"Migrações, Etnicidade e Racismo| Mesa 2: Racismo e discriminação (II)"

"Climate change and racial inequalities – from colonial legacies to forced displacement"

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Abstract

The adverse impacts of anthropogenic climate risks are known to affect the Global South more severely than the Global North. This imbalance has a profound effect on human rights and social justice. Human rights, responsibility, and securitization are invoked when analyzing climate change, migration, and state obligations. Previous research has ascertained imposing standards for the protection of environmental migrants would generate an obligation for the states most affected by climate change and thus refrain to protect environmental migrants and hold polluting states responsible. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change seminally acknowledged in 2021 colonialism and its ongoing impact as a historic and ongoing driver of climate change that provides for concentration of increased intersectional vulnerability and social differentiation. In this study, I will rely on the case of the Garifuna afro-indigenous people in Honduras to examine the colonialism – race - climate change nexus and its resonances in framing environmental migration.

Keywords: climate change; environmental migration; colonialism; race

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Initial considerations

Colonial legacies often refer to oligarch forms of government, constitutionally entrenched racism or architectural legacy colonized peoples inherited from the metropolis that subjugated them. This concept has been interlinked with systemic inequality by the environmental interventionalism movement[1] (Thomas, 2022). Accordingly, systems of oppression operate simultaneously on people and nature, namely colonization which has been recognized, alongside with industrialization, to be rooted in capitalism - a system that jeopardizes the well-being of people and the planet, leading to the climate crisis (*idem*). Climate change can thus be considered a form of colonial heritage and an expression of intersectional discrimination in post-colonial contemporary societies.

This study approaches the intricate correlation between colonialism and the establishment of inequal societies, both in wealth and human capital, claiming its recognition to contest the narratives on the climate crisis and frame it as a human crisis. Alongside, I will analyze how this interconnectivity is perceived by the Garifuna community in Honduras, here mobilized as a testing laboratory to reflect upon trajectories of racial violence resulting in forced displacement.

One of the main goals of this essay is to challenge the commonality of referring to the climate and the environment as intangible stakeholders accountable for disasters and alterations that affect people indiscriminately. Acknowledging the climate[2] crisis as a humane crisis of inequality, implies recognizing how society's power mechanisms operate politically, namely through military power, and economically, being it so that poverty impedes people to access education (Engerman & Sokoloff: 2006). Moreover, the militarization regime is a main expression of how colonialism is perceived in Central America, which has been historically built upon extractivism and displacement, affecting mostly indigenous and afro-descendant peoples.

Studying these dynamics is key to understand who is responsible for "climate change" and who is suffering its impacts, to critically analyze attempts of revamping the origin of poverty and the quest for dignity in our "shrinking planet" (Bacci, 2017)[3]. More specifically, this research aims to contribute to a broader framework committed to: (i) bring colonialism to the fore of debates on environmental migration in the Anthropocene (Hollifield, 2004; Kamal & Tsourapas, 2021); (ii) contest the reinvention of colonialism as an anti-migration crisis based upon securitization and continuous

extractivism (Vèrges, 2021; Kattago, 2017); (iii) unveiling the treatment and degradation of the Earth as a social issue which fosters injustices and marginalization (Shiva, 2005; Haraway, 2016).

Firstly, narratives regarding environmental migration will be analyzed through a critical lens. To this end, securitization will be framed as a legacy of colonialism, one that enables powerful states to build walls in a momentum in which the routes of colonial-led migration have been inverted and those living in exploited geographies migrate towards the North.

Secondly, drawing upon the case of the Garifuna, the colonial model of extractivism will be approached, focusing on the pyre of racialized bodies that fuel it (Mbembe, 2021), the communities and territories sacrificed by predatory policies, backend by the military. This case study contraposes literature on climate change and colonialism evading racism, evidencing the importance of addressing racial inequalities to understand the legacies of colonialism.

Thirdly, departing from the imbrications of the colonial legacies of racial violence and the commodification of biodiversity, global governance developmentalist policies will be addressed to establish the interlinkages between colonialism, climate change and migration.

Ultimately, this investigation, aims to contest the anti-migration crisis, attempting to answer the following question: to what extend racial violence and colonialism contribute to climate change led migration?

Environmental migration in the Anthropocene

> "What makes the migratory crisis so difficult to conceptualize is that it is the symptom, to more or less excruciating degrees, of an ordeal common to all: the ordeal of finding oneself deprived of land."
>
> (Latour, 2017: 6)

It has been argued that climate change will affect us all. Notwithstanding its impact in communities and nations will not be felt equally since geography, history and technology operate distinctly in different *terroirs*. Nevertheless, demography and

climate go hand in hand, and it has been forecasted that those forced to flee their territories, will contribute to migration both at the national and international level.

