SECURITISING ENVIRONMENTAL CHALLENGES: THE CASE OF CLIMATE MIGRATION

A CASE STUDY ANALYSIS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION AND THE NETHERLANDS

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Executive Summary

Environmental challenges like climate migration are growing exponentially and threatening human, national, and international security. While environmental security has increasingly carved its niche in International Relations and gained momentum practice, environmental security remains a contentious domain with diverging definitions and interpretations. This thesis sheds light on these contentious debates through answering the question: how and in what way have environmental challenges and climate migration been securitised (perceived as an existential threat to security) on multiple levels, if at all, and what are the implications for policy directions? This will be conveyed through drawing from the theoretical debates concerning environmental securitisation in International Relations to formulate a conceptual lens. Thereafter, the conceptual lens will be applied to the cases of the European Union and the Netherlands. The data collected will consist of qualitative primary data and will be analysed through a qualitative Critical Discourse Analysis. Subsequently, the theoretical and practical contributions will be combined to rethink environmental securitisation in theory and practice.

This thesis concludes that environmental challenges as a whole and the specific challenge of climate migration are increasingly perceived in terms of security through securitisation moves and securitisation acts. Securitisation moves illustrated by political discourse have perceived environmental challenges and climate migration as a threat to human, national, and collective security. Securitisation acts illustrated by public policy documentation have largely politicised (perceived as a concern in public policy) and scarcely securitised environmental challenges and climate migration. The securitisation moves and securitisation acts primarily advocate for policy relating to environmental security to be tackled through development by focusing on resilience, and through diplomacy by focusing on multilateralism. Rethinking environmental securitisation has shown that theory lags behind on practice and that practice does not always follow the trends portrayed by theory. As a result, this thesis suggests an improved theoretical framework to be considered for future research. In order to move towards governing the environmental challenges of the 21st century, this thesis recommends to carve a greater niche of environmental securitisation in both theory and practice while placing emphasis on the implications of environmental securitisation for policy directions on multiple levels.

Key terms: Environmental challenges, climate migration, securitisation, policy directions, International Relations, Critical Discourse Analysis, European Union, the Netherlands

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List of Acronyms

3D	Defence Development Diplomacy
COP	Conference of Parties
CSS	Critical Security Studies
EU	European Union
G7	Group of 7
GA	General Assembly
GEP	Global Environmental Politics
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
IR	International Relations
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
PSC	Planetary Security Conference
PSI	Planetary Security Initiative
SC	Security Council
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SIDS	Small Island Developing States
UN	United Nations

1 Introduction

This thesis will examine how and in what way environmental challenges as a whole, and the specific environmental challenge of climate migration, are securitised (perceived as an existential threat to security) on multiple levels, if at all, and what the implications are for policy directions. With environmental challenges like climate migration growing exponentially and presenting a threat to complex questions of security, the nexus between environment and security is becoming increasingly incorporated in theory and practice (Huntjens & Nachbar, 2015). In both theory and practice, the novel and complex domain of environmental securitisation is contested (Oels, 2012). In theory, International Relations (IR) scholars are challenging ecological problems through the discipline of Global Environmental Politics (GEP) and are challenging traditional notions of security through the discipline of Critical Security Studies (CSS) (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams, 2015). In practice, while environmental security is developing across international, regional, and national politics, a clear divergence persists between the discourse and implementation at the policy level, elements that are key for governing environmental challenges of the 21st century (Brzoska, 2012). Therefore, this thesis aims to further examine these contentions while building on the theoretical and practical application of environmental securitisation through examining the securitisation of environmental challenges and climate migration and the implications for policy directions. This will be conveyed through applying a case study methodology examining the European Union and the Netherlands that will draw from qualitative primary data and be analysed through a qualitative Critical Discourse Analysis. The remainder of this chapter will present the problem statement, research questions, and roadmap to this thesis.

1.1 Problem Statement

With climate change and its effects "inextricably linked to complex questions of security", climate change is increasingly articulated as a driver of the greatest global threats to national, international, and human security of the 21st century (Huntjens & Nachbar, 2015). According to the Global Risk Report by the World Economic Forum (2018), environmental risks are the cause of four out of ten of the greatest risks in both likelihood and impact. Due to these risks, some claim that "[t]he links between climate change, disasters, and other causes of displacement are now undisputed", with climate change both contributing to conflicts that cause displacement, as well as exacerbating existing displacement situations worldwide (Goodwin-Gill & McAdam, 2016, p.5). According to

the European Parliament, "every year since 2008, an average of 26.4 million persons around the world have been forcibly displaced by floods, windstorms, earthquakes or droughts". This is the equivalent of "one person being displaced every second", a statistic that the Parliament predicts to inflate in years to come (Apap, 2018, p.1). With environmental challenges like climate migration presenting a threat to complex questions of security, the nexus between environment and security is gaining momentum in both theory and practice (Huntjens & Nachbar, 2015).

In theory, IR scholars are increasingly challenging traditional notions of security in the theories of realism, liberalism, and constructivism. With traditional security primarily focused on territory, war, and military intervention, security is being challenged to account for the multilevel and multi-dimensional nature of the social, economic, political, and environmental challenges of today (Burke, 2012). Due to environmental risks being perceived as a concern to security, IR scholars are delving into the study of environmental issues through an IR lens in GEP. GEP concentrates on the way in which global ecological problems arise, persist, and are distributed, as well as how the global community responds to these threats (Eckersley, 2012). Within GEP, one of the most prominent issues concerns environmental security (Floyd, 2008). Despite the momentum of environmental security debates, the environmental security nexus remains contested resulting in environmental challenges frequently being silenced by more urgent security threats like terrorism (Trombetta, 2008).

Scholarly discussions in IR on what qualifies as a security issue and what it means to draw a notion into the security domain have made way for the IR sub-discipline of CSS. Within this discipline, one of the most significant innovations concerns securitisation (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams, 2015). Securitisation is a notion used to "critici[s]e a form of policy making in which extraordinary measures and undemocratic procedures are enabled in the name of 'security' " (Oels, 2012, p.191). In viewing an issue through a security lens, one perceives an issue as an existential threat, thereby treating it with the same degree of urgency as a military threat and justifying the political emergency measures necessary to deal with it (Buzan et al., 1998).

The combination of GEP and CSS count numerous complex and contentious debates on environmental securitisation. Proponents, in favour of broadening traditional notions of security towards environmental security, believe that viewing environmental challenges through a security lens is rhetorically powerful and can draw the attention of states to pressing environmental issues otherwise left unaddressed. In doing so, securitising environmental challenges can urge policy makers to act quickly and increase the scale of urgency to improve environmental conditions (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams, 2015). Opponents, against broadening notions towards environmental security,

believe that environmental securitisation complicates the security domain and weakens the traditional core values and principles of security. Opponents argue that environmental securitisation is moving away from the nexus of environment and security, subsequently making it harder instead of easier to govern environmental challenges (Levy, 1995).

Due to contrasting views on environmental securitisation as well as the novelty and complexity of the domain, various facets, gaps, and tensions remain to be explored in both theory and practice. With environmental challenges like climate migration predicted to inflate pressures on security in the years to come, the field of environmental security is foreseen to only grown in relevance (Harris, 2014). Therefore, this thesis sheds light on these contentious debates whilst contributing towards the theoretical and practical debates on environmental securitisation and the implications of securitising environmental challenges for policy directions. In doing so, this thesis will examine how and in what way environmental challenges and climate migration are securitised on multiple levels, if at all, and what the implications are for policy directions. This will be conveyed through applying a case study methodology examining the European Union and the Netherlands that will draw from qualitative primary data and be analysed through a qualitative Critical Discourse Analysis.

1.2 Research Questions

1.2.1 Central Research Question

In light of the problem statement presented above, the aim of this thesis is to answer the following research question: *how and in what way have environmental challenges and climate migration been securitised on multiple levels, if at all, and what are the implications for policy directions?*

1.2.2 Sub Research Questions

In order to address the central research question, the following sub-questions will be answered:

1. How and in what way have environmental challenges been securitised on multiple levels, if at all, and what are the implications for policy directions?

    1.a. How and in what way have environmental challenges been securitised in the European Union, if at all, and what are the implications for policy directions?

    1.b. How and in what way have environmental challenges been securitised in the Netherlands, if at all, and what are the implications for policy directions?

2. How and in what way has climate migration been securitised on multiple levels, if at all, and what are the implications for policy directions?

    2.a. How and in what way has climate migration been securitised in the European Union, if at all, and what are the implications for policy directions?

    2.b. How and in what way has climate migration been securitised in the Netherlands, if at all, and what are the implications for policy directions?

1.3 Roadmap

This thesis will be structured as follows. The following chapter will explore the theoretical debates pertaining to environmental securitisation in IR to formulate a conceptual lens. Chapter 3 will present the methodology used to operationalise the conceptual lens. Subsequently, Chapter 4 will examine how and in what way environmental challenges have been securitised on multiple levels, if at all, and what the implications are for policy directions. Thereafter, Chapter 5 will examine how and in what way the specific environmental challenge of climate migration has been securitised on multiple levels, if at all, and what the implications are for policy directions. Subsequently, Chapter 6 will draw from the conceptual lens, data collected, and data analysed, to rethink environmental securitisation in theory and practice. Finally, Chapter 7 presents conclusions through summarising key findings, listing contributions, and suggesting areas for further research.

This chapter has introduced the scope of this thesis through presenting the problem statement, research questions, and the roadmap guiding this thesis. The following chapter will delve into the theoretical debates concerning environmental securitisation in IR to formulate a conceptual lens.

2 Conceptual Lens: Environmental Securitisation in International Relations

This chapter examines the theoretical debates concerning environmental securitisation in IR. In doing so, critiques and research gaps will be examined to distil relevant propositions used to formulate the conceptual lens. This will be conveyed through first examining the theoretical debates concerning defining security, defining environmental security, interpreting securitisation, interpreting environmental securitisation, and analysing environmental securitisation. Thereafter, insights will be distilled from the theoretical debates to formulate the conceptual lens.

2.1 Defining Security

In IR, global events and challenges are commonly discussed and framed with regards to security (Burke, 2012). Security can be defined as "the protection of a state (and, by logical extension, its citizens) from the threat of other self-regarding states acting in their own interests" (Betsill et al., 2014, p.213). Security raises "complex and profoundly important problems of survival, prosperity and social cohesion" (Burke, 2012, p.161). These problems are strongly reflected within the IR theories of realism, liberalism, and constructivism, where the concept of security is imperative. These theories will now be briefly explained.

First, realism, a historically dominant theory of IR that focuses on studying conflict and power politics. Realism includes classical realist and structural realist or neorealist theories. The classic approach to realism is echoed by scholars like Hobbes, Carr, and Morgenthau. Classical realists primarily focus on interests, power, anarchy, and security. Scholars of classical realism believe international politics is a result of human nature being fixed and the conditions of anarchy not being able to prevent war. The neorealist approach to realism is echoed by scholars like Mearsheimer and Waltz. While neorealism has many similarities with classical realism, the main difference lies in the interpretation of the role of human nature. Neorealists question the role of human nature and argue that the anarchic nature of the system makes it difficult to achieve cooperation and consequently leads to conflict (Chiaruzzi, 2012).

Second, liberalism, a theory created in opposition to realism that focuses on the principles of (human) rights, freedom, reason, toleration, progress, and the norms of democracy and constitutionalism. Liberalism includes liberal internationalist, and liberal institutionalist or neoliberalist theories. Liberal internationalists argue that war originates from autocratic states who do not sup-

port democracies. Liberal internationalists believe that war can be solved through international institutions as they understand the added value of humanity and common interests groups. Realists have commonly critiqued liberal internationalists for their views as they perceive them to be too utopian. Neoliberalists including Keohane and Nye counter the realist critique of liberal internationalists by focusing on the necessity of institutions in enabling cooperation. Neoliberalists advocate for a balance of power that goes beyond state actors as they believe cooperation under anarchy is attainable and to the mutual benefit of states involved (Richardson, 2012).

Third, constructivism, which through building on realist and liberalist theories argues that society drives theory and that the norms, values, and interests of society shapes the way that IR is governed. Constructivists primarily concern themselves with how ideas, collective values, and culture are defined within international structures, as well as how the interpretation of these issues shape the interests and action of states (Jackson & Jones, 2012). Within this context, social constructivists place great value on discourse and linguistics as they believe these structures present an effective tool to analyse social and political norms (Huysmans, 2002).

Due to different interpretations of IR, defining security has become "a highly political matter" that is contentious amongst theorists (Burke, 2012, p.163) (see Table 1). Realists focus on national security and believe the security of a nation is determined by the ability of defending themselves against threats to their values. Because realists believe the anarchic nature of humanity inevitably prevents war, realists are sceptical of collective security. Collective security occurs when efforts are made at the international level to build rules and laws in order "to create regional or global decision-making bodies and institutions, and to act in concert to enforce those rules" (Burke, 2012, p.167). Liberalists believe a definition of security should go beyond the power imbalance between individual states and focus on understanding international security dynamics. Through viewing problems through the lens of other nations and diplomacy, liberalists believe that international rules and cooperation amongst institutions can govern state behaviour and hold wrongdoers accountable. Finally, constructivists combine both liberal and realist approaches to security through understanding the way in which ideas and norms have or will affect international security. Constructivists believe communities exist at an international level and that security is shaped by security communities and politics (Burke, 2012).

IR Theory	Perspective on security
Realism	National security is determined by defending states against threats
Liberalism	Collective security can be achieved through diplomacy
Constructivism	Collective security is shaped by communities and politics

Table 1: Perspectives of IR theories on security

With the concept of security imperative to traditional theories of IR, this does not imply that security is no longer dominant in politics today. Security remains a "major preoccupation of modern world politics" tackling global problems "encompassing war and civil conflict, nuclear weapons, faith, terrorism, environmental change and inequality" (Burke, 2012, p.170). With the rise of global security problems, scholars are increasingly critical of the notion of security. Hence, scholars are challenging traditional notions of security and re-examining them to evaluate whether these traditional notions are suitable to be applied to modern preoccupations of security. While some scholars advocate for the conservation of traditional realist interpretations of security, other scholars advocate to modernise and broaden traditional notions of security to include liberal and constructivist interpretations and modern day political concerns (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams, 2015).

2.2 Defining Environmental Security

One of the global challenges frequently discussed and framed with regards to security concerns the threats posed by environmental change (Trombetta, 2008). The term environmental security was first coined in the Brundtland Report by the World Commission on Environment and Development (1987) to connect environmental stress to conflict and conflict to unsustainable development. Since the 1980s, studies on climate change "have become increasingly incorporated under the rubric of security by national governments, the media and academics" (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams, 2015, p.109-p.111). As a result, environmental security has quickly become "one of the more prominent issues in this new era of security studies" (Floyd, 2008, p.51). Despite the momentum of environmental security debates, the nexus between environment and security remains contested with environmental challenges frequently silenced by more urgent threats to security like terrorism (Trombetta, 2008).

The notion of environmental security is a key concern for scholars concerning themselves with the IR subset of GEP. The study of GEP "emerged as a problem-oriented and multidisciplinary field of inquiry that seeks to understand: (a) how and why global ecological problems arise and

persist; (b) how ecological risks are distributed through space and time; and (c) how the global community (encompassing states and non-state actors) has responded, or ought to respond" (Eckersley, 2012, p.463). The three mainstream IR traditions of realism, liberalism, and constructivism can be applied to environmental politics as they "provide insights into problems and politics of international environmental cooperation" (O'Neill, 2017, p.13) (see Table 2). Realists perceive war, peace, sovereignty, and territory as high politics, themes that are essential to the survival of the state. In contrast, realists perceive factors like environmental issues as low politics, themes that are not essential to the survival of the state. Liberalists consider an issue to be a case of high politics when it is essential within security dynamics to safeguard the international community. Liberalists thereby support broadening notions of security towards environmental security if it can coexist with a multilateral framework addressing collective security. Constructivists present a middle way between realists and liberalists through supporting broadening notions of security towards environmental security but only if it aligns with the norms, values, and interests of security communities and politics. While the most substantial contributions in GEP is historically made by liberalism, realist and constructivist approaches continue to grown in their contributions (Betsill et al., 2014).

IR Theory	**Perspective on environmental security**
Realism	Focus on traditional power and security by states and not on environmental security
Liberalism	Broadening traditional security towards environmental security can coexist with a multilateral framework addressing global security
Constructivism	Broadening security towards environmental security is possible but depends on the norms, values, and interests of society

Table 2: Perspectives of IR theories on environmental security

Studying issues of global, environmental, and political nature through an IR lens has both advantages and disadvantages. A key advantage is the broad nature of the field of IR which "has generated many theoretical approaches, concepts, and tools for understanding international environmental politics" (O'Neill, 2017, p.12). However, there are also disadvantage, with various perspectives lying outside traditional parameters of IR theory, traditional approaches "have limits when applied to problems of such political scientific, and social complexity" (O'Neill, 2017, p.3). Due to the common state centred focus of IR, GEP frequently downplays the roles of non-state actors including environmental movements, corporations, and scientists (O'Neill, 2017). According

to Betsill et al. (2014, p.211), the contention surrounding GEP originates from a profound contradiction at the heart of environmental studies: "while 'human transformation of the environment is a global-scale problem', and while humans are connected by 'pervasive flows of people, goods, money, ideas, images and technology across borders', we remain 'fragmented by the political division into sovereign states' ". GEP hence plays an important role in IR theory as well as modern day politics with both advantages and disadvantages (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams, 2015).

