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BEHIND THE WORDS: RISING SEAS, DROWNING VOICES

*a critical discourse analysis of Swedish press
narratives on environmental migration & displacement*

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Abstract

As the physical consequences of climate change continues to augment, possibly millions of people might be forced to migrate. Those most likely to be forced to move are people living in poor countries in the Global South where vulnerability levels are generally high and the capacity to adapt is often low due to socio-economic difficulties and political insecurity. In contrast, the countries most responsible for climate change, the industrialised countries in the West, will be primarily on the receiving end of this migration flow. This creates a precarious situation as it could be argued that Western countries carry an environmental and historical debt to the sending countries – calling for Climate Change Justice. By investigating the attitudes towards Environmental Migration and Displacement in Sweden, the purpose of this study is to explore the possibility of climate change migrants receiving a dignified migration in accordance to Climate Change Justice. Acknowledging the ability of media to portray as well as influence the attitudes of the general public, the study conducted a Critical Discourse Analysis on 27 Swedish newspaper articles to interpret the main narratives being told to society. Through looking at Social Representation Theory and Critical Theory, the study could hypothesise that the narratives told were likely evoke emotions of fear, guilt, and compassion among to public which generally leads to high public engagement on a topic. However, due to the narratives' attachment to a business-as-usual approach to climate change, and an at times derogatory portrayal of the climate change migrants, the probability for this engagement to result in any significant change towards Climate Change Justice is thought to be low.

Keywords: Environmental migration; Climate change; Media influence; Sweden; Critical studies; Discourse analysis

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Abbreviations

(In alphabetical order)

CCJ	Climate Change Justice
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CT	Critical Theory
DA	Discourse Analysis
EMD	Environmental Migration and Displacement
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
R&D	Research and Development
SCA	Socio-Cognitive Approach
SRT	Social Representation Theory

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	2
1.1 <i>Definitions</i>	3
1.2 <i>Delimitations</i>	4
1.3 <i>Purpose and Research Questions</i>	6
1.4 <i>Disposition</i>	7
2. Background	7
2.1 <i>Environmental Migration & Displacement</i>	7
2.1.1 The Environmental Debt of Industrialised Countries.....	8
2.1.2 (Lack of) International Legal Framework of EMD	9
2.2 <i>Hegemonic Discourse in Western News Media</i>	10
2.2.1 Current State of Swedish News Media.....	12
3. Previous Studies	13
4. Methodology & Theoretical Framework.....	14
4.1 <i>Research Design & Data Collection</i>	14
4.2 <i>Discourse Analysis</i>	16
4.2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis	17
4.2.2 Critique & Limitations of Critical Discourse Analysis	18
4.3 <i>Socio-Cognitive Approach</i>	20
4.3.1 Critical Theory	20
4.3.2 Social Representation Theory.....	21
4.4 <i>Climate Change Justice Framework</i>	22
5. Analysis	23
5.1 <i>Narratives on EMD in Swedish Newspapers</i>	24
5.1.1 The Victim/Humanitarian Narrative.....	24
5.1.2 The Political Narrative	25
5.1.3 The Security Threat Narrative	27
5.1.4 The Critical Narrative.....	28
5.2 <i>Influence of the Narratives in Swedish Society</i>	29
5.3 <i>Influence of Western Media Hegemony on Narratives</i>	31
6. Concluding Discussion.....	33
7. Bibliography.....	36
7.1 <i>Newspaper Articles</i>	38

1. Introduction

When writing these words in early April 2019, cyclone Idai has just weeks ago hit Mozambique. The rampage of the cyclone is evident all over the country's coast line and pictures show Beira, an entire city with over 500.000 inhabitants, flooded and completely destroyed. The life-ruining and disrupting individual consequences that Idai has caused are of course devastating in themselves, but as former Mozambican politician and liberty fighter Graça Machel expresses, there is another element that casts an added dystopian shadow over the event: "This is one of the poorest places in the world, which is paying the price of climate change provoked mostly, not only but mostly, by the developed world" (John, 2019). The reality of Graça's words hits hard. The wealth and welfare of countries in the Global North is in general terms built on the industrialisation and modernisation that today are causing anthropocentric climate change. Not only that, the success behind the Western industrialised state builds, to a large degree, on the exploitation of poor countries such as Mozambique, leaving them politically, socially and economically vulnerable, especially in times of crises. What's more, as the effects of climate change continue to amplify, so will the persistence, intensity and strength of extreme weather events, leading to more and increasingly larger crises (Hill, 2016). In effect, this leaves possibly millions of already vulnerable people in increasingly exposed situations causing complex and challenging social consequences for individuals as well as communities and governments. This thesis will attend to one such social consequence of climate change, namely migration.

Today, there is already a small circuit of academics concerned with studying this specific kind of migration, hereafter referred to as Environmental Migration and Displacement (EMD). This group of researchers are doing an admirable job in discovering and uncovering the underlying mechanisms, injustices and reality of EMD. Almost all of the research done in this area has been focused on the agency and rights of the migrants, or potential migrants, themselves and rightly so; the migrants should be the focal point of any research on this topic as they are the main agents of concern (e.g. Biermann & Boas, 2010; Esmailian, 2012; Farbotko, 2005; Hill, 2016; Jayawardhan, 2017; Kolmannskog, 2012). They are the ones whose homes are being destroyed, whose families are being torn up, and sometimes whose entire countries are being swallowed by the ocean. While stressing the importance of keeping the migrant in focus, there is also a gap in the knowledge on the attitude towards these migrants in Western societies (Hill, 2016). This is a significant subject to investigate because even though most EMD will occur as domestic migration, many Western countries will most likely also experience an unprecedented increase of migration when the physical conse-

quences of climate change starts happening on a larger scale. As the majority of Western countries are located further north where the effects of climate change are expected to be less extreme, most of these countries are likely to become receiving countries in the flow of climate change migrants (IOM GMDAC, 2018). Thus, investigating the attitude toward EMD in a certain country has a societal significance since it can hint at how well prepared that country is for the challenges related to EMD. Additionally, as touched upon above, it could be argued that countries in the Global North carry a certain historical and environmental debt to countries in the Global South, making this a precarious situation.

In an attempt to contribute to filling the knowledge gap described above, this study will focus on one country in the Global North, namely Sweden. In order to do this, a specific focus to media narratives on EMD is given as it is recognised that media has a unique ability in society to portray as well as influence the opinions of the public (Murphy, 2017, p.1). Discerning these media narratives on EMD is the first of three aims of the study. The second aim is to evaluate to what extent the narratives found has the ability to impact societal attitudes towards the concept of EMD and the people most affected by it, the migrants. The third and final aim is to look into how the narratives found might be influenced by what can be described as a Western media hegemony, the nature of which is described in *Section 2.2*. This last aim was assumed since it allowed the research to look at the question from a larger perspective. This is important as EMD is a global concept, and needs to be looked at as such.

In order to achieve these aims the study will use a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as its main methodological tool. Additionally, discussions surrounding critical theory, social representation theory and a theory of climate change justice will contribute to the study by offering a framework within which interpretations of the narratives can be made.

1.1 Definitions

To avoid confusion or misunderstandings it is extremely important to be articulate about the definitions used when dealing with sensitive and multi-faceted issues such as EMD and all its connotations. In this research the people most affected by EMD, the climate change migrants, will be defined “*as people who have to leave their habitats, immediately or in the near future, because of sudden or gradual alterations in their natural environment related to at least one of three impacts of climate change: sea-level rise, extreme weather events, and drought and water scarcity*” (Biermann & Boas, 2010, p.67). Although there is no academic or political consensus on a definition of EMD or climate change migrants, this definition will be used as

it is used in other publications on the topic (e.g. Esmailian, 2012; Jayawardhan, 2017) that resonates with the emphasis on Climate Change Justice (CCJ) found in this study, see *Section 4.4*. The virtues of the definition is found in its broad, yet limiting (in terms of what climate change impacts are), inclusion of all people forced to move because of changes in the environment. Despite the inclusivity of this definition it is acknowledged that EMD has a greater impact on people living in countries in the Global South, as oftentimes they lack the financial or social capacity to adapt to the challenges related to climate change that may disrupt people's way of life. Living in industrialised countries, governments are generally more able to protect their citizens and the citizens themselves are to a greater extent financially able to care for themselves (Biermann & Boas, 2010).

The term hegemony, or hegemonic, specifically in the context of Western discourse is used frequently throughout the thesis. In order to clarify what is explicitly meant by hegemonic Western discourse the research has relied on the definition offered by van Dijk (1991). Hegemony is "*a system of dominance sustained by a system of acceptance and legitimation shared also by dominated groups, thus diminishing their potential for resistance*" (van Dijk, 1991, p.37). The extent to which such a hegemonic system - or in the case of this study, discourse - exists in media is outlined in *Section 2.2*. The thesis will look into this concept as it could help explain why certain narratives in media are very dominant and persistent, while other narratives are much less discursively powerful.

1.2 Delimitations

There are three main delimitations to this study. These are the focus on Sweden as a particular case, the focus on the press, as opposed to other news sources, and the limited timeframe of 2015-2018. Limiting the study in this way has its explanations. Firstly, focusing on Sweden specifically has its reason in Sweden being a rather typical Western country while also having a fairly unique history and tradition when it comes to migration, making it an interesting case for a study of this kind. The choice is further motivated because earlier research on the topic has been calling for studies such as this one on a variation of countries and newspapers in order to increase and widen the knowledge on the topic. Countries and newspapers previously researched are for example BBC, English Al-Jazeera, Australia and the US (e.g. Høeg & Tulloch, 2018; Dreher & Voyer, 2015; Farbotko, 2005; Herrmann, 2017). Evidently, previous research has been heavily Anglo-centric, making research on non-English speaking media in demand.

