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² Climate Change Effects on ³ People's Livelihood

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7 **Definitions**

8 Climate and Climate Change

Generally climate is defined as the long-term 9 average weather conditions of a particular place, 10 region, or the world. Key climate variables 11 include surface conditions such as temperature, 12 precipitation, and wind. The Intergovernmental 13 Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) broadly defined 14 climate change as any change in the state of 15 climate which persists for extended periods, usu-16 ally for decades or longer (Allwood et al. 2014). 17 Climate change may occur due to nature's both 18 internal and external processes. External process 19 involves anthropogenic emission of greenhouse 20 gases to the atmosphere, volcanic eruptions, and 21 changes in the motion of the Earth's tectonic 22 plates. The United Nations Framework Conven-23 tion on Climate Change (UNFCCC) made a dis-24 tinction between climate change attributable to 25 human contribution to atmospheric composition 26 and natural climate variability. In its Article 1, the 27 UNFCCC defines climate change as "a change 28 of climate which is attributed directly or indirectly 29 to human activity that alters the composition of 30

the global atmosphere and which is in addition to ³¹ natural climate variability observed over compa-³² rable time periods" (United Nations 1992, p. 7). ³³

Livelihood

Livelihood refers to the means of making a 35 person's or supporting family's living. For 36 instance, a village person's livelihood can be 37 farming, fishing, or raising livestock. According 38 to Chambers and Conway (1991), a "livelihood 39 comprises the capabilities, assets (including 40 both material and social resources) and activities 41 required for a means of living" (p. 6). In a broader 42 sense, a livelihood is sustainable when it can 43 maintain assets and resources for the present and 44 the future and enabling it to cope with, and 45 recover from, external shocks such as climate 46 change impacts and other natural hazards 47 (Scoones 2009). Recent understanding of liveli- 48 hood seems to be applied to a wider variety of 49 topics ranging from income, poverty, food secu- 50 rity, and health through to human settlement 51 (Scoones 2009). 52

Introduction

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Climate change effects are broadly defined as 54 the consequences of anthropogenic climate 55 change, which involve both existing and potential 56 harmful effects on human and biophysical sys- 57 tems (Folke et al. 2002). Climatic effects are 58 not only disrupting established functions of 59

ecosystems and biodiversity but also posing 60 strain on the long-term sustainability of 61 the planet's ecosystem for future generations 62 (Rockstrom et al. 2009). Scientific observations 63 since 1950 confirm that frequency, magnitude, 64 duration, and spatial extent of natural hazards 65 and extreme weather events associated with cli-66 mate change have increased in many parts of 67 the world (IPCC 2014). Climate change stimuli 68 can disrupt land uses, freshwater, and marine 69 resources and impact overall ecological balance 70 (IPCC 2014). In climate change research, the 71 overall impacts of climate change cannot be mea-72 sured without accounting for its impacts on 73 human systems and well-being (Rockstrom et al. 74 2009). Hence, it is necessary to know how climate 75 influences ecosystems and in turn influences the 76 livelihood of people that depend on ecosystems in 77 many regions of the world. 78

The biophysical impacts of climate change 79 on people have initially been examined in isola-80 tion from existing social-economic and political 81 contexts (Reed et al. 2013). During the last two 82 decades, this approach has been criticized with 83 a view that climate change vulnerability will 84 not take place separately from the existing 85 social-economic contexts, which influence suste-86 nance of productive livelihood of people across 87 the world (Blaikie et al. 1994; Bohle 2001; 88 Hilhorst and Bankoff 2004). Given that livelihood 89 refers to the means of obtaining basic necessities 90 for living (such as income, food, water, housing), 91 it is clear that those who depend more on natural 92 resources will face greater climate change specific 93 livelihood vulnerabilities (Reed et al. 2013). 94 In recent years, attempts have been made toward 95 more integrated approaches in analyzing climate 96 change impacts on people's livelihood, which 97 involves both biophysical means and sociopoliti-98 cal mechanisms (Reed et al. 2013). In fact, climate 99 change impacts are contributing to rise of global 100 poverty and impacting means of basic human 101 necessities including food, clothing, housing, 102 and income (United Nations 2015). However, 103 there is no succinct way of synthesizing how 104 climate change impacts on livelihoods; different 105 scholars have focused on a wide range of over-106 lapping issues. For the purpose of this chapter, 107

climate change impacts on livelihoods have been 108 categorized into two differing parts. Part I deals 109 with how various climate change impacts influ- 110 ence people's livelihoods in rural versus urban 111 regions across the world. Part II discusses some 112 cross-sectoral issues relating to climate change 113 impacts on livelihoods, including agriculture, 114 food security, land use, water resources, and 115 human settlements. 116

