



POLICY ANALYSIS ON MIGRATION, ENVIRONMENT AND CLIMATE CHANGE

TAJKISTAN

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TAJIKISTAN

Lisa Marina Gampp



Tajikistan is one of the most vulnerable countries to climate change in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. It is prone to natural hazards, such as earthquakes, floods, avalanches, drought and mudslides. Significantly, climate change impacts, such as heavy rainfall, temperature rise, changes in weather conditions, and the melting of glaciers, have already been observed in Tajikistan (Vanj district, Gbao, Tajikistan). © IOM 2019/Khusrav RAJABOV

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Tajikistan is a mountainous country with mountain ranges such as the Pamir and Alay, covering much of the country. The main rivers, like the Amu Darya and the Syr Darya, are transboundary. Climate change in Tajikistan will result in growing aridity and the melting of glaciers. This would modify ecosystem services that would adversely affect crop production, livestock herding, food and water security, as well as biodiversity (Shamsiddin Shohin district, Khatlon Region, Tajikistan). © IOM 2019/Khusrav RAJABOV

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
CAC	Committee for Architecture and Construction
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CEP	Committee for Environmental Protection
COES	Committee of Emergency Situations and Civil Defence
COP	Conference of the Parties
COWFA	Committee on Women and Family Affairs
DRR	disaster risk reduction
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
Hydromet	State Administration for Hydrometeorology
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
IDP	internally displaced person
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
MECC	migration, environment and climate change
MOA	Ministry of Agriculture
MOLMEP	Ministry of Labour, Migration and Employment of Population
MTDP	Medium-Term Development Programme of the Republic of Tajikistan
NDC	Nationally Determined Contribution

NDC-RT	National Development Council under the President of the Republic of Tajikistan
NDS	National Development Strategy
NEAP	National Environmental Action Plan
NSACC	National Strategy for Adaptation to Climate Change
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PUU	Pasture User Union
SCLMG	State Committee on Land Management and Geodesy of Tajikistan
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
TajStat	Agency on Statistics under the President of the Republic of Tajikistan
UNCCD	United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNISDR	United Nations Office on Disaster Risk Reduction
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WFP	World Food Programme
WIM ExCom	Executive Committee of the Warsaw International Mechanism for Loss and Damage
WUA	Water User Association

GLOSSARY

Key environment and climate change terminology*

- **Climate change:** A change in the state of the climate that can be identified (such as by using statistical tests) by changes in the mean and/or the variability of its properties and that persists for an extended period, typically decades or longer. Climate change may be due to natural internal processes or external forcing such as modulations of the solar cycles, volcanic eruptions and persistent anthropogenic changes in the composition of the atmosphere or in land use. Note that UNFCCC, in its Article 1, defines climate change as “a change of climate which is attributed directly or indirectly to human activity that alters the composition of the global atmosphere and which is in addition to natural climate variability observed over comparable time periods”. UNFCCC thus makes a distinction between climate change attributable to human activities altering the atmospheric composition and climate variability attributable to natural causes (IPCC, 2021).
- **Disaster:** A “serious disruption of the functioning of a community or a society at any scale due to hazardous events interacting with conditions of exposure, vulnerability and capacity, leading to one or more of the following: human, material, economic and environmental losses and impacts” (ibid.).
- **Environmental change:** “[C]hanges in the physical and biogeochemical environment, over a large scale, either caused naturally or influenced by human activities” (Foresight, 2011:50) (including industrial accidents), either through fast-onset or slow-onset events. As ecosystem services and exposure to hazards are important drivers of migration, “global environmental change will affect the risk calculations involved in moving and people’s decisions to stay or move from their settlements” (ibid.). Environmental change thus affects the environmental drivers of migration (Foresight, 2011). Environmental change includes both environmental degradation and climate change.

* Extracted from *Migration, Environment and Climate Change: Evidence for Policy (MECLEP) Glossary* (IOM, 2014a).

- **Environmental degradation:** “The reduction of the capacity of the environment to meet social and ecological objectives and needs. ... Degradation of the environment can alter the frequency and intensity of natural hazards and increase the vulnerability of communities. The types of human-induced degradation are varied and include land misuse, soil erosion and loss, desertification, wildland fires, loss of biodiversity, deforestation, mangrove destruction, land, water and air pollution, climate change, sea level rise and ozone depletion” (UNISDR, 2009).
- **Exposure:** “The presence of people, livelihoods, species or ecosystems, environmental functions, services and resources, infrastructure, or economic, social, or cultural assets in places and settings that could be adversely affected” (IPCC, 2021).
- **Natural hazards** are naturally occurring physical phenomena caused either by rapid- or slow-onset events that can be geophysical (earthquakes, landslides, tsunamis and volcanic activity), hydrological (avalanches and floods), climatological (extreme temperatures, drought and wildfires), meteorological (cyclones and storms/wave surges) or biological (disease epidemics and insect/animal plagues) (UNISDR, 2009).
- **Technological or human-induced hazards** (complex emergencies/ conflicts, famine, displaced populations, industrial accidents and transport accidents) are events that are caused by humans and occur in or close to human settlements. This can include environmental degradation, pollution and accidents. Technological or human-induced hazards (complex emergencies/conflicts, famine, displaced populations, industrial accidents and transport accidents) (ibid.).
- **Sudden-onset events:** include hydrometeorological hazards, such as flooding, windstorms or mudslides and geophysical hazards including earthquakes, tsunamis or volcanic eruptions (ibid.).
- **Slow-onset processes:** include the following: (a) increasing temperatures; (b) desertification; (c) loss of biodiversity; (d) land and forest degradation; (e) glacial retreat and related impacts; (f) ocean acidification; (g) sea-level rise; and (h) land salinization (UNFCCC, 2011 and n.d.).

Key migration terminology*

- **Environmental migrant:** A person or group(s) of persons who, predominantly for reasons of sudden or progressive changes in the environment that adversely affect their lives or living conditions, are forced to leave their places of habitual residence, or choose to do so, either temporarily or permanently, and who move within or outside their country of origin or habitual residence. There is no international agreement on a term to be used to describe persons or groups of persons that move for environment-related reasons. This definition of environmental migrant is not meant to create any new legal categories. It is a working definition aimed at describing all the various situations in which people move in the context of environmental factors (IOM, 2007; IOM, 2012b; IOM, 2014b).
- **Climate migration:** The movement of a person or groups of persons who, predominantly for reasons of sudden or progressive change in the environment due to climate change, are obliged to leave their habitual place of residence, or choose to do so, either temporarily or permanently, within a State or across an international border. This is a working definition of IOM with an analytic and advocacy purpose that does not have any specific legal value. Climate migration is a subcategory of environmental migration; it defines a singular type of environmental migration, where the change in the environment is due to climate change impacts. Migration in this context can be associated with greater vulnerability of affected people, particularly if it is forced. Yet, migration can also be a form of adaptation to environmental stressors, helping to build resilience of affected individuals and communities (UNFCCC, 2016).
- **Displacement:** The movement of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-induced disasters (adapted from *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*, annexed to United Nations 1998, para. 2 of the introduction). *Note:* Unlike the *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*, the above definition is meant to cover both internal and cross-border displacement.

* Extracted from the *Glossary on Migration* (IOM, 2019c).

- **Disaster displacement:** The movement of persons who have been forced or obliged to leave their homes or places of habitual residence as a result of a disaster or in order to avoid the impact of an immediate and foreseeable natural hazard (adapted from Nansen Initiative, 2015:16). Disaster displacement may take the form of spontaneous flight, an evacuation ordered or enforced by authorities or an involuntary planned relocation process. Such displacement can occur within a country (internal displacement) or across international borders (cross-border disaster displacement) (ibid.).
- **Forced migration:** A migratory movement which, although the drivers can be diverse, involves force, compulsion or coercion. *Note:* While not an international legal concept, this term has been used to describe the movements of refugees, displaced persons (including those displaced by disasters or development projects) and, in some instances, victims of trafficking. At the international level, the use of this term is debated because of the widespread recognition that a continuum of agency exists rather than a voluntary/forced dichotomy and that it might undermine the existing legal international protection regime.
- **Internally displaced persons:** Persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-induced disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border (Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, annexed to United Nations, 1998:6).
- **Planned relocation:** Planned relocation in the context of disasters or environmental degradation, including when due to the effects of climate change, is a planned process in which persons or groups of persons move or are assisted to move away from their homes or place of temporary residence, are settled in a new location, and provided with the conditions for rebuilding their lives (adapted from UNHCR, 2015a:5.)
- **Human mobility:** A generic term covering all the different forms of movements of persons. *Note:* The term *human mobility* reflects a wider range of movements of persons than the term migration. The term is usually understood as also encompassing tourists that are generally considered as not engaging in migration. For example, the international organizations member of the Advisory Group on Climate Change and Human Mobility are using the term human mobility to refer to the broad range of types of movements that can take place in the context of climate change. (UNHCR, 2015b.)

- **International migrant:** Any person who is outside a State of which he or she is a citizen or national, or in the case of a stateless person, his or her State of birth or habitual residence. The term includes migrants who intend to move permanently or temporarily, and those who move in a regular or documented manner as well as migrants in irregular situations (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2014). For statistical purposes, the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs defines an *international migrant* as “any person who changes his or her country of usual residence” (1998, para. 32).
- **Migration:** The movement of persons away from their place of usual residence, either across an international border or within a State.
- **Trapped populations:** Populations who do not migrate, yet are situated in areas under threat, [...] at risk of becoming “trapped” or having to stay behind, where they will be more vulnerable to environmental shocks and impoverishment. (adapted from Foresight, 2011, 25, cited in IOM, 2014a:17). *Note:* The notion of trapped populations applies in particular to poorer households who may not have the resources to move and whose livelihoods are affected (ibid.).

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Migration responses are strongly influenced by economic, social, political and demographic processes. The most recent Sixth Assessment Report of Working Group II of IPCC (2022a) underlines that climatic conditions, events and variability are important drivers of migration. Tajikistan – featuring resource-dependent communities in arid and mountainous areas, which are in socioeconomic transition – feels the adverse impacts of climate change more intensely (IOM, 2019a). Migration is among a wider set of possible adaptation options to prepare for and adjust to both the current effects and the predicted impacts of climate change in the future.

As a member State of the United Nations as well as a signatory to UNFCCC, Tajikistan has a commitment to adhere to the recommendations set forth by the Task Force on Displacement as part of the work programme of the Executive Committee of the Warsaw International Mechanism on Loss and Damage (hereafter Warsaw International Mechanism ExCom) to avert, minimize and address displacement related to the adverse impacts of climate change and address migration-related issues. The Working Group II of the Sixth Assessment of IPCC recognized that climate-related displacement and involuntary migration can be minimized by increasing adaptive capacities. This, in turn, will ensure safe and orderly migration within and between countries by improving the degree of choice under which migration decisions are made (IPCC, 2022b). Migration in the context of climate change is already anchored into several global policy frameworks, such as the proceedings of UNFCCC, the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015–2030 and the Global Compact for Migration. To integrate migration in the context of climate change coherently in national policies as well as legal and strategic frameworks across domains and sectors – including on environmental protection, climate change, DRR, sustainable development, migration and gender – it is necessary to better understand the existing measures and gaps.

In order to support the Government of Tajikistan in adhering to the Task Force on Displacement recommendations, this report maps 39 national policies, laws, strategies and plans (hereinafter referred to as legal and strategic frameworks) to assess the extent to which the MECC nexus has been mainstreamed. The report finds that the Government of Tajikistan has taken a number of steps towards adhering to the recommendations of the Task Force on Displacement, with 13

of the mapped documents mentioning the MECC nexus. A more nuanced look shows, however, that the level of mainstreaming varies per domain.

While impacts of climate change and environmental degradation can shape different forms of migration, the mapping of 16 environmental, climate change and DRR frameworks (chapter 3.1) showed that the nexus is mainly framed as risks of environmental degradation and disasters induced by natural hazards and the consequent need for relocation of populations. Importantly, NSACC until 2030 (No. 482) (Government of Tajikistan, 2019a) identifies migration as one of the cross-cutting issues and offers a definition of environmental migration, limited however in that it only encompasses planned relocation. Also, in the disaster risk management frameworks, the nexus is well integrated, though limited in considering only planned relocation and planned evacuation, similar to the understanding in the other documents.

The integration of the nexus in national development planning is less developed. The mapping of nine documents in chapter 3.2 show that the National Development Strategy until 2030 (and the corresponding MTDP 2016–2020 and 2021–2025) do not mention any link between migration, environmental degradation and climate change, or its impacts on achieving sustainable development. Instead, it looks at each topic in silo which translated also in corresponding sectoral frameworks.

Similar observations can be made in the national migration legislation and strategies (chapter 3.3), of which 12 documents were mapped. There are a few documents concerning international and internal migration featuring the nexus. There, the nexus is portrayed as a failure to adapt and a factor impeding climate change resilience of the population of Tajikistan. The nexus appears almost exclusively in relation to the facilitation of relocation of populations at risk of degrading environmental conditions or of from disasters induced by natural hazards. The draft *National Strategy of Labour Migration of the Citizens of the Republic of Tajikistan for the period up to 2030* (Government of Tajikistan, forthcoming (a)) envisages ecological migration as the planned relocation of people from environmentally hazardous areas to safer places.

The mapping of two gender documents (law and strategy), as well as the analysis of how well gender considerations are mainstreamed in other domains when looking at MECC nexus (chapter 3.4) reveals considerable gaps. Women are victimized due to their perceived lack of agency in addressing adverse climate change impacts. The absence of men due to labour migration is mentioned as a key reason. The gender strategy sets out to improve the competitive capacity of women, also through targeted training and awareness-raising, including on adaptation to climate change.

As a result of the mapping, four overarching challenges were identified to integrate MECC nexus comprehensively and consistently in the national legal and strategic frameworks to avert, minimize and address displacement related to the adverse impacts of climate change in Tajikistan.

First, there is limited coherence in the narrative between domains and a lack of common understanding of MECC nexus. Though mentions of different forms of migration, environmental degradation and climate change are frequently found within sectoral policies, the interlinkages are inconsistent or at times contradictory. Furthermore, critical definitions in Tajikistan (such as environmental migration) remain narrow (such that it only includes relocated persons). This points to the second gap. Despite the focus on planned relocation when acknowledging the nexus, there is a lack of data on disaster displacement and insufficient mechanisms to monitor relocation processes. Closing existing knowledge gaps will be crucial to consider the climate change and environmental degradation and migration nexus more coherently and comprehensively, taking into account all forms of migration. Thirdly, the coordination among various actors in Tajikistan in addressing the nexus is weak and significantly hampers Tajikistan's ability to avert, minimize and address displacement related to the adverse impacts of climate change and environmental degradation and addressing migration issues. Finally, there is no clarity on the mechanisms to monitor progress transparently and consistently towards achieving actions promised in the strategies and communiqués nor are effective oversight mechanisms in place.

With that, the policy mapping and analysis has allowed to put forward 15 recommendations to further the legislative and strategic integration of MECC nexus in frameworks to avert, minimize and address displacement related to the adverse impacts of climate change in the context of Tajikistan:

- Applying a whole-of-government approach and improving coordination ([Call to Action 1.1](#)) among actors dealing with MECC will allow to spearhead actions for integrating the nexus across government's vertical and lateral administrative structures. To do so, capacities and ownership ([Call to Action 1.2](#)) of decision makers at national, subnational and local levels need to be strengthened. Gender-responsive governance of migration in the context of environment and climate change has to be mainstreamed in legal and strategic frameworks to move away from the victimhood lens ([Call to Action 1.3](#)).
- Averting, minimizing and addressing displacement related to adverse impacts of climate change in Tajikistan needs to be notably supported by improved transdisciplinary data collection, analysis and use ([Call to Action 2.1](#)). This will allow to guide coherent policymaking decision

processes across sectors. Longitudinal and panel data ([Call to Action 2.2](#)) will need to be built up to assess the dynamics of interlinkages between migration, environment and climate change.

- Displacement related to the adverse impacts of climate change should be averted by strengthening national planning towards well-informed and innovative measures using reliable risk and vulnerability assessments ([Call to Action 3.1](#)) and minimized through strengthened preparedness, including early warning systems ([Call to Action 3.2](#)).
- There are a number of ongoing national planning processes that are opportune; for example, the UNFCCC National Adaptation Plan should systematically mainstream MECC nexus ([Call to Action 4.1](#)) and form a basis for stronger policy coherence between different domains ([Call to Action 4.2](#)). The underpinning principle in the national planning process should be that relocation is a measure of last resort.
- In Tajikistan, the planned relocation processes need to be operationalized, monitored and evaluated independently ([Call to Action 5.1](#)) to assess the outcomes of planned relocation and hold decision makers and other relevant actors accountable. Strengthening the National DRR Coordination Platform ([Call to Action 5.2](#)) will further facilitate a more systematic integration of protection of displaced persons as a result of adverse climate change impacts across national legal and strategic frameworks ([Call to Action 5.3](#)).
- The coherent integration of migration as part of adaptation strategies in the context of climate change in national legal and strategic frameworks ([Call to Action 6.1](#)), channelling of remittances into climate action ([Call to Action 6.2](#)), and building skills and capacities of migrants to benefit from the circular economy ([Call to Action 6.3](#)) will notably contribute to fostering options and pathways for safe, orderly and regular migration in the context of environmental degradation and climate change in Tajikistan.



THE CONTEXT

Climate change is already impacting the lives and livelihoods of people in Tajikistan and is projected to increasingly do so in the future. Warming climatic conditions are expected to significantly alter Tajikistan's hydrodynamic parameters, and the frequency of major droughts is forecast to increase. These changes will adversely affect various activities associated with the agricultural sector, which provides livelihoods for much of the rural population (Shahrutus district, Khatlon Region, Tajikistan). © IOM 2022/LLC "Tahlil va Mashvarat"



Tajikistan is a mountainous country, and mountains cover 93 per cent of the surface area. It has the Pamir and Alay Mountain ranges that gave rise to many glacier-fed streams and rivers, which traditionally have been used to irrigate farmlands (Ishkoshim district, Gbao, Tajikistan). © IOM 2019/Khusrav RAJABOV

1. CONTEXT

Globally, the linkages between migration, the environment and climate change have been recognized by several policy frameworks such as the following: (a) 2015 Paris Agreement on Climate Change (United Nations, 2015a); (b) Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration (United Nations, 2019); (c) United Nations Plan on Disaster Risk Reduction for Resilience (United Nations, 2013); (d) Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015–2030 (United Nations, 2015b); (e) Human Rights Council’s human rights and climate change resolution (United Nations, 2017a); (f) UNCCD (United Nations, 1994); (g) Agenda for the Protection of Cross-Border Displaced Persons in the Context of Disasters and Climate Change (Nansen Initiative, 2015); and (h) New Urban Agenda (United Nations, 2017b). These frameworks are all mutually reinforcing and provide a comprehensive set of principles for action on MECC nexus. The nexus challenges and opportunities associated with the nexus and the aforementioned global frameworks should be taken into account in national legal and strategic frameworks. This will, in turn, support the achievement of the 2030 SDGs (United Nations, 2015c).

Tajikistan is the most vulnerable country to climate change in Eastern Europe and Central Asia (Notre Dame Global Adaptation Initiative, n.d.). The most recent Working Group II contribution to the IPCC Sixth Assessment Report (IPCC, 2022a) projects an increase in climate and weather-related disasters, as well as increasing water stress particularly in Central Asia, a region that highly depends on glaciers and snow melt and with pronounced dry seasons.¹ The report warns of increasing temperature extremes, aggravated drought conditions, higher frequency and intensity of sand and dust storms and an increase of severe damage and disruptions to people and infrastructure from floods, especially in the mountainous areas of Central Asia. At the same time, the Working Group II also predicts changes in streamflow due to changing glacier melt patterns and snow cover extent, negatively impacting irrigation agriculture (ibid.). See [Annex 1](#) for an overview of environmental and climate-related stressors and adaptation options in Tajikistan.

Tajikistan, featuring resource-dependent communities in arid, mountainous areas which are in socioeconomic transition, feels the adverse impacts of climate change more intensely (IOM, 2019a). Climate variability and change pose significant risks to the agriculture sector, which constitutes the largest sector of Tajikistan’s

¹ The IPCC Working Group II is dedicated to assessing global and regional impacts of climate change on ecosystems, biodiversity, on humans and their diverse societies, cultures and settlements. It considers vulnerabilities of these natural and human systems and their capacities to adapt to climate change and thereby reduce climate-associated risks. With that, it aims to offer options for an equitable and integrated approach to mitigation and adaptation efforts at all scales.

economy (22.6% of the country's GDP and 45.7% of the Tajik labour force) and is characterized by the limited area of arable land, high dependency on irrigation for crop production, environmental degradation and unsustainable use of natural resources (WFP, 2018). The latest IPCC report confirms that particularly small-scale farms in arid zones of Tajikistan will be negatively impacted with likely effects to farm income security (IPCC, 2022c). With the productivity of livestock already far below its potential, also pastoralist livelihoods are expected to be negatively affected by climate change since pastures, hay yields and fodder crops are strongly influenced by weather patterns (Philipona et al., 2019). Tajikistan's capacity to adapt to climate change is low, a situation frequently associated with a lack of stewardship, inadequate social and productive structures and institutions, insufficient infrastructure, poor resource management as well as pre-existing poverty, especially in remote rural areas (Fay et al., 2010). Disasters induced by natural hazards in Tajikistan led to GDP losses of roughly USD 1.8 billion, affecting almost 7 million people between 1992 and 2016 (WFP, 2017). There is no insurance system in place that could help protect individuals, small businesses or entire countries from permanent damage caused by the impact of extreme weather events.

Through the underlying drivers of vulnerability, the impacts of climate change will adversely affect Tajikistan and contribute to and reinforce existing poverty and inequality, jeopardizing progress in the achievement of the SDGs (IOM and UNCCD, 2019). Tajikistan has made progress in reducing its poverty rate from 83 per cent to 26.3 per cent of the population between 2000 and 2019, seeing its economy grow at an average rate of 7 per cent per year during the same period (World Bank, n.d.a). After the economic slowdown due to COVID-19, Tajikistan's GDP growth dropped to 4.5 per cent in 2020 but rebound to an annual rate of 8.7 per cent in the first half of 2021 (World Bank, 2021a). Recovery in remittance inflows, among other things, supported this rebound (ibid.). However, the Russian Federation's invasion of Ukraine and consequent imposed sanctions have exposed Tajikistan's vulnerability, as the fallout will likely lead to a contraction of Tajikistan's economy by about 2 per cent in 2022. This is largely derived from a projected 40 per cent fall in remittances, higher food and energy prices, and trade disruptions that will lower household incomes and increase poverty (World Bank, 2022).

