

# Cosmopolitanism & Agenda setting in the U.K. & Spain

How media portrayed climate migrants from 2005 to 2022

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## ABSTRACT

This paper is the result of an investigation on the portrayal of climate refugees in four newspapers: two in Spain and two in the United Kingdom, two progressist ones and two conservative ones. Under a set of parameters based in Immanuel Kant's perpetual peace and Copenhagen School's securitization theory this paper explores if the information published in the cited newspapers between 2005 and 2022 pivots towards a securitization approach or a cosmopolitan one. The research uses the agenda setting theory to explain why a specific portrayal of climate migrants and refugees in the media can shape the public opinion on them. It is a picture of the current situation of the issue of climate migrations in the media and a proposal on how the information about it could be analysed through the media agenda setting theory. A spectrum with securitization acts in one of the extremes and the perpetual peace standards in the other that allows to discern if media set the agenda from a securitization approach or through the cosmopolitan values described by Kant.

With a small sample size this research has reached the conclusion that the climate refugees' portrayal currently is mainly positive. Even though the conservative publications tend to a securitization approach and the progressist ones to a cosmopolitan framing. Regarding the small sample it appears quite revealing the fact that overall is not a vastly discussed issue in the press, neither in the academia. The awareness about the issue has increased during the last two decades. More academical literature has been published and the press is progressively giving more space to climate migrants and climate migrations. Nevertheless, it is a relatively new concept that is still winning its own space in academia and the public debate.

This paper is an exercise of critical assessment of the press, awareness about a problem that is getting bigger every day and the exploration of a new way to approach agenda setting analysis applied to a very specific issue.

**KEYWORDS:** *Climate refugees, Cosmopolitanism, Media agenda setting, Securitization, Press*

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# 1. INTRODUCTION

The goal of this research is to understand and describe how media are shaping the image of climate refugees. The focus will be two newspapers from the United Kingdom and Spain from 2005 to the present. The first time the issue of climate refugees was addressed was in 1985. Essam Hinawii published a report for the United Nations arguing that “The definition of a refugee now extends beyond the persecuted individual to whole groups of people fleeing from dangerous circumstances”.<sup>1</sup> Hinawii used the term Environmental refugee to describe the people who was fleeing from their home because of environmental disasters. The term did not get presence in the media analysed until 2005, so this is going to be the scope of the research.

According to the Agenda Setting Theorists, the media, by showing certain stories, framing them in a particular way and the language choice, shape in a certain extent the view its audience has on a topic.<sup>2</sup> This investigation’s innovative aspect consists in applying the agenda setting theory to climate refugees and migrants’ group. There are studies that already analyse how war and economical refugees are treated but not so many that work with climate refugees from this perspective.<sup>3</sup> These articles are going to be part of the groundwork of this project to settle if there is a difference in the treatment of climate refugees.

In Australian media the news about people fleeing from Fiji and Tuvalu because of sea’s level rising were focused on the ‘migration menace’ as Burch investigation concludes.<sup>4</sup> The war in Ukraine has showed us that – mainly western – Europe and its citizens have different reactions towards refugees depending on their origin. In a fast look on the news of the last 5 years we can spot a difference in the treatment the Syrian war refugees received at first and how that welcoming attitude decayed compared to how the Ukrainian refugees have been treated.<sup>5</sup> Origin can make a difference on how a human being fleeing from a war is treated. Are there other parameters than can affect?

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<sup>1</sup> Hinnawi and UNEP, Environmental refugees

<sup>2</sup> McCombs and Valenzuela, ‘The Agenda-Setting Theory’. P 34

<sup>3</sup> Ulusoy and Battjes, ‘Situation of Readmitted Migrants and Refugees from Greece to Turkey under the EU-Turkey Statement’.

<sup>4</sup> Burch, ‘A Sea Change for Climate Refugees in the South Pacific’.

<sup>5</sup> Barbulescu, ‘Still a Beacon of Human Rights?’. Konstantinov, Reznik, and Isralowitz, ‘The Impact of the Russian–Ukrainian War and Relocation on Civilian Refugees’. P 6

This research intends to break down the structures in newspapers texts that lead us to have certain perceptions in specific issues. Academically, the relevance of this work consists in exploring the most recent tendencies in media towards how a relatively new kind of refugee is treated and add a new case to the work authors like Burch have already done. It also gives the opportunity to work through the frame of such diverse theories like the Media Agenda Setting that theorises around how media is capable of shape or even start or end a public debate around an issue; the securitization theory, that analyses how a state protects itself, legally, military and socially from certain ‘threats’; or the cosmopolitanism that advocates for a stateless solidarity between worldwide communities. Climate Change and Climate refugees are the ultimate test for ideas on cosmopolitanism; because those who suffered the most from climate change in the global South have contributed the least. Therefore, this study on the recent climate refugees intends to be a current painting of the ‘actual state of affairs’ in a globalizing world.

Climate refugees are set to become a huge topic that sooner or later will be a central concern for the international community. Right now, is not much more than an emerging issue but there are inputs that show that this concern will be bigger in the following years and data that shows how almost everybody in the world can become one. That is why this research asks which was the portrayal of climate refugees in British and Spanish newspapers between 2005 and 2022. In the following paragraphs we will settle the difference between climate migrants and refugees and other type of migrants and refugees, like economic migrants and war refugees and why is important to distinguish them.

### 1.1. Conceptualizing climate refugees

The definition of who is a climate refugee is broad and usually overlaps with what are mostly understood to be economical migrants. Nevertheless, the implications of climate change can force the international community to distinguish between these types of migrants. Several academics, like Kibreab (1997), Myers (2005), Chirala (2013), Bayes (2017), or Balsari (2020), have discussed the issue to define it even though there is not a definitive conclusion to the academical debate.

Norman Meyers defines the term as those “people who can no longer gain a secure livelihood in their homelands because of drought, soil erosion, desertification, deforestation, and other environmental problems, together with associated problems of

population pressures and profound poverty”.<sup>6</sup> About its origin, Gaim Kibreab, suggests that the very concept of “environmental refugees” may be connected to the agenda of “some policymakers in the Global North who seek to further restrict asylum laws and procedures”.<sup>7</sup> Kibreab claims that the term was “invented at least in part to depoliticise the causes of displacement, so enabling states to derogate their obligation to provide asylum”.<sup>8</sup> In this paper climate refugee and climate migrant will be treated equally. Climate refugees are a relatively modern concept that has mainly been studied during the last 20 or 25 years. The social charge of this kind of refugees makes them a fascinating object of study alongside with any other consequence derived from the climate change. Academically, it is an opportunity to show a case of study on how media in Europe are portraying these people through a securitization scope. The concepts ‘climate refugee’ and ‘climate migrant’ are different, but since most newspapers treat them almost as the same concept, this paper will do so.

Ahmed Bayes’ definition for this concept is quite simple but it is a good start to understand the complexity of it. He describes it as “people who must leave their homes and communities because of the effects of climate change and global warming”.<sup>9</sup> But this is quite a broad way to define it. To get a deeper understanding of the meaning of this concept Chirala deeps into more detail describing climate refugees as “those people who have been forced to leave their traditional habitat because of a marked environmental disruption that jeopardized their existences and/or seriously affected the quality of their life”.<sup>10</sup>

Apart from offering a more accurate definition, Chirala complements the definition classifying the different types of climate refugees in three categories.

1. Those temporarily displaced because of an environmental stress, such as an earthquake or cyclone.
2. Those permanently displaced because of permanent changes in their habitat, such as dams, floodings or the rise of the sea level.
3. Those permanently displaced because their original habitat can no longer provide basic needs.

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<sup>6</sup> Myers and Kent, ‘Environmental Refugees’. P10

<sup>7</sup> Marshall, ‘Politicizing Environmental Displacement’. P5

<sup>8</sup> Kibreab, ‘Environmental Causes and Impact of Refugee Movements’. P 102

<sup>9</sup> Bayes, ‘Who Takes Responsibility for the Climate Refugees?’ P 3

<sup>10</sup> Chirala, ‘Acclimating to Climate Change’. P 7

Chiralala's definition of the term also allows to refer to climate refugees and climate migrants equally. Norman Meyers defined the term as those "people who can no longer gain a secure livelihood in their homelands because of drought, soil erosion, desertification, deforestation, and other environmental problems, together with associated problems of population pressures and profound poverty".<sup>11</sup> Meyers uses Chiralala classification to define the concept, especially the third group, that will be the focus of the project. Meyers definition also brings us to one of the main problems of categorizing refugees as "climate refugees". It can overlap with a common category of migrant or refugee like the economical ones.

As Balsari argues: "The expert consensus from the late 1990s through early 2000s was that societies could adapt, migration was not clearly caused by climate change, and there was little to no evidence for the influence of environmental stress (let alone climate change) on the incidence or persistence of armed conflict".<sup>12</sup> The definition of the concept 'climate refugee' is not strict. It is part of a spectrum that has clear characteristics which, some of them, happen to overlap in other types of refugee's description.

Regarding the classification used by Chiralala, Marshal (2015), citing Gaim Kibreab, suggests that the very concept of "environmental refugees" may be connected to the agenda of some policymakers in the Global North who seek to further restrict asylum laws and procedures.<sup>13</sup> Kibreab claims that the term was "invented at least in part to depoliticise the causes of displacement, so enabling states to derogate their obligation to provide asylum".<sup>14</sup> The Current international law does not require states to provide asylum to those who are displaced by environmental degradation, and therefore labelling migrants as environmental refugees enables the governments of the Global North to exclude them from consideration for the protections offered to refugees. Marshal ends up highlighting "the environmental nature of displacement moves the migration experience from one that may trigger claims for asylum and rights under international law to one that legally triggers nothing".

The definition of this concept it is helpful to show the social relevance of the issue studied. As Wyman argues: one reason that it is difficult to offer reliable predictions of the number of climate migrants is the uncertainty surrounding the impacts of climate change at

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<sup>11</sup> Myers and Kent, 'Environmental Refugees'. P 12

<sup>12</sup> Balsari, Dresser, and Leaning, 'Climate Change, Migration, and Civil Strife'. P15

<sup>13</sup> Marshall, 'Politicizing Environmental Displacement'. P 8

<sup>14</sup> Kibreab, 'Environmental Causes and Impact of Refugee Movements'. P 106



localized levels. Substantial work has been done on the possible global implications of various degrees of climate change, but uncertainty remains about the implications at the global level.’ There has been considerable press coverage of the possibility that the populations of the small island nations of Kiribati, the Maldives, and Tuvalu will need to migrate to other countries because theirs will become uninhabitable due to climate change. But the international migration that climate change may induce from these countries is unlikely to be representative of the mostly internal phenomenon of climate change migration.<sup>15</sup>

On the concept of climate migrant or climate refugee each author adds their own nuance but mainly all of them get similar conclusions out of it. Climate migrants or refugees can be distinguished from the economic migrants or war refugees even though these conditions are non-exclusive in relation to each other. In any case every author conceptualises this groups of people as ones who have been forced to leave their homes because of direct or indirect consequences of the climate change.

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<sup>15</sup> Wyman, ‘Responses to Climate Migration’. P11

## 2. RESEARCH QUESTION & METHODOLOGY

The research question for this paper will be: “How newspapers in the United Kingdom and Spain portrayed climate refugees between 2005 and 2022?”. To make the research more precise it will have two more sub questions that will help to make a more accurate investigation. The first question will be: “is the portrait different in the United Kingdom and Spain?” the second will be “Are there differences between the conservative and progressist publications?” These questions will provide a comparison of the treatment and characterization these people received in both states.

The decision on choosing newspapers from the United Kingdom and Spain can be explained through the general political context of both countries. Both states have recently securitized themselves towards migration in an explicit way. Migration policies in the United Kingdom were one of the main arguments that led the country to Brexit and Spain has increased the border protection in its territories in Morocco: Ceuta and Melilla.<sup>16</sup>

The data has been obtained searching for the key words “climate refugee” in the English-speaking newspapers and “refugiados climáticos” in the Spanish speaking ones. The data bases are the newspapers online archives. The written support has many advantages on access and permanence. Nevertheless, discarding video and audio from the research, important details like the use of images or the voice tone will not be analysed, losing some useful data that will not make it into the research.

In order to get the results, the primary sources have been systematically analysed to be compared to each other under the context of the countries where the newspapers are published and their editorial lines. There will be a global comparison of the pieces of news to determine if there is an average portrait of climate refugees and which differences there are between countries, ideologies and the individual media.

### 2.1. Nature of the sources

The sources analysed are going to be the pieces of news that the newspapers El País, El Mundo, The Guardian, and The Times published between the January 2005 and December of 2022. An important acknowledgment that must be done is that the analysed

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<sup>16</sup> ‘Cómo es la valla de Melilla, la peligrosa frontera de España en África | Documental BBC Mundo’.

articles will be the ones that have climate migration as the central theme. The concept of climate refugee appeared in the academical context in 1985. The idea is to make an historical study of the most recent tendencies related to media agenda setting and the securitization towards migrants. The support is going to be text with the chance of accessing to video content.

Regarding the challenges, during the preliminary searches the biggest one found yet is the inequality in the number of pieces of news available in each newspaper to analyse. This circumstance can lead to have unequal samples. To illustrate it with an example: El País publishes weekly around 3 pieces of news related to climate change and refugees while The Times does it roughly once a month. This is not a critical issue but something to consider when analysing the sources and drawing conclusions out of them. Another challenge to work on is understanding the publishing lines of the 4 media analysed to understand the size of the sample, the framing of the pieces of news and the agenda setting related to the previous parameters mentioned. Even though this will be discussed deeper in the methodology part, the inclusion of the agenda setting in the analysis stands for the aim of analysing the information in the issue. The goal is resolve the specific weight of the climate refugee related information in specific media, how are they characterized (as a security threat, as a collective to help, as a condition that the citizens of the country can acquire, etc.).

### 3. Historiography

This chapter is the academic and philosophical foundation of the research and the key to understanding why it is socially and academically relevant to analyse how climate migrants and refugees are portrayed and how the issue of climate change and its consequences are framed and covered in the media. Climate change is a global problem of which effects will appear locally. These problems will have localized and circumstantial short-term solutions but the only way to solve them for good must be structural and global. This premise is key to understand why the cosmopolitan philosophy can be applied to the portrayal of climate migrants and why it is a useful analytical scope. Kant's perpetual peace core ideas, argue that every citizen of the world should perceive any other human being as an equal. That is the scope that will define the parameters on how the media sets the agenda towards climate migrants and in which extent the information displayed fits in the cosmopolitan ideal. The main goal of this chapter is to show how cosmopolitanism can be a fair and useful approach to how the international society can face climate change and climate migration. First through the idea of global citizenship and Kant's standards to achieve perpetual peace; afterwards through the idea of friendship in IR theory and the securitization and trust between nations; and finally, through the concept of global justice and how it can be applied to current migrations and specially with climate migrants and refugees.