Part I: Climate Change Impacts on117Poverty-Driven Livelihood: A Trans-local118Analysis119

It is now widely acknowledged that climate 120 change is causing major obstacles to poverty 121 reduction (United Nations 2015). In particular, 122 the pressure of global climate change on liveli- 123 hoods is closely experienced by the societies 124 largely dependent on natural resources. Globally, 125 the increased number and frequency of natural 126 hazards and extreme weather events and the rising 127 number of poor people being affected by such 128 calamities support this assumption (Winsemius 129 et al. 2018; Park et al. 2018). Though in absolute 130 terms wealthier people lose more assets or prop- 131 erty from natural hazards, in relative terms poor 132 people experience greater loss of assets and access 133 to basic services while experiencing disasters or 134 adverse climatic events (Hallegatte et al. 2017). 135 Authors including Karim and Noy (2014) and 136 Hallegatte et al. (2017) have documented impacts 137 from natural hazards on poverty and human liveli- 138 hoods. The authors found that while experiencing 139 stressful situations linked with climate change and 140 other disruptions across the poorer regions of the 141 world, poor households tend to smooth their 142 food consumption at the cost of non-food items 143 or benefits such as healthcare and education 144 (Karim and Noy 2014). Moreover, the impacts 145 of climate change on livelihoods will differ across 146 regions and geographical spaces. Is it argued 147 that the impacts of climate variability and 148 change may have different types of influences on 149 people's livelihoods in rural versus urban regions 150 (Nawrotzki et al. 2015). Because the complex 151 interconnections between rural and urban regions 152

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vary largely, the exposure to climate change is not
only determined by biophysical components but
also by social-economic and political factors
(Ofoegbu et al. 2017).

Firstly, climate change will have significant 157 impacts on rural livelihoods due to a greater 158 proximity to natural resources and dependency 159 on local ecosystem services for basic livelihood 160 activities, including farm and non-farm activities 161 (Dasgupta et al. 2014). The rural poor in many 162 countries are highly dependent on agricultural 163 income and other farming related activities. 164 Besides farming communities, households resid-165 ing close to forests in many developing countries 166 are less adaptive to climate change, often due to 167 their lower education level and lack of institu-168 tional intervention to help them managing various 169 natural resources (Fisher et al. 2010). Hence, 170 many communities in less developed countries 171 are becoming more vulnerable to the impacts of 172 a disaster on their yields and loss of forest 173 resources. Natural hazards such as floods not 174 only destroyed crops and seed reserve in many 175 agricultural-dependent countries but also sparked 176 food prices shock among rural communities 177 across the world (Cheema et al. 2015). 178

Niles and Salerno (2018) assessed the associa-179 tion between climate shock and food security in 180 181 15 different countries in South Asia, Africa, and Latin America and demonstrated that the recent 182 climate change will not only impact on natural 183 resources but also will pose future threat to food 184 security in the developing world. Despite their 185 vulnerability to drought and flooding, rural people 186 in developing countries often tend to raise 187 more market oriented and less drought resilient 188 breeds of livestock to support their income and 189 economic savings (Nkedianye et al. 2011). Often 190 the rural communities which lack access to 191 infrastructure, basic services, and employment 192 opportunities become largely dependent on local 193 forest resources for income and other livelihood 194 activities (Naidoo et al. 2010; Pailler et al. 2015). 195 However, rising temperatures, changes in 196 precipitation, increased level of flooding, pro-197 longed droughts, and frequency of other natural 198 hazards, including cyclones and sea level rise, 199 are obstructing crop production and plantation 200 growth (FAO 2016). In brief, changing 201