As the rate of job creation has not kept pace with the growing population, high unemployment rates drive many to seek employment abroad (Murakami et al., 2019; Lemon, 2019). Every year, about half a million Tajiks leave the country for overseas employment, the majority of them male (85.5 % in 2019) and short-term seasonal migrants (75%) (ADB, 2020). Migrants are primarily from rural areas (85%) and young (85% between 15 and 44). The Russian Federation is the major destination country for Tajik migrants (97.6% in 2019) (ibid.). Estimates of remittances' contribution to household budgets range from 30 to 80 per cent

(Murakami et al., 2019; World Bank, 2021b; Rubinov, 2016; Gampp, 2017; Oriol, 2014; UNDP, 2012a; Lerman and Sedik, 2009). Official data is not available. A large portion of remittances is spent on immediate needs (that is, food and necessities), followed by house renovation (Danzer et al., 2013). Remittances are generally not saved (ADB, 2016). While official data does not show poverty dynamics adjusted for remittances, they are recognized as one of the major factors of poverty reduction (UNDP, 2015). In 2020, international remittances amounted to over USD 2.2 billion or 27 per cent of GDP (World Bank, n.d.a), making Tajikistan the third most remittance dependent State in the world and thus leaving the economy highly vulnerable to external shocks.² During the early months of the COVID-19 pandemic, temporary job loss was common among migrants even as remittances proved a source of resilience for households that received them (World Bank, 2021a). The situation gradually recovered among those already abroad, with active employment among migrant workers in early 2021 reaching higher than typical levels pre-pandemic (ibid.). The fall 2021 “Listening to Tajikistan” survey showed an increase of share of households with at least one labour migrant abroad from 29 per cent to 44 per cent and remittance income from 10 per cent to 18 per cent compared with 2020 (World Bank, 2021b). As indicated above, the World Bank projects a significant fall in remittances due to the sanctions imposed on the Russian Federation, affecting its employment and financial sectors as well as that of Tajikistan (World Bank, 2022).

Different forms of migration – disaster displacement, evacuation, pastoralism, labour migration (both internal and international) and planned relocation – could be shaped, in part, by climate impacts and environmental degradation. Sudden-onset natural hazards can result in displacement. For Tajikistan, IDMC has recorded 4,800 new displacements in 2020 (IDMC, 2022).³ IPCC (2022c) confirms that migration will increase across Asia, especially across drylands, which includes Tajikistan and other parts of Central Asia. The report acknowledges that migration is an outcome of climate change in the context of multidimensional poverty (ibid.). Indeed, the loss of productivity in agriculture and agropastoralism due to environmental degradation has been found to increasingly influence the labour migration of individuals and households in Tajikistan (IOM, 2012a). A number of other studies have found that climate change is likely to drive poverty among Tajikistan’s rural populations, particularly for women who experience lower rates of poverty reduction overall (Oxfam, 2011; UNDP, 2012a). Environmental stressors often add to or amplify

² Togo (35%) and Kyrgyzstan (33%) rank first and second. A record high of 46 per cent in 2013 made Tajikistan the most remittance dependent country – global comparison of remittance inflow as per April 2019 (KNOMAD ranking, accessible [here](#)).

³ Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre defines new displacements as “the occurrences of disaster-related internal displacement”. This refers to a number of movements, and not people, as individuals can be displaced several times. For Tajikistan, these numbers result for single recorded events, i.e. a mudslide in the Rudaki District in May 2019 and a flash flood in Khatlon District in May 2020.

economic hardships, deteriorating social conditions and poverty, thereby influencing the decision of individuals or households to move or stay. Remittances provide a source of income for Tajik families staying behind, with some studies suggesting that remittances are directed towards repairing infrastructure damaged by natural hazards, improving access to irrigation and drinking water and other measures in communities of origin (Blondin, 2018; Gampp, 2017; Rubinov, 2016; Oriol, 2014). The extent to which remittances are allocated towards different livelihood options, resilience-building, disaster preparedness, or climate change adaptation measures is understudied. While men are abroad, women also obtain low-paying jobs, most commonly in the agriculture sector (ADB, 2016). Gender imbalances in access to and control over productive resources, limited decision-making, and discrimination are common and also a key contributor to higher levels of vulnerability to climate change among women, particularly in rural Tajikistan (Oxfam, 2019).

The last decade has seen an intensification of global awareness of migration in the context of climate change and important steps have been taken towards its global governance (McLeman and Gemenne, 2018). At the Twenty-first session of the Conference of the Parties (COP21) under UNFCCC held in November 2015, the Task Force on Displacement was mandated through the COP Decision 10/CP.24, as part of the work programme of the Warsaw International Mechanism ExCom. The Task Force on Displacement includes members from Annex I and Non-Annex I countries, representatives of constituted bodies like the Adaptation Committee and Least Developed Countries Expert Group, representatives of United Nations agencies and a representative of the civil society organizations. The Task Force on Displacement developed a set of comprehensive recommendations for the parties, United Nations agencies and other stakeholders to avert, minimize and address displacement linked to climate change impacts and issues related to migration (UNFCCC, 2018). The Task Force on Displacement recommends the following to the parties: (a) consider formulating national and subnational policies, legislations and strategies, as appropriate, that recognize the importance of integrated approaches to avert, minimize and address displacement related to adverse impacts of climate change and issues around human mobility (33a); (b) enhance research, data collection, risk analysis and sharing of information to better map, understand and manage human mobility related to the adverse impacts of climate change (33b); (c) strengthen preparedness in averting, minimizing and addressing displacement related to adverse impacts of climate change (33c); (d) integrate human mobility challenges and opportunities into national planning processes and consider communicating efforts undertaken (33d); (e) consider assisting IDPs including those displaced as a result of the adverse effects of climate change and strengthen efforts to find durable solutions (33e); and (f) facilitate orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people, as appropriate and in accordance with national laws and policies and by enhancing opportunities for regular migration pathways, including through labour mobility in the context of

climate change (33f) (UNFCCC, 2018). The CEP is the dedicated focal point of the UNFCCC processes, including follow-up on the Task Force on Displacement (IOM, 2019b).

Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015–2030 recommends coordinating with migrants in disaster risk management at the local level (27h) and recognizes that the knowledge, skills and capacities of migrants can be useful in designing and implementing DRR (36 a vi) (United Nations, 2015b). COES is the focal point of the Sendai Framework. With the adoption of the Global Compact for Migration in December 2018 slow-onset environmental degradation, natural disasters and climate change impacts are recognized as one of the drivers of migration and the need to protect people who are forced or compelled to move because of climate and environmental impacts. At the same time, Objective 5 of the Global Compact for Migration acknowledges that enhancing the availability and flexibility of pathways for regular migration (such as humanitarian visas, private sponsorships, access to education and temporary work permits) could help address the needs of migrants in a situation of vulnerability (Ionesco and Chazalnoël, n.d.). Tajikistan has voted in favour of the Global Compact for Migration's adoption. MOLMEP is the governmental focal point for implementation of the Global Compact for Migration. The Government of Tajikistan works with the United Nations Migration Network and IOM to ensure effective and coordinated implementation of the Global Compact for Migration.

There is limited information on how and to what extent migration in the context of climate change and environmental degradation has been mainstreamed into national policies, legal frameworks and strategies in Tajikistan. In order to support the Government of Tajikistan, this report maps existing laws and strategies, including the following: (a) environmental degradation, climate change and DRR and preparedness ([chapter 3.1](#)); (b) sustainable development ([chapter 3.2](#)); (c) migration ([chapter 3.3](#)); and (d) gender ([chapter 3.4](#)). In doing so, the mapping will look at national laws and strategies related to various relevant policy agendas at the international level. This will allow for the subsequent analysis of the degree to which Tajikistan has already internalized the Task Force on Displacement recommendations ([chapter 4](#)) and inform appropriate ways forward ([chapter 5](#)) in order to further solidify the commitment in integrating approaches to avert, minimize and address displacement related to the adverse impacts of climate change.



2

METHODOLOGY FOR
POLICY MAPPING
ON MIGRATION,
ENVIRONMENT AND
CLIMATE CHANGE NEXUS
IN TAJIKISTAN





2. METHODOLOGY FOR POLICY MAPPING ON MIGRATION, ENVIRONMENT AND CLIMATE CHANGE NEXUS IN TAJIKISTAN⁴

2.1. TERMINOLOGY AND DEFINITIONS

The report uses the term *migration* to encompass different types of movements in the context of climate change and environmental degradation: disaster displacement, evacuation, pastoralism, labour migration and planned relocation. It covers internal and international migration as well as permanent, temporary, circular and seasonal forms of migration. This is in line with the language adopted in official documents of UNFCCC, as well as with the language of the five-year rolling workplan of the ExCom of the Warsaw International Mechanism for Loss and Damage of the UNFCCC. See [Glossary](#) for the key environment and climate change terminology and key migration terminology.

This report adopts the definitions of the terms *avert*, *minimize* and *address* as used by UNFCCC's Task Force on Displacement in its 2018 report (UNFCCC, 2018):

- To avert is understood as measure to reduce or avoid the risk of forced migration. These measures may include DRR, climate change adaptation, resilience-building and community stabilization;
- To minimize is understood as measure to facilitate safe, orderly and regular migration as part of adaptation strategies in the context of climate change. These measures may include ensuring migration pathways via free movement protocols, labour schemes, leveraging remittances or transhumance agreements; or, as a last resort, planning relocations of people living in high-risk areas;
- To address is understood as measure to prepare for and respond to displacement when it happens, including assistance and protection for those displaced due to disasters induced by climatic shocks and stressors, and seeking lasting solutions. These measures may include contingency planning, humanitarian relief aid, granting, expediting or waiving visas, non-return policies or reintegration strategies.

⁴ *Policy Analysis on Migration, Environment and Climate Change: Tajikistan* is part of a policy mapping and analysis series that includes Armenia, Kyrgyzstan, North Macedonia, the Republic of Moldova, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Ukraine.

The methodology for this exercise followed two major steps:

- Identifying relevant policies, legal frameworks and strategies.
- Analysing these documents for content on MECC nexus.

2.2. IDENTIFYING RELEVANT DOCUMENTS POLICIES, LAWS AND STRATEGIES

First, relevant policies, legal frameworks and strategies on environmental degradation, climate change, DRR, sustainable development, agriculture, rural development, urban development, gender, migration and other documents were identified. It was assumed relevant content will be found across various sectors. Key stakeholders were contacted to ensure that there is no duplication of already existing mapping with special attention to MECC nexus. Major policies, legal frameworks and strategies from different sectors were systematically identified and original documents were gathered. In accordance with the workplan of UNFCCC Task Force on Displacement, the mapping has been conducted “to the extent feasible and on the basis of accessible public document”. The mapping exercise included documents in the Tajik, Russian and English languages. An exhaustive list of documents is found in the Reference section (subsection Government of Tajikistan of the report).

2.3. DOCUMENT ANALYSIS FOR MIGRATION, ENVIRONMENT AND CLIMATE CHANGE NEXUS-RELATED CONTENT

Overall, 39 documents⁵ were mapped and reviewed: (a) 16 documents on the environment, climate change and DRR; (b) 9 documents on sustainable development; (c) 12 documents on migration; and (d) 2 documents on gender. The analysis involved identifying whether a document refers to MECC nexus. An inclusion was assessed to ascertain if the narrative mentions environmental or climate change impacts as a driver of migration or explores the role of migration consequences (such as moving to minimize risk and financial and social remittances) in the context of climate change adaptation or resilience-building. Once a document was identified, the framing of migration or migrant (e.g. as a victim, has agency or a security threat) and in what context was assessed. The analysis involved identifying

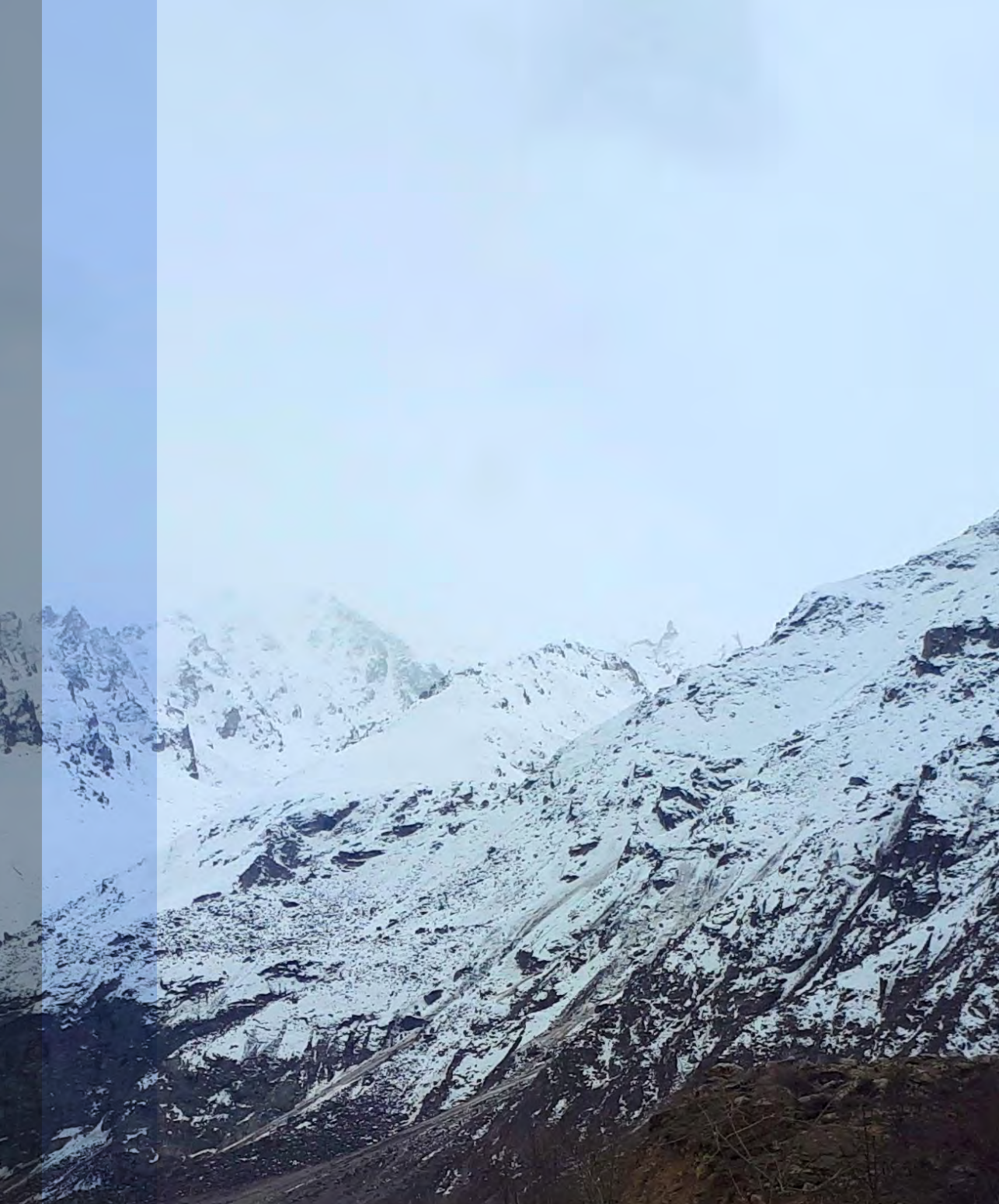
⁵ In addition, five documents were mapped regarding Tajikistan's reporting towards the UNFCCC; details of the analysis can be found in [Annex 2](#). A number of legal or policy documents were consulted to better understand context or certain aspects of the mapped documents and are not included in the total here.

the specific migration actors who had been acknowledged by the document (such as migrants, families staying behind, diaspora, pastoralists, displaced persons, sending communities and destination communities).

For the reviewed documents that do not mention MECC nexus, the following approaches were adopted. For migration-related documents, references to environmental and climate change were checked in the narrative. For documents from other sectors, it was assessed if migration was mentioned in the context of topics that are relevant for climate change adaptation or DRR, including the type of migration as well as migration actors. In both sets of documents, existing mechanisms, measures or practices, which could be relevant to addressing the migration-related challenges and opportunities in the context of climate change, were identified. The analysis involved identifying overlaps or a lack of coherence between certain domains.

2.4. LIMITATIONS

It should be noted that policies, legislation and strategies gathered during this mapping exercise are unlikely to be exhaustive. Priority was given to reviewing the latest versions of documents. This prioritization was necessary due to limitations on time and resources available. However, the older versions of certain documents that are specific to a government sector, administrative and territorial divisions and regions were also reviewed. The mapping is limited to publicly accessible documents. Some documents were analysed using machine-translated versions.



Tajikistan is a mountainous country that combines some of the highest, glacier-swept mountains in the world (up to 7,495 m) with low, arid farmlands (Darvoz district, Tajikistan).
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3

POLICY SITUATION:
MIGRATION,
ENVIRONMENT AND
CLIMATE CHANGE NEXUS
IN POLICIES, LAWS AND
STRATEGIES



Shahritus district, Khatlon Region, Tajikistan. © IOM 2022/ LLC "Tahlil va Masharat"

3. POLICY SITUATION: MIGRATION, ENVIRONMENT AND CLIMATE CHANGE NEXUS IN POLICIES, LAWS AND STRATEGIES

This chapter maps policies, laws, strategies and plans on the multifaceted aspects of MECC nexus and explores how the nexus is addressed or mentioned. The below subchapters are grouped as follows: chapter 3.1 looks at the reference to different forms of migration made in national environmental and/or climate change legislation and strategies. For example, it looks at how climate policy instruments, such as national adaptation strategies address migration and to what degree migration is accounted for. Chapter 3.2 explores if and to what extent national development policies, legislation and strategies, including poverty reduction strategies (associated with the achievement of the SDGs), consider the interlinkages between migration, environment and climate change. Chapter 3.3 reviews migration policies, legislation and strategies and explores whether and how environmental issues and climate change are taken into consideration. Lastly, in chapter 3.4, guiding gender policies, legislation and strategies are presented to better understand how roles are assigned to women and marginalized members of society in MECC nexus.

3.1. ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION, CLIMATE CHANGE AND DISASTER RISK FRAMEWORKS

The Government of Tajikistan appointed a special CEP in 2008 to promote, develop and implement a unified environmental policy for the protection and use of natural resources and to address climate change. CEP is composed of several departments and units tasked with monitoring, analytical control, assessing environmental impacts, inspections and environmental data processing. The review showed that since the establishment of CEP, the national legislative framework has seen a significant increase in policy that addresses environmental and climate change aspects.

Overall, 16 documents on the environment, climate change and DRR were analysed. Subchapter 3.1.1 maps six national legal and strategic frameworks on environment and protection of natural resources and if and how they mention forms of migration. Subchapter 3.1.2 reviews two documents to understand the extent to which Tajikistan's climate change laws and strategies take account of migration. Finally, subchapter 3.1.3 studies eight national DRR documents to see how migration in the context of environmental degradation and climate change is integrated.

3.1.1. The environment and protection of natural resources

This subchapter looks at NEAP, the Law on Environment Protection, the Land Code, the Water Sector Reform Programme, the Water Code and the Law on Water Users Association. NEAP is the most important document and influences the other laws, codes and programmes. Out of the six documents, one mentions the nexus between migration, environment and climate change, the Law on Environment Protection.

National Environmental Action Plan

In NEAP (No. 191) (Government of Tajikistan, 2006a), the Government of Tajikistan encourages more systematic and comprehensive coordination among and integration of the legal frameworks of different sectors concerned with the use of natural resources. NEAP aims to promote the sustainable and balanced use of natural resources and the protection of ecosystems to prevent conflicts in the country's strive towards sustainable economic development. The nodal institution/agency for NEAP is the CEP. NEAP does not mention migration in the context of climate change and environmental degradation.

Law on Environmental Protection

The Law on Environmental Protection (No. 1449) (Government of Tajikistan, 2017a) forms the main legal basis of State policy in the field of the environment. It has evolved to become the main legal basis through NEAP. The nodal institution/agency for the Law on Environmental Protection is CEP. The Law aims to ensure sustainable development by prioritizing environmental actions that combine the preservation and the sustainable use of resources with economic activities. The Law defines applicable legal principles, objects and the competencies and roles of the Government, local authorities, public organizations, and individuals in securing the public and individual human right to a safe and healthy environment. The Law also stipulates measures in providing access to accurate information and encourages participation of citizens in decision-making processes to ensure that actions to protect the environment contribute to improved living standards of the population and the socioeconomic development of the country. In cases where the safety of the population cannot be guaranteed, the Law assigns responsibility for emergency zoning, prescribes the order of action in the relocation of populations at risk and describes compensation rights (see [subchapter 3.1.3](#)). With that, the Law does mention the nexus, however referring only to planned relocation while not making direct reference to climate change.

Land Code

Continued progress has been made in Tajikistan on the land-use reform, through the restructuring of Soviet-style collective farms, improving legislation to provide better access to land, and supporting initiatives to develop a market in land use – an effort that allows farmers to put land to its most productive use. The Land Code (No. 1363) (Government of Tajikistan, 2016a) regulates resources' management, permitting, dispute resolution, usage planning, and promotes its rational use and protection. The nodal institution/agency for the code is MOA. Land in Tajikistan is the exclusive property of the State (*ibid.*, art. 2), which guarantees its effective use in the interests of citizens. The Government retains the right to remove people and demolish property on land to build power and water supply facilities, provided that no other option exists for the placement of those facilities. In such a case, the Code obliges the Government to give individuals forced to relocate equivalent land and housing in addition to “full compensation for all other losses, including loss of profit.” (*ibid.*, art. 37). Sectoral reforms allowed to increase the privatization of rural land, especially plots for households' food production, which has driven substantial improvements in food security (WFP, 2018). Provision of land use rights to private *dehkan* farms is less common.⁶ Despite progress, challenges remain, including a lack of awareness among rural populations of their rights to land, unequal access to rights between men and women, and corruption at the national and local levels preventing farmers from exercising their rights (USAID, 2016). Also, the reform has been criticized for a lack of consideration for communal tenure arrangement, which is likely to have adverse social and environmental impacts on small family farms, agribusinesses and rural landless livestock holders (Halimova, 2012). The Code does not mention MECC nexus.

