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The debate on climate change-induced migration in the EU: Is Resilience Showing through?

A Critical Discourse Analysis of Resilience manifesting itself in the debate of EU institutions on climate change-induced migration

Bachelor Thesis by

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Abstract

As singled out as a crucial topic in a body of literature by critical scholars, this thesis aims to analyze if and in what way a resilience discourse manifests itself in the debate of climate change-induced migration in the EU. Therefore, policy papers such as communication-documents and position papers are being analyzed in the context of a Critical Discourse Analysis. The study's results show that in earlier documents, an adaptive capacity of resilience is manifesting in the documents concerning climate change-induced migration, while in more recent documents, a transformative capacity appears. Contrary to initial assumptions, discursive events could not be captured. The analysis' results lead to the conclusion that resilience is a relevant discourse in the field of climate change-induced migration in recent years, furthermore the findings can enrich further discussions on the role of the EU as a relevant emitter and its role in relation to climate change-induced migration.

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1. Introduction

“Climate change is expected to trigger growing population movements within and across borders, as a result of such factors as increasing intensity of extreme weather events, sea-level rise and acceleration of environmental degradation” (IOM, 2016). This statement by the International Organization for Migration pinpoints one severe consequence expected to follow the progressing climate change: the nexus between climate change and migration. This nexus has been largely discussed in academia e.g. in human geography, political science, environmental and legal studies. Starting in the 1980s when the term “environmental refugee” has been first introduced into scientific literature, this concept of environmentally induced migration has also found attention by international governance agencies like UNEP (Biermann and Boas 2010 p.66). Within this concept, the issues range from regional foci such as migration in Bangladesh (Kartiki, 2011), attempts to estimate an exact number of worldwide climate-induced migrants (Myers & Kent, 1995) to recommendations regarding what assets a prospective global governance framework for the protection of climate change-induced migrants could entail. Furthermore proposals aiming at establishing an overarching legal definition of the concept are being presented (Biermann & Boas, 2010). The scholars address the challenge of the current lack of an international legal definition of climate change-induced migration as people fleeing from the effects of climate change cannot claim the status of refugees in the context of the 1951 Geneva Convention¹.

The debate on climate change-induced migration in the current state in the political and scientific sphere entails critiques of estimates made to predict the number of climate migrants. Not only estimates, but the causal connection between climate change and migration itself has been discussed controversially due to the problematic distinction between the effects of climate change and other causes of migration. For example it is difficult to distinguish whether an individual, who moves because of droughts evoked by climate-change is moving as a result of climate change or economic reasons. (Biermann & Boas, 2010). In the existing literature it is widely accepted that the relation between climate change and migration is complex and affected by other variables such as governance, conflicts and development factors. On a macro level and in regard to the theoretical discussion on the conceptualization and contextualization of migration in connection to climate change, several concepts can be singled out. These will be further discussed in the following section.

¹ In the context of the Geneva Convention, which is part of international humanitarian law, specific groups of displaced people can gain the refugee status. (International Committee of the Red Cross, 2010)

While many scholars contributing to this discussion mainly focus on addressing shortcomings regarding definitions used in scientific literature to describe climate change-induced migration, scholars from the background of poststructuralism and critical security studies aim to assess which underlying discourses drive the debate of climate-induced migration to tackle questions of power relations. A topic which has been singled out noticeably in this context is *resilience*. As will be assessed more extensively in the section on the theoretical framework, resilience has been described in theoretical discussions as the ability of a system to bounce back from external shocks. Some authors argue that since the 2010s resilience is becoming a more and more prominent concept in the literature of security studies as the perception of (especially ecological) threats changed into non-manageable environmental changes which can best be addressed by resilient populations (Oels and Methmann 2015). In the work by the named scholars, the discussion of resilience in the context of climate change-induced migration is reconstructed by analyzing key publications on climate change-induced migration from diverse actors such as think tanks and international organizations. This thesis aims at contributing to a body of research on the topic of resilience and its importance in relation to the debate of climate change-induced migration. To contribute to closing a research gap by providing an analysis focused on the European Union, the following research question is addressed:

How does the discourse of resilience in relation to climate-induced migration develop in the time frame of 2008-2009 in comparison to 2012-2016 in policy papers by the European Union and can changes be explained by discursive events?

To answer this question, the following sub questions are relevant: *1. Does the topic of resilience occur in the policy papers? 2. What kind of resilience is addressed? 3. How does the type of resilience relate to the theoretical background? 4. What differences occur in comparison? 5. Can discursive events be captured?*

The research question is classified as an explanatory research question as its research interest lies especially in the discursive dimension of the concept “resilience”. This is also backed up by the methodological and theoretical implications of a critical discourse analysis. A critical discourse analysis is, amongst others, defined by the two characteristics to refer to an interpretive and explanatory framework (Van Dijk, 2015).

The three major assumptions underlying the main research question are: (1) Resilience in the interpretation of governmental and critical security studies leads to a de-politicization of climate change-induced migration. (2) The debate on environmental migration differs in the two time frames and it may differ also in regard to the expected link of climate change-induced migration

and resilience. (3) Discursive events have an impact on the development of the way climate change induced migration manifests itself in the debate on climate change-induced migration.

The assumption made concerning the concrete time frame of the analysis derives back to a previous examination of how arguments concerning policy papers on climate change induced migration develop. In this analysis of policy papers of the European Union regarding climate change-induced migration it stated that a policy document from 2011 “marked a shift from theoretical analysis to the identification of specific problems” (Petrillo, 2015 p.5). In the context of this thesis the focus on concrete problems is expected to be accompanied by a focus on concrete policy solutions.

The formulated research question is relevant as it draws on the current political and scientific trends addressing resilience and climate change-induced migration. In practical terms, answering this question will contribute to the existing body of literature and could inform policy makers on how to reflect story lines and their underlying assumptions which are frequently reproduced by talking and writing about climate change-induced migration. From a normative perspective which could be taken by society, the question’s relevance is portrayed in the expectation of policy makers reflecting on the implications which result from resilience in the context of an interpretation of governmentality. Resilience is argued to promote the decentralization of governance as well as the self-organization of people in danger (Methmann & Oels, 2015). With the aim to protect the rights of individuals facing negative impacts of climate change in their environment, this may be a relevant objection for policy makers to reflect on.

The next chapter will elaborate the main theoretical frameworks of the research question followed by an introduction to the methodological approach of a critical discourse analysis. In the methodological section, the epistemological assumptions and topics relevant for the methodological framework such as the case selection will be addressed. The analysis contains an examination of the different kinds of resilience appearing in the policy paper and a classification of these categories in relation to the theoretical framework. Based on the results of the analysis the way the resilience discourse manifests itself in the discussion on climate change-induced migration will be compared over time with a special emphasis on possible discursive events which will be further defined in the corresponding section.

2. Theoretical Framework

This section presents the main concepts of interest deriving from the research question, namely resilience and climate change-induced migration. Firstly, resilience in its facets and different conceptualizations is examined. Secondly, the concept of climate change-induced migration and its link to resilience are addressed.

2.1. The Concept of Resilience

In this sub-section, the origin and development of the term *resilience* is traced, different definitions are being presented as well as the thematic distribution of the topic in the academia and European policy. Further, the conceptual dimensions and its critiques will be examined.

The term resilience appears throughout a broad spectrum of academic literature e.g. it is present in different academic fields such as psychology (Bonanno, 2004) and disaster risk management (Fekete, Hufschmidt, & Kruse, 2014). Originating in ecological theory, resilience is defined as “a measure of the persistence of (ecological) systems and of their ability to absorb change and disturbance and still maintain the same relationships between populations or state variables” (Holling, 1973 p.14). The term, which has been classified by Brand and Jax (2007) as “descriptive original ecological” was later widened by a social dimension, resulting in resilience interpreted as a sociological concept in social science, addressing the capacity of groups to bounce back from challenges e.g. environmental change. A definition of resilience that combines the original meaning in regard to an ecological system with a social dimension is a hybrid definition, referring to the response of a social-ecological system (SES) to changes (Brand & Jax, 2007). Furthermore, resilience can also relate to individuals e.g. in a psychological context. Additionally, resilience has been analyzed on a theoretical level in regard to its meaning for a subject (Evans & Reid, 2013). As illustrated, the concept of resilience can refer to a range of meanings. Previous scholars have therefore attempted to organize understandings of resilience along several indicators: the attribution of normativity to the concept (Olsson, Jerneck, Thoren, Perssons, & O'Bryne, 2015) the kind of system it addresses (Evans & Reid, 2013) and the focus within an adaption process by differentiating between engineering and ecological resilience (Kinzig, 2004 p.5).

Furthermore, scholars discuss the relation between resilience and related concepts such as adaptability, transformability and vulnerability. While vulnerability plays a role especially in disaster risk research and policy, e.g. in the so called vulnerability analysis (Fekete et al., 2014) the other two concepts are thought to play a significant role in multiple theoretical

understandings of resilience. In lack of a unified definition of adaptability and transformability, the two following definitions are considered here aiming at organizing heuristics in relation to resilience. Walker and Gunderson et al. (2006) describe adaptability as “the capacity of the actors in a system to manage resilience” (Walker et al., 2006 p.13), thereby addressing social-ecological systems. It is stressed in this context that the probability of a system to endure relies on the individuals and groups in the system and their ability to manage the system accordingly. An expected domination of humans over social-ecological systems is a crucial starting point for this concept. In the case that adaptability fails and the actors in a system are not able to implement changes to adapt the system to changing circumstances, transformability is an option. It describes the capacity to build new systems when an adaption failed. For instance, the capacity of transformation covers developments such as a community that changes from goat production to ecotourism in regard to its social-ecological system (Keck & Sakdapolrak, 2013).