#### 3.1. The genesis of cosmopolitanism

The modern concept of cosmopolitanism has its origin in Immanuel Kant's philosophy. Although Kant's version of cosmopolitanism grows out of a distinctive eighteenth-century tradition, both the tradition itself and Kant's own approach to it, are, according to Nussbaum saturated with the ideas of ancient Greek and especially Roman Stoicism.<sup>17</sup> The Stoics and the Cynics were the philosophers who thought the most about the idea of cosmopolitanism. Diogenes, when he was asked where he was from, he said: "I am a citizen of the world", in other words, a cosmopolitan. Class, rank, status, national origin, and location, and even gender is treated by the Cynics as secondary and morally irrelevant attributes. For the cynics "the first form of moral affiliation for the citizen should be her affiliation with rational humanity; and this, above all, should define the purposes of her

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<sup>17</sup> Nussbaum, 'Kant and Stoic Cosmopolitanism'. P 3

conduct”.<sup>18</sup> Additionally, the Stoic view of cosmopolitanism, as Nussbaum points out, is that “we should view ourselves as fundamentally and deeply linked to the human kind as a whole, and take thought in our deliberations, both personal and political, for the good of the whole species”.<sup>19</sup>

### 3.2. Kant’s perpetual peace

Kant argued that, to achieve that standard of peace humans should organise themselves through three basic articles: states with a civil republican constitution, an international order of freely federate states, and that the rights of men should be limited to the conditions of universal hospitality.<sup>20</sup> In other words, republics with constitutions that grant equality between their citizens, organized in a global federation should allow in, and treat as any other citizen, any foreign person who is in that territory. Regarding this research, the focus will be in the second and third articles that Kant outlined that connect with the concepts of cosmopolitanism and global justice.

According to Kant, to achieve and protect their freedom, every rational creature had a responsibility to enter a civic situation defined by a social contract.<sup>21</sup> He has published one book and several shorter pieces on political philosophy. In addition to constitutional law and international law, he introduced the idea of “cosmopolitan law,” proposing a third area of public law where both states and individuals have rights and where these rights are held by people as “citizens of the earth” rather than as citizens of specific states.<sup>22</sup> In the context of climate migration, applying this perspective or not could make a huge difference for the migrants involved. In a global scale, even under cosmopolitan law, there is grounds to believe that governments enjoy a fuller right to citizenship than people. After all, in the absence of a global government, only sovereign nations and international organizations can ratify agreements, and their representatives—not actual individuals—are the ones who discuss the conditions of the agreement.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, Kleingeld argues that “the notion of cosmopolitan citizenship of individuals gains more substance when one realizes that in democracies, individuals can co-legislate indirectly, by electing representatives who do so directly. In a parallel fashion, one can conceive of cosmopolitan

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<sup>18</sup> Husson, ‘Review of *Le Cynisme Ancien et Ses Prolongements*. Actes Du Colloque Du CNRS (Paris, 22-25 Juillet 1991)’.

<sup>19</sup> Nussbaum, ‘Kant and Stoic Cosmopolitanism’. P 49

<sup>20</sup> Kant, *Perpetual Peace*. P 4

<sup>21</sup> Rauscher, ‘Kant’s Social and Political Philosophy’. P 67

<sup>22</sup> Kleingeld, ‘Kant’s Cosmopolitan Law’. P 84

<sup>23</sup> Kleingeld, ‘Kant’s Cosmopolitan Law’.P 85

law as indirectly democratic, and the term ‘citizen’ in ‘world citizen’ does not have to be read merely metaphorically, if those who determine cosmopolitan law are democratically elected representatives who are ultimately accountable to their constituents”.<sup>24</sup>

Regarding the federation of states, Kant approves the separation of nations by language and religion, by historical and social tradition and physical boundaries: he lamented that “nature seems to condemn the idea of a universal monarchy”.<sup>25</sup> According to Kant “the only footing on which a thorough-going, indubitable system of international law is in practice possible is that of the society of nations: not the world-republic the Greeks dreamt of, but a federation of states. Such a union in the interests of perpetual peace between nations would be the ‘highest political good’.”<sup>26</sup> Additionally, he argued that the relation of the federated states to one another and to the whole would be fixed by cosmopolitan law: “the link of self-interest which would bind them would again be the spirit of commerce”.<sup>27</sup> According to Kant the cosmopolitan law “individuals and states, who stand in an external relationship of mutual influence, are regarded as citizens of a universal state of humankind”.<sup>28</sup> From a realist perspective, states, however, don’t want this. “Instead of the positive idea of a world-republic, if all is not to be lost, only the negative substitute for it, a federation averting war, maintaining its ground, and ever extending over the world may stop the current of this tendency to war and shrinking from the control of law. But even then, there will be a constant danger that this propensity may break out”.<sup>29</sup> Following Kant’s ideas it is quite clear that a unitary and balanced response to climate migrations could help to find a good solution to the management of a new migration and refugee wave.

### 3.3. Kropotkin and the Mutual aid

Kant’s thinking was followed by other thinkers that are now considered amongst the fathers of socialism and anarchism like Marx or Kropotkin. Marx, based in the ideas of equality and the Hegelian dialectics developed the concept of class consciousness, on his side, Kropotkin developed the idea of mutual aid based in several historical tendencies that he perceived in animals, in those people groups he considered savages in the same

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<sup>24</sup> Kleingeld, ‘Kant’s Cosmopolitan Law’. P 85

<sup>25</sup> Kant, *Perpetual Peace*. P 85

<sup>26</sup> Kant, *Perpetual Peace*. P 86

<sup>27</sup> Kant, *Perpetual Peace*. P 87

<sup>28</sup> Kleingeld, ‘Kant’s Cosmopolitan Law’. P54

<sup>29</sup> Horsfall, Virgil, ‘Aeneid’ P6.

way Rousseau referred to the good savage. Kropotkin builds the idea of the mutual aid using the same prism, understanding it as a natural behaviour of human beings and comparing it to how orangutans and gorillas organise. Kropotkin argues that “As far as we can go back in the paleo-ethnology of mankind, we find men living in societies — in tribes similar to those of the highest mammals; and an extremely slow and long evolution was required to bring these societies to the gentile, or clan organization, which, in its turn, had to undergo another, also very long evolution, before the first germs of family, polygamous or monogamous, could appear”.<sup>30</sup>

Kropotkin acknowledges that these tendencies evolved to what he understood as the current state of mutual aid. “After having passed through the savage tribe, and next through the village community, the Europeans came to work out in medieval times a new form of Organization, which had the advantage of allowing great latitude for individual initiative, while it largely responded at the same time to man’s need of mutual support”.<sup>31</sup> Kropotkin considers that during the three posterior centuries after the middle ages – XVI, XVII and XVIII - every component of what was once an organic whole was taken over by a functionary of the State. Rich communities were relegated to tiny boroughs under that disastrous program, and the very routes that connected them to other towns became inaccessible as a result of the conflicts it precipitated, exposing entire territories that had once been populated and prosperous.<sup>32</sup> From the thinker’s point of view “the absorption of all social functions by the State necessarily favoured the development of an unbridled, narrow-minded individualism”.<sup>33</sup> It is not only the fact that states took over the mutual aid systems but also suppressed any chance of any synergy that could lead to it to thrive.

Kropotkin mentions a few cases like the neighbours’ gatherings in Swiss towns that lead to exchange and aid calls between peasants as an exception during that time. He points out that associationism mutated in the system and “such habits of mutual support — of which many more examples could be given — undoubtedly account for the easiness with which the French peasants associate for using, in turn, the plough with its team of horses, the wine-press, and the threshing machine, when they are kept in the village by one of them only, as well as for the performance of all sorts of rural work in common. Canals were maintained, forests were cleared, trees were planted, and marshes were drained by

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<sup>30</sup> *Kropotkin, Mutual Aid.* P 47

<sup>31</sup> *Kropotkin, Mutual Aid.* P 120

<sup>32</sup> *Kropotkin, Mutual Aid.* P 122

<sup>33</sup> *Kropotkin, Mutual Aid.* P 122

the village communities from time immemorial; and the same continues still”.<sup>34</sup> Kropotkin concluded that “the nucleus of mutual-support institutions, habits, and customs remains alive with the millions; it keeps them together; and they prefer to cling to their customs, beliefs, and traditions rather than to accept the teachings of a war of each against all, which are offered to them under the title of science, but are no science at all”.<sup>35</sup>

### 3.4. Friendship among states

A relatively recent theory that applies the perpetual peace and mutual aid principles in international relations is the Friendship theory. Van Hoef adds to the core ideas of equality and cooperation that Kant and Kropotkin stood for an emotional twist.<sup>36</sup> The emotional twist adds an affect that leaders or communities can feel for each other that lead to shearing secrets, goals, and to an explicit will of cooperation. This theory is worth to be mentioned since it is a realist application of the Kant’s and Kropotkin ideas and provides some clues on how the international community could react to climate refugees.

In International relations theory, friendship is described as a relationship between either leaders or institutions and the civil society that fills out the following characteristics: Affect, a common grand project, altruistic reciprocity, moral obligations, and equality.<sup>37</sup> If two states or two leaders of a state have a relationship that matches these criteria, we can consider that they are friends. As Berenskoetter and van Hoef pointed out, friendship allows to build relationships that go beyond the diplomatic formalities. “Friends open doors for each other that provide access to ‘private’ information, considerations, and reveal motivations that are closed off to others”.<sup>38</sup>

Van Hoef and Berenskoetter explain that among friends, practices of solidarity continue if they are valued by the other and are not perceived as exploitation by the one who provides the support. As such, they can be understood as a form of social exchange marked by a dynamic of reciprocity inherent in friendship. The conception of friendship as a relationship characterised by mutual aid implies that privileged access and practices of solidarity are sought, granted, and carried out by both sides. As a source of learning and mutual affirmation, friendship creates a sense of collective self-sufficiency and -

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<sup>34</sup> Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid*. P 131

<sup>35</sup> Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid*. P 138

<sup>36</sup> Hoef and Oelsner, ‘Friendship and Positive Peace’. P 3

<sup>37</sup> Hoef and Oelsner, ‘Friendship and Positive Peace’. P 2

<sup>38</sup> Berenskoetter, Felix, and Yuri van Hoef. ‘Friendship and Foreign Policy’. Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics, 2017.



righteousness. It is through friendship that in the current state of the international society the free federations among free states can happen. Pivoting from a securitization attitude to an open friendship one can open chances to apply the cosmopolitan values not only among the general population but also to the government officials that are involved in the preformation of international relations.

Friendship in International Relations is mainly a soft power tendency that answers to cultural and ideological closeness and the recognition of a legitimacy in the actions taken by an equal. Nevertheless, it is important to mention that equality is usually achieved through an even level of hard power. Nye points out that a society derives meaning from its beliefs and behaviours, which are referred to as its culture. Because of the links of attraction and duty that its culture fosters, when a nation's culture upholds universal ideals and its policies support values and interests that other people share, the likelihood of obtaining desired results is increased.<sup>39</sup>

It is through the influence hard power that soft power can be implemented. The USA's cultural hegemony can only be explained through the economic and military hegemon it became after the end of the II world war. But as Nye mentions in his book 'Soft power': "The great powers of today are less able to use their traditional power resources to achieve their purposes than in the past. On many issues, private actors and small states have become more powerful".<sup>40</sup> A way to maintain the dominance position states use cultural and political influence to assert their power in no aggressive way. It is through this consensus that the environment for friendship to happen is set. When the conjunction gets close to having peace as the natural state and countries can treat each other as equals, allies can become friends.

### 3.5. Applying perpetual peace to the current conjunction

To address the maximal of the universal hospitality, Roff acknowledges that "yet if we grant that justice is universal, and many of the international treaties and norms regarding the protection of human rights espouse this position, then the state system with its unidirectional focus is incomplete and will only perpetuate problems of justice".<sup>41</sup> Kant was clear about how a foreigner should be treated in another state that is part of that utopic federation of states: "We are speaking here, as in the previous articles, not of

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<sup>39</sup> Nye, 'Soft Power and Higher Education'. P 15

<sup>40</sup> Nye, *Soft Power*. P 8

<sup>41</sup> Roff, *Global Justice, Kant and the Responsibility to Protect*. P 56

philanthropy, but of right; and in this sphere hospitality signifies the claim of a stranger entering foreign territory to be treated by its owner without hostility. The latter may send him away again, if this can be done without causing his death; but, so long as he conducts himself peaceably, he must not be treated as an enemy”.<sup>42</sup> These ideas connect to a concept that Roff identifies as the right to protect. The author brought up the idea of responsibility to protect because of the wars in Syria and Libya after the Arab spring uprisings. However, Roff acknowledged that action like humanitarian intervention – arguably the closest way the responsibility to protect has been carried out – received accusations like having case selectivity, a ruse for power politics, or being a disguise for imperialism.<sup>43</sup>

From a theoretical and social perspective, the responsibility to protect climate migrants seems like a perfect example to apply this theory understanding that it is a form of global justice.

### 3.6. Applying Cosmopolitanism to climate change

In its core, every cosmopolitan argues for a community among all human beings, regardless of social and political affiliation. As discussed above, Kant’s *Perpetual Peace* is the genesis of the cosmopolitan values. What should be shared is simply moral community, which means only that living a good human life requires serving the universal community by helping human beings as such, perhaps by promoting the realization of justice and the guarantee of human rights. In Marxist terms we could talk about class solidarity under the assumption that most of the people who are liable to become climate refugees are the poorest social groups. On cosmopolitanism, Benhabib notes the growth of “democratic forces within global civil society” that are ethically committed to the idea that legal and illegal foreigners should be accorded basic human rights.<sup>44</sup>

In a deeper analysis, Sidney Tarrow distinguishes between what she calls cognitive and relational cosmopolitanism. Cognitive cosmopolitanism requires a conscious recognition by individuals that they are global citizens or citizens of nowhere. As such people only engage consciously in the cosmopolitan view if they actively and deliberately think about themselves as members of a single global community, when they place priority on their commitments to fellow members of that global community, rather than prioritizing

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<sup>42</sup> Kant, *Perpetual Peace*. P 138

<sup>43</sup> Roff, *Global Justice, Kant and the Responsibility to Protect*. P 36

<sup>44</sup> Benhabib, *Another Cosmopolitanism*. P 24

relationships at the local and national levels. But Tarrow argues that this is a very narrow perspective that fails to take into consideration the important relationships that activists develop in multiple locations.