For this study, I rely on the concept of environmental migration which "takes into account all types of migration in the context of climate change, environmental degradation and disasters due to natural hazards, such as displacement, rural to urban migration, pastoralism, seasonal migration and labor migration" (IOM, 2020: 3). However, this conception has been contested, namely by Benoît Mayer, who argues that the project of protecting environmental migrants in detriment of equally protecting all forced migrants is arbitrary (Mayer, 2016). Departing from an analysis of Mayer critique, I will explore the main approaches that provide a framework for environmental migration: rights, responsibility, and security.

The rights narrative concerns the effective protection of human rights, which is backed by a broader humanitarian rationale, allegedly corresponding to solidarity in global governance. The politics of human rights have been referred to as a prominent language of international legitimacy (Moyn, 2010), overthrown and criticized by many. As per humanitarianism, it has been contested that – under the flag of democracy and human rights – such interventions have been resulting in failed states in benefit of modernization, international trade, and technical innovation (Douzinas, 2003: 141). For the purpose of this essay, the considerations that follow will address the positioning of environmental migrants within the international human rights law framework.

Proposals on this theme were made to include environmental migrants in the definition of refugees. In this regard, considering the global impact of climate change, the concept of "climate change refugees" (Bierman & Boas, 2010: 61) or "climate refugees" (Idem) has been backend by research acknowledging that the number of people affected by climate change, forced to live their place of residence and to seek refuge elsewhere, will surpass those affected by all known "refugees crises" (Bierman & Boas, 2010). The authors draw upon the concept of "environmental refugees" (El-Hinnawi, 1985) — established in the 1985 United Nations Development Program report— that refers to "people who have been forced to leave their traditional habitat, temporarily or permanently, because of a marked environmental disruption (natural and/or triggered by people) that jeopardized their existence and/or seriously affected the quality of their life" (*Idem*: 4). They advocate that despite being included in the broad notion of environmental refugees, the absence of a clear and consensual definition of climate refugees is a matter that should be approached by global

governance. Additionally, Biermann and Boas stand that the use of the term "refugee" grants legitimacy and urgence to those forcibly displaced for environmental motifs, due to the significance and moral connotations that have been culturally built in relation to this category of people, in line with the legal framework built following 1945. Hence, these authors oppose to the invention of new concepts, which they convey not to express the core idea behind the protection those people deserve. Instead, their proposal consists of restricting the notion of climate refugees to "people who are forced to flee their habitats immediately or in the near future, because of sudden or gradual alterations in their natural environment related to at least one of three impacts of climate change: sea-level rise, extreme weather events, drought and water scarcity" (Biermann & Boas, 2010: 67).

Supporters of the rights approach advocate for: expansive interpretation of the 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees to climate refugees[4]; regional cooperation and agreements; legal production of a new framework granting environmental migrants the status of refugees. Notwithstanding, Biermann and Boas contest claims for the extension of the scope of the 1951 convention and defend the adoption of a Protocol on the Recognition, Protection and Resettlement of Climate Refugees, broadly included in an adaptation protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCC)[5]. These authors consider that, on the one hand, this could result in a broader holistic adaptation planning in regions at risk. On the other hand, this could ultimately contribute towards the construction of adaptation and voluntary resettlement programs, instigating refugees to compete with other interests in affected areas, which could ultimately, jeopardize the effective protection and financial support of the most vulnerable people to whom adaptation is not an option and, hence, would have to reallocate elsewhere (Biermann & Boas, 2010: 81, 82, 83).

The responsibility narrative, backend by the UNFCC, frames responsibility as key to international cooperation with migration, establishing a nexus of causality between wrongful state conducts, the adverse impacts of climate change, and special obligations. Nevertheless, this approach to responsibility is only conceived between states, namely those who have harmful conducts and those which are particularly harmed in the context of climate change. In this train of thought, the broad risk of imposing special obligations to injured states could represent a damage greater than the reparation for the damage. More specifically, climate change adaptation can be used as a pretext by

foreign or international donors, generally located in the global North been producing more greenhouse gas emissions that the global South, where the adverse impacts of climate change are strongly felt - to promote their own political agenda (Mayer, 2016)[6]. Additionally, the responsibility narrative portrays the state apparatus as the key gatekeeper of justice and sustainability, committed to protecting the human rights of peoples and communities. However, despite the "persistence of the nation-state as the aspirational forum for humanity until recently" (Moyn, 2010: 212), this seems not to be the case when systemic racism pervades, namely in what concerns racial discrimination and governmental connivance with precarious liability under international corporate responsibility.