Another important aspect that authors frequently refer to in order to get a grip of resilience are the different capacities that resilience consists of. Though differentiating in wording, these often consist of three stages, (I) coping (Keck & Sakdapolrak, 2013) or maintaining, (II) adapting and (III) transforming (Methmann & Oels, 2015). While coping or maintaining address a mere response to changes, adaptability indicates a learning experience. In the line of thought of Keck and Sakdapolrak (2013) this derives back to the ability of individuals in a social system to learn from necessary changes that have to be made to adapt. The capacities “coping” and “maintaining” as well as “adapting” show a clear attachment to the original definition while the latter incorporates a transformative character that is especially of relevance in regard to the discussion of resilience in regard to climate change-induced migration. Methmann and Oels (2015) argue that in scientific literature, migration is interpreted as a measure to improve the life of populations rather than a process which is to be prevented and interpret this logic as a form of transformational resilience (Methmann and Oels 2015). This poses some challenging consequences, for example in regard to a discussion on whether individuals should be provided with a right to stay in their homes in regard to prevention of climate change as well as critics indicating doubt on the question whether most vulnerable persons will be sufficiently protected.

2.2. The Assessment of Resilience in scientific Literature

In a next step, the different appraisals of the discourse of interest are discussed. While advocates of resilience see a truly efficient and innovational concept which enables states to protect citizens in a world that is by definition unsafe, critical scholars interpret the emphasis on the subject's and societies' capacities as a de-politicization. They point out the risk that the most vulnerable subjects are being left behind as the self-organization of individuals is put into center (Methmann & Oels, 2015).

An embodiment of neoliberalism due to the emphasis on the individual capability to adapt (Joseph 2013 p.38) as well as the emphasis on self-reliance and responsabilisation of individuals has been stated, though the connection to neoliberalism has been challenged by scholars (Chandler, 2014) who argue that resilience cannot be understood in a neoliberal framework but forms a new form of governing itself. Furthermore, Juncos identifies resilience to be highly influenced by pragmatism. This assumption is derived from the way that resilience is perceived to resemble a concept of learning from life, dealing more with consequences instead of causes. In this context the authors argue for the existence of a tension of the EU as an actor who acts on a set of principles and is thought to contain an amount of normative power and a pragmatic orientation (Juncos, 2016 p.5).

As a reaction to the multifaceted discussion on definitions and appraisals, some scientists in the debate conclude that resilience is a term without any conceptual substance which will lose its relevance in the future as it does not include a philosophical meaning but is a result of the rise of specific forms of governance which incorporate the core ideas of resilience providing a hype of the term (Joseph, 2013). Setting aside the question of the causal connection between certain forms of governance and resilience that Joseph refers to, it can be argued that resilience does play a role in regard to the prevalence of the concept not just as a key word but on a conceptual level in scientific literature and policy papers. Resilience has been studied in policy papers on UN level and in the anglo-american context (Joseph, 2013). It occurs in different kinds of policy papers ranging from development, humanitarian and disaster and risk reduction management policies to foreign policy. It's appearance in foreign policy is discussed in the context of the resilience discourse in the "EU Global Strategy for Foreign and Security Policy" (Juncos, 2016). In general, resilience can relate to different kind of systems. Next to ecological system as addressed in original definitions it is argued to be able to relate to social groups like communities, even a relation to nation states is discussed in theory (Fjäder, 2015) and, more frequently referred to, socio-ecological systems. In regard to the analysis, it is expected that

resilience will appear in a context of socio-ecological systems as climate change-induced migration is a phenomenon that requires action both in a social as well as in an ecological context from governments and policy actors. It is also expected that, in accordance with a definition of resilience to include a triple set of capacities, namely mitigation, adaptation and transformation (Methmann & Oels, 2015) analyzing data on the topic of climate change-induced migration, resilience in a transformative sense will dominate. This is supported by the argument that “The recent discourse about climate change-induced migration expects adaptive resilience to fail and therefore seeks to replace it with transformational resilience” (Methmann & Oels, 2015 p.55). Such a development is supported by other authors stating that a “most recent reorientation towards addressing the transformability of society in the face of global change” (Keck & Sakdapolrak, 2013) takes place.

2.3. Literature Review: Climate Change-induced Migration and Resilience

Analyzing the wordings of how climate change-induced migration is named is not just relevant in terms of the legal consequences. The challenge if people who are moving due to the consequences of climate change can be legally categorized as refugees has been illustrated by the above mentioned lack of protection through the Geneva Convention. More importantly, the assessment of the terms climate refugee, environmental refugee etc. opens up a deeper discussion of what is communicated on a conceptual level by these terms. As Hartmann argues, using the term “environmental refugee” depoliticizes and de-historizes the problem as well as its economic and political linkages as the responsibility of humans in regard to climate change is not incorporated (Hartmann 2009 p.235). Regarding the challenge of naming climate change-induced migration, a variety of options exists, ranging from “environmental migration”, “climate refugees” to “climate related displaced persons”. A relevant term used in previous literature which aims to address the shortcomings and the lack of a coherent definition is “climatized moves” (Bettini, 2013a). The strengths of this term are twofold. Firstly, it excludes the question whether individuals moving are “migrants” or “refugees”. While some authors argue that naming people refugees strengthens them regarding the legal implications of the term, concerned populations themselves partly reject the term. For example, representatives of the people of Tuvalu, an island facing struggles with sea level rise (Farbotko & Lazrus, 2010 p.387). By using the noun “climate” in a grammatical form that resembles the passive version of a verb, the reader immediately associates questions like: “who is climatizing the moves?” which is a way to shed light on the responsibility of humans and society on that matter. On the other hand, the term appears to be unwieldy in its grammatical uniqueness. With the aim to keep the connection to the existing political and scientific debate, it is being opted here for the

term “climate change-induced migration”. Using the term in the context of the thesis aims at describing migration both internal and across borders causally connected to environmental changes which are related to climate change. In this context it is being acknowledged that not nature itself but social processes causing CO₂ emissions are responsible for the critical extent of climate change.

Through the course of the academic debate of climate migration, several story lines, frames and narratives have emerged, for example the image of waves of immigrants floating the global North, distinguished as an apocalyptic narrative (Bettini 2013). Narratives which are used to describe climate migrants can be categorized by different frames: displacing climate migrants as victims, as security threats, adaptive agents and political subjects (Ransan-Cooper, Farbotko, McNamara, Thornton, & Chevalier, 2015 p.108). Smith is one of the first scientists to connect the discourse on environmental migration to a duality of nature and society. According to Smith, inherent of the usage of the term environmental migrant or environmental refugee is the idea that nature is being blamed for what in itself is influenced by social processes. Smith argues for an endogeneity of nature and society while in contrast, it is the duality of the two concepts which is dominating the literature of environmental migration. The authors identify this to be a form of ecological determinism (Oliver-Smith 2012 p.1066).

The duality of nature and society is furthermore appearing in a discourse thought to manifest itself in EU policy in general and also in the EU’s debate on climate change-induced migration in recent years: resilience. The link between climate change-induced migration and a distinction between nature and society is analyzed by Bettini (2013) who is building on the ontological separation often made in the debate on climate change-induced migration between nature and the human sphere. He argues this distinction occurs when climate change is understood as a natural phenomenon, to which humans react, as it is done in the process of adaptability or when climate change-induced migration is analyzed as an adaption strategy to climate change. The way that Bettini (2013) interprets resilience to be an adaption strategy is interpreted to correspond to an adaptive capacity of resilience. This distinction of resilience into different dimensions has been discussed by Methmann and Oels (2015).

The original definition of resilience describes it as a concept that makes it possible for a (political or ecological) system to absorb changes and still endure (Methmann and Oels 2015 p.54). For their analysis, Methmann and Oels observe how, in the sense of resilience as transformational resilience, migration is being perceived as the solution to climate change-induced migration. The authors, in the context of Foucauldian governmentality studies,

interpret resilience as a form of governing which de-centralizes governance and encourages self-governance of individuals which are exposed to the consequences of climate change, arguing that this process endangers individual's rights and minimizes the space of the political. As is stated: "By accepting that dangerous levels of climate change are inevitable. Resilience deprives us of our capacity to foster a (...) secure world in which climate change is tackled through the transformation of lifestyles and energy systems. Politics, to put it bluntly, is reduced to choosing between staying and going. (Methmann & Oels, 2015 p.53).

Other authors support the idea that resilience is an emerging pattern in the debate on climate migration. Bettini (2013) derives the importance of resilience as a pattern from its connection with the securitization of climate migration. Dividing security up into a duality of security and human security, Bettini argues that governments envision policies in the sense of human security which can be summarized in regard to resilience as a bio-political pattern with the aim to discipline the life of populations in relation to a neoliberal framework. As an example he shows how climate migrants are expected to display resilience by adopting to the global labor market.

These arguments derive back to interpreting resilience through a perspective of governmentality. Governmentality is as theoretical framework which often comes up in relation to critical scholars examining climate change-induced migration. It is for example used in a context of critical security studies, addressing the question "how objects are rendered governable" (Methmann & Oels, 2015) and refers to analytical abstractions. These can be categorized in three "ideal typical rationalities of government" (Methmann & Oels, 2015) being sovereign power, liberal bio power and advanced liberal government. The advantage of considering this theoretical framework relates to instead of asking questions concerning the subjects and positions of environmental politics the question of *how?* is in center. This is opening up unique possibilities to pose questions such as how nature is constructed as a domain of governance (Death, 2013). While it is not the aim to discuss each of the categories in detail, the underlying arguments in the context of the central text of Methmann and Oels (2015) is traced here by reviewing their line of thought. It relates to an interpretation of resilience in the context of bio political power. Resilience is expected to result in a de-centralization of governance and a self-organization of people in danger.

In the past chapter, the concepts of climate change-induced migration and resilience have been examined and the discourse on resilience has been traced back to relevant categories for the

research question. These include its facets, theoretical implications and distribution of policy fields.

2.4. The EU Policies in the Realm of Climate Change-induced Migration

While in this thesis no concrete policy recommendations are being made due to the theoretical framework and thereby the perspective through which the topic is being seen does not put an emphasis on concrete policy implications, it is nevertheless fruitful to provide an overview concerning existing policy initiatives, especially to provide suggestions for further research. In general, climate change-induced migration is a topic affected by different policy areas like foreign policy, external and humanitarian policies, and humanitarian aid and development cooperation programs. Regarding the way that climate change-induced migration is framed it is being perceived as a challenge to security in the sense of a domination of security constraints until a development approach took over in the European Union.