The choice to only focus on the printed press and not other types of media was one made because the power of text and images in conveying contemporary social relations and hierarchies is acknowledged (Wagner & Payne, 2017). Additionally, there are concerns of time and space that has been taken into account, for example printed text and images requires less time than the analysis of television or social media. Despite being a technologically savvy population, Swedes still rely to a relatively large degree on printed media for their news intake as 37% of the Swedish population read newspapers at least once a week (Westlund, 2018). Thereby, printed media still has high impact on the Swedish population in terms of knowledge production. According to Olausson (2011) this last statement holds especially true when it comes to issues of climate change. In her study she found that Swedes' knowledge about climate change comes to a large extent from media reporting (Olausson, 2011).

With regards to the printed press it should be noted that this study has relied on the four large nationwide newspapers Dagens Nyheter, Svenska Dagbladet, Aftonbladet, and Expressen. Of the papers analysed for this study, Svenska Dagbladet is conservative, Dagens Nyheter and Expressen are liberal, and Aftonbladet is social democratic. This mainly influence what is being published on the editorial pages and in opinion pieces, but not the general reporting of news. Although most analysis will rely on articles, being aware of these ideological preferences are important as opinion pieces and editorials also will be used in the analysis. The material used is further evaluated in *Section 4.1*.

Lastly, the timeframe of 2015-2018 is used to limit the findings to contemporary discourse. 2015 is a significant year to start from since during that year, Europe was subject to a large increase of migration which changed the narrative of migration and refugees in Swedish media (De Coninck et al., 2019). Furthermore, it was the year that almost all countries in the world signed the Paris Agreement, agreeing on certain guidelines to keep global warming below 2°C. Additionally, in the year prior IPCC released their 5th Assessment Report on climate change. Both of these events had considerable effect on the overall reporting on climate change in Swedish media (Christensen & Wormbs, 2017). 2018 was chosen as the upper limit as it can take some time before media discourse is starting to be represented among the general public. Hence, analysing later articles would have had little value for the purpose of the study (van Dijk, 1991, pp.226-30). Moreover, 2018 was vital to include in the data set as the extreme heat in Sweden during that summer had a significant impact on the number of articles published on climate change and EMD. The effect that the events in 2015 and 2018 had on news reporting on EMD can be seen in *Figure 1*.

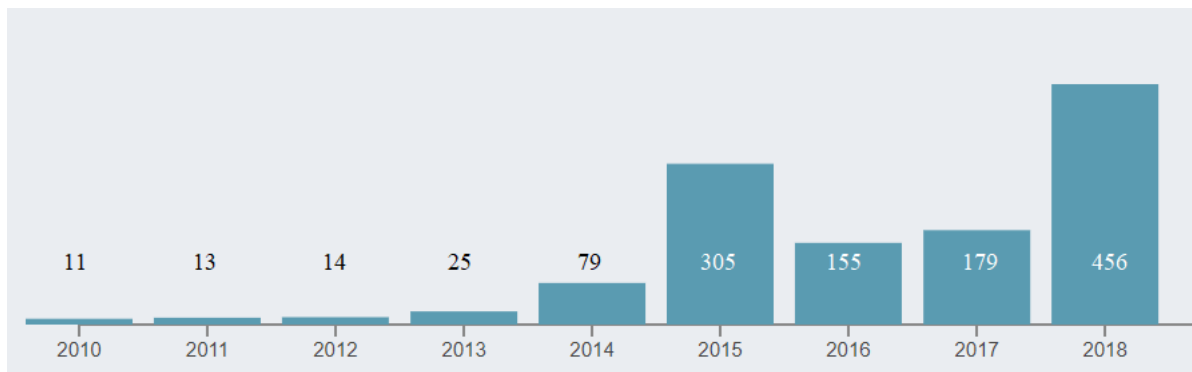


Figure 1: Total no. of articles on EMD in all Swedish newspapers 2010-2018. Adapted from tidningar.kb.se

1.3 Purpose and Research Questions

In relation to all of the above, the purpose of this thesis is to find the current narratives on EMD in the Swedish press and then draw on theoretical discussions to look into how these narratives might impact public attitudes towards EMD. Additionally, the study aims to explore to what extent the narratives found might correlate to the hegemonic discourse that is prevalent in much Western mainstream media. In order to achieve these aims and purposes, the study will answer the following questions:

1. *What narratives on environmental migration and displacement are currently being told by printed news media in Sweden?;*
2. *In what ways can these narratives impact the Swedish public's perception or attitude towards EMD and climate change migrants themselves? and;*
3. *To what extent can the narratives identified be correlated to the hegemonic discourse found in Western media?*

Out of these three research questions, the first one is the only one that can be answered with empirical data. The other two are more exploratory, or hypothetical, in nature and the answer to them will, to a larger degree, be influenced by the theoretical and methodological choices made. The fact that the study uses Critical Discourse Analysis as its main methodological framework will influence the study as it is implied within the method that a normative position will be taken and argued for. In this research, the normative position taken echoes the stance of the Climate Change Justice Framework. The strengths and weaknesses associated with these theoretical, methodological and normative choices, and how they might impact the study, is fully evaluated throughout *Section 4*.

1.4 Disposition

For the thesis to fulfil its purpose and answer its research questions in a satisfactory manner, the thesis will first outline the background of the topic to offer further context on EMD. The background will also cover the current state of Swedish news media and the extent to which there exists a hegemonic Western media discourse on migration, climate change and other controversial topics. Following the background, a description of past critical discourse analyses on the framing of EMD and climate change migrants in media and its findings will be given. After this, the method and theoretical framework will be outlined. Methodology and theory will be part of the same section as the choice of using CDA implies an intrinsically entwined relationship between the two (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p.6). In the subsequent section the empirical findings of the study will be presented. Lastly, a concluding discussion will round off the thesis with a summary of the results and findings of the study and some reflections on possible future studies.

2. Background

2.1 Environmental Migration & Displacement

In broad terms, EMD is a type of migration caused by disruptions in the physical environment that sustains people's livelihoods or general access to a tolerable life and security. It is commonly accepted in academia and policy-making that EMD is rarely mono-causal but can be one of several factors in people's decision to relocate (if a choice is involved), operating in combination with other aspects such as economic stressors or political insecurity (Hartmann, 2010; Jayawardhan, 2017). In its current state, EMD is mostly domestic and contained within the borders of the countries where people migrate, however, the mounting reality of the situation is that as for example sea levels are rising and droughts become more frequent, entire regions become inhabitable and people will be forced to start crossing borders (Esmailian, 2012, p.18). The actual number of people forced to relocate is highly contested, but an aggregate of several studies that has tried to quantify EMD has shown that roughly 200 million migrants by the year 2050 is far from an impossibility. This would amount to a number roughly 10 times larger than the number of forced migrants in the world today (Biermann & Boas, 2010; Esmailian, 2012, p.128).

The issue of vulnerability and adaptability is a vital part of the discussion on EMD as it determines the prospects for people to cope with environmental challenges. Countries in the

Global South are generally more vulnerable to climate change than those in the Global North because of physical, political and socio-economic factors. The physical factors impact the vulnerability of countries in the Global South as most of them are located in warmer parts of the globe. A heated climate will increasingly subject these parts to decreases in rain fall and fertility of soil, increase, and lowered incubation time, of disease such as Malaria and greater destruction of local ecosystems, for example coral reefs, on which much human and animal life in the regions rely (Hill, 2016). This means that people's access to food and clean drinking water will diminish, thereby putting already exposed people in even worse conditions for dealing with climate change consequences. Secondly, institutional weakness is a major source of vulnerability in many parts of the Global South. This point is specifically prominent with regards to administrative aspects such as inadequacy in providing disaster relief for extreme weather events, mitigating the consequences of climate change and even protecting the lives of people living in the country through poor health services. Additionally, institutional weakness could increase the probability of conflict and political insecurity, possibly augmenting the vulnerable situation further (Kolmannskog, 2012). Related to this last point, but deserving of its own space is the socio-economic factors that impacts people's vulnerability to climate change. This has several aspects in itself. First and foremost a lack of financial assets severely limits a person's ability to adapt to the physical challenges of climate change outlined above – thus making poorer people more exposed to them. It has also been shown that financially disadvantaged people are heavily over-represented in ecologically vulnerable areas, both in richer and poorer countries (Jayawardhan, 2017). In effect, this means that poorer populations are both forced to deal with climate change consequences to a higher degree and additionally less materially equipped to do so, and as such many are forced to migrate as a last resort.

2.1.1 The Environmental Debt of Industrialised Countries

Recall the quote by Graça Machel found in the Introduction. She highlighted the inequality between the Global North and South in relation to climate change and insinuated that industrialised countries of the Global North are to blame for climate change. The issue of environmental debt is important to point out in relation to why vulnerability and low adaptability is globally distributed the way it is and why the situation looks the way it does. This is a multi-faceted topic, one that could be a thesis in itself, but it will be briefly outlined here.