Water Sector Reform Programme and the Water Code

The comprehensive Water Sector Reform Programme 2016–2025 (No. 47) (Government of Tajikistan, 2016b) guided the adoption of the new Water Code (No. 1688) (Government of Tajikistan, 2020a). The nodal institution/agency for the Programme and Code is the Ministry of Energy and Water Resources of Tajikistan. The Code governs the protection and rational use of water resources and offers provisions for the protection of water users, as well as settlements, farmlands and all types of property from washout, erosion, flooding and destruction of water objects, bogging and other water-related hazards. Importantly, the Reform Programme allowed for the introduction of principles of integrated water resource management and clear participatory elements in the planning of water resources

⁶ *Dehkan* farms are privately owned commercial farms that emerged after 1997 as a result of the reforms of the Soviet-era State and collective farms. Independent *dehkan* farms are now increasingly being supplanted by a third form – the association of *dehkan* farms. An association consists of a group of small *dehkan* farms under a single association management.

management, including important environmental protection, DRR and climate change adaptation measures. For example, the Code stipulates the participatory elaboration and implementation of water basin plans, which include important functions, such as the following: (a) assessing the risk of water shortages, droughts, floods, pollution and dam breaks; (b) defining the territories with high risk of pollution; and (c) defining territories with high risk of floods and landslides and identifying types of activities that are banned in such territories. Despite being relevant to addressing MECC nexus, neither the Reform Programme nor the Code mention it.

Law on Water Users Association

In January 2020, the Government of Tajikistan also adopted the new Law on Water Users Association (No. 1688) (Government of Tajikistan, 2020b), officially establishing these community-based organizations as part of irrigation governance and empowering them to provide better service to farmers. The nodal institution/agency for this law is the Ministry of Energy and Water Resources. The associations offer a consultative body and a platform for presenting the voice of water users in a basin. Improved management of irrigation and water resources aims to help farmers increase their crop yields and provide greater food security for the local population. Despite the importance of water quality, availability and management for rural livelihoods, this law does not refer to migration, environmental degradation or climate change.

3.1.2. Climate change

Addressing the impacts of climate change has been high on the national agenda with key legislation and strategies, outlining directions for national action on mitigating and adapting to its impacts.⁷ This subchapter looks at the National Action Plan for Climate Change Mitigation and NSACC. Out of the two documents, one mentions the nexus between migration, environment and climate change – NSACC.

National Action Plan for Climate Change Mitigation

The National Action Plan for Climate Change Mitigation (No. 259) (Government of Tajikistan, 2003a) identifies issues, outlines priorities and indicates measures to reduce or prevent the emission of greenhouse gases and enhancing the use of natural carbon sinks. Indeed, aiming at implementing its commitments concerning UNFCCC, Tajikistan has been among the first in Central Asia to develop an action plan. The nodal institution/agency for this action plan is CEP. The Action Plan

⁷ For an overview of national communications to UNFCCC, please refer to [Annex 2](#).

notes that near-surface temperatures have increased significantly, particularly in large cities between 1961 and 1990, which is associated with the high levels of urbanization (such as construction of roads, buildings, transport and industry) during that period. The Action Plan does not explicitly mention MECC nexus and with that, access to clean energy among migrants, IDPs and refugees remains an underexplored area.

National Strategy for Adaptation to Climate Change

NSACC (No. 482) (Government of Tajikistan, 2019a) presents a long-term outline of priority adaptation measures to prepare the country for projected climate change impacts until 2030. The nodal institution/agency for climate change is CEP. NSACC identifies migration as one of seven important cross-cutting areas to achieving the strategy. The document calls for increasing ministerial collaboration in support of the country's transition towards more intersectoral approaches to address climate change, achieve sustainable development and protect the environment. The six other cross-cutting areas include health care, education, gender, youth, the environment and emergencies. Specifically, NSACC acknowledges that "climate change is likely to be an important driver of future migration" and that "affected households use several types of migrations" (ibid., 41) to cope with the environmental stressors. The document further recognizes that the decision to stay in place or move from specific places is a reflection of the households' vulnerability towards climate change, adaptation capacities and resilience. Though that suggests an acknowledgement of a wider range of migration pathways, the governmental definition of environmental migrants is limited to planned relocation:

Environmental migrants are people who are living in environmentally dangerous areas that are subject to planned relocation to prevent loss of life from natural disasters. The reason for relocation includes living in areas susceptible to landslides, avalanches, mudslides and other natural disasters that pose a threat to lives.

(Ibid.)

NSACC offers some estimations of the number of people who have been relocated from hazardous areas (see [subchapter 3.1.3](#)) and points to a lack of research on the link between environmental problems and other forms of migration. Nevertheless, reflecting the findings of the study conducted by IOM in 2012, the document stresses that degradation of the environment has an increasing impact on the migratory behaviour of the population of Tajikistan (IOM, 2012a). NSACC suggests that migration is highest in areas prone to environmental degradation. Furthermore, the strategy also acknowledges that the extent of damage and losses during disasters, the probability of recurrence, loss of livelihoods, aid, poverty, remittances and potential opportunities at the destination significantly

contribute to migration decisions – including temporary international or internal labour migration, permanent internal migration towards rural or urban areas or permanent emigration from the country. Finally, NSACC also recognizes that in situations of extreme impoverishment, households often lack the resources to move, for example after a disaster, and are becoming either “trapped” or avail of internal labour migration instead.

In the discussion on climate change impacts on and adaptation options for the different priority sectors, i.e. energy, water resources, transport and agriculture sectors, migration considerations are limited to the agricultural sector. NSACC suggests that changes in temperature and precipitation patterns may “force” farmers to migrate internally “in search of more suitable agricultural areas” (Government of Tajikistan, 2019a) because reduced water reserves in arid areas are likely to result in significant economic losses for farmers.

3.1.3. Disaster risk reduction, preparedness and response

In its commitment to sustainable and resilient development, mainstreaming disaster risk management in development planning and reducing vulnerability to disaster impacts are priorities in Tajikistan. This subchapter looks at the National Disaster Risk Reduction Strategy of the Republic of Tajikistan for 2019–2030, four decrees on relocation (On Relocation of Households from Environmentally Dangerous Zones, On the Procedure for Internal Migration of Populations from Densely-Populated Mountainous Areas with Limited Available Land to Lower-Laying Valleys of the Republic of Tajikistan in 2019–2021, On the Resettlement of the Population of the City of Roghun and the Nurobodsky District from the Flood Zone of the Roghun Hydroelectric Power Station and On the Resettlement of 45 Families of Ecological Migrants from the Tavildarin District to the Pyanj and Kumsangir Districts of the Khatlon Region) and three decrees on evacuation (Resolution on the Definition of Emergency Situations, On the Protection of Population and Territories from Emergency Situations and On the Financial Assistance to Populations Relocated in Disaster Situations). Out of the eight documents, all except the Resolution on the Definition of Emergency Situations and the On the financial assistance to populations relocated in disaster situations mention the nexus between migration, environment and climate change.

National Disaster Risk Reduction Strategy of the Republic of Tajikistan for 2019–2030

The National Disaster Risk Reduction Strategy of the Republic of Tajikistan for 2019–2030 (DRR Strategy) (No. 602) (Government of Tajikistan, 2018a) was formulated by the interdepartmental Working Group within the National Disaster Risk Reduction Platform. The nodal institution/agency of this strategy is COES.

The DRR Strategy follows recommendations set forth in the Sendai Framework (United Nations, 2015b) and takes into account the Agenda 2030 (United Nations, 2015c), the National Development Strategy of Tajikistan until 2030 (hereafter NDS 2030) (Government of Tajikistan, 2016c) (see [subchapter 3.2](#)), as well as the commitments under UNFCCC. The key priorities of the DRR Strategy are as follows: (a) strengthen institutional capacities to integrate climate resilience in national development and investment planning; (b) improve the accuracy and timeliness of hydrometeorological services for early warning, weather forecasting and climate change; assessments; (c) make key water management and hydropower infrastructure more climate resilient; and (d) support land management measures to enhance rural livelihoods through greater resilience to climate-related shocks (Government of Tajikistan, 2018a).

The DRR Strategy confirms the need for more systematic post-disaster recovery, rehabilitation and development planning for building sustainable livelihoods, and recognizes displacement as one of the devastating consequences of disasters. Furthermore, the DRR Strategy notes the adverse effects of climate change on disaster risk and the need to step up efforts and improve coordination in the area of environmental conservation within the context of climate change adaptation, as well as promotion of sustainable livelihoods to develop viable DRR mechanisms (*ibid.*). Focus on the impact of disasters on agricultural livelihood systems and how they are interlinked with vulnerability to disasters remains limited (Kassam et al., 2019). In addition, and in line with the Sendai Framework and the Words into Action Guidelines (UNISDR, 2019), the DRR Strategy also recognizes migrants as stakeholders in local disaster risk management and resilience-building. However, the DRR Strategy does not describe how this ought to be achieved. A significant change from the preceding strategy is apparent in regards to the role of women in disaster risk management, acknowledging differences in needs, types of vulnerability and capacities, and stressing the importance of overcoming gender inequality in decision-making processes (Government of Tajikistan, 2018a).

On the Procedure for Internal Migration and the Relocation of Households from Environmentally Dangerous Zones

In reference to Article 5 of the Law on Migration (No. 1541) (Government of Tajikistan, 2018b) (see [subchapter 3.3.1](#)) and the Order of Internal Migration (No. 532) (Government of Tajikistan, 2014a) (see also [subchapter 3.3.1](#)), the Government formulates annual relocation plans⁸ and makes provisions for

⁸ The mapping reviewed the on the Procedure for Internal Migration of Populations from Densely-Populated Mountainous Areas with Limited Available Land to Lower-Laying Valleys of the Republic of Tajikistan in 2019–2021 (No. 467) (Government of Tajikistan, 2008a), while the annual plans were not publicly available. Two specific relocation plans (Roghun and Tavildara) were looked at in more detail.

populations living in environmentally unfavourable conditions, for example, the Resolution on the Procedure for Internal Migration of Populations from Densely-Populated Mountainous Areas with Limited Available Land to Lower-Laying Valleys of the Republic of Tajikistan in 2019–2021 (No. 467) (Government of Tajikistan, 2008a). The Resolution defines roles and responsibilities in the relocation process. This is detailed in the Procedure on Relocation of Households from Environmentally Dangerous Zones (Government of Tajikistan, 2010a), which regulates the permanent relocation of households from zones exposed to a heightened risk of natural hazards. The State Migration Service, under MOLMEP, is responsible for the coordination with relevant State agencies for the pre-emptive definition and selection of hazardous environmental zones, for carrying out relocation, issuing financial compensation, for organizing the reception of relocated

Text box 1. Roghun Dam Resettlement Project

At a projected height of 335 m., the Roghun Hydropower Project will have an installed capacity of 3,600 MW of electricity and will be the tallest dam in the world. It is situated along the Vakhsh River, about 110 km. from Dushanbe, Tajikistan's capital. Its reservoir will flood over 170 km² of land and require that at least 7,000 families or 42,000 people to resettle (World Bank, 2013).

The process of the relocation of people from the area is regulated by Resolution No. 47 (Government of Tajikistan, 2009) in line with Article 5 of the Law on Migration and commenced in 2009. By early 2014, approximately 1,500 families had been relocated out of the reservoir zone to several other locations in Tajikistan. The current status of the resettlement process is unknown after the scheme has drawn intense criticism from those relocated and human rights organizations (Human Rights Watch, 2014). The major problem, people said, was that they were not given enough compensation to replace their homes. In addition, many people were not able to get land in their new communities that they needed for agriculture and livestock to supplement their incomes, and some new communities did not yet have schools.

households in the place of arrival, and on accounting and reporting of relocations (ibid.). SCLMG surveys district areas, identifies environmentally dangerous zones and maps areas of high exposure to risks (both environmental degradation and natural hazards). The State Committee of Land Tenure and their regional representatives decide which communities within the hazardous zones should be moved and prepare the population for relocation. The State Committee for Land Use and its district offices also decide on a host area for the relocated communities, ensuring all necessary considerations are taken into account for the construction of new villages for relocated families.⁹ The State Agency for Social Protection, Employment of Population and Migration

⁹ Necessitates the involvement of the Ministry of Transport, the Ministry of Education and Science, the Ministry of Health and Social Protection, SCLMG, CAC, the Agency for Land Reclamation and Irrigation, the Main Directorate of Geology, Barqi Tojik and the State Unitary Enterprise Housing and Communal Services.

of MOLMEP then carries out the relocation, during which the COES provides humanitarian assistance. The Ministry of Finance of the Government of Tajikistan appropriates necessary funds for the whole process and provides loans in the amount of TJS 5,000 (equivalent to approximately USD 440)¹⁰ to each family. MOLMEP is responsible for monitoring and reporting on progress in implementing the plan. The Resolution foresees the planned relocation of 916 families, but it is unclear whether it has been implemented, and no information has been made available. In addition, the Government also adopts ad hoc resolutions on the relocation from specific zones that are identified to be hazardous (see [Text box 1](#)).¹¹ The status of the implementation of those resolutions, however, is also unclear. In addition, the responsibilities of post-relocation recovery and integration into the newly settled locations are not defined.

On the Protection of Population and Territories from Emergency Situations

The Resolution on the Definition of Emergency Situations (No. 367) (Government of Tajikistan, 2006b) defines emergencies as situations of an accident or natural disaster that affects a large number of people (causing human casualties, damage to human health or the environment, significant material losses and disturbances in living conditions). The decree on the Protection of Population and Territories from Emergency Situations (No. 558) (Government of Tajikistan, 2004) guides the process for the relocation of households in case of an emergency situation. The Law sets out provisions for COES to carry out relocation measures should such a situation occur and ensure the rights of the population to be compensated for damage caused to health and property (*ibid.*). The Law obliges COES to collect and provide timely and reliable information for the population about emergency situations, determine zones of high risk in due time, and ensure disaster readiness of the population in close collaboration with local authorities. The extent to which these responsibilities are undertaken is unclear, as no reports are being made publicly available. The Law also tasks COES with ensuring shelter for those displaced by an emergency (*ibid.*, art. 13). The provision of one-off financial assistance to the affected population is regulated by a resolution, which stipulates that each family receives a concessional loan of TJS 3,000 (approximately USD 263)¹² and TJS 300 as a lump sum for financial support (Resolution No. 517) (Government of Tajikistan, 2003b). In addition, each household receives a plot of land of 0.08–0.10 ha. for building a house. Special attention shall also be drawn to the regulation that “settlers have no right to return to their homes and their

¹⁰ Exchange rate of June 2022.

¹¹ See also Resolution No. 365 (Government of Tajikistan, 2012b) “On the resettlement of 45 Families of Ecological Migrants from the Tavildarin District to the Pyanj and Kumsangir Districts of the Khatlon Region”.

¹² Exchange rate of June 2022.

houses will be destroyed” (Government of Tajikistan, 2010a). The provision of social and legal protection to environmental migrants, as defined in the Law on Migration (No. 1541) (Government of Tajikistan, 2018b) (see [subchapter 3.3.1](#)) and used also in NSACC until 2030 (Government of Tajikistan, 2019a), includes transportation services during the relocation to safe areas, the construction of transport roads, and restoration and upgrading on-farm roads in the new place of residence, construction of health facilities, establishment of preschool and general education institutions in the new places of residence, ensuring drinking water supply as well as irrigation water to household plots.

3.1.4. Sub-conclusion: Environment, Climate Change and Disaster Risk Frameworks

A total of 16 documents were reviewed to understand how and to what extent MECC nexus are mainstreamed in national policies, laws and strategies on environmental degradation, climate change and disaster risks; a total of eight mentions the nexus.

Of the six documents on environmental protection and natural resources studied, one refers to environmental degradation and natural hazard risks as a potential cause of relocation. Overall, the mapped documents fail also to integrate issues of climate change. Despite the high risks of water-related hazards in Tajikistan, none of the sectoral frameworks within the comprehensive Water Sector Reform Programme address the nexus. The mainstreaming of the nexus is more evident in the two documents mapped in the climate change domain, with one mentioning the nexus. The comprehensive NSACC framework is the most advanced mapped document in terms of its integration of MECC nexus. It falls short of including other types of migration in the face of environmental degradation and climate change beyond planned relocation in its definition of environmental migration but calls for continued research and cross-sectoral collaboration. Of the eight mapped DRR documents, all but two refer to the nexus, considering planned relocation and evacuation. The new phase in the national DRR Strategy for 2019–2030 does make important provisions in terms of building national capacities for disaster risk management, but in a critical omission, remains silent on the need to better integrate impacts of climate change, natural resources management, sustainable rural livelihood systems and migration.

3.2. POLICIES, LEGISLATION AND STRATEGIES ON NATIONAL SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The Agenda 2030 was adopted by all United Nations Member States, including Tajikistan, in 2015. It features 17 SDGs and 169 associated targets. For Tajikistan, it functions as the country's overarching development framework. In 2017, TajStat conducted a rapid integrated assessment to support mainstreaming of the SDGs into national and subnational planning (TajStat, 2017). The exact methodology and analytical framework used to assess the integration is, however, not described. This subchapter looks at nine documents (on national development, sustainable agriculture, local self-governance, urbanization and knowledge management), of which only one mentions MECC nexus.

3.2.1. National Development Strategy until 2030

To determine a comprehensive reform strategy and ensure coordination between public authorities, the private sector and civil society in the implementation of SDG-related strategic documents, the NDC-RT was established.¹³ NDC-RT supports the Ministry of Economic Development and Trade of Tajikistan, the focal point of the Agenda 2030 process, in accelerating legislation and strategy development to achieve inclusive and comprehensive sustainable development in Tajikistan.

National Development Strategy until 2030 and two medium-term development programmes

NDS 2030 (Government of Tajikistan, 2016c) and the respective MTDP for 2016–2020 (No. 678) (Government of Tajikistan, 2016d) and MTDP for 2021–2025 (No. 168) (Government of Tajikistan, 2021a) take into account the SDGs and international obligations. NDS 2030 and both MTDPs call to further integrate the SDGs and international obligations into sectoral legal and strategic frameworks. This is directly linked to the establishment of NDC-RT. It is also important to note that in contrast to earlier strategies, NDS 2030 puts the improvement of the living standards of the population at its centre.

The SDGs provide several entry points to integrate MECC nexus towards achieving Agenda 2030 (IOM, 2022; IOM, 2018; Mach, 2017). However, while NDS 2030 considers all individual aspects of the nexus (that is, MECC) as key to the country's

¹³ NDC-RT consists of the following: (a) President of the Republic of Tajikistan; (b) Prime Minister; (c) First Deputy Prime Minister; (d) Aide to the President on Economic Affairs; (e) Minister of Economic Development and Trade; (f) Minister of Finance; (g) Minister of Justice; (h) Chairman of the State Committee on Investments and State Property Management; (i) Chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions; and (j) Director of the Public Charitable Foundation of Tajikistan.

sustainable development, it refers to them solely in silos. This is mirrored in both MTDPs.

For one, NDS 2030 acknowledges the significant role remittances play in the country's development but considers it a key factor impeding the country's overall sustainable development. This conclusion is drawn due to its social and financial costs, namely the following: (a) it exacerbates vulnerabilities within migrants' families, particularly among wives and children that remain behind in rural areas; (b) it drains qualified professionals from the country; and (c) generates strong dependencies on remittances and labour market conditions in a limited number of destination countries. NDS 2030 calls for greater diversification of destination countries and better pre-departure support to migrants, including legal support and vocational and language training. NDS 2030 also aims to improve legal and social protection programmes for labour migrants, including the strengthening of State regulation of migrants' return process. At the same time, NDS 2030 also addresses labour mobility in the context of urbanization. The Strategy states that, on the one hand, more productive employment in rural areas should aid in reducing the pressure on urban centres, and on the other, urban development planning should be improved to improve the quality of living (see also [subchapter 3.2.4](#)).

NDS 2030 considers environmental degradation, especially in the context of climate change, as a key challenge toward achieving the SDGs. Improving the productivity of the agricultural sector and increasing its contribution to food security is of a high priority (particularly among the most vulnerable members of society, such as women, children, the elderly and people with disabilities). NDS 2030 associates low levels of productivity of already scarce arable land and anticipates significant economic losses in the agricultural sector due to erosion, pollution, salinization, waterlogging, increased groundwater levels, reduction of forest areas, land withdrawal from agricultural use, and climate change. NDS 2030 therefore calls for the diversification of crops, technologies and practices in agricultural production that anticipate climate change impacts, while also strengthening access to markets, management of irrigation channels, and strengthening value chains. Mirroring the need to grow employment opportunities, NDS 2030 suggests supporting the development of "green employment", expansion and public support of environmental entrepreneurship and the environmental services market. Though these priorities reflect the priorities of the Programme for Reforming the Agriculture Sector (No. 383) (Government of Tajikistan, 2012a), evidence of progress in the realization of these plans is not available (see [subchapter 3.2.2](#)).

A further key challenge to the country's sustainable development acknowledged in NDS 2030 is the high risk of disasters induced by natural hazards. In reference to the Sendai Framework (United Nations, 2015b), NDS 2030 calls for a "people-centred"

approach to disaster risk management (see [subchapter 3.1.3](#)). In particular, NDS 2030 calls for the development and implementation of national disaster preparedness and response plans, which allow for the following: (a) improvement of early warning systems; (b) reduction of social vulnerabilities to natural hazards; (c) gender sensitivity; (d) consideration of the demographics of the population in exposed areas; and (e) commitments mainstreaming of climate change and disaster risks into other national sectoral strategic documents and plans.