Nevertheless, the topic has long not been addressed in the context of concrete, comprehensive and holistic solutions. Scholars agree that climate change-induced migration is a thematic field under-assessed by EU policy and is especially lacking policy acts to tackle the challenges that evoke for affected communities by climate change (Petrillo 2015). Concrete EU action include for example policies in relation to disaster response rather than early warning systems. In regard to the institutional context in which action in affected countries is being taken, three Commission Directorates (DG Home, DG DEVCO the DG ECHO) and EEAS delegations; a lack of coordination and allocation of responsibilities has been described by a MeP (Petrillo 2015).

In regard to the policy initiatives made by the European Union, scholars observed a development from formulating the need to conduct further research to the formulation of clear policy proposals.

3. Methodological Framework

3.1. Discourse Analysis

This analysis will be carried out with a qualitative Critical Discourse Analysis, henceforth “CDA”. The basic assumption of this analysis is that there is more to words than their wording on a linguistic and rhetorical level because power structures are being communicated in an implicit way. Discourse Analyses are, in the Foucauldian sense, aiming to deconstruct the entanglement of power and knowledge in the process of the production of truth and sense (Dyk & Angermüller, 2010 p.8). Furthermore, a discourse analysis itself can be categorized. One category is the normative-critical discourse analysis analyzing questions of legitimacy while an analytic-pragmatical interpretation aims to analyze communicative interaction, cognitive structures and social interpretative frameworks (Keller 2004). The third category is called genealogy- critical discourse where this thesis can be situated. In political science, discourse analyses have been used in different contexts focusing on how some forms of discursive sense become powerful by being accepted as normal and plausible, while other formations of discursive sense which can be named as knowledge, ideology or story lines are being rejected. The question of how a certain form of knowledge has become powerful has been explicitly addressed by theorists stressing hegemony in the tradition of Chantal Mouffe or Ernesto Laclau. Other authors differ in the regard to their theoretical background in the sense that they stress the structural character of power in Foucauldian writing. They thereby develop a new interpretation of power in international politics and are often categorized as “poststructuralists” (Herschinger & Nonhoff, 2014).

When it comes to the concrete methods to be used in a discourse analysis, Foucault once stated that he’d wished that his books were a kind of tool box where one could find the tools relevant for the own field of research. In reality, there are no explicit instruments to be used when it comes to discourse analyses as the instruments vary with the concrete interest of the research as well as its underlying epistemological assumptions. In relation to the interest of research in this thesis, the framework of a critical discourse analysis fits well to assess how a discourse develops over time as Jäger refers to this kind of analysis of a discourse over time as a “diachrone” dimension of a discourse (Jäger, 2000). According to his understanding of a critical discourse analysis, this is the second dimension of a discourse, the first being a “synchroner” dimension which refers to one point in time. By conducting what Jäger calls a “synchronaler Schnitt”, a cut along the “synchroner” dimension of a discourse can provide information about what is thought to be true in a specific point in time in the context of the examined discourse.

In addition, CDA bridges micro (agencies, interaction) and macro (power, dominance and inequality) approaches and is thereby well equipped to be used in the analysis of a political discourse. As Van Dijk illustrates, a debate in parliament with certain discursive elements is having an effect not only on the social micro level but also on the macro level in the form of influence on legislation and reproduction in e.g. official government statements (Van Dijk 2015 p.486).

A critical discourse analysis (CDA) in accordance to Jäger consists of the following steps: firstly, a *structural analysis* (Strukturanalyse), secondly a *detailed analysis* (Feinanalyse) and thirdly a summarizing overarching analysis of the findings of the two. The goal of the first step of the analysis is to gain an overview and select the relevant articles for the *detailed analysis*, as the next step of the working process. The material is being analyzed selecting certain statements through a distinction of topics and subtopics which will then be assessed regarding their density and the points in time they occurred. These are being analyzed in relation to positions in discourse and it is assessed if-derived from the frequency of statements, discursive events can be assessed. Arguments on resilience that occur often are forming messages of a discourse which are the key element in regard to a discourse in general and in this case in particular, showing what the dominating interpretations in regard of a resilience discourse are. For an overview of the different aspects being addressed in the structural analysis, see table 1 in the Appendix II. The process of the structural analysis is being widened by checking if resilience appears as a keyword. While the occasions that resilience is referred to in other context than climate change-induced migration are not the main focus of the analysis, the times it is concretely mentioned in other contexts can give clues on the way resilience might be a dominating discourse in other areas. Furthermore, in addition to the way that authors and institutions use the term *resilience* can provide information about their understanding of the concept.

The next step is the selection of articles being selected to carry out the detailed analysis. Documents to be examined in this section are articles having a high level of relevance or documents that in themselves contain various statements of high relevance in the sense of dense frequency. The aim of this second step is to assess a representative piece of data in a more detailed process. This second part of a *detailed analysis* contains of four sub-analytical categories: the institutional context, the text surface, rhetoric device and content/ ideological statements (Jäger, 2012). The chosen data differs from media coverage which represent the data Jäger illustrated his work with in the sense that newspaper articles use pictures and different text styles when it comes to the structure of the article (headlines etc.) while policy documents

of the EU are expected to follow a standardized format. For these reasons, the text surface of the used data is not being assessed in detail.

In regard to research criteria applied to scientific literature, the following has to be considered: as the EU is a very unique actor, the generalizability of the findings to other contexts is limited. Further challenges come in relation to a CDA as in various scientific interpretations of discourse analysis a tension is described between a in the ideal sense unbiased starting position of the researcher and the aim to fulfill different criteria. The most important criterion to measure discourse analysis with is the internal accordance and appropriateness between the research interest and the chosen methodology. Relating to this, a criterion for the research conducted with methods that are in line with a CDA framework is the question, which “part” of a discourse has been aimed to address. Jäger distinguishes here between a fragment of a discourse, a discursive plot and whole social discourse. It can be already mentioned here that it lies beyond the aim of the thesis to display a whole social discourse in all its dimensions (media, academia, policy). Rather, the implementation of the resilience discourse in regard to the discursive fragment of climate-change induced migration is analyzed.

As the emphasis of the research question is on the development of the discourse, the research interest lies in what Jäger describes to be a historic discourse analyses. There are different possible ways to conduct an analysis of this kind. “Cuts of a discourse” can be conducted and compared at different points in time as described beforehand. In this analysis, the analysis of the structure will be conducted over the period of 8 years and within this process hints on discursive events will be collected.

It is being analyzed if discursive events can be identified. A discursive event can be defined as an event of high political and medial importance which has an impact on world politics. The assumption is made that a discursive event could be the COP 21, in the sense that it is assumed to be a peak in the discussion on climate change-induced migration. Even though only a draft version of the treaty of the COP 21 proposes a specific mechanism to address climate change-induced migration, the topic does appear in the preamble of the final treaty as well as in the context of a loss and damage framework (Emily Wilkinson, Amy Kirbyshire, Leigh Mayhew, Pandora Batra, & Milan, 2016). In addition, the discussions and events surrounding the COP 21 address climate change-induced migration and show the presence of the resilience discourse stating that “human mobility is an adaption strategy to climate change-human mobility (and) can increase resilience” (Environmental Migration Portal, 2016). These events can be argued to be relevant in the context of how a hegemonic discourse shapes the speech rhetoric relevant

regimes and may have an impact on EU policy making in the sense that the COP 21 treaty as well as its surrounding events may have influenced the way the resilience discourse manifests itself in the debate on climate change-induced migration in the policy papers. It is furthermore possible that other discursive events will be found in the analysis which have not been formulated in an assumption at this point.

3.2. Case Selection

The reasons for the case selection include theoretical in this sense also power-related considerations and contains a practical dimension. First of all, the debate on climate-induced migration in the EU is a subject of scientific relevance as can be observed in the body of literature existing on the topic and, given on the basis of these analyses, literature on policy advice in the EU has been conducted (Ammer, Mayrhofer, Randall, & Salsbury, 2014), (Petrillo 2015). In the frame of Climate Justice and loss and damages, the EU is a relevant case as its states are responsible for a significant percentage of climate gas emissions. In the year 2014 for example, the EU was the emitter with the third biggest amount of emissions worldwide (Oliver, Janssens-Maenhout, Muntean, & Peters, 2015). The EU thereby is a relevant emitter who would have to live up to the responsibility from the viewpoint of a loss and damage framework. Thirdly, power related considerations lead to the classification of the EU as a relevant case. Institutions and practices can in the Foucauldian understanding of knowledge, power and discourse be a product of the power of a discourse, as the EU is argued to be. On a more practical level, the EU as a political system *sui generis* has power in the sense of political power but also discursive power as by its law-making but also by the arguments that are being interpreted as valid from other actors and intuitions. Thereby the EU is shaped by and shaping discourses. In relation to the concept of interest, resilience is expected to be a narrative dominating the discourse on climate change-induced migration in the EU. In general, members and leaders of powerful institutions have more control over discourses. In this case, arguments made within the European Union have power in regard to a public policy and other political discourses as well as an influence on other dimensions of discourse like media discourse (Van Dijk 2015). One of the characteristics of a CDA is the way it aims to deconstruct power relations and power effects as well as the abuse of power in relation to for example sexism and racism which both are common subject of research in a CDA context (Jäger 2000). This normative stance can be connected to a climate justice and loss and damage framework in which people affected by the negative impacts on climate change may see themselves infringed by speech acts as well as resulting policies on the matter. Other topics like the interpretation of the resilience discourse to incorporate neoliberal assumptions or the claim of a pragmatist turn in

the orientation of the European Union (Juncos, 2016) could be assessed in a power related context. Though these dimensions cannot be addressed fully in this work, the chosen methodology provides a stable groundwork for consideration in this line of thought.

