2009) crucial levels of analysis and types of actors involved in contemporary environmental governance simply cannot be studied within the ontology of regime analysis. The key theoretical challenge to regime theory comes from global governance theory, which broadens the scope of actors and levels studied.

Global governance perspectives

As noted above, Smith (1993) claimed that environmental politics represented a fundamental ontological challenge to theories built upon Westphalian conceptions of state sovereignty. Therefore, he believed that IEP would never adequately fit within overwhelmingly state-centric studies of IR. Numerous studies of new governance forms quickly challenged this, in particular Rosenau's (1992) seminal work, with one author seeing "*The decaying pillars of the Westphalian temple"* (Zacher 1992). Going beyond the state-centrism of regime theory, scholars of IEP have taken to theorizing interactions beyond state-state regimes and the institutions set up to govern these (Bernstein and Cashore 2012). IEP quickly recognized that *"... the capacity to govern the atmosphere is diffused among several 'governors'."* (Jagers and Stripple 2003:385). One important theoretical move is made by the global governance literature, which largely sprung out of IEP. As pointed out by Dingwerth and Pattberg, for the introduction of a new class of theories to be meaningful, global governance needs to set itself fundamentally apart from familiar concepts like international organization (2006:185). A good point of departure are Dingwerth and Pattberg's four areas that describe where global governance fundamentally departs from traditional IR theory.

Firstly, global governance does not construct a hierarchy of analytical units ex ante, and it rather *"implies a multiactor perspective on world politics."* (Ibid.:191). Whereas traditional IR theory tends to focus on the state as the key analytical unit, global governance perspectives do not assume that this is the case. Secondly, Dingwerth and Pattberg (2006:192) state that global governance theory does not attempt to create a hierarchy of resulting governance mechanisms. For example, an agreement between a business, an NGO, and a scientific expert group is not ex ante given less weight than an intergovernmental treaty. This leaves substantial room e.g. for professionals and activists to create regulation and governance beyond the state. IEP has made crucial contributions to these parts of the theory, for instance by focusing on hybrid organizations such as the Forest Stewardship Council, which Bernstein and Cashore (2007) see as the first comprehensive example of what they call a non-state market driven governance system. Similar hybrid arrangements, such as the MSC, a partnership between an NGO and a multinational corporation, represent fundamental challenges to regime theory's insistence on formal and state-led arrangements (Ponte and Cheyns 2013).

Thirdly, global governance theory focuses on a plurality of actors and levels of analysis (Dingwerth and Pattberg 2006:192). In the late 1980's, theorists started opening the black box of the state to consider how state preferences were formed and negotiated (Putnam 1988). Global governance theory goes further, pointing to the myriad of different linkages between local, regional, national, and global actors. Traditional IR perspectives have difficulty explaining how NGOs can manoeuvre across different levels of jurisdiction, for instance as discussed in the next section on transnational advocacy networks. Therefore, the Cities for Climate Protection program (Betsill and Bulkeley 2004), a transnational network of purely local governments in different countries, would be difficult to theorize within a state-centric ontology.

Finally, global governance has a broader conception of political authority than traditional IR perspectives. For instance, Fuchs (2013) has theorized the different types of power that businesses can wield in a globalizing world, and the theorization of private authority in general has become influential (Hall and Biersteker 2002), for instance focusing on standard-setting bodies (Frankel and Højbjerg 2012; Murphy and Yates 2010). In particular, the notion of networked governance has been fruitful in analysing environmental politics (Henriksen 2014). Bäckstrand (2008:87) proposes a categorization

scheme for climate partnerships, which perform one or more functions of advocacy, rule and standard setting, rule implementation, and service provision. This shows how authority in global governance rests on a continuum between advocacy and directly providing the services in question.

Crucially, Dingwerth and Pattberg (2006) point out that much confusion about global governance perspectives has resulted from confusing the analytical definition presented here, with a normative claim that global governance is desirable. Sending and Neumann (2006) make the point that just because governance *mechanisms* have devolved from the state to non-state actors does not imply that state *power* is diminished. These are two separate empirical claims. The authors follow Foucault's concept of governmentality as a form of governmental efficiency through self-governance, implying that devolution of formal authority may well represent an increase in the actual exercise of power. This is related to a critique raised by those focusing on a Bourdieusian perspective of practices in IR (Adler-Nissen 2012) criticizing IR scholars for reifying the social categories that theory purports to analyse. Abbott's framework, focusing on boundaries and linked ecologies rather than fixed substances is an ontological means of avoiding this issue. Within theories of global governance, a key focus is on how NGOs and networks of activists contest norms, which is the subject of the next section.

Transnational advocacy networks and issue emergence

A key influential concept within global governance theory is that of Transnational Advocacy Networks (TANs). Because this literature sheds light on the empirical features of norm contestation, it is closely linked to the strategies of mobilization employed by actors in ecologies in Abbott's framework, but has key limitations that Abbott's concepts allow us to overcome. Most importantly, TAN literature is explicitly aimed at activism, while the professional-organizational networks in Abbott's approach can exercise power both as parts of advocacy networks, and in a myriad of other forms of organizational settings.

Originally conceptualized by Keck and Sikkink these networks consist of activists that are *"... distinguishable largely by the centrality of principled ideas or values in motivating their formation."* (1998:1). Borrowing a distinction from Goldstein and Keohane (1993), the authors emphasize this

distinction between evaluative norms concerning right and wrong from evaluative norms that are concerned with causal relationships and are more associated with epistemic communities. TANs are delimited by the issue area that its actors work on, and are more informally linked than IOs, NGOs or epistemic communities, operating instead from *"shared values, a common discourse, and dense exchanges of information and services."* (Keck and Sikkink 1998:2). Finnemore and Sikkink (1998) see norm entrepreneurs as mobilized by feelings of empathy and altruism. TANs can be composed of a wide range of actors, ranging from NGOs over churches, foundations, trade unions, and intellectuals to member of the legislative and executive branches of domestic governments (Ibid.:9). However, NGOs are usually core actors within these networks. Empirically, the proliferation of NGOs and other social change organizations is a relatively new phenomenon, rising dramatically from 1953 with an inflection point in the 1980's (Ibid.:11).

A key feature of TAN scholarship is the explicitly constructivist focus on norms and framing effects. TANs provide a counter-discourse in particular issue areas, utilizing a variety of strategies revolving around the mobilization of ideas and knowledge. Indeed, *"... ideas, research or knowledge are endemic to the policy process."* (Stone 2002:3) thereby distinguishing the resources mobilized by TANs from the economic or military resources often emphasized in IR theory. The conflictual nature is important to emphasize, as ideas are both blueprints (Blyth 2001) providing a set of expectations for institutional setups, as well as weapons, because these choices have significant distributional consequences. Because the issues that TANs promote are often *de novo* constructs in international politics, when these norms are successfully propagated by TANs, they have constitutive effects on the actors affected and are example of productive power (Barnett and Duvall 2005). Barnett and Duvall underline the key point that *"socially contested efforts to set and fix meanings can be expressive of productive power."* (Ibid.:57), which helps enable political interaction. Thus, the ontological challenge from TAN scholarship to state-based approaches is quite profound, and achieves some of the same benefits as Abbott's framework. However, the concept is linked with a limited set of assumptions about actor motivations, strategies, and temporalities, in contrast to Abbott's open conceptualization of actors and linked ecologies.

The concept of norm emergence is crucial to studying the influence and authority of TANs. Since these networks coalesce around a specific issue, the nature of issues chosen and the strategies taken to gather support for change are key research questions within this strand of literature. TAN scholarship uses Finnemore and Sikkink's (1998) concept of the norm life cycle to explain how issues are constructed and under which conditions norms end up being internalized by states. Because the social world already consists of a fixed set of meanings, the first phase is norm emergence, where key norm entrepreneurs undertake frame alignment, articulating issues in a new discourse that challenges existing conceptions and categorizations. At this stage, the resources and network centrality of the norm entrepreneurs (Hervé 2014), as well as the strategies chosen by these persons are crucial for the success of norm emergence. For instance, norm entrepreneurs may choose an activist route, with protests and mobilization as their strategy, or may work from positions within IOs, national governments or epistemic communities to build a new TAN. This possibility of working within a world of shared and stable understandings, while simultaneously attempting to contest and reshape connected norms is emphasized by Keck and Sikkink (1998:5).

Empirical studies have shown that engagement from non-state actors rarely emerges in a smooth or linear process. Rather, just as with states and international organisations, there are collective action problems in terms of both logics of consequences and appropriateness (March and Olsen 2004). Material constraints often mean that particular issues are chosen over others by activists. The operating environment of the organization is crucial, especially concerning the availability and nature of donor funding. Gulbrandsen and Andresen (2004) point out that environmental NGOs draw on four types of resource bases: intellectual, membership, political (access), and financial. This shows the complexity of pathways to influence, and the potential for gatekeepers in any of these resource bases. For instance, Cooley and Ron (2002) demonstrate how the increased use of competitive tenders and performance-based contracts lead to a negative-sum dynamic between NGOs that scramble into the same areas, dramatically reducing the effectiveness in providing public goods due to duplication of effort. Hervé (2014) has studied networks of TANs, showing that network positions carry benefits both financially and in terms of information, which leads to significant investments of time and resources into cultivating and maintaining these ties. Inter-network politics therefore matter for grafting on to existing issues and resource bases, which can lead both to coalitions forming around issues and to organizations

sticking close to their turf and refusing to campaign on issues (Carpenter 2007b). Thus, contrary to the idealized portrayal of NGOs and TANs, these organizations in fact share organizational imperatives and managerial techniques with businesses (Sell and Prakash 2004), which are necessary to increase funding, membership, and prestige. Similarly, Keck and Sikkink have been criticized for ignoring non-progressive NGOs (Scholte 1999).

Carpenter (2007a) has suggested a general model that remedies an important shortcoming in the TAN literature. Numerous studies have examined TAN campaigns, both successful and unsuccessful, and have generally vindicated the focus on issue attributes and framing effects. However, few studies have adequately considered the crucial early stages where norms are defined and adopted by organizations that later form TANs. To capture these dynamics, Carpenter suggests a broader model of issue emergence, where two phases are inserted before activists start campaigning for state adoption of a norm. The first, issue definition, is particularly useful for considering the role of professionals. This is the point at which a particular problem is picked out of *"... the myriad bad things out there ..."* (Carpenter 2007b:102), and promoted by a norm entrepreneur as a problem to be solved at an international level. Because the initial content of the norm, in term of its substantive features and the breadth of its application, is not given, initial professional agendas are crucial (Lall 2015). If this initial definition does not occur, the issue does not emerge, regardless of potential implications if the norm was to have progressed. Therefore, not all problems are issues, but must actively be constructed as such. If the issue is successfully defined, the next stage is for the issue to be adopted by one or more organizations relevant to the issue domain. If this test is passed, the issue can be said to have emerged. At this point, Carpenter's model returns to the well-tested model of advocacy and campaigning outlined by Keck and Sikkink. That far from all norms make it to this stage is important for the professional perspective, as the diagnosis of problems and the attempt at obtaining issue control are key aspects of professional mobilization. This also suggests that the professional perspective is particularly well suited to earlier stages, when the professional backgrounds of individual entrepreneurs and the role of professional-organizational networks in fostering adoption of norms is more pronounced.

International refugee governance

Just as IEP has helped challenge prevailing theories of IR, similar issues have been considered regarding the governance of refugees. Thus, for instance the book-length version of Barnett and Finnemore's (2004) argument mentioned above includes a treatment of the UNHCR. This section briefly outlines the theoretical contributions from regime studies and critical views of refugee governance studies. Thus, one can see how the same theoretical lacunae identified in the various frameworks outline above apply to refugees. As with environmental politics, the topic of climate refugees has not been covered to any significant extent, and therefore the findings presented here present analytical tools for examining this new issue. Interestingly, the focus on professionals was a feature of refugee studies (Martin 2001) before it came to the fore in environmental politics.

Like IEP, the study of refugees has tended to draw on regime theory. Thus, one of the most cited scholars of refugee politics, Alexander Betts (2010), has attempted to outline the increasingly complex regime that governs refugees today. Finding a significant increase in the complexity of regimes, Betts traces the emergence of an initial single refugee regime back to the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees, with a subsequent proliferation of new institutions and mechanisms towards the contemporary regime complex. This includes e.g. the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and human rights institutions. These institutions sometimes have overlapping jurisdictions, but in other cases are either parallel or nested. In contrast to environmental politics, tracing the emergence of international norms on refugees is made considerably easier by the common reference to the rights and obligations set forth in the Refugee Convention. An important qualification to the theories of regimes outlined above is the importance of non-regime bound, ad-hoc decisions concerning burden-sharing, the temporary provision of financial and other resources to support refugees on the territory of another state (Betts 2010b:19). This ad-hoc bargaining shows how regime theory might lead us to ignore policies that do not leave a durable institutional footprint. As Betts (2008) has argued, these moments represent discretionary choices by states, and are thus conceptualized better using theories of issue-linkages (Haas 1980). For instance, financial aid to help countries with a large and sudden influx of migrants has been linked to support by these (usually Southern) countries for trade agreements or security measures.

The role of the UNCHR also illustrates key features of international organizations as autonomous bureaucracies, as discussed above. As Betts shows, given the proliferation of competing institutions in new areas of the regime complex, the UNHCR has struggled to maintain its relevance towards its member states. In its early years, the UNHCR expanded its geographical reach beyond Europe, and expanded its "population of concern" (Betts 2010b:31; Hall 2013; McAdam 2013a). In recent years, this has been complemented by the emergence of the travel regime, which seeks to impose restrictions on refugees leaving their home countries, thus avoiding the obligations that come with asylum seekers arriving on state territory. This is supported and administered by the IOM.

Just as with regime theory, opposition has come from a plurality of competing theoretical perspectives. For present purposes, critical perspectives are particularly interesting. One strand of literature is highly critical of the UNHCR and refugee management. Inspired by Foucault, scholars conceptualize the UNHCR as an instrument for strengthening the national territoriality of states, to preserve the "national order of things" (Scheel and Ratfisch 2013:937) whereby refugees need to be recognized as an anomaly to be contained and managed, rather than a group of people protected by human rights. A similar critique has been raised against the IOM, an organization seen as stabilizing nation-state control over migration flows, in many cases directly limiting migratory flows by providing transport and detention services financed directly by states. Thus, the IOM looks like an NGO, but in fact implements a highly exclusionary management of migrants (Ashutosh and Mountz 2011). The IOM also helps return unsuccessful asylum seekers to their origin countries, thus enforcing national borders, often based on host country interests rather than human rights arguments (Blitz, Sales, and Marzano 2005). This short summary of the regime governing international refugees thus provides useful considerations for the discussion of future policy to govern of CDPs.

Methods

Methodologically, this thesis draws on a mixed-methods design combining network analysis and qualitative content analysis. In doing so, it complements a quantitative approach to the structure of networks and the identification of key roles of brokering with content analysis showing how the key actors contest and frame issues. Network analysis provides tools for visualizing and measuring the centrality of particular actors in the network shaping the governance of CDPs. Content analysis allows

a thematic grouping of the key policy elements of this emerging issue network. The reasoning in the linkage between the two is that central nodes in the network are in a better position to make authoritative claims to knowledge, and that statements made by such actors are more important for the content analysis. Structure and substance are therefore complementary for the analysis. The research design is thus fixed (Creswell and Clark 2011), in that the methods are chosen at the offset due to their ability to combine in a manner that alleviates shortcomings in each individual method, a combination that has been used in previous studies of international professionals (Morin et al. Forthcoming; Seabrooke and Tsingou 2014). The sections below outline the key benefits and considerations necessary when applying each approach. Data collection criteria and sampling limitations are discussed in the analysis section.

Social network analysis methods

Social network analysis is an interdisciplinary approach to measuring the relations between actors, and drawing both descriptive and causal inferences from these links. SNA therefore measures social structure rather than the individual attributes of actors. Formally, this is expressed in one definition as the claim that *"… social structures can be represented as networks – as sets of nodes (or social system members) and sets of ties depicting their interconnections."* (Wellman and Berkowitz 1988:4). Any particular network is then a set of nodes and ties. Ties may be directed (e.g. a general giving an order) or undirected, depending on the type of ties studied. Directed ties are then one-directional arrows, called *arcs*, while *edges* are lines between nodes representing a symmetric relationship (Hanneman and Riddle 2011:332). These networks (or graphs in mathematical parlance) can be visualized using software packages to provide a quick look at data that often by itself reveal key patterns in the network, including the presence of brokers or epistemic arbiters. Beyond looking at the whole network, one may also study the ego-network (Ibid.:331) of a particular node, to examine its neighbourhood and clusters.