There are two main arguments for the claim that industrialised countries, such as Sweden, carry environmental debt to countries that has not yet gone through the process of industrial-

sation, predominantly poorer countries in the Global South. Firstly, the process of industrialisation and the continuation of industrial activity for a little more than 200 years has proved to be the main driver of anthropogenic climate change. This means that it is the activity of rich countries and the corporations in these countries that carry the most responsibility for rising temperatures and the intensification of other climate change related weather events. Secondly, and in terms of debt most importantly, the process of industrialisation, and later modernisation, has been funded by and built upon the exploitation of human and natural resources in many of the countries that today are the most vulnerable to climate change. Historically this was done through colonialism and the institutions and regulations associated with it. In more recent years, more subtle mechanisms such as Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) and other financially conditioned instruments has been utilised for similar purposes (Esmailian, 2012, p.70; Hartmann, 2010). It can thus be contended that industrialised countries carry a debt towards non-industrialised countries as the latter are hit harder by the effects of climate change, which they bear little guilt for. Non-industrialised countries are also generally less able to cope with the effects of climate change because of actions by industrialised countries, which subsequently has built their wealth on these actions. The issue is naturally politically and financially sensitive for many industrial Western countries and is as such expected to impact discourses on EMD in Sweden.

2.1.2 (Lack of) International Legal Framework of EMD

Another key aspect of the contemporary situation of EMD is the current international legal framework, or rather lack thereof, for people migrating because of environmental stressors. EMD is currently not part of any significant international framework for migration, either voluntary or forced, including for example the Geneva Convention relating to the status of refugees from 1951 and its added protocol from 1967 (Biermann & Boas, 2010). The absence of an international standard is part of the reason why the situation regarding a definition of the phenomenon is so unclear. It has also caused multiple political divisions on the question to form, all arguing for specific classifications of EMD and how to deal with it. Broadly speaking, these factions position themselves on three parameters: first, whether anthropogenic climate change is real; second, to what extent environmental debt is owed by Western industrialised states; and third, if climate change migrants in fact should be seen as refugees or as an entirely separate type of forced migration. The first two parameters are relatively binary, but the third one is more complicated. First one has to determine if refugee is the correct term to

use for climate change migrants, and secondly it is imperative to establish on what ground one denounces the term refugee as it has profound consequences for the discourse one deems acceptable (Biermann & Boas, 2010). The dismissal of the term is by some rejected on the grounds of the agency of the migrants themselves. In short, a refugee is someone that risks persecution by his/her own government if s/he would return to the home country. Because climate change to a large degree is caused by Western industrialised countries, as outlined above, the country “persecuting” the climate change migrant is often the country s/he is fleeing to. This illogic has caused scholars as well as potential and real climate change migrants to advocate other definitions of EMD (Farbotko, 2005). Others dismiss the term refugee because there is no established, clear-cut link between EMD and climate change. Once again referring back to earlier points made, climate change is rarely the sole catalyst for migration but rather one of several driving forces, augmenting already difficult economic, social and political situations. If one sees it like this, the term environmental refugee becomes obsolete (Jayawardhan, 2017; Kolmannskog, 2012).

Based on the points made here, one can see how several discursive outcomes can be anticipated depending on how one positions oneself in relation to these parameters. Because of Sweden’s historical, political, economic and geographical context it can be expected that the debate on the international legal framework and how to address EDM on a global scale will influence discourse in a particular way and thus it is important to keep this debate in mind.

2.2 Hegemonic Discourse in Western News Media

According to the definition used in this study, hegemony exists if the dominant system in a society is accepted and legitimised even by those not benefitting from it (van Dijk, 1991, p.37). In the current world system of global industrial capitalism, there are plenty of beneficiaries, especially in the Western world, but there are also plenty of people not benefitting from it. These people exist all around the globe, but the system is still legitimised because it is perceived by the vast majority of people as the only feasible option. This is not to say that this hegemony is expressed in the same way everywhere, there are naturally regional, national and local cultural differences, influencing how it is expressed. What it says, however, is that there are certain virtuous values associated with this hegemonic world system that are shared globally. These values are for example free movement of capital, technological innovation and modernisation, economic rationality, and individual responsibility. In essence these values determine what today is perceived as systematically feasible and, among the public, what is

common sense (Swyngedouw, 2010). It is thereby difficult to act outside of the realm of this hegemonic discourse if one wants to be heard in society – or in media.

If it is accepted then that there exists a hegemonic discourse, or at least a discursively expressed value regime, of industrial global capitalism that promotes these values in especially Western news media, it is vitally important to discern how this value regime is expressed in news media discourse on EMD-related topics such as climate change, migration and racism (Levy & Spicer, 2013). Van Dijk (1991) elaborates thoroughly on the presence of racism and anti-immigration stances in Western media. He claims its presence and reproduction is evident on multiple levels, all the way from limiting access of minorities in news offices, to referring to immigrants as threats to national and personal security (van Dijk, 1991, pp.20-21). This oppression is in many ways unintended as it is fundamentally inconsistent with modern political discourse. Albeit, racist structures and imaginaries are continuously maintained within Western news media discourse through historical and ideological social constructs that still remain (van Dijk, 1991, pp.25-26). With this said, it is remarked that these expressions of intolerance toward minorities and immigrants are less significant today than they have been in the past. However, there has been a surge of racist and anti-immigration narratives in Western news media since the immigration “crisis” of 2015, thus somewhat asserting itself back into media narratives that, according to the definition offered earlier, are associated with a hegemonic Western value regime (D’Errico et al., 2018; De Coninck et al., 2019).

Several studies has investigated and identified a hegemonic narrative among media and policy-makers regarding climate change and its corollaries (e.g. Anshelm & Hultman, 2015; Höijer, 2010; Levy & Spicer, 2013; Lyytimäki & Tapio, 2009; Murphy, 2017; Wagner & Payne, 2017). For the sake of coherence, the commonly identified narrative will in this study adopt the term coined by Anshelm and Hultman (2015), Industrial Fatalism. Industrial Fatalism is a discourse conveniently slotted into the wider concept of eco-modernisation, meaning that it relies heavily on the belief that technological advancements and innovation will be enough to mitigate climate change. Furthermore, the discourse strongly emphasises the role of the individual’s rational choices in fighting climate change. It is also widely accepted within the discourse that climate change is simply another environmental management issue, such as over-fishing or the depleted ozone layer, that can be fixed with international regulations and negotiations (Anshelm & Hultman, 2015, pp.19-20). Economically and politically, the discourse of Industrial Fatalism makes perfect sense in a neo-liberal, globalised, Western context, and as such it is widely considered commonsensical to agree

with the basic values it promotes. It can thus be argued that it is part of a Western hegemonic discourse (Murphy, 2017, p.68).

Lying on this foundation, the hegemonic discourse of Industrial Fatalism is intrinsically liberal, valuing other liberal notions such as human rights and freedom of movement. However, because its conception fundamentally relies on Western industrial capitalism, it is ultimately unable to address the issue of climate change properly as it remains a primarily extractive discourse that demands continued growth and modernisation in order to withstand (Swyngedouw, 2010). As been pointed out earlier, it also creates and maintains global inequalities that widens the income gap between rich and poor and, in the face of climate change, thereby augments the vulnerability of already exposed people (Biermann & Boas, 2010). This dichotomy between what is promoted by the discourse of Industrial Fatalism and the consequences it has in reality is, in relation to EMD, important to keep in mind and scrutinise.

2.2.1 Current State of Swedish News Media

As briefly mentioned in *Section 1.2*, Swedish news media is rather unique in contrast to many of its counterparts in the Western world. This is partly because Sweden, as a country, has a specific historical past and thus a specific social and political perspective on things, but also because the presence of so called tabloid press is very limited. Even those that do exist carry a higher degree of caution with what they publish and how they express themselves than tabloid press in other countries, such as those in the UK or the Netherlands. This has ultimately led to a generally high level of trust in news media in Swedish society. 77% of the population finds news media trustworthy compared to the European average of 53% (De Coninck et al., 2019). These high levels of trust tends to have a correlation to people adopting the views of the news media, thus strengthening the bond between news media discourse and overall societal discourse. Recently this trust has diminished slightly due to the rise of alternative populist media that has skewed the picture of media for many but overall the belief in what news media says is true, is high (De Coninck et al., 2019).

Related to the topic of EMD, Olausson (2011) finds that the main discourse found in Swedish news media on climate change is heavily represented among the public. The narrative of articles as well as the opinions expressed about climate change in newspapers are often imprinted as the truth for most people (Olausson, 2011).

3. Previous Studies

Critical discourse studies on EMD is a very limited field in terms of how much research has previously been done on the topic. Additionally, all previous research found ahead of this study has been done on English speaking media such as the BBC and English Al-Jazeera, and more broadly on a variety of newspapers in Australia and the US, making research in the field very Anglo-centric (e.g. Dreher & Voyer, 2015; Farbotko, 2005; Herrmann, 2017; Høeg & Tulloch, 2018). The same studies have also all pointed toward the same type of problematic when it comes to the narratives used to describe EMD. While articles on EMD feature fairly regularly in Western mainstream media, highlighting the difficulties people are forced to deal with in the face of climate change, they all report within the same narratives. According to academic tradition, all previous studies has named these narratives differently but the overall sentiments within them remain the same. These narratives are stripping the migrants of their agency, disconnect the actual causes of climate change from why people are forced to relocate, and tends to reinforce the power structures already in effect through the hegemonic discourse of, what has been referred to earlier as, Industrial Fatalism (Dreher & Voyer, 2015; Herrmann, 2017; Høeg & Tulloch, 2018). The most common way that media discourse does this is by portraying the migrants as victims of the mean and cruel enemy Nature, using its most lethal weapons CO₂ and sea level rise against these poor people. By using this storyline the description of individual migrants becomes uniform. Each story of migration melts into one single narrative of where migrants are coming from, what they are trying to escape and how they are forced to deal with climate change. This simplifies the actual story behind EMD and has “very real political and ethical consequences” (Herrmann, 2017, p.205) that complicates the process of migration further. Furthermore it is argued that the distancing between the physical consequences of climate change and what really causes it, to a certain extent, exonerates Western industrialised countries from the responsibility they should have towards mitigating climate change and facilitating migration where it is necessary (Dreher & Voyer, 2015; Herrmann, 2017).

