

# Securitizing Climate Change

An Analysis of Barbados' advocacy for SIDS in international  
climate change negotiations

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# Abstract

In the last twenty-five years, the influence of climate change over the lives of the world's citizens has become a central topic of discussion within multilateral organisations such as the United Nations. The topic of policy and decision-making capacity, as well as representation of developing nations such as Small Island Developing States (SIDS) is also constant. This research is conducted as a case study into Barbados, and through the use of a discourse analysis on four addresses presented by Prime Minister Mia Amor Mottley at the 2018 and 2019 United Nations General Assemblies and the 2021 and 2022 Framework Convention on Climate Change Conferences, aims to answer the research question of how Barbados advocate for SIDS concerns in international climate change forums. The data is a set of transcriptions of these speeches, organised through a process of coding which has been determined by an inductive approach as well as a priori approach based in a theoretical framework of securitisation. This study examines linguistic tools used in these addresses and the findings identify six key themes used to represent SIDS in these global climate change arenas: environmental disasters, inequality, collaboration, call to action, finance and policy, and survival.

*Key words:* Barbados, SIDS, United Nations, Securitisation, Climate change, Advocacy, Discourse Analysis, Mia Amor Mottley

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# 1 Introduction

Small Island Developing States (SIDS) have been traditionally marginalised in the international political arena, due to a number of reasons including limited economic power and organisational capacity, as well as the size of these populations and geographic territories (de Águeda Corneloup & Mol, 2014; Pelling & Uitto, 2001). However, in the last twenty-five years, the involvement of SIDS in international development forums, specifically with regards to issues of climate change mitigation, has increased, with Barbados serving as representative and advocate for fellow SIDS (CARICOM, 2022; de Águeda Corneloup & Mol, 2014; UNEP, 2021a).

This increased presence in the global political arena has been undertaken through the formation, utilisation and strengthening of coalitions and collaborative organisations, which serve as supportive springboards for organisation and focused communication with non-state and international parties (Betzold et. al, 2012; Campling, 2006; Chaitram, 2018). Through these channels, SIDS are able to sway international discussions on climate change as well as influence policy and decision-making processes, to not only consider, but prioritise issues which directly affect these small island nation states.

This research aims to explore how Barbados advocates for SIDS in two United Nations forums, the United Nations General Assembly and the Framework Convention on Climate Change.

## 1.2 Purpose and Scope

This study aims to examine the addresses made by Barbados in the international forums of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) and Framework Convention on Climate Change Conference of the Parties (UNFCCC COP) and analyse how this state advocates for SIDS in the realm of climate change negotiations. This thesis aims to

explore the links between Barbados in its regional capacity and as a representative of SIDS at an international scale, in climate change policymaking and discourse.

In order to do this, the thesis will undertake a case study, and conduct a discourse analysis based in a sociological variant of securitisation theory.

Climate change is a global challenge which has become central to development discourse and policymaking over the last twenty-five years (Brauch & Scheffran, 2012; de Águeda Corneloup & Mol, 2014). The United Nations defines climate change as being directly or indirectly attributed to “human activity that alters the composition of the global atmosphere [...] in addition to natural climate variability observed over comparable time periods”, and additionally outlines the “adverse effects of climate change” as being changes that have deleterious impacts “on the composition, resilience or productivity of natural and managed ecosystems or on the operation of socio-economic systems or on human health and welfare” (UNFCCC, 1992: 7).

An escalation in devastating weather events, such as wildfires, floods, hurricanes, and drought has contributed to the prioritisation of this challenge in the global political arena, making climate change an extremely important topic of discussion and action amongst the world’s leaders (Brauch & Scheffran, 2012; de Águeda Corneloup & Mol, 2014; Pelling & Uitto, 2001; UNEP, 2021a; UNFCCC, 1992). A significant feature in these discussions has been the particular vulnerability of SIDS, with Barbados taking a leading role, on behalf of these nations (ibid).

The contextual timeframe of this thesis spans from 1966, when Barbados first became an independent nation, to present day 2023. However, the analysis pays special attention to the span of five years between 2018 and 2022 – looking into the addresses made by Barbados at the 2018 United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) and the three subsequent UNFCCC conferences. Reasons for this delimitation in scope include academic relevance and saturation as well as the marked elevation of Barbados to the role of representative for Caribbean SIDS, which occurred in coordination with the 2018 election of Barbados’ first female Prime Minister, the Honourable Mia Amor Mottley (Betzold et. al, 2012; Goddard, 2022; PMO, 2023; UN, 2018; UNEPa, 2021).

The collaboration of SIDS through the multilateral organisations like the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM) and the Association of Small Island States (AOSIS) has been researched at length by scholars such as Betzold et. al (2012), Chaitram (2018), de Águeda Corneloup & Mol (2014), Griffith (1990), and Payne (2008), and the continuing coalition of these states remains a topic of extensive research at the time of this paper (Konrad, 2022; Lewis, 2022). However, research into Barbados as a representative for the SIDS is limited and varies in scope and purpose (Rawlins et. al, 2003). This research hopes to contribute to political science discourse surrounding small state advocacy in major international forums and how this representation impacts development policymaking and the prioritisation of issues for climate change action.

In order to guide the research, meet the aims outlined above, and allow for a conclusion to the study, the following research question has been developed:

*“How does Barbados advocate for SIDS concerns in international climate change negotiations?”*

## 2 Background

The following section provides information on key terms, organisations and events referenced throughout this paper.

### 2.1 Small Island Developing States (SIDS)

SIDS refers to a group of 39 Member States, and 20 Associate Members, who share a set of characteristics which contribute to their vulnerability in the face of certain economic, social and environmental challenges (UN, 2023c). This group, first officially identified and coined in 1992 at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro, is delineated into two main regions (the Caribbean and the Pacific) (Campbell & Connell, 2021; Lewis, 2022: 1; Pelling & Uitto, 2001; UN, 2023c).

The characteristics of SIDS include a small but rapidly growing population, limited economic power and low diversity of industry as well as a dependency on economies of scale and high import rates (Betzold et. al, 2012; de Águeda Corneloup & Mol, 2014; Pelling & Uitto, 2001; UNFCCC, 1992; UN, 2023c). Additionally, communication and collaboration with one another, as well as participation in regional and international forums, has proved difficult for these states in the past, due to their geographic remoteness (Campbell & Connell, 2021; de Águeda Corneloup & Mol, 2014; Pelling & Uitto, 2001; UNFCCC, 2007; UN, 2023c).

SIDS are particularly vulnerable to, and feel the impact of, climate change due to their geographic locations, typography, vulnerability to natural disasters such as cyclones and hurricanes, and dependency on the marine environment for much of their livelihoods and economic activity (Betzold et. al, 2012; Campbell & Connell, 2021; de Águeda Corneloup & Mol, 2014; Lewis, 2022: 32; Pelling & Uitto, 2001; UNFCCC, 2007; UN, 2023c).