2.3 Interpreting Securitisation

Scholarly discussions in IR on what qualifies as a security issue and what it means to draw a notion into the security domain have made way for the IR sub-discipline of CSS. Out of critical security debates, securitisation theory is "one of the most significant conceptual innovations" (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams, 2015, p.92). Securitisation theory emerged at the end of the Cold War when military threats were the primary concern of security discourse. In viewing an issue through a security lens, one perceives an issue as an existential threat to security, thereby treating it with the same degree of urgency as a military threat and justifying the political emergency measures necessary to deal with it (Buzan et al., 1998).

Securitisation theory addresses key questions including: "[w]hat makes something a security issue? What kind of responses does this call for? What are the specific consequences of agreeing that something is a threat?" (Balzacq et al., 2016, p.496). In answering these questions, securitisation theory offers an analytical framework and a site to think about such questions in relation to modern day security politics. CSS includes various securitisation practices echoed by various schools of thought. Each school offers different perspectives on what securitisation means or should mean, as well as the implications of rendering something governable as a security issue. One of the most well known academic developments in securitisation theory is the Copenhagen School. With its roots in social constructivism, the Copenhagen School offers an extended realist definition of security (Burke, 2012).

The Copenhagen School was introduced by McSweeney (1996) to refer to the works of various scholars including Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde. Buzan et al. (1998, p.23) define security as "the move that takes politics beyond the established rules of the game and frames the issue either as a special kind of politics or as above politics". The Copenhagen School identifies a securitisation spectrum that ranges from nonpoliticised, through politicised, to securitised. Nonpoliticised implies that "the state does not deal with it and it is not in any other way made an issue of public debate

and decision". Politicised means that "the issue is part of public policy, requiring government decision and resource allocations or, more rarely, some other form of communal governance". Finally, securitised suggests that "the issue is sented as an existential threat, requiring emergency measures and justifying actions outside the normal bounds of political procedure" (Buzan et al., 1998, p.23-24).

The Copenhagen School argues that there are two criteria to know whether an issue has been securitised. First, a speech act has to be identified by an elite actor where an issue is defined as an existential threat to security. Elite actors include government officials as well as representatives from international organisations and civil society. Second, an audience has to be identified where there is a sign of acceptance with regards to the speech acts. An example of a securitisation act is a Cabinet acknowledging the emergency condition of a threat to security through displaying it in a policy document. If no sign of acceptance is present, and the issue has not shifted out of the realm of regular domestic politics towards the realm of security, we can only talk of a securitisation move instead of the issue being securitised through a securitisation act (Buzan et al., 1998).

While the Copenhagen School is the most popular and discussed theory of securitisation, it has generated extensive debates amongst scholars of CSS. Balzacq (2005, p.171) argues that a "speech act view of security does not provide adequate grounding upon which to examine practices of securitisation in 'real situations' ". Nyman & Zeng (2016, p.824) criticise the Copenhagen School for perceiving security as something negative while other theoretical perspectives "define security as emancipation, emphasising its positive value and potential". Stritzel (2007) agrees with the notions presented by the Copenhagen School to a certain extent, but implies that a theory on security should go beyond the current reflections by the Copenhagen School.

As a result of these critiques, the core idea of securitisation has been adopted, adapted, and developed by various practices echoed by schools of CSS. Examples of alternative schools include the Human Security Perspective and the Paris School (see Table 3). The Human Security Perspective consists of a normative approach that concerns itself "with what security ought to be" (Oels, 2012, p.194). The Human Security Perspective focuses on a policy making agenda in which redefining security in terms of human security could result in the securitised issue to emerge as a priority on the policy agenda. The Paris School investigates practices of professionals concerning themselves with (in)security and the problems that arise as a result. In doing so, the Paris School examines the application of traditional practices from the security field in addition to the expanding security field (Oels, 2012).

School of CSS	Perspective on securitisation
Copenhagen School	Emphasis on non-military aspects
Human Security Perspective	Multi-disciplinary people centred approach
Paris School	Framing of in(security) by professionals

Table 3: Perspectives of schools of CSS on securitisation

With various schools of thought mirroring different interpretations on "what it means (or should mean) to render something governable as a security issue", there is no one fits all approach to securitisation (Oels, 2012, p.185). Nonetheless, all schools concern themselves with similar questions including the implications of rendering an issue as an existential threat to security. With research still growing, scholars have until present primarily speculated on the benefits and risks of securitisation to examine whether or not securitisation is at all desirable (Oels, 2012). Whether the benefits outweigh the risks and what the implications of securitisation are for policy directions is a research gap that requires further exploration.

2.4 Interpreting Environmental Securitisation

Within GEP, contentious debates have been prompted linking the domains of environment and security, two domains that were formerly separated within global politics. According to Buzan et al. (1998) one of the most striking features of the environmental security nexus concerns the existence of two different agendas. Namely, a scientific agenda, embedded in sciences and nongovernmental activity, and a political agenda, consisting of public decision making processes and public politics dealing with environmental concerns.

The way in which environmental security is labelled, interpreted, and/or categorised, has implications on policy (Trombetta, 2008). Huntjens & Nachbar (2015) identify two categories within the climate security nexus, national and collective security, and human security. National and collective security emphasises the security of states while human security emphasises the security of people. Both are driven by the notion that environmental challenges like climate change have a direct and indirect impact. Direct implications include rising sea levels and storm surges which threaten the existence of every continent worldwide including the Small Island Developing States (SIDS). Indirect security implications include the multiplication of threats and drivers of violent conflict. Such threats have the ability to threaten the institutional capacity, territorial integrity, and national sovereignty of a state (Huntjens & Nachbar, 2015).

Due to conflicting notions, dimensions, and assumptions of security, viewing environmental challenges through a security lens remains "a highly controversial terrain in both the theory and practice of global politics" (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams, 2015, p.120). Proponents of broadening traditional notions of security to include environmental security believe that viewing environmental challenges through a security lens is rhetorically powerful as it draws the attention of states to issues that may otherwise be left unaddressed (Peoples & Vaughan-Williams, 2015). In doing so, the relation between environment and security can create political awareness and a sense of urgency useful to resolve environmental challenges and safeguard human, national, and collective security (Graeger, 1996). Presenting a universal definition for security threats presented by environmental challenges can be advantageous in overcoming ideational fragmentation, which influences how society perceives security and has the ability to removes global agendas from the preferences of society (Floyd, 2015).

Opponents argue that broadening traditional notions of security complicates the security domain and weakens the traditional core values and principles of security. Due to environmental security and national security being based on alternative views, discourse on traditional security is arguably not sufficiently "equipped to address the pressing global issues that a (new) definition of security must cope with" (Vogler & Mark, 1996, p.23). Environmental security narratives can pose a threat to "peaceful international cooperation and development initiatives needed to respond equitably and effectively to climate" (Hartmann, 2010, p.234). Ultimately, pleas to broaden notions of security towards environmental security could result in a shift away from the nexus of environment and security, subsequently making it harder to govern environmental challenges and defeat the goal that proponents aim to achieve (Levy, 1995). The most critical intervention in environmental security is presented by Deudney (1990). Deudney casts doubt to the tendency of linking environmental degradation through arguing that environmental challenges like environment degradation are not a threat to national security itself. Instead, Deudney believes that environmentalism is a threat to the mindsets and institutions driving national security.

Furthermore, there are also scholars who acknowledge the benefits of broadening traditional notions of security towards environmental security, but echo their concerns about the implications of securitisation. These scholars thereby take a neutral stance and nuance the arguments made by proponents and opponents. Trombetta (2008) argues that environmental security initially appeared to be a good idea as it brought the attention of traditional security analysts to environmental challenges present in political domains. Since the environmental security nexus remains contested,

Trombetta believes the divide is taking "attention away from the question of whether practices associated with providing security have been transformed by environmental security discourses" (Trombetta, 2008, p.586). Huntjens & Nachbar (2015) believe in the strength of the nexus between climate and security, but fear that framing climate change as a new threat may ultimately result in states resorting to old ways through defensive and isolationist responses instead of collaborative responses.

The contention surrounding environmental security persists among the schools of CSS (see Table 4). The Copenhagen School warns that successful securitisation of climate change could result in the legitimisation of a political state whereby measures are taken to adopt undemocratic procedures. The Copenhagen School believes that the securitisation of climate change has failed due to the political price being too high. The Human Security Perspective challenges the Copenhagen School by arguing that the political threat can be avoided if environmental challenges are defined in terms of human security. According to the Human Security Perspective, this would enable sustainable development to emerge at the top of the policy agenda. The Paris School believes that the failed securitisation of climate change can be better understood by perceiving it as climatisation of the security field. Climatisation implies that professionals are viewing climate change as security issues in everyday practices through not applying security to climate change but through applying climate change to security (Oels, 2012).

School of Security Studies	**Perspective on environmental securitisation**
Copenhagen School	Could create political exceptions resulting in undemocratic procedures
Human Security Perspective	Could rise to the top of the policy agenda by being perceived as a threat to human security
Paris School	Could enable the climatisation of the security field

Table 4: Perspectives of schools of CSS on environmental securitisation

With multiple notions, dimensions, and assumptions of environmental securitisation, environment and security are no longer strictly separated in global politics, but are seen to be increasingly associated and intertwined (Zwierlein, 2018). Nevertheless, great concern persists amongst scholars regarding the dealings of new global security problems like environmental challenges and the consequences of rendering these challenges governable as a security issue for policy (Oels, 2012).

2.5 Analysing Environmental Securitisation

Beyond defining security and environmental security and interpreting securitisation and environmental securitisation, it is essential to examine how to analyse the definitions and interpretations of environmental securitisation. In analysing environmental securitisation two key approaches can be identified, namely a discursive approach and a practical approach (Léonard & Francis, 2010).

A discursive approach is an analytical tool used to identify how activities advocate for a proportional response to a perceived threat through securitisation moves (Léonard & Francis, 2010) (see Table 5). This is reflected by constructivism and the Copenhagen School, where discourse is perceived as an effective tool to analyse social and political norms (Huysmans, 2002). Such securitisation moves can be illustrated by political discourse including speeches, letters, and oral debates by elite actors, as well as elite actors speaking at conferences and events.

Scope	**Analysis**
1. What type of move is taking place?	Speech, conference, etc.
2. Who is involved in the move?	Prime minister, minister, etc.
3. When is the move occurring?	Date
4. How is the move viewed in terms of security?	Human, national, or collective

Table 5: How to identify a securitisation move

A practical approach is an analytical tool used to identify whether a securitisation move has triggered a response or sign of acceptance of the securitisation move as a precaution against the perceived threat through a securitisation act (Bigo, 2002) (see Table 6). Securitisation acts by an audience and its agencies illustrate whether the issue has shifted out of the realm of regular politics, if at all, and where it is placed on the security spectrum. Such securitisation acts are illustrated by public policy documentation including policy notes, policy strategies, declarations, and year plans.

Scope	**Analysis**
1. What type of act is taking place?	Policy note, declaration, etc.
2. Who is involved in the act?	Parliament, Commission, etc.
3. When is the act occurring?	Date
4. How is the act viewed in terms of security?	Nonpoliticised, policised, or securitised

Table 6: How to identify a securitisation act

Securitisation moves and securitisation acts can reveal the answers to numerous questions at the heart of securitisation theory (Buzan et al., 1998). If an audience and its agencies do not adopt a response, we can only speak of a securitisation move and not a securitisation act. Not moving beyond a securitisation move through adopting an action into public policy could be an indication of a strategic policy of denial and/or active forgetting of the attempted move to securitise an issue (Bigo, 2002). While a discursive approach has its strength in placing emphasis on the use of social constructivist assumptions, a practical approach allows for an analysis of the response to a discursive move. Although both approaches have their advantages and disadvantages, combining insights from both approaches "can reveal interesting differences between everyday practices on the one hand and official discourses and policies on the other hand" (Léonard & Francis, 2010, p.236).

Even though environmental security discourse has gained momentum, securitisation moves do not always result in securitisation acts transforming security practices (Trombetta, 2008). Driven by worsening political conflict and humanitarian crises, climate extremes, geo-political and socio-economic extremes, the global political and economic context remains "a major stumbling block for political progress on tackling climate and security risks" (Vivekananda et al., 2017, p.7). While some states strongly advocate for the climate change security nexus on a policy level, other states commonly use this nexus as "a rhetorical figure in security strategies with little effect on security policy and planning" resulting in an adopted climate security perspective that "suggests little, if any, action in the security sector" (Brzoska, 2012, p.175). Whether this trend will continue in the future is unclear as it relies on the growing interdependence of the climate change security nexus as well as the greater context of political discourse. What is clear, is that national, regional, and international politics see a "clear divergence between the discourse and the implementation of changes at the policy level" (Brzoska, 2012, p.173). As phrased by Scott (2012, p.230) "climate change rhetoric matters, but what matters most, is action". The reactions of practical approaches to discursive approaches are thereby of utmost importance to move beyond addressing environmental security towards tackling climate and security risks in public policy.

2.6 Conceptual Lens

The theoretical debates concerning environmental securitisation in IR applicable to this research have shed light on various critiques and research gaps. The propositions distilled from these critiques and research gaps will now be combined to formulate the conceptual lens.

The various definitions of security amongst theories of IR have shown that security is imperative

to traditional interpretations of IR and essential to address modern day political concerns (Burke, 2012). While definitions of security vary amongst realist, liberalist, and constructivist theories, they provide valuable insights into notions of GEP like environmental security (Betsill et al., 2014). As a novel field in IR, GEP scholars are discussing both advantages and disadvantages of this approach. While GEP generates new insights and approaches to studying environmental issues on a political and global scale, it remains complex, frequently preventing the full incorporation of environmental movements (O'Neill, 2017). In examining the definitions of environmental security in practice, it is essential to combine the insights provided by the theories of IR as well as the contributions and shortcomings of GEP.

Beyond a variety of definitions of security, there are also different interpretations of security as illustrated by CSS. One of the most conceptual innovations within this field is securitisation theory. Based on the work by Buzan et al. (1998), the Copenhagen School provides the most known contributions to securitisation theory. The Copenhagen School identifies a securitisation spectrum that ranges from nonpoliticised, through politicsed, to securitised, and argues that securitisation is achieved through two steps. The first step concerns securitisation moves whereby an elite actor performs a speech act, and the second step concerns a securitisation act whereby an audience accepts a securitisation move (Buzan et al., 1998). The Copenhagen School is not the sole contribution to securitisation theory as the Human Security Perspective and the Paris School also provide relevant additions to this field. The schools vary in their definitions and interpretations of security and differ in their values and opinions of incorporating environmental challenges in the security domain (Oels, 2012). In examining the interpretations of securitisation in practice, it is essential to examine the contributions made to securitisation theory by the Copenhagen School as well as the Human Security Perspective and the Paris School.

Within GEP, the themes of environment and security are increasingly interlinked resulting in environmental challenges being perceived as a threat to human, national, and collective security (Huntjens & Nachbar, 2015). Due to the conflicting notions, dimensions, and assumptions of security, environmental securitisation remains highly controversial. On one hand, there are proponents who believe broadening traditional notions of security towards environmental security is rhetorically powerful and allows for states to prioritise environmental challenges on policy agendas. On the other hand, there are opponents who advocate that broadening notions of security towards environmental security has the opposite effect and weakens the traditional values and principles of security and thereby results in a shift away from the environmental security nexus (Trombetta, 2008). In ex-

amining the interpretations of environmental securitisation in practice, it is essential to evaluate the framing of environmental challenges in terms of security and acknowledge the arguments presented by proponents and opponents.

How environmental securitisation is defined and interpreted in practice can be analysed through combining a discursive approach with a practical approach. While a discursive approach looks at securitisation moves through political discourse, a practical approach looks at securitisation acts through public policy documentation. These approaches identify securitisation moves and securitisation acts and help to answers questions at the heart of securitisation theory. These questions concern the type of move or act is taking place, who is involved in the move or act, when the move or act is occurring, and how the move or act is viewed in terms of security. The first three questions sheds light on whether securitisation moves perceive environmental challenges as a human, national, or collective threat to security as well as where securitisation acts place environmental challenges on the securitisation spectrum. The answers to the way securitisation moves and securitisation acts view environmental challenges in terms of security subsequently allows for examining the implications of environmental securitisation for policy directions.

While the theoretical debates concerning environmental securitisation in IR have presented valuable contributions to defining, interpreting, and analysing environmental securitisation, whether these theoretical debates are applicable in practice is a research gap that requires further exploration. Questions of this research gap includes: how are environmental challenges perceived in terms of human, national, or collective security? Who is securitising environmental challenges? How do environmental challenges become securitised? What is the relationship between securitisation moves and securitisation acts? What responses do securitisation moves and securitisation acts call for? And; what are the advantages and disadvantages of securitising environmental challenges? After examining how and in what way environmental challenges and climate migration have been securitised on multiple levels, if at all, and what the implications are for policy directions, this thesis will rethink environmental securitisation in theory to examine whether it is still applicable to modern day political concerns like environmental security.

To summarise, in combining the propositions, critiques, and research gaps, the conceptual lens used to answer the central research question of this thesis consists of three stages (see Figure 1). Stage 1 concerns securitisation moves whereby moves are identified, questions at the heart of security theory are answered, and how moves view environmental challenges as a threat to security are analysed. Stage 2 concerns securitisation acts whereby acts are identified, questions at the heart of

securitisation theory are answered, and how acts view environmental challenges in terms of security are analysed. Stage 3 concerns the implications of environmental securitisation for policy directions. The implications for policy directions will be analysed through using the operationalisation of analysing the conceptual lens (see Table 7). The operationalisation of analysing the conceptual lens categorises how securitisation moves have perceived environmental challenges as a threat to security and where securitisation acts place environmental challenges on the securitisation spectrum. The concepts drawn from the data collected will subsequently be analysed to examine the implications for policy directions.