Previous studies has also found that the narratives told by people and media in more exposed regions and countries are fundamentally diametrical to the narratives found in Western mainstream media. To generalise, they promote “[h]uman rights rather than instrumental ‘proof’ of climate change, active change agents rather than ‘victims’ of climate change, and ‘migration with dignity’ rather than climate change refugees” (Dreher & Voyer, 2015). Interestingly, this narrative has received little, or no attention in Western news media articles.

4. Methodology & Theoretical Framework

In the research presented in this thesis, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was used as the main method. Specifically, the Socio-Cognitive Approach (SCA) of CDA was used. SCA is a theoretical approach of a theoretically grounded methodology. What this means is that both CDA and SCA are methods of data collection and analysis that rely on certain theoretical assumptions and as such, both method and theory will be explained and evaluated here, in the same section.

To untangle the entwined relationship between methodology and theory, this section will begin by describing the overarching research design and material collection. Thereafter, regular discourse analysis will be examined and how it is complemented by CDA will be discussed. An examination of the limitations of using this methodology will be offered before SCA and the theories within it are outlined. Lastly, the conceptual framework which ties the research to EMD is explained.

4.1 Research Design & Data Collection

The design of the research was built around a qualitative CDA of printed news media in Sweden. A qualitative approach was chosen as it allowed for interpretation of selective representation of sources, simplifications of EMD to fit certain discourse, themes in articles and contextual framing of climate change migrants and their situation. CDA was in turn chosen at the core of the research design because it allowed the research to analyse and critically assess unequal undertones based on possible structures of power and dominance embedded in the news reporting, that could severely affect the message being portrayed to the news consumer (Bryman, 2012, pp.537-38). Furthermore, rather than executing vast numbers of interviews and surveys that would otherwise be necessary to detect society-wide discourses, discourse analysis offered a path to discern contemporary societal discourse on EMD.

The CDA was executed by analysing 27 articles from 2015-2018 in order to find certain “patterns of association” (Bryman, 2012, p.59). The articles were coded into an interpretation of current narratives on EMD. The categorisation of codes were judged on the portrayal of the migrants as victims rather than agents with a complex and contextually rooted identity. Further categorisation were made by observing the use of sources. For example highlighting remarks made by officials from Western countries but disregarding statements from heads of state in environmental emigration countries. Coding in this way offered a simple, albeit informational, categorisation of which discourses are currently being narrated by news media in

Sweden. After coding the articles on EMD, the internal and external relations in the text were analysed according to CDA tradition. When analysing the internal relations of a text, one looks for certain expressions or linguistic devices that signifies power relations or the position of the writer (Mullet, 2018). In the context of this research, this could be the use of the word “refugee” instead of “migrant” for example. External relations, or interdiscursivity, is analysed through identifying if a text refers to earlier work within a certain discourse. This could point to reproduction of discursive knowledge and if the writer subscribes to specific values or ideology (Mullet, 2018).

The empirical data used for this part of the research was collected through online databases for Swedish newspapers, Retriever Research (www.retriever.se) and Svenska Dagstidningar (tidningar.kb.se). Search words used to find relevant articles were “*klimat, miljö, flyktingar, and migration*” (climate, environment, refugees, and migration). The words were combined in different ways to exhaust all possible variations. As described in *Section 1.2*, the research has relied on the four large nationwide newspapers Dagens Nyheter, Svenska Dagbladet, Aftonbladet, and Expressen. The articles were read several times in order to attain a complete and holistic picture of the narratives told in each article. This type of thorough examination of the empirical material also allowed the research to look closer on the extent to which certain aspects of Western hegemonic discourse, such as eco-modernisation were present in the narratives found. With all of this being said, it is important to be aware that the findings in this research are relative to the newspapers used. This is of special importance since over half the articles that were deemed relevant to the research were found in Dagens Nyheter.

Additionally, a literature review of past research findings was conducted to gain knowledge on how media discourse has the power to impact and influence public perception and attitude to controversial topics. This has allowed the research to answer the second research question posed in the beginning of the thesis. Drawing from findings of research using Social Representation Theory (SRT) that highlights the connection between media context, individual cognition and social representation (e.g. Höijer, 2010; Olausson, 2011), has allowed for the research to consider hypothetical social attitudes that can be linked to the discourses found in the first part of the research (van Dijk, 1993). When relying on already published sources such as these it has been important to keep in mind the potential biases that each author might carry with them. These biases may derive from personal interests or the interest of a company or organisation funding the research (Bryman, 2012, p.550). This is accompanied with the probability of the cases being specific to other contexts and media outlets, and thereby difficult to transfer to the specific context of this study. Even though certain media and social phenomena

appears the same in this research as in the earlier research used as reference point, they might be correlated in different ways. Therefore, drawing absolute conclusions based on earlier contextually dependent research is something one must be careful with. The implications of this for this research is that the earlier studies can only be used as interdiscursive support to the findings. The findings to the second research question will be inherently hypothetical as they are relying on theoretical assumptions of SRT.

4.2 Discourse Analysis

The overarching method for data analysis in the research is discourse analysis (DA). There are several traits to DA that sets it apart from other qualitative methodologies. The first and perhaps most evident of these traits is the pronounced focus on language. Language can be studied in all shapes and forms, and all types of text or talk, including interviews, everyday conversations, surveys, political speeches and media. The study of language is of course not unique to DA in itself, it is a prominent feature of many other methodologies. What makes DA distinctive in its use of language as a research tool is that it does not see text and talk as a means to “reflect and reveal” social phenomena, but rather a way of constructing them (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p.2). Emphasising this, DA has become a fundamentally constructivist research method. This constructivist perspective is evident in all aspects of DA as it is assumed within the method that it is impossible to disconnect discourse from the context in which it is found, and vice versa. This of course extends to all actors in the social world, from politicians to business owners to blue collar workers, and naturally to researchers seeking to explore the construction of social phenomena as well (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, pp.12-13). Through this logic, DA develops a heavily reflexive stance in which it is argued that no action, no matter the actor, happens in a vacuum but are dependent on social context and already existing discourse. For this reason, it is especially important for researchers within DA to be open about potential biases that may influence their research.

In short, one could define a discourse as a collective way of constructing and constituting reality through means of communication such as text, talk, or media (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p.3). Quite simply, discourse analysis then is the art of scientifically researching such constructed reality and how it is produced. The implication of this for the study at hand is that it wishes to uncover how the perceived reality about EMD and climate change migrants is constructed through printed news media in the Swedish context.

While language and reflexivity might be the two most prominent features of DA, another important aspect to highlight is its flexible nature. Even though there are a number of epistemological assumptions embedded within the methodology, it allows for a vast number of interpretations in which the researcher is permitted to shape the scope, focal point and theory of any given study. Together these traits of language, social constructivism, reflexivity, and flexibility offers a robust foundation for several variations and adaptations of DA (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p.33).

4.2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

One such variation of DA is CDA which, as has been stated before, is the specific methodology for this study. While carrying most of the traits regular DA does, there are certain aspects that makes CDA unique as a research method. In broad terms, while DA analyses the constructing and constituting processes of any social phenomena, CDA looks explicitly into the production and reproduction of systems of power, dominance, social inequality, and hegemony (van Dijk, 1993). The articulated interest and aim in CDA is to uncover and debunk these systems of power and dominance. What CDA wants to achieve through this is the spreading of critical knowledge that will enable humans to emancipate themselves from systems of domination through self-reflection. An important aspect of emancipation though self-reflection is awareness of certain unequal social phenomena, which in part is what this piece of research hopes to provide (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p.7). In this follows two main implications that applies to all research within CDA. The first is that it takes a particular socio-political position, and the second is that it becomes inherently normative as “any critique by definition presupposes an applied ethics” (van Dijk, 1993, p.253). Furthermore, in order for research to have a particular agenda, which CDA as a method demands, a normative framework is needed to proclaim what ought to be achieved or strived for in a given social phenomena. The framework for this particular study, the Climate Change Justice Framework, is presented in *Section 4.4*.

Since CDA wants to offer the tools for emancipation from systems of power and dominance, it is vitally important to define what those systems actually entail. According to CDA scholars, power is shaped through control over means of communication and discourse. This control is owned by an elite group in society and through controlling discourse, they allegedly have power over the creation of what is perceived as knowledge (van Dijk, 1993; Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p.10). In CDA then, lack of power is the lack of access and influence to dis-

course. This means that the relationship between the elite group and the dominated group can take different shapes depending on the discursive topic since each topic include in- and out-groups that vary in size. It is accentuated that these systems of power are not maintained consciously, but are rather products of the current hierarchical world system. By claiming this, CDA rejects the notion that there is any intentionality in the maintaining of these systems of power and domination of certain groups. However, it is important to remember that intentionality is irrelevant when it comes to determining whether certain discourse is oppressive or not (van Dijk, 1993).