## 2.2 Barbados

With a land mass of approximately 430 sq. km, serving a population of 281 200, Barbados is one of the most densely populated countries in the world and is one of the highest ranking ‘developing’ countries in the Latin American and Caribbean region (Pelling & Uitto, 2001; Lewis, 2022: 26; UNDP, 2021; World Bank, 2021). The following graph shows the progress of Barbados’ Human Development Index from 1990 to 2021, where the HDI value hit 0.790, ranking the country as 70 out of 190 and reflecting a high level of human development (UNDP, 2021).

### Trends in Barbados's HDI 1990 – 2021

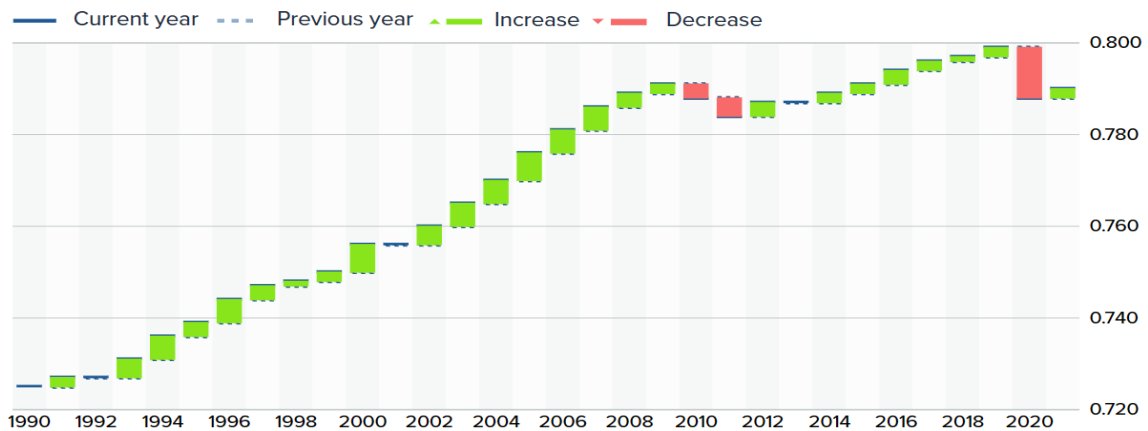


Figure 1 - Barbados' Human Development Index (1990 and 2021). Source:

### 2.2.1 Independence

Prior to gaining independence in November 1966, Barbados was a British colony. Upon becoming a sovereign nation and establishing its own government, Barbados entered the international political arena and began to engage in international relations, building relationships with countries across the globe (Goddard, 2022). In December of 1966, Barbados was admitted to membership in the United Nations and has been an active participant in global politics and negotiations since (UN, 2006).

On November 30, 2021, Barbados officially ceased to be a constitutional monarchy and transitioned to a republic, removing Queen Elizabeth as the head of state and therefore marking the country’s shift to a fully independent nation (Goddard, 2022).

Despite being mainly symbolic, as Barbados had been self-governing for fifty-five years, the official move to independence marked a major milestone in Barbados' history and established the opportunity for completely endogenous political, social and economic policymaking (ibid).

## 2.3 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)

The UNFCCC acknowledges climate change as an issue of international concern, elaborating on causes of and contributors to adverse effects on the environment, with a particular focus on climate change mitigation and adaptation, and decreasing greenhouse gas emissions; and serves to outline legislation and behaviours to be enacted by states in the face of climate change (Pelling & Uitto, 2001; UNFCCC, 1992).

A major tenet of the Convention is that the negative environmental contributions of developed countries far exceed those of their developing counterparts and that developed nations have greater economic stability and therefore capacity for immediate action and adjustment in order to mitigate the deleterious effects of climate change (ibid). Furthermore, the UNFCCC (1992: 15) lists country characteristics defining areas that are most vulnerable to the adverse effects of climate change (“small island countries; [...] low-lying coastal areas; [...] prone to natural disasters), which the Parties need to prioritise – applying greater consideration to the actions required to address these needs and concerns.

The Conference of the Parties (hereafter referred to as COP) was established in Berlin, Germany in 1995 - as the main decision-making body for the Convention – and is composed of governments and organisations which are responsible for helping to maintain the pacts and plans outlined in the Convention (UNFCCC, 1992). COP is set as an annual undertaking, unless otherwise decided by the ‘Parties’ (the 198 countries that have ratified the Convention) and is one of the largest international forums to discuss and tackle climate change (ibid).

## 2.4 Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM)

The Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM) was formed in 1973, with Barbados, Guyana, and Trinidad and Tobago serving as the founding members of this coalition (CARICOM, 2023; Lewis, 2022: 27). This intergovernmental organisation, presently consisting of twenty countries: five Associate Member States, and fifteen Member States, aims to promote social, political and economic development among its members as well as support regional collaboration and integration; and coordinate foreign policy (ibid).

## 2.5 Association of Small Island States (AOSIS)

The Association of Small Island States (AOSIS) was formed in the lead-up to the Second World Climate Conference in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1990 (Betzold et. al, 2012; Gayoom, n.d.). During the Commonwealth Summit for Heads of State and Governments in Vancouver and the United Nations in 1987, the issue of rising sea levels and the threat that climate change posed against small island states was brought to the attention of the delegates present by President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom, of the Maldives (ibid).

Other small island states present at the 1987 Summit expressed similar concerns and therefore, a special conference was arranged and held in the Maldives in 1989, to review the latest research on climate change and the impacts on rising sea levels (Betzold et. al, 2012; Gayoom, n.d.).

### 3 Theoretical Framework of Securitisation

Securitisation theory focuses on the transformation of an issue from the realm of normal politics to an urgent emergency status, whereby this issue is labelled, presented and accepted as a security threat, through a process of ‘securitisation’ (Balzacq, 2011: 58; Brauch & Scheffran, 2012; Taureck, 2006). Originally based in the banking sector, the concept of ‘securitisation’ was transferred into International Relations by Ole Wæver in 1989, of the Peace and Conflict Research Institute (COPRI) in Copenhagen (henceforth referred to as the ‘CS’, for Copenhagen School), and has since become one of the dominant approaches to security, peace and conflict (Balzacq, 2011: 1).

The theoretical basis of securitisation purports that ‘securitisation’ is that this is a process which is undertaken through a ‘speech act’; essentially, that action is being carried out simply by using the word “security” and therefore this field studies the use of language by securitising actors (Balzacq, 2011: 1). This research employs Thierry Balzacq’s theoretical framework of securitisation, as presented in *Securitization Theory: How Security Problems Emerge and Dissolve* (2011).