Beyond the visualization, SNA applies a number of quantitative measures to individual nodes as well as to the network as a whole. For present purposes, centrality measures are key. These help reveal which actors are most important to the network as a whole, across a number of dimensions. The most basic of these is simply degree, the number of ties that a particular node has (Knoke and Yang 2007:56). The mean degree of the network is often used as a comparative measure, indicating the

average connectedness of a particular network structure. Degree is a useful measure for indicating the status of an actor, but it says little about the actor's ability to control information in the network. For instance, in a network with two large clusters, an actor may be in the centre of one cluster, but have to go through a single broker to reach the other cluster. This broker can then block the flow of information (Henriksen and Seabrooke 2013). Thus, the study of pathway flow is central to SNA (Borgatti 2005). The key measure of this is betweenness centrality (Freeman 1978), which is defined as *"the share of times that a node i needs a node k (whose centrality is being measured) in order to reach a node j via the shortest path."* (Borgatti 2005:60). Actors with high betweenness scores are thus important due to *"... the dependence of a network on a particular node for maintaining connectedness.*" (Hafner-Burton et al. 2009:564). Within the TAN literature studying environmental politics, Hervé has stated that organisations with high betweenness scores are *"... likely to perform gatekeeper, liaison, or broker roles in a network... "* (2014:405).

The concept of brokerage is inspired by Burt's (1992) famous book on structural holes, which described how network positions enhance or diminish bargaining positions. The fundamental insight is that a strong network position is one in which other actors have to go through you. In other words, strength is related to closing holes between actors who would like to interact. Therefore, a weak network position is one where you can be easily isolated, for instance by being close to a dense cluster of linked nodes, and not providing a path to a different part of the network. Granovetter's (1973) seminal paper on the strength of weak ties makes a similar point that what matters is the extended network, not the closely connected vicinity, because the information exchanged here is already known. Similarly, Bonacich (1987) noted a key nuance in network centrality analyses. Theoretically, a node's ties to other high-status nodes was generally seen as increasing the status of the node, while empirical findings in had come to the opposite conclusion. Bonacich suggested a distinction between networks with a positive relationship between the status of neighbouring nodes and the node itself, and vice versa. Differences in this relationship can explain outcomes of bargaining situations, where it is usually not a benefit for a node to be tightly connected to high-status nodes, since it is unlikely that the node's voice will be heard. Strategies pursued by actors in Abbott's framework can be used to manoeuvre such situations. For instance, if an actor is unable to draw on knowledge in a domestic context, she may try to transplant herself into another ecology, or attempt epistemic arbitrage in linking fields in novel ways.

It is important to consider the relationship between the network structure, which is an analytical tool, and the actual social interactions and structures meant to be explained. In Passy's words, "*Social Networks Matter. But How*?" (2003). For instance, Martin draws attention to Simmel's conceptualization of emergent social structures, to state that *"... one should be able to transform an account in terms of form into one in terms of content and vice versa."* (Martin 2009:17). Thus, it is always necessary to couple network analysis with a theory of how individual action arises and creates structures, and a theory of how these structures subsequently *"... define, enable, and constrain those agents."* (Hafner-Burton et al. 2009:561). Abbott's theories and the concept of ligation is an example of such a structural explanation. In one of the few network analyses of environmental politics, the strategic contestation of knowledge is clearly invoked in a manner similar to Abbott, and network locations are seen as outcomes of a "conscious strategy" (Green 2013:14). Network analysis thus fits well with the focus on professional interactions. This does not mean that network analysis can only be used for Abbott's theory, nor does it imply that network analysis is the only methodology for analysing linked ecologies, as is evident in the contribution of content analysis methods to understanding the topic at hand. Nevertheless, there are at least two good reasons to apply network analysis in this theoretical framework. The first is that Abbott seems to be moving in this direction in the linked ecologies paper, where the notion of a hinge is linked to the Padgett and Ansell concept of robust action noted below (Abbott 2005:255 footnote 10). Abbot also moves towards considerations of size, density and path lengths (Ibid.:253), which, as shown above, are fundamental concepts in network analysis. The second is Abbott's ontological foundation in spatial maps of social interaction, which works well with the focus on visualization in network analysis.

One of the most well-known discussions of social structure and agency comes from Padgett and Ansell (1993), who trace the power of the Medici family in medieval and renaissance Florence to its position in the network. The paper questions Machiavelli's interpretation of the Medici family heads as active and scheming rulers, as historical evidence fails to corroborate this. Rather, the authors introduce the notion of robust action, which describes how Cosimo Medici's actions can be interpreted in a number of ways depending on the observer, which means that he is able *"To act credibly in a multivocal fashion ..."* (Ibid.:1307). Thus, it is important never to close networks, and rather be able to operate in

a number of different social and political contexts, following the importance of style and deference in linked ecologies (Henriksen and Seabrooke 2013; White 1992). Seabrooke and Tsingou (2014), find that financial professionals wish to participate in multiple reform proposals, implying that conclusions in each particular report must not radically upset social relations to experts holding other opinions.

Data is input using adjacency matrices in the UCINET software package (Borgatti, Everett, and Freeman 2002). For standard matrices, the list of nodes is identical for rows and columns, and a 1 then indicates a tie between two nodes, while a 0 indicates no tie. Adjacency matrices are input in this way when examining one-mode data, where the ties are between nodes of the same category, for instance between people, countries, or organizations. However, in sociological research, and in particular when applying Abbott's framework, two-mode networks are often used (Hanneman and Riddle 2011; Henriksen 2014). These are ties between two different levels of analysis, for instance a person's membership of an organization or participation in an event, or an organization's FDI flows to different countries. Thus, this approach has the benefit of explicitly showing where nodes come together to exchange information or perform other kinds of interactions. As a form of boundary specification of the network, this type of data collection constitutes an *"event-based strategy"* (Knoke and Yang 2007:15). The classic paper using this method showed how social events were segregated by race and social class in Southern states of the US, thus linking individuals to the events they attended (Davis, Gardner, and Gardner 1941). This methodology is crucially related to the relational sociology outlined above, with Emirbayer emphasizing the benefits of a *"sociology of occasions"* (Emirbayer 1997:295), which follows the emphasis of Goffman (1967) on face-to-face interactions as constituting and enabling the social interactions of agents. Morin (Forthcoming) show how three common two-mode networks are all useful for analysing global governance – co-publication, co-membership, and co-participation. The latter two are used in the analysis below, with co-publication approaches discussed in the following section. Two-mode data lends itself easily to visualizations showing affiliations. If needed, the two-mode data can be converted back to one-mode data, where ties between nodes in one of the modes are based on mutual ties to a node of the other mode type (Borgatti and Everett 1997). Thereby, the set of quantitative measures outlined above can be calculated. Data organized in this way is called a sociomatrix (Hafner-Burton et al. 2009:564).

Content analysis methods

While SNA provides an analysis of network structure, this approach is complemented by building on content analysis in the form of document analysis techniques to examine the substantive content of the knowledge produced by central nodes in the network. The focus here is on a limited corpus of documents analysed qualitatively. Atkinson and Coffey state that documents are *"social facts"* (2004:58) and thereby provide traces of a social organization of knowledge production. It should be noted that document analysis is often considered insufficient as the sole evidence of social interaction. For instance, an official report on the learning behaviour of schoolchildren is not a substitute for participant observation or interviews, but rather a supplement. Therefore, Bowen (2009) states that document analysis is often used in mixed methods designs to triangulate other forms of qualitative data, or in connection with quantitative data, as in this case. However, there are reasons to believe that document analysis based on secondary data is particularly well suited in the context of the research question of this thesis. Firstly, as mentioned by Stone in relation to TANs, and by Abbott in relation to the abstract knowledge created by professionals, documents are parts of the outcomes of organizational processes that are the focus here. Policy briefs, press releases, meeting minutes, and blog posts are important as resources in policy debates for these organizations, as they try to be perceived as knowledgeable and attempt to obtain issue control. Therefore, there is little reason for documents to misrepresent the official stance of policy professionals, although subsequent implementation of policies is a separate issue, and individual professionals may hold a different opinion outside the office.

Document analysis is a particular way of finding and systematizing data found in documents, that has as its output a different kind of data, consisting of *"... excerpts, quotations, or entire passages – that are then organised into major themes, categories, and case examples specifically through content analysis ... "* (Bowen 2009:28). This endeavour is necessarily dialectical in nature, as categories and themes emerge as more documents are analysed, meaning that *"This iterative process combines elements of content analysis and thematic analysis."* (Ibid.:32). Therefore, the researcher must attempt to reveal patterns in the text, emphasizing clusters of opinions or statements of fact, akin to the clusters of relations seen in SNA. Often we are as interested in what is *not* said in the documents (Rapley 2007), for instance when a liberal pamphlet for suffrage in the 19th century does not mention female voting rights. This is an inductive approach to data analysis (Boyatzis 1998). Within well-defined issue

areas, this can be aided by a deductive approach applying a priori coding schemes or using existing empirical findings as a stepping-stone to categorization (Crabtree and Miller 1999). In this thesis, there are no fixed coding schemes to utilize, but the thematic analysis is inspired by the literature on CDPs and IEP in general. Practically, the process is assisted by the Dedoose software package (SocioCultural Research Consultants 2015), that allows an interactive coding process where a set of codes are created for the research project, that can then be applied to individual documents and used to create statistics as well as to serve as filters. The analysis section will describe the coding schemes utilized and the considerations behind this division.

The primary criteria for good content analysis is rigor and replicability. Rigor comes from a comprehensive reading of the texts, and a sufficient documentation of the thematic categories emerging from this reading (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane 2006). This is achieved by a discussion of key themes with excerpts from the texts. Replicability implies a documentation of the texts and topics chosen and those deemed irrelevant for this thesis and therefore removed from the analysis. This has the implicit assumption that, were the data coded by two or more observers, similar conclusions would be reached, or at least considered a fair representation the data. One alternative to this qualitative approach to content analysis could be a quantitative coding of document content. In this case, one clear drawback of this approach is the loss of the reflective process undergone by the researcher, as subtle distinctions and omissions in the documents are missed. For instance, in a study of IMF fiscal policy, Ban (2015) uses content analysis to show how IMF documents emphasize particular aspects of fiscal policy. These are unlikely to be portrayed in such strong terms that quantitative analysis would catch all nuances of the discussion. Quantitative document analysis methods can reach strong findings when used to compare documents semantically over time, for instance in Moretti and Pestre's (2015) analysis of World Bank report language stretching over fifty years. Finally, while not focusing on content as such, but rather the way in which documents live on and become authoritative, a study of citation networks could be undertaken. One promising application of this approach is to show how documents are signs of either consensus or controversy within scientific communities. This is the approach pursued by Shwed and Bearman (2010), and the analysis below will focus on similar contestation, but using the qualitative approach outlined above. In this case, there are relatively few documents compared the decades-long

and amply documented controversies in the natural sciences. Furthermore, many of the documents do not have formal citations, making data mining for a large-N study difficult.

Analysis

The following sections present the findings of the network analysis and the document analysis. For each method, results are presented, with a subsequent linking of these findings to the research question at an empirical level. The broader answers to the research question is left to the discussion.

The main limitation for all data collection is temporal, from 2010 until the summer of 2015. Firstly, this represents the most intense period of collaboration and knowledge exchange between organizations, exemplified by the creation of the Nansen Initiative in October 2012. Secondly, as noted above, the Cancun COP meeting in November 2010 was the first to include the concept of climate refugees in official closing documents. Therefore, the professional and organizational struggle to give meaning to paragraph 14(f) has intensified in this period. Thirdly, as the period follows the failure at the COP15 meeting in Copenhagen, the negotiation strategies of key actors has had to be realigned to this new reality, thus leading to a break with the past and the rise new attempts at building alliances and ensuring cooperation, as will be shown below.

Social network analysis

For this thesis, a selection of events and organizations has been made based on an iterative process. Organizations were found first, subsequently identifying key actors within these organizations and their ties to other organizations, revising the list of organizations as these ties were coded. Two major network visualizations are provided, one with individual actor nodes linked to organizations, and one with actors linked to events. In Appendix 1, each actor is described with formal organizational affiliations as well as any additional links that mandate inclusion in the network analysis. Descriptions of each organization and event are provided in Table 1 and Appendix 2 respectively.

Organizational network analysis (co-membership)

The selection of organizations is as exhaustive as possible with organizations included as long as they make international claims to knowledge or policy solutions concerning CDPs. In general, it is assumed

that the network analysis method allows a distinction between central and redundant nodes, and therefore most organizations that have made a claim to expertise in dealing with climate refugees are included. Two NGOs with minor international engagement on the issue (Action Aid and the UK Climate Change and Migration Coalition) were identified, but not included, as associated actors were isolates in the network with no ties to other organizations than their employer. Furthermore, the data collection is limited to publicly available sources. Given the proliferation of organizational webpages and profiles on LinkedIn, this is seen as sufficient. Table 1 shows the resulting organizations, with descriptions of each organization's purpose and relationship to CDP governance.

Actor ties to organizations are registered when there is either currently formal employment within an organization, a previous major engagement within a reasonable timeline (as a rule 5 years), or the authorship of a major report for one of the organizations. Thus, when for instance the Nansen Initiative collaborates with the UNHCR to create its reports, external authors can be brought in. These are included, as this is seen as similar to a consultancy task. Major reports are those highlighted by an organization with claims to generalizable knowledge, for instance Ginnetti's (2015) recent article on measuring climate and migration patterns. Ties are further limited to those specifically studying the effects of climate change on migration, for instance to filter out those actors within the studied organizations examining displacement due to ethnic and religious conflicts.

Table 1: Organizations present in the network analysis

Name	**Description**
Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement	Academic/think-tank collaboration between the Brookings Institution and the London School of Economics. Focused on internal displacement in general, with some actors in the organization making the link to climate change (Brookings-LSE Project on Internal Displacement 2015).
COST Action 1101	Cost Action 1101 provides funds for travelling and hosting conferences under the headline "Climate change and migration: knowledge, law and policy, and theory" (COST - Climate Change and Migration 2015). Since the action does not fund research, only actors already coded with ties to other organizations are registered, with the action thus treated as a means of knowledge sharing and communication.

Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre	Centre setup by the Norwegian Refugee Council (IDMC 2015). Provides a systematic overview of internally displaced persons globally, and links this to policy themes, including climate change. Partner of the Nansen Initiative for many reports.
IOM	The International Organisation for Migration (2015c) is an inter-state organization with 157 member states, responsible for the travel regime (see the Governing Refugees section) which aids migration and provides humanitarian assistance in situations where the affected populations turn to migration as a survival mechanism. Since 2009, the IOM has been active in the debate on climate change displacement (International Organisation for Migration 2009), drawing on field experience and research.
IPCC	The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change is the expert body on scientific knowledge regarding Climate Change. This includes the prospects for human adaptation, and is the main pathway for knowledge to be included in the UNFCCC negotiations. Therefore, reviewers on the IPCC reports, who are already included in the organizational network, are coded with a tie to the IPCC.
MECLEP	The EU has funded a project run by the IOM titled EU project "Migration, Environment and Climate Change: Evidence for Policy (MECLEP)". Running from 2014 to 2016, and based on research on a set of countries expected to be severely exposed to migration issues due to climate change, the initiative provides policy briefs and maintains a knowledge base of findings (MECLEP 2015). While under the auspices of the IOM, MECLEP is separated here due to the exclusive focus on climate change-induced migration, the distinct funding source, and because of the inclusion of consultants and staffers outside of the IOM.
The Nansen Initiative on Disaster-Induced Displacement	The Nansen Initiative is a process launched by the Swiss and Norwegian governments in 2011 (McAdam 2013b; The Nansen Initiative 2015b). The Initiative runs from 2012 to 2015, and is set to culminate in a Protection Agenda, spelling out the need for further action on addressing disaster-induced displacement in general, with a particular focus on climate change. Walter Kaelin serves as the chairman, while open consultations with countries to gather information on concrete experiences as well as a consultative committee aims towards a more inclusive process with expert and civil-society inputs.
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. Included as work in the UN on internally displaced persons is done within this remit. See actor BEYANI in Appendix 1.
Refugees International	International NGO focused on the rights of refugees. Through Alice Thomas (see Appendix 1), the organization has taken an interest in climate displacement.

Sciences Po / IDDRI and CERI	The Institute for Sustainable Development and International Relations as well as the International Studies Institute (Centre de Recherches Internationales) conduct research focusing on the link between climate change and migration, with some of its scholars making key policy interventions.
UNHCR	UNHCR is the UN Refugee Agency, the international body setup to administer the 1951 Refugee Convention. Over the years, this mandate has expanded to broaden the definition of a refugee, and recently to include internally displaced persons (UNHCR 2015).
UNU-EHS (2015)	The section of the United Nations University dealing with "Environment and Human Security" (EHS). The section is headed by Koko Warner. All experts from the section are included when references are made to environmental migration, climate and migration or internal displacement in connection with climate change.
World Bank (and KNOMAD)	The World Bank has general concerns about climate change in relationship to development and how migration will either be a solution to or exacerbate this problem. In particular, knowledge is being developed at the emerging KNOMAD partnership (KNOMAD 2015). This includes a working group on environmental change and migration. Pilot programs will be launched from 2016, with the partnership expiring in 2018.