When establishing discourse as dominating or hegemonic, the concept of context is vital. In DA, there is a differentiation between proximate and distal context where proximate context is that of communication between two parties, a more immediate type of discursive reproduction. Distal context is more concerned with the institutional site in which discourse occurs and how regional and cultural setting can impact the reproduction of discourse (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p.19). Naturally, CDA is more concerned with distal context as the goal is to reveal how access to discourse differs between groups, both globally and regionally, and how this impacts the production of discourse. This study has used media as an institutional instance where discourse is produced and reproduced. As was touched upon in *Section 2.2.1* news media in Sweden is the single greatest source for Swedes when it comes to gaining knowledge on climate change, and as such it becomes a powerful instrument of discourse production (Olausson, 2011).

4.2.2 Critique & Limitations of Critical Discourse Analysis

Critique of CDA has at times been relentless due to a number of methodological limitations that would be considered unjustified in traditional and more standardised methods of qualitative research. These limitations are naturally still important to be aware of, but they can be explained and moderated within the CDA framework if handled with care. The first of these criticisms, and perhaps most fundamental to the nature of CDA, is that CDA is too moral in its expression and that it “sits on the fence between social research and political argumentation” (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p.33). Critique of this kind is essential from a traditional scientific perspective that argues that science is objective and should find the truth about social phenomena. While not underestimating the importance of finding the truth, Graham (2018, p.187) argues that for CDA, “truth is a category of evaluation that only becomes meaningful in relation to some other category, such as obligation, desirability, appropriateness, or impor-

tance". One does not even have to go as far as Graham does to address the criticism aired above. It is maintained among CDA scholars that, through being moral, the field is increasingly stimulating self-reflection and promoting innovation and new thinking within academia (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p.33). In the same vein, the moral normative stance of this research can be defended. This of course jeopardises the objective quality much research attempts to represent, but as it is argued within CDA, all research is subjective and to some extent a result of social norms, personal opinions, and existing discourse. It is better to be transparent, open and insightful about these predispositions and how they might influence one's research.

Traditional concepts of what constitutes good research within qualitative social research, reliability and validity, are difficult to apply to CDA and this has logically been a common criticism. However, would CDA aspire to meet this requirements as they are traditionally understood, it would undermine the entire method. Since CDA makes certain epistemological and ontological assumptions that reality and what is "real" only is constructed and that discourse merely is an interpretation of that perceived reality, the notion of validity is difficult to apply (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p.79). Similarly, the idea that reliability, or repeatability, would constitute a measure for the rigour of a study becomes redundant as each CDA aims to generate a specific reading or interpretation of certain text (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p.80). This is vital to keep in mind when using CDA. Another researcher, from another social context, with another understanding of society, using another theoretical and normative framework, might reach different conclusions. While this may seem like its diminishing the role of science altogether it is maintained within CDA that all interpretations are valuable since it is only when multiple interpretations of a societal phenomenon has been made that a holistic picture can take shape (Mullet, 2018).

The recognition of CDA's poor fit with traditional measurements of good research of course does not exonerate it from them. A piece of research within CDA must still present evidence for its findings, and it must still be able to answer for the plausibility of them. To achieve this, CDA scholars instead suggest other measurement criteria to ensure the rigour in their research. The first such criteria is "completeness" which means that analysis of new data should not result in new findings. The second criteria is "accessibility" which ensures the practical nature of CDA in the sense that all findings from a study should be accessible and readable to all groups that the study concerns. The last criteria is "triangulation" which warrants that the findings can be related to the theoretical choices made in the study, interdiscursivity with other texts and articles can be found, as well as reflections of the historical and social context of the subject under study (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, pp.31-32).

With regards to the research at hand, all these three criteria have been, to the best of the author's ability, fulfilled. The criteria of completeness was satisfied through choosing a large sample of newspaper articles that were deemed significant for identifying narratives on EMD in Swedish printed news media. Furthermore, data saturation for the sample used was achieved. In this, it must be admitted that choosing other newspapers might of course result in other interpretations of the findings than those presented throughout *Section 5* since the sample then will be different. Regarding accessibility, the research will be made available to read for anyone that wants to at Lund University Publications Student Papers. The triangulation aspect was assured through regularly checking how the three upheld each other. Of course the scientific rigour of the study can only be properly evaluated by you, the reader, and by the findings of future research. But according to the criteria outlined above, sufficient measures has been taken to assure the research's soundness.

4.3 Socio-Cognitive Approach

The Socio-Cognitive Approach (SCA) is a distinct way to manage CDA. This approach, developed by Teun A. van Dijk, emphasises the importance of discourse context more than other forms of DA and especially how discourse is internalised by individuals through cognition processes (van Dijk, 1993). Through this emphasis, it offers a theoretical framework through which it is possible to maintain the distal context, common in all variations of CDA, through Critical Theory (CT) and also move closer to the more proximate context through Social Representation Theory (SRT). According to SCA, there is a triangular interaction between discourse, cognition and society (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p.25). This triangulation allows the research to combine analysis of Western hegemonic discourse and nationally developed discourses within Sweden, and examine how the two may interact. Furthermore, SRT looks at the representation of discourse in society and can thereby be helpful in attempting to answer the second research question about how media narratives can impact societal attitudes towards EMD.

4.3.1 Critical Theory

As was outlined above CT is a vital part of all CDA. There are many elements of CT that are present in CDA, for example the aim to debunk systems of power and dominance, and the emphasis on creating knowledge to help the process of self-emancipation from dominating structures, as was described in *Section 4.2.1*. However, the fundamental part that of CT that is

applied to CDA is perhaps the desire to expose the “interconnectedness of things” (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p.7). In the light of this research, this means that the narratives on EMD found in Swedish news media that might work in favour of maintaining business-as-usual and thereby oppress those most affected by climate change will be uncovered. Furthermore, structures of power are not only present between the in- and out-group in focus for this research, that is Swedish citizens and climate change migrants, but are also evident in the hegemonic nature of Western news media discourse as was outlined in *Section 2.2*. CT then will also contribute to delineating how Swedish news media discourse on EMD is influenced by the broader hegemonic discourse prevalent in much of the Western world. CT is especially well suited for analysis of this kind as it is instrumental to the theory to reveal such structures of hegemony.

4.3.2 Social Representation Theory

What sets SCA apart from other versions of CDA is its application of Social Representation Theory (SRT). SRT was originally a clear-cut theory of social psychology developed by Serge Moscovici in the 1960’s (Moscovici, 1961). The reason it was adopted by this strand of CDA is because it enables researchers to describe the ways in which individuals and groups communicate, transform and explain their perceived social reality, i.e. knowledge they have gained from for example news media. This happens through social representations which in essence are “systems of opinions, knowledge, and beliefs” that are specific to a particular group or society (Rateau et al., 2012, p.477). In SRT, there is no distinction between opinions, knowledge and beliefs as they are similarly represented in society and have similar impact to the spreading of discourse (Rateau et al., 2012, p.478).

According to SRT, social representations emerge in two simultaneous processes: objectification and anchoring. Objectification refers to a process in which abstract social phenomena is materialised into something concrete and graspable for people. Anchoring is a process in which new social phenomena, through means of communication, are transformed into a simplified version of itself by being associated to other phenomena or representations that people already have a distinct relation to (Höijer, 2011; Rateau et al., 2012, pp.482-83). Specifically, this research will look closer at how the newspapers use the concepts of emotional anchoring, emotional objectification, naming, and thematic anchoring to make the identified narratives become socially represented.

Emotional anchoring and objectification works through relating known emotions to new, unknown or distant social phenomena, such as EMD, thereby making the new phenomena relatable to the majority population. Höijer (2011) found that most commonly, media narratives on climate change and its consequences evoke emotions of fear, hope, guilt, compassion, and nostalgia.

Naming is another anchoring process by which the media can make something relatable by assigning it a name already associated with a different phenomena (Höijer, 2011). Lastly, thematic anchoring concretises an abstract phenomena by referring to it through “underlying, general patterns of thinking” (Höijer, 2011, p.9). These underlying patterns of thinking is connected to what is conceived as common sense within a certain culture, for example the rationalisation of the Industrial Fatalist discourse discussed in *Section 2.2*. These concepts are of interest for this study as they are commonly used in reporting on climate change (Höijer, 2010; Olausson, 2011). For the purpose of this research, this means that SRT can help clarify two main aspects. Firstly, how news media discourse might evolve and why EMD is narrated the way it is, and secondly how narratives on EMD may impact societal attitudes and the ways that those attitudes can spread through reproduction of knowledge – thereby potentially contributing to the spreading of certain discourse.

4.4 Climate Change Justice Framework

Before dissecting the findings of the study, it is necessary to briefly get back to the topics of climate change injustice and debt outlined in *Section 2.1.1*. The concept of Climate Change Justice (CCJ) accentuates the injustice lying at the core of climate change by emphasising how in reality, through being more vulnerable, the countries and populations suffering the most from anthropogenic climate change are those carrying the least responsibility for it. This framework is brought up as a crucial part of much critical work on climate change and EMD as it stresses the importance of keeping marginalised people and those most vulnerable to climate change at the centre of the debate. This thesis will continue this tradition as any other position on the matter is deemed deeply immoral and, in practice, could run the risk of exacerbating global violations of human rights against climate change migrants.