There are several justifications for the selection of this framework as opposed to the CS approach. First, through the incorporation of power relations, historical context, social structures and institutions, this theoretical perspective provides a more flexible and comprehensive approach to securitisation, which is beneficial to the purpose of this study and allows for the consideration of various societal contexts when assessing how Barbados advocates for SIDS in international climate change negotiations (Balzacq, 2011: 22). Second, despite being a key topic of debate in international relations and global politics since the early 2000s, the acceptance of climate change as a security issue has yet to fully saturate the global political arena (Aradau, 2004; Brauch & Scheffran, 2012; Taureck, 2006). This has led to increasing concern from critics of securitisation theory about a lack of moral and ethical considerations incorporated in this approach and chastising powerful nations for prioritising economic factors over

human lives, as the failed securitisation of a critical issue may mean the difference between life and death for a securitising actor (Aradau, 2004; Balzacq, 2011: 73; Brauch & Scheffran, 2012; Taureck, 2006). This framework provides valuable tools of analysis to allow for insight into how this discrepancy has occurred (climate change as a security threat for some and not for others), therefore supporting an exploration into how Barbados raises this point and appeals to audiences during these international meetings (ibid).

### 3.1 Defining ‘Securitisation’

Before continuing to outline the theoretical framework, it is important to define and clarify securitisation for use in this study, as this concept heavily debated within social science discourse. This section is dedicated to this purpose.

Balzacq expands upon and departs from the CS conceptualisation of securitisation as being solely as a ‘speech act’ (Balzacq, 2011: 1-30) and employs the following definition, which has been slightly simplified for ease of comprehension.

*Securitisation is “an articulated assemblage of practices whereby [cognitive tools] are contextually mobilized by a securitizing actor, [working] to prompt an audience to build[...] (feelings, sensations, thoughts, and intuitions), about the critical vulnerability of a referent object, that concurs with the securitizing actor’s reasons for choices and actions, by investing the referent subject with such an aura of unprecedented threatening complexion that a customized policy must be undertaken immediately to block its development” (Balzacq, 2011: 3).*

Balzacq (2011: 34) elaborates on the role of an “enabling audience” as having a direct causal connection with the issue as well as the ability to empower the securitising actor to adopt measures to tackle the threat. Additionally, the “referent object” in the definition above refers to the object (or subject) identified by the securitising actor as being in danger or under threat from the issue in question (for example, a group, state or region).

## 3.2 Components of securitisation

Balzacq characterises two distinct views of securitisation and this thesis adopts the *sociological* variant, which acknowledges that power relations, a set of practices and contexts contribute to the construction of threat images, building off of the *philosophical* variant which serves as the basis of the CS approach to securitisation and focuses solely on security as a ‘speech act’ (Balzacq, 2011: 1). The sociological view of securitisation emphasises the role of the audience in the securitisation process, indicating that the way in which a security problem is designed and presented to the respective audience impacts the legitimacy of the issue and conditions the kinds of means used to stop it (Balzacq, 2011: 7-8).

Balzacq’s framework identifies three core assumptions of securitisation theory: “a) the centrality of the audience, b) the co-dependency of agency and context, and c) the structuring force of the *dispositif*, [aka] a constellation of practices or tools” (2011: 3) and reasons that the degree of alignment with these assumptions delineates the *philosophical* (CS) and *sociological* approaches to securitisation (Balzacq, 2011: 8 & 19).

The sociological approach to securitisation theory outlines three levels of analysis which springboard off of the assumptions referenced above, through which the framing of climate change as a security issue, the actors involved, and audience response can be analysed (Balzacq, 2011: 35). This analytical conceptualisation aims to incorporate pivotal contextual information and nuanced power relations, therefore choosing to depart from traditional securitisation vocabulary such as that used by Buzan et. al in 1998 (i.e., securitising actor, referent objects, functional actors) (Balzacq, 2011: 35).

The following section elaborates on these three levels of analysis (agents, acts, context) and the facets contained within. However, as these analytical dimensions are comprehensive and allow for a broad scope and the incorporation of multifaceted issues, it is important to select a level of analysis “necessary for answering the question at hand” (Balzacq, 2011: 35 – 37). This section therefore culminates in a distilled

analytical framework, suitable to answer the question of how Barbados advocates for SIDS concerns in international climate change negotiations.

### 3.2.1 Level 1 – Agents

The first level of analysis concentrates on actors, as well as the power relations that contribute to the context being analysed (Balzacq, 2011: 7). The term ‘actor’ can be used in reference to an individual, group, organisation, state, or coalition of states that present an issue as threatening to a referent object (Brauch & Scheffran, 2012; Taureck, 2006). This level incorporates audiences and decision-making audiences (functional actors), including those who support or resist the development of security issues and emphasises the need to assess the positions held by these respective actors. Furthermore, this level acknowledges the need to examine the social and personal identities of the identified actors, in order to understand possible support structures available to and constraints placed upon the respective parties (Balzacq, 2011: 36).

### 3.2.2 Level 2 - Acts

Balzacq elaborates on the view of securitisation as a practise, by which an actor persuades an audience to agree with an interpretation of an event or issue as threatening and in need of urgent response (2011: 22). Elements of this level align very closely with the CS variant of securitisation theory, due to an initial acknowledgement of a speech act as being an action and accomplishing something through altering the context within which the speech act undertaken (Balzacq, 2011: 4). However, this level additionally examines processes which endorse securitisation, namely the acts, use of linguistic and cognitive tools utilised by a securitising actor attempting to present an issue; as well as policies that emerge as a result of securitisation (Balzacq, 2011: 36).

### 3.2.3 Level 3 - Context

In order to analyse the securitisation process, it is important to understand and incorporate context – ensuring a consideration of ‘time and place’ factors, which impact political relationships, economic and social prioritisation and communication

structures selected for the presentation of a ‘threat’. Additionally, in alignment with one of the main tenets of securitisation theory (threats emerge as a product of a specific context), this framework aims to situate the discourse being analysed in its appropriate historical and social context (Balzacq, 2011: 36 – 37).

## 3.4 Distilled Framework – Level of Analysis

The following section outlines the specific elements of the securitisation levels of analysis which will be utilised for this study.

### 3.4.1 Actors

The analysis will focus on identifying the actor presenting the issue as a threat, and their personal and social identities, as well as the referent subject (endangered entity).

This level of analysis will not include the identification of those who oppose the presentation of climate change as a security issue, nor exploration into the nuances of climate change itself.

### 3.4.2 Acts

This analysis level is inclusive of the acts undertaken by Barbados through international forums (UNFCCC, UNGA), having selected speeches/addresses as the favoured type of delivery/use of language and examining the storylines presented.

This level of analysis will not include legislative or administrative action types or subsequent policies generated by the acts.

### 3.4.3 Context

This level of analysis is based in the “proximate” context (i.e., the occasion or event, setting) of the UNFCCC and UNGA forums; and limits the ‘distal’ context (i.e., sociocultural context) to only include relevant regional and cultural connectivity elements (Balzacq, 2011: 37).



## 4 Methodology

The following section outlines the research methods used in this thesis and possible limitations.

