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Climate Change Effects onPeople's Livelihood

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7 Definitions

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Climate and Climate Change

Generally climate is defined as the long-term average weather conditions of a particular place, region, or the world. Key climate variables include surface conditions such as temperature, precipitation, and wind. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) broadly defined climate change as any change in the state of climate which persists for extended periods, usually for decades or longer (Allwood et al. 2014). Climate change may occur due to nature's both internal and external processes. External process involves anthropogenic emission of greenhouse gases to the atmosphere, volcanic eruptions, and changes in the motion of the Earth's tectonic plates. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) made a distinction between climate change attributable to human contribution to atmospheric composition and natural climate variability. In its Article 1, the UNFCCC 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 31 natural climate variability observed over comparable time periods" (United Nations 1992, p. 7). 33

Livelihood

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

Introduction

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

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ecosystems and biodiversity but also posing strain on the long-term sustainability the planet's ecosystem for future generations (Rockstrom et al. 2009). Scientific observations since 1950 confirm that frequency, magnitude, duration, and spatial extent of natural hazards and extreme weather events associated with climate change have increased in many parts of the world (IPCC 2014). Climate change stimuli can disrupt land uses, freshwater, and marine resources and impact overall ecological balance (IPCC 2014). In climate change research, the overall impacts of climate change cannot be measured without accounting for its impacts on human systems and well-being (Rockstrom et al. 2009). Hence, it is necessary to know how climate influences ecosystems and in turn influences the livelihood of people that depend on ecosystems in many regions of the world.

The biophysical impacts of climate change on people have initially been examined in isolation from existing social-economic and political contexts (Reed et al. 2013). During the last two decades, this approach has been criticized with a view that climate change vulnerability will not take place separately from the existing social-economic contexts, which influence sustenance of productive livelihood of people across the world (Blaikie et al. 1994; Bohle 2001; Hilhorst and Bankoff 2004). Given that livelihood refers to the means of obtaining basic necessities for living (such as income, food, water, housing), it is clear that those who depend more on natural resources will face greater climate change specific livelihood vulnerabilities (Reed et al. 2013). In recent years, attempts have been made toward more integrated approaches in analyzing climate change impacts on people's livelihood, which involves both biophysical means and sociopolitical mechanisms (Reed et al. 2013). In fact, climate change impacts are contributing to rise of global poverty and impacting means of basic human necessities including food, clothing, housing, and income (United Nations 2015). However, there is no succinct way of synthesizing how climate change impacts on livelihoods; different scholars have focused on a wide range of overlapping issues. For the purpose of this chapter,

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

Part I: Climate Change Impacts on **Poverty-Driven Livelihood: A Trans-local** Analysis

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

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

Firstly, climate change will have significant impacts on rural livelihoods due to a greater proximity to natural resources and dependency on local ecosystem services for basic livelihood activities, including farm and non-farm activities (Dasgupta et al. 2014). The rural poor in many countries are highly dependent on agricultural income and other farming related activities. Besides farming communities, households residing close to forests in many developing countries are less adaptive to climate change, often due to their lower education level and lack of institutional intervention to help them managing various natural resources (Fisher et al. 2010). Hence, many communities in less developed countries are becoming more vulnerable to the impacts of a disaster on their yields and loss of forest resources. Natural hazards such as floods not only destroyed crops and seed reserve in many agricultural-dependent countries but also sparked food prices shock among rural communities across the world (Cheema et al. 2015).

Niles and Salerno (2018) assessed the association between climate shock and food security in 15 different countries in South Asia, Africa, and Latin America and demonstrated that the recent climate change will not only impact on natural resources but also will pose future threat to food security in the developing world. Despite their vulnerability to drought and flooding, rural people in developing countries often tend to raise more market oriented and less drought resilient breeds of livestock to support their income and economic savings (Nkedianye et al. 2011). Often the rural communities which lack access to infrastructure, basic services, and employment opportunities become largely dependent on local forest resources for income and other livelihood activities (Naidoo et al. 2010; Pailler et al. 2015). However, rising temperatures, changes in precipitation, increased level of flooding, prolonged droughts, and frequency of other natural hazards, including cyclones and sea level rise, are obstructing crop production and plantation growth (FAO 2016). In brief,