Based on actor ties to these organizations, the remainder of this section summarizes the findings on organizational networks contesting knowledge claims about CDP and thereby attempting to exercise issue. In Table 2, on the next page, measures of degree, betweenness and eigenvector centrality are provided based on an unvalued conversion of the two-mode network to an affiliation matrix. Figure 1, two pages ahead, shows the comprehensive visualization of the network, with red circles indicating actors and blue squares representing organizations. The network has 83 ties, with a density of 0.133. This density is somewhat low, which indicates a network with a low percentage of possible ties actually present. Examining the visualization, part of the reason for this is the relative detachment of actors with ties to the Brookings-LSE network, which indicates that the academic focus of staffers in this ecology is generally not activated through links to other organizations. Similarly, the UNU-EHS actors are generally not formally connected to other organizations, expect for some participation in the MECLEP research project.

All measures corroborate a key feature of the visualization, with an active core that navigates between academic bodies, traditional international organizations, and the Nansen Initiative, and a more isolated periphery, whose nodes are strongly dependent on ties to one or two brokers for information to diffuse through the network. The periphery includes most of the UNU-EHS with the strong exception of Koko Warner. Warner thus takes on a brokerage role, where she is able to harness the financial and organizational resources of the United Nations University, but retains control over the strategy for the creation of knowledge as Head of Section, determining how findings are transformed into policy suggestions. Warner is thus able to act as a hinge, where the slow and gradual creation of often case-specific academic knowledge created by the UNU-EHS can be presented in policy-oriented contexts, for instance when writing reports that are cited in work by the Nansen Initiative and the UNHCR. Similarly, Jane McAdam's position as a researcher within the Brookings-LSE network allows strong academic credentials to be used as a hinge when serving as member of the consultative committee of the Nansen Initiative, where diplomatic and political ecologies need academic input for legitimacy.

Table 2: Centrality measures, sorted by betweenness.

	Degree	Betweenness	Eigenvector
GEMENNE	27	292,67	0,29
MCADAM	20	156,88	0,06
KOSER	14	146,72	0,05
MARTIN	20	88,07	0,25
BLOCHER	16	84,07	0,15
WARNER	17	78,05	0,11
CORONDEA	15	50,88	0,09
CASCONE	16	48,75	0,14
MILAN	16	48,75	0,14
CRISP	9	46,00	0,05
FRANCK	13	43,92	0,05
GINNETTI	13	43,92	0,05
KAELIN	15	30,95	0,02
SCHREPFER	10	18,03	0,05
SCHULZ	12	16,58	0,07
PIGUET	17	14,05	0,24
CHAZALNOËL	18	10,23	0,25
IONESCO	18	10,23	0,25
LEE	18	10,23	0,25
MELDE	18	10,23	0,25
MOKHNACHEVA	17	7,15	0,24
BEYANI	10	2,36	0,02
COHEN	10	2,36	0,02
BRÜCKER	6	1,90	0,06
AFIFI	10	0,00	0,05
AGHAZARM	15	0,00	0,23
BENDANDI	15	0,00	0,23
BONCOUR	15	0,00	0,23
BRADLEY	9	0,00	0,01
CERNA	9	0,00	0,01
CHAPUISAT	8	0,00	0,02
CORRERA	6	0,00	0,04
FERRIS	9	0,00	0,01
FLAVELL	15	0,00	0,23
GEEST	10	0,00	0,05
LACZKO	15	0,00	0,23
LECKIE	10	0,00	0,05
OAKES	10	0,00	0,05
RIGAUD	6	0,00	0,04
SALMON	15	0,00	0,23
SOLBERG	8	0,00	0,02
SWING	15	0,00	0,23
THOMAS	2	0,00	0,00
TURK	8	0,00	0,05
WAHLSTROM	8	0,00	0,02
WEERASINGHE	9	0,00	0,01
WOOD	8	0,00	0,02
WRATHALL	10	0,00	0,05

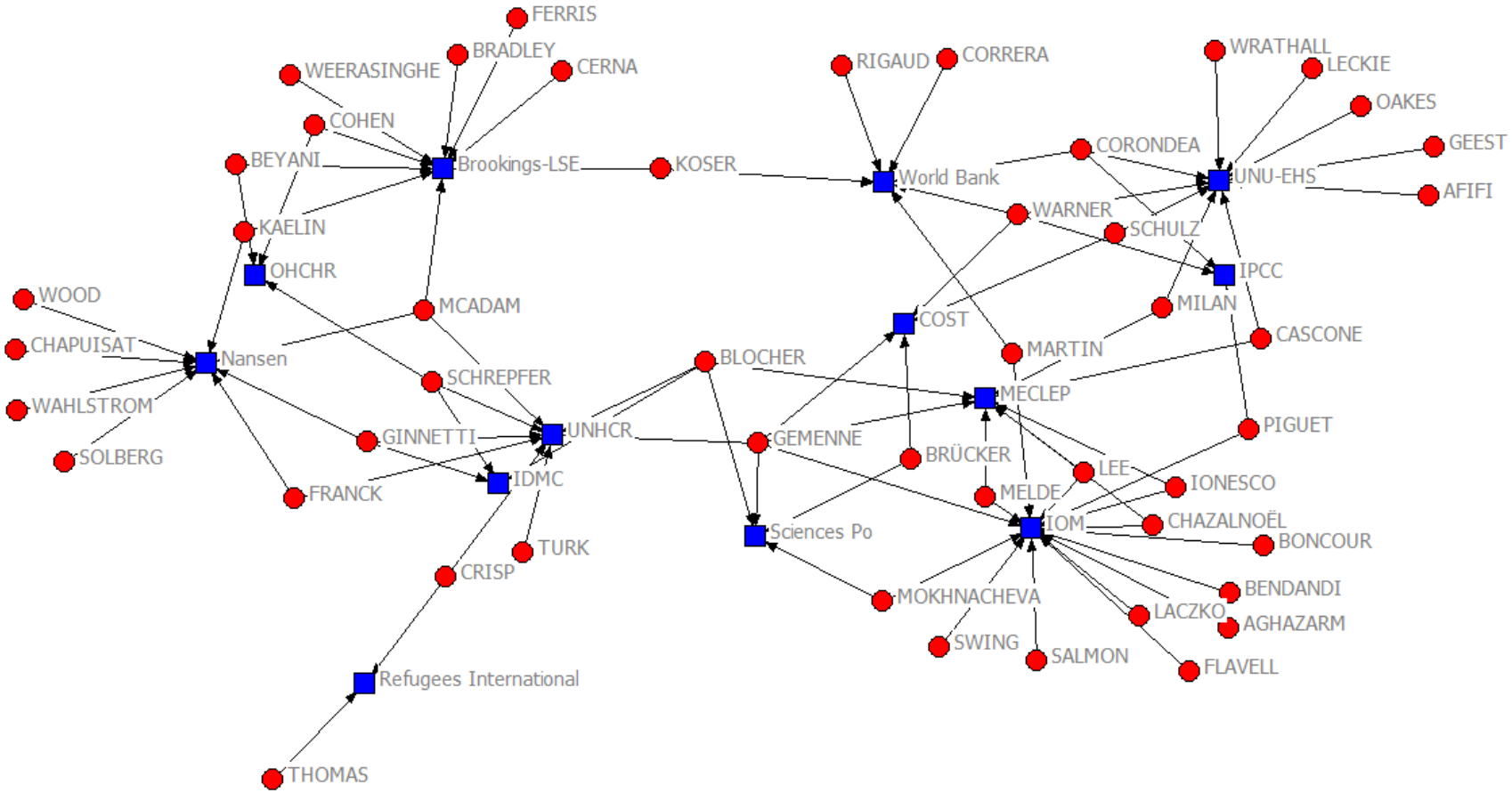

Figure 1: CDP organizational network and actor ties.

A strong version of this dynamic holds for Francois Gemenne, the node with the highest betweenness score, who uses academic resources from the IDDRI research centre at Sciences Po Paris as well as the CEDEM centre at the University of Liége to create academic knowledge, often including normative and prescriptive elements, on environmental migration. Gemenne was mentioned in the introductory section on climate refugees as a minimalist. The content analysis will explicate the policy themes put forth by these actors, but it is worth considering Gemenne's role in the network at this stage, in particular given the high values of key centrality measures. Gemenne has also been able to go outside his academic ecology to take up consulting tasks with a number of the organizations in the network. By doing so, Gemenne strategically cultivates network ties, Thus, Gemenne has actively placed himself as a source of social scientific knowledge on the issue of CDPs, with work that went against early views on the topic. By working directly with the main IOs, Gemenne thus holds a position in the network where this form of knowledge can be implemented in political settlements, thus moving beyond the academic home ecology. In doing so, Gemenne actively seeks to fill, or even in some cases to create, structural holes where a professional jurisdiction can be carved out.

In contrast to the nodes discussed above, who have the linking of ecologies in common, Marine Franck provides a useful example of a professional working effectively within an ecology. Franck has a high betweenness score, which illustrates a successful stewardship as the "Climate Change and Nansen Initiative Officer" at the UNHCR. This role necessarily implies a control over information flows and issue linkages between these central organizations. One outcome of this is the coordination of the Advisory Group on Climate Change and Human Mobility, which is responsible for a number of the key documents analysed below. The contrast to e.g. Gemenne and Warner comes from Franck operating solely within this ecology, and not for instance creating new knowledge by co-authoring reports or policy briefs. Therefore, Franck's role in the organizational network is primarily as a gatekeeper, reflecting the well-established importance of brokers in transnational governance networks (Hervé 2014). Franck's role also illustrates the different forms of ties that can be held within professional-organizational networks (Henriksen and Seabrooke 2013). In this case, the linking role is completely institutionalized and reflected in Franck's job title, whereas the linkages established by Gemenne and McAdam are contingent and based on personal efforts to articulate relevant knowledge within the right network settings.

The organizational network thus provides a mapping of the key actors within the network as measured by formal ties to organizations. Network positions can be thought of as an individual's varying degree of access to economic, cultural, and social capital rooted in these organizations. This capital can be understood as a resource or a potential for mobilization. This potential must be exercised, for instance by these actors participating in academic forums for discussion, debates at key policy venues etc. The next section considers events where this takes place.

Event network analysis (co-participation)

The event network analysis illustrates actual moments of interaction between the actors identified above. It thereby shows how these resources are converted into actual presence on the key stages, and thereby acknowledges Goffman's famous insistence not to focus on *"... men and their moments. Rather, moments and their men."* (1967:3). This focus builds on studies within IEP (Morin et al. Forthcoming; Paterson et al. 2013) using event attendance to identify how key ideas become represented and develop over time and between policy venues. Thus, nuance can also be added to media coverage focusing on widely attended events, which may only play a marginal role in the emergence of particular less publicized issues. For specific issue areas, the main events of the COP process are irrelevant, while side-events held at the same time but at different locations can be crucial for socialization and knowledge contestation (Bernstein et al. 2010; Hjerpe and Linnér 2010).

The selection of events is more limited than the organizational network, due to time and space limitations. Thus, the original application of 2-mode network analysis (Davis et al. 1941) examined 14 significant events with 18 actors attending at least one of the events. For present purposes, only actors included in the organizational network are coded in the event network, thus allowing a triangulation of the data obtained in the organizational network. This mainly has the effect of excluding state representatives that only attend a single event. Event selection is based on two primary criteria. Firstly, the event must be aimed at progress towards knowledge creation or a set of principles or legislation at an international level, whether this is a comprehensive understanding of climate refugees, or a partial solution e.g. to immediate post-disaster migration assistance. Events must attempt to tackle the issue in a way that helps define, frame, and contest the issue, rather than using the term for rhetorical flourish. Secondly, the event must be seen as prominent by the involved actors, as determined by references in

reports to the event or as measured by media attention. An event that receives no coverage in subsequent policy work should probably be seen as peripheral. Therefore, these events are rarely referenced by subsequent literature. The chosen events, with descriptions, lists of attendees and links are presented in Appendix 2. The coding is done based on publicly available participant lists. Individual actor measures are presented in Table 3 on the next page, with the network visualization provided in Figure 2 two pages ahead.

The event network has 64 ties with a density of 0.163, which is denser than the organizational network, suggesting that the group of actors attending the chosen events is more cohesive than for the organizational network.

Table 3: Event network node-level centrality, sorted by betweenness.

	Degree	Betweenness	Eigenvector
WARNER	25	116	0,39
KÄLIN	21	80	0,35
MARTIN	17	22	0,32
LACZKO	12	11	0,22
SWING	9	10	0,16
MCADAM	12	10	0,23
AFIFI	14	9	0,28
FRANCK	11	9	0,21
GEMENNE	9	8	0,16
GINNETTI	8	6	0,13
FERRIS	10	2	0,22
WEERASINGHE	5	1	0,07
CHAPUISAT	8	0	0,19
CHAZALNOEL	5	0	0,08
CORRERA	4	0	0,06
KOSER	5	0	0,09
LECKIE	7	0	0,17
LEE	8	0	0,19
LOSTER	6	0	0,12
MELDE	8	0	0,19
SCHREPFER	2	0	0,03
SOLBERG	5	0	0,08
STROHMEYER	6	0	0,12
TURK	6	0	0,14
WAHLSTRÖM	5	0	0,09
WRATHALL	7	0	0,17
IONESCO	4	0	0,07
THOMAS	7	0	0,17

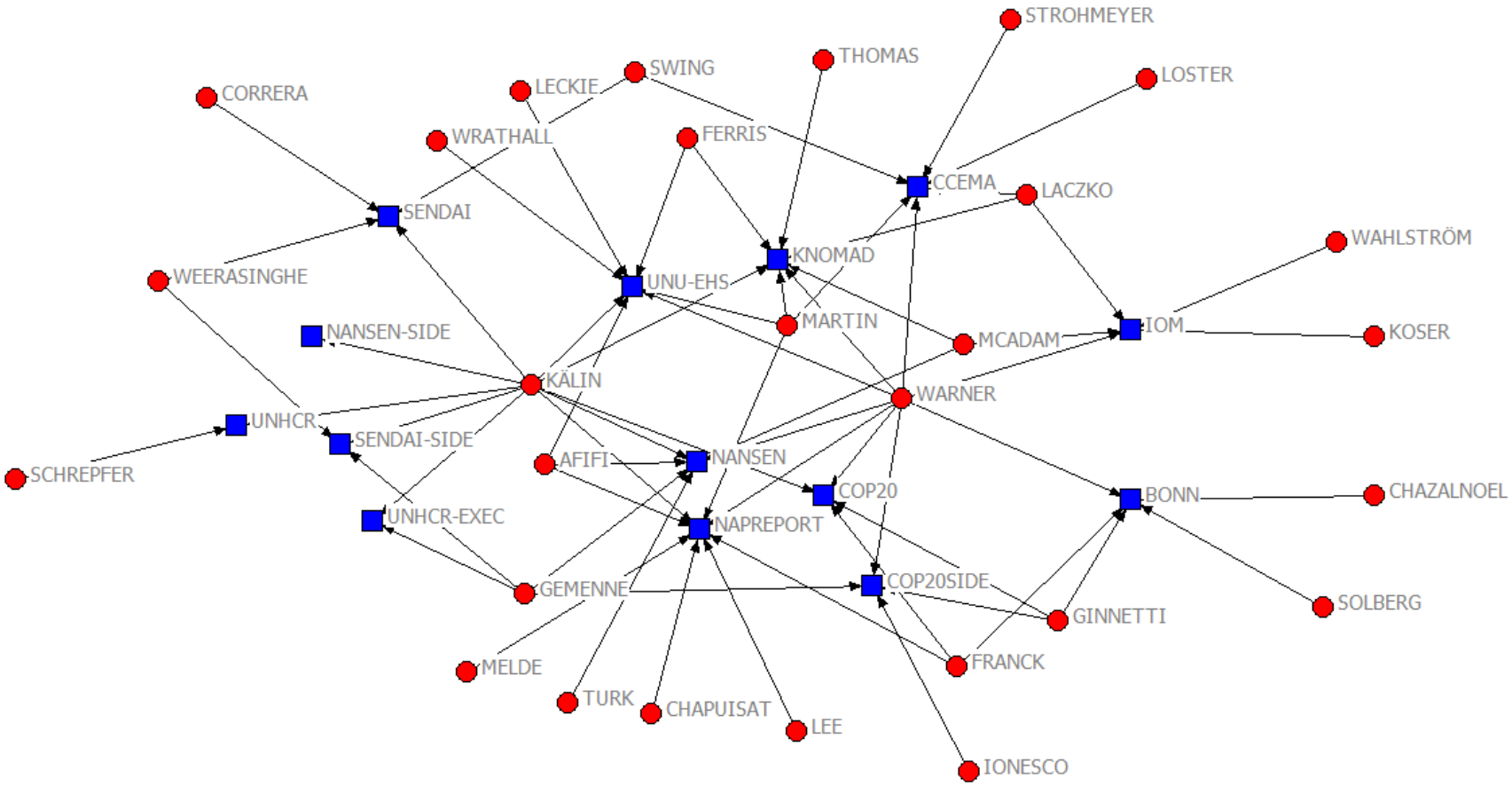

Figure 2: CDP event network and actor ties.