### 4.1 Research Design

This thesis research has been conducted as a case study, focusing on Barbados and how the addresses made by Prime Minister Mia Amor Mottley, at four United Nations-based international forums between 2018 and 2022, advocate for SIDS concerns in international climate change. A case study approach allows for a holistic, in-depth contextual analysis of the selected actions and events, and takes into consideration the roles of specific economic, cultural, political and social relationships, therefore allowing for a multifaceted analysis (Robson & McCartan, 2016: 150-154).

#### 4.1.2 Limitations of a case study

Case studies have limitations, namely the lack of generalization ability, or broad-use findings, challenges in data collection, researcher bias and limited empirical data (Robson & McCartan, 2016: 150-154). Addressing the issue of generalisability, the aim of this research is not to provide a means to analyse a mimicked experience of Barbados in the international sphere, but rather the research aims to contribute to current discourse on key subjects such as small nation advocacy and impacts on international negotiations through leadership and diplomacy, as well as collaborative action.

### 4.2 Research Method

In order to identify and analyse the tools Barbados utilises to advocate for SIDS in the global climate change arena, *discourse analysis* is the selected method for this study, as it is most concerned with how language represents the world, shapes and influences

interactions and *how* communication takes place, as opposed to *why* (Balzacq, 2011: 43; Gill, 2000; Hodges et. al, 2008; Robson & McCartan, 2016: 351; Shepherd, 2016).

Discourse analysis allows for the analytical consideration of the context within which language is used and the subsequent impacts and therefore aligns well with securitisation theory, namely that the way in which a threat is presented is a major factor in the acceptance of the threat by the audience (Balzacq, 2011: 8; Robson & McCartan, 2016: 351). A key theme of discourse analysis is the treatment of discourse as rhetorical and through emphasising this feature, the research becomes more focused on the *ways* in which discourse is organized and presented to be persuasive (Balzacq, 2011: 43; Gill, 2000).

Furthermore, this method allows for greater analysis of the sociological use of language, recognizing the functionality of language in action and categorising broad themes or “storylines” which are communicated through linguistic choices (Balzacq, 2011: 41; Hodges, et. al, 2008; Robson & McCartan, 2014: 474-475).

#### 4.2.1 Limitations of discourse analysis

a) ‘Discourse analysis’ is a widely debated concept, with a variety of definitions and meanings, as well as range of applications, which can result in confusion or misinterpretation of the processes taking place (Balzacq, 2011: 39; Della Porta & Keating, 2008; Gill, 2000; Robson & McCartan, 2016: 351 & 371-372; Scheyvens, 2014: 64). This study aims to address this limitation by aligning with the definition of discourse analysis as the “close study of language in use” as presented in Robson & McCartan (2016: 371) by Taylor (2001).

b) In order to minimise the limitation of contextual understanding, the research is structured as a case study, which has supported extensive reading and an in-depth contextual exploration and selection of relevant happenings and information, therefore serving as a set of checks and balances throughout the analytical process to ensure that contextual consideration is taking place (Gill, 2000; Hodges, et. al, 2008; Robson & McCartan, 2016: 96).

c) To counter the limitation of researcher subjectivity, I have aimed to maintain a keen self-awareness of possible biases, noting that I am a person who has both been raised in a developing country and who has familial linkages with the Caribbean, and Barbados in particular (Gill, 2000; Robson & McCartan, 2014: 20). In order to prevent biases or emotionality from skewing the perception of the data, I have maintained transparency about my personal interests, and included objective actors throughout the research process. This research operates on the assumption that securitisation of climate change is a justifiable action, and therefore, does not present a critical perspective on securitising this issue.

I also acknowledge that my interest in this research is supported by my linkage to the subject matter, therefore this limitation is also a strength that increases my personal commitment to the study (Robson & McCartan, 2014: 20). Furthermore, the data organisation strategies utilised in the research process further limit researcher subjectivity as these methods support a pragmatic approach to the texts and diminish the risk of emotional interpretation (see section 4.4).

### 4.3 Data Collection

In order to account for the multifaceted and nuanced nature of climate change negotiations at an international scale, this study uses a mixed methods approach, combining qualitative and quantitative data, aiming to reduce the limitations of qualitative data by providing empirical information as support for findings and vice versa, balancing out the possible reductionist limitations of quantitative data.

The qualitative data represented in this study consists of speeches and addresses made by the Prime Minister Mia Amor Mottley of Barbados during the 2018 & 2019 United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) and 2021 & 2022 UNFCCC COP. These samples have been selected in order to support tracing of the evolution of and changes to the use of language by Barbados in these international forums. Transcripts of the COP addresses have been gathered through the official UNFCCC and the Barbados Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade websites, and the 2018 UNGA address was

collected from the official Facebook page and website of the Barbados Prime Minister (PMO, 2023; UNFCCC, 2023).

The scope of data selected is based on the increased activity of Barbados in global climate politics, reflected through a number of interventions and participation at international meetings and coinciding with the 2018 Barbados election of Prime Minister Mia Amor Mottley (Betzold et. al, 2012; Goddard, 2022; UNEPa, 2021a; UNFCCC, 2023). Additionally, by limiting data collection to the last five years, this study aims to reflect contemporary trends and activity, allowing for insight into the current state of affairs and a more accurate comparative analysis between the different speeches, and the observation of patterns, similarities and differences in the use of language, therefore providing valuable insight into the political approaches used by Barbados to represent and advocate for SIDS climate concerns (ibid).

The quantitative data included in this study originates from a select few sources such as the World Bank, the UN database and reports, which are widely acknowledged as reputable and reliable, and aim to use a set of standardised procedures and practises to ensure data collection, organisation and presentation that is unbiased and as accurate as possible and independent, non-governmental organisations such as Transparency International, which aims to provide data and information on corruption and promote transparency internationally (Transparency International, 2023; UNDP, 2021; World Bank, 2023).

#### 4.3.1 Challenges

Access to data for this study has largely been subject to availability, as the 2018 and 2019 COP Barbados addresses are unavailable, therefore the UNGA addresses have been included in their place, with the goal of maintaining a stable contextual environment (within the United Nations, at an international scale of communication). As I was unable to locate an official transcription for the COP27 Opening Speech and could only locate a shortened version of the National Address, which would be insufficient for this study, I chose to transcribe the COP27 speech. Furthermore, despite

reflecting a span of five years, this data contains only four addresses as COP26 was postponed to 2021 due to the COVID-19 pandemic (UNFCCC, 2020).

### 4.3.2 Transcription

Collecting data from different media sets presents a possibility of inaccurate capture, or transcription errors which may result in loss or misinterpretation of the information provided. However, as the Managing Director of a transcription company, and having worked professionally as a transcriptionist since 2020, providing transcription and subtitling for production houses such as Diprente Films (based in Johannesburg, South Africa) and Netflix (international), I believe that my transcription skills are at the level which allows for the accurate recording of the COP27 Opening Speech, presented by Mottley (2022). Furthermore, the transcriptions have been done in strict verbatim style, so as to limit any misinterpretation or subjectivity due to deletions or edits.