The security narrative draws upon environmental migration from the lens of militarization as foreseen by powerful actors, not ethical duties. Therefore, it calls upon early action to prevent instability and irregular migration, arguing that such events are responsible for drug and human trafficking, political and economic crises, failing states, war affecting commercial interests, and international terrorism. Arguably, this discourse fosters militarization to prevent a spiral of events that restrain a state to protect its citizens' human rights (Mayer, 2016). In this line of thought, Gomes and Viveiros —who have also provided an overview of the different critiques and frameworks conceived for environmental migrants— refer to international security as one of the key themes shaping their long-term planning proposal (Gomes & Viveiros: 2018). In this regard, the "migration state" provides an insightful perspective to human mobility, a phenomenon shaped by the liberal paradox of maintaining a competitive advantage and regulating migration in the quality of a transnational economic activity that challenges sovereign states: open in the face of economic forces, closed due to security concerns (Hollifield, 2004). Similarly, the "postcolonial migration state" reproduces a paradoxical construction, focused on institutional capacity and the limits of postcolonial citizenship, proposing a reflection on how different manifestations of colonialism impact the practices adopted and developed in previous colonies (Sadiq & Tsourapas: 900).

Overall, Mayer defends that neither of these narratives approach environmental migration as an independent issue, which requires specific solutions, highlighting that global governance proposals should engage with the protection of the most vulnerable, taking into consideration the limited capacities of the states impacted by environmental degradation (Mayer, 2016). This approach points towards intersectional discrimination

that resonates in environmental degradation and migration; in an era in which the relationship between nature and society has been recognized to have been marked by the exploitation of national resources and social class exclusionary dynamics (Meireles, 2006).

Exclusionary dynamics concerning natural resources greatly consist of expropriation and racial violence rooted in the colonial construct of *terra nullius* (empty land) (Shiva, 2016: 22, 23). Vandana Shiva defends that the promotion of this radical shift by European colonizers, *vis-à-vis* the perception of Earth as a *terra mater* (mother earth) of most sustainable cultures, paved the way to colonial appropriation, eradicating prior rights of original inhabitants and concealing Earth's regeneration capacity (*Idem*). Consequently, this framework provided for the proliferation of private property and non-sustainable use of resources under premises of "development" and "progress" (*Ibidem*). In turn, progress has been considered one of the key dimensions that contributed to the "explosion of inequalities and the abandonment of solidarities" (Latour 2017, :19). On top of that it has been recognized that:

> "Environmental change will affect migration now and, in the future, specifically through its influence on a range of economic, social, and political drivers which themselves affect migration. However, the range and complexity of the interactions between these drivers means that it will rarely be possible to distinguish individuals for whom environmental factors are the sole driver ('environmental migrants')" (The Government Office for Science, 2011: 9)[7].

The imbrications of the responsibility narrative, alongside the migration securitization regime, seem to point toward a regime of punishing those most affected by climate change, both at the community and state level. The climate crisis must be framed as a crisis of inequalities, which reproduces systems of oppression and perpetuates the intersectional nature of vulnerability - such as colonialism, as acknowledged by the IPCC.

> "Global concentrations of high vulnerability are emerging in transboundary areas encompassing more than one country as a result of interlinked issues concerning health, poverty, migration, conflict, gender inequality, inequity, education, high debt, weak institutions, lack of governance capacities and infrastructure. Complex human vulnerability patterns are shaped by past developments, such as

> colonialism and its ongoing legacy (high confidence), are worsened by compounding and cascading risks (high confidence) and are socially differentiated. For example, low-income, young, poor and female-headed households face greater livelihood risks from climate hazards (high confidence)." (IPCC, 2022: TS-20)

An analysis of the excerpt above evidence the absence of reference to the identity categories of race, indigeneity, sexuality, and disability. Perhaps we can question why racism was not acknowledged as relevant to understanding vulnerability, despite the recognition of colonialism's contribution to shape contemporary power relations. Would the recognition of a racial state in the present tense whiten the notion of Anthropocene and wrap up the white man's burden discursivity? May the responsibility narrative, as well as the securitization lens that provides for it, be considered as one embodying the reinvention of colonialism?