The visualization and corresponding node centrality measures provide important qualifications to the organizational network, although the identification of key actors in each network show substantial overlap. Both Warner, Martin and McAdam are key parts of the event network, which illustrates an ability to be able to translate ties to organizations into representation at important events. Another interesting node is Ginnetti, who acts as a spokesperson for the IDMC at these events, thus introducing a specific skillset (attributing causality to refugee flows) into key debates, a role that will be discussed below. The main divergence is the importance in the event network of William Lacy Swing and Walter Kälin, the director of the IOM and the envoy of the chairmanship of the Nansen Initiative respectively. This is natural given the nature of many of these events as parts of intergovernmental conferences, where most diplomats would be used to seeing the head of an IO, even if most policy work has been done beforehand by the experts identified in the organizational network. Similarly, Gemenne is not as central an actor at the events, which is probably rooted in his lack of a role as spokesperson for an IO. While these key actors rarely author reports, they have importance as authorities with influence on the strategic direction and budgeting of IO resources, as well as through the importance of interpersonal skills in fostering ego networks at these policy fora. These actors are also likely to be chosen by media outlets for interviews at these events. In these forums, Kälin is likely to be more trusted as a policy expert on the issue of climate refugees, simply because the resources of the Nansen Initiative are focused specifically at this issue. Swing's policy portfolio is much larger, meaning also that attention to the particular issue of climate refugees is likely to fluctuate over time. On the other hand, Swing provides an in-depth operational knowledge that can complement and challenge the recommendations presented by the Nansen Initiative.

The actors most absent compared to the organisational network are those who represent purely academic ecologies. This is particularly true for the members of the Brookings-LSE Network and the UNU-EHS, except for Warner's key position. A number of the academic staffers at the Brookings-LSE project in particular have previously held positions at major IOs, including the UNHCR and the World Bank, but this does not seem to translate into an active strategy of policy promotion beyond their current academic employment. This illustrates the practical significance of brokers in everyday interactions, where the academics producing reports on climate refugees, even at quite respected institutions, have to go through institute directors such as Warner for their knowledge to reach

audiences outside academia. Similarly, this suggests that Warner is central partly due to being able to switch between different domains, for instance stressing uncertainties and qualifying methodological choices in an academic context, while switching identity to being a more forceful promoter of the CDP agenda in a policy context. For instance, in an influential report based on numerous case studies, Warner and Afifi (2014) present a continuum of scenarios for climate migration, which provides strong academic credentials for entering into debates at events. In the same year, Warner attended the conference in Bonn, discussing the implementation of human mobility issues into National Adaptation Plans, thus integrating an abstract form of academic knowledge of mobility with proposals for policy action. Following Abbott, this shows how strategic action to link ecologies functions in practice. At the individual level, alternating between the otherwise separate ecologies of academia and the policy dimension is a form of identity switching that establishes a reputation for "knowing well" (Seabrooke 2014b:336) that is a result of becoming an epistemic arbiter between these ecologies. This reputation is likely to arise only over an extended period, which is supported by the presence of Warner at a large number of events throughout the years covered. Studying the event network in conjunction with the organizational network thus sheds light on the micro-interactions that allows actors to mobilize the resources inherent in organizational positions. The content analysis substantiates these positions, by showing which concrete policy proposals have arisen out of the work done by these key actors.

Content analysis

The following section presents the key findings from a content analysis of major policy papers, reports, and institutional overviews on the issue of climate refugees. Because the issue is still at an early definitional stage, it is necessary to link the network analyses above to substantive policy proposals and key scientific conclusions by actors in the network. Documents are selected based on their prominence in the debate, understood as those that are featured on the websites of key organizational nodes, or cited or authored by authors that are central to one of the analysed networks. Where multiple documents are available from the same actors or organizations, newer documents are preferred. For two included documents, events in the event network were held in connection with their release. Codes are theoretically informed using the sources in the thesis' introductory overview on CDPs, as well as writings by legal scholars on institutional conflicts and reform proposals. Codes are meant to illustrate key focus areas, that reveal the extent to which there is a consensus or controversy over important focal

points, as well as to consider the policy standpoints attributable to individuals or organizations. In Dedoose, coding is done at a sentence level, usually based on the words used, but also when the meaning of a sentence equals one of the codes. The coding scheme is set up a priori and then tested on three documents. The scheme is then revised and applied again to the entire corpus of documents. This process is documented below. Appendix 3 presents an overview of the documents studied. In the following section, major themes are identified, and examples of usage in the text are provided, followed by a discussion of the empirical findings presented. The theoretical discussion, including the linkage to strategic agency by particular nodes in the network, will be pursued in the discussion.

The initial coding scheme is reproduced in Table 4. Each code is developed based on reference to concepts and issues from studies of climate refugees and climate change more generally. In this regards, writings by Renaud et al. (2011), were particularly useful as the authors construct a comprehensive decision model for environmental migration that can be used to construct codes. The final coding scheme is shown in Table 5. This coding scheme corresponds well to an analysis by a well-known migration analyst (Betts 2015) that came out after the scheme was developed, where distinctions are made between internal/external, rapid/slow-onset, and displacement/migration dimensions.

Table 4: Initial coding scheme.

Codes
Adaptation
Cause (Sea-Level Rise, Water Scarcity, Extreme Events)
Climate Change
Climate Refugees
Internally Displaced Persons
Prevention of Displacement
Uncertainty

These codes were tested on the UNHCR 2014 document as representative of the overall summaries presenting the "start of the art" that are presented by a number of the organizations central to the

organizational network. Additionally, the coding scheme was tested on the Joint Submission document. As a result, a number of codes looking at causes of climate-change induced displacement were removed, and instead consolidated into a temporal dimension, where the documents emphasize either long-term effects or short-term effects and extreme events. Additionally, the "Prevention of Displacement" code was renamed "Resilience", as this was the general term applied in the documents. The "Climate Change" code was redundant, as both documents emphasize this aspect to some degree. Instead, a "Conflict Driver" code was added to recognize those documents that explicitly link climate change causally either to climate-induced displacement as a driver or effect of conflict. Significantly, a financial code with two-child codes were added. The "Loss and Damage" code is applied to documents explicitly discussing a policy of redistributive financial transfers from within the mostly national auspices of the loss and damage mechanism. The "Funding" code is instead applied to documents discussing financial flows from an international to national level to cover the financial expenditures incurred in relation coping with or preventing climate-induced migration. The "Climate Refugee" code was embedded as a child code in Dedoose, functioning as a sub-category of all references to refugees. Additionally, to capture the dynamics of international law references, most prevalent in the legal origins of the UNHCR, a "New Legal Framework" code was added for those documents stressing the need for new international obligations, either in hard or soft law instruments, to address issues that go beyond the Refugee Convention or the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement.

Additionally, the final coding schemes applies code weighting when necessary to reflect the strength of sentiments (Dedoose 2012) expressed in the documents analysed. Codes are weighted in a binary manner with either a 0 for "weak" or a 1 for "strong", and are used when a code can arguably be applied, but where the argument is not put forth in a strong manner, is mentioned only in passing, or does not contribute significantly to main conclusions or recommendations. For instance, in the 2012 International Dialogue on Migration, there is a short reference to disaster risk reduction and vulnerability reduction (International Organisation for Migration 2012:35), which leads to the application of the resilience code. While this reference clearly indicates a potential overlap with other initiatives being taken, it nonetheless pales in comparison with the in-depth focus on migration as adaptation that dominates the document. Thus, this weighting is a way of adding nuance that might be

lost when only considering a code's presence or absence, and is therefore a key feature of the Dedoose software package used here.

Table 5: Final coding scheme.

Code	**Description**
Adaptation (migration as adaptation) and Resilience (adaptation to prevent migration)	These codes are informed by the minimalist/maximalist debate outlined in the introduction. Some social scientists see enhancing resilience as a goal to avoid forced remigration, where people have no choice but to move. When prevention of displacement is emphasized, as in considerations of capacity building or disaster risk reduction, this code is applied. A different stance states that migration is an adaptive with positive implications. When documents emphasize the need to ease this process, the code is applied. These positions can be combined if considering different time scales, but will mostly be separate, since the role of nation states and refugee law differs between the two cases.
Conflict Driver	Code applied when climate change is linked to migration through the intermediating variable of more or worsened conflicts. This gives an indication of the degree of securitization.
Cross-Border Refugees	Code for a focus on cross-border, rather than internal displacement. Child code: Climate Refugees. Flag for when the term climate refugees is explicitly mentioned.
Financial – Child Codes: 1: International Funding 2: Loss & Damage	This is a general code for considerations of compensation to victims, both in terms of calling for international obligations of redistributive funding, and calling for integration within the existing UNFCCC framework for loss and damage.

	Funding: Code applied when the need for financial transfers from an international to a national level is stressed. Loss and Damage: Code applied when references are made to the UNFCCC mechanism for considerations of compensation to victims of climate change. This explicitly focuses on financial loss, rather than the decision to move. However, this is conceived at a national level, with international support being mainly in capacity building for developing such policies in a domestic context, rather than providing additional funding.
Internally Displaced Persons	Code for the level of focus of key sentences in the documents, either on internally displaced persons, or on cross-border refugees.
National Adaptation Plans	Code for references to National Adaptation Plans (NAPs) as policy instruments to govern climate refugees. NAPs are long-term plans that have developed out of the process revolving around National Adaptation Plans for Action, that were submitted up to the COP15 meeting, and addressed short-term adaptation needs (Warner et al. 2015).
New Legal Framework	Code for proposed new legal instruments at an international level, whether these are hard-law instruments or soft law mechanisms.
Uncertainty	A general code for those documents emphasizing uncertainty. This is added based on the literature review of climate refugee discussions, as well as the literature of professions, to capture the extent to which documents seek to stress either consensus or controversy within the relevant scientific or policy domains.

Table 6: Code absence/presence matrix.

	Adaptation	Conflict Driver	Cross-Border Refugees	Climate Refugees	International Funding	Loss and Damage	Internally Displaced Persons	National Adaptation Plan	New Legal Framework	Resilience	Type 1 - Extreme / Disaster	Type 2 - Long-Term / Slow-Onset	Uncertainty
UNHCR		x	x	x			x				x	x	x
NAP-SUBMISSION	x					x		x		x			
IOM Info Sheet	x									x	x	x	
PENINSULA					x	x	x	x	x	x			
NANSEN	x		x		x*		x	x		x	x		x
COP21	x		x		x	x	x			x	x	x	
IOM Dialogue	x		x			x	x	x		x*	x	x	x

The resulting coding matrix is reproduced in Table 6 where weakly weighted codes are represented as x*. Each code is shown in the matrix as present as long as it is applied to the document at least once.

A number of general trends are discernible. Signs of both an emerging consensus on some topics as well as sustained controversy about technical knowledge and policy proposals are evident. In this regards, the Peninsula Principles provide a helpful contrast to the other documents in outlining "the road not taken" on a number of dimensions.

Firstly, only the Peninsula Principles call for a new legal framework. The other documents strongly emphasize a need to work within existing legal frameworks and institutions. This has been a consistent feature in the debate. For instance the 2012 IOM Dialogue on Migration states that "*As a starting point, it was suggested that policymakers should make full use of all existing bodies of laws and instruments, both hard and soft law…"*(International Organisation for Migration 2012:11). This stands in contrast to the widespread opinion, which originally prompted the creation of the Nansen Initiative, that existing legal refugee frameworks and the principles on internal displacement do not adequately cover CDPs.

Secondly, while most documents cover both the prospect of increased disaster frequency and intensity as well as slow-onset environmental degradation, disaster-induced displacement is prioritized in general, and in the Nansen Protection Agenda draft in particular. This affirms a general legal perception that slow-onset displacement is currently not being dealt with (Nishimura 2015:113). While the Peninsula Principles are written as a legal document without prejudice to the causes of displacement, the focus on housing policies and land-based redistribution underlines a focus on slow-onset displacement that also represents a fundamentally different approach than the other documents.

Thirdly, in contrast to the Peninsula Principles, key policy documents (IOM, NANSEN, and UNHCR) emphasize a number of dimensions of uncertainty regarding the topic at hand. This uncertainty takes many forms, but falls within two categories that follow the natural/social science distinction laid out in the introduction. The first concerns a methodological difficulty of establishing causality between environmental changes and migration, for example: "*Environmental migration, like all migration, is a multi-causal phenomenon. There are no simple causal relationships between the environment and migration.*" (International Organisation for Migration 2012:10). This stands in marked contrast to the maximalist school of thought outlined above, where natural scientists link key climate forecasts to relatively deterministic models of human migration. Following the network analysis, this helps

underline the importance of social scientists and lawyers in the network, with few natural scientists represented in policy domains. Beyond this uncertainty about causality, papers by Kälin (2015) and Gemenne (2011) directly discuss the importance of the level of temperature increases for considering migratory patterns. Thus, much of the discussion of uncertainty in the documents is linked to the UNFCCC's 2-degree target. If warming exceeds this level, it is recognized that migration is likely to be widespread and more clearly attributable to climate change.

The second category of uncertainty is explicitly legal in scope, and concerns the nature of choices made by individual migrants and their states. A representative example is:
"Environmental migration is multifaceted: it can be internal, regional or international, temporary or permanent, forced, voluntary or a mix of those characteristics. The blurred distinction between forced and voluntary migration was mentioned repeatedly at the workshop." (International Organisation for Migration 2012:10). Thus, here uncertainty is raised regarding the speed at which potential migrants ultimately decide to leave, whether they will cross borders, and whether the migration is prompted by government intervention. Left unsaid is that many of the policy professionals and academics putting these statements forth are not impartial observers, but rather play a crucial role in the network where these categories are contested, where standards for planned relocations are drawn up, and where best practices are disseminated. The causes of this insistency on uncertainty, as well as its consequences, are discussed below. For now, it is important to note that most documents call for new institutional solutions to measuring displacement, for instance advocating for increased support for the IDMC (The Nansen Initiative 2015a:39).

Perhaps the most crucial difference between the documents is the question of funding. As noted above, the documents emphasize the potential for links to existing knowledge bases, capacity building, disaster risk reduction and the need to build up national plans for allowing migration. Significantly, left unsaid is that most of these suggestions carry substantial financial burdens for the countries affected. This is especially due to long-term migration due to slow-onset environmental degradation being linked to the erosion of livelihoods, which particularly in least-developed countries would coincide with a reduction in economic growth. Only three documents have the international funding code, thus explicitly targeting the need for financial transfers to build up capacity for managing migrants, either in

combination with or beyond funds already committed under the UNFCCC process and by private initiatives. However, the Nansen Protection Agenda has only been weakly coded, as the issue is only briefly mentioned among a host of other suggestions (The Nansen Initiative 2015a:36), and with little substance beyond a reference to the UNFCCC process and the World Bank. Furthermore, funding is considered in the chapter on displacement, rather than those discussing reduction of vulnerability, implying that no further funds would be forthcoming to enhance resilience (The Nansen Initiative 2015a:10). The COP21 submission, being aimed directly at the UNFCCC participants, is more concrete and calls directly for the inclusion of migration as grounds for receiving adaptation funding from the relevant mechanisms under the UNFCCC (Advisory Group on Climate Change and Human Mobility 2015:3). However, this mention of funding is most likely a result of funding being part of the purview of the UNFCCC process, whereas migration is not. In general, there is a much bigger focus on the loss and damage dimension, which does not come with fiscal transfers from the international society. Indeed, the Advisory Group submission suggests that the word "compensation" is taken out of the UNFCCC draft text (Ibid.), thus favouring the lack of new obligations in this area. This stands in marked contrast to the Peninsula Principles, where Principle 8 includes an obligation for the international society and developed countries to assist financially and in terms of providing expertise. Similarly, while the loss and damage process is essentially technical, the Peninsula Principles follow a rights-based approach, where Principle 16 provides an obligation for the home state to provide remedies and compensation. Therefore, both regarding proposed international obligations and concerning financial transfers, as well as the strong language in relation to the loss and damage dimension, the Peninsula Principles provide a useful benchmark against which to test the other documents on this dimension.