Although NDS 2030 looks at migration, environmental degradation and climate change in silos and does not refer to the nexus as such, the document does provide important entry points. In particular, NDS 2030 acknowledges increased vulnerabilities of rural populations in the absence of men due to labour emigration and calls for both agricultural development, as well as disaster risk management efforts to follow a gender-sensitive approach. It also calls for reducing the number of deaths and people affected by disasters through effective practices, strengthening development planning for resilient cities and settlements and building adaptive capacity and integrating climate change measures in policies. The extent to which NDS 2030 will support the elaboration of relevant sectoral reforms is to be seen.

3.2.2. Sustainable agriculture

Agriculture is the mainstay of Tajikistan's economy and one of the largest employers, including women. Food security and the population's access to quality nutrition is one of the four main priority areas in NDS 2030. MTDP 2021–2025 emphasizes the need for improved capacity of agricultural public institutions in order to increase resilience and sustainability of the sector, including in the face of climate change and other shocks. In turn, the importance of the sector is further reflected in relevant climate change frameworks as previously demonstrated (see [subchapter 3.1.2](#)). The Concept of Agrarian Policy of Tajikistan and the Programme for Reforming the Agriculture Sector of the Republic of Tajikistan for 2012–2020 were mapped; neither make reference to the nexus.

Concept of Agrarian Policy of Tajikistan

The Concept of Agrarian Policy of Tajikistan (No. 658) (Government of Tajikistan, 2008b) encompasses all legislation on agriculture and establishes the economic, financial and political conditions in the agrarian sector. The nodal institution/agency for this concept is MOA. The Concept aims to improve the efficiency of resource and land use, stabilize markets, support and protect agricultural producers and improve the standard of living of the rural population. There is no mention of MECC nexus.

Programme for Reforming the Agriculture Sector of the Republic of Tajikistan for 2012–2020

The most recent Programme for Reforming the Agriculture Sector of the Republic of Tajikistan for 2012–2020 (No. 383) (Government of Tajikistan, 2012a) identified strategic directions and methods to ensure a high-income and export-oriented agriculture, proceeding from the general objective of increasing living standards of the rural population and achieving food security in the country.¹⁴ The nodal institution/agency for this programme is MOA. The Programme points to international labour migration as a key factor impeding agriculture development in Tajikistan. Male-dominated labour migration dynamics imply that much of the work in agriculture is carried out by women (see [subchapter 3.4](#) on gender) who often do not benefit from the same access to rights as men, including the following: (a) unequal size of female shares in *dehkan* farms; (b) lower pay for labour; (c) worse access to financial instruments and credit; and (d) traditional social structures (*ibid.*). In view of the above, the success of the proposed agricultural reforms depends to a large extent on how the potential of women is realized and their rights are exercised.¹⁵ The Programme mentions migration, namely in that an additional priority in achieving the goals set out is to encourage return of migrants and tackle the lack of financial incentives and securities in working on *dehkan* farms, for example through renting of land and Land Use Right Certificate as a collateral for credit. In addition, the increase in farm profitability through the use of alternative and profitable crops and livestock is essential. A direct mention of MECC nexus is not made.

3.2.3. Local self-government

The governance structure in Tajikistan is divided into four main levels: (a) national government; (b) *viloyat* (provincial) level; (c) *rayon* (district) level; and (d) *jamoat* (subdistrict) level. In addition, the *mahalla* (neighbourhood) level has a long-standing traditional structure of self-organization to address community issues, collect funds and implement projects with the voluntary participation in *hashar* (collective labour). *Hashar* was usually performed for the benefit of the whole community, such as the rehabilitation of public utilities, reconstruction of the homes of widows and the elderly, and rural development efforts such as cleaning irrigation ditches (Cieslewska, 2010; Freizer, 2004). Therefore, local self-government is crucial in understanding decision-making and planning at the community, village and household levels. Importantly, Gampp (2017) found that migration has a neutral to negative effect on the levels of self-organization in Tajikistan. Despite the influx

¹⁴ At the time of writing, no updated version of the programme was available from the Ministry of Agriculture.

¹⁵ A report by ADB (2016) found that women have not benefited equally from land privatization reforms and that gender imbalances in access to and control over productive resources, limited decision-making and discrimination prevail. A particular concern is the serious underrepresentation of women either as agricultural title owners or decision makers.

of finances, the need for leadership is crucial to engage community members in self-organization. This is largely attributable to the fact that those left in the source region are often restricted to the household and remain subordinate to the (male) migrant despite his absence. Lack of leadership is often accompanied by a lack of knowledge and long-term thinking among the remaining population in source areas as well as of migrants themselves, in terms of risks posed to the community, a situation further aggravated by the rigidity in the social structures that go unaddressed. The legal framework on local self-government has been developed over the past decade and needs to be assessed in terms of its conduciveness to MECC nexus.

Law on Public Associations

In a 2013 amendment of the 2008 Law on Public Associations (No. 384) (Government of Tajikistan, 2013a), the Government of Tajikistan formalized elements of local self-government and the institutions and traditional role of the *mahalla* were legalized. The nodal institution/agency for this law is the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Tajikistan. The Law defines the rights and responsibilities of *mahalla* committees as informal social self-governing institutions. Though MECC nexus is not mentioned, it is considered relevant for this policy mapping, as existing research suggests that integrating traditional (indigenous) self-governing institutions such as the *mahalla* into poverty reduction programmes could give great potential for social as well as economic development (Cieslewska, 2010).

Law on Local Self-Government in Towns and Villages

The Law on Local Self-Government in Towns and Villages (No. 549) (Government of Tajikistan, 2019b) defines the *Jamoat* Council as the rightful body for local self-governance. The nodal institution/agency for this law is the Ministry of Justice. Unfortunately, the Law fails to clarify the roles of other institutions of local self-governance, including the *mahalla* committees. The *Jamoat* Council is responsible for social protection and environmental issues to assist in employment programmes, including measures to manage the migration process. With respect to development planning, districts formulate three-year development plans that prioritize actions to be funded. However, in most districts, funding is lacking for the implementation of these plans. Subnational government entities do not create their own laws or policies, but are guided by national documents. With that, the integration of MECC nexus in national legislation and strategies would articulate guidance for their implementation at subnational levels. However, the Law does not make this link and hence does not mention the nexus.

Water and pasture management are also under the jurisdiction of local self-government bodies (Wilkes, 2014). The need to effectively manage water systems and pasture lands in Tajikistan led to the introduction of two additional

local self-government bodies: WUA and PUU in the late 1990s and early 2000s (Abdullaev et al., 2009). WUAs were formalized to bring about a more efficient supply of water to the newly created *dehkan* farms, and help delineate responsibilities between farmers and local governments with regard to maintaining irrigation infrastructure (Law on Water Users Association; see [subchapter 3.1.1](#)). In turn, PUUs ought to raise community knowledge on sustainable pasture management to prevent overgrazing and soil degradation (see [subchapter 3.3.2](#)). Both WUAs and PUUs can play a crucial part in integrating cross-sectoral solutions in the fields of development and balancing the benefits of the water, energy and food security nexus (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), 2019). Neither refer to the nexus of MECC.

3.2.4. Urban development and planning

The share of the urban population of Tajikistan has remained virtually unchanged over the past five years, accounting for only 26.3 per cent of the country's total population (Government of Tajikistan, 2021a). MTDP 2021–2025 further suggests that urbanization is likely to become increasingly important only if progress in industrialization is made, that is, the establishment of sectoral clusters in the district towns, urban construction plans and development of industrial areas that can attract workers and their families. The mapping analysed the Town Planning Code, which made reference to the nexus.

Town Planning Code

At the national level, CAC is responsible for urban planning regulation. During the preparation of urban plans, CEP is not generally consulted but is involved in the approval stage only. The Town Planning Code (No. 933) (Government of Tajikistan, 2020c) defines roles in urban planning, granting individuals and subnational government bodies the right to take part in the implementation, but not the development of town-planning activities. The Code touches upon planned relocation and includes provisions in identifying and keeping zones of the town free from construction to allow for the potential hosting of displaced populations. These zones ought to be in low-hazard risk areas such as meadows and flat areas to ensure the safety of potential settlements. The Code does not clarify how hazard risks are to be assessed, who has the responsibility to conduct the assessment and how the needs of those relocated is assessed and met in the host area. Chapter 4 of the Code, however, provides for an urban planning cadastre where information shall be found, including zoning of territories and urban planning regulations of territorial zones, the technical condition of the housing stock, engineering, transport and social infrastructure facilities. To date, however, the Code lacks provisions mandating relevant State agencies to produce and exchange environmental information for town planning.

3.2.5. Information and knowledge management

TajStat under the President of the Republic of Tajikistan is the central statistical office responsible for collecting, storing and disseminating data on the population (such as general censuses and household surveys) and a wide range of economic indicators (such as production, including from agriculture, prices of goods, trade, government finance, employment and migration).

Law on State Statistics

The activities of TajStat are governed by the Law on State Statistics (No. 588) (Government of Tajikistan, 2010b) and set out provisions for multi-annual integrated statistical programmes¹⁶ through which it intends to enhance the quality of service delivery of TajStat. By regularly publishing data in the form of briefs and a methodological note (neither an analysis of the data), TajStat informs about progress regarding the national development plan and the SDGs.¹⁷ Among its recent publications, the State of Environmental Protection report (TajStat, 2019) offers indicator values on the state and quality of land, water and air. It does not mention any forms of migration. The latest report on the labour market developments (TajStat, 2018) does not refer to climate change or environmental factors. The Law does not mention the nexus either and makes no provisions to collect, analyse or communicate cross-sectoral data.

3.2.6. Sub-conclusion: National sustainable development

A total of nine documents were reviewed, of which only the Town Planning Code mentioned MECC nexus. Namely, the Code was found to make indirect reference to the nexus by referring to the need to plan for zones that are reserved for hosting potential relocated populations. Those zones ought to be located in areas with a limited risk of land degradation and natural hazards. NDS 2030 (and the corresponding MTDPs) does not make an explicit link between migration, environmental degradation and climate change, and their impacts on achieving sustainable development. Corresponding policies, laws and strategies of the agricultural sector do not make reference to such interlinkages. The respective agricultural reform programme considers labour migration as an impeding factor for sectoral development and aims to encourage migrants to return. The policy and the strategy document both focus on economic growth and are not people centred. They do not mention environmental degradation, climate change or migration.

¹⁶ The current programme was not available at the time of this study; the last available study dates back to 2005 and is considered outdated.

¹⁷ A web-portal on the SDG indicators for Tajikistan can be found [here](#).

Two documents have been analysed to determine how local self-governance integrates traditional self-governing institutions in district development planning that can sustainably reduce poverty, contribute to economic development and build resilience. MECC issues are not mentioned in any of the mapped documents. Finally, the framework for cross-sectoral data collection, analysis and sharing was reviewed to understand how reporting on national development indicators takes place and how nodal agencies cooperate in the reporting. No mention of MECC nexus was found and it can be assumed that no reporting on it takes place.

3.3. POLICIES, LEGISLATION AND STRATEGIES ON MIGRATION

Article 24 of the Constitution of the Republic of Tajikistan (Government of Tajikistan, 2016f) stipulates citizens' rights of freedom of movement and choice of the place of stay, to leave the republic and return to it. The integration of environmental and climate change in in-migration frameworks is assessed through a mapping of 12 national laws and strategies. The Government of Tajikistan is guided by the non-binding International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of Migrant Workers and Members of their Families and the Global Compact for Migration. The Global Compact for Migration offers a common set of commitments for States to respond to the challenges and opportunities of international migration, including the environment–migration nexus. In fact, the Compact contains multiple references to environmental migration, articulating a wide and comprehensive understanding of challenges and opportunities (Ionesco and Chazalnoël, n.d.).

3.3.1. International and internal migration

The mapping includes the forthcoming and its preceding National Strategy of Labour Migration, the Law on Migration and its Amendment 591, the Order of Internal Migration in the Republic of Tajikistan, the Decree on Ecological Migration in the Republic of Tajikistan (Government of Tajikistan, 2010d), the Law on Forced Migration and the Labour Code of Tajikistan Procedure on Relocation. Of the eight documents, four make reference to the nexus.

The National Strategy of Labour Migration of the Citizens of the Republic of Tajikistan¹⁸

The National Strategy of Labour Migration of the Citizens of the Republic of Tajikistan 2011–2015 (Government of Tajikistan, 2011): (a) guided the development of mechanisms to improve control over migration processes; (b) emphasized

¹⁸ The National Strategy of Labour Migration of the Citizens of the Republic of Tajikistan for the period up to 2030 is a draft document as of 13 June 2022.

the development of the skills and capacity of labour migrants through professional training before departure; and (c) promoted increasing migrants' understanding of their role in the development processes. The nodal institution/agency for this strategy is MOLMEP. Strategy 2011–2015 focuses exclusively on international labour migration. In doing so, it acknowledges its contribution to the livelihoods of people in Tajikistan given the limited employment opportunities within the country. The document does not mention migration in the context of environmental issues or climate change. There is no information on the development of a strategy for 2015–2020. The *National Strategy of Labour Migration of the Citizens of the Republic of Tajikistan for the period up to 2030* (Government

Text box 2. The Almaty Process on Refugee Protection and International Migration

The Almaty Process (UNHCR and IOM, 2011) is a regional consultative platform to cooperatively address challenges arising from the complex migration dynamics in Central Asia. Underlined by the respective Almaty Declaration, signatories draw attention to the importance of “finding solutions to mixed population movements, including through addressing the root causes of irregular migration, the stabilization of populations, the re-integration of returning migrant workers and measures to facilitate durable solutions for refugees and stateless persons.” (ibid., para. 6). By promoting sustained dialogue and exchange of information on migration issues and on refugee protection challenges in Central Asia and the wider region, the Almaty Process has the potential to spearhead new responses to the dynamics of such mixed migration flows and displacements.

The Process was chaired by Tajikistan from 2018 to 2020, during which climate change, environmental disasters and emergencies were not discussed. However, the Almaty Process Development Strategy (Bisi, 2020), elaborated during Tajikistan chairship, includes a footnote that states that MECC nexus should be a topic to be put on the agenda in the future. Türkiye is the current chair until 2023.

of Tajikistan, forthcoming (a)) will guide the implementation of the State migration policy of Tajikistan and aims to achieve the goals and objectives of NDS for the period up to 2030. The main objectives of this draft strategy are as follows: (a) ensure public administration of migration processes, social and legal protection of migrants and their families; (b) institutional development; and (c) effective use of migration in social, economic and innovative development of the country. The Strategy is designed for the following: (a) defining a consistent, targeted and effective State migration policy; (b) developing and implementing modern national legislation in the field of migration and development of interstate and inter-agency cooperation; and (c) establishing State management of migration processes and ensuring the rights and interests of labour migrants and their family members abroad and within the country. The draft strategy makes specific references to MECC nexus. Section 4: Ecological migration recognizes the concept of “ecological migration” as defined in the Law of the Republic of Tajikistan on Migration of the Population (Government of Tajikistan, forthcoming (b)). The nexus is mainly framed around planned relocation

of people due to environmental degradation or disasters induced by natural hazards. It lists the main reasons for relocation from environmentally hazardous areas to safer places such as threat to the lives of people living in landslide-prone areas, avalanches, mudflows, human-induced emergencies and other disasters induced by natural hazards. Based on an assessment of previous planned relocations, the draft strategy concludes that this type of migration protects people from disasters induced by natural hazards and contributes to human development by promoting “the full use of labour and increase production in new places of residence for migrants and their families” (Government of Tajikistan, forthcoming (a)). Chapter 2 of the draft strategy states that a basic principle and approach of the national migration policy is “observance of norms of national and international law with regard to ecological and internal migrants, foreign migrant workers and refugees, using modern forms of activity to improve their situation” (ibid.).

Law on Migration

The Law on Migration (Government of Tajikistan, 2018b) provides the legal, economic and social foundations of migration, largely focusing on regulating international labour migration processes. The nodal institution/agency is MOLMEP. Importantly, the Law makes specific reference to environmental migration, defined as the process of forced movement of citizens within the territory of their country due to the deterioration of the living environment and environmental disasters (Government of Tajikistan, 2018b, art. 1). The Law makes provisions to ensure that people in environmental and natural hazard zones who are subject to planned relocation processes participate in the process, specifically in selecting their new place of residence. At the same time, the Law does not consider environmental causes or adverse effects of climate change as a driver of self-managed migration, internal or international. The Law features a definition of IDPs. As per the definition, an IDP is a citizen who is forced to leave their place of permanent residence due to violence and harassment, or who is in real danger of being persecuted due to their ethnicity, nationality, religion, language and political beliefs. Disasters induced by natural or human-induced hazards are not mentioned.¹⁹

Article 5 of the Law states that the process of planned relocation due to unfavourable environmental conditions is governed by Amendment 591 (Government of Tajikistan, 2010c), but it does in fact not offer such provision. However, Article 5 is referred to in two subsequent resolutions that regulate relocation (see [subchapter 3.1.3](#) for more detail) and pertain to zoning, identification of persons at risk, informing and preparing the population for

¹⁹ The Law on Migration is largely based in the context of the aftermath of the tumult of the Tajik civil war, which displaced over 600,000 people internally, and in response to a report by representatives of the UN Secretary-General stating the importance of protecting the affected population. Also refer to the Law on Forced Migrants (No. 470) (Government of Tajikistan, 2008d), making no reference to the climate change and environment nexus either.

relocation, identification of host areas and construction of new structures, and provisions of humanitarian assistance and compensation during and after the relocation.²⁰ With that, the Amendment does make reference to the nexus, though limited to planned relocation. Climate change is not mentioned.

On the order of internal migration in Tajikistan

The Law on Migration (Government of Tajikistan, 2018b) defines internal migration as a status acquired by those persons forcibly relocated within the republic (Art. 4). The process of internal migration is regulated in accordance with the Order of Internal Migration in the Republic of Tajikistan (Government of Tajikistan, 2014a). The Order focuses on the “organized” migration, and hence refers to the planned relocation of the population in accordance with the decree on the Procedure for Internal Migration of Populations from Densely-Populated Mountainous Areas with Limited Available Land to Lower-Laying Valleys of the Republic of Tajikistan in 2019–2021 (Government of Tajikistan, 2008a) (see [subchapter 3.1.3](#) for more detail). The Migration Service of MOLMEP is the authorized and coordinating body for internal (voluntary) migration and organizes and monitors the implementation of this process. The document makes no reference to the nexus.

On ecological migration in Tajikistan

In line with the definition offered in the Law on Migration, ecological migration is considered one of the forms of internal migration. The decision on Ecological Migration in the Republic of Tajikistan (No. 211) (Government of Tajikistan, 2010d) regulates the process of ecological migration. The legal document considers environmental migration exclusively as the planned relocation of populations to safer areas as a result of natural disasters. With that, though with a limited scope (that is, only planned relocation and only rapid-onset natural disasters) the nexus is referred to. The Migration Service of MOLMEP is the nodal institution/agency and coordinates and monitors issues of ecological migration.

Labour Code of Tajikistan

Environmental and climate factors are considered reasons for seasonal employment according to the Labour Code of Tajikistan (No. 1329) (Government of Tajikistan, 2016e). The nodal institution/agency is MOLMEP. The Code makes provisions to ensure adequate labour contracts for such work is provided. No further considerations are made to address the adverse effects of climate change or environmental degradation or enhance the availability and flexibility of pathways

²⁰ Namely the Resolution on the Procedure for Internal Migration of Populations from Densely-Populated Mountainous Areas with Limited Available Land to Lower-Laying Valleys of the Republic of Tajikistan in 2019–2021 (Government of Tajikistan, 2008a) and on the Protection of Population and Territories from Emergency Situations (No. 558) (Government of Tajikistan, 2004).

for regular migration, which could lead to internal or internal migration in search of such employment.

3.3.2. Pastoralism and transhumance

With limited arable land, particularly in mountainous areas of Tajikistan, governed by the Land Code (Government of Tajikistan, 2016a) and addressed in [subchapter 3.1.1](#), important legislation regulating access to pasture resources has been introduced. Responsibility for pasture management is shared among MOA, SCLMG and CEP.

Law about Pastures

The Law about Pastures (No. 1618) (Government of Tajikistan, 2019c) was amended in 2019 and sets out new institutions for the management and use of pasture and regulates pasture use fees. PUUs are new local self-governing institutions, comprised of pasture users and established at the jamoat level. PUUs may apply for and hold pasture lease rights from the State to ensure effective use of pastures. PUUs are also responsible for the capacity-building of their members and for dispute settlement. As a public self-governance institution, they are guided by the Law on Public Associations (No. 384) (Government of Tajikistan, 2013a) (see [subchapter 3.2.3](#)). The Law has made important provisions in overcoming the lack of secure pasture use rights for livestock keepers, high rental fees, underuse of remote pastures and overuse of pastures near villages, and few incentives for land use right holders and pasture users for sustainable management of pastures. However, pasture areas can span across administrative boundaries, and important issues of effective interdistrict coordination are untouched by the existing law on pastures. Furthermore, neither environmental degradation nor climate change or provision how those aspects affect the mobility of herders and usability of pastures is made. With that, the Law does not make reference to the nexus.

Pasture Development Programme of Tajikistan for 2016–2020 and Livestock Development Programme in Tajikistan for 2018–2022

The law informs the Pasture Development Programme of the Republic of Tajikistan for 2016–2020 (No. 724) (Government of Tajikistan, 2015a) and the Livestock Development Programme in the Republic of Tajikistan for 2018–2022 (Government of Tajikistan, 2018c). The programmes largely aim at improving the carrying capacity of pastures and productivity of livestock respectively, through increasing fodder production, revising seasonal pasture allocation plans and infrastructure improvement to allow access for more pastureland (see also Sedik, 2010). There is no mention of issues of environmental degradation or climate change and its link to transhumance or other forms of migration.

3.3.3. Contributions of migrants and diasporas

The Tajik diaspora is frequently grouped into different segments, and a respective multi-tier policy can be observed. The segments differ in their political stance towards the government, the function they serve for the State, and, consequently, their perceived utility (Kluczevska and Korneev, 2018) (see Text box 3).