Because of the narrowness of Cognitive cosmopolitanism's definition, Erskine through embedded cosmopolitanism, and Tarrow's through relational cosmopolitanism acknowledge the legitimacy of multiple loyalties. Where cognitive cosmopolitanism requires that individuals to identify themselves as global citizens, relational cosmopolitanism suggests that being loyal to more than one community, culture and location is "just as, if not more, effective in encouraging to global justice and the emergence of cosmopolitan democracy". Tarrow maintains that "the relationship to spaces and places is critical in this understanding of cosmopolitanism".<sup>45</sup>

Other authors, like Koukouzelis, argue that there is a third type of cosmopolitanism that should be part of this academical discussion. The author pointed out that because of the climate change effects that have been largely predicted by the scientific community, like the spread of diseases, lack of water or and the rise of sea levels. can bring deaths and huge migrations. Koukouzelis argued that "the point is that the 'globalization of domination', which characterizes climate change, means that those who have benefited the least from the economic growth over the last century will suffer, on the top of this, the consequences of dislocation and misery".<sup>46</sup>

Koukouzelis considers that cosmopolitanism understood as a normative idea about global justice can offer solutions. The author compartmentalises cosmopolitanism in three forms: "The first form recognizes that we owe other people duties of humanitarian assistance beyond the state, but nothing more".<sup>47</sup> This form is what Tarrow calls cognitive cosmopolitanism. According to Koukouzelis the second form "claims we have duties of justice to other people and the best institutional form would be a cosmopolitan order, either under the constitution of a world state (a solution that could notoriously create more problems for freedom), or under other supranational institutional forms" like what Kant described as a federation of free states.<sup>48</sup> This form described by the author is what Tarrow labels as relational cosmopolitanism.

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<sup>45</sup> Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*. P 13

<sup>46</sup> Koukouzelis, 'Climate Change Social Movements and Cosmopolitanism'. P 2

<sup>47</sup> Koukouzelis, 'Climate Change Social Movements and Cosmopolitanism'. P 3

<sup>48</sup> Koukouzelis, 'Climate Change Social Movements and Cosmopolitanism'. P 3

Regarding the third form, that is also the original contribution Tarrow places, claims that we have cosmopolitan duties of justice and leaves open the floor for the possible institutional form it can take. About this third form of cosmopolitanism Koukouzelis points out that this is also because it sees cosmopolitanism, not only as a normative idea, which must be applied top-down, but also as having a cognitive and an epistemological dimension, which defines the self-understanding of (cosmopolitan) political community. The author names this form of cosmopolitanism as ‘Contestatory Cosmopolitanism’.<sup>49</sup> Koukouzelis’ contestatory cosmopolitanism is defined by four main characteristics: “it is based on a universal value, that is, freedom as non-domination; it is distinctively contestatory, which enhances the cognitive dimension of cosmopolitanism; it challenges the statist logic; and it sees the global social movements’ claims as manifestations of membership rights in humanity”.<sup>50</sup>

When Koukouzelis talks about freedom as non-domination, he refers to it as “independence from the states and other people’s arbitrary will, which may or may not be exercised. It means that one enjoys, in classical republican parlance, the status of being *sui iuris*. Therefore, no one should be able to prescribe the rules of cooperation”. It is through these ideas that the author argues that climate justice movements are mainly “cosmopolitan from below”. From Koukouzelis point of view “climate change is a case of global interdependence that involves our freedom conceived as non-domination. It is such an interdependence that creates relations of justice with rights and obligations”.<sup>51</sup>

Kurasawa argues that the climate justice movement perfectly embraces this idea of cosmopolitanism from below.<sup>52</sup> It shows how this phenomenon happens around the world and becomes a priority for people with different cultural, religious, linguistical and even socioeconomical backgrounds. A common and global concern is shared, and the way action is taken has effects globally, independently that in practice the protests and direct actions happen globally.

The contestatory cosmopolitanism will be the frame that will be used to analyse the global justice related texts. It is also the frame that will be used to evaluate the portrayal of climate migrants and refugees. In a utopian situation from the cosmopolitan perspective,

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<sup>49</sup> Koukouzelis, ‘Climate Change Social Movements and Cosmopolitanism’. P 3

<sup>50</sup> Koukouzelis, ‘Climate Change Social Movements and Cosmopolitanism’. P 4

<sup>51</sup> Koukouzelis, ‘Climate Change Social Movements and Cosmopolitanism’. P 11

<sup>52</sup> Kurasawa, ‘A Cosmopolitanism from Below’. P 12

any stranger entering foreign territory should be treated without hostility, the parameter to analyse the portrayal of migrants will be the proximity to this Kantian ideal.

### 3.7. From global justice to climate justice

The main authors that have researched about global justice are Armstrong, Pogge, and Brock. Armstrong approaches the concept through the principle of distributive global justice. Distributive justice concerns the way in which tells us how benefits and burdens of our lives are shared between us as a species.<sup>53</sup> Armstrong considers this maximal as a principle that tells us how some particular benefit or burden ought to be shared out. Armstrong insists in the fact that distributive justice is not only a principal to deal with economic issue but a more general scope. It is a list of duties and rights that we share as humankind.<sup>54</sup> Brock conceptualizes Global justice from the same perspective as Armstrong enumerating some of its applications like a more equal distribution of resources globally, more global equity and opportunity, universal promotion of human rights, etc; and strongly links it up to cosmopolitanism. In addition, Brock connects the origin of the idea of global justice as a consequence to globalization.

Brock cites Marx, Engels and Lenin as thinkers who presented the idea of economical global justice and cosmopolitanism through the union of the proletariat. Furthermore, Pogge focuses specially in economical global justice: pointing out that “severe poverty causes not only massive under fulfilment of social and economic human rights, such as the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of oneself and one’s family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care”.<sup>55</sup> Pogge focuses in which is the most publicly visible part of global justice accepting the premises of both Armstrong and Brock.

The first time the definition of climate justice that will be used for this paper came into light, was at the United Nations World Summit on Sustainable Development in Bali in June 2002.<sup>56</sup> Concerning that document Bayes defined climate justice as: “taking responsibility of the climate refugees by the polluting countries and rehabilitating them properly”.<sup>57</sup> Global justice is closely associated with Immanuel Kant’s cosmopolitanism,

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<sup>53</sup> Armstrong, Global Distributive Justice. P10

<sup>54</sup> Armstrong, Global Distributive Justice. P11

<sup>55</sup> Pogge, ‘Priorities of Global Justice’; Universal Declaration of Human Rights, §25

<sup>56</sup> UN. Preparatory Committee for the World Summit on Sustainable Development (4th sess.: 2002: Bali, ‘Draft plan of implementation for the World Summit on Sustainable Development (paragraphs 1-15)’.

<sup>57</sup> Bayes, ‘Who Takes Responsibility for the Climate Refugees?’ P 41

that promotes the idea that relationships of responsibility on moral issues beyond the borders of local and national communities.<sup>58</sup> To understand the importance of climate justice as a cosmopolitan ideal that all humankind has to face certain situations as one the UN's Human Development Report for 2007 underlined that "Climate change is the defining human development challenge of the 21<sup>st</sup> century". Failure to respond to that challenge will stall and then reverse international efforts to reduce poverty. The poorest countries and most vulnerable citizens will suffer the earliest and most damaging consequences of climate change, even though they have contributed least to the problem. "Looking to the future, no country—however wealthy or powerful— will be immune to the impact of global warming".<sup>59</sup>

About this issue Saunders and Price consider that in this respect, "justice globalism responds to market globalism's social contradictions, between market freedom and social inequality. As with all ideologies, justice globalism is constituted through its internal dialogues as well as in antagonism with others".<sup>60</sup> Furthermore, Goodman argues that justice globalism offers "a broad umbrella, accommodating a range of positions, from globalist reformism to trans-localist refusal, to transformational post-capitalism".<sup>61</sup> On how Justice globalism it is ideologically and politically executed, Goodman explains that it "sets a space for those who believe in a reformist adaptation of market globalism who take a Cosmo-political orientation, offering the possibility of re-grounding the legitimacy of globalising institutions".<sup>62</sup> Additionally, Holloway argues that it also opens an ideological space for those who refuse trans-local action "a co-articulated resistance identity that rejects elite cosmo-politics in favour of grounded diversity. Post-capitalist transformation more ambitiously deepens globalism from below via a wholesale paradigm shift away from commodification towards the "commons.""<sup>63</sup>

Global justice has been related to climate change by many authors. It is the case of Moellendorf who stands by the idea that "justice involves moral considerations regarding relationships between people or between people mediated by institutions and policies, and that therefore this is the case with global justice as well".<sup>64</sup> He asseverates that

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<sup>58</sup> Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*.

<sup>59</sup> United Nations, 'Human Development Report 2007/8'.

<sup>60</sup> Saunders and Price, 'One Person's Eu-Topia, Another's Hell'.

<sup>61</sup> Goodman, 'From Global Justice to Climate Justice?'

<sup>62</sup> Goodman, 'Contesting Corporate Globalism'.

<sup>63</sup> Holloway, 'Change the World without Taking Power'.

<sup>64</sup> Moellendorf, 'Climate Change and Global Justice'.

“climate change related threats are not simply acts of God, but the result of energy use and multiple uncoordinated energy policies in countries and provinces throughout the world. When people in an American city turn on the air conditioning or people in Europe drive their cars, their actions have consequences. Those consequences link them to rural communities in Bangladesh, farmers in Ethiopia, and slum dwellers in Haiti”.<sup>65</sup> In the end of the day, the question of who is responsible for the costs of climate change, including the costs of adapting to it, would appear then to be a significant concern of global justice and how it should be applied.

Moellendorf dissects how these responsibilities as rights and duties should be executed. One of the more obvious and that can pop into anyone’s mind is the principal of historical emissions. However, the author conditions it on whether this principle should be applied from a fault or non-fault perspective. If the agent – company, state or individual – can be proven as the issuer of the pollution, did voluntarily and was aware of the consequences of the actions carried out should be held responsible from a fault perspective. Nevertheless, Moellendorf points out that “by assigning responsibility only to those who voluntarily and knowingly create problems, we establish a system of incentives that reduces the incidence of such misdoing and we lower the incidence of externalities, the costs of misdeeds being passed along to others”.<sup>66</sup>

Because of the problems that a fault approach carries, Moellendorf advocates for a non-fault conception of the issue: “One such an account could be developed on the basis of a conception of strict liability, which holds agents responsible if they caused the problem, regardless of whether they acted with knowledge. Given the problems with the knowledge condition in the case of climate change, strict liability might seem to be a better basis for the polluter-pays-principle.”<sup>67</sup>

In order to mention a right that carries duties within itself, Moellendorf proposes the idea of the right of sustainable development, especially for the poorest states. “In order for poverty eradicating development to occur in a sustainable context, developed states will have either to make especially deep cuts in their emissions to allow emissions growth in

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<sup>65</sup> Moellendorf, ‘Climate Change and Global Justice’ P 53

<sup>66</sup> Moellendorf, ‘Climate Change and Global Justice’ P 53

<sup>67</sup> Moellendorf, ‘Climate Change and Global Justice’ P 54

the developing world or to transfer resources, technology and intellectual property so that economic growth can be achieved without growth in emissions”.<sup>68</sup>

Related to the concept of climate justice, Harris introduces the concept of environmental justice. The core idea is that environmental benefits and burdens are shared and distributed under the same logic that global justice applies. This movement appeared in the United States as a way of identifying and protesting the environmental burdens that certain communities located near landfills and polluting industries had to deal with.<sup>69</sup> Harris also points out that “today, environmental justice is increasingly viewed as an important consideration in domestic environmental policy making in most countries. Recognition that it is the poor and the weak that bear most of the burdens of environmental pollution has been applied to the relation among states as well”.<sup>70</sup>

### 3.8. Current examples of climate justice

Regarding the 2007 UN report, from Goodman’s perspective “the asymmetries of cause and effect in climate change directly reflect global development divides, making the question of how to address climate change unalterably a question of justice”.<sup>71</sup> Because of this Goodman stands up for Justice Globalism: McMichael defines it as an ideological orientation that offers the possibility of embedding markets in society, rather than embedding society in markets. In this respect, justice globalism responds to market globalism’s social contradictions, between market freedom and social inequality”.<sup>72</sup> As Wilson points out “justice globalists are primarily concerned with whether existing structures and processes in global society uphold or undermine existing structures of global governance”.<sup>73</sup> It is important to acknowledge that predominantly, scholars and activists who focus on global justice are concerned with issues of extreme poverty, hunger, conflict, mass human rights abuses, and the unequal use of and damage that can be caused by the global environmental change.

### 3.9. Conclusions

The current Global justice-debate has its roots in Kant’s cosmopolitanism. Being a global citizen, a Cosmopolitan, and constructing an identity based on the core idea that one is

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<sup>68</sup> Moellendorf, ‘Climate Change and Global Justice’ P 55

<sup>69</sup> Harris, *World Ethics and Climate Change*. P 58

<sup>70</sup> Harris, *World Ethics and Climate Change*. P 59

<sup>71</sup> Goodman, ‘From Global Justice to Climate Justice?’ P 21

<sup>72</sup> McMichael, ‘Globalization: Myths and Realities’. P 11

<sup>73</sup> Wilson, ‘The SAGE Handbook of Globalization’. P 168



part of the human race overall, can be traced back to Diogenes in the fifth century B.C. However, it was Immanuel Kant who established the foundation of what we currently understand as cosmopolitanism and its major political consequence, global justice. In order to apply a global justice perspective to policies, research, etc., it is important to recognize all humankind as a whole, that organized in different forms of state has to face as a whole problems that affect equally all the population.

To move forward with the research, it is important to acknowledge that the cosmopolitan ideas that will be applied in this paper are those related to contestatory cosmopolitanism. The ideas of freedom as non-domination, challenging the statist logic, and acknowledging the social movements as agents will be key in the media analysis carried out in the primary source research. Regarding the global justice issue, the perspective that will be applied is the non-fault analysis, because agents should be held responsible if they cause a problem, regardless of whether they acted with knowledge. It is with this premise that a climate justice perspective will be applied.

## 4. Securitization theory and Agenda Setting

### 4.1. The securitization theory

Securitization is a chain of political processes that decision makers do to solve political issues that are constituted as extreme security issues to be dealt with urgently. An issue can be labelled as ‘dangerous’, ‘menacing’, ‘threatening’, ‘alarming’ and so on by a ‘securitising actor’ – that can be the press, lobbies, social movements, or the government’s political opposition, for example – who has the social and institutional power to move the issue beyond politics.<sup>74</sup> So, security issues are not simply ‘out there’ but rather must be articulated as problems by securitising actors.<sup>75</sup> The school of thought that wrote the foundation of the securitization theory is the Copenhagen school of security and its authors will shape the conclusions drawn out of this chapter.