It is worth dwelling shortly on the Draft Agenda in particular, as it is the newest and most comprehensive suggestion for a policy framework. The lack of a call for a new legal framework and the weak emphasis of international funding needs have been noted above. Interestingly, the fact that internally displaced persons and considerations of adaptation are key parts of the Agenda suggests a degree of mission creep beyond the Nansen Initiative's stated focus on disasters and cross-border displacement. While the Agenda does use the word slow-onset, this is used to refer to climate change implying more frequent disasters, rather than the gradual loss of livelihoods. Thus, the slow-onset code

is not applied, implying a coherence with the original mandate of the Nansen Initiative, at least in this regard. Crucially, the Draft Agenda strongly flags uncertainty, and recommends a range of new institutional solutions to address lacunae in knowledge, including the tracking of displacement. Discussed in more detail below, the document generally reads as a plea for a continuance of the collaboration at an international level, which is threatened by the expiration of the Nansen Initiative at the end of 2015. One highly significant statement that is not coded for is the Nansen Initiative's insistence in point 8 of its key messages that *"States have the primary responsibility to prevent disaster displacement, and to protect as well as find durable solutions for their internally displaced persons …"* (The Nansen Initiative 2015a:8). To a certain extent, this may be read as the opposite of the "new legal framework" code, which would likely shift at least some responsibility to an international level. Thus, the content analysis provides the necessary context for linking the network position of actors to the substantive policy suggestions in the network. The following discussion builds on this data to consider the ecologies that are emerging to govern CDPs.

Discussion

In the analysis, the network contesting CDP governance has been examined and linked to key substantive policy discussions, but without a broader discussion of key findings. This discussion takes up a number of topics related to the analysis, linking this to Abbott's theoretical perspective, to show how the dynamics of issue control operate via professional channels. Furthermore, this section engages substantively with the emerging linked ecologies, showing how the strategies of individual professionals and their related ecologies translate into current and future policy. The structure of the discussion revolves around different levels of analysis. The first section focuses on the role of individual professionals at a micro level. The second section moves towards a consideration of the linked ecologies evident in the network as a whole. A sub-section then dwells on the Nansen Initiative and its role in orchestrating the knowledge of the network. Finally, a critique of the emerging linked ecologies is undertaken, focusing on the normative implications of the current network structure and policy suggestions.

The Peninsula Principles and individual professionals in linked ecologies

This section begins the discussion not by examining the centre, but rather a very interesting point in the periphery. Scott Leckie is interesting because he has made a number of strategic moves, and is therefore not in any way a passive player, in contrast to academics in the network with few publications and rare public interventions. Nevertheless, Leckie has not achieved a central network position, nor seen much support for his proposed policy solution. Leckie is in a sense an unsuccessful norm entrepreneur of the sort that Carpenter (2007a:117) suggests need studying, and the resulting lack of inclusion within the linked ecology underlines the contingent professional dynamics that Abbott's framework helps conceptualize.

Leckie is therefore an interesting figure in terms of discussing professional logics in governing CDPs. An experienced human rights lawyer and development specialist, he is now head of a non-profit initiative called Displacement Solutions in Geneva, with special expertise in aiding refugee return, especially with regards to housing solutions. He is the main driving force behind the Peninsula Principles, a 2013 proposal for a soft-law instrument that would focus on people displaced by climate change without leaving their countries. That is, Leckie is a strong proponent of moving towards internal displacement, matching the views of Gemenne, as well as many of the Nansen Initiative regional consultations and findings by the UNU-EHS. In other words, Leckie's ideas have a strong fit with the evaluative norms (Goldstein and Keohane 1993) recognized by key actors in the organizational network around CDPs, and a congruence with the types of abstract academic knowledge produced by key nodes in the network.

Nevertheless, Leckie remains at the periphery of the network. The Peninsula Principles are not recognized even as an effective soft-law instrument, which Leckie laments in a recent article (Leckie and Simperingham 2015). Focusing on Leckie's agency illustrates well the emerging contours of the linked ecologies contesting climate refugees. First, Leckie's position within the professional-organizational network provides key insights. Leckie might conceivably act as a hinge. He is an experienced civil servant with a flair for articulating abstract knowledge rooted in practical experiences found in development situations, and has an academic and organizational CV to prove this. Therefore, whenever knowledge contestation is ongoing, Leckie can provide legitimacy to diagnoses and proposed

solutions. On the other hand, Leckie can use this knowledge to create new organizational ties to obtain financial and social capital, while attempting to change the terms of the debate. For instance, given the focus of Displacement Solutions on housing solutions (Leckie 2014), this would be an obvious boundary to attempt to yoke into the broader climate refugee ecology.

From the content analysis, four lines of argument sets Leckie apart from the network, and leads to a failure to become a hinge. Firstly, there is no focus on the uncertainty that a number of the other documents emphasize. The Peninsula Principles rest on a recognition that climate displacement is identifiable, and is already happening. Secondly, Leckie emphasizes the long-term loss of livelihoods and its relation to internal displacement, rather than focusing on disasters or cross-border displacement. Thirdly, Leckie stresses international funding and an approach based on rights. Thus, while not creating hard-law obligations, the Principles would establish at least an ethical recognition that the problem is essentially caused by developed countries. This leads to the fourth and major difference, namely that the Peninsula Principles are a new soft-law framework that would require acceptance by states, and create an expectation of action. Implicitly, this rests on a critique of the existing process including the Nansen Agenda, and thus contains a poignant critique of the lacunae surrounding funding and legal rights of the displaced identified above. Thus, Leckie seems to draw the argument to a point where other actors are no longer comfortable given their professional interests and organizational standing. As Abbott recognizes, this is similar to the difficulty of maintaining robust action in social networks, where closing off potential alliances can be detrimental to an actor's status. For a hinge strategy to work, both sides must have something to gain. Instead, the network's policy prescriptions and diagnoses have moved in a direction where Leckie can no longer be useful. Following White (1992), the professional identity of Leckie in this social setting does not reflect the rules of style and deference needed to operate within the emerging and fragile field on CDPs. His solutions are too utopian, and therefore do not resonate with the existing ecologies in a manner where both sides stand to gain. Leckie thus illustrates how professional networks narrows policy space. This provides hints for the dynamics studied in the next section, which examines the ecologies in the network and how these are linked.

The emerging linked ecologies on climate refugees

This section proposes a mapping on the current linked ecologies on climate refugees. It does so in two ways. First, informed by the network analysis, three distinct ecologies are proposed, and the strategies applied by actors and organizations are discussed. Secondly, informed by the content analysis, a substantive account of the current international state of affairs around CDPs is presented, to show how the linked ecologies have shaped policy suggestions. In a sub-section, the Nansen Initiative is singled out for analysis, as the organization provides both empirical and theoretical insights as an example of a boundary organization that links disparate agendas and attempts to exercise issue control. The Initiative provides key insights into the path of future policy. The final section of this thesis picks up these themes, but applies a more critical lens to the emerging ecologies, focusing on the issue dimensions that are organized out of the network, and the implications for the legitimacy and efficiency of future policy.

To begin conceptualizing the various ecologies involved in the complex construction of climate refugees, it is useful to consider Abbott's original description of what professionals actually do in ordinary activities, where issue distribution among professionals' turfs is relatively stable. Abbott described three modalities of action: diagnosis, inference, and treatment (Abbott 1988:40). This is essentially the process of considering a problem, inferring the correct treatment by using a classification system and then suggesting a treatment. However, this applies equally to professionals within the social sphere and can be used to conceptualize different approaches within a given issue area. However, as Carpenter (2007a) points out with regards to advocacy networks, issues that span multiple networks can lead to framing disputes, which disrupt coalition building. Thus, in Abbott's terms, professional differences in diagnosis and inference lead to different treatment suggestions, inhibiting agreement on the common frames that are so important for international issue emergence. The ecologies are therefore not determined by a single dimension, such as educational background, but rather these actors' ways of proposing solutions to the issue, as well as the anchoring of such solutions within particular organizational logics.

To begin with, there is a clear split regarding the question of diagnosis. The extent to which there is a problem of climate displacement, whether this will be a major issue in the future, and how these link to

either natural science or social science based explanations are an important first step. It is immediately clear that natural scientists are generally underrepresented in the network. As an example, among the most well connected nodes, Warner holds a Ph.D. in Economics, while Gemenne holds a Ph.D. in Political Science. In general, most nodes come from a social science background in a nexus between economics, political science (with a focus on development studies), and law. Among the top nodes, there are no actors with an educational background in the natural sciences, for instance in engineering, hydrology or agronomy as might be expected in regards to problems of increased storm strength, sea-level rise, and desertification.

Within the social sciences, three ecologies are discernible. In Appendix 4, each actor is colour coded in the network based on her ecological association. The first and smallest of the ecologies will be called the legal ecology, which is related to a background in law and a legalistic style of argument different from other academics in the network. While most of the network's members of this ecology have consulted for or operated within networks of formal organizations, they are not employed by them on a full time basis. Thus, the legal ecology is found within think tanks and academia focusing on legal issues, rather than within research institutions such as MECLEP and KNOMAD focusing on individual case studies or migration forecasting. Examples of the legal ecology are McAdam and Wood who are situated at universities, but have consulted for IOs, as well as Corondea who links legal arguments to development policy work in the World Bank. Schrepfer is also interesting from a professional perspective as a hinge between NGOs and IOs, acting as a legal advisor for the Norwegian Refugee Council and the UNHCR simultaneously, although the work in the UNHCR is not directly related to climate displacement. A large number of legal scholars beyond those in the network have written proposals for new hard and soft law instruments to deal with climate change (Hodgkinson et al. 2010), but the ecology's presence in the network is ensured by only a small group of people. This may reflect similar dynamics as in the example of Leckie. For instance, McAdam has been a vocal proponent of a restrictive reading of legal obligations towards CDPs (McAdam 2012), partly motivated by the desire to defend threatened refugee protection laws in Australia. In terms of linked ecologies, there is therefore some indication that inclusion in the network of legal experts is dependent on the acceptance of a position that no new treaties are forthcoming, and that current international law prescribes a restrictive stance towards CDPs (Hall 2013). McAdam thus serves an important role as a hinge between

a legal ecology and IOs, which is reflected in the high centrality measure values in the network analysis. While not necessarily predetermining the diagnosis, working within legal constraints imposes clear restrictions on possible inferences and treatment proposals. For instance, while attempting to engage states towards recognition of the CDP issue, the Nansen Initiative's stated focus on disaster-induced cross-border replacement naturally limits the proposals that the organization can put forth, and the types of legal input that can be accepted. While small, the legal ecology therefore provides a particular type of legalistic knowledge to the network, and is particularly exemplary of the selection of a particular line of argument for inclusion within the linked ecologies.

The second ecology is academic. This is a relatively large part of the network and denotes both a formal association to research universities as well as a particular form of treatment and diagnosis. Whereas the legal ecology works within existing legal frameworks, attempting to conceptualize climate migration within these constraints, academics work within other social scientific research fields using relevant methods and knowledge bases. Warner, Gemenne and Martin all provide good examples of this. Warner's formal association at the UNU-EHS differs substantially from traditional research universities in an explicit policy focus, but operates with academic methodologies, producing research papers as output and backed up by academically sound and data-informed conclusions. Indeed, it is exactly this claim to abstract and disinterested knowledge that lets Warner function as an epistemic arbiter. For instance, while the documents studied from the IOM and the UNHCR cite practical experiences in dealing with refugees, Warner's research projects build on a significant body of statistical data on migratory patterns and weather conditions, as well as amply documented qualitative data collection from affected regions. Gemenne's approach is similar, but leans towards a qualitative and almost anthropological approach to the regions studied. This focus on replicability and transparency, with little focus on organizational setups or legal frameworks governing the studied regions, sets the academic ecology apart. The academic ecology also eagerly draws on related fields of knowledge, exemplified by Martin's reputation for careful studies of a large variety of migratory patterns over multiple decades, which can then be applied to the new problems posed by climate change. Organizationally, this ecology is represented in the UNU-EHS, the Brookings-LSE Project, the research institutions related to Sciences Po, as well as the COST action providing funding for networking activities.

The third ecology consists of practitioners, often with either an educational or a practical background in development or diplomacy. Members of this ecology are usually employed directly by organizations on a fixed basis, exemplified by Aghazarm, Chapuisat, Franck and Ionesco, as well as Kälin and Swing as heads of IOs. Practitioners provide important links to key audiences, which is evidenced by the fact that most significant policy work coded in the content analysis was published and funded by the IOM, the UNHCR, and the Nansen Initiative. The same goes for the planning and organizational anchoring of many of the coded events. In particular, practitioners hold key roles in the Nansen Initiative and its activities as studied below. This ecology contains the most recent hires, with most of the staff dedicated to CDP matters being hired during the last three years.

Building on these ecologies, the contribution of each to the current set of organizations and actors present in the linked ecology on CDPs can be discerned. Three major conclusions stand out. Firstly, from the practitioner side, an early allocation of task responsibility within and between IOs to deal with the issue is emerging. Marine Franck is a strong example of this, as a full-time employee in the UNHCR dealing only with the Nansen Initiative and other network organizations. Similar positions in the other organizations, as well as the prioritization of funds within their research divisions suggests that the issue has now been adopted at least in one form or another among the organizations in the network. The network is transnational and driven by the professional-organizational network, rather than international and state-led. The inclusion of CDPs within the state-led Cancun Framework, and in the draft text to the upcoming international COP21 negotiations was at least partly the result of inter-network advocacy by these organizations, including through participation in the UN Inter-Agency Standing Committee's work on Internally Displaced Persons (The Brookings Institution 2010). Similarly, as discussed below, the Nansen Initiative has clearly required a substantial investment of time and financial resources. Thus, following Carpenter a form of norm around CDPs has emerged, after being through a process of definition and adoption by these organizations. However, following Abbott this requires a substantive account translating network structure into concrete outcomes due to particular allocations of turf within the linked ecology.

Within the legal ecology, the key actors have played an important role in anchoring the networks' role within existing legal frameworks, which do not feature climate-displaced persons as a category nor provide legal protection for those who end up crossing borders. This is one the most striking features on the content analysis, where no document except for the Peninsula Principles suggest new legal frameworks, nor substantial modifications to e.g. the refugee convention, as suggested by other scholars (Lister 2014). Furthermore, legal scholars outside the network have also suggested binding principles of solidarity and enshrining the issue of environmental migration in the UNFCCC's key guiding principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities" (Prieur 2010). Such views and proposals are not represented in the network. On the other hand, much work has been done on recognizing internally displaced persons, attempting to link the emerging climate displacement issue to the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement. Legal scholars have thus considerably narrowed the range of potential solutions by emphasizing only what is possible within existing international law.

This leads directly to the academic ecology, where throughout the sampling period, the key academic actors in the network have slowly been converging towards a common vocabulary and a set of key conclusions. The content analysis shows convergence towards an emphasis on the contingency of findings, the complexity of climate change and the importance of social conditions in disaster-prone areas. Thus, moving towards consensus in this case implies a dramatic increase in complexity. Shwed and Bearman (2010) provide useful concepts for analysing the academic ecology's arguments in the studied period. The authors suggest two key aspects of the maturation of a scientific consensus. One is the establishment of scientific sub-fields, special areas of inquiry that become associated with particular scholars and research institutions. This is one of the most striking findings in the network analysis, as scholars with different methodologies and backgrounds have come together to study the issue of CDPs. Significantly, case studies have proliferated, as evidenced by the recent issue 49 of the Forced Migration Review on disaster and displacement due to climate change, which presents conclusions of studies performed in a wide number of vulnerable areas. Therefore, sub-ecologies are evolving both around particular geographical areas of study, as well as different modelling tools, and studied types of migration. This suggests a maturing field, which is also the general conclusion of one observer at a recent academic conference at Durham University under the COST action (Kelman 2015b). However, the authors also state that there is a clear difference between ordinary contestation of scientific

narratives, including the creation of specializations, and the final phase of black boxing conclusions. At this point, when a scientific consensus has been reached, the scientific process takes a backstage, and the conclusions are left to stand, for instance when we say that smoking causes cancer, without explaining the exact biological mechanisms by which this takes place. It is clear from the content analysis that this is not the case for CDPs, where the scaffolding around the arguments is still intact and visible. Indeed the debate resembles the cyclical pattern outlined by Shwed and Berman who, following Abbott, state that some scientific fields function in a manner where *"... similar questions are revisited without stable closure"* (2010:818) with *"... a constant return to initial states."* (Ibid.:835). This is evidenced by the debates about types of migration and attribution of causality being very similar to writings in the 1990's (Morrissey 2012). As Sending (Forthcoming) suggests, the lack of convergence around universal and abstract knowledge is a distinctive feature of scientific fields around humanitarian work, which instead emphasizes local and context specific knowledge. This is a key trend in the studied documents and statements, where uncertainty is often linked to in-depth work on particular disaster-prone regions and migratory patterns, staking out the superiority of knowledge generated by context specific case studies rather than universal explanations and modelling techniques, as used in the original natural-scientific estimates of CDPs.