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climate and weather patterns have significantly 202 constrained the livelihoods of rural communities 203 in developing countries, causing natural resource 204 degradation and increased levels of social inequality (Gentle and Maraseni 2012). 206

In remote rural areas, isolated communities 207 who lack access to market and transport connec-208 tivity are more likely to suffer from food crises if 209 local production is impacted by climate change 210 (Safir et al. 2013). In the Philippines, Safir and 211 colleagues (2013) found that food consumption 212 decreased in remote rural areas with decrease in 213 precipitation; however, households residing 214 closer to a highway were not affected by such 215 negative rainfall shock. Extreme weather events 216 such as flood not only damage roads but also 217 affect transport infrastructure, limit food distribu- 218 tion, and obstruct people's access to markets to 219 sell or purchase food. Given that agriculture is the 220 major occupation in many developing countries, 221 climate change will impact agricultural employ- 222 ment, including how people farm their own lands, 223 and work on other people's farms and other enter- 224 prises which are directly or indirectly dependent 225 on agriculture (FAO et al. 2014). 226

Secondly, in urban areas, climate change 227 impacts on livelihoods are complex and often 228 associated with extreme weather events (Revi 229 et al. 2014). Extreme events such as flooding can 230 damage houses, water, and transport infrastruc- 231 ture and cause unemployment. For instance, 232 Rasch (2015) assessed urban vulnerability to 233 flood in 1276 Brazilian municipalities and showed 234 that urban populations who are at the frontier of 235 flood risks in different regions of the country 236 are from lower social-economic backgrounds, 237 with higher unemployment rates and lower house- 238 hold income. Additionally, heat waves can impact 239 both performance and health conditions of 240 workers in manual occupations and adversely 241 affect their financial well-being (Kovats and 242 Akhtar 2008). Extreme weather events also 243 cause food insecurity to low income urban resi- 244 dents because of higher food prices. Urban con- 245 sumers mainly depend on a combination of food 246 supply networks, whereas a major supply can 247 come from distant locations. Extreme weather 248 events such as flooding can damage roads linking 249 rural and urban areas, disrupt food distribution 250 251 networks, and cause shortage of food supply (Battersby 2012). Rodriguez-Oreggia 252 et al. (2013) examined effects of natural hazards 253 on poverty at the municipal level in Mexico 254 and found that floods and droughts lead to signif-255 icant increase in poverty. Other studies also 256 generated similar evidence in various urban set-257 tings where the increased number of disasters 258 increased poverty rates to a significant level 259 (Hallegatte et al. 2018). 260

Historically, many large cities were established 261 near rivers and coastlines because of the benefits 262 of less expensive transportation and market 263 connectivity. The United Nations estimated that 264 by 2030, about 60% of people worldwide will live 265 in cities (United Nations 2006). Cities with an 266 exponentially increasing population in coastal 267 regions such as Central Java are becoming subject 268 to increased levels of livelihood vulnerability due 269 to a lack of income and other socioeconomic 270 difficulties (Handayani and Kumalasari 2015). 271 Hallegatte et al. (2013) also provided a quantifi-272 cation of present and future flood loses in 273 136 large cities across the world. Their study 274 cautioned that the current standard of resilience 275 in most of the coastal cities against storm surges 276 and flooding are useful to withstand current 277 extreme weather events, whereas future losses 278 279 and damages are likely to be exacerbated in many coastal cities. Moreover, it is much difficult 280 for resource poor countries to manage urban haz-281 ards due to a lack of long-term planning and 282 implementation (IMF 2017). In the long run, var-283 ious climatic disruptions are likely to bring 284 compounded impacts on less resilient cities 285 where the devastating loss can take long-term 286 toll on people and property such as land degrada-287 tion, loss of natural resources, unemployment, 288 and increased health expenditure due to post 289 disaster traumas (UN-HABITAT 2014). In brief, 290 the increasing population in the context of recent 291 climate change is exacerbating stress and pressure 292 on urban livelihoods; disadvantaged people 293 who work in primary sectors are likely to become 294 immediate victims of environmental degradation 295 in urban areas (Handayani and Kumalasari 2015). 296 Nevertheless, it is also critically important to 297 consider the cross-scale interactions between rural 298