## 4.4 Data Analysis

This analysis focuses on identifying ‘narratives’ or ‘themes, communicated through ‘recurrent linguistic patterns’, the use of which allows the securitising actor (Barbados) to **connect** with its audience (the Parties present at the selected meetings); and specifically serve a **purpose** (e.g., invoking a collective memory, instilling a sense of community) (Balzacq, 2011: 10 & 43; Gill, 2000; Hodges et. al, 2008; Robson & McCartan, 2014: 474-475; Ryan & Bernard, 2003).

In order to identify and clarify the themes presented in these texts, this study relies on a combination of inductive and a priori approaches (Balzacq, 2011: 21; Laver et. al, 2003; Ryan & Bernard 2003). A language matrix was generated through an inductive approach to the data and used to support the presence of assumptions and ‘common knowledge’ present in both climate change discourse and securitisation theory (ibid). The language matrix generated for this analysis, which indicated the organisation of the data into the identified themes, has been attached in the Appendices section of this study (see 8.1).

This study first independently examines the texts in order to identify phrases, connective (causal) and descriptive words, tone indicators and inclusive plural pronouns (e.g., ‘we’, ‘our’ and ‘us’) which are used by Barbados to advocate for SIDS in the selected climate change forums (Balzacq, 2011: 51; Ryan & Bernard, 2003). Additionally, this step examines the tools used to emphasise the urgency of the threat presented – such as metaphors, and analogies; which reflect the representation of the “threat”, as well as the kind of action being called for (Balzacq, 2011: 12 & 43; Robson & McCartan, 2014: 474-475; Ryan & Bernard, 2003).

The second step of the analysis examines the interplay between the texts, reflecting intertextuality, and allowing for an assessment of similarities and differences as well as the identification of repetitions (Robson & McCartan, 2014: 474-475).

The combination of these two analytical steps, in coordination with the securitisation components identified through the use of the distilled framework (section 3.4) allow for an analysis of the sociological linguistics tools used by Barbados, during the addresses, to advocate for SIDS in international climate change discourse.

# 5 Analysis

The following section contains the empirical analysis of the 2018 & 2019 UNGA, and 2021 & 2022 COP addresses and explores how Barbados advocates for SIDS in the international climate change sphere. A brief examination of the Agents, Acts and Context of these addresses is presented first, in alignment with the distilled framework of securitisation presented in section 3.4 (Balzacq, 2011: 37; Robson & McCartan, 2016: 335-337). The second part of this section is dedicated to exploring the key themes identified through the discourse analysis conducted: *environmental disasters; inequality; collaboration; call to action; finance and policy; and survival*.

## 5.1 Securitisation Framework

### 5.1.1 Agents

The following section identifies and discusses the main agents/actors involved in Barbados' advocacy for SIDS interests in the selected United National forums, with regards to climate change.

#### a) *Barbados*

Barbados as a nation, reflects a unique social, economic and political personality of teamwork, national and regional pride and citizen prioritisation (Lewis, 2022: 5) Despite its historic ranking as one of the most economically stable and prosperous Caribbean small islands, the Barbados government is exceptionally transparent and shows high levels of accountability to its people, which results in low instances of corruption or the abuse of power (Lewis, 2022: 5; Transparency International, 2022). The 2022 Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) Report listed Barbados as the least corrupt country in the region (ibid).

Serving as a founding member of CARICOM, Barbados has maintained a dedicated commitment to supporting regional collaboration and communication efforts; and since independence, has also pushed to build and maintain independent international relations (i.e., Barbados has developed and maintained relations with Cuba, irrespective of political tensions with the United States of America) (Lewis, 2022: 39).

Through the implementation of ambitious environmental plans, such as the banning of single use plastics and the Energy Transition Initiative, Barbados aims to transform to a 100% renewable energy state by 2030 (BNEP, 2019). The state continues to develop national policies aimed at improving resilience to the impacts of climate change, as well as improving independence from global economic structures (IADB, 2019).

Barbados has become a major representative for SIDS around the world, setting a precedent through innovative and adaptative policymaking, as well as continuing the push to be ‘heard’ in global negotiations (BNEP, 2019; TNC, 2022). In 2022, Barbados become the third country, to agree to the Blue Bonds debt refinancing model, through the Nature Conservancy – an arrangement which provides an opportunity for states to redirect sovereign debt into marine conservation funds (TNC, 2022).

*b) Prime Minister Mia Amor Mottley*

The Honourable Prime Minister Mia Amor Mottley is the first woman to be elected to this position, since Barbados gained independence in 1966 and has been intensely campaigning for climate justice and mitigation, since her election in May 2018; leading Barbados to become a “frontrunner in the global environmental movement” (Lewis, 2022: 35; Lowery et. al, 2023; Goddard, 2022; PMO, 2023; UNEPb, 2021).

Mottley has been credited for her blunt, ‘no-nonsense’ approach to climate change, her push for climate finance and support for vulnerable nations and the continual reference to the scientific basis of climate change as a threat to security which must be tackled (ibid). Additionally, since her election as Prime Minister, Mottley has been an extremely active participant in and speaker at regional and international meetings and conferences, serving as Chair of CARICOM (2020), and receiving the 2021 Champions of the Earth award for policy leadership (CARICOM, 2023; Goddard, 2022; Lewis, 2022: 35; UN, 2018; UNEPb, 2021).



### *c) Audience/Participants*

The final agents outlined in this section are the groups, organisations, states, and individuals which compose the audience and/or participants of the United Nations General Assembly and COP forums, outlined in section 6.1.3 and to whom these speeches are presented.

The United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) is composed of the entire Membership of the UN, which presently consists of 193 Member States (UN, 2023a). This diverse array of states is typically grouped according to their socioeconomic indicators characteristics and referred to as such (developed, developing, least developed countries) or by region (African, Latin American and Caribbean) (UN, 2023b).

The Conference of the Parties (COP) is composed of a variety of agents, including delegates from 197 countries that have ratified the UNFCCC, scientists and researchers, as well as non-governmental organisations and independent groups referred to as ‘observer organisations’ (UNFCCC, 2023). The membership of COP is still regulated by the United Nations and therefore, participants and attendees are approved through a registration process (ibid).

### 5.1.2 Acts

The acts undertaken by Barbados are a set of four speeches or addresses made during the events outlined below, in section 6.1.3. These acts are examined and discussed in greater detail in section 6.2 of this study, which outlines the findings of the discourse analysis conducted on these texts (Barbados addresses at UNGA 2018 and 2019; COP26 and COP 27).

### 5.1.3 Context

#### *a) United Nations General Assembly (UNGA)*

The United Nations General Assembly was established under the UN Charter in 1945 and is an annual meeting of the entire membership of the UN (UN, 2023a). This meeting is the only one, out of the six main bodies of the UN, attended by all Members

and is the main-policymaking structure of the Organisation, through which decisions are taken on global issues and challenges such as peace and security (ibid).