As the Copenhagen school authors argue, Eroukhmanoff, on the Securitization theory, points out that “national security policy is not a natural given, but carefully designated by politicians and decision-makers”. According to securitisation theory, political issues are constituted as extreme security issues to be dealt with urgently when they have been labelled as ‘dangerous’, ‘menacing’, ‘threatening’, ‘alarming’ and so on by a ‘securitising actor’ who has the social and institutional power to move the issue ‘beyond politics’.<sup>76</sup> Security issues are not simply ‘out there’ but rather must be articulated as problems by securitising actors. In that matter Eroukhmanoff argues that “calling immigration, a ‘threat to national security’, for instance, shifts immigration from a low priority political concern to a high priority issue that requires action. Securitisation theory challenges traditional approaches to security in IR and asserts that issues are not essentially threatening in themselves; rather, it is by referring to them as ‘security’ issues that they become security problems”.<sup>77</sup>

One of the founders of this research school is Ole Wæver. The author points out that a security issue is defined as something that threatens the political system of a state and “alters the premises for all other questions.”<sup>78</sup> Security is typically defined in the literature as freedom from threat, both objectively and subjectively. Wæver argues that “threats

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<sup>74</sup> Eroukhmanoff, ‘Securitisation Theory’ P 15

<sup>75</sup> Eroukhmanoff, ‘Securitisation Theory’. P 15

<sup>76</sup> Eroukhmanoff, ‘Securitisation Theory’. P 17

<sup>77</sup> Eroukhmanoff, ‘Securitisation Theory’. P 18

<sup>78</sup> Stoessinger, ‘Discord and Collaboration’. P 27

seen as relevant are, for the most part, those that effect the self-determination and sovereignty of the unit. Survival might sound overly dramatic, but it is, in fact, the survival of the unit as a basic political unit, a sovereign state, that is the key”.<sup>79</sup> This approach shows how threats are, overall, a perception way more than a reality. If a state or a part of it perceives a migration, certain type of crime or some other nation’s actions as a threat against its integrity or survival, it will securitize itself against it independently if that threat is real or not.

In this context, some actors give security while others receive it, security creates unequal power dynamics among citizens. To offer an example, in the context of the War on Terror, someone who has an Arab appearance has been seen as a potentially dangerous ‘other,’ and surveillance activities in Muslim communities have increased under the assumption that due to the fact they fit certain characteristics, they could potentially be linked to terrorism. Monitoring turns into a tool for maintaining control and a source of unease. In situations like this, securitization theory evolved and expanded the definition of security to include additional referent objects outside the state. Anything that is threatened and needs to be secured is referred to as a referent object, which is a key concept in securitization.<sup>80</sup>

#### *4.1.1. Securitization and migration*

When facing migration waves, some countries tend to securitize themselves. This can be established through a strict border policy or citizenship access, for example. One of the premises this research works with is that states, media, and the general population might perceive the chance of receive a climate migration wave or be part of it as a security problem. This mistrust on the arrival of migrations – way more than the chance of having part of its population being forced to migrate - can push states like Spain or the United Kingdom to securitize themselves. On this matter, Sasse establishes that “migration is not only a result of global or state-based changes but also is a powerful motor of change. Migration brings change to the sending and receiving societies and shapes the relationship between both states. Thus, migration has a sub-national, national, and international impact”.<sup>81</sup> The possibility of this change can be perceived as a threat to the security of the state hence it can be perceived as menace to the nation’s survival, integrity or even

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<sup>79</sup> Wæver, *Securitization and Desecuritization*. P 9

<sup>80</sup> Eroukhmanoff, ‘*Securitisation Theory*’. P 22

<sup>81</sup> Sasse, ‘*Securitization or Securing Rights?*’ P 6

‘pureness’. It is when states start to perceive these migrations as a threat that they securitize themselves.

In Sasse’s opinion, the inherently international dimension of migration explains the policy engagement of the EU in this area. In the EU there are three main ways to deal with migrants and refugees once they are in the country: assimilation (France), the guest worker (Gastarbeiter) system which restrict immigrants’ access to citizenship and political rights (Germany), and accommodative policies ranging from welfare provisions in Sweden and pillarization in the Netherlands to an emphasis on integration and relatively easy access to citizenship in the UK.<sup>82</sup>

The main issue about migration in the EU, nevertheless, has always been getting there more than becoming a citizen once a life is built in the country. The concept of the securitization of migration originated in the Copenhagen School of security studies and the scholarly work of Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver.<sup>83</sup> In the framework of the securitization theory, security was considered as a fundamental national need and a variable that can be clearly defined and measured. Buzan and Wæver interpreted security as a relative variable defined by the susceptibility of the threatened and the magnitude of the threat. To Buzan, security is regarded, not in the realistic material sense, but as a social construction of certain logical procedure: the process of securitization through specific speech acts. Specifically, an object is defined as a security threat through speech and discourse.<sup>84</sup> Buzan framing of the issue will be key to understand the agenda setting approach of this research on the portrayal of climate refugees. The idea that security is a cognitive construction rather than a reaction to reality is one of this project’s main assumptions.

Wæver introduced the concept of societal security. The author points out that if the societal sector is securitized in an unsophisticated way, however, the result could be used to legitimize reactionary arguments for, on the one hand, defining immigrants and refugees as security problems and, on the other, presenting European integration as a national security threat. Conversely, “societal security” could end as an absurd attempt to tell people who feel insecure that they really should not. Wæver distinguishes between

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<sup>82</sup> Sasse, ‘Securitization or Securing Rights?’ P 8

<sup>83</sup> Asderaki and Markozani, ‘The Securitization of Migration and the 2015 Refugee Crisis’. P 23

<sup>84</sup> Buzan et al., Security. P 14

two different kinds of securitization: traditional state centric, critical wider security concepts, and proposes a third, the speech act approach.<sup>85</sup>

In the traditional state-centric standpoint, “societal security” can come to entail making the state secure against society, against the types of scenarios in which a state’s society disintegrates or turns against it. Furthermore, for a community that lacks a state or is a minority inside a state, its strengthening may be viewed as a security issue by the state.<sup>86</sup> The traditional-critical approach of widening the concept of security is likely to become bogged down in dispute over whether, for example, immigrants and refugees truly constitute a security threat to the state. A societal security discourse may subsequently be captured by neo-nazis who claim, “We are only defending our societal security,” or it may end up as a pedagogical endeavour attempting to convince people that, despite their fears, there is no security crisis.<sup>87</sup>

What Wæver proposes is an alternative approach to security that he calls Speech act. “Such an approach implies that we must take seriously concerns about identity but have also to study the specific and often problematic effects of their being framed as security issues. We also must look at the possibilities of handling some of these problems in non-security terms, that is, to take on the problems, but leave them unsecuritized”. This latter approach recognizes that social processes are already under way, whereby societies have begun to thematize themselves as security agents that are under threat. This process of social construction can be studied, and the security quality of the phenomenon understood, without thereby actually legitimizing it. With the “as much security as possible” approach, this is hard to handle: one will have either to denounce such issues as not being security phenomena “misperceptions”, or one will be pulled into the process as co-securitizer”.<sup>88</sup> Through this approach, the author expects to make sure that society’s security is closely related to, but separate from, political security. Political security is concerned with the organizational stability of states, government systems, and the ideologies that give governments and states legitimacy.

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<sup>85</sup> Wæver, *Securitization and Desecuritization*. P 14

<sup>86</sup> Wæver, *Securitization and Desecuritization*. P 15

<sup>87</sup> Wæver, *Securitization and Desecuritization*. P 15

<sup>88</sup> Wæver, *Securitization and Desecuritization*. P 16

#### 4.1.2. *Securitization and climate change*

In the 1980's decade, according to Wæver, the idea of nonmilitary aspects of security guaranteed suspicions on the status quo. The author points out that the elites perceived this idea of security threatening. The reasoning was the following: "security is a broad concept and, therefore, many things are threatening in security terms; in the light of a broader perspective, there exists a biased distribution of resources toward military concerns; and this bias is relevant only for a limited portion of security threats as defined in this broader sense".<sup>89</sup> In Wæver's opinion, accepting such an expansion, and admitting to skewed resource allocation, would undoubtedly be perceived as a threat to elite security prerogatives. However, with the fall of the Berlin Wall, security agencies began to embrace the idea of such alternatives to maintain their own societal relevance while also offering jobs to "security studies" and "strategic studies" analysts. The journal of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, *Western security thought*, was published in late 1989 and addressed "Nonmilitary Aspects of Strategy." Articles in the journal explored a wide range of challenges, including the economy, the environment, migration, and drugs, in pursuit of new security issues to replace old ones. Environmental security concepts also emerged at the political level, such as when James Baker, Secretary of State in the Bush Administration, identified environmental issues as "threats to the security of our citizens," and it used the term "environmental security".<sup>90</sup>

Following that thread, Barry Buzan pointed out that national security wields great influence as an instrument of social and political mobilization and, therefore, "the obvious reason for putting environmental issues into the security agenda is the possible magnitude of the threats posed, and the need to mobilize urgent and unprecedented responses to them. The security label is a useful way both of signalling bias in danger and setting priority, and for this reason alone it is likely to persist in the environmental debates".<sup>91</sup> Regarding securitization against the climate change, Richard Moss was concerned on the fact that the term security tends to imply defence against something, and in that context this security must be provided by the state. On that issue, Moss pointed out that "The most serious consequence of thinking of global change and other environmental problems as threats to security is that the sorts of centralized governmental responses by powerful and autonomous state organizations that are appropriate for security threats are

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<sup>89</sup> Wæver, *Securitization and Desecuritization*. P12

<sup>90</sup> Wæver, *Securitization and Desecuritization*. P 13

<sup>91</sup> Buzan et al., *Security*. P 16

inappropriate for addressing most environmental problems. When one is reacting to the threat of organized external violence, military and intelligence institutions are empowered to take the measures required to repel the threat. By this same logic, when responding to environmental threats, response by centralized regulatory agencies would seem to be logical. Unfortunately, in most cases this sort of response is not the most efficient or effective way of addressing environmental problems, particularly those that have a global character”.<sup>92</sup> This dissonance between the world’s current political organization and the needs for a cosmopolitan approach to issues like climate change is the biggest problem this research has. Moss points out a problem that can only be solved following Kant’s path to perpetual peace. A process that currently is utopian and shows the complexity of such an ambitious approach.

Environmental issues, according to authors such as Buzan and Moss, should be regarded as part of the economic field. “The security label represents a single solution”, says Buzan, but he prefers the alternative: To “identify environmental issues as part of the economic agenda”, which has the advantage of placing the issue at the centre of the most pertinent action. Making producers, consumers, tax collectors, and economists account for environmental costs may be more beneficial than empowering the state with emergency powers derived from a war analogy. It might be claimed that process-type risks are better solved by economic process-type remedies than by security logic’s statist answers.

As Brzoska affirms, the securitization dynamics that can be expected from the climate change are like the ones that happened during the cold war: Originally a political dispute over the organization of societies, the East-West clash evolved in the late 1940s into an existential battle that was largely addressed with military means, including the probable annihilation of humanity. Efforts to end the political war were prioritized over increasing military capabilities throughout the majority of the Cold War. Michael Brzoska’s opinion is that Climate change may suffer a similar fate: “An essentially political problem concerning the distribution of the costs of prevention and adaptation and the losses and gains in income arising from change in the human environment might be perceived as intractable, thus necessitating the build-up of military and police forces to prevent it from becoming a major security problem. The portrayal of climate change as a security problem could cause the richer countries in the global North, which are less affected by

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<sup>92</sup> Moss, ‘Environmental Security?’ P 21

it, to strengthen measures aimed at protecting them from the spill over of violent conflict from the poorer countries in the global South that will be most affected by climate change. It could also be used by major powers as a justification for improving their military preparedness against the other major powers, thus leading to arms races”.<sup>93</sup> Moss’s pessimistic point of view shows how currently an active cosmopolitan switch has to happen in order to apply the global hospitality maximal, an issue that has been proven to be critical on this matter.

The author is quite pessimistic about this approach and foreshadows two main issues in it. The first is “more border protection, as well as more soldiers and arms, is expensive, the financial means to compensate for the negative economic effects of reducing greenhouse gas emission and adapting to climate change will be reduced” and the second “the acceptance of the security consequences of climate change as an intractable problem could well reduce efforts to find peaceful solutions to the conflicts that will inevitably come with climate change”.<sup>94</sup>

In a context where, especially in Europe and the states that will be subject of study for this paper, migrations are securitized both through exceptional and structural measures, climate migrations are no exception. The researcher Maria Julia Trombetta highlights that “security is not only about exceptional measures but also about the perpetration of practices – enacted for instance by police – that makes security measures operable and normal”. As Trombetta points out “even if some of the appeals to consider environmental migration as a security issue call for environmental measures and solidarity, these measures have to be implemented in a context in which migration is considered a security issue and governed accordingly”.<sup>95</sup> Although the first type of study examines the effects of alarming claims and authoritative speech acts that transform the way a problem is dealt with, the latter investigates ordinary process that by regarding an issue in a specific way - involving law enforcement and surveillance, for example - solidifies the perception that it is a threat.

In that sense Dufied and Evans claim that “the human security paradigm is often considered a way to escape the confrontational, problematic logic of national security through a focus on human needs. It will be shown that human security discourses hide

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<sup>93</sup> Brzoska, ‘The Securitization of Climate Change and the Power of Conceptions of Security’. P1

<sup>94</sup> Brzoska, ‘The Securitization of Climate Change and the Power of Conceptions of Security’. P2

<sup>95</sup> Trombetta, ‘Linking Climate-Induced Migration and Security within the EU’. P 16



different problems, not only because they tend to disempower people involved but also because human security is turning into a strategy to govern at distance keeping people in places”.<sup>96</sup> Following that thread it is important to acknowledge that authors like Black claimed that, while environmental deterioration and disasters may be major variables in migration decisions and issues of concern in their own right, conceptualizing them as primary causes of forced relocation is unhelpful and unsound intellectually, and unnecessary in practice.<sup>97</sup>

#### *4.1.3. Cosmopolitanism and desecuritization*

As mentioned above, Trombetta considers that, even if some of the requests to consider environmental migration as a security issue call for environmental measures and solidarity, these actions must be executed in a setting where migration is regarded as a security issue and managed accordingly. In this context, from a realist approach, there is not much to say, apart from the fact that, probably climate migrants and refugees will be treated in a similar way as the war refugees and economic migrants that try to cross the Mediterranean every day.