Colonial (re)invention: a continuum in the Garifuna case

We live in an era in which populism and nationalism jointly constructed a political, mediatic and academic migration crisis. This narrative has been framing the political debate on the fear of foreigners and disenchantment with politics, rendering solidarity and community obsolete (Kattago, 2017). Thus, providing a framework for the "politics of pity" to detriment of solidarity and justice (Idem) as a bulwark of the securitization agenda, which analyzed from my standpoint as a European white social researcher with a legal background, is perceived as a colonial agenda. It is timely due to contest the dominant narrative pervading political and policing debates on human mobility and place this discursivity at the core of the "migration crisis", to perceive its true self: that of an anti-migration crisis.

According to this, it is paramount to question the relevance of engaging in debates on the reinvention of colonialism when referring to a continuum, designed to preserve Western supremacy, that may be less overt but has never been interrupted? Perhaps we can discuss ongoing colonialism and colonial inventions instead, such as securitization and extractivism.

Despite the wave of colonial liberation in the second half of the twentieth century, self-determination is not a reality for many people, corresponding to: nearly 2 million people, as of 2012; world's leading financial centers, which Gross Domestic Product

(GDP) per capita is among the world top 10[8]; areas of geopolitical interest key for regional security; territories prone to diplomatic disputes (Quintero, 2012). According to the United Nations (UN), there are currently 17 territories[9], labeled as "self-governing territories" by the Declaration on Granting Independence to Colonial Peoples and Countries (United Nations, 2022; A/RES/1514(XV)). Seven of these territories are in the Caribe.

The Caribbean Sea is a region shaped by violence and colonialism. Colonial racial hierarchies and social stratification in the region distinguished "African" and "Amerindian" peoples. According to a British official testimony, the later corresponds to the "pure indigenous (…) free from any mixture of negro blood" (Edwards in Molett, 2016: 87). Thence, black identities would correspond to a lower social status. This tension could be perceived at the beginning of the nineteenth century regarding the arrival of the Garifuna[10] to Honduras and the struggles that took place with the Miskito ethnic group. Following this, in 1929, the Honduran government restricted the migration of afro-descendants into the country, accentuating the indo-Hispanic mestizaje as the stronger denominator of national identity, a bulwark of a sense of belonging (Molett, 2016).

Moreover, Honduras is a paradigmatic example of extractivism which, as per Françoise Vergès' definition is "[a] logic of cultural and economic imperialism and that the division between lives that matter and lives that do not matter, perpetually redrawn, [which] remains strong" (Vergès, 2021: vi, vii). This rationale goes hand in hand with a perception of nature through the lens of exploitable resources, resulting in a commodification of biodiversity (Fernandes, 2020).

In recent years, the legacy of historical racial ideologies in post-colonial social hierarchies in Honduras is clearly illustrated by the quelled Miskito – Garifuna conflict over Lasa Pulan[11]. On the one hand, the Miskito perceive themselves as superior to the Garifuna arguing that this is a group of violent non-Christian afro-descendants that arrived in the North of the country nearly 300 years following the Miskito settlement. Moreover, once the Garifuna are a coastal population, it was argued that they should not be entitled to their own land in the interior. On the other hand, the Garifuna depreciate Miskito insistence on customary law and on relying on their oral history, to detriment of making use of the power of documentation. Overall, this contend of a pluricultural group unified in a shared geography evidence that natural resources

struggles are racial struggles, in light of the colonial framework that continuously defines social hierarchies (*ibidem*).

Having ascertained that the historical background of the region, shaped by racism and colonialism, has been continuously influencing the Garifuna diaspora and the social violence the Garifuna have suffered, another variable must be considered regarding the intersectional discrimination these people has been subjected to: climate change. Honduras proximity to the Central American isthmus, "one of the most disaster-prone areas in the world" (Lizzarralde, 2021: 22). Particularly the Northern region, were cyclones and tropical storms have been contributing to coastal erosion, impacting the livelihoods of the Garifuna greatly established in the region and forcing their displacement in nearly 50 settlements, by 2012 (Wrathal et all, 2014).

Moreover, coastal erosion and sea level rise represent a significant threat to this community, resulting in migration. It has been ascertained that most people fleeing coastal erosion and sea-level rise may stay in the countries and regions they are originally from in the Global South (Schubert et all, 2007). Other than that, the German Advisory Council on Climate Change forecasted that increasing climate change could lead to increased human mobility from Central America and the Caribbean islands to the United States, whilst resulting in increasing migration within Central America (*Ibidem*; 159).