Consequently, climate change moves from the centre stage to being one of many explanations. Because of this, professional interactions in the issue definition phase may stand in the way of successful campaigning, as Keck and Sikkink (1998) showed that advocacy networks select issues with a short causal chain, and where responsibility for injustice is evident. By stressing multi-causality and complexity, and warning against universal conclusions, the network has created an issue definition that complicates campaigning, raising the possibility that inter-network politics has made CDP campaigning a "lost cause" (Carpenter 2014). This is reflected in the lack of central NGO nodes in the network. This is in contrast to e.g. the Peninsula Principles that are written with substantial input from NGO's and which shorten the causal chain. Combined with the stated disavowal of new treaty instruments, the professional-organizational network has thus succeeded in maintaining issue control of a policy process that has substantial potential for building a set of best practices and facilitating knowledge sharing, but that looks very different from the activist tendencies of CDP proponents in the 1990's. The next section

examines the Nansen Initiative as an organizing force in the network, and shows how this key organization of practitioners started to coalesce around the CDP cause.

The Nansen Initiative as a boundary organization

This section addresses the role of the crucial Nansen Initiative, applying a new theoretical concept of boundary organizations, which is emerging within studies of professionalism that seeks to apply the insights of this approach while engaging with regime complex theory. Morin et al. (Forthcoming) suggest, following Carpenter's focus on inter-network politics, that regime complexes either tend toward a positive equilibrium of bringing in multiple sources of knowledge, or towards a negative equilibrium of duplication of effort and forum shopping. The authors suggest that professionals serve a crucial function in managing knowledge in a constructive manner. Concretely, this tends to take place in boundary organizations, which are institutionalized forms of interaction serving to integrate and manage knowledge flows within the network. This is closely linked to the notion of orchestration within regime complex theory (Abbott 2012), but focuses narrowly on knowledge management rather than on a broader range of coordinating roles. The methodology used by the authors fit well with that applied in this thesis, in that both co-membership and co-participation are seen as indicators of the extent to which the network is successfully integrated. Following the professionalism approach, the authors suggest that this allows for studies of the epistemic representativeness of the network, where particular epistemologies can be either peripheral or central to the network. Thus, the approach eschews a functionalist reading of regime complexes, and rather emphasises the political and contested background of network structure, an aspect which is often left out of discussions based on regime theory (Alter and Meunier 2009; Pattberg and Widerberg 2015:695). This further complements scholars criticizing arguments that link environmental research and policy proposals in a linear manner, where scientific arguments are separate from policy (Beck 2011). Critics (Morin and Oberthür 2013) point out that politics and knowledge is often intertwined, with each field trying to influence the other, and with research priorities shifting based on political priorities. This also implies that more knowledge does not necessarily make political arguments simpler, as is evident in the debate on climate scepticism, and as indicated in the content analysis with the heavy focus on uncertainty. Boundary organizations attempt to manage this interface between science and policy.

The Nansen Initiative has come to serve this function within the CDP network, which provides hints about future policy, as well as raising questions about network effectiveness when the Initiative's mandate runs out at the end of 2015. Because boundary organizations must be inclusive, the Nansen Initiative features a relatively small staff in its central secretariat, but integrates a wide range of experts and practitioners in its Consultative Committee, and provides a central repository for both region-specific and general knowledge about CDPs. One key indicator of the organization's desire to be a central hub is the permanent membership of the UNHCR and the IOM since the beginning, thus seeking to include key organizations rather than to contest their turf. This also shows in the fact that while Kälin is active in the event network and generally in media coverage of the issue, the Initiative takes great care to emphasize uncertainty and highlight the role of regional consultations as sources of knowledge. That the Initiative seems able to speak on behalf of the representatives participating in these consultations is a sign of its success as a boundary organization. In fact, if a list of participants in regional consultations had been available, and included in the network analysis, the centrality of key Nansen Initiative actors would have been even more pronounced. The orchestration role is reflected in the Draft Protection Agenda, which calls for a wide range of organizations to help govern the area going forward. To some extent, the document is also an example of mission creep, as the initial cross-border displacement focus of the Initiative has come to encompass a wide range of policy options to address also resilience measures to decrease vulnerability in the first place as well as including internally displaced persons. As the practitioner ecology has grown, in particular with the appointment of Franck as Nansen Initiative liaison in the UNHCR, and with the scaling up of activities within the IOM, these professionals have strongly supported the Nansen Initiative's efforts. Franck is also designated as a contact person for the Joint Submission to COP21 document coded above, showing both the importance of Franck in the network and the increased institutional adoption of the issue. A pivotal moment for the emergence of the current network structure seems to have been the UNHCR's failed attempt to obtain issue control via the Refugee Convention in 2011, with the subsequent shift also in the UNHCR to the narrative about multi-causality and the perceived futility of using the term "climate refugees". This follows a period where the UNHCR in general has been accused of overreaching its mandate, especially with regards to the inclusion of internally displaced persons (Hall 2013; McAdam 2013a). The creation of the Nansen Initiative in the same year came at an opportune time to contest issue control and to establish a central position within the network.

Substantively, the issue control exercised by the Nansen Initiative thus helps enhance the aura of complexity that surrounds the issue of CDPs, and actively uses this to argue against a new international framework. This is reflected e.g. in a FAQ published by the Initiative, where the authors reject even a soft-law instrument: "*Presently, there is not sufficient knowledge available to support a soft law instrument that would adequately reflect realities.*" (The Nansen Initiative 2015b:3). As Morin et al. find in their case study, this shows that even though the main role boundary organizations is to orchestrate inter-network cooperation, this does not imply that there are no normative implications for policy design. For instance, contrast the quote above with wordings in the summary of the original Nansen Conference in 2011: *"Risk management implies that uncertainty cannot be a barrier to action. Public policy decisions in other areas are taken under higher levels of uncertainty than exist over climate change science, impacts or policy choices."* (Norwegian Refugee Council 2011:7).

Another result is that the Nansen Initiative is aimed directly at states, thus helping to move the issue away from activism and campaigning and towards a less transparent policy process. The issue is therefore made less salient in the public debate, and the key output of the organization is the long and technical Draft Protection Agenda. It is also telling that, despite the breadth of regional consultation conclusions and general academic knowledge available at the Nansen Initiative website, there is no public list of consultative committee members to be used for the network analysis. Another interesting observation from the network analysis is that, of the myriad NGOs that could potentially be attached to the issue, only Ginnetti of the IDMC, which is funded by the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), is strongly represented. This illustrates how the network is organized around professional skills, in this case the methodological refugee tracking tools developed by Ginnetti, rather than experience with campaigning.

The Nansen Initiative will submit the Protection Agenda for a conference at the end of the year, hoping to gain support from state and regional parties for further work. After this, the organization will shut down. One curious example of the importance of preserving policy-relevant knowledge comes from the

website of the 2011 Nansen Conference[1], which held abstracts, video presentations and a conference programme. These are no longer available, as the domain has been taken over by a gambling website. Knowledge from this conference is therefore carried by individual professionals with few opportunities for public access. At a practical level, the Nansen Initiative seems aware of the challenges in maintaining policy cooperation, and calls for a more durable institutional arrangement to be created, that *"... will ideally build upon existing structures and mechanisms, rather than create new ones, to avoid duplication."* (The Nansen Initiative 2015a:V). Seen from the perspective of professional-organizational networks, the expiration of the Nansen Initiative is an interesting challenge for theory. On the one hand, this seems to imply a fracturing of the network, as key pathways going through Nansen Initiative events and membership in the Consultative Committee will disappear. On the other hand, as discussed above, the issue has now been adopted by a substantial number of the organizations linked to the Nansen Initiative, with full-time employees in both the IOM and the UNHCR dealing with this issue. The strongest example of this seems to be an internal re-organization of the IOM, with a new "*dedicated institutional structure within the organization, tasked with leading IOM's work on migration, environment and climate change ..."* (International Organisation for Migration 2015a:2) established on 1 January 2015 and headed by Dina Ionesco. Furthermore, the IOM is working on the MECLEP academic project with EU funding to support this work. This project includes a focus on alleviating the paucity of knowledge about climate displacement in Asian countries, where most existing displacement has occurred (Swing 2015). Notably, Gemenne is one of the managers of the project, thus maintaining a key role as a hinge between the practitioner ecology and the academic ecology in the network going forward. The project has an online portal collecting academic articles and policy briefs, and provides training to local and regional entities tasked with alleviating climate migration problems.

Thus, the IOM seems to be the emerging centre for most work going forward. The organizational network underlines this point, with a clear concentration of actors around the IOM. Most significantly, this implies that much work will remain outside the UN system, which the IOM is not regarded as a part of. In general, the IOM is connected to a shift towards bilateral, rather than multilateral migration

[1] See http://www.nansenconference.no/

arrangements (Betts 2010b). Here, the IOM serves as an expert body and an intermediary between receiving states and the home states of migrant. Critics have blamed this bilateral form of negotiation for a general move towards more restrictive migration arrangements. Thus, when Carpenter (2007a) states that an important element of the issue definition phase is exactly the constitution of a problem as international in nature, the key organization poised to take over from the Nansen Initiative as the centre of the network has traditionally tended to eschew additional international cooperation. This shows that jurisdictional battles by professionals have significant policy implications, with consequences for the implementation of key rights and responsibilities. To discuss these policy implications, the next section takes a critical approach to the emerging ecologies governing CDPs, considering among other aspects this shift away from seeking a solution at an international level.

Normative implications for future governance

This section presents critical reflections on the emerging linked ecologies and the proposed policy solutions. Three critiques are raised, which provide potential questions for further research. First, the network structure is considered, focusing on the types of relations that are absent in the network, which could have added legitimacy or enabled additional action within the network. Secondly, building on this, a critique is raised against the dominant framings around solutions at a national level revolving around resilience and internal displacement, but without new allocations of funding and other resources. Finally, this section concludes with a consideration of the lack of substantial policy proposals at an international level.

The network analysis helps show the current relations in the professional-organizational network, but it is helpful to consider a number of counterfactuals, and consider the organizations and actors that are not present in the network. Such an exercise is underpinned by participants in the initial coordinating work on CDPs before the period studied in this thesis, and before the crucial UNFCCC COP15 meeting in Copenhagen. While some actors and organizations overlap, the diversity of organizations involved at that stage differs substantially from the network analysed above (Inter-Agency Standing Committee 2009). For instance, given the increasing linkages between climate change and health issues that are strongly documented in a recent Lancet Commission report (Watts et al. 2015), and given the importance of livelihoods for the decision to migrate, one could expect the World Health Organization

to be a member of the network. Indeed, the Lancet Commission states a need for increased funding for alleviating health concerns due to climate change, implying that the CDP network ought to be able to benefit from integrating mobility concerns into fund raising efforts by other ecologies. However, neither the WHO nor academic researchers on climate and health are found in the CDP network. Another IO that could be relevant, but is not represented in the network analysis is the International Labour Organization. This seems like another missed opportunity for issue linkages, as labour mobility with its potential for raising incomes and providing remittance flows is one potential part of a solution. Perhaps such missing links can explain why some members of the network find it difficult to engage with policymakers (Ferris 2015).

Perhaps more crucially, as noted in the content analysis, relatively few documents make clear references to funding needs, beyond ambiguous reference to the Loss and Damage mechanism. This is directly reflected in the network, with the absence of representatives for both public (the Global Climate Fund and the Adaptation Fund being most obvious) and private (insurance, foundations) sources of funding, and with weak representation of The World Bank. Thus, while e.g. the Nansen Protection Agenda contains a few short references for the need to integrate mobility within funding proposals, the professionals involved in the issue definition are not actively linked to professionals in the relevant funding organizations. Interestingly, Warner has previously been a part of defining the loss and damage mechanism (Warner et al. 2012), thus suggesting one explanation for the prominence of references to this particular instrument, rather than general funding considerations. Importantly, this suggests that funding is not immediately forthcoming to deal with this issue. This discussion is not theoretical, as indicated by the Nepalese government's call on behalf of the Least Developed Countries Group (Least Developed Countries Group 2014) for a fully funded climate displacement facility based on principles of compensation for past emissions. As pointed out by Kelman (2015:138), the Adaptation Fund in particular has rejected previous applications for funding migration policies. Thus, creating ties to such organizations could be instrumental in enhancing the efficiency of the issue network. The United Nations Development Programme could also be expected to be a central actor, as it is actively involved in promoting resilience projects (Betts 2015). This is even more crucial as preliminary studies suggest that the volume of funding flows to developing countries is weighted towards carbon mitigation rather than adaptation, with adaptation projects also being significantly

smaller in scale (Afful-Koomson 2014). Combined with studies showing that adaptation funding is generally insufficient and based on sources of funding with uncertain cash-flows (Ackerman 2009; Flåm and Skjærseth 2009), this suggests that migration concerns are unlikely to receive the necessary level of funding for resilience to be enhanced as envisioned. Furthermore, critiques of the draft text of the Paris Agreement have aimed at the lack of funding for adaptation (King 2015), as well as the vague implications of loss and damage commitments (Kovach 2015). The lack of funding has led to an opinion among NGOs that national planning is significantly lacking in terms of expertise and investment (Thomas 2015b). Notably the IOM's Development Fund is only funded with $8 million, and supports only small projects to improve migration management (International Organisation for Migration 2015b).

The lack of additional funding to deal with migration issues reflects a more fundamental feature of the emerging policy consensus, namely that solutions are overwhelmingly to be found at national and potentially regional levels, and that, as the Nansen Initiative states *"The primary responsibility of States for preventing and responding to disaster displacement derives from their territorial sovereignty."* (The Nansen Initiative 2015a:IV). This is reproduced by professional conduct in the network, where expertise is overwhelmingly based on national case studies, and where one of the recommended courses of action is inclusion of migration within National Adaptation Plans. While the transfer of expertise and best practices for instance under the MECLEP project is presumably positive for the countries involved, this does suggest a normative tilt towards vulnerable states being asked to assume responsibility for boosting resilience. This has important implications, and rests on the questionable underlying assumption that *"… resilience implies that status quo is desirable."* (Pattberg and Widerberg 2015:702), a critique that has been raised across the field of adaptation studies, not just concerning CDPs. Thus, one NGO commenting on the Nansen Agenda has noted that it *"… does not go far enough in grounding the problem in under-development, weak governance, poor natural resource and land management, and poverty…"* which speaks to *"… the inability of governments to effectively protect them (and hence, the need for international protection)."* (Thomas 2015a). As noted above, the representation of central actors such as McAdam arguing for the necessity of a national response carries substantial explanatory power in explaining this type of outcome.

Karassin (2013) considers different models of risk governance in climate funding, and argues that climate funds are moving towards a "risk regulation" model with few normative elements, where IOs serve a monitoring function rather than redistributing resources or ensuring compensation to developing countries. This general point is especially relevant for the CDP debate given the finding in the content analysis that a number of key network participants favoured removing the word compensation in the submission to COP21. Thus, rather than recognizing historical responsibilities and corresponding liabilities of developed nations, the question of migration is subsumed within an adaptation frame that puts the onus on the individual migrant and her home country. Shifting the focus away from compensation and restitution in this way is also seen in other parts of the climate adaptation debate (Moore 2012), and moves the debate away from key principles of international law and the "common but differentiated responsibilities" principle of the climate change regime (Karassin 2013). Significantly, this comes after a period of heavy critique of developmental aid not leading to sufficient engagement with local and national NGOs and a concern over the lack of transparency associated with this funding (Redvers 2015). Furthermore, findings show that aid generally does not increase based on migration patterns, nor aim at easing migratory pressures in the first place (Runfola and Napier 2015), thus suggesting that current aid flows are unlikely to contribute substantially to national adaptation plans addressing migration. One of the most significant outcomes of this framing around risk regulation is that the definition of risk becomes extremely central, thus emphasizing the importance of considering professional issue definitions. By neglecting the development of a comprehensive framework for assigning historical responsibility, such risk assessments have tended to be based on discretionary choices based on opaque criteria set by individual donor countries. Funding has often replaced Official Development Assistance (ODA) rather than being additional to this income stream (Nakhooda et al. 2013) as originally envisioned. This often leads a politically motivated choice of recipient countries and projects by donors (Barnett 2005), rather than an assessment based on vulnerability (Rogerson 2005), contrary to the original intentions of adaptation funding. The outcome of the international Financing for Development 3 conference in July 2015 does little to ensure true additionality of climate funding (Doig 2015). This implies a risk of developed countries prioritizing projects that limit migration and rather aid refugees in "the region of origin" (Betts 2010b:28) through resilience-enhancing measures, rather than allowing migration across borders as a form of positive adaptation. Thus, borders end up being reinforced rather than opened, through the corresponding shift of

responsibility away from hard law instruments towards grey areas not covered by legislation, or that are governed by soft-law instruments of questionable efficiency like the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (GP10 Conference 2008). Indeed, the IOM itself has previously raised concerns over the reliance on soft law instruments (International Organisation for Migration 2012:33).