It is in this issue where this research intends to offer a new perspective. By applying cosmopolitan ideas to the securitization towards migration policies it can revert these tendencies. Aradau criticizes the duality between securitization and desecuritization because the author considers it problematic. In ‘Security and the democratic scene: desecuritization and emancipation’ he argues that “securitization is defined by the ‘extraordinary defensive moves’, the emergency actions undertaken by institutions and various security actors. Successful securitization implies extraordinary measures, a breaking of ‘normal political rules of the game’”.<sup>98</sup> Aradau reasons for a democratizing security and considers emancipation and security two sides of the same coin: “emancipation means freeing people, as individuals and groups, from the social, physical, economic, political, and other constraints that stop them from carrying out what they would freely choose to do, of which war, poverty, oppression, and poor education are a few. Security and emancipation are in fact two sides of the same coin. It is emancipation, not power and order, in both theory and practice, that leads to stable security”.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Duffield and Evans, ‘Biospheric Security’.P 12

<sup>97</sup> Black, ‘Environmental Refugees’. P 10

<sup>98</sup> Aradau, ‘Security and the Democratic Scene. P3

<sup>99</sup> Aradau, ‘Security and the Democratic Scene’. P10

Aradau underlines ideas that match perfectly with the global citizenship proposed by Kant. It is through cosmopolitan ideas that desecuritization, understood as changing the perception of certain processes or events such as climate migration, from menaces to situations to adapt to, can be a key factor on how we face such an inevitable event. In the international sphere, the friendship theory makes a perfect example of it. Friendship between states needs an emancipation between the members of the mentioned friendship. It is through this emancipation and reciprocal recognition that states make an act of friendship and desecuritize form each other making an act of solidarity and mutual confidence. In this context climate refugees could be considered an actor that the international community and states individually could craft a friendship act.

## 4.2. The media agenda-setting theory

McCombs is the author who has had the biggest impact in the agenda setting theory. Since the 1990's decade, he has carried through different case studies and revisited the theory, alongside some peers, several times to adapt it to the changes the media world has experimented. In the theoretical concepts' definitions, the following extract is used to define what the media agenda setting is, but the concept needs to be dissected in a deeper way: "The repetition of messages about public issues in the news day after day, along with the pervasiveness of the mass media in our daily lives, constitute a major source of journalism's influence on the audience. The incidental nature of this learning, in turn, helps issues to move rather quickly from the media agenda to the public agenda. It is important to note, nevertheless, that agenda-setting does not overturn or nullify the basic assumption of democracy that the people at large have sufficient wisdom to determine the course of their nation, their state, and their local communities".<sup>100</sup>

### 4.2.1. *Setting the agenda*

The first issue to be considered regarding the media agenda setting theory is that is a consequence of the activities carried out by the mass media. One of the most visible effects media have in the formation of public opinion is the ability to move the focus of the public attention. McCobms argues that is not a "direct influence on attitudes and opinions which was the main focus of media-effects, research un the 1940s and 1950s

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<sup>100</sup> McCombs & Valenzuela. 'The Agenda-Setting Theory'. P2

decades”.<sup>101</sup> Media set an agenda through “the repetition of messages about public issues in the news day after day, along with the pervasiveness of the mass media in our daily lives, constitute a major source of journalism’s influence on the audience. The incidental nature of this learning, in turn, helps issues to move rather quickly from the media agenda to the public agenda”.<sup>102</sup>

However, McCombs points out that, for example, despite extensive news coverage that has been characterized as “all Monica, all the time,” the U.S. media’s spectacular inability to set the agenda and change public opinion during the Clinton-Lewinsky sex scandal speaks loudly about the limits of media dominance. This shouldn’t come as a surprise because agenda-setting doesn’t undermine or invalidate democracy’s fundamental tenet that the general populace is wise enough to steer the course of their country, state, and local communities.<sup>103</sup>

The news media’s agenda-setting impact is not limited to focusing public attention on a specific group of concerns; it also shapes our comprehension and perspective on the topics in the news. This becomes evident when we consider the concept of an agenda in general. In theory, the elements that define an agenda are referred to as “objects.” Most agenda-setting research focuses on public concerns, but they could also be prominent individuals, organizations, countries, or anything else that draws attention. Each of these items, in turn, has a plethora of “attributes,” or features and traits that characterize and define its nature. While some characteristics are highlighted, others are given less emphasis, and many are given no consideration at all. The properties of all items vary in the same way that their salience does. Therefore, there is an agenda of traits for each object, which is an essential component of what journalists and, later, the general population have in mind when they think about and discuss news objects.

The agenda-setting role of the mass media converges with many other paradigms in the communication field, including framing, priming, gatekeeping, cultivation, and the spiral of silence. A common definition of framing states that a media frame is a “central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration”.<sup>104</sup> Gandy and Grant add to this definition a that “Frames constitute organizing principles that are widely

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<sup>101</sup> McCombs and Valenzuela, ‘The Agenda-Setting Theory’. P 3

<sup>102</sup> McCombs and Valenzuela, ‘The Agenda-Setting Theory’. P 4

<sup>103</sup> McCombs and Valenzuela, ‘The Agenda-Setting Theory’. P 6

<sup>104</sup> Tankard, Media Frames. P 8

accepted and persistent over time, and they work conceptually to effectively shape the social world”.<sup>105</sup>

Until 1970, the most common question was “who sets the public agenda?” The research line changed in the 80’s decades and focused on “who sets the press agenda?”. As McCobs points out: “the pattern of news coverage that defines the media’s agenda results from exchanges with sources that provide information for news stories, daily interactions among news organizations themselves, and journalism’s norms and traditions. The latter is at the core of these factors of influence because the press itself is the final arbiter of what goes on the news agenda, of which events and issues will be reported and how they will be reported”.<sup>106</sup>

These norms influence journalists since media monitors what their competence does. When a story gets the spotlight, news channels follow the trend by confirming, nuancing, or offering new perspectives and reactions to that information. Exploring the link between public officials and the press converges with another area of agenda-setting research, that of policy agenda setting, the process by which governments make decisions about which social issues will be the focus of attention and action.<sup>107</sup> Another key influence on the news agenda is the vast network of public relations practitioners, both in the private and public sector, who provide substantial amounts of organized information, frequently in the form of press and video news releases, news conferences, planned events and background briefings.

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<sup>105</sup> Gandy and Grant, *Framing Public Life*. P 12

<sup>106</sup> McCombs and Valenzuela, ‘The Agenda-Setting Theory’. P 6

<sup>107</sup> Walgrave and Van Aelst, ‘The Contingency of the Mass Media’s Political Agenda Setting Power’. P 2

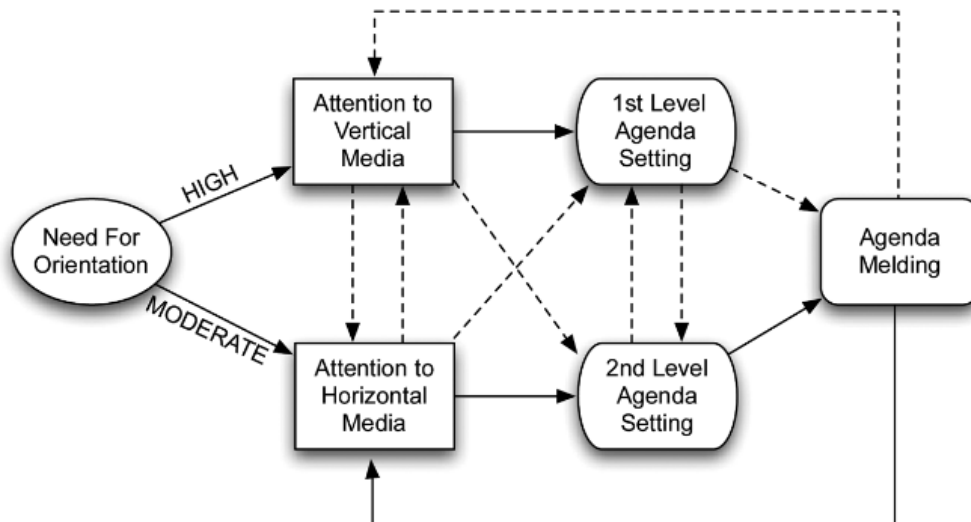


FIGURE 1 David H. Weaver's need for orientation model (March 2013).

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#### 4.2.2. *The effects in states' securitization*

The Chilean investigative television newsmagazine “Contacto” aired a report on Paidós, a large worldwide child pornography network. The documentary discovered that one of Paidós’ commanders was a Chilean man who worked for the Municipality of La Florida, a large Santiago suburb. Rafael Humberto Maureira, a.k.a. Zacarach, took youngsters to school in his minivan in his leisure time. Zacarach and numerous other child molesters were apprehended as a result of the story. Following the broadcast of the story by Canal 13, some parent teacher organizations (PTAs) requested local authorities to conduct background checks on school bus drivers. Congress, on the other hand, has been preoccupied with child pornography legislation. It passed legislation prohibiting child pornography and other sex crimes in 2004. Meanwhile, Chileans grew accustomed to seeing and reading news articles about additional episodes of paedophilia, including one involving a former senator. In short, “Contacto” was successful in drawing the attention of authorities, law enforcement agencies, Congress, and the public to the issue of child pornography. In that case, Chile, as state, because of a news story, securitized itself against child pornography. In this case a real, but uncommon and hidden, menace got the spotlight and therefore, the state reinforced the security against it. One of the main

<sup>108</sup> McCombs, Shaw, and Weaver, ‘New Directions in Agenda-Setting Theory and Research’. P 8

questions of this research is find out if a similar process is happening towards climate migrants.

#### *4.2.3. Limitations of the theory*

The main critique with most of the agenda setting studies is that only considers the traditional media. Most of them were held before the creation of Facebook so these studies can't consider this issue. Recently authors like Grzywińska and Borden have reflected on how social media affects the agenda setting theory and draw interesting conclusions. The entrance of social media showed that media are not the only agent in the agenda setting.<sup>109</sup> Grzywińska and Borden found out that “despite this meagre coverage, the Occupy Wall Street movement nevertheless took root in the public consciousness during their first week until September 24<sup>th</sup>, when YouTube footage of an activist being pepper sprayed by an officer of the New York Police Department went viral. From that moment the movement began to accumulate an ever more significant presence in the traditional news cycle, including traditional media coverage of the arrest of over 700 people on the Brooklyn Bridge on October 1<sup>st</sup> and riots during the protests in Oakland at the end of October”.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Konteksty, ‘How the Emergence of Social Networking Sites Challenges Agenda-Setting Theory’ P 9

<sup>110</sup> Grzywinska and Borden, ‘The Impact of Social Media on Traditional Media Agenda Setting Theory’. P 13

## 5. Comparing Spain and UK

### 5.1. Securitization acts

Spain and the United Kingdom are two states that have securitized themselves towards migration. Brexit, and the main arguments used by its promoters are a clear case of securitization. Under the slogan “Vote leave, take control” the parties in favour of Brexit build the perception that the lack of control of the migration policies and an unfair contribution to the European Union funding were an issue for the U.K. national integrity. As Noda points out “Immigration is a variable that touches both arenas, as it is extensively mentioned in their discourse. The main argument here is that as long as the UK remains in the EU, even though it is not part of the Schengen zone – which allows a free flow of people within the countries that integrate it –, the number of migrants coming from the EU and settling in the UK is out of British control”.<sup>111</sup> In the cited paper, Noda digs in a more detailed way how Britain used Brexit as a what, in terms of the Copenhagen School is a clear case of an ‘extraordinary defensive move’.

If the U.K. and the Brexit are a paradigmatical case of securitization as an exceptional act, Spain’s securitization acts answer to a structural behaviour. To provide an example, Fauser shows how in 2004, after an Al Qaeda terrorist attack in Madrid Spain securitized itself against terrorism but not against migration: “Spain, though it was also directly affected by international terrorism in March 2004 when almost 200 people died at the train station of Atocha, comparable measures or legislation was not discussed, at least not concerning immigration. But the Spanish government made use of the situation on the national and international level in their combat domestic terrorism of ETA”.<sup>112</sup> Nevertheless, Spain’s scrutinization towards migrants is more structural. Every irregular migrant that arrives in Spain must stay in a CIE (Foreigners Internment Centre). Specially those who cross the Mediterranean to get to the south of the country or those who sail from continental Africa to the Canary Islands, in front of the coast of Morocco. As Jesús Manuel Lora Crovetto explains in his PhD Thesis, the CIE facilities and how are they used to limit immigrants’ freedom of action and movement in the country is an issue that the United Nations human rights committee has identified as problematic.<sup>113</sup> In the case

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<sup>111</sup> Noda, ‘London Walling’.

<sup>112</sup> Fauser, ‘Transnational Migration—A National Security Risk?’

<sup>113</sup> Lora Crovetto, ‘La realidad de los CIE en España’.

of Ceuta and Melilla, the only land border the EU has in Africa, the practice of the border rejections has become a usual practice to prevent irregular migration in Spain.<sup>114</sup> The construction of massive fences around both cities that are heavily protected by both Spanish and Moroccan military show how Spain “explicitly and structurally” protects itself no matter the feeling of emergency that exists on the issue.

## 5.2. Introduction to the four newspapers

The newspapers selected are four national, well established newspapers with a high average of daily readers. According to 2021 data from PAMCo (the audience measurement company for publishers), The Guardian had a 3.2m monthly print and an 18.4m monthly digital readership. These figures compare very positively to the other quality dailies in the United Kingdom. The paper reached 113m unique browsers around the world each month on average.<sup>115</sup> The Times has an average paper circulation of 365,880 units every day in the United Kingdom.<sup>116</sup> El Mundo and El País show similar audiences, with 17,3 million unique users visiting El País’ website every month and 16,5 million for El Mundo in 2022.<sup>117</sup>

El País has been the reference progressist newspaper in Spain since the end of Franco’s dictatorship. Since the 1980’s decade is also the newspaper with more readers and has been the main agenda setter in the press for 40 years. The newspaper links with the social-democratic party have never been hidden by any of the parts. Both follow similar agendas in many issues that concern economy, migration, and climate change to name a few. Founded in 1972, belongs to the PRISA group, one of the biggest media and editorial holdings in Spain. El Mundo is a traditionally conservative newspaper. Considered as the voice of the conservative sectors of the country it is recognized by its rather moderate tone. Even though the conservative perspectives are clear and its links with the traditional right-wing parties are quite explicit. The newspaper suffered an important credibility crisis in 2004. The newspaper claimed that the terrorist attack that happened in Madrid a week before the elections was perpetrated by ETA, the Basque nationalist terrorist group, as the conservative Prime Minister José Maria Aznar claimed. Hours later, the police disproved El Mundo’s headline and the Prime Minister showing proves that Al Qaeda

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<sup>114</sup> Escamilla and Tomás, ‘La vulneración de derechos en la frontera sur’.