This situation brings us to another scale of climate change impact in the Garifuna community: transnational migration. One significant dimension of contemporary Garifuna identity has been constructed in diaspora, due to the increasing representativity of migrant communities in the United States in previous decades. In this case, the migration experience echoes as a unifier element of the community identity, shifting from afro-descendant and indigenous – in Honduras - to "Latino" – in the diaspora (Anderson, 2007). This alteration manifests the continuous exposure to social stratification, depicting the reinvention of colonialism, as well as the importance of race to understand its legacies.

Postcolonial Western narratives seem to have adopted the securitization lens to control the migration of people from the global South, relying on the extractivism model perpetuated since slavery days, to justify the demand for the Plantationcene[12], in terms of both human and nature capital (Haraway, 2014). Henceforth, the anti-migration crisis is merely the iceberg tip visible to the naked eye regarding the challenges raised by environmental migration in the context of climate change.

Final remarks on the human relationship with Earth: a social issue

> "We share this planet, our home, with millions of species. Justice and sustainability both demand that we do not use more resources than we need. Restraint in resource use and living within nature's limits are preconditions for social justice." (Shiva, 2016: 50)

Climate change disproportionately affects communities depending on geography, social and political processes, "in most cases it is people of color who will lose their lives as weather combines with inequality. We can only understand these processes if we acknowledge the ways in which capitalism is racialized globally." (Sealey-Huggins, 2018: 177).

The Caribbean proximity to the equator is an important factor in what concerns geophysical dimensions of vulnerability to climate change (Williams, :34), as well as the unequal imperialistic social relations that define the region – and their homologous in Asia, Africa and the Pacific which share similar trajectories of colonialism (Sealey-Huggins, 2018: 177). Mainstream contemporary societies are fed by extractivism and environmental destruction, a power dynamic enabled by the continuum of colonial legacies, that in its turn were banked on racial enslavement.

If we consider the operations of multinationals in the global South - being it in the context of resource extraction, land, and labor exploitation - we can perceive that race is a central dimension sustaining the globalized structure of capitalism and its *modus operandi*. Colonial constructions paved the way to the exploitation of the working class, namely enslaved black communities and indigenous peoples and women within this communities. Predictably, these are the most affected by climate change uneven effects, and those who caused it, the lesser.

The Garifuna case exemplifies how climate change affects greater racialized bodies, both afro-descendant and indigenous peoples. Discrimination within environmental policies has been ascertained regarding people of color and low-income communities in what concerns to lack of systemic protection before, during and after "unnatural disasters" (Lizzaralde, 2021)[13], strongly affecting groups who don't hold power neither privilege. Before disasters social inequalities are perceived on those holding unprotected housing, lacking disaster protection and commonly underserved by relief

agencies. During disasters access barriers, namely to communication, play a role in disabling access to information. After the disaster, the recovery process is affected by lack of access to loans, government assistance, racial discrimination and stigma while searching for new homes (*Idem*). The interrelatedness between inequalities and disaster, provides a tangible framework for the premise that "climate justice and social justice are inextricably linked and interconnected" (Thomas, 2022: 97).

In regard to migration, in order to understand the arrival of refugees in the global North, a genealogy of inequalities that impact the global South must be drawn. In what concerns to Central America, Lizzaralde points that American influence in (geo)politics during the Cold War created conditions for unnatural disasters to occur, namely due to the adoption of neoliberal policies which, under the epithets of efficiency and reduced public spending, eliminated relevant ministries and agencies dealing with precarious housing, infrastructure, planning and construction (Lizzaralde, 2021). Moreover, the absence of services and opportunities resulted in the prevalence of drug cartels, guerrillas, and other criminal organizations, which provided a friendly environment to new forms of crimes predominant in human centers and slums (*Idem*). Moreover, political instability, corruption, poverty, and environmental damage are powerful catalyzers of both migration and the securitization narrative pervading global governance politics[14].

The securitization of society and of the migration state seem to define a framework for exploitation, deciding who lives and dies. Repercussing both in what concerns the treatment and degradation of the Earth and in the migration motivated by (un)natural disasters. Hence, raising awareness for the on-going anti-migration crisis and producing counternarratives concerning human mobility in the context of a shrinking planet is key to prevent the escalation of racial segregation. The importance of solidarity is magnified in climate change debates and will continue to be in the future as the foreseen increase of its uneven effects in human mobility multiply.