*i. UNGA 2018*

The 73<sup>rd</sup> United Nations General Assembly opened on September 18<sup>th</sup>, 2018, and closed on September 16<sup>th</sup>, 2019. The President of this session was only the fourth woman to hold the position and is an important note as this position influences international policy and issue prioritisation, reflecting better representation of women in politics and the possibility of a breakaway from traditional gendered structures of international governance. The newly installed President of the UNGA, Ms. María Fernanda Espinosa Garcés (Ecuador), outlined the priorities of the 73<sup>rd</sup> session as: 1) gender equality, 2) implementation of global compacts on migration and refugees, 3) the future of work, 4) plastics pollution, 5) disabilities, 6) peace, and 7) UN reform (UN, 2018; Espinosa, 2018).

*ii. UNGA 2019*

The 74<sup>th</sup> United Nations General Assembly opened on September 17<sup>th</sup>, 2019, and closed on September 14<sup>th</sup>, 2020. The President, His Excellency Tijjani Muhammad-Bande (Nigeria) emphasised the following priorities for the session: 1) poverty eradication, 2) zero hunger, 3) quality education, 4) climate action, 5) inclusion (Bande, 2019; UN, 2019).

*b) Conference of the Parties (COP)*

*i. COP26 (2021)*

The 26<sup>th</sup> COP, held in Glasgow, United Kingdom was originally due to take place in November 2020, but was postponed due to the COVID-19 pandemic – rescheduled for October of the following year (UNFCCC, 2020).

An interesting observation in the research on COP26 is the shift in priorities which emerged out of the pandemic, namely the increasing appreciation of the need for international collaboration, innovation, adaptation and resilience in the face of crisis (Campbell & Connel, 2021; Lewis, 2022: 14 & 41; Mottley, 2022; UNFCCC, 2023). In addition to the benefits of multilateral organising, the COVID-19 pandemic exposed

the depth of global inequalities such as education, trade flows and dependencies, healthcare and sanitation access, and financial capacity to confront crises (ibid). Therefore, there were significant changes in context as COP26 occurred, due to the unprecedented nature of the global pandemic.

*ii. COP27 (2022)*

The 27<sup>th</sup> COP was held in Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt in November 2022, and the key priorities for this conference were outlined as climate mitigation, finance and adaptation (UNFCCC, 2023). Emerging out of the COVID-19 pandemic, this conference stressed the need for decisive action and policy adoption in the face of climate change as a security issue (Lewis, 2022: 14 & 41; Mottley, 2022; UNFCCC, 2023).

## 5.2 Themes

The following section discusses the six major themes identified through discourse analysis conducted on the four addresses selected for this study. These themes were identified through inductive processes, which confirmed assumptions based in climate change and securitisation discourse (a priori) and are discussed in the following order: environmental disasters, inequality, collaboration, call to action, finance and policy, and survival (see Language Matrix, section 8.1).

### 5.2.1 Environmental Disasters

The issue of natural disasters is discussed in each speech, with emotive, descriptive language being used in reference to these events (“apocalyptic”, “violent”, “horrific”, “insidious”, “catastrophe”, “devastation”) (Mottley, 2018, 2019 & 2022). This language aids in the representation of climate change as threatening, negative and ominous as well as drives home the point that real-world destruction is occurring (Balzacq, 2011: 12; Mottley, 2019). The use of language in these speeches does not reflect any attempt to soften these weather events nor their impacts, further categorising

these climate change impacts as security threats, with direct links to death, devastation and destruction being made by the Prime Minister.

*“the people of Bahamas with respect to the awful devastation visited upon them by Hurricane Dorian [...]. Climate change is not about hurricanes and floods. It is about droughts. It is about wildfires.” (Mottley, 2019)*

*“[...] the devastation caused in Belize by Tropical Storm Lisa, or the torrential floods a few days ago in St. Lucia.” (Mottley, 2022)*

In the 2018 and 2019 UNGA addresses, Mottley utilises linguistic tools to emphasize the frequency of natural disaster incidence, presenting lists of these events in the first paragraphs of each address. Furthermore, Mottley maintains an interpersonal linkage through the reference of real people and nations as well as the use of inclusive plural pronouns (Balzacq, 2011: 51; Mottley, 2018; Ryan & Bernard, 2003).

*“floods hit too many of our communities overnight; [...] an earthquake off the shore of Martinique and Guadeloupe and Dominica this morning; [...] a typhoon that is about to deal with the people in Japan” (Mottley, 2018)*

## 5.2.2 Inequality

The texts make consistent reference to global power asymmetries, demonstrating the minority and majority structures which serve to deepen traditional inequality structures rather than pursue the UN slogan of “Peace, dignity and equality on a healthy planet” (Mottley, 2019 & 2022; UN, 2023a).

Metaphors are interwoven in the texts as a linguistic tool which not only illustrates the lack of attention and consideration being extended to SIDS but also emphasises the dismissive and inhumane behaviours of the UN Members, in response to the deaths of SIDS’ citizens.

*“Some of us sing in the same chorus as if there are many who are deaf and many who are blind among us. [...] SIDS are the canaries of the international community. You will ignore us at your peril. We are the canaries.” (Mottley, 2019)*

In this statement, Mottley communicates perceptions attached to SIDS through the use of the common idiom “canary in a coal mine”, which references a historical practice used to detect carbon monoxide poisoning, and through which the death of the canary would prevent the death of the miner. In contrast to the conventional use of poetic language in political addresses, often used to soften the messaging, this is a powerful and very pointed use of poetic language tools.

Mottley calls on the UN to “protect” not only small developing nations, but the multilateralism and principles upon which the Organisation is founded – specifically referencing a need to check unilateral behaviours which dominate these arenas (Mottley, 2018, 2019 & 2022).

*“[...] do we now live in a world where the mighty manoeuvre to make the majority minions” (Mottley, 2018)*

*“Can there be peace and prosperity if one third of the world, literally prospers and the other two thirds of the world live under siege and face calamitous threats to our wellbeing?” (Mottley, 2021)*

These addresses point to inequality structures across all levels, referencing political exploitation within the United Nations and citing the role of SIDS as voters, but not decision makers – emphasising a need for the dispersion of political power, particularly with regards to decisions on climate change (Mottley, 2019 & 2021).

Furthermore, through the use of emotive language and inclusive plural pronouns in phrases such as, “our greatest fear” (2018); “we are invisible” (2019), and “we want to exist” (2021), Mottley invokes an empathetic response and alignment with the referent subjects of these discussions – momentarily relieving the bureaucratic elements of these addresses and opting for a human approach and connection, linking theoretical suppositions and debates, and practical real-world costs.

### 5.2.3 Collaboration

One of the most prominent themes in these texts is the need for collaboration and multilateralism, at both the regional and international levels, in order to deal with

climate change as a challenge. Maintaining the use of metaphors, Mottley calls upon the UN to “constrain the madness” of unilateral action, promote inclusion and maintain its purpose - the support of global governance through diplomatic dialogue and agreement (2018 & 2019). A reminder is made that the survival of the United Nations depends on its relevance to serve the needs of the people (ibid).