and urban regions while considering climate 299 change impacts on livelihood. Urban areas are 300 typically dependent on natural resources includ- 301 ing land, water, and energy. Large-scale supply 302 chains have been widely used for rural-urban 303 dependency for food supply and energy resources 304 (Güneralp et al. 2013). Climate-related shocks 305 and extreme weather events frequently affect 306 such supply chains and commodity flows from 307 rural to urban areas (Satterthwaite et al. 2008). 308 For example, the extended drought periods in the 309 Mississippi river area resulted in reduced water 310 flow which significantly interrupted barge traffic 311 and delayed commodity flows within the 312 United States (Morton et al. 2014). Again, adverse 313 climatic conditions can increase local unemploy- 314 ment and cause unmanageable financial pressure 315 at the household level. This situation can attract a 316 large number of people to migrate to cities from 317 rural areas, where migration can be chosen as an 318 alternative livelihood strategy. However, in cities, 319 social inequalities between local residents and 320 new migrants can increase frustration and social 321 unrest, which may also spur urban violence 322 (Østby 2015). The latter part of this chapter will 323 discuss how disadvantaged migrants become 324 exposed to new sets of risks after migrating to 325 cities. 326

Part II: Climate Change Impacts on 327 Livelihood: Cross-Sectoral Analyses 328

Climate change is affecting many sectors 329 within the larger contexts of human-environment 330 systems (Rockstrom et al. 2009). Sectors most 331 critically affected by climate change include agri-332 culture, forest, biodiversity, coast, energy, trans-333 portation, water resource, and society (Harrison 334 et al. 2015). Many studies produced independent 335 in-depth analysis on each of these sectors and 336 issues related to climate change; however, such 337 analysis ignored significant interconnections 338 between various sectors (Harrison et al. 2015). 339 Ignoring cross-sectoral issues can undermine the 340 actual impacts of climate change on both 341 biophysical and human systems. For instance, 342 changes in land use impact water quality and 343

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344 resources, which can ultimately impact food security, flood defense, and coastal settlements 345 (Holman et al. 2008). The cross-sectoral risks of 346 climate change will therefore influence human 347 living conditions, human settlements, and food 348 security. To date, a limited number of studies 349 have focused on cross-sectoral impacts of climate 350 change (England et al. 2018). The following 351 section will review cross-sectoral analysis on the 352 effects of climate change on people's livelihoods. 353

Impacts on Agricultural Production, Groundwater Reserve, and Food Security

Climate change impacts such as increased heat 357 waves, droughts, floods, and storms lead to 358 significant impacts on global agricultural produc-359 tion (FAO 2016). Since the actual impacts of 360 climate change vary from one region to another, 361 and also within a region (Vermeulen 2012), many 362 countries and poorer regions are suffering from 363 disproportionate effects of food shortage and 364 other agrarian crises (Swaminathan 2012). The 365 rise of mean temperatures will disturb the duration 366 of crop life cycles in South Asia and sub-Saharan 367 Africa - regions already suffering from wide-368 spread hunger and poverty (Maharjan and Joshi 369 2013). In Latin American countries such as Mex-370 ico, increase in minimum and maximum temper-371 atures due to climate change is reducing wheat 372 yields (Lobell et al. 2005). Moreover, considering 373 the highest emission trajectory situation by 2050, 374 crop yields in Asia may decrease by 5-30% 375 (Maharjan and Joshi 2013). The rainfed agricul-376 ture in South and Southeast Asia may become the 377 hardest hit of this situation. According to FAO 378 estimates on future demands for food consump-379 tion, by 2050, annual cereal production will be 380 required to increase by up to 70% higher than 381 2006 levels (Alexandratos and Bruinsma 2012). 382 Nonetheless, climate change is not the only factor 383 impacting on food security; rapid population 384 growth and economic and political changes that 385 are taking place globally may have heterogeneous 386 influence on food production across the world 387 (Alexandratos and Bruinsma 2012). 388