Professor and activist Upendra Baxi (2016) offers a framework of CCJ, combining notions of global justice, environmental justice and intergenerational justice. Global justice puts forward the view that relations between and among states should be fair and just. This concerns the micro level of the citizens of these states, as well as the macro level of the supranational

organisations that these states are a part of. However, the primary role for global justice should be the upholding of basic human rights, making it especially relevant for a discussion on EMD. This is partly because of the emphasis on protection of the migrants but also because of an underlying assumption, in line with the Rawlsian difference principle, that states more capable of taking on responsibility for mitigating the climate change consequences should be required to do so (Baxi, 2016). Environmental justice is more concerned with the actual material debt of industrialised countries. It is argued that they should carry the largest burden in mitigating climate change since they are primarily responsible for it (Baxi, 2016). The notion of Intergenerational Justice is connected to the realisation that even though the consequences of climate change are severe already now, they will most likely have even larger effects on future generations. It is emphasised that there is a human rights obligation to mitigate these future consequences of climate change for the sake of generations to come (Baxi, 2016).

Through this framework, CCJ signifies a normative position on questions concerning the general debate on climate change. In the light of EMD, it suggests how things ought to be handled in order for fair and dignified environmental migration to take place. In doing this, the framework also criticises the way that EMD is currently handled within the world system of global industrial capitalism. It thus resonates well with the critical stance of CDA as the main methodology of this paper. It should be noted that the points made in this paper submits to the normative view of CCJ and they will play a vital role for the conclusions reached in the study.

5. Analysis

In this section the findings of the research will be presented. First, the empirical findings will be outlined and explained. Excerpts and quotes¹ from the analysed articles will be featured to highlight what signifies the different narratives identified. Subsequently, the findings will be put in relation to the theoretical choices made and previous research in order to answer the second and third research question. Note that all findings are dependent on the researcher's interpretation of the texts analysed, as was discussed in *Section 4.1*.

¹ All excerpts and quotes are translated from Swedish to English by the author.

5.1 Narratives on EMD in Swedish Newspapers

After reading and analysing the 27 newspaper texts that were deemed appropriate for investigating narratives on EMD in Swedish news media, four main narratives were identified. These narratives have been termed *Victim/Humanitarian Narrative*; *Security Threat Narrative*; *Political Narrative*, and; *Critical Narrative*. Even if the most common way to frame EMD was through one narrative, it was discovered that many of the articles were actually using two, and sometimes even three narratives to get their points across. This means that although it was found that each of these narratives has distinct qualities and traits, they were not mutually exclusive, as presented in *Figure 2*.

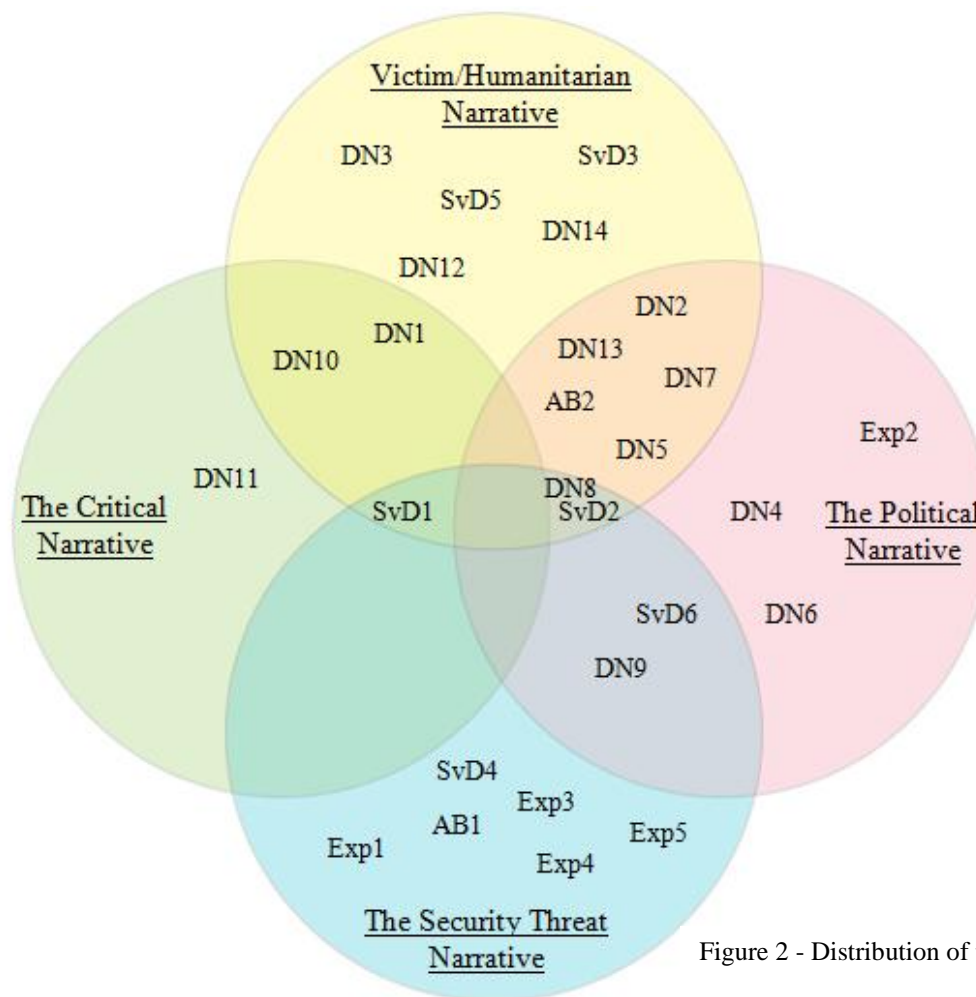


Figure 2 - Distribution of texts/narrative

5.1.1 The Victim/Humanitarian Narrative

The Victim/Humanitarian Narrative was the most common narrative used when describing EMD, present in 55% of the articles analysed. This narrative distinguished itself in primarily four aspects. These were (1) the humanitarian emphasis, (2) that people forced to relocate are poor, (3) that the rich industrialised world are responsible for climate change, and (4) that action has to be taken on a global scale. The first, third and fourth point are all evident in the

excerpt below. According to this narrative, humanitarian action should happen through foreign aid and mitigation actions such as increasing resilience of the governments in the countries most affected by climate change.

“It is primarily people in poor and already exposed countries that are afflicted. That’s why aid is one of the hottest topics on the climate summit in Paris. The money is needed for mitigation measures that can give protection against floods or rearrange farming practices so that the farms can cope with drought”

DN2 (2015-11-24)

Built around the above mentioned aspects, people most affected by sea level-rise or drought are often portrayed as a victims of nature. Described as victims they lack agency, power and resistance to solve their situation. There is often no mention of measures taken by the families or people themselves that points toward a more nuanced picture of the resilience that these people might show before they have been forced to move. Another common victimisation is the reference to migrants as “refugees” which is very frequent within this narrative. As was explained in *Section 2.1.2* the term refugee is highly contested in relation to EMD, and runs the risk of further stripping the agency of the migrant. It also signifies a power relation between the person branded as a refugee and the person assigning them the brand. The following quote is an example of this victimisation.

“Rina became a climate refugee when the river took her family’s home and land. She’s a little bit over 40 years old, but far from 50. Illiterate, married by the age of 12, mother of three daughters, today grandmother of six grandchildren, of which the oldest is 18 years old. She’s a widow.”

DN13 (2018-09-30)

Although there is no denying the challenging life Rina must have lived, reporting of this kind, especially when persistent throughout entire articles, is problematic as it implies unequal power relations between the subject and the reader of the article. This paired with the point made above the previous quotation creates a narrative of domination in which rich Western countries are portrayed as objectively more successful than the countries most vulnerable to climate change.

5.1.2 The Political Narrative

One narrative often found in combination with the Victim/Humanitarian Narrative was the Political Narrative. This narrative was found in 44% of all texts analysed. The narrative was

used in two separate ways, but both these strands shared a common emphasis on EMD as something that has to be addressed globally and, in relation, the importance of maintaining global cooperation at today's level to ensure environmentally sustainable and financially beneficial solutions for everyone. The name of the narrative was chosen because of its clear political agenda in promoting global liberal policies, and opposing the renationalisation seen in many countries all over the world today. In the case of EMD, this narrative is used commonly to both ridicule and to try to convince nationalist populist parties to care about climate change. This version of the narrative is highlighted in for example this headline: "Do you now understand why the climate is important, Donald Trump" (SvD6, 2018-11-02).

The second way this narrative has been used in Swedish newspapers can be seen below. It is proclaiming what a good job Sweden is doing in the international community, as opposed to the renationalising countries.

"Sweden is doing its part in foreign policy-making, climate politics as well as aid politics. Sweden is taking on a global leadership when it comes to financing climate and development cooperation, and is the single biggest donator per capita to many of the largest multilateral climate funds."

DN8 (2018-07-11)

Apart from the narrative being utilised to these purposes, there is much emphasis on the obligation of modernised countries to take responsibility for their emissions in the past. On that note, the texts within this narrative is highly supportive of eco-modernisation. Out of all the narratives identified this is, as suggested in the name, the most politicised one, often utilised by Swedish politicians in power to announce what a good job they are doing. The following quote is an example of this.