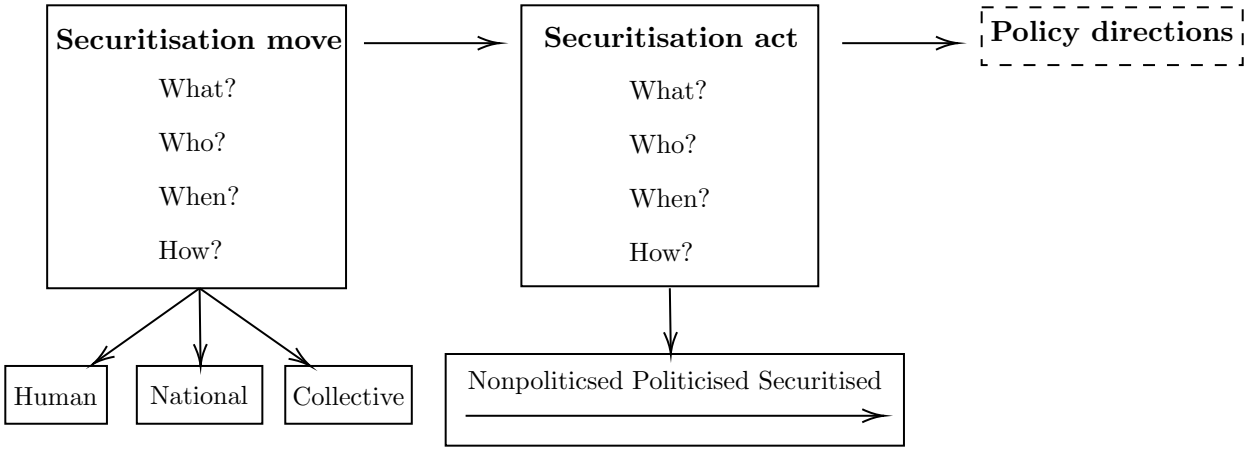

Figure 1: Operationalisation of the conceptual lens

Concept	**Category**	**Definition**
Securitisation moves	Human security	Security of the people
	National security	Security of the state
	Collective security	Security of the system
Securitisation acts	Nonpoliticised	No concern from the state for security
	Politicised	Concern in public policy for security
	Securitised	Viewed as an existential threat to security

Table 7: Operationalisation of analysing the conceptual lens

This chapter has examined the theoretical debates concerning environmental securitisation in IR to distil critiques and research gaps used to formulate the conceptual lens. The theoretical debates have included: defining security, defining environmental security, interpreting securitisa-

tion, interpreting environmental securitisation, and analysing environmental securitisation. The conceptual lens consists of three stages drawing from securitisation moves and securitisation acts to subsequently examine the implications for policy directions. The following chapter will build on the theoretical contributions of environmental securitisation in IR and formulate methodology used to operationalise the conceptual lens.

3 Methodology

This chapter presents the methodology used to operationalise the conceptual lens. This thesis will follow a case study methodology of the European Union and the Netherlands. The qualitative primary data will consist of political discourse and public policy documentation supported by semi-structured interviews and participant observation. Subsequently, a qualitative Critical Discourse Analysis will be used to analyse the data collected.

3.1 Case Selection

This research will follow a case study methodology of the European Union and the Netherlands. The timeline for these case studies will start in the 1990s to and including April 2019. Examining both the European Union and the Netherlands will allow for an analysis and comparison of environmental securitisation on two levels of governance.

3.2 Data Collection

This research will examine qualitative primary data. The qualitative primary data will consist of political discourse and public policy documentation supported by semi-structured interviews and participant observation. Combining these sources will allow for a variety of data to be consulted and reveal the similarities and differences between political discourse and public policy documentation. The semi-structured interviews and participant observations will provide additional insights and knowledge from experts and events to present supplementary information on political discourse and public policy documentation. With English being the working language of the European Union and Dutch being the official language in the Netherlands, both English and Dutch sources will be consulted.

3.2.1 Political Discourse

The first source of primary data used to identify securitisation moves consists of political discourse. For the purpose of this thesis, political discourse will be defined as spoken or written debates conducted by elite actors prior to a response by the audience and its agencies. Examples of political discourse include: speeches, letters, and oral debates by elite actors, as well as elite actors speaking at conferences and events.

3.2.2 Public Policy Documentation

The second source of primary data used to identify securitisation acts consists of public policy documentation. For the purpose of this thesis, public policy documentation will be defined as durable products of formalised action arising from decision making processes by an audience and its agencies. Examples of public policy documentation include: policy notes, policy strategies, declarations, and year plans.

3.2.3 Semi-Structured Interviews

In addition, anonymous semi-structured interviews will be conducted with key experts in the field. The semi-structured interviews will be conducted with give scholars, practitioners, or government officials from a variety professions, backgrounds, and nationalities. To keep the anonymity of the experts, no personal information will be used. Given the novelty of the topic, the experts specialised in this field are limited. The quantity of experts interviewed considers a saturation point providing novel insights.

3.2.4 Participant Observation

Lastly, participant observations will be conducted at key events and conferences. The events and conferences attended were chosen based on their relevance to the scope of this thesis and timing coinciding with the duration of this research. (See Appendix A for a list of events and conferences where participant observations were conducted.)

3.2.5 Sources Of Data

For each component of the conceptual lens different sources of data will be consulted (see Figure 2). Step 1 concerning securitisation moves will draw from political discourse, semi-structured interviews, and participant observations. Step 2 concerning securitisation acts will draw from public policy documentation, semi-structured interviews, and participant observations. Step 3 concerning policy directions, will draw from political discourse, public policy documentation, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation.

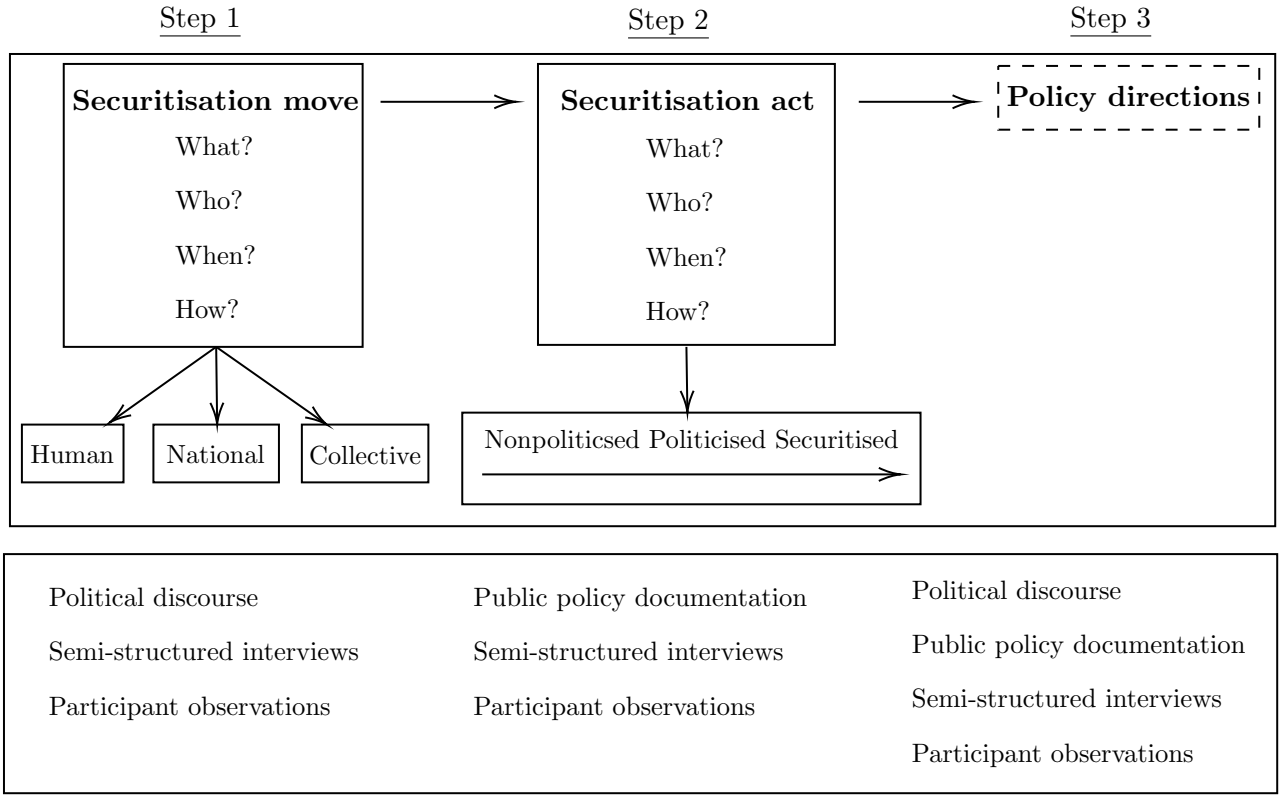

Figure 2: Methodological operationalisation of the conceptual lens

3.3 Data Analysis

In order to examine the various sources of data, discourse will be analysed through a qualitative Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The CDA will consist of coding the data collected in terms of the concepts distilled from the theoretical framework. Subsequently, the CDA will analyse the categories and findings arising from the codes.

3.3.1 Analysing Discourse

The French philosopher Foucault places great value on transformations through discourse. In his later work, Foucault analysed the social discourses of social discipline, punishment, and sexuality (Hajer, 1995). In this work, Foucault advocates for a "multiplicity of security discourses and practices" to consider "what counts as security and the way to ensure it cannot be separated from the specific conceptuali[s]ation of a problem" (Trombetta, 2014, p.132).

With no common understanding in IR on how to best study discourse, discourse analysis has been shaped to mean different things in different places. Hajer (1995, p.45) interprets discourse to

portray a "specific ensembles of ideas, concepts and categori[s]ation that are produced, reproduced and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities". Discourse analysis thereby examines the ways in which problems emerge, play out, and are represented.

Within environmental discourse, discourse analysis can be used to examine narratives concerning climate change and discuss how language is used to shape the nature of politics (Detraz & Betsill, 2009). In environmental studies, discourse analysis helps to understand why certain environmental issue gain vast attention while others are discredited (Hajer, 1995).

3.3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

One method used to analyse discourse is CDA. According to Fairclough (2013, p.178) "CDA brings the critical tradition in social analysis into language studies, and contributes to critical social analysis a particular focus on discourse, and on relations between discourse and other social elements". Fairclough identifies both a normative and explanatory critique to CDA. The normative critique is that CDA goes beyond describing existing realities by also evaluating and assessing them. The explanatory critique is that a CDA goes beyond describing and evaluating realities by also explaining them. In doing so, CDA interprets discourse analysis to represent a problem-driven approach with "an internal relation between explanation, critique and normative evaluation" (Fairclough, 2013, p.185).

Analysing discourse through a CDA presents a "powerful critical theoretical and methodological tool in the social sciences" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2010, p.1218). CDA is a relevant and appropriate method to use in this thesis as it can be used to analyse both the discursive and practical approach to environmental securitisation. By examining securitisation moves and securitisation acts, CDA allows concepts to be categorised, analysed, and compared, to ultimately shed light on the implications for policy directions. This thesis will perform a CDA for environmental challenges and climate migration in the European Union and the Netherlands, thereby conducting a total of four CDAs.

3.3.3 Coding

The CDA will be performed through coding the data collected in terms of the concepts distilled from the theoretical framework. Subsequently, the CDA will analyse the categories and findings arising from the codes to examine the implications for policy directions. The data collected will

be coded in terms of the concepts distilled from the theoretical framework used to analyse the conceptual lens (see Table 8). Step 1 will categorise the data collected in terms of human, national, or collective security. Step 2 will categorise the data collected in terms of nonpoliticsed, politicised, or securitised. Step 3 will draw from the contributions by step 1 and step 2 to subsequently shed light on the implications for policy directions. After having coded the data collected, the categories and findings presented by the codes will be used to further analyse the contributions to answer the central research question.

Concept	**Category**	**Requirements**	**Code**
Securitisation moves	Human security	Threat to security of people	HS
	National security	Threat to security of the state	NS
	Collective security	Threat to security of the system	CS
Securitisation acts	Nonpoliticised	Not included in public policy	NP
	Politicised	Included in public policy	P
	Securitised	Perceived as an existential threat	S

Table 8: Methodological operationalisation of analysing the conceptual lens

This chapter has presented the methodology used to operationalise the conceptual lens. The methodology consists of a case study application, qualitative primary data, and a qualitative CDA. The studies that will be examined are the cases of the European Union and the Netherlands. The qualitative primary data consists of political discourse and public policy documentation supported by semi-structured interviews and participant observation. The CDA consists of coding the data collected from various sources to categorise the data in terms of the concepts distilled from the theoretical framework. Subsequently, the CDA will analyse the contributions from the codes to answer the central research question. The following chapter will apply the methodology used to operationalise the conceptual lens to examine how and in what way environmental challenges have been securitised on multiple levels, if at all, and what the implications are for policy directions.

4 Securitising Environmental Challenges

This chapter will answer the first sub research question: how and in what way have environmental challenges been securitised on multiple levels, if at all, and what are the implications for policy directions? This will be conveyed through applying the methodology used to operationalise the conceptual lens. In doing so, securitisation moves and securitisation acts that view environmental challenges in terms of security will be examined. Both the cases of the European Union and the Netherlands include a timeline illustrating the various securitisation moves and securitisation acts that view environmental challenges in terms of security. (The timelines illustrate securitisation moves in bold and securitisation acts in italics.)

4.1 Securitising Environmental Challenges in the European Union

The European Union (EU) is a political and economic union counting 28 member states. The EU was formally established in 1993 when the Treaty of Maastricht came into force. The Treaty of Maastricht built on the Treaty of Rome and Treaty of Paris which were ratified in the 1950s. Two characteristics of the EU are the economic and monetary union, and the single market. The economic and monetary union, known as the eurozone, consists of 19 member states of the EU who share the common currency of the euro. The single market consists of the free movement of goods, services, capital, and labour. The single market includes all member states party to the EU and has been extended to numerous other countries. In addition, there is also the Schengen Area, an area between 26 countries with a free and unrestricted movement of people (European Union, 2017).

The EU has a unique policy making structure with a system of seven intergovernmental decision making bodies. The decision making bodies relevant to this thesis include the European Parliament, the European Council, the Council of the EU, and the European Commission. The European Parliament is the law making body of the EU and is made up of Members of European Parliament representing member states (European Union, 2017). The European Council, led by the President Donald Tusk, "brings together EU leaders to set the political agenda of the EU. It represents the highest level of political cooperation between EU countries" (European Union, n.d.-c). In the Council of the EU, government ministers from member state meet "to discuss, amend and adopt laws, and coordinate policies" (European Union, n.d.-b). Finally, the European Commission functions as the "politically independent executive arm" of the EU. Led by President Jean-Claude Juncker, the Commission draws up proposals and implements the outcomes of the main decision

making bodies of the EU: the European Parliament and the Council of the EU (European Union, n.d.-a). The European Commission counts various departments and executive agencies including directorates responsible for policy on a certain topic. Examples of directorates include a directorate on climate action, a directorate on environment, and a directorate on migration and home affairs (European Commission, n.d.).

Besides a common economic and social policy, the EU maintains a Common Foreign and Security Policy. The Common Foreign and Security Policy is unique to the EU and determines the policies that EU member states will pursue around the world (European Union, n.d.-d). The European External Action Service, although not part of the decision making body of the EU, is an important actor in the EU. Headed by the Frederica Mogherini, the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy as well as the Vice-President of the European Commission, the External Action Service functions as the official diplomatic service of the EU to help carry out the Common Foreign and Security Policy (European External Action Service, 2016).

Since the EU was established in 1993, EU representatives and institutions have initiated various securitisation moves and securitisation acts that view environmental challenges in terms of security (see Figure 3). How and in what way environmental challenges have been securitised in the EU, if at all, and the implications for policy directions will be discussed subsequently.

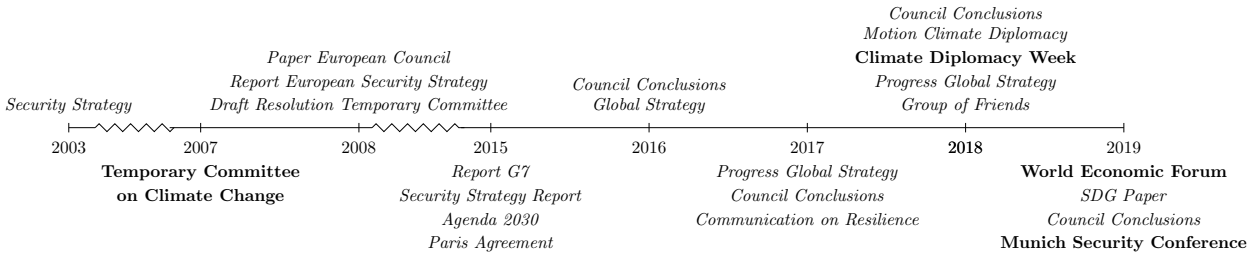

Figure 3: Timeline of securitising environmental challenges in the EU

In 2003, the EU presented the Security Strategy titled 'A Secure Europe In A Better World'. The European Security Strategy "established principles and set clear objectives for advancing the EU's security interests based on our core values" (European Union, 2008, p.3). The strategy focuses on post cold war global challenges and threats including health, economic, political, and environmental. The example used to depict the challenges presented by the environment concerns is the competition for natural resources and the urgency of water scarcity (European Union, 2003, p.3). The key threats listed by the strategy are terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, state failure, and organised crime. The strategy acknowledges that due to globalisation, "distant

threats may be as much a concern as those that are near at hand" (European Union, 2003, p.6). The strategy advocates for an international order based on effective multilateralism including the United Nations (UN) Security Council (SC). To conclude, the strategy presents policy implications for Europe and advocates for more coherent strategies that "bring together the different instruments and capabilities" including "[d]iplomatic efforts, development, trade and environmental policies" as they "can have an impact on our security and on that of third countries" (European Union, 2003, p.13).