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Higher temperatures and changes in precipita- 389 tion (especially where rainfall declines) will 390 require increased groundwater-based irrigation in 391 agriculture (FAO 2008). However, the expanded 392 irrigation schemes for agriculture are driving 393 enormous water stress in many regions of the 394 world (FAO 2017). In the last century, the land 395 area brought under agricultural irrigation has 396 increased more than six times globally, from 397 40 million hectares in 1900 to above 260 million 398 hectares at present (Chartzoulakisa and Bertaki 399 2015). This imposes pressure on availability 400 and quality of groundwater given that many 401 agricultural producers switched to machine- 402 assisted groundwater-based irrigation. Further, 403 the demand for agricultural irrigation may rise 404 up to an additional 13.6% by 2025 (Rosegrant 405 and Cai 2002 Chartzoulakisa). 406

Besides affecting species, ecosystems, rivers, 407 and surface water users, concerns of groundwater 408 depletion for agriculture include increased 409 financial stress and debt burden for small holders 410 in both developing and developed countries 411 (McDonald and Girvetz 2014; Kabir et al. 2018). 412 For instance, in the northern drought prone areas 413 of Bangladesh, expansion of groundwater-based 414 irrigation and introduction of high yield variety 415 of seeds increased crop production. However, 416 the charged prices for such government-run irri- 417 gation facilities resulted in excessive production 418 costs for small holders and other sharecroppers 419 (Kabir et al. 2018a). In order to manage extra 420 cost of groundwater irrigation, farmers often 421 borrow money from multiple sources or micro- 422 credit institutions at the local level, which further 423 compounds their household financial stress (Kabir 424 et al. 2018a). Similarly, the irrigation schemes 425 constructed so far in sub-Saharan Africa are diffi- 426 cult for the marginalized households to handle 427 due to higher unit cost for water and significant 428 income inequalities within irrigation communities 429 (Manero 2017). Mcdonald and Girvetz (2014) 430 estimated that in the United States, climate change 431 would increase average irrigation costs in the 432 states already experiencing dry climate, which 433 will add extra pressure on farming households. 434 As the World Food Program (2017) cautioned, 435 the risks of food insecurity may increase up to 436

20% due to climate change by 2050 unless necessary efforts are placed to enable the world's vulnerable agricultural regions to better adapt to
extreme weather events, including drought and
flooding.

Impacts on Surface Water Resources andLivelihoods

Climate change is affecting timing and location 444 of precipitation, which is causing reduction 445 of water flows and water levels in a number of 446 rivers across the world (Kangalawe 2017). This 447 directly results in a decrease of water availability 448 for agriculture and other household needs. More-449 over, climate change and other human interven-450 tions have resulted in changes in river water 451 quality and temperature which is associated with 452 uncountable loss in aquatic biodiversity. For 453 instance, Bello et al. (2017) estimated impacts of 454 climate change on water temperature in Malaysia 455 and illustrated that most of the suburban rivers 456 will become ecologically unsuitable to a range of 457 aquatic species in the near future, compared with 458 the rivers in rural areas. Again, warmer ocean 459 surface temperatures along with increased temper-460 ature in the atmosphere can lead to increased wind 461 462 speed and change the number, duration, and intensity of tropical storms (Bates et al. 2008). A list of 463 infamous cyclones with destructive powers 464 caused major flooding, destruction of property 465 and natural resources, and loss of lives in the last 466 few decades (Bates et al. 2008). These also posed 467 major challenges for recovery efforts in the devel-468 oping and developed world, with long-term 469 impacts including chronic poverty, food insecu-470 rity, and lack of access to basic necessities. 471