"Social injustices on a global level must also be addressed on a global level to counteract involuntary economic migration and social unrest. This is the reason why Sweden has launched the Global Deal-initiative for decent work and inclusive growth, and now urges other countries to join. Climate change, which leads to desertification in some places and rising sea levels in others, is also something that will lead to involuntary migration and perhaps war and conflict. This is one of the reasons why Sweden has taken on the goal of becoming one of the first fossil fuel free welfare nations in the world." [emphasis added by the author].

DN4 (2016-07-21)

Apart from showing its politicised nature, the quote above also highlights the global emphasis found in the narrative.

5.1.3 The Security Threat Narrative

The Security Threat Narrative, found in 41% of the texts analysed, tells a story of climate change causing migration that in turn is a security threat to both the migrants and the countries that they migrate to. According to this narrative, migration needs to be avoided for the sake of both the sending and receiving countries of migrants as migration on this large a scale is seen as harmful to individuals and societies alike. A common narrative device is the reference to how very large numbers of potential migrants can cause political insecurity and potential chaos here in Europe. As seen in the quote below, reference is often made to the refugee “crisis” of 2015.

“During the migrant crisis of 2015 1,2 million asylum seekers came to Europe. This had large domestic political consequences in many countries. Without the migrant crisis the UK might not have left the EU. Maybe Alternativ für Deutschland would not have been elected into the German parliament. It has also lead to major clashes between countries within the EU. So what would happen if hundreds of millions more migrants would come to the EU?”

SvD4 (2017-10-06)

The argument of an increased risk for conflict is not only brought up in a Western context but also applied to those countries that are expected to be predominantly sending countries. This device often ties into how the drought that struck Syria before the civil war broke out increased tensions in the urban areas after agricultural workers were forced to move from their farms. Also the successful campaigns of terrorist groups such as al-Shabaab and Boko Haram have been attributed to people migrating because of climate change, as exemplified in the following quote.

“In Somalia, the terrorist group al-Shabaab is recruiting many men that lacks a stable income. Meanwhile in Nigeria, the terrorist group Boko Haram is prepared when an increasingly larger part of the population is fleeing declining agricultural production and diminishing fish population. The same type of critical development can be seen in for example Armenia, Turkey, Syria, Iraq, India, China, Laos, and Bolivia.”

Exp5 (2018-06-22)

As it is shown in the excerpt above, the focus on the Security Threat Narrative is much more regional or even national in scope than the other two narratives outlined so far. It is argued that mitigation measures for climate change should be made globally, but EMD should be dealt with through national and regional policies.

5.1.4 The Critical Narrative

The Critical Narrative was, as one could expect, the least common narrative out of those identified with only 15% of the articles showing critical resemblance, and only one (1) of the 27 articles analysed subscribed to the narrative fully. In many aspects, the Critical Narrative is similar to the Victim/Humanitarian Narrative in the way it describes the migrants as victims, as can be seen in the quote below.

“Those afflicted first and worst are the people living in the poorest countries in the world”, says Shora Esmailian. She exemplifies with comparing the Netherlands to Egypt. The former country can afford to build walls and plan their cities for future sea level-rise. In Alexandria, on the other hand, beaches are already disappearing because of higher water levels.”

SvD1 (2015-10-04)

As has been discussed before, this type of framing of actual or potential migrants can be problematic because of its dominance-creating implications on an individual level. However, the focus of the Critical Narrative is usually larger as it mainly looks to, and critiques, global industrial capitalism, the alleged Western hegemony over it, and the consequences this has on global politics. Articulated in the two following quotes, the Critical Narrative argues that the current system is fundamentally unable to address any consequence of climate change, be it physical or social.

“The booming literature genre of liberal neo-optimism [...] proclaims that ‘everything is amazing’, and thus reduces the climate issue to a minor detail that will get resolved by more of the world capitalism’s blessings.”

DN11 (2018-08-29)

“If one wants to understand how power and privileges works in the world today, one doesn’t have to look further than migration policies. Colonialism, power-hierarchies, and white privilege is inscribed in your passport.”

DN1 (2015-10-19)

Both of the points signifying the Critical Narrative, victimisation and system critique, is encapsulated in the headline of DN10 (2018-07-24): “The primary driver of the collapse – and its first victims”. The primary driver is the current world system and subsequent urbanisation, and the victims are climate change migrants in poorer countries.

5.2 Influence of the Narratives in Swedish Society

As was shown already in *Section 1.4*, *Figure 1* illustrates the increase of news reporting on the topic of EMD in Swedish newspapers in the years 2010-2018. This increase is of course significant for narratives on EMD to be able to influence the attitude to the phenomena in Swedish society at all since there can be no discourse or knowledge reproduction unless there is anywhere for people to read discourse and obtain knowledge. Subsequently, of the narratives identified in the previous section, it can be argued that the Victim/Humanitarian, Security Threat, and Political narratives are those with the most discursive power. This is for two reasons mainly. The first is that they are all more frequently featured in news reporting and thus, naturally, people will be more exposed to these narratives. The second is that these three narratives are operating within the hegemonic discourse described in *Section 2.2*. As it was explained there, when a certain discourse is hegemonic it is seen as commonsensical by the majority of the population and thus any argument that takes place outside of this discourse is often seen as either unfeasible or even absurd (Swyngedouw, 2010). Since the Critical Narrative is featured only in a very small proportion of the articles, and because it questions the fundamental assumptions of the hegemonic discourse, it is not expected to have a lot of influence over Swedes' attitudes toward EMD.

Based on this interpretation, one needs to look mainly at the discursive reproduction qualities of the three former narratives. Since the study relies on SRT, this is done through analysing how they apply the strategies of anchoring and objectification described in *Section 4.3.2*. Emotional anchoring was found to be a prominent part of all articles in the three narratives. The articles evoked emotions of mainly fear, guilt, and compassion through the way EMD and the everyday life of climate change migrants was portrayed. Within the Victim/Humanitarian Narrative and Political Narrative, many articles (e.g. AB1, DN2, DN3, DN13, SvD2) played on the emotions of guilt and compassion through depicting the potential migrants as victims and the rich people of the West as those responsible for the migrants' adversaries. This type of emotional anchoring could also be observed in the imagery connected to several articles within all of the three most common narratives (e.g. AB1, AB2, DN5, Exp1, SvD1). The newspapers evoke these emotions through pictures of starving children (AB1) and flooded refugee camps (Exp1) for example.

Even though the Security Threat Narrative somewhat incorporates the emotions of guilt and compassion through images, the main emotion connected to both text and images in this narrative was fear. Fear was established by connecting war, political instability, and terrorism to an increasing number of climate change migrants, as was shown in the quotes in *Section 5.1.3*.

Perhaps the most evident case of emotionally anchoring EMD with fear is found in Exp5 (2018-06-02) where the headline states “Climate increases the risk of new terror attacks”, accompanied with a large image of masked members of terrorist group al-Shabaab carrying heavy automatic weapons.

Naming was also a common process of anchoring. In the case of EMD, Swedish newspapers are naming the climate change migrants as refugees, thus anchoring climate change migrants to all notions associated with the social representation of refugees. Only four (4) out of the 27 articles analysed does not refer to refugees (DN8, DN11, Exp2 & SvD6). As it has been discussed at length previously in this thesis, the branding of migrants as refugees is problematic since it (re)establishes hierarchical systems of power and dominance. Furthermore, the social representation of refugees has, since 2015, taken on an increasingly negative tone in which refugees are seen primarily as an extra weight for Swedish society to carry, thereby creating a more hostile attitude towards them (De Coninck et al., 2019).

The thematic anchoring was not as clearly manifested as emotional anchoring and objectification, and naming since it relies mainly on underlying assumptions of the way things are, or ought to be in society (Höijer, 2011). It anchors and describes the nature of a phenomena by referring to what is perceived as common sense by the majority population. In the articles analysed, the thematic anchoring was primarily carried out by emphasising the importance of sustainable solutions to climate change and EMD, the glorification of Swedish climate initiatives in the international community, and helping migrants in their country of origin rather than in Sweden. The sustainability representation was shaped through promoting eco-modern initiatives such as green growth and technological innovation, as seen in the quote below. In doing this it speaks to the rationality of the current capitalist world system, the advantages of which is taken for granted by most people in Western countries, Sweden included (Blühdorn, 2017).

“Sweden will take responsibility when it comes to mitigating climate change by phasing out fossil fuels by the year 2045. Many Swedish companies invest enormous resources in their R&D [Research and Development] departments for renewable energy, energy efficiency, electric vehicles, and other ways to cut CO₂-emissions. That is how Sweden leads the way. And Swedish export dependent companies also knows from experience that it’s beneficial to be in the frontline of climate-efficient technology. There is thereby no contradiction between environmental and economic sustainability.”

DN4 (2016-07-21)

This quote also shows the way in which media anchor the global issue of EMD to the commonly accepted view that Sweden is taking on a very prominent, progressive role in mitigating climate change and humanitarian action (Olausson, 2011).

The thematic anchoring in which it is suggested that migrants should be helped in their countries of origin can be exemplified by Exp4 (2018-03-22) which asserts that “[t]he solution [to avoid a ‘climate refugee crisis’] is coordinated global action to reduce greenhouse gases, and development plans on a national level”. This thematic anchoring also interacted to a large extent with evoking emotions of fear, and associating EMD with refugees and the European failure to cope with the immigration “crisis” of 2015.