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

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

Secondly, in urban areas, climate change 227 impacts on livelihoods are complex and often 228 associated with extreme weather events (Revi 229 et al. 2014). Extreme events such as flooding can 230 damage houses, water, and transport infrastruc- 231 ture and cause unemployment. For instance, 232 Rasch (2015) assessed urban vulnerability to 233 flood in 1276 Brazilian municipalities and showed 234 that urban populations who are at the frontier of 235 flood risks in different regions of the country are from lower social-economic backgrounds, 237 with higher unemployment rates and lower house- 238 hold income. Additionally, heat waves can impact 239 both performance and health conditions of 240 workers in manual occupations and adversely 241 affect their financial well-being (Kovats and 242 Akhtar 2008). Extreme weather events also 243 cause food insecurity to low income urban resi- 244 dents because of higher food prices. Urban con- 245 sumers mainly depend on a combination of food 246 supply networks, whereas a major supply can 247 come from distant locations. Extreme weather 248 events such as flooding can damage roads linking 249 rural and urban areas, disrupt food distribution 250

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AU6 290 networks, and cause shortage of food supply (Battersby 2012). Rodriguez-Oreggia et al. (2013) examined effects of natural hazards on poverty at the municipal level in Mexico and found that floods and droughts lead to significant increase in poverty. Other studies also generated similar evidence in various urban settings where the increased number of disasters increased poverty rates to a significant level (Hallegatte et al. 2018).

Historically, many large cities were established near rivers and coastlines because of the benefits of less expensive transportation and market connectivity. The United Nations estimated that by 2030, about 60% of people worldwide will live in cities (United Nations 2006). Cities with an exponentially increasing population in coastal regions such as Central Java are becoming subject to increased levels of livelihood vulnerability due to a lack of income and other socioeconomic difficulties (Handayani and Kumalasari 2015). Hallegatte et al. (2013) also provided a quantification of present and future flood loses in 136 large cities across the world. Their study cautioned that the current standard of resilience in most of the coastal cities against storm surges and flooding are useful to withstand current extreme weather events, whereas future losses and damages are likely to be exacerbated in many coastal cities. Moreover, it is much difficult for resource poor countries to manage urban hazards due to a lack of long-term planning and implementation (IMF 2017). In the long run, various climatic disruptions are likely to bring compounded impacts on less resilient cities where the devastating loss can take long-term toll on people and property such as land degradation, loss of natural resources, unemployment, and increased health expenditure due to post disaster traumas (UN-HABITAT 2014). In brief, the increasing population in the context of recent climate change is exacerbating stress and pressure on urban livelihoods; disadvantaged people who work in primary sectors are likely to become immediate victims of environmental degradation in urban areas (Handayani and Kumalasari 2015).

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

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

Climate change is affecting many sectors 329 within the larger contexts of human-environment 330 systems (Rockstrom et al. 2009). Sectors most 331 critically affected by climate change include agri- 332 culture, forest, biodiversity, coast, energy, trans- 333 portation, water resource, and society (Harrison 334 et al. 2015). Many studies produced independent 335 in-depth analysis on each of these sectors and 336 issues related to climate change; however, such 337 analysis ignored significant interconnections 338 between various sectors (Harrison et al. 2015). 339 Ignoring cross-sectoral issues can undermine the 340 actual impacts of climate change on both 341 biophysical and human systems. For instance, 342 changes in land use impact water quality and 343 AU7