Nevertheless, climate change impacts such as 472 ocean acidification, rise in water temperatures, 473 and water hazards also affect fish production, 474 supply, distribution, and consumption, thereby 475 affecting the livelihood of 500 million people in 476 developing countries who are dependent on fish-477 ing and aquaculture (FAO 2009). The impacts of 478 climate change affect fish habitat and population 479 both in marine and freshwater systems (Ipinjolu 480 et al. 2014). Declining water resources are linked 481

with declining fish catch in the lakes and rivers for 482 communities dependent on fishing (Kangalawe 483 2017). Moreover, coastal fishing communities 484 are at the front line of global sea level rise. Fishing 485 communities in low-lying countries such as 486 Maldives and Tuvalu are vulnerable to sea level 487 rise and involuntary displacement (ADB 2017). 488 Coastal fishing communities in Bangladesh 489 are vulnerable to sea level rise, flooding, and 490 increased frequency of tropical cyclones. Again 491 the communities with large human population and 492 heavily dependent on a diet of fish are highly 493 vulnerable to climate change (FAO et al. 2014). 494 For instance, fishing communities in the Mekong 495 river in Southeast Asia are already experiencing 496 salt water intrusion. The population of the 497 Mekong river basin is above 60 million people, 498 for whom fish and mollusks provide 80% of 499 their protein intake (Sarkkula et al. 2009). In 500 brief, climate change will affect aquatic environ- 501 ments, including changes in water quantity, qual- 502 ity, and freshwater biodiversity. The assessed and 503 perceived impacts also include loss of income and 504 food security as experienced by various affected 505 regions and communities. 506

Impacts on Land Resources and 507 Livelihoods in Low-Lying Regions 508

Evidence shows that increased carbon emissions 509 during the last two centuries raised global mean 510 temperatures and associated melting of ice sheets 511 and sea level rise. Globally, about 600 million 512 people currently live in low elevated coastal 513 areas which are at the frontier of sea level rise 514 (Dasgupta et al. 2014). Increased salinity from salt 515 water intrusion is causing greater impacts on live- 516 lihoods, public health, and coastal ecosystem 517 (IPCC 2012). Moreover, when degradation of 518 land resources take place, it poses higher risks to 519 social-economically disadvantaged people due to 520 scarcity of food, income, and shelter (Bohle 521 2001). Scientific projections also indicate that by 522 2050, the progressing inundation from sea level 523 rise may impact livelihoods of about one billion 524 people around the world (Dasgupta et al. 2014). 525 Additionally, land degradation attracts more 526 527

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people to overexploit the remaining productive lands, which results in further degradation. In the long run, the overexploitation of land resources can cause desertification and loss of biodiversity

in the existing lands. 531 One least researched area while examining cli-532 mate change impacts on lands involves riverbank 533 erosion, which refers to the wearing away of 534 the bank of a river or stream. Riverbank erosion 535 is a recurring natural hazard in low-lying regions 536 of the world. Hydraulic actions, such as the chang-537 ing direction of river streams and water, create 538 pressure against the banks and cause riverbank 539 erosion. Heavy rainfall and flooding can also 540 increase the intensity of riverbank erosion. 541 Melting of glacier can also raise water levels, 542 increase intensity of water currents, and further 543 influence riverbank erosion. Moreover, it is now 544 argued that climate change will increase rainfall 545 and precipitation in some regions of the world, 546 which will exacerbate the intensity of riverbank 547 erosion in the near future (MoEF 2009). When 548 land areas are removed by river streams, it impacts 549 human lives, crops, livestock, housing, forests, 550 private property, and infrastructure (Mollah and 551 Ferdaush 2016). Low-lying countries in the 552 Bengal Delta, including Bangladesh and some 553 parts of India, are highly vulnerable to riverbank 554 erosion (Mollah and Ferdaush 2016). Riverbank 555 erosion is the major reason why the landless pop-556 ulation is growing in Bangladesh. Moreover, the 557 perceived level of damage is higher for the poor 558 people who lose their land for the first time due 559 to riverbank erosion. As a result, farmers can 560 become totally landless once they experience riv-561 erbank erosion. These people are forced to 562 migrate to a new location, which do not provide 563 them with access to similar assets and land 564 resources. As a livelihood coping strategy, many 565 adopt new skills and occupations, where farmers 566 can become day laborers or street vendors 567 (Rahman et al. 2015). 568