3.3. Data Collection

Data collection will occur in relation to the concept of minimal contrasting. In a discourse analysis, operationalization occurs in the sense that linguistic and rhetoric patterns are being analyzed. The operationalization will derive back to arguments that occur in the documents and, if they appear in several documents are compressing to a “message” in the discourse. The data used for the analysis consists of policy documents of the European Union which are expected to display a variety of arguments and some arguments will overlap which built the messages of the resilience discourse. The policy documents have been collected from articles addressing EU policy in the field of climate change-induced migration authored by think tanks and foundations (Petrillo, 2015) ; (Ammer et al., 2014) as well as scientific literature on the resilience discourse (Juncos, 2016). By choosing this procedure, it is being assured that main publications are included in the analysis. Due to the institutional classification of the topic of climate change-induced migration in the EU, the data will derive mainly from the thematic fields of EU’s external and humanitarian policies, here within development and foreign policy as well as humanitarian aid programs. The data was collected by the criteria if they were policy papers of the European Union and dealt with the topics of climate change-induced migration and if they appeared within the timeframe of interest. As the resilience discourse is being analyzed in the context of climate change-induced migration, documents were selected regarding the criteria if they addressed the topic of climate change-induced migration, using policy analyses on the topic of climate change-induced migration and re-assessing these documents in the context of a structural analysis as described.

4. Discourse Analysis

To present the findings of the CDA, the first part to be addressed will be a summary of the data following a chronological comparison of the observations made in the structural analysis. The findings of the detailed analysis are being portrayed and the results of both analytical steps bundled in a summarizing part. The results in relation to the research questions are then presented in a sub-concluding part.

4.1. Structural Analysis of the Resilience Discourse

In this chapter, the analysis' results in regard to the research question will be portrayed and discussed. Firstly, the observations of the structural analysis will be presented by displaying the data's summaries in regard to the setting and framework the document has been issued in. These will be sorted in a chronological order, in line with the research interest. The objective is to open up the possibility to reflect the policy papers in the context they have been published in, in line with the methodological background. Furthermore, the discourse on resilience will be displayed in regard to the arguments and messages of the discourse, organizing the section along different areas of tension of the messages, arguments and concepts used. Furthermore, in the concluding remarks, answers for the sub-questions will be provided.

4.2. Chronological summary

In this part, one step of the structural analysis, the summary regarding the policy domain and the context in which climate change-induced migration is addressed are being summarized as well as the mentioned topics in the text. The first document to be addressed is "Climate Change and International Security" from the High Representative and the European Commission from 2008. The type of the document is a communication from the named body to the European Council and the document is situated in the context of foreign and security policy. It addresses climate change and also climate change-induced migration as a security issue (European Commission, 2008). Adaption and resilience are being differentiated by the text and addressed in the context of mitigation and adaption policies which aim to solve security challenges.

In the Stockholm Programme of 2009, a 5-year plan by the Council of the European Union in the domain of home and justice policies, a paragraph on the necessity to further analyze the link between climate change and migration is being included. Resilience as a keyword is not addressed in this context, but in relation to the overall document, where it appears in a section addressing the internal security strategy of the European Union and counter terrorism fight (Council of the European Union, 2009).

More recent literature, like the Commission Staff Working document Climate Change, Environmental Migration Degradation and Migration, hereafter CSWD, conducted in 2013 by the European Commission Staff has been referred to as a document addressing concrete policy solutions by previous literature (Petrillo, 2015). With Climate change-induced migration being at the center of the working document, Resilience is being addressed both as a key word in several paragraphs, especially addressing a technical dimension in disaster risk reduction as well as on a conceptual level several sections. In addition to resilience and climate change-induced migration being addressed in the document on a conceptual level, the call for taking this link more precisely under consideration (European Commission, 2013 p.27) is included. Arguments regarding the idea of migration being an adaption strategy as well as migration posing opportunities for individuals (European Commission, 2013) can be found in the document.

In the same year a position paper, issued out by the Greens in the European Parliament in 2013 is a document addressed at other Greens aiming to provide a suggestion for a common ground in regard to the EU's policy orientation on climate change-induced migration. The graphic presentation and structure reflects this use as it is not illustrative for outsiders. Main topics are climate change-induced migration and possible policy responses the EU could issue out to address the challenges of climate change-induced migration. Climate change-induced migration itself is being defined as a concept without single causation in which different factors play a role. Nevertheless, poverty is being singled out as one of the main reasons (The Greens in the European Parliament, 2013 p.5). Climate Change-induced Migration shall be prevented and it is assumed that people prefer to stay rather than to migrate. Resilience as a key word is being addressed in the context of adaption and disaster risk reduction.

The document "Environmental migration; climate change and the post 2015 Sustainable Development Goals" by the Green Forum Sweden and the Africa- EU relations Working Group and the President of African Greens Federation conducted in 2013 is a document opening up concrete policy recommendations in regard to climate change-induced migration, questioning the existing EU policies that foster climate change adaption. The topic of climate change-induced migration is interpreted as a challenge for the development and security policy domain (Global Greens, 2013). The document does not explicitly address resilience as a key word. Regarding future policy processes, the need to join forces to provide sustainable solutions for challenges as a consequence of climate change-induced migration is formulated in regard to the COP 21 in Paris.

In 2014, a main publication in regard to resilience is published by the European Commission, the EU resilience Compendium .While there is not explicitly a strong link presented between climate change and migration, the Compendium document addresses arguments which also occur in the causal connection made in regard to climate change-induced migration. For example, in the context of the so called ACP-EU-NDRR Programme the aim is to minimize the level of vulnerability of countries of the global south in relation to natural hazards and adaption to climate change (European Commission, 2014 p.29). While migration is not addressed as a possible consequence of a high vulnerability of communities in the paper, it can be argued that in regard to the discussed scientific literature, the EU resilience Compendium is addressing processes that are relevant in the context of climate change-induced migration as droughts and floods as consequences of climate change are reasons to move for affected populations.. Migration as a keyword is mentioned as a cause of vulnerability in the context of humanitarian and development aid initiative in Niger (European Commission, 2014 p.14). Resilience is included as a concept to be expanded in relation to droughts and floods.

More explicitly the topic has been addressed in the next year's interview by the "Green European Journal" published by the European Greens. In an interview concerning climate change-induced migration with the Green MEP Bodil Valero, climate change-induced migration is conceptualization as well as room for manoeuvre for EU policy option is addressed, coming to the conclusion that the EU needs to invest in humanitarian and aid policies. Other questions address the potential of the COP 21 to contribute to a policy solution for this kind of migration. Resilience is not addressed as a keyword but she formulates the aim to "make it possible for people to live there and to adapt to the climate changes" (Green European Journal, 2015 p.2) which in its emphasis on providing the possibility to adapt can be interpreted along the provided definition of resilience in the theory part as resilience.

In the research report, initiated by the science service of the European Commission regarding Environmental Policy and published in 2015, different scientific standpoints are being presented in the context of possible policy responses to climate change-induced migration. The most relevant article of the research report in the context of the research interest of this thesis is referring to a study by the United Nations on the potential of national adaption plans to climate change-induced migration. Mobility should be reduced in regard to displacement and relocation; it is viewed to provide both challenges and open up opportunities (Science for Environment Policy, 2015). Resilience as a keyword appears in the sense that one of the positive effects of climate change is to strengthen the resilience of home communities through

the financial support of migrated workers. Also, it is being addressed in more practical terms in the context of infrastructure measures like water management.

The recent policy paper from 2016 “Building Resilience: The EU's approach; Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection Development and Cooperation Europe Aid” is a so-called factsheet which seems to be addressed to target groups both inside and outside the EU context. It is illustrated and designed in a similar style to the already described Compendium document (European Commission, 2014). Concerning the addressed topics in the paper, the main emphasis is being given to resilience regarding development and humanitarian assistance of the EU and regional programs are being presented. Climate change-induced migration is not being clearly referred to as a keyword in the data. The paper instead mentions “forced displacement” and articulates the goal of preventing such displacement and to minimize the engagement of the EU in displacement situations. The wording is striking as the document does not refer to the term “migration”. In regard to concrete wordings, a “displacement crisis” (European Commission, 2016 p.1) is being mentioned to the opposing intuition of a reader, who may have the term “Migration crisis “in mind. Additionally the aim to minimize “protracted displacement” (European Commission, 2016 p.1) is being formulated, a term that describes refugees who do not have a legal status (Forced Migration Review, 2009). This term refers to irregular migration which is also being interpreted as a process to be prevented In regard to the causes of migration, these are only indirectly addressed by the discussion of the “European Union Emergency Trust Fund” in which the causes for migration are to be tackled through “economic and equal opportunities, the strengthening of resilience of vulnerable people and boosting security and development” (European Commission 2016 p.2). The Commission acknowledges in the text that “the costs of humanitarian crises are escalating, as climate change generates more severe weather-related disasters and as the world faces new pressures (...)” (European Commission, 2016). This statement in relation to the argument that the European Commission aims to “gradually end dependence on humanitarian assistance in existing displacement situations” (European Commission, 2016 p.1) leads to the presumption that the Commission does link Climate change to humanitarian crises and interprets humanitarian assistance to deal with (protracted) displacement. Thereby displacement is one of the events to be addressed by humanitarian aid that result from climate change. It can be assumed that climate change-induced migration is not concretely being addressed due to the policy implications a possible legal definition of climate change-induced migration might have. This assumption requires a well-founded assessment and further analysis.

4.3. Chronological Comparison

In this section, the observations will be put into context, analyzing the development of the resilience discourse over time. In data from the time frame of 2008 and 2009 climate change-induced migration is being addressed as a security issue, and resilience as a key word in the context of general recommendations to the EU in a security context to increase adaption and resilience to climate change. This can be classified as two capacities of resilience, increasing the coping and adapting dimension. In the paper the intention to increase resilience in a context of network and information security is formulated thereby it can only be suspected that a social system is addressed but the data which is especially addressing resilience in 2009 falls shorter in scope than the previous year, the meaningfulness of the observation can be questioned. This can also be argued to correspond to an adaptive kind of resilience as it is addressed in a security context where security threats might present external shocks to the system of network and information in the EU.