Adding together all of the above, it can be argued that newspapers may influence social representations and consequently public attitudes through emotionally anchoring and objectifying EMD with emotions of guilt, compassion, and fear. This is accompanied with the naming of migrants as refugees, and through thematically anchoring EMD with traditional mitigation measures towards climate change operating within the previously described discourse of Industrial Fatalism. However, determining exactly what kind public attitudes towards EMD will develop in Sweden is not possible here since the study does not include public responses. While saying this, through Socio-Cognitive Approach used, it can be hypothesised that the public attitudes formed will be heavily emotionally grounded. In this, Olausson (2011) found in a study using SRT on media representations of climate change that emotionally grounded social representations in media tends to lead to high public engagement on the topic. However, since the only solution to be offered to the specific social phenomena of EMD in all of the three most common narratives is essentially a continuation of business-as-usual, and the treatment of climate change migrants as refugees, it is fair to question how effective this public engagement will be in actually improving the situation for the migrants.

5.3 Influence of Western Media Hegemony on Narratives

By comparing the narratives identified in this study to the underpinnings of the hegemonic discourse described in *Section 2.2* through the lens of Critical Theory, the study has been able to theoretically delineate certain elements in Swedish newspaper narratives that are influenced by this discourse. It should be noted that the hegemonic discourse does not perhaps enforce itself on the way that climate change or Sweden’s role in it is viewed, but it rather sets the limits to ways that media talks about climate change, its consequences, and how to address it. What is meant by this is that climate change and the issue of EMD is unanimously viewed as

anthropogenic and as caused by the industrialisation of Western countries in all articles analysed for this study. This has also been found in previous studies on climate change news reporting in Sweden (Olausson, 2011). However, there is no real addressing of how to manage the looming challenge of EMD outside of this Western hegemonic discourse except, naturally, in the Critical Narrative. This was touched upon in the previous section when talking about the ways in which the three most common narratives were thematically anchored.

Of the values associated the Western hegemonic discourse, the emphasis on eco-modernisation found in Swedish news narratives might be the most prominent example of the discourse's power to influence. This emphasis is evident in several articles, for example DN4, DN5, DN7, Exp5, SvD4, SvD5, where solutions to EMD is suggested to be more green technology, further modernisation, and economic growth. The quote from DN4 found in *Section 5.2* exemplifies this reasoning particularly well. As it was mentioned in *Section 3*, this type of argumentation fails to distinguish between the actual cause of EMD and climate change, which is industrial global capitalism, and the physical consequences of climate change. Admittedly, these solutions to EMD are likely be efficient in addressing it in the short term, but they do very little to address its longevity. In fact, it can be argued that mitigation measures promoting eco-modernisation worsens the prospects of addressing EMD since they exacerbate climate change itself through continued exploitation of natural and human resources (Blühdorn, 2017).

The hegemonic discourse's influence over the narratives told in Sweden is also demonstrated in the way that international negotiations is perceived to be another silver bullet in mitigating climate change and helping climate change migrants. Articles AB1, DN8, DN9, Exp1, SvD2 are a few examples of where this argumentation persists, illustrated in the excerpt below.

"We're now looking forward to next year's summit in the UN on climate. If we're serious about the global goals for international sustainable development, peace, and security, climate related security risks must be brought up on the international agenda."

DN8 (2018-07-11)

While international cooperation is undoubtedly vital in addressing the global issue of EMD, in their current form, these negotiations are doing very little to actually contribute to the situation surrounding EMD. The perspectives of the actual sending countries and migrants are very seldom being considered when looking at solutions to EMD. This is also reflected in the rep-

resentation of EMD in Swedish media, where the narratives of the actual migrants are severely lacking.

In the light of these two examples, perhaps the best way to illustrate the hold that Western media hegemony has over Swedish news reporting on climate change and EMD is the absence of admitting that eco-modernisation is worsening climate change, and that international negotiations are carried out on the premises of rich countries that are not as severely affected by EMD, and additionally those most responsible for it. What these two examples essentially has in common is that they both mainly benefit rich countries in the West. Through endorsing eco-modernisation, the discourse promotes the continued expansion of material wealth. Through advertising international negotiations, it ensures that rich countries, predominantly receiving countries of potential climate change migrants, remain in power over people forced to move from poorer parts of the globe – thereby maintaining power relations between countries in the Global North and Global South established since colonial times. In effect, the influence that the Western hegemonic discourse has over the Swedish news media narratives on EMD is the maintaining of a status quo that is putting Western countries above poorer countries, that are more exposed to the consequences of climate change. This is the same problematic that has been hinted at in the studies presented in *Section 3* among others (e.g. Anshelm & Hultman, 2015; Levy & Spicer, 2013; Murphy, 2017; Wagner & Payne, 2017)

6. Concluding Discussion

As this research set out, it did so with three main aims. These were (1) to investigate the narratives on EMD in Swedish printed news media, (2) to investigate in what ways the narratives found could have an impact on the general attitude towards EMD and climate change migrants in Sweden, and (3) to look closer at the ways in which the hegemonic discourse found in much Western media could influence the narratives on EMD in Swedish newspapers. The purpose of doing this was to fill a knowledge gap on how EMD and climate change migrants is viewed in a Western society. Approaching the research in this way also had a societal significance as Sweden, along with many other Western countries, will be faced with the challenge of welcoming an increasing number of people forced to leave their homes because of climate change in the future. Thus, examining how the general attitude toward EMD might develop could hint at the potentiality of the migrants receiving a dignified migration, in accordance with the Climate Change Justice Framework that inspired this research.

Through a Critical Discourse Analysis, the study found four narratives: Victim/Humanitarian, Security Threat, Political, and Critical. Out of these four, the three former were believed to have the most discursive power as they exist within the hegemonic discourse that determines to a large degree what is perceived as common sense in society and what is perceived as feasible in any given current situation. By evoking emotions of fear, guilt, and compassion, these narratives are hypothesised to lead to attitudes of high public engagement on the topic. Although high public engagement is viewed by the researcher as something positive as it often leads to constructive societal change, the study questions the actual impact of this potential engagement since the solutions to EMD and climate change presented in the narratives essentially maintains business-as-usual and at times adopt a rather derogatory portrayal of climate change migrants.

Since the study is using Critical Theory as an imperative part of its theory and methodology, a word or two should be said on the notion of power structures. In terms of dominance, the study can conclude that there is a two-layered system of power within what has been researched here. The obvious power relation is that between the media reporting, and in extension Swedish society, and the climate change migrants. This power relation has been outlined throughout the thesis. The second level of dominance is exercised by the hegemonic discourse on the consumers of Swedish news media. As it has been shown, this discourse influences how EMD is talked about since it determines what is common sense and also what is seen as systematically feasible. As such it limits the way in which the news consumer is allowed to think freely on the topic of EMD. It should be reiterated that the reproduction of the hegemonic discourse is happening unintentionally and that it is a product of the current world system, rather than a conscious means to maintain it. Then again, as it was mentioned in *Section 4.2.1*, intentionality is irrelevant when it comes to determining if a discourse is oppressive or not. In the context of this study, the discourse is thus unintentionally oppressive in two different instances. Because of the persistence and reproduction of the hegemonic discourse in Swedish news media, the possibility of achieving the dignified, humanitarian migration elevated by the CCJ Framework seems awfully distant.

To avoid concluding this paper on such an unhopeful note, it should once again be repeated that the findings and conclusions presented in this paper is just one interpretation, made by one individual, coming from one specific context. In order to obtain a complete picture on the area of interest many more studies and many more interpretations are needed. Future studies should dive deeper into the perception of EMD and climate change migrants in Western societies in order to properly probe, and hopefully increase, the probability of a full emersion

into Climate Change Justice. Lastly, despite the grim outlook on the situation regarding EMD given here it must be remembered that humanity has shown extraordinary resilience and adaptability in the face of immediate crisis before. Let's hope it can be done again!

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7.1 Newspaper Articles

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- AB2. Sten, C., 2016, January 18th. Flyktingkrisen 2015 – det var bara början. *Aftonbladet*, p.6.
- DN1. Armeiro, M., Baldwin, A. & Turhan E., 2015, October 19th. Migrationen kommer att förvandla en varmare planet. *Dagens Nyheter*, pp.6-7.
- DN2. Rosén, H. & Gunther, M., 2015, November 24th. Minskat bistånd kan öka flyktingkrisen. *Dagens Nyheter*, pp.8-9.
- DN3. Kihlberg, J., 2015, November 24th. Människor kan tvingas överge Tuvalu. *Dagens Nyheter*, p.9.
- DN4. Lövin, I. & Sachs, J., 2016, July 21st. "Sverige bäst i världen på hållbar utveckling". *Dagens Nyheter*, p.6.

- DN5. Röstlund, L., 2017, November 2nd. Vädret tvingar 22 miljoner att fly varje år. *Dagens Nyheter*, pp.12-13.
- DN6. Lindvall, D., 2017, November 17th. Därför hatar SD och andra nationalisterna klimatpolitiken. *Dagens Nyheter*, p.7.
- DN7. Kristof, N., 2018, February 5th. Här skapar klimatförändringarna en djup fattigdomskälla. *Dagens Nyheter*, p.4.
- DN8. Lövin, I. & Wallström, M., 2018, July 11th. "Klimatförändringar slår mot säkerheten – nu måste FN agera". *Dagens Nyheter*, p.5.
- DN9. Carlsson Tenitskaja, A., 2018, July 12th. "Vi har bara sett början på situationen med klimatflyktingar". *Dagens Nyheter*, p.15.
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