That there is no international treaty or soft law instrument forthcoming for a substantive reform of refugee flows, is the last and crucial critique of the emerging professional settlement on CDPs. While a frame of climate justice is commonly applied in terms of climate finance, analysts ought not to lose sight of the potential for positive cross-border migration policies, to provide relief for negatively affected countries, beyond that which can be offered via financial means. However, Paterson and Stripple (2007) argue that many climate policies ostensibly designed to reduce global inequalities in mitigating and adapting to climate change through international instruments in fact end up reproducing national boundaries and thereby national responsibility for solutions. This is for instance the case with carbon emissions measurement schemes, which are still overwhelmingly based on national indicators. The same goes for individual country submissions to the UNFCCC processes. As already shown, the Nansen Initiative document is clearly an example of this trend. The key organization in the network thus promotes an incremental policy in this respect, bordering on inaction. Thus, beyond the question of funding, the contingent and highly politicized nature of borders (Balibar 1988) and the "citizenship gap" (Brysk and Shafir 2004) which leaves some citizens mobile within the global economy and others stuck within their home countries is not truly questioned by the Protection Agenda or other proposals. Indeed, because of the multi-causality argument, the assignment of responsibility is diffused, and the need for an international treaty is downplayed. The argument that migration is a positive form of adaptation that requires increased mobility rarely mentions that this mobility stops at the border, and that current proposals do not fundamentally challenge this regime. Interestingly, in the process of writing this thesis, this argument seems to have gained acceptance with some actors in the network. Not surprisingly, Leckie criticizes the current debate for missing the actually existing migration that is already occurring with a need for community-based approaches (Leckie and Simperingham 2015). More interestingly is an article in the same journal by Gemenne, which presents a mea culpa for the move away from the "climate refugee" term, concluding that the scholarly community has led *"... policies take over politics."* (Gemenne 2015:71), and that *"By forgoing the term 'climate refugees' we*

had also de-politicized the reality of these migrants." (Ibid.). Gemenne's statements vindicate Harrington's (2015) point that individual professionals often manoeuvre based on improvisation, which in this case seems to have produced a technocratic discourse that at least one key professional is uncomfortable with. Furthermore, this also suggests a lack of consideration of moral questions within the network, similar to Morin et al. (Forthcoming), who find a lack of representation of moral and cultural engagement in their studied network. Epistemic cultures are thus not equally represented. The analysed professional network puts a premium on technical skills, legal insights and links to existing institutions, rather than on a reputation for representing the affected communities or representing the climate justice movement.

Similarly, a well-known issue within development studies is that those who are displaced are rarely heard (Malkki 1996) directly within policy discourse and rather have to speak through development experts (Sending Forthcoming). This imbalance is also recognizable in the CDP network, where the key actors are often the sole source of testimony on reasons for migrating or staying in place. When these actors present local case studies, the global context for environmental challenges is often absent, depriving those studied of a voice on political matters. This is an example of the persistent critique by NGOs that climate consultations are unrepresentative and fail to reflect concerns of affected communities (Karunungan 2015). Discourse reflects this, following findings that the language used by IOs is becoming increasingly *"... codified, self-referential and detached from everyday language"* (Moretti and Pestre 2015:76), which is exemplified by the use of terms such as resilience and loss and damage that contain few normative implications or policy prescriptions, but that fit into the style of a professional ecology. This issue is also found in other aspects of environmental governance, for instance in debates on desertification (Martello 2004). Within IR, this suggests that more attention needs to be drawn to how professionals help construct and contest categories of spatial inclusion and exclusion through contestation of knowledge claims.

Conclusion

This thesis has sought to provide an answer to the two-part research question: *"Who exercises issue control over climate displaced persons, and what does this imply for future policy?"*
Firstly, I set out to map the current state of issue control over climate-displaced persons, focusing on the individuals and organizations attempting to contest this crucial dimension of climate adaptation. Using social network analysis, a core network of professionals was identified. The network is centred on an academic research ecology, which is linked to legal scholars and practitioners in the UNHCR, the IOM, and the Nansen Initiative. The network analysis thus captured the actors who function as brokers between organizations. At this early stage of issue definition, these actors drive the policy process towards a potential compromise by contesting knowledge claims in organizational settings and at key events. The issue is being defined by anchoring knowledge and expertise in specific organizations and actors, where power is exercised in part by deciding which actors and arguments are either included in the network or kept out.

A general finding is that cooperation on the issue of climate migration is increasingly institutionalized. More personnel is being assigned or hired by IOs to contest this issue, and academic research is increasingly aimed at providing knowledge to underpin this process, for instance through the MECLEP project co-funded by the EU and the IOM. The emerging linked ecologies that define this issue revolves around a small set of international organisations, with little representation from NGOs, sources of climate finance, nor international development or health specialists. This suggests that the governance of refugees will increasingly be dominated by the UNHCR and the IOM, since these organizations are key points in the network. The IOM in particular seems poised to take over the role of being a boundary organization from the Nansen Initiative, helping to unite different forms of knowledge, and becoming an important broker within the network. The clustering of key actors around these organizations means that policy proposals will be put forth within the limitations of these organizations' mandates. This necessarily limits the set of policies that can be pursued going forward, in particular because the IOM and the UNHCR are commonly perceived as being overstretched and underfunded.

This type of mapping using social network analysis has not been attempted before in analyses of this issue. Given the conclusions reached about the absence of NGO and climate finance actors in the network as well as the emerging institutional division of labour in governing this issue, similar analyses ought to be repeated as more data becomes available, in particular at upcoming climate negotiation events. Data collection at the COP21 meeting in Paris in 2015 in particular can help shed light on future professional interactions in the network. Significantly, given that the crucial Nansen Initiative will present the conclusions of its work, and then shut down at the end of 2015, scholars of International Relations are provided with a real-time view of network resilience and reconstruction. Furthermore, a limitation of this thesis is the reliance on publicly available sources. Therefore, the network analysis could fruitfully be complemented by different types of data, including primary data. In particular, confirmation of network structure could be obtained through participant observation and interviews with network actors at the COP21 meeting, as well as at the World Humanitarian Summit in 2016. Similarly, interviews with peripheral actors in the network or those completely absent may grant insights into failed contestation of the emerging issue.

Secondly, to consider implications for future policy, the policy proposals put forth by professionals in the identified network were analysed. By examining these key documents, new insights were gained into the implications of network structure for future policy. Significantly, climate migration is no longer considered primarily as an issue of cross-border movement. Most migrants are expected to stay within their home countries, thus leading to a focus on linking climate migration to national plans of action, with a desire to prompt countries to accommodate migration as a positive form of adaptation. This argument has also been carried further, with network actors promoting frameworks for increasing resilience, thus attempting to avoid migration in the first place. One conclusion is that despite the focus on helping countries prepare for migration, the professional logics of the network do not include concrete proposals for funding, nor the proposal of new international agreements. The network thus does not promote solutions based on international legal responsibilities. Some actors have started to question these timid outcomes, and such renewed doubts may cause realignment of the network in the future. Policy work will presumably be dependent on the degree of success in ensuring that migration concerns are included in the final COP21 text.

Furthermore, a key feature of the content analysis is that documents strongly stress scientific uncertainty regarding the magnitude and types of migration flows, focusing instead on the multi-causality of climate displacement, and warning against generalizing country case studies to an international level. This constant emphasis on the lack of knowledge is uncharacteristic for most professional settings, which tend to be dominated by strong authoritative claims to knowledge. The lack of a straightforward definition makes the issue difficult to campaign on, hampering support by potential transnational advocacy networks, as causality and attribution of responsibility for harm becomes increasingly difficult to establish and describe. Thus, the accountability of developed countries for historical emissions is obscured. The network's absence of strong normative voices supports one key actor's claim that professional policy suggestions have shifted focus away from political struggles.

This thesis thus combines two complementary methods to study an under-theorized aspect of climate adaptation, which has so far not been studied systematically in IEP. The findings underline the importance of studying emerging policy issues, even if the eventually resulting norm is not yet clear or coherent. Concepts and theories from the literature on professional interactions help clarify the role of actors making knowledge claims and sheds light on the dynamics that create and sustain issue networks. Numerous theoretical questions remain that could be addressed in further research. Contestation at different levels of governance could be studied. Conclusions reached in this thesis about the network exercising issue control at an international level could be complemented by similar studies at regional or local levels. The everyday interactions of the professionals studied in this thesis with vulnerable local populations could be studied, as could interactions with government officials in these areas, helping to emphasize how professional choices about issue definitions and policy designs interact with local governance structures and cultures. Gender aspects could fruitfully be included at this stage, as vulnerability and access to policymakers in development contexts are often unequally distributed.

At the international level, further insights could also be gained by carrying out analyses on networks related to those found in this thesis, for instance networks discussing climate finance and the loss and damage concept within the UNFCCC. Uncovering professional dynamics within similar policy issues

may shed light e.g. on why loss and damage features prominently in the network studied here, while climate finance is absent. Analyses of the interaction of CDP policy with debates about private climate insurance schemes could provide insights into the lack of network presence of the private sector, indicating a lack of participation in providing solutions to climate displacement. Such additional work could fruitfully contribute to the study of climate displacement from within the theoretical frame of studying professionalism in defining and contesting transnational policy issues. In this thesis, this method has allowed a deeper analysis of knowledge contestation than that allowed by state-centred perspectives that traditionally dominate studies of IEP. More work could be done on how these dynamics fit within broader international environmental regimes. Linking the interactions of professionals back to state interests, including a focus on how government officials enable or constrain the interactions studied in this thesis, could provide insights into the prospects for future policy, and for relations of power. Providing such empirically grounded analyses that do not shy away from questioning emerging definitions and networks would be a strong way of countering the charge that political science has become silent on climate change adaptation.

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Appendix 1: Actor list

Note: All links accessed and verified as of 12. August 2015.

Name	**Role**
AFIFI, Tamer	Associate Academic Officer at the UNU-EHS https://www.linkedin.com/pub/tamer-afifi/9b/153/b5b http://migration.unu.edu/about/researchers/afifi#overview
AGHAZARM, Christine	Project Officer at the International Organization for Migration. https://ch.linkedin.com/pub/christine-aghazarm/6/3a7/6a4
BENDANDI, Barbara	Migration, Development and Environment Policy Officer at the International Organization for Migration. https://www.linkedin.com/pub/barbara-bendandi/3/990/342
BEYANI, Chaloka	Nonresident Senior Fellow at Brookings-LSE Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of Internally Displaced Persons, UN http://www.brookings.edu/experts/beyanic
BLOCHER, Julia	PhD Student at the University of Liège, under supervision by Francois Gemenne. Advisor for MECLEP. Research Assistant at Sciences Po. Former consultant at the IDMC and the UNHCR. https://www.linkedin.com/pub/julia-blocher/18/587/462
BONCOUR, Philippe	Head of the International Dialogue on Migration division at the IOM, publishing reports including papers on the link between migration and climate change. https://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/shared/shared/mainsite/microsites/IDM/workshops/managing_return_migration_042108/bio_boncour.htm
BRADLEY, Megan	Nonresident Fellow at Brookings-LSE http://www.brookings.edu/experts/bradleym
BRÜCKER, Pauline	Researcher at Sciences Po – IDDRI. Part of COST 1101 Working Group 2 on Law and Policy. http://www.sciencespo.fr/ceri/en/users/paulinebrucker
CASCONE, Noemi	Research Assistant at UNU-EHS focusing on "Climate Change and Environmentally Induced Migration" Researcher for the MECLEP project. http://ehs.unu.edu/experts/researchexperts/noemi-cascone.html

CERNA, Michael M.	Nonresident Senior Fellow at Brookings-LSE Former World Bank Senior Advisor – but no tie coded as quit the WB in 1997. http://www.brookings.edu/experts/cerneam More bio: http://web.mit.edu/cis/www/migration/dec05workshop/presentations/Cernea_New_Economics-of_Resettlement_ISSJ_2003.pdf
CHAPUISAT, Hannah Entwisle	Research and Partnerships Officer at the Nansen Initiative. http://www.nanseninitiative.org/secretariat/organizational-structure/secretariat/
CHAZALNOËL, Miriam Traore	Associate Expert on Migration, Environment and Climate Change at the International Organization for Migration. Part of the MECLEP Project. https://www.linkedin.com/pub/mariam-chazalnoel-traore/8/1b7/a97
COHEN, Roberta	Co-founder Brookings-LSE Former consultant to the UNHCR and the World Bank http://www.brookings.edu/experts/cohenr
CORONDEA, Cosmin	Associate Academic Officer / Legal Expert at UNU-EHS. Focuses on Climate Change and Migration. Reviewer for the IPCC. Working on legal policy in relation to climate change with the World Bank. http://ehs.unu.edu/experts/researchexperts/corendea-cosmin.html#profile
CORRERA, Elena	Former World Bank staffer. Specialist on social impact assessment and the management of development projects. Independent expert on developing guidance for the relocation of populations at risk of disasters. Biography – see participant list at Sendai Event.
CRISP, Jeff	Currently Senior Director for Policy and Advocacy at Refugees International Until 2013 Head of Policy Development and Evaluation Service at the UNHCR http://refugeesinternational.org/content/refugees-international-appoints-jeff-crisp-unhcr-lead-advocacy-team http://www.asyluminsight.com/jeff-crisp/
FERRIS, Elizabeth	Co-director Brookings-LSE http://www.brookings.edu/experts/ferrise
FLAVELL, Alex	Migration, Environment and Climate Change Consultant at the IOM. Part of the Newsletter Editorial Team for the IOM's Newsletter on Climate Migration. http://mac.iom.int/newsletters/issue46/

	http://www.upeace.nl/wp-content/uploads/Biography-Alex-Flavell.pdf
FRANCK, Marine	Climate Change Officer at the UNHCR. Supports collaboration with the Nansen Initiative. https://ch.linkedin.com/in/marinefranckprofilpublic/en https://twitter.com/marinefrk
GEEST, Kees Van der	Associate Academic Officer at UNU-EHS Focuses on Climate Change, Livelihood, and Migration http://ehs.unu.edu/experts/researchexperts/kees-van-der-geest.html#profile
GEMENNE, Francois	Researcher at Sciences Po – IDDRI. Expert on disaster risk management and reduction as well as climate and environmental migration. Consultant for the ADB and the IOM. Writes "The Atlas of Environmental Migration" series for the IOM. Head Researcher at MECLEP. Report funded by the UNHCR: http://www.unhcr.org/4da2b6189.pdf Linkedin: https://www.linkedin.com/pub/francois-gemenne/25/314/b43
GINNETTI, Justin	Senior Advisor at the IDMC working on internal displacement in the context of environmental change. Co-authored major report for the UNHCR and the Nansen Initiative. http://www.internal-displacement.org/about-us/staff/justin-ginnetti/ http://www.internal-displacement.org/publications/2015/disaster-related-displacement-risk-measuring-the-risk-and-addressing-its-drivers
IONESCO, Dina	Policy Officer at the International Organization for Migration dealing with International Cooperation and Partnerships in relation to migration and climate change. https://www.linkedin.com/pub/dina-ionesco/41/694/321
KÄLIN, Walter	Chairman of the Nansen Initiative. From 2004-2010 the Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General on Internally Displaced Persons. Old, but comprehensive bio: http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrc/membersCVs/kalin.htm Sendai statement: http://www.nanseninitiative.org/un-world-conference-on-disaster-risk-reduction-panelists-urge-negotiators-in-sendai-to-prominently-address-human-mobility-in-the-post-2015-framework/
KOSER, Khalid	Nonresident Senior Fellow at Brookings-LSE Chair, World Bank KNOMAD Thematic Working Group http://www.brookings.edu/experts/koserk
LACZKO, Frank	Head of the Migration Research Division at IOM https://www.iom.int/jahia/webdav/shared/shared/mainsite/microsites/IDM/worksh

	ops/climate-change-2011/bio_Laczko.htm https://www.linkedin.com/pub/frank-laczko/26/155/a8a
LECKIE, Scott	Executive Director of global NGO Displacement Solutions Co-Author of Major UNU-EHS Study http://displacementsolutions.org/about-ds/scott-leckie/
LEE, Sieun	Global project assistant at IOM Part of the MECLEP project. https://www.linkedin.com/profile/view?id=179629027 http://www.environmentalmigration.iom.int/
MARTIN, Susan	Professor of International Migration at Georgetown University. Member of the Academic Advisory Board of the International Organization for Migration. Chair of KNOMAD Working Group 11 on Environmental Change and Migration. http://explore.georgetown.edu/people/martinsf/
MCADAM, Jane	Researcher, Faculty of Law at University of New South Wales Member of the Consultative Committee of the Nansen Initiative Former advisor to the UNHCR http://www.brookings.edu/experts/mcadamj
MELDE, Susanne	Research and Policy Officer, Migration & Environment at IOM. Part of the MECLEP project. https://www.linkedin.com/pub/susanne-melde/aa/7aa/70b
MILAN, Andrea	Research Associate at UNU-EHS. Focuses on Climate Change and Migration. Researcher for a case study as part of MECLEP. https://www.linkedin.com/pub/andrea-milan/1a/112/a84 http://ehs.unu.edu/experts/researchexperts/andrea-milan.html#profile
MOKHNACH EVA, Daria	Project Officer – Migration, Environment, Climate Change at the IOM https://www.linkedin.com/pub/daria-mokhnacheva/10/36b/548
OAKES, Robert	Research Associate at UNU-EHS. Focuses on Climate Change and Migration, including agent-based modelling tools for studying this relationship. http://ehs.unu.edu/experts/researchexperts/robert-oakes.html
PIGUET, Etienne	Professor at the University of Neuchâtel focusing on migration and climate change. Book financed by the IOM.