This first securitisation act came 10 years after the EU was formally established and 2 years after the September 11 attacks. The political scene following the attacks is echoed through the identification of hard threats to security like terrorism. While environmental or climatic issues do not play an essential role in the threats or challenges coined in this document, they are briefly mentioned as an area of concern. The strategy thereby indicates that environmental challenges should be incorporated by the multilateral system but as of yet are not as urgent to take priority over traditional hard security threats like terrorism. Hence, while the EU is making its first step to discuss environmental challenges in terms of security, environmental challenges are not been framed as an existential threat to security but merely as an area of concern to be further examined in the future. The Security Strategy makes a start to politicise environmental challenges by setting the scene to incorporate environmental challenges in public policy including security policy in the future.

Four years later, the European Parliament set up a Temporary Committee on Climate Change. Consisting of 60 members, the committee aims to include climate change in the mandate of the Parliament through formulating policy proposals, and analysing and evaluating climate change policy. After the initial period of 12 months, the mandate of the committee was extended by another 9 months (European Parliament Archives, 2007). In total, the committee held "25 committee meetings, 8 thematic sessions, presentations by Commissioners and Ministers and fact finding missions" (European Parliament Temporary Committee on Climate Change, 2009).

In December 2009, the committee published a draft resolution titled '2050: The future begins today – Recommendations for the EU's future integrated policy on climate change'. The resolution mentions the word security five times, notes the variety of international conferences on this topic, and draws from a survey commissioned by the European Commission (European Parliament, 2008). The survey examined the attitude of more that 30,000 Europeans spread across 27 countries to uncover whether the public shares the same opinions on climate change as the institutions in Brussels.

The survey concludes that climate change is a major concern amongst Europeans as they consider climate change "to be one of the most serious problems the world is currently facing, three-quarters of citizens also confirm that they take the problem very seriously" (Eurobarometer, 2008).

Through setting up a Temporary Committee on Climate Change, the European Parliament presents a securitisation move where discussions are held on the importance of climate change in the Parliament. With securitisation moves taking place through meetings, sessions, presentations, and missions, environmental challenges are not framed to have one definition of security. As the Parliament is concerning themselves with these issues and believes these should be further integrated in the EU, they assumedly frame environmental challenges as a threat to collective security. After the initial securitisation move, the committee presents a securitisation act through a draft resolution. The resolution advocates for an integrated policy on climate change including the integration in security policy. In doing so, the Parliament securitises environmental challenges as they perceive climate change as an existential threat to security that requires politicisation in various areas of policy including security policy.

In March 2008, the High Representative and the European Commission to the European Council presented a paper titled 'Climate Change and International Security'. The paper explicitly portrays the link between climate change and security. The paper states that "[c]limate change is best viewed as a threat multiplier which exacerbates existing trends, tensions and instability". The paper additionally states that climate change does not solely have humanitarian implications but also includes "political and security risks that directly affect European interests". The paper concludes that Europe should address the security risks of climate change alongside mitigation and adaptation policies on an EU level as well as bilateral and multilateral level (European Commission, 2008, p.2).

The securitisation act depicts the concern of the European Council with the threats posed by environmental challenges to security and the stance that the High Representative and Commission are willing to take regarding the environmental security nexus. While the paper still leaves multiple areas unexplored, the paper takes a position in support of the nexus and makes a start to incorporate environmental challenges in security policy. That the paper was published by the High Representative and the European Commission to the European Council illustrates the high value placed on the nexus by key European institutions and the intent to undertake measures to tackle environmental challenges to mitigate and adapt to security threats in the future. The securitisation act moves beyond the politicisation of environmental challenges towards the securitisation of environmental challenges as it displays environmental challenges as an existential threat to security

that should be further incorporated in security policy.

In December 2008, the EU published a 'Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy: Providing Security in a Changing World'. The report reviews the 2003 Security Strategy and examines how the EU has done in practice and what can be done to improve the implementation of the strategy. While the Security Strategy identified various of threats and challenges to the security interests of the EU. Five years on, these threats and challenges have not gone away with some grown to become more complex. According to the report, globalisation has altered the face of our planet making threats interdisciplinary and more complex and interconnected. With globalisation taking on a new urgency, the report identifies the need to ameliorate early warning capabilities within the EU as well as improve multilateral cooperation as the "EU cannot do this alone" (European Union, 2008, p.5).

The securitisation act builds on the Security Strategy and calls for the incorporation of modern day environmental concerns. The act illustrates that there is a shift towards further incorporating the complexity of globalisation including challenges of environmental nature across EU institutions. Advocating for an expansion of a key document like the Security Strategy to incorporate globalisation illustrates politicisation of environmental challenges and securitisation through framing environmental challenges as an existential threat to security.

In 2015, the Group of 7 (G7), a group consisting of seven of the largest advanced economies in the world, including five parties to the EU, commissioned an independent report titled 'A New Climate for Peace: Taking Action of Climate and Fragility Risks'. In collaborating with several international institutes, the report identifies "seven compound climate-fragility risks that pose serious threats to the stability of states and societies in the decades ahead". These climate-fragility risks include livelihood insecurity and migration, sea-level rise and coastal degradation, and unintended effects of climate policies. The report concludes that "[c]limate change is a global threat to security in the 21st century" and urges the G7 countries to act quickly and take concrete action to tackle climate-fragility risks (Rüttinger et al., 2015, p.vii).

The paper commissioned by the G7 portrays the urgency of climate-fragility risks and the urge to act. While this act securitises environmental challenges, it was commissioned by key economies. The paper is therefore of advisory nature and not binding for the countries party to the G7. Nonetheless, it has been taken seriously by G7 countries who mostly no longer deny the causal relationship between environment and security and aim to further politicise environmental challenges in years to come.

In June, the Policy Department of the Directorate-General for External Policies published a report titled 'Towards a new European Security Strategy?'. The brief builds on the 2003 Security Strategy and the 2008 review. The briefing assesses the impact of the changes in the global security environment and advocates for a new ambitious document incorporating the changes in the European security environment since 2003. The report lists several causes of the changing nature of conflict including strategic threats due to climate change. When discussing climate threats, the report acknowledges the "wide variation in expert views on the relationship between climate change and global and regional insecurities, violent conflict and war" (Anthony et al., 2015, p.29). The report concludes that "[i]t is clear that focused targets, resilience, strategic planning and good governance are significant aspects of reducing human insecurity in climate change, and such strategic approaches need to be included as a significant part of a new [European Security Strategy] both within the EU and outside" (Anthony et al., 2015, p.30).

The securitisation act advocates for the changes to the security of the EU like climate change to be incorporated in security policy. The report moves beyond politicisation towards securitisation by viewing environmental challenges as an existential threat to security necessary to be furthered in security policy.

In December, the UN General Assembly (GA) adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the 21st Conference of Parties (COP) formulated the Paris Agreement. The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, adopted by all 193 UN member states, provides a shared blueprint for people, planet, prosperity, peace, and partnership. At the heart of the 2030 Agenda are 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) including 169 ambitious targets. The goals recognise the need to end poverty, eradicate hunger, and others, while simultaneously addressing the implications of climate change (United Nations General Assembly, 2015). Held in Paris, COP21 presented a shift in how climate change is governed on an international level. During this conference, 197 parties reached a landmark agreement, known as the Paris Agreement. The agreement functions as "the global response to the threat of climate change, in the context of sustainable development and efforts to eradicate poverty" through to limiting global warming well below 2°C covering the period from 2020 onward (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, 2018, p.3). At the heart of the agreement are the Nationally Determined Contributions for which each country makes efforts "to reduce national emissions and adapt to the impacts of climate change" (United Nations Climate Change, n.d.). The agreement was ratified by 180 parties, including each EU member state, and entered into force in 2016 (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, 2018).

The two securitisation acts call for a cooperative and multilateral approach to include climate change in a development landscape as well as improving sustainable development in humanitarian, legal, and political discourses. The SDGs and Paris Agreement politicse environmental challenges on a global scale but prioritise development and diplomacy and thereby do not frame environmental challenges as an existential threat to security

In 2016, the Council of the EU held proceedings regarding European climate diplomacy. The Council Conclusions indicate priorities for climate diplomacy within the EU including "high level bilateral and bi-regional dialogues with partner countries, the G7, the G20, at the UN and in other international fora" (Council of the European Union, 2016, p.3). The Council "recognises climate change as a contributing factor to migration resulting from state fragility, insecurity and resource scarcity". While addressing these factors, the Council underlines that the EU, as a whole, and its member states individually, need to continue working collaboratively to "address the direct and indirect international security impacts of climate change" (Council of the European Union, 2016, p.5).

The Council Conclusions on climate diplomacy illustrate the concern and importance of environmental security at the highest level of the European Council. In doing so, the conclusions draw the threats posed by climate change in a diplomatic, development, and security context. The diplomatic domain implies bilateral, bi-regional, and multilateral dialogues and the development domain concerns the health, social, and economic challenges. The securitisation act securitises as it acknowledges environmental challenges as an existential threat that should be addressed in diplomacy, development, and security policy.

Later in 2016, the EU presented a Global Strategy titled 'Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe'. The strategy notes the necessity for a shared vision and common action in tackling 21st century challenges through global governance. With today's threats like climate change not stopping at borders, and endangering both people and territory, the strategy claims that internal and external security have become intertwined. The strategy advocates for the EU to work more collaboratively. In addition to a shared vision and common action, the strategy urges the EU to "lead by example by implementing its commitments on sustainable development and climate change" (European Union Global Strategy, 2016, p.40).

The Global Strategy answers the call by the 2008 review and 2015 report advocating for an updated Security Strategy incorporating global concerns. Securitisation acts are thereby building on each other to gradually increase the importance of the environmental challenges in public policy

including security policy. The Global Strategy moves beyond politicising towards securitising environmental challenges whilst advocating for the importance of addressing environmental challenges in public policy concerning development and diplomacy.

At the start of 2017, the first annual progress report of the Global Strategy was published. The report indicated that the full strength and value of the strategy can only be fulfilled when developed simultaneous to external policies and policies with external aspects. These aspects include "migration, energy, climate, environment, culture and more". The report also noted the importance of resilience as "a focus in EU programming and financing instruments, notably as related to political participation, socio-economic development, climate change and environmental protection, migration and forced displacement" (European External Action Service, 2017a). Two months later, the Council of the EU presented conclusions on implementating the Global Strategy. The conclusions advocated for "strengthening synergies between EU climate and energy diplomacies and elements for priorities for 2017" (Council of the European Union, 2017, p.1).

In the summer of 2017, the European Parliament and Council to the EU issued a joint communication titled 'A Strategic Approach to Resilience in the EU's external action'. The communication aims "to identify how a strategic approach to resilience can increase the impact of EU external action and sustain progress towards EU development, humanitarian, foreign and security policy objectives, given the more fluid landscape of global challenges and risks that the EU global strategy describes" (European Commission & High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, 2017, p.2). Placing the complexity and severity of global environmental change at the core, the communication presents a strategic approach to contribute towards strengthening resilience within the EU (European Commission & High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, 2017).

The securitisation acts illustrate that public policy documentation is increasingly incorporating environmental challenges across EU decision making bodies through a cross institutional approach. The Global Strategy progress report, Council Conclusions, and joint communication, all advocate for the importance of synergies and resilience in addressing environmental security. While these acts advocate for environmental challenges being a threat, they primarily perceive it as a threat to development and not as an existential threat to security. In addressing these developmental challenges, the securitisation acts advocate for an approach addressing sustainable development, humanitarian support, and international cooperation. These securitisation acts acknowledge the threat of environmental challenges through politicising environmental challenges in terms of devel-

opment.

In 2018, the Council of the EU presented conclusions on climate diplomacy and water diplomacy. The conclusions on climate diplomacy stress the nexus between climate change and security and the necessity for multilateral approach to climate action (Council of the European Union, 2018a). The conclusions on water diplomacy illustrate the link with human, national, and international security. According to the Council Conclusions, water scarcity can affect peace and security and have severe human and economic costs (Council of the European Union, 2018b).

The securitisation acts illustrated by the Council Conclusions reaffirm the dedication of the EU to the prioritise the climate security nexus. As the Council Conclusions frame environmental challenges as an existential threat to security, the Council of the EU is securitising environmental challenges and advocating for emergency measures to be taken to prevent severe human and economic costs in order to achieve peace.

In June 2018, the European Parliament issued a motion on climate diplomacy, the EU held a Climate Diplomacy Week, and the European External Action Service published the second progress report of the Global Strategy. The motion on climate diplomacy mentioned security 18 times and commended the efforts to broaden the EU's approach to climate change and including it in the Global Strategy. The motion highlighted the necessity to streamline policies pertaining to environment security like water and food security the long-term challenges hindering development efforts (European Parliament, 2018).

The Climate Diplomacy Week included a high-level event addressing the linkages between climate change and security in 2018. Titled "Climate, Peace and Security: The Time for Action", the event focused on the shared responsibilities "to prepare for climate risks and to take action in mitigating them" (Fishman, 2018). The high-level event focused on two key themes: "[i]ndispensable multilateralism: a shared responsibility to prepare" and "[t]reating causes and symptoms together: integrating action on climate, security and development" (European Union External Action Service, 2018). During the high-level event, Mogherini held a speech emphasising that "when we invest in the fight against climate change, we invest in our own security" (Mogherini, 2018).

Towards the end of June, the second annual progress report of the Global Strategy was published. The report indicated how the past year had been a year of action addressing predictable unpredictability and should build on integrating resilience in future security strategies (European External Action Service, 2018).

The motion by the Parliament commends current efforts and advocates for further measures to

be taken to address the security threats posed by environmental challenges. The Parliament advocates for the securitisation of environmental challenges as they frame environmental challenges as an existential threat to security. The Climate Diplomacy Week presented a novel approach to involve key elite actors in environmental security discourse. An event like the Climate Diplomacy Week draws mass publicity and attention from government officials, international organisations, and constituents. Through focusing on multilateralism and integrating action, Mogherini seeks to combine the domains of climate, security, and development. The securitisation move views environmental challenges as a threat to human and collective security. Shortly after the Climate Diplomacy Week, the progress report of the Global Strategy was published. The report built on the essence of resilience, a key element in development policy to minimise the security implications of climate change. The securitisation act moves beyond politicisation to include environmental challenges in security policy as well as development and diplomatic policy through framing environmental challenges as an existential threat.

In January 2019, a speech by the 16 year old Swedish climate activist Greta Thunberg at the World Economic Forum went viral and inspired youth across Europe to protest for their future (Workman, 2019). This movement, which started in Belgium, has since spread across the EU towards the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, and has expanded globally (Schreuer et al., 2019).

A few days later, the European Commission presented a reflection paper on the SDGs. The paper displayed the pressing challenges including environmental challenges threatening the EU. The paper states that "[t]here is a continuous need to improve living standards for all Europeans, to better protect, defend and empower citizens, and to bolster people's security from various threats, whether they come from terrorism or from climate change" (European Commission, 2019, p.2).

The subsequent month, the Council of the EU adopted Council Conclusions on climate diplomacy. These conclusions built on the 2018 conclusions and dedicated one section specifically to climate, peace, and security. In doing so, the Council of the EU re-acknowledges climate change as a threat multiplier and the importance of integrating climate change discourse within policy concerning peace and security. The conclusions believe such integration is "fundamental in order to alleviate the destabilising impacts of climate change and its negative impact on achieving the [SDGs]" (Council of the European Union, 2019, p.4).

In February, the Munich Security Conference took place. The conference gathered together "more than 450 high-profile and senior decision-makers as well as thought-leaders from around the

world" to engage in debates "to build trust and to contribute to the peaceful resolution of conflicts by sustaining a continuous, curated and informal dialogue within the international security community" (Munich Security Conference, 2019a). Out of the five themes of the conference, one pertained to human security thereby linking the human hardship and the causes of "climate change, environmental degradation, or human rights violations" (Munich Security Conference, 2019b). During the conference, Mogherini held a speech explaining how "the nature of the security threats that we all face is completely different from even a few years ago" and how challenges like climate change are going "beyond the traditional domains of security and defence policy" (Mogherini, 2019). Angela Merkel, the Chancellor of Germany, also held a speech in which she spoke about to the changing nature of security threats. In her speech she referred to the new geochronological, the anthropocentric age, in which we are living in a world where the traces of man like climate change are affecting the next generation and their security (Merkel, 2019).

In 2019, the EU saw a securitisation move at the World Economic Forum, a securitisation act through the SDG report, a securitisation act in the form of Council Conclusions, and securitisation moves at the Munich Security Conference. The securitisation move by Thunberg convinced youth to play their own role in guaranteeing themselves a sustainable future. The securitisation move saw environmental challenges as a threat to security as a whole and did not view environmental challenges as a threat to a specific type of security. The urgency of Thunberg's message was echoed by the securitisation act presented by the SDG reflection paper. The SDG reflection paper acknowledges the implications of environmental challenges to security and politicises through advocating for environmental challenges to be furthered in development policy. The Council Conclusions reaffirmed their commitment to the nexus between development and security required to tackle environmental challenges. In doing so, the conclusions politicised environmental challenges as they perceived environmental challenges as an existential threat to development. While Mogherini portrayed the security component to environmental challenges and the need to reform traditional security policy, Merkel focused on a development approach required to tackle the implications of environmental change on security. Through these securitisation moves, Mogherini and Merkel did not view environmental challenges as a threat to a specific type of security but as a threat to security as a whole.