<sup>115</sup> media-studies, ‘The Guardian Newspaper | Audience and Media Industry Analysis’.

<sup>116</sup> Correspondent, ‘The Times and The Sunday Times Hit Record 16m Readers a Month’.

<sup>117</sup> Dir confidencial, ‘El País cierra el año como líder en audiencia de la prensa digital’.



planted the bombs that killed 200 people in the Atocha station in Madrid on March 11<sup>th</sup>, 2004. Founded in 1989 belongs to a relatively small communication group called Unidad Editorial.

The Guardian is a progressist British newspaper founded in 1821 as The Manchester Guardian. It shares a progressist and centre-left ideology with El País, being one of the worldwide social democracy/labourism main media. It is usually sensitive with social issues and is likely to frame the information published on the mention centre-left discourse. The Guardian is the main publication of its own media group which is one of the biggest in the United Kingdom. The Times is a daily national newspaper based in London. It was founded in 1785 under the title The Daily Universal Register, adopting its current name on 1 January 1788. The Times and its sister paper The Sunday Times (founded in 1821) are published by Times Newspapers, since 1981 a subsidiary of News UK, in turn wholly owned by News Corp, one of the biggest communications multinational clusters and one of the most influential media groups in the world.

### 5.3. Comparison between the approaches in the UK and Spain

Climate refugees are discussed earlier and more frequently in the U.K. than in Spain. The Guardian is by far the newspaper that has published more articles about climate refugees during the period studied. Further in the paper the macro data will be discussed but it is important to underline that The Guardian placed climate refugees in the agenda for the first time in 2005. The progressist British newspaper is the one that has been more constant in placing articles and adds up for the few times The Times has done it. In the other side the newspapers in Spain started later but both El País and El Mundo are increasing the frequency on how much the issue is placed in the agenda every year.

Nevertheless, overall Spain portrays climate migrants in a more positive way than the U.K. media does. Even though in general in The Guardian the portrayal is positive and in an important percentage of the news analysed in this newspaper the climate migrants are portrayed as people with names and surnames that must be relocated due to issues related to human action and climate change, the more negative framing of The Times in the few news published creates a more distort image. In the other hand both El Mundo and El País have an approach that gets closer to one The Guardian has. For example, in the piece of news “Refugiados invisibles y migraciones traumáticas, el cambio climático que ya

sufren millones en todo el mundo” published in El Mundo the 13/08/2019, the tone is informative and neutral. There is a gatekeeping work, crossing several studies to give a bigger picture of the problem. Even though treats climate refugees as an abstract concept it focuses on how climate change is the issue. Also, El Mundo describes climate refugees as invisible refugees that must do traumatic migrations.<sup>118</sup> El País around the same dates approached the issue in a similar way: In the article “Desplazados por el clima: son desconocidos, pero son millones”, an extensive report dissecting the causes of climate migration and an extensive study on how it is becoming the main reason for people to migrate, the progressist newspaper explains a the same situation with similar terms as the conservative does. The main difference between El País and El Mundo’s approaches is that the first one focuses on specific stories of real people meanwhile the second keeps the articles in an abstract stage, not giving a face to the issue. Nevertheless, even though it is not recurrent theme published in El Mundo, when it is addressed, the approach is always as a problem that has its roots in human activity. What is for sure is that none of the articles analysed published by El Mundo present the information with a securitization perspective. El Mundo gets closer to the cosmopolitan values than to the securitization discourse putting both Spanish newspapers relatively close to each other in the way climate migrants are portrayed.

In the other hand the portrayal The Times and The Guardian do of climate refugees is diametrically opposed. The Times barely dedicates space to climate refugees and when it does the approach to the issue is mainly negative pivoting to a securitization tone. Climate migrants are portrayed as victims in only one of the articles analysed. The rest of them create alarm about the arrival of migrants or encourage measures to help countries that could have mass climate migrations to avoid its arrival to British territory. In the other hand The Guardian, being the publication that has published the most about climate refugees, is alongside El País the one that clearly portrays climate migrants in the cosmopolitan values. This will be discussed further in the next section. But it is important to remark that the differences between The Times and The Guardian are so big that it makes more sense to compare The Times to the other three newspapers analysed than any comparison by state or by editorial line in the newspapers. Nevertheless, the fact that the conservative newspaper inS Spain does not advocate for securitization and the one in the

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<sup>118</sup> Aburto, ‘Refugiados invisibles y migraciones traumáticas, el cambio climático que ya sufren millones en todo el mundo’.

U.K. does shows how Spain, from the data we have, is right now more welcoming for climate migrants than the U.K.

#### 5.4. Comparison between conservative and progressist newspapers

The Guardian is, by far, the media that has placed more times climate refugees in the agenda, with 62 in 18 years. A key part of the agenda setting is placing the issue in the media. The frequency a subject is discussed in the news has a direct effect on its perception as more or less important.<sup>119</sup> According to the number of times a newspaper places an issue in its publication a researcher can infer the importance it is giving to this particular subject, independently of the framing and discourse used in the individual pieces of news. An issue that will be discussed further in this thesis is the periodization of the subject and how it has become a bigger concern lately, and especially during the last five years. El País and the Times have treated the issue 16 and 11 times during the period studied and El Mundo only 7 times.

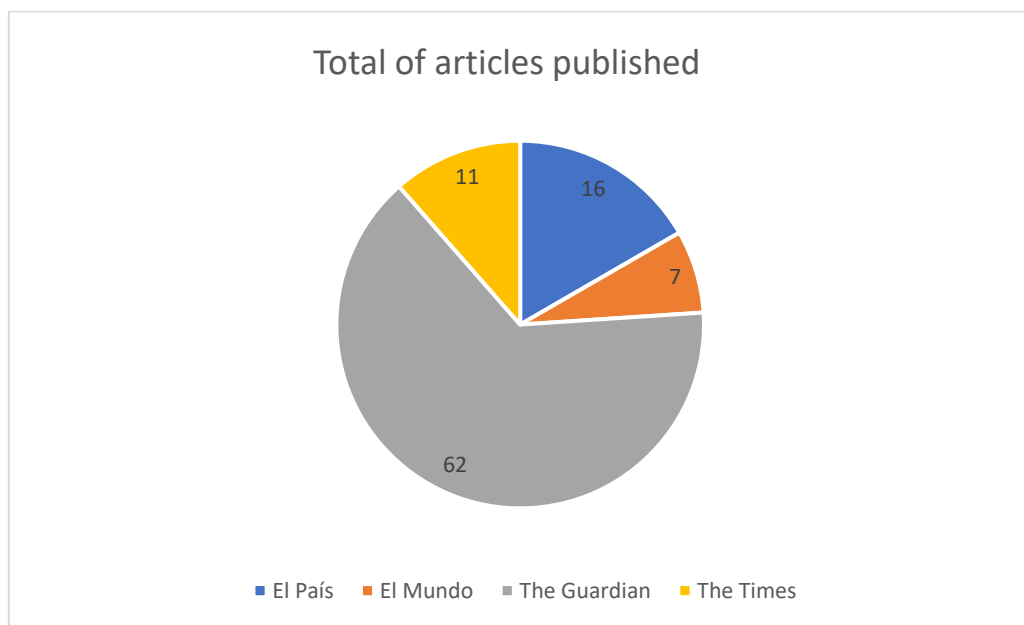


Fig 1

But does this mean the other three newspapers do not consider the issue important? The quick answer is no. The longer is that some don't consider it important, and others are starting to consider it important right now. A usual thing for a concept and a phenomenon that is becoming a concern in the present and hence, has won relevance in the media

<sup>119</sup> McCombs, Shaw, and Weaver, 'New Directions in Agenda-Setting Theory and Research'.

during the late 2010's and early 2020's. That is why this research is focusing mainly in the framing and discourse analysis.

Because of that research decision it is so relevant that The Times is the newspaper with the worst portrayal of climate refugees. As discussed previously the securitization theory argues that nations perceive security threats that leads them to take measures about it. The first time The Times published an article about climate refugees, was January 2008. Its title was Climate change 'will lead to warfare over food and water'. In the article is discussed how climate change can lead to mor migrations due to war and economy. The mention about climate refugees is focused as a consequence of wars and climate change but never holds any actor accountable for it. The approach to climate migration is on the same negative terms as it is for economical and war migrations.<sup>120</sup> The only article that The Times approaches the issue in a relatively positive way was published in April 2022 with the title "It's not hysterical to face up to reality of climate change". It is an opinion article where the author argues that Britain should not have any issue on recognizing the special situation climate refugees face. It is an acknowledgment of the problem and one of its major consequences for the world population could be climate migration because it can affect British people.

It is interesting to see how an opinion journalist needs to tell its audience t<sup>121</sup>hat an idea that the other three newspapers analysed basically take for granted is "not hysterical". That article being the only one that portrays climate refugees as victims of a human caused bigger phenomena show the securitization attitude this media has towards the issue. The lack of publication in The Times added to the negative portrayal of climate refugees can create a perception that climate migrations are not an important issue unless it can increase the migration pressure to the United Kingdom.

In Spain the differences in the portrayal of climate refugees of El País and El Mundo are minimal, even though El País portrays them in a more positive way. The core difference between these two publications is a nuance, but an important one, nevertheless. While El País has a similar approach to the Guardian in its content, it did not start to publish article about climate refugees until 2015. During these seven years it has progressively got closer to the pace of publication that The Guardian has, and it is approaching the issue in a

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<sup>120</sup> Reporter, 'Climate Change "Will Lead to Warfare over Food and Water"'.  
<sup>121</sup> Cooke, 'It's Not Hysterical to Face up to Reality of Climate Change'.

similar way. To show a few examples in December 2019 El País published an article called “Desplazados climáticos: pobres, cuantiosos e invisibles”. An article that underlines the difficult conditions climate migrants and refugees suffer.<sup>122</sup> The article mentioned is a branded content piece, partnering with ACNUR and the United nation in order to create conscience about climate migrants. This editorial decision shows a conscious intent of creating awareness about climate migrants and their situation. It also uses the term “displaced” to not make a distinction between refugees and migrants. This concept is used only once in the primary sources analysed but could be interesting to use it more frequently both in media and academia to gather both refugees and migrants under one sole term. Nevertheless, since its use is not frequent it has not been used in this paper. In the other hand El Mundo takes an attitude that gets close to the cosmopolitan view. The portrayal of climate refugees is quite neutral. They are never portrayed as a threat but at the same time the lack of articles published, 7, and the selective positioning on the climate refugees’ treatment leaves El Mundo in a no man’s land in this matter.

The editorial line of El Mundo gets close to the cosmopolitan view, but it does not reach it as mentioned above. The approach this media has is mainly informative towards the issue. It does not create any alarm and usually everything that is published has no traces of securitization tendencies. However, the approach of treating refugees as victims only happens once in very general terms. In august 2019 El Mundo published a piece of news under the title “Más refugiados por el clima que por la guerra”. As it does in 5 out of the 7 articles published about this issue: Climate refugees are portrayed as any other refugee even though it is acknowledged that should be treated according to their problematics. The view is not positive or negative it just acknowledges a different situation. In only one case the approach to climate refugees is closer to the cosmopolitan ideals. The only problem is that the article only refers to Spanish climate migrants, cancelling any real cosmopolitan approach. Nevertheless, it is relevant to point out that it does not follow a securitization agenda.

El Mundo and The Times have published only the 30% of the pieces of news analysed. As mentioned previously, the amount of news published in every media are an important matter to consider. The scarce general spotlight the issue of climate migrations gets in the media is general but The Guardian for the last 18 years and El País for the last 5 have

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<sup>122</sup> Hierro and Silva, ‘Desplazados por el clim a’.

incremented the frequency on how this matter is discussed in their publications. In the other hand El Mundo and The Times have published only 11 and 7 articles respectively showing at least a lack of concern in the issue and over everything else barely placing the issue in the agenda.

The Guardian and El País overall place the climate migrations issue in the cosmopolitan frame. Both media explicitly offer a cosmopolitan view of the issue. Mostly the pieces of news published in these newspapers treated as people in need for help and that could be anyone in the world. Several pieces of news either claim that climate refugees are portrayed as a group of people that needs to be taken into account and treated accordingly to their needs, that can be war refugees and economic migrants all at the same time or that are entitled to protection as much as war refugees. The placement of this messages helps to create an image of climate refugees as equals of the reader that happen to be in a problematic situation and might need our help.

According to the discourse analysis of some of the pieces of news published in The Guardian a few common characteristics shape the articles: Approach as a global phenomenon with various effects locally: the articles detail how the most affected parts of the world will suffer different consequences of the climate change that can force people to migrate. Realist and grounded approach with climate change related data. Adds data about which countries have more population at risk for natural disasters and climate change consequences. From a political perspective, it is cantered in population safety and human rights respect.<sup>123</sup> In El País a similar tendency is found. The articles usually pivot into the urgency of giving climate refugees a special treatment and to the idea that eventually all of us will become climate refugees on the same way humans migrated around the world during the ice ages.<sup>124</sup>

In other words, someone who reads El País and The Guardian has a chance to be more and have a more positive view of climate migrants than someone who reads El Mundo or the Times. In this case the agenda setting creates parameters: the level of awareness about the issue and the perception of climate refugees. In this case the awareness of the problem and the positive positioning towards them is directly related. However, the sample is too

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<sup>123</sup> Henley, 'Climate Crisis Could Displace 1.2bn People by 2050, Report Warns'.

<sup>124</sup> Sachs, 'Todos somos refugiados climáticos'.

small to affirm that placing climate refugees frequently in the agenda can be related on setting a positive portrayal on it.