Impacts on Human Settlement andLivelihoods: Rural-Urban Migration

571 Although the deterministic relationship between 572 climate change impacts and human migration is yet unsettled in academia and policy domains, 573 numerous evidence shows that anthropogenic 574 climate change is altering the livelihood options 575 of people in their habitual residence (Jayawardhan 576 2017). A number of influential studies (Tacoli 577 2009; Piguet et al. 2011; McLeman 2017) have 578 attributed the increased rate of involuntary migra- 579 tion taking place across the world to the impacts of 580 climate change. Myers (1995) projected that by 581 2050, about 200 million people will be displaced 582 in response to the unmanageable impacts on live- 583 lihoods, linked to climate change and other natu- 584 ral hazards. The Global Estimation Report 585 (2014) claimed that in 2013, approximately 586 22 million people around the world were newly 587 displaced due to the pressure of natural hazards, 588 whereas many of those incidents were linked with 589 climate change (IDMC 2014). In Asia, the number 590 of displacement incidents increased significantly 591 in the past decade along with a rising number 592 of incidents of natural hazards (IOM 2010). For 593 instance, in 2013, 17 out of 20 largest displace- 594 ment incidents worldwide were noticed in Asia. 595 Typhoon Haiyan, the strongest cyclone ever 596 recorded at land caused over 7,000 death and 597 displaced about four million people in central 598 Philippines (The Daily Telegraph 2013). In the 599 same year, cyclone Mahasen displaced about 600 one million in the coastal areas of Bangladesh 601 and approximately 35,500 people from Rakhine 602 state in Myanmar (The Guardian 2013). In many 603 cases, those who have been displaced due 604 to such extreme weather events have lost liveli- 605 hood opportunities in their usual places of resi- 606 dence (Biermann and Boas 2010). Moreover, the 607 existing government and nongovernment organi- 608 zations and funding mechanisms in many affected 609 countries are hardly equipped to restore basic 610 livelihood opportunities to affected places 611 (Biermann and Boas 2010). 612

In many resource poor country settings, the 613 decision to migrate is often taken as an intuitive 614 reaction to the climatic shock on people's livelihoods. Recent studies including Stojanov et al. 616 (2016) contributed to the understanding of the 617 relation between climate change impacts on livelihood and migration as an autonomous response 619 at the community level. Studies also illustrated the 620 pressure of climate variability and its impacts on 621 AU11

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622 pastoralists' livelihood in southern Ethiopia (Aval et al. 2018), seasonal migration of agricultural 623 labors during drought in the Sahel region (Black 624 et al. 2011), and local migration as a prevalent 625 livelihood strategy to cope with drought in north-626 east Brazil (Barbieri et al. 2010). Studies also 627 suggested that recent climate change is severely 628 impacting the agricultural sector and acting as 629 migration push factors in many agricultural 630 regions of the world. Islam and Hasan (2016) 631 found that about 54% of the Cyclone Aila affected 632 migrants in Bangladesh attributed their migration 633 to damages to their homes and cultivable lands. 634 Previously, Mallick and Vogt (2012) found that 635 after Cyclone Aila, adults from households 636 with the lowest monthly income had the highest 637 migration rate from the affected coastal areas in 638 Bangladesh compared with all others. Kabir et al. 639 (2018b) demonstrated that unmanageable finan-640 cial stress such as institutional microcredit burden 641 is significantly influencing small holders' deci-642 sion to migrate for long-term from the northern 643 drought prone areas of Bangladesh. However, 644 the majority of Bangladesh's disadvantaged rural 645 population tend to adopt repetitive patterns of 646 short-term or seasonal migration to supplement 647 their livelihoods during lean periods (Martin 648 et al. 2014). Involuntary migration can be a dis-649 ruptive process, often involving financial, social, 650 and emotional risks for the disadvantaged 651 migrants and their family members; hence, it is 652 often the last form of response to be attempted 653 (McLeman 2017). 654