Text box 3. Segments of Tajik diaspora

The first wave of Tajik emigration was the result of the break-up of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the Tajik civil war between 1992 to 1997. This first segment emigrated mainly, but not exclusively, to the Russian Federation. Though the members of this group of emigrants are anything but unified, they are by now all well-established, usually hold dual Russian–Tajik citizenship, work as professionals or run successful businesses, and have no plans to return to Tajikistan permanently, even while maintaining regular contact with their families and communities back home (IOM, 2015). With this, they have become the founders of the majority of the most visible community organizations, political groups and ethnic enterprises within the Tajik diaspora. Within that segment, entrepreneurs are of particular interest to the Government and are incentivized with tax breaks and other incentives to make financial investments through the State's own development programmes (*ibid.*). This segment also includes members of the diaspora that form part of the second wave of emigration that took place between 2000 and 2010. Members of this group consisted of much smaller and less permanent emigration categories, namely young transnational elites pursuing education and/or professional career abroad (still mainly in the Russian Federation). This group is found to sporadically organize itself for philanthropic and socioeconomic development agendas and purposes (Kluczevska and Korneev, 2018).

From the 2000s onward, the number of Tajik people living and working outside Tajikistan has significantly expanded. To a lesser extent, this is due to the second segment, that is a relatively small but growing group of young transnational elites, motivated by the pursuit of professional self-development often including studying in a foreign country (both in the Russian Federation and also in the West). There are some examples of this segment to form organizations abroad that pursue a variety of sociopolitical agendas and purposes (including those that focus on development, while avoiding open politics, as well as those that are highly political and openly critical of the Government).

More importantly, the stark expansion of Tajiks abroad is due to the third segment; labour migrants – the largest group of Tajik citizens currently living abroad (principally in the Russian Federation). This segment largely relies on support from traditional family networks (as well as on the structures set up by the first segment of emigrants) and often lacks the resources to organize themselves more formally in order to protect their interests.

The relevant laws and frameworks on migration and the diaspora as a contributor to the sustainable development of Tajikistan are mapped as follows.

Action Plan for the Implementation of the Concept of Attracting Diaspora as a Partner for the Development of Tajikistan 2015–2020

Recognizing the importance of the first segment of the diaspora, the Action Plan for the Implementation of the Concept of Attracting Diaspora as a Partner for the Development of Tajikistan 2015–2020 (No. 107)²¹ (Government of Tajikistan, 2015b) guides efforts for the following: (a) engage the diaspora through conferences, events and competitions; (b) maintain an online database of diaspora members; (c) run a coordination council to ensure inclusion of the diaspora in certain planning and decision-making processes; and (d) encourage the highly educated and successful entrepreneurs to invest in the Tajikistan economy. Importantly, the second segment is not touched upon. The nodal institution/agency for the action plan is MOLMEP. The Action Plan does not mention climate change and environmental degradation.

National Strategy of Labour Migration of the Citizens of the Republic of Tajikistan for 2011–2015 and the National Strategy of Labour Migration of the Citizens of the Republic of Tajikistan for the period up to 2030²²

Concerned with the third segment of Tajik emigrants (see [Text box 3](#)), a less active engagement of the government is evident. Indeed, policy towards this group is mainly focused on the following: (a) regulating migration processes; (b) formalizing the status of labour migrants in receiving countries; and (c) ensuring the provision of employment and social guarantees. This is taking place notably through facilitating better data collection and exchange of information on population movements in the region (see [Text box 2](#)) and through bilateral agreements (Noziri, 2018). In 2016, the National Bank of Tajikistan changed regulations on foreign exchange transactions, forcing migrants to send money back in the national currency, the Tajikistani somoni, and in 2019, the Government passed legislation to effectively monopolize the money transfer system (Eurasianet, 2019). Against the backdrop of the COVID-19 pandemic and the recent financial sanctions on the Russian Federation due to the invasion of Ukraine, the highly fluctuating exchange rate of both the Russian ruble and somoni cause uncertainty regarding the future value of remittances sent in rubles. However, recent easing on restrictions for Tajik

²¹ On the basis of the Decree of the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan dated 1 June 2021 No. 213, the Action Plan for the Implementation of the Concept of Attracting Foreign Compatriots as Partners for the Development of the Fatherland for 2021–2025 was approved. At the time of writing, the author did not have access to the Action Plan.

²² The National Strategy of Labour Migration of the Citizens of the Republic of Tajikistan for the period up to 2030 is a draft document as of 13 June 2022.

labour migrants to live and work in the Russian Federation have contributed to a swift rebound to pre-pandemic numbers of Tajik labour migrants in the Russian Federation.

The National Strategy of Labour Migration of the Citizens of the Republic of Tajikistan for 2011–2015 (Government of Tajikistan, 2011) acknowledged the importance of developing the skills and capacity of labour migrants through professional training before their departure and increasing their understanding of their role in the development of Tajikistan. The Strategy did not mention migration in the context of climate change and environmental degradation. However, in the context of improving foreign labour migration, chapter 2 of the draft *National Strategy of Labour Migration of the Citizens of the Republic of Tajikistan for the period up to 2030* (Government of Tajikistan, forthcoming (a)) recognizes the environment as one of the justification criteria for labour migration quotas to be developed and implemented to protect the national labour market (ibid.).

IOM (2015) found that only a few of the officially registered diaspora organizations in the Russian Federation demonstrate explicit engagement with labour migrants. Instead, the third segment largely relies on their traditional social family and regional networks (what is known in Tajik as *avlod*, *hamkishlok* or *hamshahri*) (Boboyorov, 2013; ILO, 2010). With that, the same network influences migration pathways and decisions in the first place (Gampp, 2017; Cieslewska, 2010). Indeed, *mahalla* leadership has traditionally played a crucial function in Central Asia in organizing the community, collecting funds and implementing projects with the voluntary participation of community members. Migrants are found to often contribute to informal *mahalla* schemes or other forms of communal support (Freizer, 2004; ILO, 2010) (see also [subchapter 3.2.3](#)). However, little evidence is available of how the capital accumulated through migration is invested in the development at the village or national levels of Tajikistan. Though national policies across sectors take into consideration the role of remittance and labour migration, to date, the Government of Tajikistan has not been able to create enabling conditions to encourage investments and savings in sustainable and long-term investments.

3.3.4. Sub-conclusion: Migration

The mapping reviewed 12 national legal and strategic migration framework documents and found that four mention the migration, environmental and climate change nexus. The Law on Migration and a relevant amendment defines ecological migration but exclusively considers planned relocation of people due to environmental degradation due to disasters induced by natural hazards. The decrees on relocation of households (Government of Tajikistan, 2010a) and on environmental migrants (Government of Tajikistan, 2010d) follow suit in the same manner. The draft *National Strategy of Labour Migration of the Citizens of the Republic*

of Tajikistan for the period up to 2030 (Government of Tajikistan, forthcoming (a)) primarily envisages ecological migration as planned relocation of population from environmentally hazardous areas to safer places. The guiding text on internal migration (Government of Tajikistan, 2014a) is also limited to relocation, without however making specific mention of environmental and climate factors. The Labour Code does consider environmental factors as a reason for seasonal employment but does not mention issues of migration, for example, should climate change impacts drive labourers to work outside of their home region. The mapping also found a lack of mechanisms to systematically engage with labour migrants, for example by supporting the education of migrants or facilitating a better reintegration and building skills that could be used upon return to Tajikistan (ILO, 2010). Neither of the two reviewed documents on the diaspora contribution mentions the nexus and therefore fails to take into account the possible contribution that migrants, who mainly originate from rural areas, can play in climate change adaptation.

With precipitation variability and drying associated with rising temperature adversely affecting water availability, climate change will adversely affect pastures and those that rely on them for their livelihood (Kerven et al., 2011). Degradation of mountain pastures, together with deforestation and unsustainable agricultural land use management practices, exacerbates the vulnerability of rural populations to natural hazards. Hence, the policies, laws and strategies in place are relevant to addressing issues of transhumance in the context of climate change. But none of the three reviewed guiding frameworks on pastoralism mention the nexus of environmental degradation, climate change and forms of migration.

3.4. GENDER

Tajikistan inherited the Soviet ideology of equal rights for women and men when it declared independence. Traditional patriarchal patterns of family and social life reappeared in the early transition years as the country moved away from its Soviet past, exacerbated by a devastating civil war that left an estimated 25,000 widows and 55,000 orphans (Nourzhanov and Bleuer, 2013). Since then, Tajikistan has become a State party to CEDAW and to other fundamental human rights treaties.²³ Important steps have been taken to implement United Nations Security Council resolutions on women, peace and security.

The national gender framework has been expanded and strengthened through the adoption of new laws, amendment of existing laws, development of national programmes, and incorporation of objectives within general policy documents (OECD, 2019). The Constitution (Government of Tajikistan, 2016f) guarantees

²³ See [here](#) for the latest report of Tajikistan to CEDAW, and [here](#) for general Tajikistan CEDAW reports and other relevant treaties to which Tajikistan has acceded.

equal rights on the basis of sex, and principles of non-discrimination are enshrined across basic legislation, including the Family Code (Government of Tajikistan, 2017b), the Labour Code (No. 1329) (Government of Tajikistan, 2016e), the Land Code (Government of Tajikistan, 2016a), the Law on Education (No. 1004) (Government of Tajikistan, 2013b) and the Law on Public Health (No. 1413) (Government of Tajikistan, 2017c). In the frame of this study, two gender-related documents were mapped, but neither make reference to the MECC nexus.

3.4.1. Law on State Guarantees of Equal Rights and Opportunities for Men and Women

The national framework for gender equality, specifically the Law on State Guarantees of Equal Rights and Opportunities for Men and Women (No. 89) (Government of Tajikistan, 2005), has focused on raising the status of women and girls and eliminating barriers to the realization of their rights and addressing gender stereotypes. It also lacks a clear implementation process. MECC nexus is not mentioned. The nodal institution/agency for this law is COWFA. COWFA operates 110 regional information and crisis centres throughout the country, funded through local government budgets. Although its financial and human resources have been increased, its capacity to carry out its mandate is still limited and largely reliant on international donors. The collection and reporting of gender statistics is the responsibility of TajStat, which has pledged to improve gender statistics in Tajikistan.

3.4.2. National Strategy for Enhancing the Role of Women in the Republic of Tajikistan for 2021–2030

The National Strategy for Enhancing the Role of Women in the Republic of Tajikistan for 2021–2030 (No. 167) (Government of Tajikistan, 2021b) (Gender Strategy) aims to create prerequisites to increase the potential of women in all spheres of social and economic life. Areas of action include prevention of domestic violence, development of women's entrepreneurship, improvement of women's education and ensuring their broad participation in public life. Thereby, the Gender Strategy aims to ensure sustainable development of the State. COWFA is the nodal government agency to implement the new Gender Strategy, and in doing so collaborates with the Ministries of Health and Social Protection, MOLMEP, MOA and COES.

The Gender Strategy, developed based on NDS 2030 (Government of Tajikistan 2016c), has a strong commitment to promoting gender equality through its development of the human capital component. This includes the following: (a) equal access to education for girls and women; (b) improvement of policy to promote

gender equality, legal literacy and social inclusion of women; and (c) increasing the capacity in the area of gender sensitivity of government employees. The Gender Strategy mentions MECC nexus. It recognizes wives of labour migrants as a particularly vulnerable group²⁴ and at high risk of low-paid, dangerous and informal work due to being “deprived of the help of migrant spouses” (Government of Tajikistan, 2021b). At the same time, women’s increasing role in agriculture and food security is recognized, and the Gender Strategy sets out for the following: (a) improve the competitive capacity of women and achieve more equitable access to formal employment of women in the labour market, particularly in agriculture, through targeted training and awareness-raising, including on adaptation to climate change; (b) supporting women’s entrepreneurship and retraining; and (c) more favourable conditions for women to access loans and land rights. However, the agricultural sector is still one of the most exploitative sectors – characterized by unequal and low pay and job insecurity, back-breaking conditions, lack of access to and control over productive resources, as well as low technical and specialized knowledge (ADB, 2016; USAID, 2016). High levels of informal employment of women in the sector are not least attributable to the criminalization of women’s employment in dangerous professions or tasks linked to manual lifting and moving of heavy loads by the Labour Code (Government of Tajikistan, 2016e), including in economic sectors, such as construction, mining, geological exploration and even agriculture. At the same time, with male members of the household absent due to emigration, women are less likely to have legal titles to land because of prevailing social gender norms, corruption, local clan affiliations and local authorities’ land distribution discrimination (ADB, 2016). Mukhamedova and Wegerich (2014) found that many applications for land-use rights filed by households headed by females had been denied citing lack of workforce. Furthermore, according to custom, property rights and property certificates are commonly issued in the husband’s name only, or in the name of male in-laws (ADB, 2016). In addition, a recent World Bank study found the following data despite the absence of men: (a) women are less represented in decision-making roles in their community; (b) the share of female-headed *dehkan* farms remains low at 21 per cent; (c) the average size of women-headed farms was smaller than those headed by men; (d) only 6.4 per cent of all planted croplands on *dehkan* farms were directly managed by women; and (e) women remain underrepresented in WUAs and PUUs (World Bank, 2021c). A case study in the Sughd Province found that some women who work as *mardikor* (woman in traditionally male employment) have started to organize themselves to negotiate workload and payment conditions with *dehkan* farm managers (Mukhamedova and Wegerich, 2014).

²⁴ Tajikistan sees a growing trend in the number of women-headed households, largely driven by increasing labour migration that are usually poorer than those headed by men. Those families who have been abandoned by their migrant husband most commonly live in extreme poverty, subsisting on what they produce and infrequent assistance from relatives. See also IOM, 2009; Kikuta, 2015; and OSCE, 2012.

4

POLICY ANALYSIS: ALIGNMENT WITH RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE TASK FORCE ON DISPLACEMENT

Labour migration acts as a strategy to minimize risks in conditions of high uncertainty around agricultural income, but does not automatically generate sustainable agriculture practices. © IOM 2021/Victor LACKEN



Darvoz district, Tajikistan. © IOM 2019/Khusrav RAJABOV

4. POLICY ANALYSIS: ALIGNMENT WITH RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE TASK FORCE ON DISPLACEMENT

The Task Force on Displacement of the Warsaw International Mechanism for Loss and Damage of UNFCCC recommends Parties consider an integrated approach to avert, minimize and address displacement related to the adverse impacts of climate change and address issues around migration. This chapter will use these recommendations as an analytical framework to assess the extent to which they have been internalized in Tajikistan's laws and strategies mapped in chapter 3. This will help to identify gaps and formulate specific recommendations to enhance mainstreaming of migration in the context of climate change into various domains.

4.1. RECOGNIZING THE IMPORTANCE OF INTEGRATED APPROACHES IN THE FORMULATION OF NATIONAL AND SUBNATIONAL LEGISLATION, POLICIES AND STRATEGIES

Consider the formulation of national and subnational legislation, policies, and strategies, as appropriate, that recognize the importance of integrated approaches to avert, minimize, and address displacement related to adverse impacts of climate change and issues around human mobility, taking into consideration human rights obligations and other relevant international standards and legal considerations, and with inter-ministerial and cross-sectoral inputs, with the participation of relevant stakeholders.

– Task Force on Displacement Recommendation 33a

This recommendation aims to integrate the migration, environmental degradation and climate change nexus into policies, laws and strategies at the national and subnational levels. As has become apparent from the mapping in chapter 3, in Tajikistan, the integration of the nexus and its challenges and opportunities differs between domains.

In the environmental degradation, climate change and disaster risk frameworks (subchapter 3.1), eight of the mapped policies, laws and strategies do integrate the nexus. In doing so, however, they are limited to evacuation in emergency situations and planned relocation from hazardous zones. Specifically, based on the Law on Environment Protection (Government of Tajikistan, 2017a) and in reference to Article 5 of the Law on Migration (Government of Tajikistan, 2018b), the procedures on Relocation of Households from Environmentally Dangerous

Zones (Government of Tajikistan, 2010a) and on the Protection of the Population and Territories from Emergency Situations (No. 558) (Government of Tajikistan, 2004) provide the legal basis for the planned relocation from hazardous zones and evacuation in an emergency, defines the roles and responsibilities in the relocation process and sets out provisions for the sectoral government entities to carry out these measures. The national DRR Strategy 2019–2030 (Government of Tajikistan, 2018a) underlines the roles of different agencies in disaster risk management, including prevention and assistance to affected populations, calls for building national capacities for disaster risk management and aims to further enhance national coordination. The Strategy, however, fails to make a link to the domains of natural resources management, sustainable rural livelihood systems or migration. Accordingly, the current National DRR Coordination Platform does not include national agencies that focus on other forms of mobility, such as voluntary internal and international migration.

Several strategic frameworks on climate change in Tajikistan have the ambition for much stronger integration of the nexus. For example, NSACC (Government of Tajikistan, 2019a) identifies migration as one of seven cross-cutting issues and acknowledges climate change and environmental stressors as likely drivers of “several types of migrations” (*ibid.*) but fails to include migration types beyond planned relocation in the definition it offers of environmental migrants. Furthermore, despite considering migration as a cross-cutting issue of climate change adaptation, NSACC does not offer a clear picture of the interlinkages with priority sectors nor does it call for the better integration of migration in the environment and climate change domains. The National Communication to the UNFCCC, particularly the third one (Government of Tajikistan, 2014b) however, recognizes the contribution of remittances to the household income but also perceives migration as a factor weakening the resilience of the population, especially in the context of natural hazards; leading to changes in the population composition in the sending areas that are impeding agricultural productivity; and notes that migration may increase tensions at the local level in the context of water scarcity. The Updated NDC (Government of Tajikistan, 2021c) does frame migration, though mainly focused on planned relocation as adaptation, and highlights that male outmigration is resulting in a large number of female-headed households. But it misses the opportunity to go further and describe the links of the nexus to mitigation, like access to clean energy among migrants and their families, IDPs and refugees. The mapping of national communications to UNFCCC can be found in [Annex 2](#).

With the adoption of Agenda 2030 in 2015, Tajikistan committed to accelerating the introduction of important policies and legislation for achieving inclusive sustainable development. Importantly, NDC-RT is vital in ensuring coordination between sectoral ministries and across the private sector and civil society actors. This process has allowed for NDS 2030 (Government of Tajikistan, 2016c) to provide

some entry points to consider the interlinkages of migration, the environment and climate change in achieving sustainable development. However, NDS 2030 considers the nexus elements in silos. It focuses on labour migration and its significant contribution to the country's economy. At the same time, labour migration is also considered to drain much-needed qualified professionals from Tajikistan and generate strong dependencies of households and the economy as a whole on remittances and the labour market conditions of foreign countries. Furthermore, low productivity of the agricultural sector and land degradation, both exacerbated by climate change, are expected to further diminish employment opportunities within the country. At the same time, NDS 2030 considers environmental degradation, especially in the context of climate change, a key challenge towards achieving sustainable development goals. Yet it does not make a direct link between climate change impacts, increasing vulnerabilities and migration and therefore fails to consider the benefits of migration in the communities of origin and destination. Instead, increasing employment opportunities within the agricultural sector and efforts to ensure ecosystem health are among the key priorities of NDS 2030. The only explicit mention of MECC is made in its call for the development and implementation of national disaster preparedness and response plans to reduce risks of displacement of populations. Through a people-centred approach to development, NDS 2030 stresses the importance of not exacerbating existing inequalities and vulnerabilities or creating new ones. However, the translation of said priorities set out by NDS 2030 in a coherent legal framework is still limited. For example, the sectoral frameworks in agriculture (such as the Concept of Agrarian Policy of Tajikistan (No. 658) (Government of Tajikistan, 2008b) or the Programme for Reforming the Agriculture Sector of the Republic of Tajikistan for 2012–2020 (No. 383) (Government of Tajikistan, 2012a) do not mention any form of migration or consider international labour migration as a key factor impeding agriculture development in the country. Furthermore, the national development frameworks fail to link the benefit of remittances to the national economy and individual household budgets, particularly in rural areas where people rely on the land for subsistence farming, with the ability of a household to adapt to slow- and rapid-onset impacts of climatic hazards. The potential of labour migration and remittances to contribute to the goal of achieving climate-resilient development and increasing adaptive capacities of those most vulnerable to the adverse effects of climate change is overlooked.

Similarly, migration policies, legislation and strategies in Tajikistan envisage the interlinkages between migration, environment and climate change only through planned relocation. For example, the Law on Migration's (No. 1541) (Government of Tajikistan, 2018b) definition of environmental migration only refers to "forced movement" resulting from natural hazards or to prevent their potential negative consequences. With this, however, migration legislation does regulate and set up important institutional structures to manage such environmental migration in

Tajikistan. However, the provisions are limited to the relocation of people in the frame of a government programme. With that, migration in the face of climate change is framed as a failure to adapt. Indeed, while the Law does stipulate that the Government must be prepared for disaster displacement and proposes various measures to avert, minimize and address displacement related to natural and environmental hazards (see [subchapter 3.3.1](#)), it says little about the positive potential of migration in long-term national adaptation policies, plans or strategies.

The Government of Tajikistan recognizes that sustainable development and climate change adaptation require the involvement of relevant entities at the subnational level (see [subchapter 3.2.3](#)). However, technical and managerial capacity, as well as financial resources for climate change adaptation planning at the subnational levels is insufficient. It is notably inhibited by unclear vertical coordination between the regions and the inability to incorporate climate change adaptation considerations in subnational (regional and lower) budgets and planning processes. Furthermore, despite important steps in the right direction and including migration as a cross-cutting theme most notably in NSACC (Government of Tajikistan, 2019a), there is to date no evidence that the Government has indeed considered migration as cross-cutting. This is evident by the lack of inclusion of migration agencies in relevant processes in other sectors. Also, the lack of more comprehensive and consistent inclusion of migration factors in the definition of sectoral priorities is likely attributable to the composition of the National Adaptation Strategy Advisory Group and the technical working groups that were set up for the development of NSACC, which did not include MOLMEP or migration experts. Instead, the Government seeks support of the international donor community and individual technical consultants to draft strategy documents. With this, the Government lacks ownership over the documents and their integration into sectoral legislation and planning processes is sporadic.