## 6. Results and conclusions

### 6.1. Analysis macro & periodization

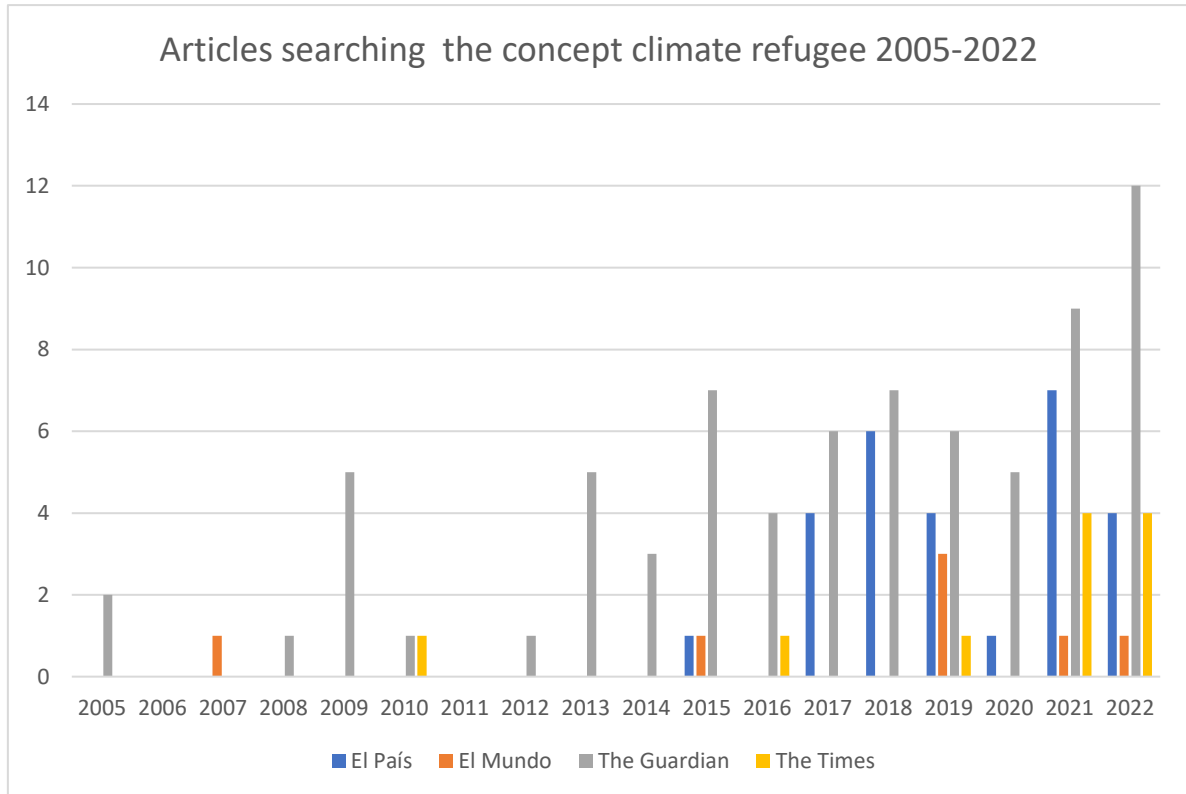


Fig 2

The issue of climate migrations makes it to the analysed newspapers for the first time in 2005, with two published histories in The Guardian. In 2007 El Mundo published its first history about the issue, but it does not talk about it again until 2015. El País does not publish its first history until 2015 but it has maintained a constant pace of publishing since then. The Guardian is, put of the four newspapers analysed the one with mor published content. There are peaks of publishing during the 2009 and 2013. Since then, the tendency was an increase of the number of pieces of news published that only the pandemic in 2020 stopped. 2022 is the year with more published stories for The Guardian. The Times peaks in 2022 and El País and El Mundo peak in 2021.

Nevertheless, the general tendency observed is that the issue is gaining its own space in the media lately. The Guardian has been increasing its presence in an almost linear fashion and El País and El Mundo seem to be taking a similar path. As discussed previously, the awareness is increasing in the media analysed. However, the fact that The Times and El



Mundo, the conservative publications, have not reached a high volume of articles Bfavourable portrayal of climate refugees. For now, with the small sample studied it can be concluded that discussing the issue is related with a more positive portrayal of climate refugees. But this conclusion could have a bias.

## 6.2. Average portrayal of climate refugees

The main goal of this research has been making a painting of the current situation of the treatment of climate refugees in four specific media. The picture we can see is that according to the progressist newspapers are victims of a humanitarian crisis that need to be helped to relocate. Climate refugees are people who suffers a situation that forces them to move out of their countries and are entitled to protection as much as war refugees.<sup>125</sup> In that line climate refugees are also qualified as people who faces a problem that is global are entitled to have rights and migrate if staying at their home is not save anymore. Some pieces of news focus on the human drama and the need of these people to rebuild their lives somewhere else. A usual practice in the articles that offer a positive portray is that with a very close look to the issue, the climate migrants are portrayed as people with names and surnames that must be relocated due to issues related to human action and climate change. This humanization of the issue helps the reader to empathise with the people who is going through it. At the same time certain articles point out that climate migrants already exist and pointing out that most of them don't cross international borders but move in the same country they are to less affected areas.<sup>126</sup> These ideas focus on the fact that these migrations not necessarily will cross borders and that the readers could find themselves in those situations. The personification of climate refugees only happens in cases in the United Kingdom, the United States and Spain but never anywhere else.

Regarding the opinion articles published in these two newspapers alongside El Mundo, most of them are focused on the need of giving an international law entity to climate migrants in the progressist media. In the context of international information, The Guaridan published in 2022 an article with the headline “If the west can harbour Ukrainians, it can accept the many climate refugees to come”. This article explicitly advocates for a fair and open treatment to climate refugees that come to Europe. The

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<sup>125</sup> Pajares, ‘Hablemos de refugiados climáticos’.

<sup>126</sup> ‘Americans Are Becoming Climate Migrants before Our Eyes’.

article explicitly works on the global citizenship thesis.<sup>127</sup> On the same line, but in 2017 El Mundo published an article called “El asesino número 1 del mundo es la carne”. It was an interview to a climate activist who pivoted the interview to explain the issues climate migrants face and how climate change affects to people.<sup>128</sup> The article echoes the activist positioning of giving a special treatment to climate refugees, a tendency that can be seen replicated several times after. An idea that can be found in Spain for the first time under the opinion article published in 2015 in El País “Reconocer y proteger a los refugiados climático”. The positioning of the authors is clear in favour of the recognition and specific protection of climate refugees. Climate refugees are portrayed as a group of people that needs to be taken into account and treated accordingly to their needs.<sup>129</sup>

In that sense, the conservative El Mundo adds that they need a special treatment, since the reasons these people become refugees has undeniable particularities. However, climate refugees are portrayed positively in an explicit way only once in this media. In the other hand El Mundo mentions that climate refugees like any other refugee even though it is acknowledged that should be treated according to their problematics. The Times goes one step further and explains the issue as a booster to the migration crisis. In different articles the mention about climate refugees is focused as a consequence of wars and climate change but never holds any actor accountable for it. The approach to climate migration is on the same terms as it is for economical and war migrations. At the same time the only reason argued to help countries in need is to avoid the arrival migrants to British land.<sup>130</sup>

Climate migration is presented as a climate change consequence over a menace to the countries in all four newspapers. Even The Times, that presents the issue as a booster for the migration waves acknowledges the inevitable nature of this kind of migrations. When discussing the reasons climate migrants get displaced from their home the four newspapers analysed agree on this issue. The Times does it by the acknowledgment of the climate change as a problem and one of its major consequences for the world population being climate migration. El Mundo, El País, and The Guardian focus in how

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<sup>127</sup> Táíwò, ‘If the West Can Harbor Ukrainians, It Can Accept the Many Climate Refugees to Come’.

<sup>128</sup> Paniagua, “‘El Asesino Número 1 Del Mundo Es La Carne’ | Papel | EL MUNDO’.

<sup>129</sup> Martínez, ‘Reconocer y proteger a los refugiados climáticos’.

<sup>130</sup> Editor, ‘Help Poorer Nations Cover Cost of Climate Disasters, Britain Told’.

climate change is already forcing people to move from their homes and how and how we (understood as a world society) must do something about it.

The idea that anyone can become a climate refugee is repeated in all 4 newspapers analysed. For example, The Guardian in “‘This is a wake-up call’: the villagers who could be Britain’s first climate refugees” published in 2019 this article with an alarming intention citing an expert saying that the described situation should be a wake-up call. It is a long report filled with several interviews to people whose community is being torn apart because of the government inaction towards climate change. They give a name and a face to the climate refugees and portraying them as equals to the reader. The fact that the history happens in the U.K. approaches the problem to the reader, stressing the idea that that person could be the reader.<sup>131</sup> El Mundo in 2022 published a survey where young Spanish citizens showed their concern on becoming climate migrants. This piece of news put in the centre the idea that anyone could become a climate refugee, even the person reading the piece of news.<sup>132</sup> El País in 2018, did something similar with an opinion article titled “Todos somos refugiados climáticos”. This quite self-explanatory headline: “we all are climate refugees” insists on the fact that there have been climate migrations before and there will be, but this time due to human activity related actions and that all humanity is sensible to it.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> Wall, “‘This Is a Wake-up Call’”.

<sup>132</sup> Robles, “‘Climigrantes’ españoles”.

<sup>133</sup> Sachs, ‘Todos somos refugiados climáticos’.

## 7. Conclusions

The main research question of this paper is “How newspapers in the United Kingdom and Spain portrayed climate refugees between 2005 and 2022?”. In order to answer this question in the chapters 3 and 4 a set of parameters have been set to see if a piece of news pivots towards securitization or in the other hand is promoting cosmopolitan values. Under these standards the primary sources have been systemically analysed to define how newspapers portrayed climate refugees. Getting to the conclusion that currently the most common portray is one of people in need for help, that needs urgently an international recognition as a different type of migrants and refugee to be treated accordingly to its needs. Generally, are not perceived as a menace but neither as something positive, either because of the increase in the migration pressure both Spain and the United Kingdom face according to the conservative publications or because is a show of what climate change can do to the population movement dynamics and the fatal consequences it can have to millions of vulnerable people for the progressist newspapers.

The cosmopolitan ideas described in chapter 3 are partly used to portray climate migrants in 2 out of the 4 newspapers analysed. Those newspapers being El País and The Guardian, the progressist ones. Progressive publications are keener on showing a more humanized image of climate migrants. These tendencies show a very clear difference between the progressist and the conservative publications. The Times has a very explicit securitization approach to the issue while El Mundo shows a more neutral editorial line, not promoting securitization ideas but rarely applying the cosmopolitan values. Nevertheless, climate migrants are portrayed mainly as victims of climate change consequences by all the newspapers and what makes the biggest differences between publications is the approach and framing of these people reaching the nations’ borders that makes a difference in the treatment. Another common trait is the idea that eventually the readers could become climate refugees. These ideas are reproduced in the fourth newspapers being the only cosmopolitan parameter displayed commonly in all the sources.

Regarding the two countries analysed what it has been found is that the perception of climate refugees is more polarized in the United Kingdom than in Spain. While in the United Kingdom the difference of portrayal varies significantly from the conservative to the progressist newspaper. The presence of the issue in The Guardian shows an ascending

line to the cosmopolitan approach described in this paper while the securitization approach displayed by the times lies in the opposite side of the spectrum. In the idea that a person can have of climate refugees can vary from negative through scarce information to positive due to the exposure of several positive inputs. In the other hand, Spain shows a more homogeneous picture of climate migrants and refugees. The progressist and conservative press approach the issue differently but agree in some basic factors that move away from the securitization tendencies. Even though the average portrait of climate refugees is similar, being the Spanish one slightly more positive than the British the ways this average is reached create a more polarized situation in the United Kingdom and a more homogeneous in Spain.

As an end to these conclusions, it is important to note that securitization towards migrants is an issue to be solved and independently of the how climate migrants are portrayed in media. Securitization towards migration exists in every country, and as discussed in chapter 4, climate migrations must be contextualized in a global migration picture where the mass movement of migrants is securitized all over the world. That is why this study could be complemented with further research on the general population knowledge and opinion on climate migrants in the studied countries, broadening the scope of action applying the securitization/cosmopolitan parameters to other written media in the United Kingdom and Spain or comparing two other countries. Of course, any ampliation of the research to radio and television would be interesting in many matters, analysing the images used or the voice tones would generate a massive interest.

The main goal of this research was to make an (impressionist) painting on how currently the issue of climate migrants is being treated in certain media. Showing which tendencies are going on right now and what we can expect in the future. To show how it is an upcoming concern it can already be perceived in the press. This research is also a reflection on how what we read, see, or listen to can shape our view of the world and is important to critically assess what we consume, even the piece of news we read while we are drinking a coffee in the morning. It is also meant to be a reflection on how a cosmopolitan approach to such a big and influential issue can make a difference for the people that will suffer in their flesh these struggles. At the same time, it can be an opportunity to gain conscience about the fact that anyone reading this paper can

eventually become a climate refugee or can find themselves welcoming millions of them in their country.

The contribution of this research to the cosmopolitan literature is the example of using cosmopolitan and securitization values as a spectrum to evaluate discursive tendencies and, in this case the action of the media. I concur with Moss' pessimistic perspective in the appliance of cosmopolitan values to the global politics and Trombetta's assertions about climate migration being securitized as any other type of migration. Nevertheless, this research shows how a shift to more cosmopolitan tendencies are possible and are currently being implemented in progressist and even some conservative media discourse. A tendency that could lead to a desecuritization speech act as Ole Weaver describes in the securitization theory. These processes need further study that could be a fantastic starting point for future research.

Climate change will shape, politics, culture, economy, population tendencies, conflicts, and migration in what is left of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. Will most likely have an influence in all of us' lives and there is not much that we can do about it. In front of such an undeniable reality we have no other option to think about how we'll face the consequences of climate change. If this paper can help to offer a new perspective on what we can do, offer something new in the academic world that can lead to new and better ways to face it or just opens a debate on how we should treat climate migrants, and migrants in general, this humble author will consider his job done.

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# ANNEX 1 – Primary source analysis

THE GUARDIAN

## **How helpful is the term 'climate refugee'? 31/08/2020**

- First overview: The title of the piece challenges the idea of climate refugee and opens to a discussion if the use of the word is needed. The article is placed in the international section and categorized online in the migration section. It is migrants centered.
- Discourse analysis: Globalist approach in the context of a world of mass migrations that could increase due to climate change. Almost academical approach, building a case through experts and using political debates to complete it. Offering context to the securitization processes towards migrants in countries like Italy, through Matteo Salvini's anti migration policies. Reflects on how climate migration is usually underestimated.
- Agenda setting analysis: A clear case of news making, it is a complete and long report about a specific issue. Migrants' vulnerability is the central theme of the piece. There is an intention of breaking biased ideas towards climate migrants and gives context on how these biases have been built.

## **'The century of climate migration: why we need to plan for the great upheaval.'** **18/08/2022.**

- First overview: The title presents the issue as a global problem. Involves both migrants and the countries that could receive them. It is a long text published in its own section of the newspaper.
- Discourse analysis: Approach of the issue as a global phenomenon that manifests locally. Analytical/realist tone but not alarming. Positive positioning towards migration from the aging (rich) countries' perspective: "Migration is not the problem; it is the solution". Migrants are portrayed as a huge part of the world population that will be in a delicate situation in the next 30 years.
- Agenda setting analysis: News making: The piece is a report with an informative aim that leaves room for a grounded opinion. The interpretation of the data presented is positive towards the migrants' arrival. The text presents mass climate migration as something inevitable and climate migrants as a solution to a problem

**‘Climate crisis could displace 1.2bn people by 2050, report warns’. 09/09/2020**

- First overview: Impactful grounded title that includes a high percentage of the global population. Short/medium text labelled under climate crisis. Image of African migrant kinds to illustrate the piece of news. Incidence in the fact that the poorest countries will be the most affected.
- Discourse analysis: Approach as a global phenomenon with various effects locally. The article details how the most affected parts of the world will suffer different consequences of the climate change that can force people to migrate. Realist and grounded approach with climate change related data. Adds data about which countries have more population at risk for natural disasters and climate change consequences. From a political perspective, it is centered in population safety and human rights respect.
- Agenda setting analysis: It is a gatekeeping case with a very specific frame focused on how this can affect to people in general and the most vulnerable ones, in particular. It is more focused on the situations that can trigger a migration more than in the migration itself.