*“[...] the time for dialogue, the time for talk, my friends can never be over in a world that wants peace and prosperity.” (Mottley, 2019)*

The language used in reference to the UN’s response (or lack thereof) to climate is emotive and takes on strong critical tone, referencing the need for “moral leadership” (2019) and emphasising the “immoral” and “unjust” nature of this situation and conduct (Mottley, 2021).

*“are we so blinded and hardened that we can no longer appreciate the cries of humanity?” (Mottley, 2021)*

*“Do some leaders in this world believe that they can survive and thrive on their own? Have they not learnt from the pandemic?” (Mottley, 2021)*

#### 5.2.4 Call to Action

The linguistic elements displayed in these texts reflect an urgent call to action and reference is made to the role of states, and leaders of government, as having agreed to certain decisions and actions – but failing to see them through (Mottley, 2021 & 2022). The texts refer to bureaucratic and administrative challenges that hinder the possibilities for climate change mitigation and adaptation.

The UNGA addresses present the mentality of, and national actions being implemented by, Barbados in order to tackle the threat of climate change, stating the commitment to ban single use plastics as well as promote a transition to renewable energy by 2030 (BNEP, 2019; TNC, 2022; Mottley, 2018 & 2019). However, the addresses stress the need for collaborative action in order to truly stand a chance against the threat of climate change (Mottley, 2021).

The conceptualisation of action or inaction to the threat of climate change in these addresses indicates a decision not to act, rather than an inability to do so: “lack of political will” (2019), “decisive action”, “collective capacity” and “choice” (2021 & 2022). This representation is further supported by multiple mentions of talk, but no follow-through – “we have talked so long [ ...] we can continue to talk [...]”, “[...] when will leaders lead?” (Mottley, 2019 & 2021).

*“[...] do you not see what is happening and why are you not acting? Do you not care?” (Mottley, 2019)*

Tones of confusion and frustration are observed, in reference to a lack of action and are indicated through direct questions and statements to the audience (Mottley, 2018 & 2019). The need for action and emphasis of certain points is reflected by the repetition of words and emotive phrases (ibid).

*“This is not a science fiction movie. This is not a cartoon.” (Mottley, 2018)*

*“Code Red. Code Red to the G7 countries. Code red, code red to the G20.” (Mottley, 2021)*

*“[...] why, why we are not moving any further.” (Mottley, 2022)*

### 5.2.5 Finance and policy

This theme deals with fiscal needs and priorities both as a means of mitigating and adapting to climate change, and as a hindrance to action due to “greed and selfishness” (2021) or the desire of the few to prosper at the expense of the many (Mottley, 2019 & 2022). This theme has linkages with inequality (section 6.2.2), however is more focused on the financial policy proposals identified and presented within these addresses as necessary for the protection of SIDS citizens against climate change.

*“We need dedicated financing for development in the Addis Ababa action plan that speaks to small island developing states.” (Mottley, 2018)*

Responding to the UN decision to remove middle income economies from access to finance, Mottley discusses the vagaries of per capita income as not being reflective of

the real world – “as if that is a real factor in how people eat and how people move and how people sleep” (2018).

*“We want an international order equally that recognizes that there must be different policy prescriptions to suit the circumstances that we all have.” (Mottley, 2019)*

Based in a system of inequality and global power dynamics, these addresses push for the implementation of fiscal and policy measures to support climate change adaptation and provide a buffer for SIDS against economic fluctuations, to which these nations are historically vulnerable despite the added pressure of climate change (Mottley, 2018, 2019, 2021, 2022).

*“we accept that there was, and must be, a commitment to unlocking concessional funding for climate vulnerable countries.” (Mottley, 2022)*

## 5.2.6 Survival

The following section, which discusses the theme of survival, elaborates on the frequency and efficacy of linguistic tools within the texts. More information is available in section 9.2, in the Table of Findings.

The texts emphasise climate change as dangerous to human survival, specifically for small island developing states, but taking into consideration that this is a global issue (Mottley, 2018, 2019, 2021, 2022).

The texts communicate the existential nature of climate change through powerful language. “Vital”, “life and death”, “very threat to our survival” “common destruction” and “death sentence” are examples of words and phrases which serve as linguistic tools to highlight the urgency, international impact and severity of this issue (Mottley, 2019, 2021 & 2022). The connection of humanity and the environment is prevalent throughout these addresses, reflected in the parallels in phrases such as “to save our people and to save our planet” and underlines that the goals of protecting people and the planet are linked (ibid).

*“Failure to provide this critical finance and that of loss and damage is measured, my friends, in lives and livelihoods in our communities.” (Mottley, 2021)*



The choice to use of inclusive plural pronouns is a technique in and of itself, which allows for the actualisation of the communities, citizens and nations – constantly bringing these groups into the negotiation process.

The speaker of these addresses is in the position of being representative of both the referent subject (SIDS, Barbados), the securitising actor, and an influential member of the decision-making body. Therefore, the use of inclusive plural pronouns such as “we”, “us”, “our” fluctuates in meaning – referring to both the people of the world, citizens of countries and endangered regions as well as the United Nations, global leaders and diplomats (Mottley, 2018, 2019, 2021, 2022).

However, the texts have been drafted to allow for smooth transitions between the roles. For example, as a member of the United Nations: “On finance, **we** are \$20 billion short of the \$100 billion [...]”; as the leader of Barbados and advocate for SIDS “what must we say to our people living on the frontline in the Caribbean, in Africa, Latin America, in the Pacific [...]”, “we look at other innovative ways to expand the lending that is available from billions to trillions” (Mottley, 2021 & 2022).

Furthermore, Mottley compares a lack of action against climate change to a breach of human rights – deepening the categorisation of this threat and emphasising the danger to human life, as well as the importance of righting this issue (Mottley, 2018, 2019 & 2022).

*“This is a matter of life and death for us.” (Mottley, 2018)*

*“as small islands, we are the ones on the front line.” (Mottley, 2019)*

*“we want to exist 100 years from now.” (Mottley, 2021)*

## 6 Concluding Remarks

The purpose of this research was to explore how Barbados advocates for SIDS in forums of the United Nations, specifically looking at the speeches presented by Prime Minister Mia Amor Mottley during the 2018 and 2019 General Assembly and the 2021 and 2022 UNFCCC COP. Through a discourse analysis, these four speeches were examined, resulting in the identification of six key themes: environmental disasters, inequality, collaboration, call to action, finance and policy, and survival.

There is overlap and interplay between these themes, as they all address issues of global governance, human survival, climate change and financial policy. For example, under the inequality theme, the analysis refers to Mottley's use of the canary in a coal mine analogy – which has linkages to survival and is an urgent call to action in order to prevent death. This analogy also links into finance and policy as well as the theme of collaboration and is underpinned by the major theme of environmental disasters due to climate change.