As a consequence of the research question, a gap exists in the data for the years 2010-2011. Concerns addressing if climate change-induced migration is addressed in a sufficient manner to provide relevant insights for the research interest might be raised in regard to the data published in 2012. Nevertheless, the data has a strong focus on resilience and is embedment in regard to different policy arenas and measures. It does not address climate change-induced migration as a key concept. Rather, standing in the center of argumentation are highly vulnerable communities. These are defined as communities who face food crisis and hunger. Geographically, the document relates to regions on the African continent, e.g. the Sahel region. The vulnerability of these communities is argued to result from reasons like conflict and especially climate change related weather events like droughts. In regard to the policy arena, the document situates the topic of climate change-induced migration into humanitarian and development policy. In addition, concrete resilience strategies are thought to be implemented through Climate Change Adaption, Disaster Risk Reduction and Food Security.

Stressing the importance of disaster risk reduction takes up on data for 2013 as in this year, the following arguments and messages can be identified: resilience is a relevant topic in disaster risk reduction. In this context, it refers to a socio-ecological system and includes resilience' capacity to cope and adapt. In disaster risk reduction it can refer to an ecological system in technical means but also a social-ecological system as happens when describing climate change-induced migration as adaption addressing the capacity of coping and adapting of resilience but also a form of transformative resilience regarding the recognition that climate

change-induced migration opens up opportunities for the migrating individuals. This argument stands in clear contrast to the position paper issued in the same year by the Greens in the European Parliament, in which is argued that generally people prefer to stay in their home communities rather than to migrate (The Greens in the European Parliament, 2013). Though no indicators are given to interpret resilience in a transformative sense, neither is the dimension denied. Instead, adaption and resilience are thought to be important to be promoted in order to prevent people from a displacement. In regard to the reasons singled out by the Greens as most influential cause of poverty the addressed measures can be understood as resilience in the sense of mitigation and adaption to provide a chance for people to stay. Also, position is being taken in regard to circular migration patterns also discussed in the context of circular labor migration. This form of migration is assessed by the Greens as appropriate as long as migrants are given a possibility to stay in the long term. Circular migration is defined as a form of migration in which migrants can easily travel back and forth between their country of origin and their host country. It is even argued that keeping contact on an individual level by the migrants through circular migration to the home countries is a measure that supports migrants in their potential to adapt. In this case, the ability to adapt and its promotion are discussed on an individual level. Thereby the adaptability of individuals not in regard to a socio-ecological system but on an individual level is addressed.

The argumentations regarding migration as an adaption strategy (The Greens in the European Parliament, 2013) stands in contrast to a statement by representatives of Swedish and African greens who see migration as adaption as a crucial concept to be increased and the need for a “more flexible framework for human mobility” (Global Greens, 2013 p.3). This request is regarded as an adaptive response to climate change. Interestingly, in the resilience compendium of 2014, migration is not referred to as an adaption strategy to address vulnerability but rather as a cause of vulnerability (European Commission, 2014 p.14). The background of this argumentation is that people tend to find themselves in a vulnerable position after migration, especially when they have few or medium resources. That migration is interpreted in this context as a source to vulnerability may be due to the specific context of the initiative in Niger that is being addressed (European Commission, 2014 p.14). Further, it is stated that resilience should be increased in regard to droughts and floods. Droughts and floods are to be expected to occur more frequently in the context of climate change as explained in the theoretical background and are one of the factors to cause climate change-induced migration. For example, in the context of the ACP-EU-NDRR Programme aiming to minimize the level of vulnerability

of countries of the global south in relation to natural hazards and adaptation to climate change (European Commission, 2014 p.29).

In 2015, while not addressed as a keyword, the articulated proposition to open up the possibility to help inhabitants to adapt (Green European Journal, 2015) is a form of adaptability as discussed in the forgone theoretical framework in the sense of a social-ecological system. The emphasis on the adaptive capacity of resilience is not repeated in the same year which put an emphasis on the need to include the concerns of vulnerable groups. This is nevertheless a very unclear statement and could result in both policies to support resilience in a sense of adaptation to climate change as well as transformation through migration. Vulnerability also plays a role in other data from that year. In the consequence of a reflection of the vulnerability which people are exposed to after moving from their home, one scientific report addresses a national measure initiated by an island state which aims to address the situation migrants find themselves in. Put more concretely, these measures include preparation courses for inhabitants who aim to leave their habitat to climate change related reasons. In how far this refers to the resilience discourse is discussed in the section concerning the detailed analysis. Like the other described data from 2015, the arguments made refer to a socio- ecological system because “resilient communities” are being addressed. The dimension of resilience as a rather technical aspect occurs in this time span as well because community resilience is addressed by technical measures in the sense of improving water management systems to respond to droughts. In relation to the theoretical background, this is clearly and adaptive capacity of resilience addressed.

In 2016 argumentations regarding the adaptive capacity of resilience occur in the context of risk management in all its facets including climate change adaptation (European Commission, 2016) and the need to track activities in humanitarian projects to reduce risks and to strengthen coping capacities to avoid or reduce future humanitarian needs (European Commission, 2016 p.3). The factsheet is the only source to provide a definition of resilience. which is the following: “Resilience is the ability of an individual, a household, a community, a country or a region to withstand, cope, adapt, and quickly recover from stresses and shocks such as violence, conflict, drought and other natural disasters without compromising long term development” (European Commission, 2016 p.1). In the context of presenting the main initiatives AGIR and SHARE; examples of concrete resilience projects are being provided. A clear message from the resilience discourse appears which is to “put people first” (European Commission, 2016 p.1) and to lie “emphasis on the individuality; to fulfill their potential. In the context of the theoretical background of the thesis (Methmann & Oels, 2015) this can be argued to be a truly transformational capacity.

The discursive fragments will be shortly reflected upon their position in the discursive context, as part of an analytical step in a CDA. Some documents clearly address a larger public or try to make content more available by high level of design. While a detailed analysis of pictures is not possible in this research, the pictures present positive symbols such as smiling babies etc. It can be suspected that by using such symbols a larger acceptance of the orientation in regard to resilience as a key concept by the public, member states and cooperating institutions is anticipated. Referring to an analytical indicator of the analysis the sources of knowledge appear in another sense than they do in differing forms of data like interviews or sources from individuals in general. These may refer to statements pointing out that things have always been done one way or another or refer to conceptions of what is perceived to be “normal” which can be revealing discourse messages or main institutions. Such argumentations do not appear in the data as authors reflect on the sources of knowledge in the sense that they clearly refer to them by citing sources when addressing e.g. predicted numbers of climate change-induced migrants (European Commission 2008).

By concretely taking into consideration the analysis’ indicators as has been done by the foregone paragraphs, this section gives a summery over the findings of the structural analysis.

4.4. Detailed Analysis

In this part, the aim of the detailed analysis is recaptured as well as the reasons the data was selected for. Furthermore, the findings are being presented and a reflection of the results will occur.

The goal of the detailed analysis is to analyze both the arguments and messages of the discourse as well as the context in which arguments were formulated and the context and the target groups that messages are aiming at (Jäger, 2012). A selected article is representative for the chosen discourse and done as detailed as possible. The amount of data to consider differs as well as the scale of the analysis, the aim is to conduct a detailed analysis as long as the analysis is covered to an extent that no further insights arise. As mentioned in the methodological chapter, the emphasis of this detailed analysis will slightly differ in comparison to the described type due to the kind of data. This is in line with the methodological framework as discussed by the author himself who is arguing that the proposed indicators are not to be understood as a fixed scheme but rather that the analysis parts might have to be adjusted to the subject matter (Jäger, 2012). In addition to the described changes and also due to the reasons in relation to the differing type of text that serves as the foundation for this analysis, the observations regarding the indicators for the linguistic features differ. For example, no pronouns and adjectives have been included

in the analysis, nouns were taken into consideration when standing out regarding the context. For all changes made see Table I and II.

The set of data selected for this analysis is the position paper “Climate Change, Refugees and Migration” (The Greens in the European Parliament, 2013) and the research report “Migration in response to environmental change” (Science for Environment Policy, 2015). The documents were chosen because they provide a dense coverage of information on both the thematic scope of climate change-induced migration as well as the resilience discourse. Deriving an overview of the data from the forgone analysis, it is unlikely that one document will stand for the whole discourse as changes within the time span became apparent. Therefore, it is being opted here to use the density of information as the main indicator for the chosen data. The results mainly refer to the messages of the discourse in the selected discursive fragments as well as the context they were published in. In this step of the analysis, the main goal is an in-depth understanding of the discourse and its lines of argumentation as well as resulting messages.

An argumentation to stand out is the way that climate change-induced migration, while recognized as an adaption strategy to increase the adaptive capacity of resilience is perceived as a process to be prevented. This also stands in context to the emphasis put on the vulnerability of migrants after a relocation. The main finding of the second analytical step is a connection of a resilience discourse with an emphasis on the adaption capacity of resilience and a discourse concerning the development aid policies of the European Union. In this discursive fragment, the EU is understood as an actor who is in the position to distribute development aid funds. This argumentation is underlined by nouns used such as “donor” (The Greens in the European Parliament, 2013 p.5) and “development partners” (The Greens in the European Parliament, 2013 p.5). Providing resources in this context also refers to knowledge which is thought to be provided for countries affected by climate change by foreigners for example, “Dutch constructors” (The Greens in the European Parliament, 2013). These observations are in line with other data assessed, addressing the EU in the position of a donor when it comes to the concrete policy measure of NAPs, so called national adaption plans as “The EU and its Member States help fund and support adaptation efforts..” (Science for Environment Policy, 2015 p.10) . Other lines of arguments that overlap are addressing that displacement and relocation should be reduced by strengthening community resilience (Science for Environment Policy, 2015 p.5).