	Review editor – Working Group 2 of the IPCC. http://www2.unine.ch/etienne.piguet
Rademacher-SCHULZ, Christina	Associate Academic Officer at UNU-EHS Researcher for the UNU Report on Migration, Displacement and Planned Relocation Manages section of the COST Action. http://migration.unu.edu/author/christina-rademacher-schulz
RIGAUD, Kanta Kumari	Lead environmental specialist at the World Bank. Co-chair of KNOMAD Working Group 11 on Environmental Change and Migration. http://www.worldbank.org/en/about/people/kanta-kumari-rigaud
SALMON, Daniel	Displacement Tracking Matrix Officer at the IOM, previously DRR / CCA Policy Officer focused on climate migration. Until April 2014 part of the Newsletter Editorial Team editing the migration and climate newsletter of the IOM. https://www.linkedin.com/pub/dan-salmon/26/799/985
SCHREPFER, Nina	Legal advisor at the UNHCR, Office of the Special Rapporteur on the human rights of IDPs. Legal advisor at the Norwegian Refugee Council / the IDMC, co-authoring report with Walter Kälin. https://www.linkedin.com/pub/nina-schrepfer/66/7b5/aab
SOLBERG, Atle	Head of the secretariat of the Nansen Initiative https://www.linkedin.com/pub/atle-solberg/33/830/298
SWING, William Lacy	Director-General of the International Organization for Migration.
THOMAS, Alice	Climate Displacement Program Manager at Refugees International. http://www.refintl.org/who-we-are/staff#alice
TÜRK, Volker	Director of International Protection during the sampling period, recently promoted to Assistant High Commissioner for Protection. Co-Author of UNHCR Report, present at the Nansen Conference in 2011 http://www.unhcr.org/54ddfa4a9.html
WAHLSTRÖM, Margareta	UN Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Disaster Risk Reduction Head of UNISDR Coded as linked to Nansen Initiative, as Wahlström was the chairperson of the founding Nansen Conference in 2011 – see event network. http://www.unisdr.org/who-we-are/srsg-drr
WARNER, Koko	Academic Officer at the UNU-EHS focusing on Climate Change and Human Mobility. Head of section of Environmental Migration, Social Vulnerability and

	Adaptation. Co-chair of KNOMAD Working Group 11. Lead author for the IPCC Working Group 2 on Adaptation. Part of COST 1101 Working Group 1 on Knowledge. http://ehs.unu.edu/experts/researchexperts/warner-koko.html#profile
WEERASINGHE, Sanjula	Research associate at Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of International Migration. Consultant to the Brookings-LSE Project. https://www.linkedin.com/pub/sanjula-weerasinghe/9/216/757 https://isim.georgetown.edu/Sanjula-Weerasinghe
WOOD, Tamara	Doctoral Candidate at the University of New South Wales under supervision by Jane McAdam. Member of the consultative committee of the Nansen Initiative. http://www.law.unsw.edu.au/profile/tamara-wood
WRATHALL, David	Associate Academic Officer at UNU-EHS Focuses on Climate Change Adaptation, Livelihood & Migration http://ehs.unu.edu/experts/researchexperts/2128.html#profile

Appendix 2: Event list

Note: All links accessed and verified as of 20. August 2015.

Name	**Description**
2015: UNFCCC Bonn Meeting, Side Event on Climate Displacement and the Paris Agreement (BONN)	Presentation by members of the Advisory Group on Climate Change and Human Mobility at a side-event to the Bonn Meeting in preparation of the Paris COP21. http://environmentalmigration.iom.int/climate-displacement-and-paris-agreement-unfccc-side-event-bonn-climate-change-conference Participants: - Ginnetti - Solberg - Chazalnoel - Franck
2015: Sendai Side-Event – "Disasters and Displaced	Side-event at the Sendai Conference listed below. http://www.unilim.fr/crideau/files/2015/04/PDF-2-Disasters-and-Displaced-persons.pdf

Persons" (SENDAI-SIDE)	Participants: - Kälin - Gemenne - Weerasinghe
2015: Third UN World Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction (SENDAI)	Conference to replace the UN Hyogo Framework for Action (HFA – United Nations News Service 2015). Concluded on March 2015 with a number of possible and realized links to climate change and migration. Link to participants in the "Working Session on Disaster-Induced Relocation": http://www.iisd.ca/isdr/wcdr3/ Event details: http://environmentalmigration.iom.int/fr/node/452 Link to speaker biographies: http://www.wcdrr.org/wcdrr-data/uploads/884/Unofficial%20Speaker%20Bios.docx Participants: - Weerasinghe - Swing - Kaelin - Correra
2014: COP20 Press Conference (COP20)	Press conference held at the COP20 in Lima, to link the UNFCCC negotiations to work being done especially by the Nansen Initiative. Full video: http://unfccc6.meta-fusion.com/cop20/events/2014-12-10-10-00-united-nations-high-commissioner-for-refugees-climate-change-and-human-mobility Participants - Franck - Ginnetti - Kälin - Warner
2014: UNHCR Executive Committee Meeting Side-event – "Nansen Initiative Reports Back – Human Mobility and	Side-event hosted by the Nansen Initiative at the 65th Executive Committee meeting of the UNHCR. While the title concerns Africa, the lessons drawn are general and an overview of the Nansen Initiative's work is presented. https://www.nanseninitiative.org/nansen-initiative-reports-back-human-mobility-and-disasters-in-africa/ Participants

Disasters in Africa" (UNHCR-EXEC)	- Gemenne - Kälin
2014: COP20 Side-Event – "Research and evidence on climate change-related population mobility" (COP20SIDE)	Side-event of the COP20 meeting in Bonn, organized by the NRC, the IOM, and the UNHCR. Available by searching at: https://seors.unfccc.int/seors/reports/archive.html Participants - Warner - Gemenne - Ionesco - Ginnetti
2014: Nansen Initiative and UNU-EHS Report on "Integrating human mobility issues within national adaptation plans" (NAPREP).	Considered an event as co-authorship here represents an exchange of information, and because an event was held at the Bonn meeting in 2014 where the report was launched. http://environmentalmigration.iom.int/integrating-human-mobility-issues-within-national-adaptation-plans Participants (authors): - Warner - Kälin - Martin - Lee - Melde - Chapuisat - Franck - Afifi
2014: Nansen Initiative Side Event at Global Forum of Migration and Development (NANSEN-SIDE)	Presentation by the Nansen Initiative. http://www.nanseninitiative.org/side-event-at-global-forum-on-migration-and-development/ Participants: - Kälin
2014: KNOMAD Symposium on Environmental Change and Migration – State of the Evidence (KNOMAD)	Conference hosted by the KNOMAD Working Group 11 (See organization list). http://www.knomad.org/powerpoints/environmental_change/Environmental%20Change%20and%20Migration%20Symposium%20Agenda,%20May%2028-29,%202014.pdf

	http://www.knomad.org/powerpoints/environmental_change/KNOMAD_Symposium_Report_Final_TWG11%20(final%20version).pdf Participants: - Martin - Kälin - Ferris - Thomas - Warner - McAdam - Laczko
2013: UNU-EHS Report – "Changing Climate, Moving People : Framing Migration, Displacement and Planned Relocation" (UNU-EHS)	Considered an event as co-authorship here represents an exchange of information, and because an event was held when the report was launched. The final report is available at the Nansen Initiative's document library: http://www.nanseninitiative.org/portfolio-item/changing-climate-moving-people/ Participants (authors): - Warner - Afifi - Kälin - Ferris - Martin - Wrathall
2012: UNHCR NGO Consultation (UNHCR)	The UNHCR holds an annual consultation with NGOs on a wide range of specific issues and general concerns about collaboration and information sharing. The 2012 meeting included eight thematic sessions, including one on people on the move because of climate change. http://www.unhcr.org/ngo-consultations/ngo-consultations-2012/Final%20Full%20Report%20on%20UNHCR%20Annual%20Consultations%20with%20NGOs%203-5%20July2012%20with%20cover%20page.pdf Participants: - Schrepfer - Kälin
2012: IOM – International Dialogue of Migration 2012 – Theme: Climate Change,	The IOM holds an annual International Dialogue of Migration, bringing together staff members, external consultants, partners, NGOs, and government representatives. http://publications.iom.int/bookstore/free/RB18_ENG_web.pdf

Environmental Degradation and Migration (IOM)	Participants: - Warner - Laczko - Wahlström - McAdam - Koser
2011: Nansen Conference (NANSEN)	Event hosted by the Norwegian government, with 230 representatives from academic, civil society organizations, IOs and affected countries. Culminated in the Nansen Principles, which ultimately became the Nansen Initiative. http://www.unhcr.org/4ea969729.pdf Participants - Gemenne - Warner - Afifi - Kálin - McAdam - Türk
2009: CCEMA Expert Panel In New York (CCEMA)	UNU-EHS event under the auspices of the now-closed "Climate Change, Environment and Migration Alliance". http://www.ccema-portal.org/article/read/ccema-expert-panel-in-new-york Participants: - Swing - Martin - Warner - Strohmeyer - Loster - Laczko

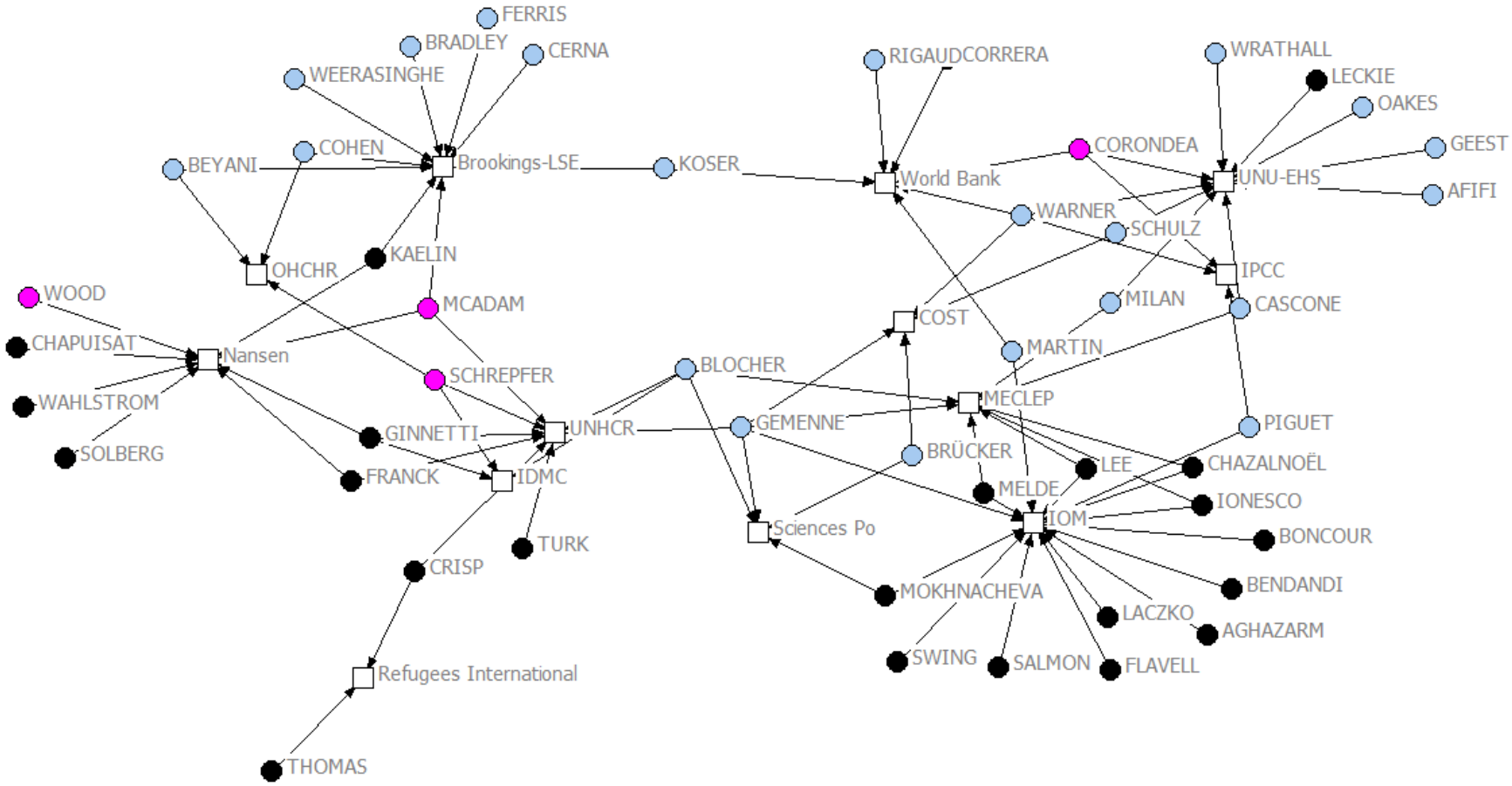
Appendix 3: Coded documents

Document	**Description / Reason for inclusion**
2015 – Draft 8.April: The Nansen Initiative Protection Agenda (The Nansen Initiative 2015a)	This document represents the final output of the Nansen Initiative, before the organization shuts down. Currently in draft form, the agenda is a proposal for an intergovernmental agreement to cover the areas studied by the Nansen Initiative. Thus, it represents a "State of the Art" of one of the most crucial organizations in the network. The Agenda is a 54-page document with a number of aims, including consolidating the

	knowledge obtained by the Initiative in its regional consultations. For the present purpose, only the Key Messages section (p. 2-6) and the policy recommendations section (Part Six – "The Way Ahead", p. 35-42) are coded. The remaining sections mostly codify best practices e.g. on planned relocation, which apply also to refugees not displaced due to climate change.
2015: "Human Mobility in the Context of Climate Change" - COP21 Submission by the Advisory Group on Climate Change and Human Mobility (Advisory Group on Climate Change and Human Mobility 2015)	Submission to the UNFCCC process in anticipation of the COP21 meeting in Paris in 2015. Briefly outlines key concerns of the Advisory Group, and proposes substantive changes to the UNFCCC negotiation text.
2014: UNHCR, The Environment & Climate Change : An Overview (Türk et al. 2014)	A UNHCR publication discussing the institution's activities related to climate change displacement. Includes considerations of activities on the operational level, general stances towards the issue as well as a description of events that the UNHCR has been involved in.
2014: Joint Submission to the United Nations Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) on National Adaptation Plans (NAPs) (Advisory Group on Climate Change and Human Mobility 2014)	A submission to the UNFCCC's Subsidiary Body of Implementation meeting in 2014, outlining the role of National Adaptation Plans in shaping possibilities for migration as adaptation, reducing vulnerability and considering loss and damage.
2013: The Peninsula Principles on Climate Displacement within States (Leckie 2013)	This document is included as it is the most comprehensive policy proposal for treating climate displacement within states. The preparatory work for the document was led by Scott Leckie of the non-profit consultancy Displacement Solutions, and was drafted at a meeting in 2013. The document is a proposal for a new set of soft law principles that aim at slow-onset displacement and relocation, rather than extreme weather events.
2012: IOM International Dialogue on Migration (International Organisation for Migration 2012)	The summary of the 2012 international dialogue on migration is coded, corresponding to the event coded in the event network above. While officially an IOM publication, the summary is a result of a dialogue that includes a number of the actors identified in the network analysis. The key messages and *"Deliberations and recommendations of the workshop"* sections are coded.

2011: IOM Approach and Activities - Environment, Climate Change, and Migration (International Organisation for Migration 2011)	A short document summarizing IOM's activities, with a focus on briefly identifying key issues and discussing IOM involvement. This document was chosen over a number of more recent and long reports from the IOM, that have the character of a literature review or an edited volume of case studies, rather than a focus on policy. Therefore, this document, while quite short, is seen as a better sample of IOM operationalization of CDP activities, and therefore a better guide for identifying issue control.

Appendix 4: Organizational network with ecologies



Colour code: Pink = Legal, Black = Practitioner, Blue = Academic, White = Organization.