Beyond initiatives within the EU, the EU has also contributed to international efforts contributing towards discussing environmental challenges in terms of security. One example is the presence of the EU in the UN. The EU holds 2 out of 5 permanent memberships in the SC in addition to EU

member states frequently holding non permanent memberships (United Nations Security Council, n.d.). The Swedish government, who was a member of the council in 2017 and 2018, spent its term advocating in favour of placing climate change on the UNSC agenda. Sweden was "able to unite on clarifying the connection between climate change and security in a number of statements and resolutions". During this period, Margot Wallström, the Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs, led a debate in the SC on climate related security risks. This was the first time that a climate related security issue has been discussed in the SC since 2011 (Government Offices of Sweden, 2018).

The German government, who will be holding a membership in 2019 and 2020, also display their intent to place climate and security as a key priority together with "women, peace and security, humanitarian aid workers and international disarmament" (Federal Foreign Office, 2019). In conjunction with the Pacific state Nauru, Germany initiated the 'Group of Friends on Climate and Security' in August 2018. Currently joined by 27 UN member states, the Group of Friends has "the aim of cooperating to develop solutions for the impact of climate change on security policy, raise public awareness and boost the involvement of the United Nations in this area" (Federal Foreign Office, 2018).

The UNSC is an example of securitisation moves and securitisation acts in a key forum to advance global security concerns. UNSC involvement was also one of the key points advocated for in the 2003 Security Strategy. With the UN providing the multilateral framework to tackle global concerns and the SC providing a forum to tackle security concerns, the UN is bringing policies concerning defence, development, and diplomacy together. In the UNSC climate change has been unanimously recognised as a threat multiplier (UN News, 2019). Full securitisation would require unanimous support by all members of the UNSC. While the Netherlands and EU member states like Germany and Sweden support broadening the security mandate of the UNSC, countries the United States and China, who hold a permanent seat and have a veto vote in the UNSC, remain critical of discussing climate change in this forum (van Schaik, Sarris & von Lossow, 2018).

One expert who was asked about the securitisation of environmental challenges in the EU, noted that EU member states perceive the notion of security differently and subsequently have different interpretations of what environmental security means and should mean. While some member states perceive environmental challenges as hard security through national and collective security, others may view environmental challenges as a threat to human security. Human security, although important for the constituents of the EU, is not officially a competency of the EU. Some member states prioritise the use of soft security approaches to ultimately make way for hard security approaches

in the long run. According to the expert, these approaches create a triangle between environment, economy, and security, three themes which raises the profiles for different audiences with different concerns for policy. With member states of the EU not all believing the response to environmental challenges to be found through hard security, states commonly employ a sustainable development approach and committed development cooperation strategy to address environmental challenges.[1]

The contributions by the expert illustrates that the EU is increasingly addressing environmental security in the public policy of the EU and not always addressing environmental challenges in security policy as emphasis is commonly placed on development and diplomacy. This is echoed by the findings of the securitisation moves and securitisation acts whereby security is frequently addressed in terms of security and perceived as a threat to be addressed through development and/or diplomacy. It appears that viewing environmental challenges as an existential threat to security is used as a tool to increase the scale of urgency to environmental challenges and subsequently create development or diplomatic policy to adapt or mitigate to environmental challenges. That environmental challenges is at times viewed as an existential threat to security does not necessarily imply that environment challenges are given the same degree of urgency as military threats. According to policy, emergency measures would only be necessary when there are already tensions or conflict for development or when war has erupted preventing the maintenance of peace.

Another expert noted that the sensitivities surrounding the debates on environmental security in the EU are strongly correlated with the present political tensions and rising populism. Within this discussion climate is commonly seen as a driver to conflict, but the extent and severity of the implications climate change is not always discussed. Mitigating and adapting to the implications of climate change is thereby frequently seen as a long term concern for development cooperation. When asked about securitisation moves and securitisation acts, the expert noted how the debates were raised more prominently on the agenda in 2007, and after having depreciated for a period, have now risen back on the agenda. The expert explained how despite this momentum, environmental security remains a vague concept where policy coherence is lacking. Policy thereby commonly integrates economic policy with the hard security community and development community.[2]

The contributions by this expert give insights to the nature, origin, and frequency of securitisation moves and securitisation acts. With not one specific location in the EU to address the environmental security nexus, environmental security is found across EU institutions. Securitisation

[1] Based on semi-structured interviews.
[2] Based on semi-structured interviews.

moves frequently do not relate environmental challenges to one specific definition or interpretation of environmental security as illustrated in theory. Securitisation moves commonly hold a general discussion in which they advocate for measures to be taken throughout public policy. Securitisation acts most frequently perceive environmental challenges as a direct threat to development and an indirect threat to security. In the cases that environmental challenges are perceived as an existential threat to security, this is most commonly the case in the highest political levels of the EU through Council Conclusions for example. Nevertheless, when securitisation is occurring, there is no mention of suggested emergency measures that could be taken to alleviate the threat to security.

To summarise, the EU has since 1993 demonstrated leadership on a regional and international level. Having first identified environmental challenges as a security concern in 2003, the EU has increasingly advocated for the environmental security nexus through securitisation moves and securitisation acts. Securitisation moves include the Temporary Committee on Climate Change, Climate Diplomacy Week, and various speeches by elite actors like Thunberg, Mogherini, and Merkel. Securitisation acts have ranged from EU documents like the European Security Strategy, papers by the High Representative and the European Commission to the European Council, and Council Conclusions by the Council to the EU. While a regional Security Strategy is within the competence of the EU, national or international security strategies are not. Through the various securitisation moves, the EU has portrayed environmental challenges as a driver to conflict and a threat to security but do not consistently view environmental challenges as a threat to one type of security. While collective security is frequently implied, given the nature of the EU being a political and economic union, human security is also frequently mentioned in relation to development. Through the various securitisation acts the EU has portrayed that the environmental security nexus should be placed in the political domain and adopted in public policy including security policy. Securitisation acts commonly politicise environmental challenges and frequently securitise through perceiving environmental challenges as an existential threat to security. While environmental challenges are securitised, securitisation acts commonly advocate for an approach to address the nature of the security threat in development and diplomatic policy with a focus on resilience and multilateralism.

4.2 Securitising Environmental Challenges in the Netherlands

The Kingdom of the Netherlands consists of four autonomous countries including the Netherlands and the three island states of Aruba, Curacao, and Sint Maarten. The Netherlands is one of the six founding members of the EU and party to the eurozone, single market, and Schengen Area. Even though the Kingdom of the Netherlands includes overseas territories, the three island states were explicitly excluded from the Treaty of Rome. As a member state of the EU, the Netherlands has to comply with policies stipulated by the Union but can also independently create guidelines, standards, legislations, and influence the European mandate (Europese Unie, n.d.).

The Netherlands is a constitutional monarchy with a Prime Minister and monarch (Het Koninklijk Huis, n.d.). Domestic politics operate through the senate and the House of Representatives. While the senate has the legislative power, the House of Representatives discusses and reviews the cabinet. The cabinet, the main executive body, consists of ministers and secretaries of state who exercise their mandate within their assigned ministry. The Netherlands has 12 ministries including the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), the Dutch Ministry of Defence, and the Dutch ministry of Economic Affairs and Climate (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, n.d.).

Since the 1990s, the Netherlands have initiated various securitisation moves and securitisation acts that view environmental challenges in terms of security (see Figure 4). How and in what way environmental challenges have been securitised in the Netherlands, if at all, and the implications for policy directions will be discussed subsequently.

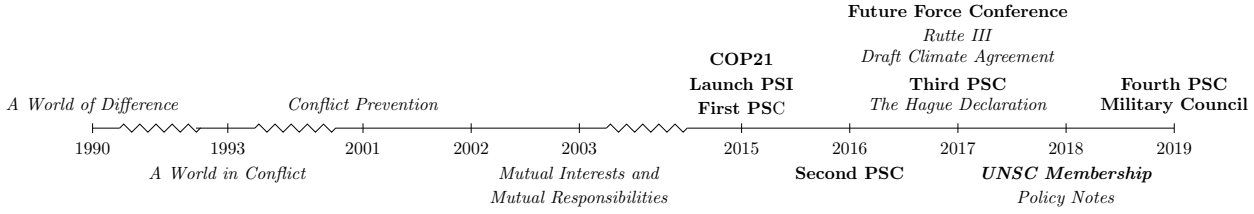

Figure 4: Timeline of securitising environmental challenges in the Netherlands

The nexus between environment and security was first acknowledged by the Dutch MFA in the 1990 and 1993 policy documents titled 'A World of Difference' and 'A World in Conflict'. The policy documents were presented to the House of Representatives by Jan Pronk, the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time. 'A World of Difference' identified that one of the major challenges for the next decade will be the way in which the world will be able to deal with the greenhouse effect and climate change (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, 1990). 'A World in Conflict' built

on the first policy document and states that the development process is accompanied by conflict. According to the MFA, many of the developments analysed at that time already contained the seeds of conflict and have turned into disputes between states. The challenges of the world are thereby becoming less isolated with concerns of poverty, hunger, and environmental disaster, and are increasingly concerned with what drives conflict (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, 1993).

In 2001, the MFA presented a white paper about conflict prevention to the House of Representatives. The paper argued that the origin of (intrastate) conflicts often involves the accumulation of poverty, extreme inequality, rapid population growth, environmental degradation, and poor governance. These factors, varying from scarcity of resources and population growth to environmental degradation, reinforce each other and form a breeding ground for violence and radicalisation (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, 2001).

Two years later, the white paper 'Mutual Interests, Mutual Responsibilities: Dutch Development Cooperation en route to 2015' was published. The paper indicates that an increasingly globalised world implies inextricably linkages between "poverty, security, human rights, trade and investments, migration, nature and the environment and the international legal order" (Directorate-General for International Cooperation, 2003, p.12). The paper suggests that "measures to tackle global environmental problems such as climate change and loss of biodiversity" should be incorporated into development programs and guided by international policy coherence (Directorate-General for International Cooperation, 2003, p.15).

The first four securitisation acts illustrate the concern of the Dutch MFA with the environmental security nexus and that they deem this threat severe enough to incorporate it in public policy. Being responsible for the bilateral, regional, and multilateral relations of the Netherlands, the MFA takes on a wide variety of topics including development and security. The securitisation acts illustrate the politicisation of environmental challenges that advocates for international policy coherence within development programs to address security challenges of environmental nature. The acts do not securitise environmental challenges as they do not perceive environmental challenges as an existential threat to security.

In 2015, the Netherlands adopted the SDGs and ratified the Paris Agreement. The Dutch Prime Minister since 2010, Mark Rutte, addressed COP21 in a speech emphasising the full commitment of the entire Kingdom "to the goal of keeping global warming below two degrees Celsius". According to Rutte, climate neutrality and climate resilience are two challenges that go hand and requires measurable national targets, flexible and dynamic agreements, and a "bigger role for companies,

consumers, cities and civil society organisations" (Rijksoverheid, 2015).

At the start of 2017, the Ministry of Defence hosted the 'Future Force Conference' with the theme "[f]rom partnerships to ecosystems: combining our efforts for a more secure world". The Chief of Defence at the time, General Middendorp, invited all participants to "Think big. Act small. Start somewhere" (Ministry of Defence, 2017, p.7). The two day conference brought together different agendas with common interests. The conference hosted 21 breakout sessions on a wide variety of topics including a session on the natural resources and security nexus. The session discussed water scarcity and the future of water wars, climate migration, and the role of military in Big Data to counter natural resource risks to conflict. During the two days, the conference established a defence mechanism with a causal loop to address "underlying complex issues or systems" (Ministry of Defence, 2017, p.89).

Both securitisation moves, although different in nature, have advocated for the importance to address environmental challenges in terms of security. While Rutte does so through a speech at a key international conference and by advocating for national and international efforts, the Future Force Conference has done so through bringing together partnerships and by creating an ecosystem where challenges to defence can be tackled in an innovative way. Rutte's speech illustrates the intent by the Dutch government to combine knowledge and partnerships to find solutions through a collective public policy approach but that some have taken further steps in finding solutions than others. The Future Force Conference initiated by the Ministry of Defence finds innovative solutions to challenges faced by missions with a defence perspective. The securitisation moves are examples that view environmental challenges as a threat to national and collective security.

After the national elections of March 2017, Rutte started his third term as Prime Minister. The agreement by the centre-right government titled 'Confidence in the Future', focuses on security, climate, and the economy, and strives for the engagement of all stakeholders in tackling major societal challenges and presenting a national climate and energy agreement (VVD et al., 2017). After three-quarters of a year and the involvement of more than 100 parties, Eric Wiebes, the current Minister for Economic Affairs and Climate, presented a draft of the climate agreement in a letter to the House of Representatives (Ministerie van Economische Zaken en Klimaat, 2018). The draft was discussed in a debate by the House of Representatives in February 2019 (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, 2019).[3] During the debate there were significant discussions amongst

[3]The final version of the climate agreement was presented on June 28th 2019 to the House of Representatives by Wiebes. Since the timeline of this thesis is to and including April 2019 this finding is outside the scope of this thesis.

politicians on the statistics, realisation, and financial costs implied by the draft agreement and urged for more clarity (Borst & Keulemans, 2019).

The outcome of the national elections and the coalition agreement illustrate the key areas of concern for Dutch politicians and constituents. With emphasis on confidence in the future, the coalition agreement focuses on the separate topics of security, climate, and economy. Although a draft of the climate agreement has been published, the agreement is subject to vast debate in the House of Representatives, in particular in relation to the financial costs attached. Through the securitisation acts, the government illustrates the importance of climate and security in public policy. While environmental challenges are politicised, we cannot speak of securitisation as the debates are held independently and the environmental challenges are not perceived as an existential threat to security.

In 2018 the Dutch MFA presented two policy notes: 'Investing in Global Prospects' and 'Working Worldwide for the Security of the Netherlands'. 'Investing in Global Prospects', the foreign trade and development cooperation strategy, illustrates how the Dutch government is responding to the international challenges of prosperity and security. The policy note focuses "on preventing conflicts and combating instability and insecurity" where "[p]roblems like poverty, conflict terrorism, climate change, population growth and irregular migration are closely intertwined" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, 2018a, p.10). One of the suggested policies pertains to investing in mitigating negative effects of climate change. To achieve this, the Dutch government pledges to contribute €80 million annually to an international climate fund as well as €40 million for a new climate fund to invest in developing countries (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, 2018a).

'Working Worldwide for the Security of the Netherlands', the integrated security strategy, rests on three pillars of preventing, defending and strengthening. These topics include "ensuring credible deterrence, together with our allies, and devoting attention to the root causes of terrorism, irregular migration, poverty and climate change, as specified in the coalition agreement" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, 2018b, p.6). In doing so, the strategy links security with the ambitions to achieve the SDGs and tackle "problems of climate change, resource and water scarcity, and population pressure" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, 2018b, p.10).

The two securitisation acts include the nexus between environmental security in public policy and act as guidelines for the foreign trade and development as well as the security policy of the MFA. While both focus on climate change and its collective threat to security, the foreign trade and development strategy emphasises a development and diplomatic approach and the security strategy

emphasises a security approach. The two securitisation acts move beyond the politicisation towards the securitisation of environmental challenges as both notes perceive environmental challenges as an existential threat to the public policy of development, diplomacy, and security.

After an intensive campaign to obtain membership in the UNSC, the Netherlands and Italy reached a deadlock during the UNGA vote. Ultimately, the two countries negotiated to split the traditionally two year membership in two one year parts (Government of the Netherlands, 2018a). After this decision, the Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time, Halbe Zijlstra, and the Minister for Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation, Minister Kaag, sent a letter to the House of Representatives outlining the commitments for the UNSC membership. The letter pledges to include climate change, migration, and terrorism in the UNSC (Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken, 2017). During their role as president of the UNSC in the month of March, the Netherlands emphasised the importance of contributing to water scarcity and conflict and its impact in the Lake Chad Region (Planetary Security Initiative, 2018).

The Dutch membership in the UNSC is one of the ways in which the Netherlands aimed to achieve the goals set in the 2018 policy notes. Securitisation moves in the UNSC include speeches, organising events, and lobbying. Securitisation acts in the UNSC include the outcomes of votes, resolutions, and sanctions. Since the UNSC advocates for global security concerns, this is an example of a collective security approach. Through having climate change as one of the key priorities during their membership, the Netherlands is contributing to moving beyond the politicisation and towards the securitisation of environmental challenges in the UNSC. A membership lasting a year is significantly too short to reach these goals, hence Germany aims to continue these efforts during their membership in 2019 and 2020.

The most practical example of discussing environmental challenges in terms of security is the Planetary Security Initiative (PSI). The PSI was launched in 2015 by the Dutch MFA with the aim to catalyse action in affected spotlight regions (Blok & Kaag, 2019). In 2016, the Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael "was selected to implement the continuation of the PSI together with a consortium of leading think tanks working on this topic" (Clingendael, 2016). The consortium of think tanks include: The Center for Climate & Security, adelphi, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, and The Hague Center for Strategic Studies. The initiative "sets out best practice, strategic entry points and new approaches to reducing climate-related risks to conflict and stability, thus promoting sustainable peace in a changing climate" (Planetary Security Initiative, n.d.).

At present, the PSI has held three Planetary Security Conferences (PSC). The first PSC, hosted in November 2015, kicked off the project. The second PSC was held in December 2016. During the opening speech by the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time, Bert Koenders stated that "[c]limate-related insecurity is rapidly catching up to us" and that "[a]daptation must include peace and security" and "politically anchored up to the highest level" (Koenders, 2016). In another speech, Middendorp identified that there cannot be safety without climate protection due to the climate change contributing to war and migration as well as being a breeding ground for terrorism (Ministerie van Defensie, 2016). In an interview with a Dutch broadcasting organisation, Middendorp explained how he was not presenting a new message, but that it was the first time someone in a military uniform publicly presented this message already says enough (NOS, 2016).