Apply a whole-of-government approach and improve coordination among decision makers in MECC domains. The Migration Service of MOLMEP, COES and CEP all have a coordinating function within their sectoral responsibilities and could be tasked with promoting the recommendations of Task Force on Displacement of the Warsaw International Mechanism for Loss and Damage of UNFCCC to the wider set of actors, including in interministerial working groups. This would advance mechanisms for integrating MECC nexus across the Government's vertical and lateral administrative structures. The improved interministerial collaboration will benefit other stakeholders, such as donors, networks of civil society and private sector partners as well, as it ensures complementarity of approaches at all levels.

**CALL TO ACTION 1.2.**

Build capacities of decision makers at national, subnational and local levels to manage migration opportunities and challenges in the context of climate change. This can be facilitated by inclusive, regular and targeted cross-sectoral dialogue for increasing ownership over efforts to mainstream the nexus. These capacity development measures will empower officials in relevant agencies to assess local and national needs and priorities, and in turn, help to integrate the challenges and opportunities of the nexus into normative planning.

**CALL TO ACTION 1.3.**

Ensure gender-responsive governance of migration in the context of the environment and climate change. Gender is a cross-cutting issue in the migration, environment, climate change, DRR and development domains. Gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls need to be promoted, and women need to be recognized as agents and drivers of change, moving away from a lens of victimhood. Policies, laws, strategies, programmes and services have to recognize and address the specific needs, challenges and situations of the vulnerability of all actors of migration, including women whose spouses have migrated.

4.2. MAPPING, UNDERSTANDING AND MANAGING MIGRATION RELATED TO THE ADVERSE IMPACTS OF CLIMATE CHANGE

Enhance research, data collection, risk analysis, and sharing of information, to better map, understand and manage human mobility related to the adverse impacts of climate change, in a manner that includes the participation of communities affected and at-risk of displacement related to the adverse impacts of climate change.

– Task Force on Displacement Recommendation 33b

There are a number of studies that look at the interlinkages of MECC in Tajikistan. For example, Oriol (2014) suggests that the population relies increasingly on remittances, while agriculture (livestock and gardening) is used as a safety net and not the other way around. At the same time, Babagaliyeva et al. (2018) finds that in the face of climate change impacts, labour migrants are willing to invest more into agricultural activities such as innovative irrigation systems and agricultural ploughing technologies at home. When livelihoods are affected by environmental shocks and stressors, including natural hazards, individuals and households were found to avail of international and internal labour migration to seek additional income opportunities (Gampp, 2017). Blondin (2020) explored, on the example of the COVID-19 pandemic, the consequences for mountain communities when migration is hampered or restricted, remittances decrease and migrants are unable

to leave or return. A few studies looked at the planned government relocation programmes and the experiences of those affected. There is some concern that livelihoods were seriously disrupted and integration in the host area was insufficient (Human Rights Watch, 2014; Gampp, 2012). Mirroring a global trend (McLeman and Gemenne, 2018), empirical and sporadic research on the nexus has increased also in Tajikistan (see also [Annex 3](#)). However, case studies use diverse methodologies, which make it difficult to generalize the findings beyond the study area and are undertaken exclusively by independent academics or through donor-funded project interventions.

Tajikistan's legislation, notably through the Law on State Statistics (No. 588) (Government of Tajikistan, 2010b), is conducive to generating a comprehensive evidence base on MECC, as well as its linkage with gender issues. TajStat is responsible for the collection and sharing of data on all types of migration, including internal and international migration, evacuation and relocation as well as on economic, health, gender and other socioeconomic issues. TajStat works closely with sectoral ministries to collect, compile and regularly communicate the data. To date, TajStat simply presents the data in regular brief, but does so in the silo and without analysing it. The level of coordination between sectoral agencies in data collection, management and analysis is unclear and does not take place in a systematic manner. This leads to significant gaps in data availability and inhibits policymaking on the interlinkages between migration, environment and climate change. CEP has the mandate to collect, analyse and share data related to the environment, natural resource use and protection and hydrometeorology. More specifically, Hydromet under CEP is the national executive body responsible for the coordination of climate change-related issues in Tajikistan and directly reports to CEP. Hydromet is responsible for the drafting of national communications to UNFCCC in coordination with key ministries and agencies, as well as the preparation of greenhouse gas inventories. With that, it also manages climate-related research and outreach. However, the capacity of the agency has been in decline due to a significant lack of financial, technical and human resources. Within the planned relocation process, multiple agencies play a key role in data collection. MOLMEP, in collaboration with SCLMG, draws up the list of people to be relocated and is responsible for reporting on the process. COES is responsible for the mapping of zones vulnerable to natural hazards, as well as for reporting on evacuation processes. The draft *National Strategy of Labour Migration of the Citizens of the Republic of Tajikistan for the period up to 2030* (Government of Tajikistan, forthcoming (a)) proposes that the Migration Service of MOLMEP establishes a database on ecological migration and submits a detailed report to the Government of Tajikistan every six months. However, information on planned relocations from environmentally hazardous areas, including exact numbers and the outcome of the relocation process, have not been made available publicly in the past. Pastoralism data is collected by MOA and SCLMG in the silo. There is

even less knowledge and data on migration in the context of slow-onset events, the role of remittances in supporting climate change adaptation in sending areas, or the impacts of environmental and climatic stressors on migrants in urban and peri-urban destinations.

With that, there are several gaps pertaining to research, data collection, risk analysis and sharing of information on migration related to environmental degradation and the adverse impacts of climate change in Tajikistan. Institutional mandates are conducive to working in silos with a lack of clear coordination for comprehensive reporting. Across sectoral frameworks, definitions and concepts are incoherent or incomplete, for example environmental migration encompassing only planned relocation processes. The distinction between resettlement, displacement, evacuation and planned relocation is not clear, and terms are frequently mixed up or used as synonyms. The research and data are geared towards definitions and analysis of the natural hazards, as well as identifying territories and lands at risk of natural hazards. Social and human aspects of disasters are reduced to the number of victims and number of “people, whose livelihoods are affected” and “persons in need of the state protection”.

**CALL TO ACTION 2.1.**

Improve transdisciplinary data collection, analysis and use for the mapping of migration related to environmental degradation and the adverse impacts of climate change. Building capacities of and establishing coordinated transdisciplinary work streams between CEP (and Hydromet), MOLMEP and TajStat will ensure the following: (a) available data and expertise are recognized and used; (b) relevant stakeholders are consulted to develop a national plan of action for research, data collection, risk analysis and sharing of information that is aligned with national needs and priorities; (c) relevant stakeholders are consulted and agree on common terminologies, research methodologies and tools, the use of innovative approaches for data collection, good practices and joint training materials; and (d) data is used to raise awareness among policymakers and practitioners.

**CALL TO ACTION 2.2.**

Introduce longitudinal and panel data approaches to assess the dynamics between migration, environment and climate change in the context of Tajikistan. This will allow to better understand how shocks are absorbed and well-being of the population changes over time. The Listening to Tajikistan survey, launched by the World Bank in 2015, is an open-access, multitopic longitudinal survey that gathers data from 1,400 households from all 4 national districts and Dushanbe on a regular basis. This has allowed to study key dimensions of well-being – including on remittances, jobs, food security and services. The Listening to Tajikistan data

set can be further built upon to better incorporate the nexus and become an important additional input for national planning and reporting on global policy frameworks, such as UNFCCC, the Sendai Framework, voluntary reporting on the SDGs and the implementation of the Global Compact for Migration.

4.3. AVERTING, MINIMIZING AND ADDRESSING DISPLACEMENT RELATED TO THE ADVERSE IMPACTS OF CLIMATE CHANGE

Strengthen preparedness, including early warning systems, contingency planning, evacuation planning, and resilience building strategies and plans, and develop innovative approaches, such as forecast-based financing, to avert, minimize and address displacement related to the adverse impacts of climate change.

– Task Force on Displacement Recommendation 33c

Disasters induced by natural hazards are a key factor impeding national sustainable development. Therefore, NDS 2030 calls for the development and implementation of national disaster preparedness and response plans to improve early warning systems, reduce social vulnerabilities to natural hazards, ensure gender sensitivity, take demographics of the population in exposed areas into account, and mainstream climate change and disaster risks into other national sectoral strategic frameworks. The DRR Strategy (Government of Tajikistan, 2018a), in line with NDS 2030 and framed by the Sendai Framework (United Nations, 2015b), offers a comprehensive strategic framework that sets out to avert, minimize and address displacement. The DRR Strategy was elaborated through an interdepartment working group. This process is the first important step towards improving institutional coordination between different government entities at different levels to manage adverse impacts of the sudden- and slow-onset events.

In contrast to the DRR strategy, the available legislative frameworks are limited to the process of planned relocation as well as evacuation procedures. This includes the decree on Relocation of Households from Environmentally Dangerous Zones (Government of Tajikistan, 2010a), which describes the procedures of planned relocation including zoning in the context of ecological emergencies and disasters, financial compensation mechanisms, and reporting of relocation procedures. It mandates different national and local government agencies for the process. The Law on the Protection of the Population and Territories from Natural and Man-made Emergency Situations (No. 558) (Government of Tajikistan, 2004) guides evacuation in case of an emergency situation, including informing the population and providing shelter and financial assistance. While both the law and the DRR Strategy include provisions on ensuring disaster preparedness of the population and managing existing risks and vulnerabilities (acknowledging that women and people in rural areas are disproportionately affected), there are no specific provisions and legislative

base that would regulate and drive forward such efforts to avert and minimize displacement. Yet, climate change is considered a key factor to exacerbate disaster risks and extreme events that lead to displacement. Out of all the documents reviewed, this is only acknowledged in NSACC (Government of Tajikistan, 2019a), a key document to advocate for enhancing rural livelihoods as a viable mechanism to reduce vulnerabilities and calls for improving coordination in the area of disaster management, environmental conservation and climate change adaptation. NSACC also acknowledges that climate change impacts are keenly interconnected with migration. Still, the definition of the environmental migrant in the document is limited to planned relocation processes. However, at the same time, NSACC acknowledges the following: (a) climate change is likely to be an important driver of future migration; and (b) the extent of damage and losses during disasters, the probability of recurrence, loss of livelihoods, aid, poverty, remittances, and potential opportunities at the destination all contribute to migration decisions.

There are a variety of gaps that prevent more systematic coordination in averting, minimizing and addressing displacement in the context of adverse impacts of climate change. Among others, guiding frameworks and provisions to implement the full disaster management spectrum are limited. While addressing planned relocation is regulated quite clearly, averting and minimizing the risks of displacement are not. Overall, the capacity of relevant authorities and actors responsible for disaster management remains low and though the significance of measures such as early warning and communication is apparent, uptake is slow and concrete mechanisms such as improving building codes and developing of insurance system for weather and climate risks are missing. The implementation of DRR measures still largely depends on international donor funding and humanitarian assistance.²⁵ Similarly, the COES-led National DRR Coordination Platform, charged with strengthening preparedness for disaster risks and managing its consequences, including evacuation and planned relocation of populations: (a) is largely supported by international actors; and (b) includes mainly agencies and actors involved in

²⁵ The European Union's Disaster Preparedness Programme (DipECHO) has invested EUR 46 million in over 100 projects across the Central Asian region, supporting both the population and the governments of the region in preparing for and mitigating the consequences of disasters between 2003 and 2018. Projects include simple and inexpensive preparatory measures, often implemented by the communities themselves and have proven effective in limiting damage and saving lives when hazards strike rapidly. Projects typically emphasize training, capacity-building, awareness-raising, establishment or improvement of local early warning systems and contingency planning. Since 2003, UNDP Tajikistan implements its Disaster Risk Management Programme and has invested over USD 27 million in disaster preparedness, response, recovery and risk reduction. Projects (including [Strengthening Disaster Risk Reduction and Response Capacities](#), [Strengthening Disaster Risk Governance in Tajikistan](#), [Building Climate Resilience in Agriculture and Water Sectors of Rural Tajikistan](#) and [Facilitating Climate Resilience in Tajikistan](#)) aim to build resilience of government and local communities and reduce risks of floods, avalanches and earthquakes. UNDP works closely with COES and, together with the Swiss Cooperation Office in Tajikistan, put significant efforts in building capacities of the National Platform for Disaster Risk Reduction in Tajikistan and strengthen interministerial coordination in tackling DRR challenges. The World Bank also works closely with COES to strengthen technical capacities and infrastructure for improving early warning and forecasting capacities; examples are the [Strengthening Critical Infrastructure Against Natural Hazards](#) and the [Central Asia Hydrometeorology Modernization](#) project. At the same time, the [Climate Adaptation and Mitigation Program for Aral Sea Basin \(CAMP4ASB\)](#) project has taken important steps to improve collaboration between COES and CEP in addressing disaster risks and building resilience through improved information-sharing.

relocation processes, but not CEP or any agencies of the migration sector. This is particularly surprising since the responsibility of COES for evacuation planning and execution is regulated by specific resolutions of the Law on Migration (Government of Tajikistan, 2018b), and since COES also ought to coordinate its work with MOLMEP in implementing relocation plans (Government of Tajikistan, 2010a). Also, planned relocation processes note land degradation (and climate change) as a main cause of displacement, and collaboration with the responsible agency (CEP) appears limited.

It is important to note that national strategic frameworks at times make indirect links between migration, environment and climate change, as well as the nexus' potential implications for preparedness and DRR. With the call for a more gender-sensitive approach in the DRR Strategy (Government of Tajikistan, 2018a), it acknowledges differences in the needs and capacities of men and women, which also suggest that the absence of men, due to labour migration, increases the vulnerability of rural populations to climate change. Yet, there is no evidence of knowledge-sharing with COWFA in processes of disaster management planning, planned relocation or other considerations of migration in the context of climate change. Consequently, evidence on gender-specific vulnerabilities is not available and does not enter decision-making for said processes. It is important to acknowledge that the DRR Strategy (ibid.) stresses the importance of overcoming gender inequality in decision-making processes that prevail within households. But concrete actions to do so are not apparent. Instead, when the strategy calls for a more participatory approach towards disaster management, it sets out to consult migrant workers, who are largely absent and male, not those left behind, who are predominantly women.

In the discussion on disaster management and migration, particularly labour migration, is largely framed in a negative way (see also [subchapter 4.6](#)). However, these migration decisions and remittances allow households to manage not only idiosyncratic but also covariate shocks and are therefore an important factor in addressing their vulnerability to disaster risks and other climate change impacts. In the absence of insurance and other financial mechanisms, social capital, labour migration and remittances play an important role in the ability of households to recover and rebuild after a disaster, as well as in adapting to climate change. Importantly in addition to agriculture and subsistence farming of household members that remain, labour migration allows households not only to diversify the source of income but also the location, that is, generating income outside of environmentally degraded and disaster-prone geographical areas.

 **CALL TO ACTION 3.1.**

Strengthen national planning towards well-informed and innovative measures to avert displacement in the context of adverse impacts of climate change. Averting disaster displacement presupposes understanding and identification of underlying, complex and interrelated causes of vulnerability. Timely, accurate data on the risk and on the communities at risk of displacement needs to be collected in a well-coordinated way. Reliable data is needed for the following: (a) strengthen national planning and offer targeted, people-centred legal and strategic frameworks; and (b) identify integrated and innovative solutions to tackle climate and disaster risk, as well as vulnerabilities across various sectors and members of the population. Community members need to be a part of the monitoring mechanisms to ensure that adaptation measures are not exclusionary, create new risks or transfer the risk to other social groups. The multidisciplinary expertise of the Capacity for Disaster Reduction Initiative (CADRI) Partnership could be mobilized to strengthen governance and institutions to avert displacement.²⁶

 **CALL TO ACTION 3.2.**

Minimize displacement through strengthened preparedness and response capacity, notably by improving hazard zoning and area risk factors, infrastructure valuation and damage control measures, building available capacities and understanding diversity within the community (from the most vulnerable to the most capable). Existing legal frameworks can be strengthened for the following: (a) further coordination among sectoral ministries involved in displacement decisions and processes; (b) recognize various levels of preparedness in contingency planning; (c) enhance participatory approaches in the planning of relocation and contingencies, including women and the most vulnerable of the community; (d) bridge national early warning systems to oblast to local levels of decision-making; and (e) strengthen non-return policies.

²⁶ Learn more about CADRI here: <https://cadri.net/>.

4.4. INTEGRATING MIGRATION CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES INTO NATIONAL PLANNING AND COMMUNICATIONS

Integrate human mobility challenges and opportunities into national planning processes, including inter alia the process to formulate and implement national adaptation plans, as appropriate, by drawing upon available tools, guidance, and good practices; and consider communicating efforts undertaken through inter alia, National Communications, Adaptation Communications and Nationally Determined Contributions, as appropriate.

– Task Force on Displacement Recommendation 33d

This recommendation calls on parties to integrate MECC nexus in national planning and reporting, including global policy frameworks such as the SDGs, UNFCCC, the Sendai Framework and the Global Compact for Migration. The mechanisms associated with planning and reporting help to monitor and evaluate progress in relation to global policy frameworks. NSACC (Government of Tajikistan, 2019a) is the key planning mechanism in Tajikistan for addressing adverse climate impacts and identifying migration as cross-cutting area to achieving the strategy (see [subchapter 3.1.2](#)). With that, the planning in integrating the nexus is quite well advanced. When looking at Tajikistan’s communication on global environmental and climate change issues, namely to UNFCCC (see [Annex 2](#)), the integration varies in degree and consistency but has improved over the years. While the First National Communication (Government of Tajikistan, 2003c) focuses on the lack of preparedness for natural hazards and the consequent need for evacuation of populations, the Second National Communication (Government of Tajikistan, 2008c) highlights merely the importance of remittances to the national GDP. The Third National Communication (Government of Tajikistan, 2014b) offers a much more nuanced look at migration and its interaction with environmental degradation and climate change. However, in the Third National Communication, migration is considered a factor weakening the resilience of the population, especially to natural hazards, though this is not further elaborated on. Despite the significance of migration to the national economy as well as the well-being of households, migration agencies of Tajikistan are so far not involved in the preparatory process of the national communications.

To date, Tajikistan has not submitted a National Adaptation Plan (NAP) to UNFCCC. However, with the support of UNDP and funding from the Green Climate Fund, the Government has commenced its development in the spring 2022.²⁷ A NAP aims to strengthen the national steering mechanism for long-term climate change

²⁷ See www.adaptation-undp.org/tajikistan-launches-a-gcf-funded-national-adaptation-plan for more detail.

adaptation planning (such as updating national strategies, raising awareness among stakeholders, participatory capacity assessment, and strengthening knowledge management), develop climate change adaptation capacities to plan and implement adaptation actions and develop a NAP implementation strategy (such as developing adaptation plans for rural and urban municipalities, analysing gaps in sectoral policies, updating communication strategies, and developing an adaptation financing plan). CEP is tasked to enable an effective NAP process in Tajikistan, which provides a good opportunity to further and more comprehensively mainstream MECC nexus. CEP has the opportunity to build on the important work that it has done in the elaboration of NSACC, and to set up a well-coordinated process in elaborating NAP for the following: (a) further improve the regulatory and legislative integration of migration, environmental and climate change; (b) widen the available definition of environmental migration to encompass all forms of migration in the face of adverse climate change impacts; and (c) close the data and knowledge gap on the link between climate change and environmental degradation and different forms of migration. One key factor will be to strengthen collaboration between CEP, COES and MOLMEP.

The NDC is another relevant communication to UNFCCC to set goals and monitor progress in a systematic way. Indeed, the recent Updated NDC that was submitted to the United Nations Climate Conference (COP26) in Glasgow (Government of Tajikistan, 2021c) made reference to the nexus by referring to NSACC. Notably also, it identifies a need to better understand gender inequality in the context of vulnerabilities to climate change risks, which is especially relevant due to large-scale male labour migration. International development efforts in both adaptation and mitigation to climate change will continue to be essential to implement national strategies and comply with international commitments through the transfer of viable tools, mechanisms and knowledge to address adverse impacts of climate change.²⁸

²⁸ Most importantly, the Pilot Program for Climate Resilience was implemented between 2010 and 2016 and provided USD 47 million in grant funding to Tajikistan. The investments (includes five multimillion projects: [Building Climate Resilience in the Pyanj River Basin Project](#); [Enhancing the Climate Resilience of the Energy Sector](#); [Environmental Land Management and Rural Livelihoods](#); [Improvement of Weather, Climate, and Hydrological Delivery project](#); [Small Business Climate Resilience Financing Facility](#)) focused on climate-proofing key water management and hydroelectric infrastructures, improving institutional capacities for effectively integrating climate resilience into national development and investment planning, and supporting land management measures to enhance rural livelihoods through greater resilience to climate-related shocks. Also, since 2016, the Green Climate Fund has been investing over USD 46 million in Tajikistan. Projects supported are as follows: [Institutional Development of the State Agency for Hydrometeorology of Tajikistan](#); [Building climate resilience of vulnerable and food insecure communities through capacity strengthening and livelihood diversification in mountainous regions of Tajikistan](#); [Scaling Up Hydropower Sector Climate Resilience](#); [GCF-EBRD Sustainable Energy Financing Facilities](#); and the [Climate Adaptation and Mitigation Program for the Aral Sea Basin](#). Interventions focus mainly on protecting key infrastructure from climate risks and supporting the development of effective hydrological and meteorological data and information while also delivering climate finance to the private sector at scale through partner financial institutions, building adaptive capacities and support adaptation activities through grants to the most vulnerable communities, including to the most vulnerable populations residing in risk-prone areas, and affected by food insecurity.

Tajikistan, notably under the lead of COES, has established important mechanisms in compliance with the Sendai Framework (United Nations, 2015b). Firstly, in response to calls for global partnerships, transboundary and regional cooperation, Tajikistan has taken an active role in promoting transboundary cooperation to enable policy and planning. In particular, Tajikistan has hosted two Regional Conferences on Disaster Risk Reduction and the Implementation of the Sendai Framework (in 2016 and 2019) for the Central Asian and South Caucasus countries. These conferences led to the adoption of the [Dushanbe Declaration](#) – a call to action for governments to strengthen the regional coordination mechanisms and consolidate support for the global DRR agenda. Secondly, the formal Unified State System on the Prevention and Liquidation of Emergency Situations (the Unified System) has been established, and the National Disaster Risk Reduction Platform, under the lead of COES. The Platform is instrumental to ensure coordination across relevant institutions and sectors, and engagement at all levels of government and society, including affected people and offers a great window of opportunity to further integrate migration into the DRR Strategy when it will be updated in 2030. The Platform develops disaster preparedness and response plans and aims to integrate DRR goals and objectives into sectoral policies, programmes, and strategies with due regard for the most at-risk populations. The Platform also integrates training programmes on gender-sensitive DRR into general and vocational training, as well as professional development initiatives. However, COES lacks the capacity and resources to run an effective DRR coordination platform, resulting in a fragmented approach to avert, minimize and address displacement.