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

Impacts on Agricultural Production, Groundwater Reserve, and Food Security

Climate change impacts such as increased heat waves, droughts, floods, and storms lead to significant impacts on global agricultural production (FAO 2016). Since the actual impacts of climate change vary from one region to another, and also within a region (Vermeulen 2012), many countries and poorer regions are suffering from disproportionate effects of food shortage and other agrarian crises (Swaminathan 2012). The rise of mean temperatures will disturb the duration of crop life cycles in South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa - regions already suffering from widespread hunger and poverty (Maharjan and Joshi 2013). In Latin American countries such as Mexico, increase in minimum and maximum temperatures due to climate change is reducing wheat yields (Lobell et al. 2005). Moreover, considering the highest emission trajectory situation by 2050, crop yields in Asia may decrease by 5-30% (Maharjan and Joshi 2013). The rainfed agriculture in South and Southeast Asia may become the hardest hit of this situation. According to FAO estimates on future demands for food consumption, by 2050, annual cereal production will be required to increase by up to 70% higher than 2006 levels (Alexandratos and Bruinsma 2012). Nonetheless, climate change is not the only factor impacting on food security; rapid population growth and economic and political changes that are taking place globally may have heterogeneous influence on food production across the world (Alexandratos and Bruinsma 2012).

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

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

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437 20% due to climate change by 2050 unless necessary efforts are placed to enable the world's vul-438 nerable agricultural regions to better adapt to 439 extreme weather events, including drought and 440 flooding. 441

Impacts on Surface Water Resources and 442 Livelihoods 443

Climate change is affecting timing and location of precipitation, which is causing reduction of water flows and water levels in a number of rivers across the world (Kangalawe 2017). This directly results in a decrease of water availability for agriculture and other household needs. Moreover, climate change and other human interventions have resulted in changes in river water quality and temperature which is associated with uncountable loss in aquatic biodiversity. For instance, Bello et al. (2017) estimated impacts of climate change on water temperature in Malaysia and illustrated that most of the suburban rivers will become ecologically unsuitable to a range of aquatic species in the near future, compared with the rivers in rural areas. Again, warmer ocean surface temperatures along with increased temperature in the atmosphere can lead to increased wind speed and change the number, duration, and intensity of tropical storms (Bates et al. 2008). A list of infamous cyclones with destructive powers caused major flooding, destruction of property and natural resources, and loss of lives in the last few decades (Bates et al. 2008). These also posed major challenges for recovery efforts in the developing and developed world, with long-term impacts including chronic poverty, food insecurity, and lack of access to basic necessities.

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

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

Impacts on Land Resources and **Livelihoods in Low-Lying Regions**

Evidence shows that increased carbon emissions 509 during the last two centuries raised global mean 510 temperatures and associated melting of ice sheets 511 and sea level rise. Globally, about 600 million 512 people currently live in low elevated coastal 513 areas which are at the frontier of sea level rise 514 (Dasgupta et al. 2014). Increased salinity from salt 515 water intrusion is causing greater impacts on live- 516 lihoods, public health, and coastal ecosystem 517 (IPCC 2012). Moreover, when degradation of 518 land resources take place, it poses higher risks to 519 social-economically disadvantaged people due to 520 scarcity of food, income, and shelter (Bohle 521 2001). Scientific projections also indicate that by 522 2050, the progressing inundation from sea level 523 rise may impact livelihoods of about one billion 524 people around the world (Dasgupta et al. 2014). 525 Additionally, land degradation attracts more 526 AU10

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

One least researched area while examining climate change impacts on lands involves riverbank erosion, which refers to the wearing away of the bank of a river or stream. Riverbank erosion is a recurring natural hazard in low-lying regions of the world. Hydraulic actions, such as the changing direction of river streams and water, create pressure against the banks and cause riverbank erosion. Heavy rainfall and flooding can also increase the intensity of riverbank erosion. Melting of glacier can also raise water levels, increase intensity of water currents, and further influence riverbank erosion. Moreover, it is now argued that climate change will increase rainfall and precipitation in some regions of the world, which will exacerbate the intensity of riverbank erosion in the near future (MoEF 2009). When land areas are removed by river streams, it impacts human lives, crops, livestock, housing, forests, private property, and infrastructure (Mollah and Ferdaush 2016). Low-lying countries in the Bengal Delta, including Bangladesh and some parts of India, are highly vulnerable to riverbank erosion (Mollah and Ferdaush 2016). Riverbank erosion is the major reason why the landless population is growing in Bangladesh. Moreover, the perceived level of damage is higher for the poor people who lose their land for the first time due to riverbank erosion. As a result, farmers can become totally landless once they experience riverbank erosion. These people are forced to migrate to a new location, which do not provide them with access to similar assets and land resources. As a livelihood coping strategy, many adopt new skills and occupations, where farmers can become day laborers or street vendors (Rahman et al. 2015).