The third PSC was held in December 2017. The key outcome of the conference was the 'The Hague Declaration on Planetary Security'. The declaration sets "out an Agenda for Action for the community of practice on Planetary Security" and "builds upon and seeks to contextualise the priority themes and geographic regions" (Planetary Security Initiative, 2017). In doing so, the declaration encourages "linkages and partnership on related initiatives, offer stewardship where required, and capture progress so everyone can see how they are doing" through six action areas. The declaration was signed "by 40 high level representatives from UN agencies, government, the diplomatic corps, academia, and think tanks" (van Schaik, 2017b).

While the first three conferences focused on research and bridging the gap between environment and security, the fourth PSC focused on making actions doable. During this conference, action was aimed towards the spotlight regions of the conference, "Iraq, Lake Chad, Mali and the Caribbean". During the opening plenary, Monika Sie Dhian Ho, the Director of the Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael explained how "[w]e have reached a tipping point when it comes to public awareness of the consequences of climate change". Sie Dhian Ho explained the reasoning behind the theme of this years conference #Doable which was introduced by the necessity to shift beyond awareness and towards actions (Planetary Security Initiative, 2019a).

The conference was attended by more than "450 diplomats, military personnel, development professionals, local and regional leaders, scientists and private sector players" (Planetary Security Initiative, 2019a). The opening keynote address was given by Kaag and the closing address was given by Stef Blok, the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs, who gave the address closing the conference. In the closing address, Blok advocated for formulating concrete actions to address the complex and multidimensional nexus of climate security risks. With the PSI now out of the starting blocks, Blok

urges the attendees to run the race and to find concrete and doable actions in order to address climate security risks through the development, defence, and diplomacy nexus (Government of the Netherlands, 2019).

The fourth PSC was used as a platform to announce the launch of the 'International Military Council on Climate and Security'. The council "is an umbrella "standing" network of senior military leaders across the globe that will meet regularly, produce an annual World Climate and Security Report, drive communications and policy in support of international actions on the security implications of a changing climate, and amplify existing climate and security networks". In doing so, the council will combine the two worlds of climate and security and have a three-fold function for analysis and policy development, communications, and coordination (Planetary Security Initiative, 2019c).[4]

The PSI has since 2015 initiated securitisation moves and securitisation acts to build on the planetary security narrative. The contributions by the PSI have not remained unnoticed by the EU and the Netherlands. In the 2018 Council Conclusions on climate diplomacy, the European Commission uses the 2017 declaration and PSC series as an example of "translating climate and security analysis into possible action" (Council of the European Union, 2018b, p.4). In the 2019 Council Conclusions, the "Council welcomes further events, building on existing initiatives such as the [PSI]" (Council of the European Union, 2019, p.5). Similarly, the 2018 Dutch Security Strategy names the PSI as "a good example of strategic policy integration and coherence" used "to better coordinate efforts on climate, security and sustainable development in practice, especially preventively and in post-conflict situations" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, 2018b, p.25). The securitisation moves through conferences where government officials were present as well as securitisation acts like the declaration and efforts by the EU and the Netherlands to further the PSI goals, illustrate the growth of the PSI community. While the PSI community securitises environmental challenges and tries to get nation states to do the same, it is an initiative initiated by the Netherlands and followed up by a consortium of leading think tanks. While there is a community securitising environmental challenges, the PSI does so on behalf of the think tank consortium and not the EU and the Netherlands.

One expert who was asked about the securitisation of environmental challenges in the Netherlands, noted the impact of the complexity of the relation between climate change and security for national politics. This complexity can be seen in the UNSC, where some countries benefit from

[4]Based on participant observations.

identifying climate change as a cause of conflict, while other countries do not want to identify climate change as a cause of conflict as their political leadership doubts the causality of the climate change security nexus. While the UNSC is a good example of the tensions in the environmental security field, the expert noted that similar discussion can be found on almost all multilateral platforms. Beyond the UNSC, the Netherlands contributes towards preventing threats caused be environmental challenges to security through working with third countries to formulate and achieve the Nationally Determined Contributions as established by the Paris Agreement. The expert explained how within discussions surrounding environmental security, the Netherlands aims to tackle conflict and prevent the implications of climate change from worsening but should take caution to not deepen the tensions between parties.[5]

The contributions made by the expert on the complexity and tensions between parties, like the UNSC, is echoed by the securitisation moves and securitisation acts. The expert notes the emphasis placed on development and multilateralism in addressing environmental challenges. Combining the data collected, we can state that environmental challenges are essential to be addressed in public policy and are commonly perceived as an existential threat to security. The Netherlands believes that it is through development and diplomacy that this existential threat should be addressed and that presenting it as a threat to security is how a path is made towards enabling the use of high political measures.

To summarise, since the 1990s the Netherlands has played and continues to play an important role in viewing environmental challenges in terms of security through securitisation moves and securitisation acts. Securitisation moves include speeches by Rutte, the Future force Conference, the UNSC membership, and the conferences held by the PSI. Securitisation acts include the coalition agreement as well as policy notes from the Dutch MFA. The various securitisation moves and acts have illustrated that the Netherlands perceived environmental challenges as a threat to national and collective security. The Netherlands addresses this by themselves but also through supporting platforms. In doing so, the Netherlands aims to move beyond politicisation towards securitisation but remains cautious in fully framing environmental challenges as an existential threat to security that would require emergency measures.

This chapter has applied the methodology used to operationalise the conceptual lens to examine how and in what way environmental challenges have been securitised on multiple levels, if at all,

[5]Based on semi-structured interviews.

and what the implications are for policy directions. The case of the EU and the Netherlands have illustrated that environmental challenges are frequently viewed in terms of security through securitisation moves and securitisation acts. The securitisation moves have mainly advocated for environmental challenges as a threat to national and collective security while securitisation acts have fully politicised and cautiously securitised environmental challenges. The following chapter will examine how and in what way climate migration has been securitised, if at all, and what the implications are for policy directions.

5 Securitising Climate Migration

This chapter will answer the second sub research question: how and in what way has climate migration been securitised on multiple levels, if at all, and what are the implications for policy directions? This will be conveyed through applying the methodology used to operationalise the conceptual lens. In doing so, securitisation moves and securitisation acts that view climate migration in terms of security will be examined. Both the cases of the European Union and the Netherlands include a timeline illustrating the various securitisation moves and securitisation acts that view climate migration in terms of security. (The timelines illustrate securitisation moves in bold and securitisation acts in italics.)

5.1 Securitising Climate Migration in the European Union

Since 2003, EU representatives and institutions have initiated various securitisation moves and securitisation acts viewing climate migration in terms of security (see Figure 5). How and in what way climate migration has been securitised in the EU, if at all, and the implications for policy directions will be discussed subsequently.

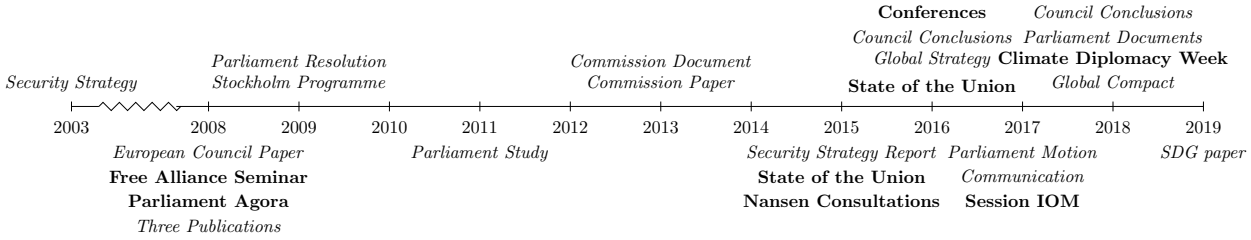

Figure 5: Timeline of securitising climate migration in the EU

In 2003, the European Security Strategy discussed climate migration through stating that the competition for natural resources will be aggravated by the next decades due to global warming "likely to create further turbulence and migratory movements in various regions" (European Union, 2003, p.3). Five years later, the High Representative and the European Commission to the European Council included environmentally induced migration as one of seven threats to European security. According to the 2008 paper, Europe must expect a further increase in migratory pressure as the effects of climate change continue to multiply. The paper noted that populations already suffering "from poor health conditions, unemployment or social exclusion are rendered more vulnerable to the effects of climate change, which could amplify or trigger migration within and between coun-

tries" (European Commission, 2008, p.4). The paper differentiates between geographic regions, as some countries are more vulnerable to climate change than others, and simultaneously urges for international recognition of environmentally induced migration. A suggested potential action is to consider the stress caused by environmentally induced migration in further developments of a European migration policy (European Commission, 2008).

The two securitisation acts acknowledge the relation between environment and migration as well as the relation between environmentally induced migration and security. While the 2003 strategy merely mentions environmentally induced migration, the 2008 paper advocates for increased attention in public policy including migration policy. The 2003 strategy politicises climate migration in public policy including migration policy, but does not fully securitise climate migration as climate migration is not framed as an existential threat to security. The 2008 paper securitises climate migration through vieweing climate migration as an existential threat to security.

In June 2008, the green party, also known as the Greens or the European Free Alliance Group, held a one day seminar on climate refugees. The alliance aimed to draw the attention of European institutions and convince them to recognise and adopt a declaration acknowledging the legal protection of migrants suffering from climate disruptions. In the same month, the European Parliament held an Agora (assembly) on climate change with 500 European civil society organisations. During the Agora various organisations called on European institutions to include climate induced migration within the European Security Strategy (Sgro, 2008).

The two securitisation moves illustrate the extended concern amongst European organisations regarding climate migration. Together the Greens and attendees of the Agora advocated for climate induced migration to be incorporated in the Security Strategy. Both securitisation moves advocate for the importance of bringing climate induced migration and security together but do not specify the nature of the security threat. Due to the mandate of the EU, we can imply that the securitisation moves support national and collective security.

In December 2008 the EU published three documents. First, the draft resolution by the Temporary Committee on Climate Change. The draft resolution stresses the importance to further multilateral climate diplomacy and to incorporate climate related issues including climate-induced migration. As one of the guiding political ideas in the resolution, the committee "[c]alls for research to be carried out into potential trends of climate-induced migration and the ensuing pressures on local services, in order to inform long-term planning and risk-management processes". The committee emphasises the international dimension of climate policy whereby "climate change may exacer-

bate the potential for conflict in [IR], for example through climate-induced migration, loss of land and border disputes arising from floods and receding coastlines, as well as conflicts over resources owing to shrinking arable land, growing water scarcity or deforestation" (European Parliament, 2008).

Second, the strategy review of the European Security Strategy was published. The review refers to the statements made by the High Representatives and Commission to the European Council in 2008. The review notes that climate change is a threat multiplier with "[n]atural disasters, environmental degradation and competition for resources exacerbate conflict, especially in situations of poverty and population growth, with humanitarian, health, political and security consequences, including greater migration". In tackling this, the review advocates for international cooperation including regional organisations and the UN (European Union, 2008, p.5).

Third, a report by the Parliamentary Assembly of the European Council for the Committee on Migration, Refugees and Population was published. The report was titled 'Environmentally induced migration and displacement: a 21st century challenge'. The report consists of a draft resolution and draft recommendation which advocates "for the development of inclusive definitions of environmentally induced migration and environmental migrants/displaced persons" (Parliamentary Assembly Council of Europe, 2008, p.1).

The European Parliament, the EU as a whole, as well as the Parliamentary Assembly of the European Council, have presented securitisation acts emphasising the nexus between climate migration and security. The Temporary Committee on Climate Change builds on this topic to prevent long term security implications like disputes and conflicts. Nevertheless, the draft resolutions hardly mentions the security implications of climate migration and only list it together with other environmental challenges. The draft resolution attempts to politicise climate migration while acknowledges the implications for conflict, but does not securitise as climate migration is not perceived as an existential threat to security. The review of the Security Strategy advocates for international cooperation to tackle the threat to humanitarian, health, political, and security consequences. The Security Strategy review politicises climate migration, while climate and migration are both discussed in terms of security, climate migration together is not perceived as an existential threat to security and thereby not securitised. The report by the Parliamentary Assembly of the European Council acknowledges the urgency and challenge presented by climate migration and advocates for an inclusive definition. The report is an example of politicisation and not securitisation as climate migration is not directly perceived as an existential threat to security but is seen as urgent enough

to be furthered in public policy.

In 2009, the European Parliament presented a resolution tilted 'A Common Immigration Policy for Europe: Principles, actions and tools'. The resolution called "on Member States to consider the issue of 'environmental refugees', migrants who cannot currently be regarded as economic migrants and who are also not recognised as refugees as referred to in the 1951 Geneva Convention" (European Parliament, 2009). Later in 2009, the Council of the EU adopted the Stockholm Programme. The programme aims for "[a]n open and secure Europe serving and protecting the citizen" (Council of the European Union, 2009, p.1). Through this programme, the Council of the EU invites the European Commission "to present an analysis of the effects of climate change on international migration, including its potential effects on immigration to the [EU]" (Council of the European Union, 2009, p.63).

The two securitisation acts illustrate that climate migration is increasingly addressed throughout EU institutions. The resolution by the Parliament politicises climate migration as it advocates for member states to further concern themselves with environmental refugees, but does not frame climate migration as an existential threat to security. The Stockholm Programme takes a step towards institutionalising the stance of climate migration by the European Commission. The securitisation act is an example of politicising climate migration but not of securitisation as it specifically advocates for climate migation to be adopted in migration policy and is not perceived as an existential threat to security.

In 2011, the Directorate General for Internal Policies of the European Parliament published a study on climate refugees and the 'legal and policy responses to environmentally induced migration'. The study includes a discussion and analysis about the typology and policy debates concerning climate refugees. Key findings of the study include paying further attention to the distinction between the term environmentally induced migration and environmentally induced displacement as well as temporary and permanent forms of this term. Apart from the importance of policies and responses at different stages, the study acknowledges that it is unlikely that a special legal framework will arise. The study recommends the EU to offer different mechanisms to be considered by the EU in order to deal with environmentally displaced individuals (European Parliament Directorate General for Internal Policies, 2011).

As illustrated by the securitisation act, there is an ongoing debate in the EU regarding a legal definition of climate refugees. While the EU acknowledges climate change as a multiplier to conflict as well as a driver of migration, steps beyond these statements appear to remain behind closed doors.

With no definition or law for the EU on how to categorise climate refugees, the securitisation act politicises climate migration and advocates for climate migration to be furthered in public policy. The securitisation act does not perceive climate migration as an existential threat to security and thereby does not securitise climate migration. If climate migration were to be securitised, a legal definition of climate refugees could be an example of a potential emergency measure.

In 2013, the European Commission published a staff working document on 'Climate change, environmental degradation, and migration'. In order to build policy to address environmentally induced migration, the document highlights the importance of knowledge, dialogue, and cooperation. The document concludes that the complexity of the interplay between drivers of migration make it difficult to isolate climate and environmental changes with other factors which contribute to migration. Later that year, the European Commission issued a strategy paper for the thematic programme focused on the 'Cooperation with Third Countries in the areas of Migration and Asylum'. With a budget of €179 million, the programme commits to working with third countries to tackle the nexus between climate change and migration (European Commission, 2013, p.2).

The working document by the European Commission function as a response to the request made by the European Commission in 2009 to present an analysis of the effects of climate change on migration. The thematic program illustrates a practical example to tackle the risks posted by climate migration. The securitisation acts further politicises climate migration and acknowledges the threats to security posed by climate migration. The acts perceive climate migration as an existential threat to the international community and although they do not specifically frame it as an existential threat to security, they do urge the adapted Security Strategy to include climate migration.

In June 2015, the Security Strategy Report included climate migration through noting that migration will increase due to climate stress and food production changing quickly. The paper emphasises the difference between wealthier countries and countries already stressed by violence and poverty. Wealthier countries have well established infrastructure and planning as well as resilient political and economic structures to adapt to the threats posed by climate change. Countries already stressed with violence and poverty are not as fortunate to be able to rise to these changes (Anthony et al., 2015).

The report builds on the 2003 Security Strategy and advocates for climate migration to be further politicised throughout the EU and included in an adapted Security Strategy. The securitisation act acknowledges the increased threat of climate migration to less fortunate countries and thereby

emphasises the necessity to tackle this in a development domain through cooperation with third countries in the areas of migration and asylum. The act thereby politicises and securitises climate migration.

In September 2015, Juncker held his first State of the Union address. During the address, Juncker noted how climate change is one of the root causes of the migration phenomenon, with climate refugees becoming a new challenge if no swift action is taken. Juncker identifies that addressing the refugee crisis is his first priority and that finding united leadership in addressing climate change is another key priority. In his speech, Juncker states that "[t]he fight against climate change will not be won or lost in diplomatic discussions in Brussels or in Paris. It will be won or lost on the ground and in the cities where most Europeans live, work and use about 80% of all the energy produced in Europe" (Juncker, 2015).

The speech by Juncker is an example of a powerful securitisation move by one of the most elite actors of the EU advocating for climate migration. While Juncker addresses the challenge of climate refugees, he does not directly relate this to security. Nevertheless, the speech mentions food security (indirectly implying human security) and implies national and collective security through stating that impact requires an approach on a diplomatic as well as national level.