In addition to the findings of the research report, resilience finds itself implemented in a way that is unique regarding the data on climate change-induced migration. More explicitly, a policy

measure to increase the ability of the country's population to adapt to new contexts and circumstances in the context of migration is addressed, illustrated by the example of the preparation of inhabitants of Kiribati, an island state located in the Pacific² and exposed to consequences of climate change. The interpretation of this measure is not as evident as other argumentations. At first, it may resemble like an adaption capacity of resilience is addressed as the social actors in the socio-ecological system are to be trained skills to adapt. At a closer look, it becomes clear that it rather refers to the dimension of a transformative capacity of resilience. This is due to the mobility of inhabitants to other areas is understood as the starting point of the argumentation. Inhabitants are to be provided with knowledge to help during and after a movement from the island. This illustrates how de-politicization that some authors refer to as a consequence of a transformative capacity of resilience chimes through the debate on climate change induced migration. Until this point discussed in this thesis on a theoretical level, the measure can be interpreted as an example for the way that governments may support individuals capable of transformative resilience to migrate while other individuals' needs, namely individuals who are not capable of migrating, are not being addressed by policies. Nevertheless, to fully capture the extent to which the transformative resilience discourse mirrors itself in the policies made by the Kiribati government, a full examination of the case would be necessary. However this example is a strong indicator of such as measure.

To re-assess the context in which the research report is situated is a context of the creation of knowledge and facts to be provided for the European Commission and other policy actors. It is thereby a core document as messages are being transported in this context, both on a content as well as on a discursive level as the source directly aims to provide an interpretation of what is "true" and a range of different interpretations of facts by scientific authors. This means that science is being consulted as an institution to inform policy makers in the EU on how to perceive and tackle climate change-induced migration. The discursive context of the position paper is that the fragment is a reflection of a process aiming to contribute to the identity development of a political party on the European level. It aims to provide a definition of what is "true" for the Members of the European Greens regarding climate change-induced migration.

The detailed analysis' results are especially illuminating when it comes to an extensive examination of used argumentations. Additionally, the context the discursive fragment has been issued out is becoming clear. Less insights are being derived from the linguistic aspects of the data. While it was clear as already discussed in the methodological framework as well as in the

² (Science for Environment Policy, 2015 p.10)

beginning of this section, the data differs and corresponding changes have been made to address these differences. Nevertheless, an unforeseen finding was to not detect routines, which are defined as proverbs or similar linguistic patterns in the position paper. The only linguistic instrument of this kind could be detected which is not of significant relevance: “one size fits all approach” (The Greens in the European Parliament, 2013).

4.5. Discursive Events

In the overall timeframe that has been analyzed, it has rarely been referred to specific events. While it is not stated in the methodological background that the existence of a discursive event has to be reflected in the speech acts or publications a discourse manifests itself in, it is on the other hand very likely that discursive events are being mentioned as they are defined as major events with big political consequences, for example the nuclear catastrophe of Chernobyl (Jäger 200). While the significance of the event is given, as the COP21 has been largely discussed on governmental as well as EU level and it also had an influence on media discourse in a global level. Yet the significance is not the only indicator to detect a discursive event. In the conducted analysis, reference is often made to other policy papers (Factsheet) and various sources of knowledge, for example international institutions such as the United Nations. When events are addressed, they lie often in the future and chances to change political processes in the context of these events are being addressed as it is for example interpreted as a chance to unite the European Greens in regard to climate change-induced migration (Green Forum Sweden). In the policy paper “Environmental migration; climate change and the post 2015 Sustainable Development Goals” it is being referred to the COP 21 as an important event in regard to the Post Development Goals Process, stating that "It is of great importance that linkages between the SDGs and governments in Europe official climate change commitments will result in mutually beneficial outcomes for both negotiations to secure an inclusive global deal in climate change " p. 1 ff. More concretely, in the Resilience Compendium document of 2014, the COP 21 is being referred to as an event that resilience shall be further promoted at. Additionally the factsheet “Building Resilience the EU’s approach” (European Commission, 2016) was published after the COP 21. The paper itself is interpreted as strong evidence that resilience is indeed a dominating discourse. But the number of policy papers analyzed in the time frame since the COP 21 boils down to one policy paper. A connection can only be analyzed in a limited scope and evidence for a causal connection of the COP21 promoting a resilience discourse in a causal manner is not sufficient. Further research has to be conducted which analyzes the representation of arguments and messages of the resilience discourse in the thematic scope of climate change-induced migration on the COP 21. It has to be furthermore

assessed from which actors and in which further policy documents it has been referred to the COP 21 since it took place.

4.6. Sub-Concluding Remarks

In this section answers for the sub-questions will be provided in the form of a summary of the forgone analysis. To conclude the section, the analysis' findings will be discussed.

1. Does the topic of resilience occur in the policy papers?

Addressing climate change-induced migration in the context of the answer provided to this sub question may seem to misfit at first glance. Nevertheless, as climate change-induced migration is the main topic of interest in which a manifestation of resilience is scrutinized, this paragraph shortly addresses how the topic is distributed in the data. Climate change-induced migration is addressed very explicitly as the main topic in some papers (European Commission 2013) while it is only being occasionally referred to in other contexts (Council of the European Union, 2009). The wordings differ, ranging from “displacement” (European Commission, 2013) to “environmental migration” (Global Greens, 2013). In some documents it is not being referred to as a key word at all, (European Commission, 2012). Instead, vulnerable communities are being described who see themselves confronted with poverty and hunger due to reasons that co-relate with weather events occurring due to climate change, e.g. droughts. Informed by the theoretical background which brings the vulnerability of communities due to climate change-induced weather events into context with climate change-induced migration, it is in this thesis argued that climate change-induced migration is indirectly addressed in policy papers dealing with food security and hunger.

To come to the main focus of the analysis, it is checked if resilience is mentioned as a keyword. The finding is that *resilience* is addressed in several papers but not always in relation to climate change-induced migration (Council of the European Union, 2009). Regarding argumentations and messages which are inherent of the resilience discourse, these are shining through in the majority of cases when climate change-induced migration is the main topic. In how far these argumentations and messages match or differ is addressed in the sub-conclusion regarding the second research question.

2. What kind of resilience is addressed?

When resilience is addressed as a keyword in relation to climate change-induced migration, the meanings and contexts differ, first of all in regard to the linguistic dimension. Resilience describes communities (Science for Environment Policy, 2015) other times it is issued out as

a goal for development (European Commission, 2013). However, in some cases, references to resilience in relation to several topics did not seem well reflected on a conceptual level within the document itself. Only twice have definitions of resilience been provided, both times in documents which are oriented towards the EU's resilience strategy itself. Precisely, this is affecting the European Commission's communication regarding resilience from 2012 (European Commission, 2012) as well as the resilience factsheet from 2016 (European Commission, 2016). Argumentations and messages of the resilience discourse appear in the context of climate change-induced migration for example when the capacities of mitigation, adaption or transformation chime through the way climate change-induced migration is being discussed. These three capacities can be verified to appear in the data, even though the combination differs. In some cases, only an adaptive capacity of resilience is involved (European Commission, 2008) while in other data it is possible to interpret that both adaptive as well as transformative dimensions play a role.

To illustrate how the message of an adaptive capacity of resilience appears in policy documents, an example is given here. In the Commission Staff Working document it is stated that "Evidence clearly suggests that migration has the potential to contribute to adaptation in regions of origin (...)" (European Commission, 2013 p.26). This argumentation reveals a message addressing an adaptive capacity of the resilience discourse. An example for a transformational capacity of resilience is how individuals are addressed to be able to fulfill their own potential or to be provided with new resources and learn new skills in the context to prepare for migration. Interestingly, as not mentioned as such in the theoretical framework, transformation resulting from migration does not only refer to the individuals that migrate themselves. Rather, it is being observed in regard to the home communities of the individuals as it is expected that migrating individuals will support their home communities financially. This is as a consequence of transformative capacity for an individual, to support the adaptability of the home communities.

A challenge that arose in the analysis for this sub-question is the question whether climate change-induced migration can per se be classified as containing a message of a transformational capacity of resilience. In this context it is argued that it is not by definition including an argumentation from which this focus could be derived. Rather, the way the institutional actor or the actor in the policy process address climate change-induced migration is to be taken into consideration, the reasons for this approach being that the perception of climate change-induced migration differs when several actors are being compared.

Relevant argumentations concerning climate change-induced migration refer to possible measures to address climate change-induced migration by promoting circular and labor migration (The Greens in the European Parliament, 2013) (European Commission, 2013). In this re-occurring argumentations, the European Commission promotes migration patterns in which migrants will, if possible, return to their country of origin. In this context, it is remarkable how circular and labor migration are being argued to form the most desirable option. This is done by assuming, that circular and labor migration patterns arise voluntarily while permanent migration moves which are being framed as “displacement” are occurring involuntarily. It is in consequence argued that migration patterns such as labor and circular migration are to be promoted. To assume this general preference for labor and circular migration is to be questioned. Additionally, labor and circular migration is not providing long term solutions for climate-change induced migrants.

3. How does the type of resilience relate to the theoretical background?

This question refers to the relevance of the question in how far the resilience discourse as observed in this thesis can be analyzed to be embedding a form of neoliberalism. Providing an extensive answer exceeds in its complexity the dimension of the findings that can be made in this scope of academic work. Nevertheless, findings in the data can be positioned along the features that Joseph (2013) allocates to be inherent of neoliberalism. These include for individuals to show adaptability to situations, to be able to “bounce back” in case of a shock, to be able to make informed decision and to be capable of understanding the own role and responsibility. These features fit with the assumptions underlying the measure of the government of Kiribati namely to provide support for potential migrants in regard to e.g. language skills. This is addressing the inhabitants of the island on a theoretical level as individuals and agents who are capable of deciding whether to migrate and who are responsible for gaining the necessary skills to increase the chances to adapt successfully migration.

4. What differences occur in comparison?

In theoretical discussions on the policy development regarding climate change-induced migration, a turn has been observed which captured that in oeuvres from 2011 onwards, more concrete policy options are being presented in EU policy rather than the declarations of intent to conduct more research on the issue which previously dominated the field. An assumption made in the beginning of this thesis is that the message of a transformative capacity of the resilience discourse dominates and appears especially in the more recent documents. While it is accurate that features of a transformative capacity of resilience like addressing opportunities

for individuals occur in the recent documents and the adaptive capacity appears in the earlier, the documents also differ in comparison to one another.

5. Can discursive events be captured?

While in the context of climate change-induced migration, actors referred to the COP 21 multiple times in multiple data, the event seems to have been perceived as pointing the way by several authors and initiatives. The impact the event may have on climate regimes has been discussed in academia both in preparation as well as in the follow up discussions concerning the conference of the parties meeting in Paris.