The national planning on disaster management is done through the DRR Strategy (Government of Tajikistan, 2018a), and the narrow focus of the strategy on planned relocation has been well taken up in national legal frameworks. MECC nexus is integrated into the DRR policies in Tajikistan with several laws and strategies that refer to evacuation and planned relocation (see [chapter 3.1.3](#)). National planning processes fall short in considering other forms of migration, and as a consequence, the legislative base is also absent. Communication on the progress is done in the frame of the Sendai Framework (United Nations, 2015b). To date, such communication is sporadic to non-existent.

NDS 2030 (Government of Tajikistan, 2016c) is the main planning tool for achieving the SDGs. It touches on a number of relevant issues in national development, including migration, the environment and climate change, but does not acknowledge interlinkages. The nodal agency of NDS 2030, the Ministry of Economic Development and Trade, prepared the Voluntary National Review for the High-Level Political Forum in 2017 (Government of Tajikistan, 2017d) and the subsequent National Report on Implementation of Strategic Documents of the Country in the Context of the Sustainable Development Goals (Government of Tajikistan, 2018d). The reports analysed progress towards implementing the SDGs at the national level, as well as mainstreaming of Agenda 2030 into national

development policies. Both documents were prepared through a consultative process using a whole-of-society approach (with sector and local specialists, United Nations agencies, members of parliament, civil society, academia, entrepreneurs and media, as well as development partners). The reports processed information derived from official statistics from different ministries and agencies, as well as reports and reviews produced by international organizations, expert evaluations and other desk resources. Interestingly, the report fails to mention climate change as well as any form of migration.

The most recent available strategic planning frameworks on migration were found to be outdated (see [subchapter 3.3.1](#)); it is therefore not further analysed. Guiding legislative frameworks, for example, the Law on Migration (Government of Tajikistan, 2018b) only touch upon planned relocation. The Government of Tajikistan, with support of the Regional Migration Network for Asia and Pacific, submitted a voluntary national report (Government of Tajikistan, 2021d) on its progress on the implementation of the Global Compact for Migration, ahead of the regional review for Asia and the Pacific that took place on 10–12 March 2021. The report states that environmental factors are one of three key drivers for population movement (others are economic, political and ethnic factors). However, in subsequent analysis, the report offers exclusively labour migration numbers to the Russian Federation and (with the exception of human trafficking) touches on no other form of migration. With that, the report misses demonstrating the already advanced integration of planned relocation processes in the face of environmental degradation and climate change.

There are gaps in information, coordination and capacity in planning and communication on MECC nexus. Even within sectors, the Government has limited technical and managerial capacities. Though awareness about climate change is growing, the understanding of sector-specific climate impacts and vulnerability is limited. The understanding of interlinkages between migration, environmental degradation and climate change is even more so. There are no adaptation plans and programmes available from nodal agencies for sectors and mechanisms for monitoring and collecting data for iteratively assessing vulnerabilities in the context of climate change do not exist. The sector agencies have little to no experience in systematically assessing vulnerabilities and are not able to identify and prioritize adaptation measures. This negatively impacts the Government's ability to address migration-related opportunities and challenges in the context of climate change. Moreover, sectors have no guidance or training for climate-proofing investments, and so as a result, long-term sectoral investment plans do not consider climate change adaptation, which can lead to suboptimal or even maladaptive investments. These also pose as a barrier to the integration of migration-related challenges (such as averting, minimizing and addressing disaster displacement risk) and opportunities (such as leveraging remittances for planned climate change adaptation) into national reporting and communications to global policy frameworks.

**CALL TO ACTION 4.1.**

Systematically mainstream the nexus into NAP. With the NAP development process in its early stages and its methodological and procedural guidelines still unclear, this is an opportunity to comprehensively mainstream the nexus into NAP. Also, the reporting to global and regional frameworks (such as the SDGs, UNFCCC, the Sendai Framework, Global Compact for Migration and the Almaty Process) could help identify national needs and priorities (such as what needs to be done and opportunities for cooperation), as well as gaps (that could help to identify emerging issues).

**CALL TO ACTION 4.2.**

Foster policy coherence between different domains to ensure that all national policies, laws, plans, strategies and guidelines related to migration in the context of climate change and environmental degradation are coherent across themes and levels of governance. This would require robust data and transparent monitoring and evaluation mechanisms for implementation progress towards adopted policy agendas. It would also require strengthening interministerial coordination to ensure complementarity of approaches at the national level. The coordination mechanism needs to recognize and involve local government entities. Financial requirements need to be assessed and appropriate funding allocated to address the challenges of displacement and relocation, and enable the adaptation potential of other forms of migration in the face of adverse climate change impacts. Policy coherence will require building capacities of government stakeholders, especially those responsible for monitoring and evaluation.

4.5. PROTECTION OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS, INCLUDING THOSE DISPLACED AS A RESULT OF THE ADVERSE EFFECTS OF CLIMATE CHANGE

To consider to assist internally displaced persons, including those displaced as a result of the adverse effects of climate change, and strengthen efforts to find durable solutions, taking into account the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement, as appropriate.

– Task Force on Displacement Recommendation 33e

This recommendation aims to ensure the protection of the people who are displaced due to environmental and climate change impacts within the borders of Tajikistan and strengthen efforts to find durable solutions. The Government plays a major role in assisting IDPs, including those displaced as a result of the disasters induced by natural hazards. Tajikistan's Constitution (Government of Tajikistan, 2016f), inspired by the *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement* (UNHCR,

1998), provides guarantees for the protection of people who have been forced to leave their place of living, including their rights to housing, food, water, work and education. Particular guarantees are made for the protection of the rights of those most vulnerable, in particular women, children and persons with disabilities. Tajikistan's legal framework lays important foundations to ensure the protection of rights and dignity specifically of those internally displaced as a result of both slow- and rapid-onset impacts of climate change. However, internal migration and planned relocation is only regulated for those who partake in government programmes with no provisions made to protect self-managed migration and displacement due to environmental degradation or the adverse impacts of climate change.

The process of internal displacement due to disasters and other environmental factors is regulated according to the Law on Migration (Government of Tajikistan, 2018b) and related resolutions. Together, they set out the support to be provided during the relocation in case of a disaster induced by natural hazards. COES is the agency that has the responsibility to oversee this process and report to MOLMEP on it. A regulatory framework for planned permanent relocation due to risks of natural hazards (Government of Tajikistan, 2004) as well as other forms of slow-onset environmental degradation with the potential to adversely affect households' living conditions (Government of Tajikistan, 2010a) is also in place. Relevant mechanisms are put in place to assign responsibilities to the various local, district and national sectoral ministries and authorities in the relocation process, and special considerations are made to ensure the participation of affected populations. Adequate information ought to be provided not only to those planned to be relocated but also to members of receiving communities. Plans are made for the relocation of the whole household, making sure that families are not separated, and adequate living standards in the place of relocation – including shelter, access to water, food, health, education and sanitation – are guaranteed by law. Financial compensation and/or other concessions are made to ensure that relocation does not have any adverse impacts on the households' livelihood or income generation potential. MOLMEP is the agency that has the responsibility to oversee this process and report on it.

The evidence base on the implementation of relocation plans and the adherence to the processes as set out in the legislation is limited. Public official communications by State authorities is limited to sporadic press releases while comprehensive reports on the relocation processes are missing. Instead, a number of independent academic studies and reports from civil society and human rights groups try to offer a picture of protection issues during relocation processes at various stages of relocation. Major findings suggest that the level of involvement and participation of target populations in relocation planning is limited. Instead, locations are chosen by the central authorities at the instruction of district authorities without

the involvement of the families (IOM, 2012a). Some studies found evidence of misleading information being provided to persuade people to sign up for voluntary relocation programmes (Gampp, 2012). The relocation of farmers and pastoralists from mountainous to arid areas seems arbitrary at best, with significant negative effects on peoples' health. Some reports suggest that the State relocation programmes are a tool for the Government to settle contested territories, mainly border areas with Uzbekistan (Heathershaw and Herzig, 2013; Nourzhanov and Bleuer, 2013; Gampp, 2012; Kassymbekova, 2011), although improving relations between the two countries may lessen this tendency. Human Rights Watch found that the standard of living for many families relocated as a result of Roghun Dam development project has seriously deteriorated, and that there are a number of barriers that undermine their ability to re-establish the standard of living they enjoyed prior to being relocated. Loss of land for farming and raising livestock, lack of employment, and poor access to essential services in resettled communities have combined to create significant hardship for relocated families (Human Rights Watch, 2014). There is no evidence of the Government contesting or addressing these accusations.

For persons internally displaced due to disaster induced by natural hazards, conditions and provision of means to return voluntarily, in safety and with dignity, to their homes are not prescribed, and reintegration of returned IDPs is not facilitated. Neither does the legislative framework address other consequent forms of migration should return be not an option. For those who partake in the planned relocation programme, the terms of the voluntarily agreement renounce their right to return. Despite that, where integration fails or the place of relocation offers unfavourable living conditions, including a lack of land, water, income generation options or deteriorating health, return migration has been found to be a common strategy for the household or some of its members despite the risk of natural disasters or other adverse impacts of climate change (IOM, 2012a). Where a return is not an option, international labour migration is the more common strategy to respond to unfavourable conditions in places of relocation, but only if sufficient funds are available. With mostly able-bodied male members of the household absent, the women, children and elderly are likely to continue suffering from the detrimental living conditions in the place of relocation.

While the legislative base for evacuation and planned relocation is quite extensive, fewer provisions are in place that guarantee that all feasible alternatives are explored and measures taken in order to avoid displacement altogether and minimize its adverse effects. Despite the context of Tajikistan and the stark reliance of rural populations on the land and natural resource for their livelihood, no special efforts are apparent to avoid the relocation of those (such as minority communities and pastoralists) with a special dependency on and attachment to their lands. There is no evidence that pre-existing conditions of vulnerabilities, specifically of marginalized members of society such as women, are given any special

consideration in relocation processes. Provisions on recovery and integration in destination communities or areas are absent.



CALL TO ACTION 5.1.

Operationalize, monitor and evaluate planned relocation as a last resort strategy by strengthening legal and institutional structures to protect the entirety of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights that are affected in a relocation process. Examples include the acquisition of land, transfer of title, zoning, land use, consultation, participation, compensation, restitution and accountability mechanisms. The underpinning principle in the relocation planning process should be that relocation is a measure of last resort. The implementation of relocation plans must respect human rights and independent monitoring, evaluations and reporting systems are necessary to assess its outcomes, enable decision makers and other relevant actors to be held accountable and ensure complaint mechanisms, access to justice and effective remedies where rights have been violated.



CALL TO ACTION 5.2.

Improve coordination in the preparation and response to displacement when it happens. The National DRR Coordination Platform should be strengthened and other relevant government agencies with a mandate in the relocation process should be included, notably CEP and MOLMEP. This will allow ensuring that the rights of those displaced are safeguarded, including by providing adequate and timely information, basic humanitarian assistance (such as food, medicine and shelter), access to education, freedom of movement and access to economic activities, and processes are adequately funded and lasting solutions are sought, including through robust non-return policies or reintegration strategies and adequate compensation of losses.



CALL TO ACTION 5.3.

Integrate planned relocation into national strategies and plans to protect persons displaced as a result of the adverse effects of climate change. Displacement has a bearing on a multitude of national entities and frameworks, including DRR, climate change adaptation, development, land and property. This requires coordination across different sectors, departments and levels (such as local, district and national). With the aim of NAP to assess and reduce Tajikistan's vulnerability to the impacts of climate change – and is intended to be cross-cutting, cover medium- to long-term needs, be integrated in national development plans, and include multiple tools that a State uses in its planning processes – it offers a potential vehicle for improve the integration of displacement, including on protection of persons displaced as a result of adverse climate change impacts (see also [Call to Action 4.1](#)).

4.6. FACILITATING ORDERLY, SAFE, REGULAR AND RESPONSIBLE MIGRATION

Facilitate orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration and mobility of people, as appropriate and in accordance with national laws and policies by considering the needs of migrants and displaced persons, communities of origin, transit and destination, and by enhancing opportunities for regular migration pathways, including through labour mobility, in consistent with international labour standards, in the context of climate change.

– Task Force on Displacement Recommendation 33f

Migration in the context of adverse impacts of climate change in Tajikistan is referred to as a threat rather than an opportunity. In regards to MECC nexus, the Law on Migration (Government of Tajikistan, 2018b), the main legislative framework to manage regular migration pathways (internal and international), narrowly focuses on the planned relocation of people forced to leave their houses because of environmental hazards. The Law defines environmental migration based on the procedures that are put in place to protect those most at risk from the adverse impacts of climate change or other factors causing unfavourable living conditions. The latter is regulated through procedures that are not voluntary but State-planned. Relevant sectoral ministries, including agriculture, environmental protection and others are called upon to better ensure that places of relocation are suitable and able to improve living standards. Failing to strengthen efforts to find durable solutions for those considered internally displaced (see [subchapter 4.5](#) and relevant calls for action) will likely cause additional mobility decisions for relocated household members. Other forms of internal migration, including self-managed seasonal or permanent internal labour migration to urban centres or transhumance, are pathways that are less prevalent in the regulatory framework and information on the extent to which climate change, environmental degradation and disaster risks influence the choice of this type of mobility is limited. With limited arable land and wide-ranging variance in climatic conditions between and within different seasons and districts of Tajikistan, temporary or seasonal internal or international labour migration should be facilitated to ensure orderly, safe, regular and responsible migration of people. For example, in its regulation of seasonal employment, the Labour Code (Government of Tajikistan, 2016e) refers to environmental and climate factors as a reason for seasonal employment within Tajikistan and makes provisions to ensure adequate labour contracts for such work is provided. Seasonal mobility is considered in the legal definition of migration also, though no special provisions are made for it.

The draft *National Strategy of Labour Migration of the Citizens of the Republic of Tajikistan for the period up to 2030* (Government of Tajikistan, forthcoming (a)) primarily envisages ecological migration as a planned relocation of people from

environmentally hazardous areas to safer places. Its acknowledgement of the role of voluntary forms of migration (such as temporary, circular and seasonal labour migration; international and internal labour migration) in the context of environmental change is limited to the recognition of environment as a justification criteria for labour migration quotas to be developed and implemented (ibid.). The draft National Strategy could recognize that the voluntary forms of migration could help the families staying behind to manage risks posed by climate shocks and stressors and environmental degradation. This would support the de-victimization of migrants. It should further allow to update and strengthen existing legal and strategic frameworks aimed at attracting migrant workers and their families, returning migrants, diaspora and compatriots abroad, as well as foreign citizens as a partner for the development. A number of international development efforts aim at supporting this endeavour.²⁹ A review of key achievements towards priorities set out in the relevant action plan (Government of Tajikistan, 2015b) would offer the evidence base to guide the development of future strategic documents on labour migration. This will also allow for more coherence of the migration policy framework and recognize the interlinkages between the migration–development nexus and migration–climate change adaptation nexus. This way, the strategy document would be more in line with the development frameworks of Tajikistan, such as NDS 2030 and MTDP of Tajikistan for 2016–2020 and acknowledge the significant role of remittances from international labour migration for the country’s development. Similarly, environmental degradation and disaster risk frameworks (see [subchapter 3.1.1](#) and [3.1.3](#)) of Tajikistan are focused exclusively on planned relocation in preparation of response during and the aftermath of an emergency situation. The climate change frameworks are a little more advanced, however (see [subchapter 3.1.2](#)). NSACC, for example, mentions different forms of migration (planned relocation due to natural disasters, as well as seasonal labour migration), yet it continues to be framed as a failure to adapt and as a factor to impede the resilience of the population of Tajikistan to climate change.

In reference to Objective 5 of the Global Compact for Migration – “enhance availability and flexibility of pathways for regular migration” (United Nations, 2019) – there are gaps in ensuring options and pathways for safe, orderly and regular migration in the context of environmental degradation and climate change. A more comprehensive evidence base on the combination of and sequence in

²⁹ ILO launched a [Decent Work Country Programme for 2015–2017](#) based on the national priorities of Tajikistan in the field of labour market, employment and social protection and is aimed at the sustainable socioeconomic development of the country, through regulation of labour relations in line with international labour standards, stimulation of productive employment, insurance of social protection of population and strengthening social dialogue. Indeed, ILO has worked on a wide range of issues, including the following: (a) strengthening capacities of tripartite constituents to address priority labour issues; (b) reform wage systems and wage policies through social dialogue; (c) eliminating the worst forms of child labour; (d) formalizing informal economy; (e) increasing decent employment opportunities for men and women, including youth and returning labour migrants; (f) improving working conditions and enhancing the coverage of social protection; and (g) improving national systems and modernizing labour inspection.

different migration pathways and their interaction with climate change and environmental stressors would allow for more targeted support and facilitation of different migration processes. This, in turn, would enable Tajikistan more systematic integration of migration pathways in national development processes. A number of international development efforts encourage directing remittances towards disaster preparedness, land degradation and the diminishing role of agriculture in rural livelihoods.³⁰ This could be strengthened, particularly considering that migration can be far more than a failure to adapt to climate change. Migration should be understood as an insurance strategy, a risk management strategy and an income diversification strategy that is used considering not only the needs of one's own family but also those of the extended family, neighbours and the whole village or community. Most migrant workers come from rural areas of Tajikistan, where communities are still tightly knit and their livelihoods depend on land and ecosystem health. Considering that, skills improvement and use of remittances will inevitably contribute to wider development goals, strengthen preparedness, build resilience and adaptive capacities while reducing vulnerabilities towards the adverse impacts of climate change. Equal access to resources, property and land among different members of migrants' families will be essential. The different opportunities and challenges experienced by women (such as female migrants and women staying behind), youth, socially marginalized groups, Indigenous persons and persons with disabilities need to be recognized.



Coherently integrate migration as part of adaptation strategies in the context of climate change in national legal and strategic frameworks, across sectors of environmental protection, climate change adaptation and mitigation, DRR, migration, national development and gender. Fostering regular migration pathways in Tajikistan can be an important and effective strategy for adapting to the

³⁰ In early 2019, jointly with MOLMEP of Tajikistan, FAO unveiled the [Promoting inclusive economic growth through matching grants](#) pilot project. It aims to mobilize remittances and human resources of migrant workers, their families, returnees and communities to involving migrants' remittances to invest into agriculture and agribusiness and improve their livelihood. Beneficiaries invest 50 per cent of funds for small-scale business-oriented activity in agriculture or agribusiness and attract addition 50 per cent from the FAO project's funds. In addition to financial support, the pilot includes capacity development programs, which allow beneficiaries to build skills in small- and medium-sized business development in the agricultural sector. FAO supports beneficiaries both during the preparation of investment proposals, and also by advising and raising their capacity in agricultural production, storage, processing and marketing to ensure the sustainability of the investments. The Swiss State Secretariat for Economic Affairs supported the Basel Agency for Sustainable Energy in their efforts to finance sustainable energy through remittance flows. However, the project was discontinued after the market assessment stage due to the fact that the financial crisis and increasingly tight documentation regulations in the Russian Federation led to a significant drop in remittance flows at the year of publishing. OECD supported the [Central Asia Competitiveness Initiative](#) which did offer some specific activities to improve the financial inclusion of migrants and encourage productive use of remittances. The International Fund for Agricultural Development's [Community-Based Agricultural Support Project](#) aimed to increase economic opportunities for rural migrant workers by making remittances and remittance-linked financial services more accessible to them through increased access to innovative, cost-effective and international remittance services, savings and credit products among Tajik migrants and the poor rural populations in Tajikistan. Finally, the Global Environment Facility/UNDP small grants programme supported the [Effective Use of Local Remittances](#) project motivating families with migrants to invest in solar water heaters and devices in the Shaartuz District.

impacts of climate change, while at the same time strengthening the positive impact that migration can have on labour markets, GDP growth and technology transfer. Research is needed to better demonstrate the interlinkages, and consequent cross-sectoral policy dialogue needs to be facilitated. Regular migration channels and schemes can be put in place in areas facing gradual environmental degradation, reducing pressure on urban centres while promoting livelihood diversification while filling labour shortages in destination areas. This will further allow creating synergies with the regional migration actors, for example through the Almaty Process, to facilitate dignified, rights-based and gender-responsive migration pathways and bilateral, regional and multilateral labour mobility agreements. It is important to protect particularly those unable to move, and those being left behind who are most vulnerable and can become even more susceptible to the impacts of climate change and socioeconomic inequalities.



CALL TO ACTION 6.2.

Enable channelling of remittances into climate action for migrants and their families, including families staying behind or remittance recipients, to channel remittances into clean energy, sustainable building and renovation, sustainable transportation, circular economy and sustainable agriculture. The enablers could include awareness-raising, capacity development, policy coherence and support, innovative financing products and advisory services. For example, establish an extension/advisory service for supporting female remittance recipients in rural areas to make informed decisions on energy-efficient and renewable energy solutions, green construction designs or climate-resilient agricultural practices in alignment with the sectoral adaptation plans.



CALL TO ACTION 6.3.

Develop capacities of migrants to participate in and benefit from the circular economy. This should include facilitating skilling and enterprise development associated with clean energy, sustainable renovation, sustainable mobility and climate-smart agriculture among migrants, their families and returning migrants. The Updated NDCs of Tajikistan already includes important considerations of the nexus but can be further elaborated to tap into migration for the green transition to achieve the greenhouse gas emissions reduction and create new income opportunities.