In October 2015, Global Consultations were held in Geneva for the Nansen Initiative. The Nansen Initiative was launched in 2012 by the governments of Norway and Switzerland, with support from the EU. The initiative is a "state-led bottom-up consultative process intended to identify effective practices and build consensus on key principles and elements to address the protection and assistance needs of persons displaced across borders in the context of disasters, including the adverse effects of climate change". During the conference, 109 governments endorsed an "Agenda for the Protection of Cross-Border Displaced Persons in the Context of Disasters and Climate Change (Protection Agenda)" (Nansen Initiative, 2015, p.8). Later in 2015, the Platform on Disaster Displacement was created to follow up on the work of the initiative and to implement the recommendations of the protection agenda. The platform does so through bringing together states that are committed in their support to implementing the protection agenda (Platform on Disaster Displacement, n.d.).

The Global Consultations are a securitisation move on an international level with the support of the EU contributing to the Nansen Initiative. The consultations advocate for a multilateral and trans-boundary approach to address these challenges and advocate for a collective approach to address climate migration. The agenda formulated during the consultations made way for the creation

of the Platform on Disaster Displacement to further build on these efforts through securitisation moves and securitisation acts.

In January 2016, the European Economic and Social Committee Trainees' Initiative held a conference with the theme 'The Challenge of Climate Migration: a EU Perspective'. The conference aimed to "raise awareness of this crucial problem among all the trainees within the EU institutions by presenting the key aspects, challenges, and views relating to climate migration" (European Economic and Social Committee, 2016, p.2). In the opening statement, the Secretary General of the European Economic and Social Committee, Luis Planas, identified "that debates on migration and climate change were gaining momentum" and that the Committee "was closely monitoring all developments" (European Economic and Social Committee, 2016, p.3). The conference was centred around two sessions with various discussion statements referring to climate migration.

One month later, the European Commission followed up with a two day conference. The conference aimed "to explore and demonstrate how European research can support policy makers in designing effective and sustainable migration policies and legislation" (European Commission, 2016, p.5). The conference included discussions on the sources of migration including poverty, instability, natural disasters and violent conflicts. Out of the five sessions, one session was specifically dedicated to the theme of climate change and migration (European Commission, 2016).

Both securitisation moves addressed climate migration through holding conferences in Brussels. The securitisation move by the European Economic and Social Committee drew attention to human security through addressing the economic and social dimension of climate migration. This link to development cooperation implies addressing local grievances and challenges like those of poverty and instability in order to prevent security challenges. The securitisation move by the European Commission emphasised the essence of research in finding effective migration policies. The move does not specify the nature of the security threat, but as it advocates for research supporting the migration policy of the EU, it views climate migration as a threat to collective and human security.

In February, the Council Conclusions on climate diplomacy after COP21 were published. The conclusions recognised "climate change as a contributing factor to migration resulting from state fragility, insecurity and resource scarcity". In addition, the conclusions advocate for increased "efforts to address the nexus of climate change, natural resources, including water, prosperity, stability and migration" (Council of the European Union, 2016, p.3-5).

In June, the Global Strategy was published. Although the strategy primarily approaches the nexus between climate migration and security independently, the one year progress report views

resilience as a focus in the EU, and relates resilience to the elements of "political participation, socio-economic development, climate change and environmental protection, migration and forced displacement" (European External Action Service, 2017a).

The securitisation acts presented by the Council Conclusions and Global Strategy play an important role in the adoption and follow up of previous securitisation acts. The acts advocate for the politicisation of climate migration in the areas of development and diplomacy and securitisation of climate migration through perceiving climate mgiration as an existential threat to security. Although they acknowledge the threat, they primarily advocate for climate migration to be addressed in development and diplomatic policy.

In September 2016, Juncker held his second State of the Union address. In the address, Juncker focused on the shift "[t]owards a better Europe - a Europe that protects, empowers and defends". In his speech, Juncker stated how "[w]e Europeans are the world leaders on climate action" (Juncker, 2016, p.20). The address was accompanied by a letter of intent to the President of the European Parliament, Martin Schulz, and the Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic, Robert Fico, who held the Presidency of the Council at the time. The letter identified 10 priorities also outlined in the political guidelines of the European Commission. Within these priorities, number 3 pertains to "[a] resilient energy union with a forward-looking climate change policy" and number 8 advocated for "a new policy on migration (Juncker, 2016, p.30).

Building on his State of the Union from the year prior, Juncker calls for a new policy on migration which traditionally falls under the mandate of the Directorate General of Migration and Home Affairs. Similar to the first State of the Union, although not directly stated, the securitisation move emphasises the threat of climate migration to human, national, and collective security.

In February 2017, the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on Development of the European Parliament published a motion for a resolution on 'addressing refugee and migrant movements: the role of EU External Action'. The motion mentioned climate change over 16 times in of acknowledging the nexus as well as urging member states to take the nexus more seriously (European Parliament, 2017).

In June, the joint communication by the European Parliament and Council to the EU included a section on 'Resilience, migration and forced displacement'. The section depicted the necessity for a resilient approach to include the complexity of interactions that migration patterns respond to. The communication acknowledges that it is difficult to disentangle environmental causes from other drivers like economics or demographics. However, environmental disruptions like natural dis-

asters, worsening under the hand of climate change, are compounding on other drivers of migration (European Commission & High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, 2017).

In November, during the 108th Session of the Council of the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), a panel discussion took place about the opportunities to address migration and climate change in the Global Compact for safe, orderly and regular migration. The Global Compact for migration is an intergovernmental agreement negotiated by the UN to cover "all dimensions of international migration in a holistic and comprehensive manner" (International Organization for Migration, n.d.). During the discussion, an EU representative identified the complex humanitarian and development challenges caused by climate change. Through disrupting infrastructure, society, and the economy, "climate change can become a leading driver of migration and forced displacement worldwide". According to the representative, "[t]he EU sees it as our shared global responsibility to tackle climate change and climate-induced displacement" (European External Action Service, 2017b).

The securitisation act and securitisation move advocate for external action and a holistic approach targeting the nexus between disciplines. The products primarily focus on an approach concerning migration through development, relating to humanitarian and development elements. They indirectly perceive climate migration as a threat to security as they hold independent discussions on climate change as a driver to migration and migration as a threat to security. The securitisation acts call for further politicisation of climate migration on an international level but does not explicitly frame climate migration as an existential threat to security. The securitisation move views climate migration as a threat to human and collective security.

In February 2018, the Council published conclusions on climate diplomacy. The conclusions noted "the loss of livelihoods, reinforcing environmental pressures and disaster risk, forcing the displacement of people and exacerbating the threat of social and political unrest" (Council of the European Union, 2018b, p.3). In April, the European Parliament held a Plenary Session themed around the progress on the Global Compact where Mogherini and the European Commissioner for Migration, Home Affairs and Citizenship, Dimitris Avramopoulos spoke. Their speeches made no mention of the environment or climate change being a driver of displacement mentioned the word security only once (European External Action Service, 2018). In May, the European Parliament published a briefing on the concept of climate refugee including recent statistics and a workable definition (Apap, 2018). In June, the European Parliament published a fact sheet about 'Migra-

tion and Asylum: a challenge for Europe'. The fact sheet made no mention of the link between migration and environmental change (European Parliament, 2018). June was also the month that Mogherini held her speech during Climate Diplomacy Week. In her speech, Mogherini emphasised the link between climate change and security. However, no mention was made to migration or forced displacement resulting from climate change.

In November, Council Conclusions were published regarding water diplomacy. The conclusions stated the severe human and economic costs of water related risks which have direct implications on migratory flows (Council of the European Union, 2018b, p.2). Amidst tensions concerning the Global Compact and whether all EU member states would ratify it, the European Commission issued a press release in the same month. The press release presented the answers to many questions including the meaning, impact, legal obligations, and costs of the Global Compact. Most importantly, the press release stated that there are no domestic or international legal obligations nor tied costs for participating states (European Commission Press Release Database, 2018).

In December, after negotiations on international, regional, and national levels, the process of the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration was concluded. Being the most extensive treaty on climate migration the world has ever seen to date, the Global Compact sparked debates in many countries. In Belgium, the three coalition parties could not reach consensus on the Global Compact, resulting in a cabinet crisis and the Belgium Prime Minister, Charles Michel, to attend the talks in Marrakesh in personal capacity (Gotev, 2018). Ultimately, the majority of UN Member States adopted the Global Compact. Out of the EU member states, three countries voted against, five countries abstained, and one country withheld their vote (United Nations, 2018).

2018 was a pivotal year for climate migration beinv viewed in terms of security. What started as a year with various securitisation moves that presented inconsistent and non harmonised statements, continued with a securitisation act aiming to clarify the tensions and inconsistencies brought forward by the Global Compact. What these moves and acts have in common is that they emphasise the dangers of climate migration, but that they do not directly link it to being a threat to security. The securitisation moves emphasise the threat of climate migration to human and collective security. The securitisation acts politicise climate migration to acknowledge the severity of climate migration, but do not advocate for securitisation as they do not perceive climate migration as an existential threat to security.

In 2019, the SDG reflection paper acknowledges the pressing challenges brought on by environmental change and migration. In addition, the paper acknowledges the interlinkages and interde-

pendent challenges including environmentally induced forced displacement and the relation between sustainable development and migration (European Commission, 2019).

Within the SDGs, migration is a cross cutting issue with 11 out of 17 goals that contain targets and indicators relevant to migration (Migration Data Portal, n.d.). The reflection report is a securitisation act that politicises climate migration to place it at the top of a development and diplomatic policy, but does not securitise as climate migration is not perceived as an existential threat to security but as an existential threat to development.

One expert who was asked about securitisation of climate migration in the EU, noted the novelty of climate induced migration and increased visibility since the Paris Agreement. Nevertheless, the causes of migration remain controversial within the EU. With no science surrounding cross border displacement and no numbers significant enough to show that climate induced migration is a key threat, member states are taking different angles to address climate migration. Climate scepticism is no longer solely the case in the United States, where climate could only be talked about through security, but also in Europe where climate scepticism is increasing with the growth of populism. The expert added that when putting on a climate hat, policy makers should be careful of the implications of the political message. Labelling an issue as political or tying an issue to security does not directly link to concrete action, although it does get more concrete in relation to developing countries. According to the expert, displacement caused by disasters like hurricanes, droughts, and floods worsening as a result of climate change is the most tangible solutions to tackle climate induced migration.[6]

The contributions made by the expert help to clarify the increased caution when portraying climate migration as an existential threat to security in comparison to environmental challenges as a whole. The controversy amongst EU member states is not as visible in securitisation moves and securitisation acts by EU institutions, but is very visible in the case of the Global Compact. As stated by the expert, disaster displacement indeed appears to be the most tangible solution to bring the discussions of climate migration and security together to increase the scale of urgency and allow for emergency measures to be taken. For instance through the Nansen Initiative and Platform for Disaster Displacement.

To summarise, since 2003 EU representatives and institutions have initiated various securitisation moves and securitisation acts. Securitisation moves include the Temporary Committee on Climate Change, the State of the Union speech, and sessions held by various EU institutions. Secur-

[6]Based on semi-structured interviews.

itisation acts include documentation from the EU, Directorate Generals, and various committees. Securitisation moves have primarily advocated for more attention, research, and for European institutions to acknowledge the impact of climate change on migration. Due to the complex nature and still evolving research in this domain, that is often where the discourse stops. Climate migration is not commonly perceived as a direct threat to human, national, or collective security, but to security in its entirety. Through securitisation acts, institutions have shown attempts to feed the missing research gap, and discuss the impacts in a variety of fora. In some cases this had resulted in papers mentioning climate change as a driver to migration and in other cases this has resulted in Council Conclusions illustrating the intent to further climate migration discourse in security policy. In securitisation acts, climate migration is commonly viewed in relation to security but is rarely as an existential threat to security. This does not imply that the EU does not see climate migration as a security threat, but that the nature of the argumentation is different. The EU argues that climate change is a driver of migration and that the threats provided by migration are caused by a multitude of drivers that include but do not rely solely on climate change. This is why the EU primarily includes climate change and climate migration in a development and diplomacy setting and does not directly tackle climate migration in a security setting.

5.2 Securitising Climate Migration in the Netherlands

Since the 1990s, the Netherlands has initiated various securitisation moves and securitisation acts viewing climate migration in terms of security (see Figure 6). How and in what way climate migration has been securitised in the Netherlands, if at all, and the implications for policy directions will be discussed subsequently.

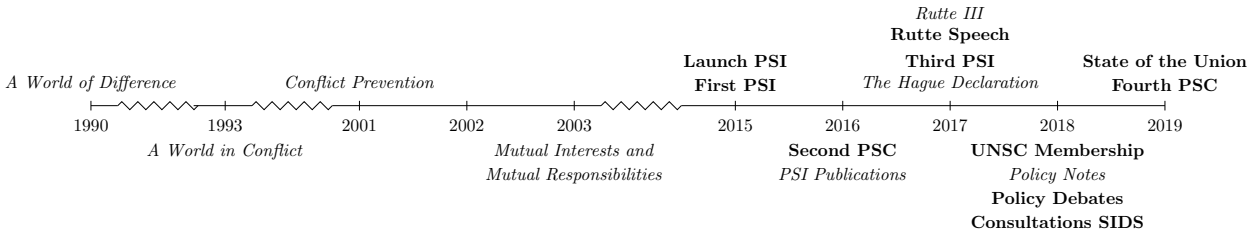

Figure 6: Timeline of securitising climate migration in the Netherlands

In the 1990 policy note 'A World of Difference', the MFA emphasised the growing interdependence between economy, ecology and society. According to the note, these factors drive and hinder developed countries through migration, refugees, environmental degradation, drug trafficking, debt,

and safety risks (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, 1990, p.325). In the 1993 policy note 'A World In Conflict', the MFA furthered elaborated on the essence of seeing the linkages between economy, ecology, and society and the role of international development. Despite this being frequently repeated, it was not mentioned in the paragraph about international migration. The paragraph on international migration predominantly focused on poverty and economic opportunity and did not mention environmental drivers to conflict. The note also specified the importance of development assistance in helping conflict prone regions in its entirety and not solely in relation to environmental drivers (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, 1993).

In 2001, the conflict focused note echoed the importance of scarcity of resources, population growth, environmental degradation and the interaction between these factors and the emergence of conflicts. Although the nexus between climate migration and security is indirectly implied, it is not directly stated (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, 2001). In 2003, the development focused note emphasised the role of Dutch development cooperation in achieving the Millennium Development Goals, the predecessor of the SDGs. With migration and development increasingly linked, the majority of the paper focuses on reiterating the inextricable linkages of the globalised world including migration and environment. The note mentions the essence of coherence on sustainable development on an international scale as "[i]ssues such as peace, security, the environment and migration can seldom be addressed within countries alone". The note combines "development cooperation with conflict prevention and control and promotion of stability and reconstruction" (Directorate-General for International Cooperation, 2003, p.17-18).

The first four securitisation acts illustrate how climate migration and security are increasingly discussed by the MFA. The first act illustrates that the causal link between climate change and migration should be tackled in terms of development, with the drivers having to be tackled to prevent people fleeing from violence, insecurity, food and water shortages, and a lack of medical facilities. The second act acknowledges the importance of climate migration and regions of conflict but separates these themes in different discussions. Although both climate change and migration are perceived as a threat to security, the link between climate change and migration is not explicitly stated. The third act implies the nexus between climate migration and security but does not state this directly. The fourth act perceives climate migration as a national challenge with an international approach. In combination, these securitisation acts politicise climate migration in public policy and acknowledge the relationship between climate migration and security but do not frame climate migration as an existential threat to security. In doing so, the securitisation acts advocate for the

politicisation of climate migration in development cooperation.

In 2017, climate and migration played an important role in the coalition agreement of Rutte III. The agreement noted the importance of the Paris Agreement in working towards international peace, security, and development. The nexus between climate change, migration, and security only came forward in the section on development cooperation. As an integral part of foreign policy, development cooperation focuses on "combating the root causes of poverty, migration, terrorism and climate change" within the SDGs. The "future policy will be guided by considerations of impact and added value, with a focus on the most vulnerable groups, such as women and children" (VVD et al., 2017, p.53).

Later that year, Rutte held a speech at the UNGA in New York. In the speech, Rutte addressed the problems confronting today's world and outlined the key priorities of the Netherlands for their UNSC membership. As key priorities for confronting today's world Rutte listed: "climate change, migration, food security, terrorism and cybercrime". Rutte believes that these elements are international by definition and require a "3D approach: an integrated effort to tackle development, defence and diplomacy" (Rutte, 2017). As three priorities for the membership, Rutte listed: a strong UN, security, and sustainability. Rutte specifies the essence of prevention to tackle security and the importance of incorporating sustainability and implementing the SDGs to reach a preventative and resilient agenda. In the area of prevention, the Netherlands believes to have the ability to play an important role in the area of water management. Rutte believes that "[w]orking together on water issues is more crucial than ever before", with water playing a key role in almost all SDGs and the UN predicting the year 2050 to count 200 million displaced as a result of climate change (Rutte, 2017).

The securitisation act through the coalition agreement and securitisation move by Rutte at the UNGA indicate the priority placed on the issues of environment, migration, security, and their interlinkages. Through placing such attention in a coalition agreement climate migration is politicised, but not securitised as the nexus is only identified and not framed as an existential threat to security. In the speech, Rutte perceives climate migration as a concern to national, human, and collective security, and draws it into the development and diplomacy domain.