The rhetoric used by Prime Minister Mia Amor Mottley reflects an intellectual, powerful, and skilled understanding of linguistic tools. Utilising the intersectionality of her personal position as a woman, a person of colour, a citizen of a developing country, a member of a small island state, as well as her political position as a representative of government and global position, as a citizen of the world in peril, the Prime Minister of Barbados navigates the forums of the United Nations with a strong motivation and set of goals which are communicated clearly in her speeches.

Through these addresses, the Prime Minister directly calls upon, criticises, implores and attempts to persuade the governing nations of the world and their leaders to respond to the threat of climate change as an issue of security. There are multiple references to the presence of science which underlines the importance of climate change adaptation and mitigation and yet, Mottley indicates, the policies needed to challenge this crisis remain in the theoretical sphere, with little to no impact on the ground and no protection for the countries internationally acknowledged as most vulnerable - SIDS.

There is a clear discrepancy in the energy of the response to climate change, in comparison to the response generated in the face of the COVID-19 pandemic – emphasised by the sudden ability of nations to collaborate, cooperate, and supply the financial means needed to bolster against this unprecedented crisis. Mottley (2021 & 2022) highlights this discrepancy, examining the difference in action and noting that the demographic is the main delineator (when citizens of wealthy nations are at risk, there is movement; when SIDS people are dying due to climate change disasters, there is inertia).

This study reflects intriguing trends in climate change discourse and the international governance structures which are responsible for the mitigation of this threat. The research did not address the outcomes generated by these speeches and this presents an opportunity for further research in this field, as an interesting task for fellow political science students and researchers. Furthermore, the impacts of the speeches on policies which emerged from the international climate change contexts examined in this study, present a fertile research area and interesting addition to the field of development discourse.

As a political science major, it is disheartening to conduct a research study, the results of which suggest a breakdown in international governance, cooperation and humanitarian behaviours. However, it is through the identification, analysis and discussion of these breakdowns that solutions emerge and the pathway to a world of equality, peace, survival and flourishing nations can be rediscovered. It is my hope that this kind of direct, transparent and persuasive approach to bureaucracy within the United Nations sets a precedent for world leaders and helps to unravel the vague, the conceptual and the abstract, and provide the opportunity for real world impacts.

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# 8 Appendices

## 8.1 Language Matrix

Connective – Causal / Conditional	Descriptives	Time Indicators	Tone Indicators / Suggestive Elements	Inclusive Plural Pronouns
“because” <sup>1,3,4</sup> “due to” <sup>1,3,4</sup> “reason” <sup>3,4</sup> “result/ing” <sup>1,3,4,6</sup> “since” <sup>1,3,4</sup>  “if” <sup>3,4</sup> “instead of” <sup>3,4</sup> “then” <sup>3,4,6</sup>	“apocalyptic” <sup>1,3,6</sup> “awful” <sup>1,4,6</sup> “calamity” <sup>1,6</sup> “catastrophe/ic” <sup>1,6</sup> “constrain” <sup>4,5</sup> “compelling” <sup>2,3,5</sup> “crises” <sup>1,6</sup> “dangerous” <sup>1,5,6</sup> “destabilise” <sup>2,3,6</sup> “destructive” <sup>1,6</sup> “devastating” <sup>1,6</sup> “dignity” <sup>2,3,4</sup> “exceedingly” <sup>2,4,5,6</sup> “fate” <sup>1,6</sup> “haunting” <sup>2,6</sup> “horrific” <sup>1,6</sup> “necessary” <sup>3,6</sup> “peril” <sup>3,4,5,6</sup> “pervasive” <sup>5,6</sup> “protect” <sup>1,3,5,6</sup> “respect” <sup>2,3,4,5</sup> “risk” <sup>1,3,5,6</sup> “severe” <sup>1,6</sup> “sterile” <sup>1,6</sup> “support” <sup>2,3,5</sup> “threat” <sup>1,3,6</sup> “worst” <sup>3,4</sup>  “new normal” <sup>1,2,6</sup>	“another” <sup>3,4,5,6</sup> “end of this century” <sup>1,4,6</sup> “continue” <sup>4,6</sup> “how many” <sup>3,4</sup> “limited” <sup>1,4,6</sup> “no longer” <sup>1,2,4,6</sup> “present” <sup>1,4</sup> “pressing” <sup>1,4,6</sup> “so long” <sup>4,5,6</sup> “soon” <sup>1,4,6</sup> “urgent” <sup>1,4,6</sup>	<i>Imploring / Pleading</i> “action” <sup>2,3,4,5</sup> “ask” <sup>2,3,4,5</sup> “build” <sup>3,4,5</sup> “care” <sup>1,3,4</sup> “jeopardy” <sup>1,2,4,6</sup> “matters” <sup>3,4</sup> “need” <sup>2,3,4,5,6</sup> “obliged” <sup>2,3,4,5</sup> “pray” <sup>2,3,4</sup> “promised” <sup>2,3,4,5</sup> “provide” <sup>3,4,5,6</sup> “saving” <sup>1,4,6</sup> “survive” <sup>1,4,6</sup>  <i>Emphatic</i> “cannot” <sup>3,4,6</sup> “committed” <sup>3,4</sup> “diminish” <sup>2,3,4</sup> “immoral” <sup>2,3,4,6</sup> “impossible” <sup>3,4</sup> “inability” <sup>3,4</sup> “necessary” <sup>3,4,5,6</sup> “represent” <sup>2,3,4</sup> “required” <sup>3,4,6</sup> “responsible” <sup>2,3,4</sup> “talked” <sup>3,4</sup>  <i>Pragmatic</i> “capacity” <sup>3,4,5</sup> “choice” <sup>3,4,5</sup> “decision” <sup>3,4,5</sup> “deliver” <sup>2,3,4,5,6</sup> “evidence” <sup>1,5</sup> “exist” <sup>1,6</sup> “financial” <sup>3,4,5</sup> “policy” <sup>3,4,5</sup> “reality” <sup>1,3,5,6</sup> “science” <sup>1,5,6</sup> “will” <sup>3,4,5,6</sup>	“citizens” <sup>1,3,5</sup> “collective” <sup>1,2,3,5,6</sup> “communities” <sup>2,3,4</sup> “family” <sup>2,3,4</sup> “humanity” <sup>1,3,4,6</sup> “mankind” <sup>1,3,4</sup> “mighty” <sup>2,3,5</sup> “our” <sup>1,3,4,6</sup> “small” <sup>2,5,6</sup> “some of us” <sup>1,2,3,6</sup> “us” <sup>1,3,4,6</sup> “we” <sup>1,3,4,6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>environmental disasters; <sup>2</sup>inequality; <sup>3</sup>collaboration; <sup>4</sup>call to action;

<sup>5</sup>finance and policy; <sup>6</sup>survival