In this concluding paragraph the analysis' findings will shortly be discussed. Since the data could not be collected in the same scope for every year throughout the examined period, the results for some periods of time ground on more data than others. Nevertheless, data which is perceived as key publications on the topic have been included and their irregular distribution are a feature of the object of investigation. Additionally, it is possible that a resilience discourse dominated in the making processes of policy documents and in meetings and discussions in the EU context. These developments could not be captured as the data only refers to the arguments and conclusions that have been passed as final results. In the context of the discussions and policy processes the policy papers are a result of, it can be stated at this point that per definition, in a CDA that analyzes policy papers it is beyond the scope of the analysis to capture the power relations in a policy process in regard to the actors themselves. Also per definition, a CDA does not put an emphasis on concrete actors or policy solutions.

5. Conclusion

In this conclusion, the main findings of the analysis will be summarized and the overall research question will be answered. Furthermore an outlook on the policy dimension and possible future research will be given.

To begin with, the assumptions made in the introduction of the thesis are being addressed and put into relation with the findings made in the course of the analysis. The first assumption relates to the causal connection between resilience and the process of a de-politicization in relation to climate change-induced migration. It is not the aim to verify this assumption as it has been derived from the discussion in the section of the theoretical framework, rather the aim is it to bring the findings of the analysis into context. These correspond insofar as a transformational dimension of resilience is observed to be incorporated in the way that climate change-induced migration is addressed. Thereby serving as an appropriate starting point for considerations regarding a de-politicization of climate change-induced migration which is argued to occur as given by examples in the analysis, e.g. in the case of the island of Kiribati. Another assumption made in academia that the thesis refers to is how the debate on climate change-induced migration is undergoing a turning point in 2011. The background of this argument derives from the observation that before 2011 the need was formulated in policy documents to conduct further research on climate change induced migration while after 2011 concrete problems stood in the center of discussion. This development is being verified in the analyzed data, e.g. by naming concrete measures to increase the resilience of communities such as Disaster Risk Reduction. Additionally, in the most recent literature a trend can be observed to not name climate change-induced migration as such. Rather, consequences from climate change which are reasons for concerned populations to move are being addressed. For example, policy documents discuss the impact of droughts on the food security of communities. Thereby, a reason related to climate change-induced migration is explicitly addressed. This supports the assumption that more concrete problems related to climate change-induced migration are being discussed in recent documents, rather than formulating merely a need to conduct research. Avoiding to clearly name a connection between concrete problems like food insecurity and climate change-induced migration as a key word can be suspected to be a sign of evasion of the topic as such. This connection is suspected to relate to the unsolved challenge of an overarching definition of climate change-induced migration including the legal consequences such as definition would pose for the European Union as climate-change induced migrants could refer to a legal definition. Another possible explanation is how a development discourse intervenes in the debate on climate change- induce migration, framing challenges as development

problems, as in this case the need for a community to develop resilience in regard to food insecurity. A development discourse influencing the debate on climate change-induced migration has been stated by Bettini and Gioli (2015).

The last assumption regarding the causal connection of discursive events having an impact on the resilience discourse in the context of climate change-induced migration is being rejected. While the COP 21 is being reflected upon as a major event by the actors and institutions which justifies to label it as a possible discursive events, the available findings do not suffice to prove an influence of the COP 21 on the resilience discourse. It can only be observed how speakers reflect on the event with differing expectations on its potential for a solution to the topic of climate change-induced migration.

After summarizing the analysis' findings and their relation to central assumptions of the thesis, the answer to the main question is now being provided. In the majority of analyzed papers, resilience is being addressed as a key word and on a conceptual level in argumentations made explicitly in regard to climate change-induced migration as well as in relation to other topics like disaster risk reduction. Regarding the comparison over time, an emphasis is put on resilience in the context of its inherent adaptive capacity. From 2013 onwards, the development changes as a transformative dimension is also addressed. It finds its strongest message in 2016 when a transformative capacity of social groups is issued out clearly putting the interest of vulnerable groups in the center of possible policy options and stressing the emphasis of addressing individuals, stating: "To reduce humanitarian needs we must put people first, and allow them, especially children, to fulfil their full potential." (European Commission, 2016 p.1).

In addition to the traced development, a co-relation between the resilience discourse and other discourses is likely. Even though a detailed assessment of this assumption lies beyond the scope of the analysis, the following considerations are being made which derive from the observations. A interlink with a discourse of development aid is supported by evidence found in the context of development cooperation in the area of disaster risk reduction (The Greens in the European Parliament, 2013). That climate change induced migration is being in recent publications viewed through an development approach has also been stated in publications on the EU policies in the realm of climate change-induced migration (Ammer et al., 2014). Furthermore, it might open up fruitful insights to assess the interlinkages between the discourse on resilience and the concept of vulnerability. The underlying observations supporting this assumption derive back to the frequency of the keyword "vulnerability" as well as the reference

made to vulnerability on a conceptual level in the document “EU Resilience Compendium” (European Commission 2014) where it is addressed to describe the state that communities affected by climate change might find themselves in as well as a goal of several projects which set the objective to reduce vulnerability (European Commission 2014).

The answer to the research question is a contribution to scientific literature addressing climate change-induced migration. It is especially relevant in relation to the way the resilience discourse develops in the thematic field of climate change-induced migration in EU policy. This is necessary to understand which role resilience plays and how the messages of the resilience discourse influence a discussion concerning the adequate policy responses to climate change-induced migration. In the context of this dimension, the findings correspond with the analyses of authors who stress how the debate on climate change-induced migration contains a resilience discourse.

It never was and cannot be the aim of the thesis to provide a well-founded analysis of the question if resilience is a normatively “good” or “bad” concept like it is being discussed in some literature or to truly analyze in which relationship the resilience discourse stands in regard to neoliberalism or pragmatism. Nevertheless, the information value lies in an interpretation of the different facets the resilience discourse appears in and the reflection on certain features which play a role in the attempts to assign resilience to overarching concepts like neoliberalism or pragmatism. These features are e.g. the emphasis put on individualism by resilience which is observed to occur in the data of the analysis. This feature is argued to endanger the most vulnerable populations who do not possess the necessary resources to adapt under such a framework.

In regard to future research it is therefore crucial on a policy level to question the appropriateness of EU-policies that inherent a resilience discourse or even put resilience at the center of policy orientation. Additionally, when addressing concrete geographically defined socio-ecological systems, it is crucial to conduct interdisciplinary research of nature and social science. As Bettini (2013) points out, the ecological sphere otherwise tends to be overlooked. To include both ontological spheres is a crucial precondition to provide an integral analysis of the socio-ecological systems. To take these recommendations into consideration will provide more holistic solutions to address climate change-induced migration in a policy as well as scientific context.

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Appendix I

List of the Data Used

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Appendix II

| Structural Analysis |
|--|
| Intern Name of the document |
| Name of the document |
| Date |
| Author |
| Type of text |
| Structure of the text |
| Graphic representation of the text |
| Summary: 1. Context in which CCM is addressed 2. policy area |
| Topics and sub-topics |
| Arguments/ Message |
| Sources of Knowledge |
| Collective symbol (e.g. “time is money” Jäger 2000) |
| Normalism (Modelle der Normalität) |
| Particular Features |
| temporary comments |
| Useable for a further analysis? |

Table 1: created by the author on the basis of Jäger (2012 p.96 f.)

Appendix III

Table II: Analysis I (The Greens in the European Parliament, 2013)

| 1. Institutional Context | |
|---|--|
| Definition of the discourse fragment | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduction and Chapter “Adaption and Development” • Not included is the chapter “Legal Options” and “EU Options” in the analysis expect of paragraph 4: 10 |
| General characteristics of the Institution | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Greens in the European Parliament as an institution: orientation towards grassroots movements and pan-European approach (Dietz, 2000) |
| Sources of Knowledge | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not in a historical sense but in a scientific sense addressing studies conducted by EU bodies p.2; p.3; NGO p.5; international institution World Bank p. 2 |
| 2. Text Surface | |
| Summary | <p>Some paragraphs are highlighted ³by the graphical representation of boxes. These paragraphs start with the wording “As Greens” and are declarations of how the political party of the Greens in the European Parliament positions itself towards the discussed challenges for European policy.</p> <p>4 sections: Introduction; Adaption and Development; Legal options and EU options, first two sections are analyzed in this analysis</p> |

³ Hereafter named as „highlighted paragraph”

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| <p>Topics</p> | <p><u>Topics per paragraph</u></p> <p>1. Introduction</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1:1 “relevant questions” in regard to climate change-induced migration for the Greens and formulation of needs to address these <p>1:2 addresses possible reasons for climate change-induced migration: like “rapid onset climate events” like “extreme weather conditions” and “slow onset climate phenomena” like drought, desertification, land degradation etc. P.2</p> <p>economic, social and political factors cannot be separated</p> <p>1:3 definition of movements: most vulnerable group: the poorest; after migration: increased vulnerability; migration limited by “rigid migration schemes in recipient countries”</p> <p>1:4 Vulnerability and dependence: vulnerable groups like children etc.</p> <p>1: 5 Numbers of migrants to expect vary to a large extent</p> <p>1:6-1:9 Extensive reflection on the terminology of the term; pro and cons of different terms weighed up against each other</p> <p>1:10 Highlighted Paragraph; decision and reasoning for a specific term to describe climate change-induced migration which is “climate refugee” and “climate migration”</p> <p>2. Adaptation and Development</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2:1 Climate change-induced migration cross related to poverty; poorest as most vulnerable • 2:2 National governments in which countries climate change-induced migration occurs shall be given support by the EU through development aid • 2:3 Call for financial assets addressed to climate change (consequences) additional to existing funding • 2:4 Definition of Adaptation; Prevention of displacement as a goal; initiatives have the capacity to prevent displacement through “reducing affected people’s vulnerability” p. 5; goal to keep balance between structural and non-structural preparedness which are defined as engineering in risk reduction and the latter as for example risk assessment skills • 2:5 early warning: goal to “increase resilience” p.5; and the chance for people to return; “development partner” to provide resources |
|----------------------|---|