**‘Climate refugees can't be returned home, says landmark UN human rights ruling’. 20/01/2020**

- First overview: Informative headline about a UN resolution. Framed as ‘good news’. Giving an undeniable example of climate justice
- Discourse analysis: The journalist translates a UN resolution to news and gives context to the decision. The use of words is mainly positive towards the decision and adds context explaining the case that led to the resolution.
- Agenda setting analysis: Informative gatekeeping information. The climate migrants are portrayed as victims who won a legal battle for their rights to be respected.

**‘Failing to plan for climate refugees hands a cheap victory to the far right’. 11/11/2021**

- First overview: An opinion article on how not planning action to handle climate migration can lead to securitizing far-right sponsored policies towards migrants in general and, specifically climate refugees.

- Discourse analysis: The article positions itself positively towards climate migrants in the context of the COP26 and how not acting on dealing with a present issue can be a new subterfuge for the far right to work on more restrictive policies towards climate migrants.
- Agenda setting analysis: A clear positioning on facing humanly a problem that is global and portraying climate migrants as people who is entitled to have rights and migrate if staying at their home is not save anymore.

### **Meet the 'climate refugees' who already had to leave their homes. 24/09/2018**

- First overview: A collection of interviews part of a bigger project related to climate migration in North America. Adding a 'familiar' face to the concept of climate migrants.
- Discourse analysis: First person account of what means to be a climate migrant or refugee. It humanizes and explains 5 cases of people who had to move out of their homes in the United States due to natural disasters and climate change related issues.
- Agenda setting analysis: It is a clear case of news making where the 5 people interviewed are portrayed as victims. The focus is on the human drama and the need of these people to rebuild their lives somewhere else.

### **Port in a storm: the trailblazing town welcoming climate refugees in Bangladesh. 24/01/2022**

- First overview: A long and deep report about internal climate migration in Bangladesh. Labelled under global development with a storytelling intention. An impactful headline focused on a positive aspect.
- Discourse analysis: Informative tone, with several witnesses and climate migrants interviewed, going from a more general scope to the personal one. There is not a clear positioning, but the language used is neutral and non-belligerent. At the same time there is no victimization of the climate refugees. Most of the claims are backed with data or witnesses and makes a deep study of the situation.
- Agenda setting analysis: News making approach, with a very close look to the issue, the climate migrants are portrayed as people with names and surnames that must be relocated due to issues related to human action and climate change.

## **Don't call them 'refugees': why climate-change victims need a different label.**

**18/09/2014**

- First overview: An opinion article, medium sized that is placed in one of the most read sections of the newspaper. The headline proposes a change of the concept of climate refugees due to the negative perception of the term.
- Discourse analysis: The article sets a list of proof and context to the climate refugee situation, form an informative and realist perspective in order to get to a conclusion that in climate refugee situations the term used should be 'migration with dignity'. The portrayal of refugees is the one of helpless people that deserves to be treated with dignity and makes the receiving countries responsible from changing that perception. An opinion article that makes its statement through facts to ground the final take.
- Agenda setting analysis: The main goal of the article is making the reader reflect about the general perception towards a group of people and makes an explicit effort to change that. The framing in the information is pessimistic but not catastrophist.

## **Americans are becoming climate migrants before our eyes. 02/10/2020**

- First overview: It is an opinion article under the label 'Climate crisis' with a powerful subtitle appealing to the United States migration policies: "While the US closes the doors on climate migrants from abroad, it must acknowledge that the problem has already come home". The headline underlines a state of denial in front of climate migration.
- Discourse analysis: The article provides examples of people who has become a climate refugee in the United States using the 2020 summer wildfires in California as a starting point. The article makes an essay on climate migrants already existing and pointing out that most of them don't cross international borders but move in the same country they are to less affected areas.
- Agenda setting analysis: The article underlines the fact that climate change is turning into refugees, people that always perceived refugees as 'outsiders'. The article places a mirror in front of U.S. citizens with a clear message: "you could become a refugee anytime soon".

## **Global warming could create 150 million 'climate refugees' by 2050. 03/11/2009**



- First overview: Informative but alarming headlined with a fatalist prediction. Placed in the climate crisis section with an informative subtitle that grants credibility to the claim in the headline.
- Discourse analysis: Mainly informative tone, offering data on climate disasters in sensible areas that could lead to climate migrations and explaining how the claim in the headline could happen and who is already close to become a climate refugee. The article is illustrated with the photo of a refugee camp in Myanmar with displaced people because of a cyclone in 2008.
- Agenda setting analysis: The placement of the piece of news in a climate crisis context instead of a migration one frames the issue in an appealing way to the reader, shortening the distance with the refugees and portraying them as something that the reader is not part of, but eventually could be.

### **Desperate exodus of the climate refugees 09/01/2017**

- First overview: A letter to the director with expressing a concern. An impactful headline leading to a short statement from a reader willing to express his opinion. The writers of the letter are environmental activists.
- Discourse analysis: The tone is alarming and radical, denouncing the tough situations people has to go through because of climate change.
- Agenda setting analysis: The newspaper gives environmental activists a platform to express their concerns.

### **If the west can harbour Ukrainians, it can accept the many climate refugees to come. 01/04/2022**

- First overview: An opinion article pointing out the hypocrisy that the EU has towards migrants and directing it to the acceptance of climate refugees. “The Ukraine war has revealed the double-standards of the global north’s immigration policies. Refugees from Africa, Asia and Latin America deserve the same sympathy”.
- Discourse analysis: The article digs out in the duplicity of treatment of the refugees depending on their origin and sets different arguments to treat every refugee on the same way Ukrainian refugees were treated.
- Agenda setting analysis: The article was labelled under the war in Ukraine in April of 2022, so it got a considerable spotlight. The framing of the issue is clear and

explicitly advocates for a fair and open treatment to climate refugees that come to Europe. The article explicitly works on the global citizenship thesis.

**‘This is a wake-up call’: the villagers who could be Britain’s first climate refugees.**  
**18/05/2019**

- First overview: Powerful headline that includes the readers as part of the collective of climate refugees. It has an alarming intention citing an expert saying that the described situation should be a wake-up call. It is a long report filled with several interviews to people whose community is being torn apart because of the government inaction towards climate change.
- Discourse analysis: The tone is mainly personal and let’s the witnesses explain themselves only supporting their histories with data. It is a very close view and shows how this issue affects small communities.
- Agenda setting analysis: They give a name and a face to the climate refugees and portraying them as equals to the reader. The fact that the history happens in the U.K. approaches the problem to the reader, stressing the idea that that person could be the reader.

**Barbados PM launches blistering attack on rich nations at Cop27 climate talks.**  
**07/11/2022**

- First overview: Piece of news labelled under the covering of the COP 27 with a strong headline echoing a claim from small poor countries to the rich and large ones.
- Discourse analysis: The article makes a recap of the debate created around Barbados MP demand to rich nations to take responsibility for climate change and climate refugees appealing to a climate justice maximal.
- Agenda setting analysis: The climate refugees’ situation is portrayed as a global issue and the refugees are shown as people who need help instead of a menace.

**THE TIMES**

**Climate change ‘will lead to warfare over food and water’. 24/01/2008**

- First overview: A catastrophic and alarming headline. Labelled under climate change. Medium sized piece of news.

- Discourse analysis: The mention about climate refugees is focused as a consequence of wars and climate change but never holds any actor accountable for it. The approach to climate migration is on the same terms as it is for economical and war migrations.
- Agenda setting analysis: Climate refugees are an undefined mass of people with no identity. The concern is war and climate change.

### **Help poorer nations cover cost of climate disasters, Britain told. 07/11/2022**

- First overview: short piece of news in the context of COP27. A show of solidarity between states
- Discourse analysis: The body of the piece argues for helping poorer nations with climate change consequences in order to avoid the arrival of refugees.
- Agenda Setting Analysis: The article aims for helping poorer countries with climate change to avoid immigration that is considered a security problem. And that is how climate refugees are portrayed.

### **It's not hysterical to face up to reality of climate change. 23/04/2022**

- First overview: An opinion article with a clear take from the newspaper's editorial line.
- Discourse analysis: It is an acknowledgment of the problem and one of its major consequences for the world population could be climate migration.
- Agenda Setting Analysis: Climate migrants are portrayed as victims.

## **EL MUNDO**

### **Refugiados invisibles y "migraciones traumáticas", el cambio climático que ya sufren millones en todo el mundo. 13/08/2019**

- First overview: A middle sized report about “invisible refugees and traumatic migrations”. The first sentence of the article underlines that the biggest migration crisis is yet to come and will be caused by climate change and even stopping every war won't avoid it. It is place under the category of climate crisis.
- Discourse analysis: The piece of news uses data to explain in a quite detailed way how climate change can make large groups of people migrate from their homes

and how in an extreme case that can make them become climate refugees. The main goal of this piece of news is explain a problem that exists and will grow more problematic.

- Agenda Setting Analysis: The tone is informative and neutral. There is a gatekeeping work, crossing several studies to give a bigger picture of the problem. Even though treats climate refugees as an abstract concept it focuses on how climate change is the issue.

### **Más refugiados por el clima que por la guerra. 13/08/2019**

- First overview: Mid-sized piece of news. Clear statement about refugees' origin. An informative subtitle: "Natural disasters and the climate crisis are already the main reasons for forced internal migrations".
- Discourse analysis: The piece of news underlines with data the problematic of climate refugees and reflects on how don't have a legal recognition in the international law sphere.
- Agenda Setting Analysis: Climate refugees are portrayed as any other refugee even though it is acknowledged that should be treated according to their problematics.

### **"El asesino número 1 del mundo es la carne". 12/06/2017**

- First overview: An interview with a climate activist and filmmaker underlining how consumption affects to climate change.
- Discourse analysis: The interview focuses on the issues climate migrants face and how climate change affects to people.
- Agenda Setting Analysis: A clear positioning of giving a special treatment to climate refugees.

### **'Climigrantes' españoles: por qué el 60% de los veinteañeros asume que se irá a otro país para huir del calentamiento global. 24/07/2022**

- First overview: The headline focuses on how the population of the country could be climate migrants due to the high temperatures. It is a long report with a special spot in a Sunday newspaper.
- Discourse analysis: The language used is mainly descriptive citing different studies and offering affected people's point of view.

- Agenda Setting Analysis: A clear case of framing an issue through the idea that WE have a problem and how it can be solved.

## EL PAIS

### **Desplazados climáticos: pobres, cuantiosos e invisibles. December 2019**

- First overview: Branded content, partnering with ACNUR and the United nation in order to create conscience about climate migrants. Long report, I the central pages of the paper version.
- Discourse analysis: Dissection of the origins of climate migrants and the climate issues and natural disasters that had to face. Informative tone, based in the voice of experts. Climate refugees are presented as victims
- Agenda Setting Analysis: The portrayal of climate migrants is explicated in the headline: poor, invisible and there are a lot of them.

### **Desplazados por el clima: son desconocidos, pero son millones. 07/12/2019**

- First overview: An extensive report dissecting the causes of climate migration and an extensive study on how it is becoming the main reason for people to migrate.
- Discourse analysis: The focus of the article is the COP25. The responsibility is always directed to climate change factors and the general tone is to hold the global leaders accountable for the situation of climate refugees.
- Agenda Setting Analysis: Climate refugees are presented as a large group of people labelled as unknown but at the same time present in every mass migration crisis we read about.

### **Los refugiados climáticos no tienen dónde buscar asilo. 15/12/2015**

- First overview: Piece of news explaining why climate refugees don't have a way to ask for asylum. The history is labelled as one of the top stories of the day.
- Discourse analysis: The piece of news explains the international law reasons why climate refugees are not legally regulated and what is behind. The tone is mainly informative, but it has a critical approach suggesting that this situation should change.
- Agenda Setting Analysis: Climate migrants are portrayed as people in need for help and even explain the history of a man from Tuvalu that had his condition of

refugee denied in New Zealand due to the lack of regulation climate migrants suffer.

### **El cambio climático está detrás de la última oleada de refugiados a Europa. 23/01/2019**

- First overview: A piece of news explaining how climate change affects the migration waves Europe is receiving. The piece of news is in the science section.
- Discourse analysis: The article relates climate change and economical and war migrants as part of the same process. It gives the example on how a drought led Syria to a war and shows the complexity behind the reasons a person migrates.
- Agenda Setting Analysis: Climate refugees can be war refugees and economical migrants all at the same time.

### **Reconocer y proteger a los refugiados climático. 27/10/2015**

- First overview: Opinion article arguing for the recognition of climate refugees.
- Discourse analysis: The positioning of the authors is clear in favour of the recognition and specific protection of climate refugees.
- Agenda Setting Analysis: Climate refugees are portrayed as a group of people that needs to be taken into account and treated accordingly to their needs.

### **Todos somos refugiados climáticos. 29/08/2018**

- First overview: Branded content alongside with the asosiation 'Planeta futuro'. The author of the article is an expert in sustainable development and professor in the University of Columbia.
- Discourse analysis: The article focuses on scientific divulgation of what means to be in the Anthropocene and what implies for the human species. The article appeals to the idea that eventually all of us will become climate refugees on the same way humans migrated around the world during the ice ages.
- Agenda Setting Analysis: A climate refugee could be anyone.

### **Refugiados climáticos. 23/10/2018**

- First overview: An opinion article arguing in favour of giving a legal recognition to climate refugees in the context of the climate summit.

- Discourse analysis: The article grounds with data the need to create a separate international law figure to grant climate refugees a proper protection. The tone and the intention are mainly humanitarian.
- Agenda Setting Analysis: Climate refugees are a large group of the migrant population that needs a specific protection.

### **Hablemos de refugiados climáticos. 01/01/2021**

- First overview: An anthropologist with various academical papers and books published reflects on how climate refugees are becoming a huge part of the refugee population.
- Discourse analysis: The article is a clear approach on how climate migrants should be treated as refugees since climate change is a global issue that can affect anyone as much as war or political persecution.
- Agenda Setting Analysis: Climate refugees are people who suffers a situation that forces them to move out of their countries and are entitled to protection as much as war refugees.