CONCLUSION





Due to its location in the south and clear days, Tajikistan is usually called the “Sunny Republic”. The climate of Tajikistan is hot, dry and continental with short and mild winters and long, hot summers (Shahritus, Khatlon Region, Tajikistan). © IOM 2022/ LLC “Tahlil va Mashvarat”

5. CONCLUSION

Through the mapping and analysis, 15 recommendations were developed to better integrate MECC nexus for a wide range of national actors in Tajikistan. Indeed, applying a whole-of-government approach and improving coordination (Call to Action 1.1) among actors dealing with MECC will allow spearheading actions for integrating the nexus across the Government's vertical and lateral administrative structures. To do so, capacities and ownership (Call to Action 1.2) of decision makers at national, regional and local levels need to be strengthened. Gender-responsive governance of migration in the context of the environment and climate change has to be mainstreamed into the legal and strategic framework to move away from the victimhood lens (Call to Action 1.3). Averting, minimizing and addressing displacement related to adverse impacts of climate change in Tajikistan needs to be notably supported by improved transdisciplinary data collection, analysis and use (Call to Action 2.1). This will allow to guide a coherent policymaking decision-making process across sectors. Longitudinal and panel data (Call to Action 2.2) will need to be built up to assess the dynamics of interlinkages between migration, the environment and climate change.

Displacement related to the adverse impacts of climate change should be averted by strengthening national planning towards well-informed and innovative measures using reliable risk and vulnerability assessments (Call to Action 3.1) and minimized through strengthened preparedness, including early warning systems (Call to Action 3.2). There are a number of ongoing national planning processes that are opportune, for example, the planned elaboration of NAP of Tajikistan under the UNFCCC process, should systematically mainstream MECC nexus (Call to Action 4.1) and form a basis for stronger policy coherence between different domains (Call to Action 4.2). The underpinning principle in the national planning process should be that relocation is a measure of last resort. In Tajikistan, the planned relocation processes need to be operationalized, monitored and evaluated independently (Call to Action 5.1) to assess the outcomes of planned relocation, and hold decision makers and other relevant actors accountable. Strengthening the National DRR Coordination Platform (Call to Action 5.2) will further facilitate a more systematic integration of protection of displaced persons as a result of adverse climate change impacts across national legal and strategic frameworks (Call to Action 5.3). The coherent integration of migration as part of adaptation strategies in the context of climate change in national legal and strategic frameworks (Call to Action 6.1), channelling of remittances into climate action (Call to Action 6.2) and building skills and capacities of migrants to benefit from the circular economy (Call to Action 6.3) will notably contribute to fostering options and pathways for safe, orderly and regular migration in the context of environmental degradation and climate change in Tajikistan.

The recommendations are based on the mapping and analysis of policy-related documents from different sectoral domains. [Chapter 3](#) maps laws and strategies to identify if these recognize MECC nexus. It finds that 13 out of the 39 documents analysed refer to the nexus. The mainstreaming is comparatively better in the climate change domain, while the DRR and migration domains remain largely focused on the security lens, focused on planned relocation. The mainstreaming of MECC nexus is particularly weak in sustainable development, agriculture, water and urban planning domains.

The Government of Tajikistan has taken important first steps towards integrating MECC nexus in legal and strategic frameworks to avert, minimize and address displacement related to the adverse impacts of climate change. The analytical framework of the recommendations set out by the Task Force on Displacement (UNFCCC, 2018) has allowed for a better understanding of the degree to which Tajikistan has already undertaken relevant actions to be better prepared for the challenges of a future in which more people will be forced to move in the context of climate change impacts. The study has also allowed putting forward a number of important recommendations that will allow furthering the legislative and strategic integration of MECC nexus to frameworks to avert, minimize and address displacement related to the adverse impacts of climate change in the context of Tajikistan.

ANNEXES

Annex 1: Environmental and climate related stressors and adaptation options in Tajikistan

Table A1: Overview of environmental and climate-related stressors and adaptation mechanisms in Tajikistan

Environment/climate change issue, hazard, challenge	Impact/Expected impact on population and migration/displacement	Existing/planned adaptation/mitigation/response measures
<p>Precipitation³¹</p> <p>The mean annual precipitation is projected to decrease by 5%.</p> <p>Increased irregularity in precipitation, with more high-intensity precipitation events, particularly in spring.</p> <p>By 2050, precipitation is projected to decrease by 2% in December, January, February and 5% in March, April and May. In June, July and August,</p>	<p>Increased irregularity in precipitation could alter the amount of water in many snow-fed rivers, and, given that glaciers are likely to shrink, affect irrigated agriculture through water shortages. Also, increase of water turbidity in the rivers is expected, which can result in large depositions and drifts in the irrigation channels, basins, pump stations and sedimentation basins. Groundwater is also likely to be impacted. Similarly, it has been predicted that many local communities in Tajikistan will likely suffer critical water shortages, since total water stocks are expected to fall by 80–100 km³ over the next 30 to 40 years. Decrease in annual precipitation run-off and long-term shrinkage of glaciers will also have an impact on the Aral Sea.</p>	<p>See chapter 9 of the National Action Plan for Climate Change Mitigation for a detailed outline of planned adaptation measures.</p> <p>The Government of Tajikistan endorsed the Water Sector Reform Programme for the period 2016–2025, laying legal foundations to strengthen national and basin capacities and institutions in the field of water.</p>

³¹ Global climate models from the [Coupled Model Intercomparison Project, Phase 5 \(CMIP5\)](#) models included in the [IPCC's Fifth Assessment Report \(AR5\)](#) were used.

Environment/climate change issue, hazard, challenge	Impact/Expected impact on population and migration/displacement	Existing/planned adaptation/mitigation/response measures
<p>precipitation is projected to increase by 1% and 4% in September, October and November.</p> <p>Dry days are projected to increase by approximately three days by 2050.</p> <p>Winters are projected to be drier and summers wetter.</p>	<p>Increased intensity in spring rainfall combined with excessive meltwaters from large snow accumulations from the wet seasons is likely to increase the frequency of mudflows and floods, as well as avalanches, landslides or rockfalls, putting lives of rural populations at risk.</p> <p>Also, extreme rain in springtime causes the formation of soil crust, washout of crops and can cause irreparable damage to agricultural products, leading to economic losses for rural populations dependent on agriculture for their livelihood.</p> <p>Agriculture's high dependence on rainfall during the irrigation season and the absence thereof is likely to lead to a higher water demand for irrigation that may exacerbate problems related to shallow groundwater and saline soils (Sommer et al., 2013; Rakhmatullaev et al., 2009). An increase in the frequency or intensity of heat waves (see temperature projections below), together with higher evaporation, could lead to increased drought, with subsequent loss of crops and pastures and the expansion of desert areas (World Bank, n.d.b).</p> <p>Dry winters and wet summers could result in both increased floods and droughts.</p>	<p>Further national priorities are as follows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diversify livelihood and income; • Develop and strengthen WUAs; • Increase the efficiency of irrigation channels; • Apply differentiated water tariffs and incentives for saving water to fully cover the operational cost of irrigation systems; • Construct reservoirs in narrow mountain gorges for energy generation, water storage as well as for the control of mudflow and flood risks; • Support farmer income and protect harvest (such as through pest control, greenhouses and drought-resistant variants).

Environment/climate change issue, hazard, challenge	Impact/Expected impact on population and migration/displacement	Existing/planned adaptation/mitigation/response measures
<p>Temperature³²</p> <p>The mean annual temperatures are projected to be warmer by approximately 2°C by 2050. The months of December, January and February as well as June, July and August are likely to see the most warming.</p> <p>The highest increase is expected mainly in winter whereby high-altitude areas are expected to experience a sharper increase than the lowlands.</p> <p>Cold days are projected to decrease by 35 days by 2050 (World Bank, n.d.b).</p>	<p>A temperature increase of 2–4°C in February and March could lead to a 20% decrease in winter–spring pasture productivity, which is worsened during dry spells. Conversely, in high mountain pastures, a temperature increase of 1.5–3°C could increase pasture productivity by 25–50%. The impact of climatic factors is observed during spring when precipitation causes the formation of soil crust, washout of crops and irreparable damage to agricultural products. Extremely high air temperatures and droughts may suppress the development of plants, resulting in fires and contributing to desertification processes.</p> <p>Sharp increase in winter extreme temperatures in high-altitude areas is likely to have effect on the melting of the region’s glaciers and a decrease in winter snows, perceptible in the winter floods and summer droughts and the increasing risk of severe water shortages.</p> <p>The drylands of Tajikistan are increasingly facing drought risks during late summer and autumn, with temperature and runoff changes crucially impacting agricultural production and food security in Tajikistan and the region more broadly.</p> <p>Projected increases in temperature could result in an increase in the frequency or intensity of heat waves, and, together with higher evaporation, could lead to increased drought, with subsequent loss of crops and pastures and the expansion of desert areas (World Bank, n.d.b).</p>	<p>Stimulation of economic growth that will contribute to adequate food security.</p> <p>Selection and introduction of drought-resistant grains, legumes and other cultures.</p> <p>Development of breeds and seed varieties in the context of climate change.</p> <p>Support for the development of effective methods in agriculture, adapted to the conditions of climate change and high risk of climatic catastrophes.</p> <p>Development of private farms with differentiation of agricultural production.</p> <p>Raise awareness and access of rural population, farmers and other parties in the agriculture sector to information on climate change.</p>

³² Ibid.

Environment/climate change issue, hazard, challenge	Impact/Expected impact on population and migration/displacement	Existing/planned adaptation/mitigation/response measures
<p>Melting and retreat of glaciers</p> <p>Extreme high temperatures will cause glaciers to melt.</p> <p>In the dry season, potential evapotranspiration will increase and the warmer temperatures and shorter frost season will lead to a general decline in glacier extent.</p> <p>The spring snowmelt season is likely to start earlier.</p>	<p>The importance of the glacier run off from the Pamir Mountains in the Amu Darya as well as the Aral Sea basin is particularly pronounced due to the dry ablation season and the vast arid lowlands downstream. Increasing temperatures in spring and summer will affect the seasonal run off maxima and result in a water surplus in spring and a shortage in the summer months. This will increase the likelihood of floods and mudflows, significantly affecting densely populated irrigation-dependent lowlands and overall freshwater supply as well as hydropower generation potential in the whole region. Eventually, inter-annual variability of water availability and total runoff quantity will be reduced unless precipitation or thawing of permafrost will offset the deficit.</p> <p>Earlier spring snowmelt, with the changes in glacier extent, will result in significant changes to the volume and seasonality of river flows.</p>	<p>Spatial monitoring of glaciers dynamics and use of observation results in forecasting and public awareness-raising.</p>
<p>Extreme climate events</p>	<p>Extreme climate events (such as floods, droughts, avalanches and landslides) periodically destroy land, crops, infrastructure and sources of income.</p> <p>More frequent climate extremes can adversely affect the functioning and stability of both anthropogenic and natural systems, as well as further increase climate caused losses and damages.</p>	<p>Modernization of the system of gathering, processing, analysis, interpretation of information from the hydrometeorological network.</p> <p>Improvement of forecasting and early warning systems.</p>

Environment/climate change issue, hazard, challenge	Impact/Expected impact on population and migration/displacement	Existing/planned adaptation/mitigation/response measures
<p>Non-climatic/ environmental Issues</p> <p>Land degradation – unsustainable land management practices including overgrazing and overploughing on steep slopes</p>	<p>Much of the agriculture land in Tajikistan is exposed to land degradation and erosion of fertile topsoil. Natural pastures and hayfields play an important role in protecting soil from erosion and increasing its fertility, but their productivity is dependent on the climatic conditions and its spatial distribution during the vegetation period.</p>	<p>Increased awareness and adoption of best practices and sharing of lessons learned.</p> <p>Improvement of land and water resource management and conservation of agrobiodiversity.</p>
<p>Deforestation</p>	<p>Land degradation has the potential to reduce productivity of agricultural lands and pastures. These unsustainable land management practices have also compromised the supply of water to the population of Tajikistan, specifically by increasing erosion. Accelerated erosion has resulted in an increase in suspended solid material. This negatively impacts water supply, as suspended solids damage pumps and other water supply infrastructure. These damages increase the treatment costs for producing potable, industrial and irrigation water.</p> <p>Firstly, and as with overgrazing and overploughing, deforestation has caused increased erosion in several river basins in the country. Trees are important for sustaining ecosystem functions in reducing incidences of surface runoff and erosion transport and in enhancing slope stability, which reduces erosion. Hence, with deforestation, these ecosystem functions are being compromised. Secondly, deforestation has also impacted river flows in Tajikistan. Because trees regulate river flows (specifically through promoting transpiration and infiltration), deforestation in Tajikistan has led to water deficits (droughts) during the dry season and water excesses (floods) during the wet season. With the combined effects of erosion and compromised river flows, deforestation is severely impacting the hydrological functioning in river basins throughout Tajikistan.</p>	<p>Enhancement of the effectiveness of land management and introduction of new technologies.</p> <p>Conservation of local cultivars and crop species, and creation of nurseries and micro-reserves.</p> <p>Community-based agroforestry.</p>

Annex 2: National reporting to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

National Communication to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

Tajikistan has met its obligation to prepare its National Communications to UNFCCC, which go beyond mitigation of climate change but also look at the vulnerability of natural resources, the economy and populations, and identify measures to address expected adverse impacts of climate change. The nodal institution/agency for the National Communications to UNFCCC is CEP. The way in which migration in the context of climate change is considered exhibits a clear evolution of the topic within the submitted National Communications. The First National Communication (Government of Tajikistan, 2003c) focuses on the lack of preparedness to natural hazards and the consequent need for evacuation of populations. The Government projected that over 8,000 households will need to be relocated from high-risk zones and calls for the adoption of legislation that define the mechanisms of coordination between local and national authorities, special services and the population to prevent or manage the consequences of rapid-onset events. Furthermore, the First National Communication also takes note of international labour migration but portrays it as a failure to adapt to slow-onset climate change stressors, such as soil degradation, a consequent reduction of available food products and a decline in living standards. Issues of internal migration are touched upon insofar as urbanization is considered a concern for the growing number of people who are exposed to bad air quality in cities.

The Second National Communication (Government of Tajikistan, 2008c) acknowledges that rapid population growth and the respective growth of the workforce have not been matched with a similar growth in employment opportunities “which resulted in [an] increase of seasonal labour migration abroad” (ibid.). Developed against the backdrop of the global financial crisis, and taking into consideration its impacts on Tajikistan (Hasanov, 2010), the Second National Communication highlights the importance of remittances to the national GDP but fails to make any links to addressing environmental degradation or its potential for building resilience to climate change.

Finally, the Third National Communication (Government of Tajikistan, 2014b) offers a much more comprehensive look at migration and its interaction with climate change issues. Though acknowledging the importance of remittances to household incomes, the Communication refers to an assessment carried out by UNDP in 2012 that suggests that “migration was often mentioned by the respondents as a factor weakening the resilience of the population, especially to natural disasters”

(*ibid.*). Although the Third National Communication does not elaborate this further, nor does it refer to a specific report by UNDP, there are two publications that concern themselves with MECC nexus that year. One frames migration induced by environmental or climatic factors as a problem as it may lead to an unmanaged inflow of population to urban areas and an “imbalance in the country’s regional development” (UNDP, 2012a). The other suggests that environmental problems are likely to be a contributing factor to international labour migration, while also putting additional labour burdens in the agricultural sector for those who remain at home (UNDP, 2012b). The Third National Communication further suggests that large-scale migration of men is found to cause the labour force in rural areas to be reconstituted mainly by children, adolescents, women and the elderly, impeding the productivity of the agricultural sector and threatening food security and educational outcomes. Furthermore, in the discussion of the consequences of deficits of water resources, concerns are raised that migration may increase tensions at the local level. Further explanation on that dynamic is not provided.

Nationally Determined Contributions

Tajikistan’s NDC (Government of Tajikistan, 2021c), submitted within the framework of UNFCCC, aim to support sustainable and efficient development taking into consideration climate change, environmental and socioeconomic challenges. The nodal institution/agency for NDC is CEP. The First NDC (Government of Tajikistan, 2015c) outlined adaptation measures for key sectors, namely agriculture, irrigation and water systems, power supply, transport, as well as housing and industrial development. They elaborated on the need to increase the country’s resilience to hydrometeorological hazards and climate change, plan DRR measures, improve biodiversity protection and monitoring, and protect national glaciers. In the short period since the ratification of the Paris Agreement in 2017, Tajikistan has stepped up its ambition significantly, namely through strengthening the national regulatory framework, implementing different projects and interventions and increasing its understanding of climate change impact. While the First NDC did not mention migration, the Updated NDC refers to it three times. In the discussion on the relationship between gender and climate change, the document identifies a need to better understand gender inequalities in the context of large-scale male labour migration and the resulting large number of female-headed households (see [subchapter 3.4](#)). Furthermore, the Updated NDC refers twice to migration in reference to the recently approved NSACC (Government of Tajikistan, 2019a).

Annex 3: Overview of research on the migration, environment and climate change nexus

Table A2: Overview of research products on the migration and climate change nexus

Title and source	Focus/Angle	Main conclusion
Understanding involuntary immobility in the Bartang Valley of Tajikistan through the prism of motility (Blondin, 2020)	Immobility	Explores consequences for mountain communities when migration is hampered or restricted, remittances are decreasing and migrants are unable to leave or return, in this case due to the COVID-19 pandemic.
The impact of migration and remittances on labor supply in Tajikistan (Murakami et al., 2019)	Examines the labour supply effects of migration and remittances in Tajikistan	The findings suggest that having a migrant member and receiving remittances increases the reservation wages of the household members left at home, thereby reducing their labour supply and economic activity rate. The results of the study add to the debate on how remittances and migration can ultimately impact on development – as a buffer to shocks, by increasing the per capita income of households, through improvements in access to education, health and other well-being indicators of household members, among others.
Environmental migrations in Central Asia: A multifaceted approach to the issue (Blondin, 2018)	Offers a literature survey on environmental migrations in the region and positions of Central Asia in the current debates within the broad environmental migration literature.	The article shows that environmental issues can stand out as an important push factor for outmigration in Central Asia, highlights the important role of the Soviet heritage of environmental management as well as of post-Soviet socioeconomic transformations in understanding these issues, and discusses possible adaptation strategies.

Title and source	Focus/Angle	Main conclusion
<i>Migration, Remittances and Climate Resilience in Tajikistan</i> (Babagaliyeva et al., 2018)	Tries to understand how migrants' remittances can be more effectively channelled and reinvested in ways that will make a real impact on people's resilience in semi-arid lands in Tajikistan through desk review, household survey and gender case study.	The analysis shows that remittances do support climate-resilient development mostly through the investment in disaster-related and environmental measures. However, the impact of these investments within agriculture and business development is minimal due to lack of income sources. At the same time, agriculture is one of the main sources of income in families with labour migrants. In the face of climate change consequences, labour migrants are willing to invest more into agricultural activities, such as innovative irrigation systems and agricultural ploughing technologies.
<i>The impact of migration and remittances on natural resources in Tajikistan</i> (Rubinov, 2016)	Looks at the dynamics of migration, livelihoods and the environment in Tajikistan and identifies gaps in knowledge and data around this important nexus.	Finds a need to improve migrants' and their family's access to agricultural extension services, favourable lending mechanisms and further training in agriculture, horticulture and silviculture techniques. As rural Tajikistan continues to rely on agrarian labour as a counterweight to migration, its citizens would benefit from hands-on and practical guidance in managing the land in which they are invested. Changes in land tenure regime stabilized such that agriculture and forestry have emerged as reliable income sources.
<i>Climate Vulnerability and Resilience Assessment: Adaptation Capacity of a Remittance-based Livelihood in the Arid Fan Mountains</i> (Oriol, 2014)	Analysis of quantitative data and qualitative data gathered through focus groups and interviews with the population of the Iskanderkul Valley and local authorities to look at shifts in livelihood strategies.	Finds that over the last century, the population relies more and more on remittances, while agriculture (livestock and gardening) is used as a safety net. Climate change impacts this safety net by putting pressure on the ecosystem and therefore puts at risk the most vulnerable families. The responsibility of the degrading ecosystem (pastures, forests) of the valley rests upon both human pressure and climate change, but the share of each is difficult to untangle.

Title and source	Focus/Angle	Main conclusion
<p>Tajikistan: Poverty in the Context of Climate Change (UNDP, 2012a)</p>	<p>Looks at the extent to which climate change reduces people's opportunities by affecting their incomes and livelihoods, as well as health, education and other components of the human development.</p>	<p>Finds the need for a national policy for the treatment of population movements related to environmental factors. National adaptation programmes of action still do not include issues of migration, while national policies in the field of migration management still do not consider environmental factors and climate change.</p>
<p><i>Environmental Degradation, Migration, Internal Displacement, and Rural Vulnerabilities in Tajikistan</i> (IOM, 2012a)</p>	<p>Explores the link between the degradation of the environment, migration, internal displacement and the vulnerability of the rural population in Tajikistan through a public opinion poll and quantitative and qualitative surveys in four districts with different types of environmental degradation and migration patterns.</p>	<p>Finds that environmental degradation is not a powerful push factor by itself. It becomes such because of inadequate management of natural resources and poor administration observed in the agricultural sector as a whole. Therefore, the key tasks are the following: (a) need to improve sustainable management of natural resources; (b) sustainable agricultural development and promotion of agrarian reform; (c) capacity-building, expansion of authority and responsibility of local communities in rural areas; (d) promotion of gender development; and (e) capacity-building of agencies providing assistance in emergency situations of natural character, improving migration management, as well as counselling and awareness-raising activities.</p>

Title and source	Focus/Angle	Main conclusion
<p>Key findings from Tajikistan (EACH-FOR) (Khakimov and Mahmadbekov, 2009)</p>	<p>Aims to explore and describe the causes of forced migration in relation to environmental change and to provide plausible future scenarios of environmentally induced forced migration. Case study in Tajikistan conducted through interviews with experts and migrants.</p>	<p>Main deterrents of migration are the following: (a) presence of other sources of income and means of subsistence (external and internal seasonal or temporary labour migration of family members); (b) unwillingness to leave the native places of ancestors; and (c) absence of the possibility to move independently. Low levels of education and unsustainable land use practices are key causes for the increased frequency and lack of preparedness for natural disasters. Forced migrants/resettled people maintain contact with the place of origin and continue to work in the agricultural sector.</p> <p>At the policy level, development of an insurance market could reduce migration connected with degradation of the environment, and resettlement practices are found to be inappropriate in ensuring that better conditions are provided in places of destination compared to places of origin.</p>



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