Nevertheless, involuntary rural-urban migra-655 tion often replaces one set of risks with another, 656 especially when urban destinations are poorly 657 equipped to provide basic human necessities to 658 the new migrants. Thus, migrants affected by cli-659 mate change at their places of origin may become 660 exposed to a second level of stress at urban 661 destinations, where new hazards may reinforce 662 existing vulnerabilities (McNamara et al. 2016). 663 Urban areas are particularly exposed to unique 664 climatic risks including urban heat island effects, 665 impervious surfaces exacerbating flooding, and 666 sea level rise in coastal cities (Doherty et al. 667 2016). In the fourth assessment report, the IPCC 668 also warned that heat related mortality in urban 669

areas will be increased in some regions as one of 670 the consequences of the recent global warming 671 (IPCC 2008). Since appropriate housing is not 672 reachable for disadvantaged migrants in cities, 673 the majority of the low income migrants in many 674 cities live in slums or squatter settlements (Elsey 675 et al. 2016). Due to a lack of education, access to 676 social networks, and appropriate skills, the slum 677 dwellers are often forced to accept low-paying but 678 difficult jobs in the informal economy (Pawar and 679 Mane 2013). Although desperate efforts to 680 improve their livelihoods are placed, the urban 681 extreme poor lacks saving opportunities, access 682 to basic services, and access to credit (Elsey et al. 683 2016). Moreover, due to the higher living costs in 684 cities, many migrants living in urban slums leave 685 their children at their rural residences in the cus-686 tody of other family members. Ajaero and 687 Onokala (2013) found that due to the pressure of 688 sending remittance to the family members in rural 689 areas, disadvantaged migrants living in cities suf- 690 fer from low real income. Such a double financial 691 pressure also limits their ability to access other 692 basic needs including healthcare benefits when 693 needed. In brief, increased financial expenditure, 694 unhealthy living conditions, and lack of access 695 to basic services are key issues for disadvantaged 696 migrants in cities which are also associated with 697 their lower capacity to recover from disasters and 698 adapt to urban climate change impacts. 699

Moving Forward

This chapter focused on the interactions between 701 climate change effects and human livelihoods 702 through trans-local (between rural and urban) 703 and cross-sectoral analyses. As rural and 704 urban areas are strongly interconnected and 705 interdependent, climate change is likely to exacroe erbate cross-scale interactions between these two 707 regions. Again, understanding cross-sectoral 708 impacts of climate change on livelihoods is critiof decisionmakers with holistic views on climate 711 change impacts, instead of considering single sectors in isolation (Harrison et al. 2015). Given that 713 the Sustainable Development Goals adopted by 714

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the United Nations member states in 2015 cover 715 17 broad and interdependent goals ranging 716 from "zero hunger" to "climate actions," a lack 717 of sufficient response to climate change impacts 718 will persistently erode the basis of these goals 719 (Rodriguez et al. 2018). The rapid urban 720 growth in the Global South, loss of agricultural 721 yields, risks of hunger and undernutrition, land 722 degradation, loss of biodiversity, increased water 723 stress, and loss of human settlements among 724 others are exacerbating existing livelihood vulner-725 ability of the poor and disadvantaged people 726 to climatic changes and other extreme weather 727 events. Hence, tackling livelihoods sustainability AU13 728 demand, the practitioners stress the importance 729 of such multidimensional climate change chal-730 lenges, become well equipped with essential cli-731 mate change adaptation planning, and recognize 732 that different sectors will pose concomitant 733 challenges for development managers due to 734 various social-economic, environmental, and cli-735 matic uncertainties. 736

The examples presented in this chapter are 737 not unique to climate change effects. However, 738 these should be helpful to understand the 739 climate change effect on people's livelihoods to 740 a wide range of social-ecological settings and 741 changes. To implement adaptation interventions 742 743 that enhance support to the most vulnerable, it is imperative to improve our understanding of 744 both how people are likely to be affected by cli-745 mate change and other natural hazards and how 746 they may possibly react to such circumstances. 747 In order to properly understand future livelihood 748 749 risks associated with climate change, more interdisciplinary research is necessary. This 750 includes research that focuses on (i) climate 751 change impacts on human-environment systems 752 and future social-ecological challenges; (ii) how 753 individuals are likely to deal with different 754 adverse climatic situations; and (iii) increasing AU14 755 developing countries' capacity to monitor 756 climate change effects to better understand cross-757 sectoral impacts. 758

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