Impacts on Human Settlement andLivelihoods: Rural-Urban Migration

Although the deterministic relationship between climate change impacts and human migration is

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

In many resource poor country settings, the 613 decision to migrate is often taken as an intuitive 614 reaction to the climatic shock on people's liveli-615 hoods. Recent studies including Stojanov et al. 616 (2016) contributed to the understanding of the 617 relation between climate change impacts on live-618 lihood and migration as an autonomous response 619 at the community level. Studies also illustrated the 620 pressure of climate variability and its impacts on 621

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pastoralists' livelihood in southern Ethiopia (Ayal et al. 2018), seasonal migration of agricultural labors during drought in the Sahel region (Black et al. 2011), and local migration as a prevalent livelihood strategy to cope with drought in northeast Brazil (Barbieri et al. 2010). Studies also suggested that recent climate change is severely impacting the agricultural sector and acting as migration push factors in many agricultural regions of the world. Islam and Hasan (2016) found that about 54% of the Cyclone Aila affected migrants in Bangladesh attributed their migration to damages to their homes and cultivable lands. Previously, Mallick and Vogt (2012) found that after Cyclone Aila, adults from households with the lowest monthly income had the highest migration rate from the affected coastal areas in Bangladesh compared with all others. Kabir et al. (2018b) demonstrated that unmanageable financial stress such as institutional microcredit burden is significantly influencing small holders' decision to migrate for long-term from the northern drought prone areas of Bangladesh. However, the majority of Bangladesh's disadvantaged rural population tend to adopt repetitive patterns of short-term or seasonal migration to supplement their livelihoods during lean periods (Martin et al. 2014). Involuntary migration can be a disruptive process, often involving financial, social, and emotional risks for the disadvantaged migrants and their family members; hence, it is often the last form of response to be attempted (McLeman 2017).

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

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

Moving Forward

This chapter focused on the interactions between 701 climate change effects and human livelihoods 702 through trans-local (between rural and urban) 703 and cross-sectoral analyses. As rural and 704 urban areas are strongly interconnected and 705 interdependent, climate change is likely to exacerbate cross-scale interactions between these two 707 regions. Again, understanding cross-sectoral 708 impacts of climate change on livelihoods is criti- 709 cal because such insights will develop capacities 710 of decisionmakers with holistic views on climate 711 change impacts, instead of considering single sec- 712 tors in isolation (Harrison et al. 2015). Given that 713 the Sustainable Development Goals adopted by 714

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the United Nations member states in 2015 cover

17 broad and interdependent goals ranging

from "zero hunger" to "climate actions," a lack

of sufficient response to climate change impacts

will persistently erode the basis of these goals

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(Rodriguez et al. 2018). The rapid urban 720 growth in the Global South, loss of agricultural 721 yields, risks of hunger and undernutrition, land 722 degradation, loss of biodiversity, increased water 723 stress, and loss of human settlements among 724 others are exacerbating existing livelihood vulner-725 ability of the poor and disadvantaged people 726 to climatic changes and other extreme weather 727 events. Hence, tackling livelihoods sustainability AU13 728 demand, the practitioners stress the importance 729 of such multidimensional climate change chal-730 lenges, become well equipped with essential cli-731 mate change adaptation planning, and recognize 732 that different sectors will pose concomitant 733 challenges for development managers due to 734 various social-economic, environmental, and cli-735

matic uncertainties.

The examples presented in this chapter are not unique to climate change effects. However, these should be helpful to understand the climate change effect on people's livelihoods to a wide range of social-ecological settings and changes. To implement adaptation interventions that enhance support to the most vulnerable, it is imperative to improve our understanding of both how people are likely to be affected by climate change and other natural hazards and how they may possibly react to such circumstances. In order to properly understand future livelihood risks associated with climate change, more interdisciplinary research is necessary. This includes research that focuses on (i) climate change impacts on human-environment systems and future social-ecological challenges; (ii) how individuals are likely to deal with different adverse climatic situations; and (iii) increasing developing countries' capacity to monitor climate change effects to better understand crosssectoral impacts.

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