| | |
|---|--|
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2:6 disaster risk reduction: defined as to “reduce the impact of natural disaster”, development cooperation addressed through “knowledge exchange” referring to foreign knowledge to support local communities but also acknowledging “local knowledge and traditional ways of dealing with disasters” p.5 ; call the EU to learn from experiences and funding streams and to consider additional funding • 2:7 (organised) migration as an adaptation strategy; Migration as voluntary and planned. Governments should offer resettlement and re-integration • 2:8 Loss compensation by providing new income to reduce the vulnerability of people • 2:9 Highlighted Paragraph: Addressing “especially industrialized countries to implement measures” summarizing and highlighted paragraph <p>4. EU options</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 4:10 Remittances: stresses the importance of remittances for national governments to support individual households and the national economy; goal to re-assess with “diaspora and home communities” the use of funds with the goal to “improve environmental resilience” |
| Argumentation/ lines of reasoning | <p>Argumentation: reducing the risk of disaster → a goal to reduce migration; 2:5 goal to “increase resilience” p.5; and the chance for people to return → goal to prevent migration; 2:8 migration can result in (temporary) vulnerability to social groups which shall be addressed through concrete measures to support migrants individually in terms of (financial resources)</p> |
| 3. Linguistic and Rhetoric Instruments | |
| Argumentative arrangements (logical)? | |
| Reminding of certain text styles e.g. drama? | n.a. |
| Routines (narratives; proverbs, expressions) | “one fits all approach” |
| Collective symbols | n.a. |

| | |
|--|---|
| Nouns (it is assumed that facts, arguments or concepts are known?) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yes, in regard to several nouns, concepts are expected to be known facts e.g. Disaster risk. No definition of resilience is being provided. |
| Arrangement of the nouns on semantic levels | <p>Forms of migration and mobility</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • climate-induced migration p.5 • migratory movements p.5 <p>The EU as a donor</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • donors p. 5 • development partners p. 5 • Dutch constructors p.5 • The EU as a donor p.5 • donors p. 6 |
| Variation in the tense | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No relevant variation in tense |
| Changes made in regard to methodological framework | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No emphasis on concrete linguistic sequences • No pronouns; adjectives etc. • Only conspicuous nouns ⁴are being addressed |
| 4. Arguments made in regard to a content and ideological dimension | |
| Ideological Interpretation in regard to e.g. the overall definition of society; conception of man, position regarding new technologies; future developments | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Future development: climate change-induced migration expected to increase |
| 5. Comprehensive Analysis | |
| 1. What is the transported message of the discourse fragment? (the goal and the occasion of the text) <->basic attitude of the author | To communicate a shared idea on how to address climate change-induced migration through policies on an EU level → create a hegemonic discourse of what is believed to be true within the political party of the Greens in the European Parliament |

⁴ Nouns that appear with a dense frequency or are differing from the remaining context.

| | |
|--|--|
| 2. Which Routines etc.? How put into context? | N.a. |
| 3. Target groups? | Other Members of the political party of the European greens on (European) Level |
| 4. Specific ideology ect. Of the speaker in regard to the political and socioeconomic conditions | Specific authors mentioned; not enough indications to deduce the specific ideological background of each speaker and their power position in the publishing process. |
| 5. Discursive context of the discursive fragment? | Fragment as a reflection of a process serving identity development of a political party on the European level. |
| 6. Which conditions in society are incorporated in the discourse? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In regard to authors: the process of coordination of different standpoints in a political party is reflected by the formation of political objectives as part of the way society is politically organized. • In regard to content: development aid as a condition for societies in Global South |
| 7. What is the relation to a hegemonic discourse? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No clear definition of a hegemonic discourse in this context possible • Assumption, that development aid plays a significant role in regard to resilience |
| 8. How does the text refer to discursive events in regard to political, economic, historical and cultural conditions? | n.a. |

Table III: Detailed Analysis II Migration in response to climate change

| 1. Institutional Context | |
|---|---|
| Definition of the discourse fragment | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Section “Editorial” • The Article “Migration: an opportunity to integrate human mobility and climate change adaption policies” |
| General characteristics of the Institution | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reference in regard to: Science for Environment Policy by the European Commission |
| Sources of Knowledge | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Document as a source of knowledge itself; no historic sources of knowledge mentioned |
| 2. Text Surface | |
| Summary | <p><u>Section 1: Editorial- Migration and environmental change: examining the relationship</u></p> <p>1:1 Hypotheses that climate change-induced migration will increase due to climate change being expected to increase environmental events</p> <p>1:2 giving examples of this kind of displacement</p> <p>1: 3 Estimates given of people dying in “natural desasters”</p> <p>1:4 stating the complexity of the link between environmental change and migration; giving an overview of different kinds of migration</p> <p>1:5 Estimates on how many people will be displaced due to climate change by 2050</p> <p>1.6 three ways in which climate change will affect migration flows</p> <p>1:7 relates to the Comission Staff Working document</p> <p>1:8 concrete numbers of sea level rise</p> <p>1:9 consequences of sea level rise in regard to different geographical areas</p> <p>1:10 EU funds a study on policy impilcation of climate change-induced migration; in how far migration could contrtribute to adaption strategies for society</p> <p>1:11 possibility for governments to use planned relocation etc. project presented with different stakeholders</p> |

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| | <p>1:12 – 1:20 Presentation of the different articles</p> <p>1:13 drivers of human migration</p> <p>1:14 and 1:15 the connection of “extreme environmental events and migration” p. 5</p> <p>1:16 policy recommendations for governments on climate change-induced migration</p> <p>1: 17 implementing mobility and adaption policies on governmental level through National Adaption Plans; displacement and relocation to be reduced</p> <p>1:18 articulates a protection gap for people facing pressure through climate change and see themselves forced to migrate</p> <p>1:19 how climate change-induced migration stands in relation to the EU</p> <p>1: 20 addresses that if environmental changes continue, migration might also be a possible option in the European Union and its neighbour states</p> <p>1:21 and 1:22 Conclusion: international collaboration and coordination is needed to ensure that challenges resulting from climate change and climate change-induced migration are being considered; putting the concerns of vulnerable people in the center of policy efforts</p> <p><u>Section 2: Migration and environmental change: examining the relationship</u></p> <p>2:1 Migration: an opportunity to integrate human mobility and climate change adaption policies</p> <p>2:2 linking human mobility with National Adaption Plans (NAPs); EU and member states finance these efforts</p> <p>2.3 Definition and Differentiation of displacement and planned relocation</p> <p>2:4 “Migration (...) as an opportunity and and challenge” moving as a the last possible measure</p> <p>2:5 Positive effects of climate change; example of Kiribati island inhabitants → strengthening “the resilience of their community to climate change” by supporting their families financially after migrating to another habitat</p> <p>2:6 vulnerability after migration being addressed by national government strategies e.g. to “help Kiribati’s citizens to settle abroad and provide adaption opportunities</p> <p>2:7 The goal to reduce relocation and displacement through “community resilience”</p> <p>2:8 the paragraph addresses the need to provide strong evidence for policies; Need to assess existing initiatives and and include local knowledge</p> |
| Topics | |

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| Argumentation/ lines of reasoning | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Section one; summary of the article “ Migration: an opportunity to integrate human mobility and climate change adaption policies” the argumentatio occurs that: “displacement and relocation should be reduced” p. 5 A suggestion to achieve this is through “strengthening community resilenece” by for example technical measures like “water management system to protect against drought” Strenghtening resilience throught he investment into capacity of migrants to adapt to new surroundings after a move; example of inhabitants of island state; concrete measures: english skills and social capcities |
| 3. Linguistic and Rhetorical Instruments | |
| Argumentative arrangements (logical)? | Comprehensible argumentative arrangements |
| Reminding of certain text styles e.g. drama? | n.a. |
| Routines (narratives; proverbs, expressions) | n.a. |
| Collective symbols | n.a. |
| Nouns (it is assumed that facts, arguments or concepts are known?) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Yes, in regard to several nouns, concepts are expected to be known e.g. national adaption plans |
| Arrangement of the nouns on semantic levels | <p>Forms of migration and mobility</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Relocation p.5 Displacement p.5 <p>The EU as a donor</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> National Adaption Plans |
| Variation in the tense | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> No relevant variation in tense |
| Changes made in regard to methodological framework | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> No emphasis on concrete linguistic sequences No pronouns; adjectives etc. Only conspicuous nouns ⁵are being addressed |

⁵ Nouns that appear with a dense frequency or are differing from the remaining context.

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| 4. Arguments made in regard to a content and ideological dimension | |
| Ideological Interpretation in regard to e.g. the overall definition of society; conception of man, position regarding new technologies; future developments | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Future development: climate change-induced migration expected to increase • Individual is being put to center |
| 5. Comprehensive Analysis | |
| 1. What is the transported message of the discourse fragment? (the goal and the occasion of the text) <->basic attitude of the author | To present different interpretations/ ideas of what “facts” are advisable to consider as the European Commission in regard to the need to communicate a shared idea on how to address climate change-induced migration through policies on an EU level |
| 2. Which Routines etc.? How put into context? | N.a. |
| 3. Target groups? | The European Commission and decision makers in the policy process of the EU; potentially also other stakeholders connected to the EU |
| 4. Specific ideology etc. of the speaker in regard to the political and socioeconomic conditions | Specific authors mentioned: Christos Stylianides who to this point in time held the office of Commissioner for Humanitarian Aid and Crisis Management European Commission; not enough indications to deduce the specific ideological background of each speaker and their power position in the publishing process. |
| 5. Discursive context of the discursive fragment? | Fragment is as a collection of fragments of the scientific discourse issued out on the topic of climate change-induced migration |
| 6. Which conditions in society are incorporated in the discourse? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Global North as a donor to Global South (financial support “EU funded project to help Pacific Island countries” p.10 |
| 7. What is the relation to a hegemonic discourse? | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No clear definition of a hegemonic discourse in this context possible • Assumption, a significant role in regard to resilience |
| 8. How does the text refer to discursive events in regard to | n.a. |

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| political, economic, historical and cultural conditions? | |
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