This conjuncture stresses the importance of acknowledging the centrality of social struggles combating racial discrimination to provide for colonial liberation, namely in what concerns to a systemic transformation against securitization and extractivism. Alongside, the imbalanced relation between humans and nature recalls for kinship towards nature (Haraway, 2016), framing the contestation of the commodification of biodiversity as vital to surpass the extractivism continuum and face up developmentalist narratives shaping global governance that mobilize human rights as noble causes to

implement colonial agendas. In this regard, amplifying and producing marginal counternarratives, drawing upon intercultural translation, might be a possible alternative towards environmental and social justice as a process of conquering human rights, while promoting sustainability and justice.

Notas

[1] Similarly, to humanitarian intervention – which has been coexisting with state sovereignty under the premise of responsibility to protect - ecological interventionalism evidences a shift from the non-interference principle in international law in order to prevent severe environmental damage. It has been pointed that this movement relies on human rights and environmental preservation to mask economic and geopolitics interests of powerful states, motivated by a colonial mindset that frames environmental crisis as global and advocates for international action, in line with Douzinas critique to imperialistic intakes on humanitarianism (Douzinas, 2003). An emblematic example of the dual nature of this type of intervention would be the financial boycott of Brazil following the 2019 Amazon fires and Bolsonaro's rejection of G7 financial support, arguing that Brazil did not participate in this discussion, nor had the choice of determining how to use such funds (Mariani, 2019).

[2] Abiding by Bruno Latour understanding of "climate in the broad sense of relations between human beings and the material conditions to their lives" (Latour, 2017: I).

[3] A planet "A thousand times more crowded, a thousand times smaller", entailing unknown consequences for human society, alongside with crowding and shrinking of empty spaces.

[4] The convention focuses on political refugees, as well as the institution responsible for the protection of refugees in its light, the UNHCR.

[5] See United Nations, 1992.

[6] In this context, I will refrain to address the possibility of reclaiming colonial responsibility or reparation for climate change, once compensatory dynamics are not in the scope of this article.

[7] More than the interwoven nature of social struggles upon which environmental migrants decide to migrate, the problematic need of asylum seekers to shape their narratives to fit the pre-defined categories that grant them international protection has been approached by Calogero Giametta concerning transgender people and those who suffer from prosecution due to their sexual orientation (Giametta, 2017).

[8] Cayman Islands and Bermuda, both under the reign of the United Kingdom.

[9] Gibraltar in Europe. Western Sahara in Africa. Anguilla, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Falkland Islands (Malvinas), Montserrat, Saint Helena, Turks and Caicos Islands, United States Virgin Islands in the Atlantic and Caribbean. American Samoa, French Polynesia, Guam, New Caledonia, Pitcairn and Tokelau in the Pacific.

[10] In line with the research produced by Garifuna scholars and intellectuals, the Garifuna descend from marooned African slaves and Caribbean indigenous peoples. Following deportation from the island of Saint Vincent to Central America in 1797, the Garifuna people settled in Honduras, Belize, Guatemala, and Nicaragua. The Garifuna are one out of nine ethnic groups recognized by the government of Honduras, and the second most represented, surpassed in number by the Miskito ethnic group (Anderson, 2007). For the purpose of this essay, I will refrain to engage on debates concerning Garifuna cultural representations. Rather the point is to rely on this case study to explore racial inequalities - colonialism – climate change nexus, situating the debate on environmental migration.

[11] A one square kilometer of common land, that includes forest and farmland, which has been divided into these two communities. Notwithstanding, the Garifuna have requested exclusive control to, in response to the damages caused by Miskito communities and their cattle allowed to roam freely villages in Garifuna's farms.

[12] Plantationocene represents the human led devasting transformation of forests, namely multispecies forests, into cattle and agriculture farming, both for human and non-human consumption, and monocultures. This anthropogenic era relies on slave work and other forms of labor exploitation, which implicate the alienation and isolation in terms of geographic displacement. Furthermore, this concept - collectively conceived by a group of students at Aarhus University, October 2014 - points the way for Haraway's conciliatory approach of Plantationocene, Capitalocene and Anthropocene (Haraway, 2014: 144-145).

[13] Disasters which causes and consequences are interwoven.

14 This assemblage motivated the "migrant caravan" of reportedly seven thousand migrants to flee Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua and Guatemala, walking pass Mexico and attempting to reach the US, in 2018. The mediatic coverage of this event and its echoes in the political debates on economic migrants and asylum seekers has been recognized to have contributed to the acceptance of the Republican narrative regarding "border crackdown" (Lind, 2018; Lizzaralde, 2021).

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