The 2018 membership of the Netherlands in the UNSC is an important example of securitisation moves and securitisation acts discussing climate migration in terms of security. In anticipation of the Netherlands holding a seat in the UNSC, Koenders advocates for water and climate-related security problems to belong in the UNSC as the chaos, conflicts, and migration initiated by climate change

are seen worldwide (Rijksoverheid, 2016). In March 2018, during the month that the Netherlands was president, Kaag took to the podium to address the vulnerability of water and the threat of water scarcity for migration. In addition, the Dutch MFA organised the presentation of an artwork by Daan Roosegaarde called 'Waterlicht' at the offices of the UNSC. The artwork "demonstrates the power and impact of water, immersing visitors in a virtual flood that shows how much water levels could rise if people don't take action" (Government of the Netherlands, 2018b). After the Dutch membership in the UNSC was completed, Lise Gregoire-van Haaren, the Deputy Permanent Representative to the UN, addressed the UNSC on "the impacts of climate-related disasters on international peace and security" (Gregoire-van Haaren, 2019). Gregoire-van Haaren urges the UNSC "to assign this issue [climate security] the priority it deserves, by calling for integrated risk assessments and encouraging climate- and conflict-sensitive programming" (Gregoire-van Haaren, 2019).

During the UNSC membership, securitisation moves were taking place beyond New York. In June, the Dutch organisation Humanity House held an event in The Hague for the Dutch public about the alternative SC as part of several events themed around the UNSC, international peace, and security. The guest speakers at the event included the head of the UNSC Taskforce at the Dutch MFA, the head of the International Sustainability Centre at the Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael, and Middendorp. The event was centred around the ambition to find a safe world without forced migration, chaos, and conflict. With the Netherlands placing climate change on the UNSC agenda, the event covered a variety of themes. During the event, Middendorp explained how climate change is not a left wing theme and security is not a life wing theme as these topics concern. Middendorp's key take away message was to put the causes on the agenda, take small steps that are large enough to have an impact, for example, current UN missions not only safety prevention but also making missions with potential sustainable.[7]

In October, the Dutch MFA organised a photo exhibition at the UN Office in Geneva on the Humanitarian Implications of Climate Change. The exhibition displayed the work from Dutch photographer Kadir van Lohuizen. The exhibition was titled "Where will we go?" and depicted the human consequences of sea level rise. The opening of the exhibition included an interactive discussion with experts from the field including the UN Deputy High Commissioner for Human Rights, the Dutch Special Envoy for Water Affairs, and representatives from the Intergovernmental

[7]Based on participant observations.

Panel on Climate Change.[8]

The securitisation moves illustrate the power of the UNSC platform to include and draw attention to climate migration both in and beyond the UN. The securitisation moves by the Dutch MFA go further than the GA and SC by reaching other organisations and the general public through events at the Humanity House in The Hague and at the UN in Geneva. Together the securitisation moves enhance the message that the Netherlands is bringing through their membership and involves more groups to participate in the discourse. The securitisation moves perceive climate migration as a threat to human, national, and collective security through relating it to humanitarian implications and a security concern deemed urgent enough to discuss in the UNSC.

In 2018, the House of Representatives held debates on the topics of rising sea level and migration. In April, the House of Representatives debated about the implications of sea level rise for the Netherlands. During the debate, concern was displayed about whether the Kingdom is prepared for a sea level rise of one meter or more. With current Dutch policy focused on the mitigation and adaptation to climate change, more information was requested about the specifics of adaptation strategies. Given the high predictions of sea level rise, the preparedness of the islands of Bonaire, Sint Eustatius, and Saba, as well as the concern about subsidence occurring across the country were discussed (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, 2018b).

In December, a debate took place about the Global Compact for migration with the Secretary of State of the Ministry of Justice and Security, Mark Harbers. During the debate, Thierry Baudet, the leader of the far right political party Forum for Democracy, extensively shared his disapproval of the pact. Baudet believes that supporting the Global Compact is an irresponsible act of the government, as it would result in an uncontrollable influx of migrants. According to Baudet, the Global Compact is a call for increased migration and further opening borders. Despite not being legally binding, Baudet believes the pact provides a path for national implementation of a migration pact. These arguments were countered by other political parties who believe the Global Compact regulates and provides safe migration whilst tackling the root causes of irregular displacement. Despite these statements, Baudet, with support from Party for Freedom, also a far right political party, issued a motion of no confidence in the cabinet. The motion was rejected with 117 votes against and 18 votes in favour (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, 2018a). During the debate climate or environment were not mentioned once. This is in line with the policy of Forum for Democracy and Party for Freedom, who advocate for exiting the Paris Agreement and continue

[8]Based on participant observations.

exploiting and mass consuming fossil fuels.

The two securitisation moves depict the national politicisation of sea level rise and migration. While climate migration was discussed in the debate on sea level rise, the climate discussion was fully omitted in the migration debate. Through drawing rising sea level and migration in the political context and thereby also to the attention of politicians and government officials, the discussion surrounding climate migration is gaining traction. Both securitisation moves directly discuss the importance of human security, national security, and collective security, but do not discuss the combination of climate change and migration posing a threat to security.

The 2018 policy notes on development and security included climate, migration, and security. The foreign trade and development corporation note stated that "[p]roblems like poverty, conflict terrorism, climate change, population growth and irregular migration are closely interwined" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, 2018a, p.10). The strategy predicts that "[t]he focus of development cooperation will shift to unstable regions (the West African Sahel, the Horn of Africa, the Middle East and North Africa) in order to tackle root causes of poverty, migration, terrorism and climate change" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, 2018a, p.13). According to the note, the instability of the region can be tied to climate change with food scarcity resulting in malnutrition or rising temperatures making regions uninhabitable driving conflict (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, 2018a). The integrated Security Strategy mentions both climate change and irregular migration as a threat to security resting on the pillars of preventing, defending, and strengthening. The strategy also emphasises the efforts made during the Dutch membership in the UNSC to include human security and irregular migration in finding preventative methods and a cure in order to achieve peace and justice (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, 2018b).

The two securitisation acts illustrate that the Dutch MFA is going beyond stating that environmental challenges are a threat to security by incorporating challenges like irregular migration. The foreign trade and development corporation note is bringing the relationship of climate change, migration, and security in the development context through advocating it to be considered within regional development strategies. The integrated Security Strategy takes a step further and brings climate migration and irregular migration into the security domain through advocating it to be considered in defensive strategies as well as the UNSC. While the former note places climate migration in a development context and the latter in a security context, both notes depict the necessity for a coherent strategy that considers the interlinkages between the challenges including climate induced migration and security. The two securitisation acts go beyond politicisation and securitise through

climate migration through perceiving it as an existential threat to security.

2018 was also the year that the cabinet presented the complete Migration Agenda and ratified the Global Compact. The Migration Agenda was presented ahead of the conference in Marrakesh where the Global Compact was discussed. The Migration Agenda aims to promote safety and stability through making a future-proof broad and integrated approach. The approach suggests 6 pillars to respond to the dynamic, versatile, and complex issue of migration (Rijksoverheid, 2018). The letter to the House of Representatives that accompanied the agenda spoke about how developments like population growth, instability around Europe, climate change, the battle for talent, geopolitical and economic power shifts, and migration, are all expected to increase. The agenda pinpoints drivers of migration to include economic hopelessness, political reasons such as conflict, insecurity and repression, and circumstances associated with climate and the living environment (Ministerie van Justitie en Veiligheid, 2018). Although there was some resistance from the House of Representatives by parties like Forum for Democracy and the Party for Freedom, the cabinet ultimately decided to ratify the Global Compact in December. In addition to ratification, Harbers indicated that the government will add an addendum to the report. The addendum would be composed together with other EU member states and present an explanation of position. The addendum includes the following three provisions: countries are sovereign in their migration policy and can pursue their own policies, countries can distinguish between regular and irregular migration, and the pact does not provide a legally binding framework (Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal, 2018b).

The securitisation acts emphasise the priority placed on migration policy. The letter to the House of Representatives that accompanied the migration agenda sketched the context of the threats and included the impact of developments like climate change. While some political parties in the Netherlands as well as other EU countries were resistant to signing the Global Compact, the cabinet ultimately took a collective standpoint by deciding to add an addendum. In doing so, the migration agenda politicised and securitised migration on a national level while the Global Compact politicised and securitised migration on an international level. The two securitisation acts did not securitise climate migration as the nexus of climate change and migration were not framed as an existential threat to security.

In February 2019, Blok held his first State of the Union address. The address focused on "[t]ransnational issues such as migration, security and climate change" (Blok, 2019, p.7). Blok argues that it is in the importance of public safety and security to combat climate change, transition to a low-carbon economy, manage migration flows, achieve strategic economic security, and promote

the development of the international legal order. When speaking about migration, Blok does not address the drivers of migration, but advocates for an "integrated deployment of instruments such as development cooperation, trade and visa policy" (Blok, 2019, p.16). When addressing climate policy, Blok focuses on the agreements and ambitions for the future and does not address the threats and implications to security (Blok, 2019).

The securitisation move by the Minister integrates discussions of security, climate change, and migration, thereby taking on a similar standpoint as Juncker in his State of the Union addresses in 2015 and 2016. Blok views climate migration as important to public safety, thereby viewing it as a human and national security threat, and through advocating for a cooperative integrated approach views climate migration as a collective security threat.

The most practical example of securitisation moves and securitisation acts perceiving climate migration in terms of security is the PSI. When launching the initiative, the Dutch MFA aimed to tackle climate related security risks in high level international policy. The first PSC was centred around the theme 'Peace and Cooperation in Time of Climate Change and Global Environmental Change'. The conference made climate fragility and resilience a central policy priority to be tackled by experts from various disciplines (Ivleva, 2015). In the opening address, Koenders extensively portrayed the link between migration and climate change. According to Koenders, the impact of climate and the environment "act as an aggravating force by compounding other risks". Koenders later added that environmental challenges "all show that climate change can be catalyst for insecurity" resulting in peace and stability being at risk (Koenders, 2015).

The subsequent year, the PSI published 'Economics of Planetary Security'. The publication examines the economic angle to planetary security and the interrelation with climate related security risks and environmentally induced conflict. The report mentions the importance of migration in this debate, but acknowledges that further investigation in this field is needed for a complete analysis (Rademaker et al., 2016). In 2016, the consortium of think tanks under the PSI initative published 'Towards A Global Resilience Agenda Action on Climate Fragility Risks's'. The publication outlines key climate fragility risks and the related policy processes and developments. The report includes a section on "Refugees and migration: short and long-term consequences". The section lists the current situation of forcibly displaced people and refugees as a result of conflict. The section predicts the impact of climate change to only increase in the near future as a result of environmental degradation and extreme weather events. In addition, the section notes that while it is "difficult to disaggregate the environmental component from other factors that lead to a decision to migrate", it

is clear "that climate change will continue to shape migration patterns and will increase the number of migrants in the future" (Mobjörk et al., 2016, p.13).

The second PSC was again opened by Koenders. Koenders addressed the massive challenge of migration in the Sahel and North Africa, where migration impacts planetary security and creates a feeding ground for instability and terrorism (Koenders, 2016). During the conference, Middendorp linked climate change security and migration. "As Chief of Defence, I believe climate change can be a root cause of conflict, can create breeding grounds for extremism, and can trigger migration flows ... And therefore I believe there is no security ... without climate security" (Planetary Security Initiative, 2016a). The conference held various sessions on water and food security with emphasis on cases of insecurity resulting in instability and migration. The main take away from the conference was to further the discourse and broaden the network by bringing the G7 and G20 to meetings to further discuss planetary issues (Planetary Security Initiative, 2016b).

Following up on the global resilience agenda, the consortium published 'Action on Climate and Security Risks'. The publication reviews the progress in 2017 and focuses on the increasing climate extremes and conflicts as well as the geopolitical and socio-economic extremes. The section on refugees and displacement indicates that "[w]hile migration is influenced by many political, social, economic and environmental factors, the main drivers of displacement include conflicts, environmental stress and natural disasters" (Vivekananda et al., 2017, p.7).

In preparation of the third PSC and launch of The Hague Declaration on Planetary Security, the consortium of think tanks published 'Climate-migration-security: Making the most of a contested relationship'. The policy brief displays the relationship between the three notions and explains how research is contested on the quantity of migrants that can directly be accounted to climate change. This is also reflected by policy makers in their approach to integrating climate, migration, and security (van Schaik & Bakker, 2017). The Hague Declaration on Planetary Security translated the efforts from the previous conference into a practical plan of action. The declaration aims to directly tackle the complex crises driven by climate change. At the heart of the declaration, "is the need for everyone to work together to deal and manage" mitigation and adaptation in humanitarian aid, migration, and security. Out of the 5 action areas of the declaration, action area 2 pertains to 'Coordinating Migration and Climate Change Responses' (van Schaik, 2017a). Later in 2017, the third PSC held an opening plenary titled 'From Analysis to Action: Climate, Security, Migration & Urbanisation' and was followed by various sessions on migration. The sessions included a two part workshop on: migration, climate change, and security. (Planetary Security Initiative, 2017).

In 2018, the PSI consortium published various reports on migration in specific regions. The consortium published a brief on SIDS bringing climate change to the UNSC (van Schaik, Sarris & von Lossow, 2018). In addition, PSI also published a report specific to Africa and the migration and security risks regarding landscape restoration (van Schaik, Kamphof & Sarris, 2018). This was continued in December during the 'Regional Consultation on Climate and Security in the Caribbean'. Through addressing the effects of climate change on human security in the Caribbean region, "technical experts, practitioners and policymakers" created a regional plan of action with a roadmap to resilience (Planetary Security Initiative, 2018).

Finally in 2019, the PSI created an overview of the process of The Hague Declaration on Planetary Security. The progress made with regards to action area 2 on coordinating migration and climate change responses. The progress reports indicates how "the complex links between climate change, violence and migration are only poorly addressed by development strategies and programmes". While it is gaining traction on an international level, the report urges for more progress amongst policy makers and the security community (Planetary Security Initiative, 2019b). Ahead of the fourth PSC, the PSI consortium published 'Climate Security—Making it #Doable'. The report states that global challenges have never been clearer with mass climate related disasters resulting in deaths and mass migration, however, scepticism towards multilateral agreements is increasing. In doing so, the report reviews the progress made in 2018 in terms of adaptation and mitigation towards climate-related security risks and builds on the two previous PSI reports (Smith et al., 2019).

2019 was also the year that the fourth PSC took place with the aim to make action #Doable in the spotlight regions of the conference coping with climate change and security threats. The conference focused on monitoring the process of the six action areas displayed in The Hague Declaration on Planetary Security (Planetary Security Initiative, 2019a). In the closing address, Blok noted the growing quantity of internally displaced people and forced migration as a result of climate related security problems. With these problems felt around the globe, Blok urged the attendees "to formulate concrete actions to address these and other climate-related security risks" (Government of the Netherlands, 2019).[9]

Since 2015, the PSI has built a network discussing planetary security and climate fragility risks and resilience like climate migration. In doing so, the PSI is not only politicising climate migration but also securitising climate migration through bringing it into a defence domain in addition to

[9]Based on participant observations.

bringing it into a diplomacy and development domain. Even though the PSI is the most practical application of drawing climate migration in the security domain, the PSI does so on behalf of the think tank consortium and not on behalf of the EU and the Netherlands.

One expert who was asked about the securitisation of climate migration in the Netherlands, noted how migration is a long strategy approach. While climate change is not disconnected from population growth, prosperity is increasing while fossil fuels are not. With the past years only functioning as preview, the future will only see more migratory threats induced by climate in cities due to sea level rise and natural disasters. The expert explained how it is the goal to shift beyond politicisation and include universities and research institutes within this discourse to find solutions, network, and reach synergies. An example of this is the PSI network incorporating security and defence experts. When moving onto the implications, the expert noted how complex problems require complex solutions and requier a multilateral approach with collective goals whereby everyone collaborates and has influence on geopolitical aspects.[10]

The contributions made by the expert fit with the contributions by the securitisation moves and securitisation acts in the Netherlands. Securitisation moves like the Future Force Conference are including universities and securitisation moves like the PSI are including research institutes. Together universities and research institutes bring the scientific evidence that policy makers lack to formulate policy. What the expert does not note is that climate migration is not perceived as an existential threat to security and thereby not securitised as attention is diverted to other domains. Perhaps that separating the security discourses relating to climate change and migration allows for both to be independently politicised and furthered in alternative domains like development and diplomacy.

To summarise, since the MFA policy note in 1990, securitisation moves and securitisation acts to discuss climate migration in terms of security have increased significantly in quantity and frequency. Securitisation moves include speeches by Prime Ministers and Ministers, the Dutch membership in the UNSC, and debates held in the House of Representatives. Securitisation acts include policy notes, letters to the House of Representatives, and publications by the PSI. The securitisation moves have mainly focused on sharing the Dutch standpoints and views on climate migration to the outside world, as illustrated by speeches from Koenders, Blok, and Rutte. The securitisation acts have placed these standpoints in official documentation, agendas and publications. The various securitisation moves have illustrated the importance of climate migration in a variety of contexts,

[10]Based on semi-structured interviews.

namely a human context due to the humanitarian implications of migration, as well as a national and collective context with security threats having implications on nations, but due to globalisation transcend borders cannot be tackled alone. The various securitisation acts have illustrated the importance of drawing climate migration in a political context and to address these on national, regional, and international levels by political elite. While securitisation acts have illustrated the essence of an integrated approach, they have also shown the added value of differentiating between the factors to formulate policy documentation. The securitisation acts have placed the context of security and climate change in the migration debate, but have not frequently perceived climate migration as an existential threat to security requiring emergency measures to be undertaken.

This chapter has applied the methodology used to operationalise the conceptual lens to examine how and in what way climate migration has been securitised on multiple levels, if at all, and what the implications are for policy directions. The case of the EU and the Netherlands have illustrated that climate migration is increasingly discussed through securitisation moves and securitisation acts. The securitisation moves have illustrated that climate and migration is a threat to development and security in its entirety and in particular to human and collective security. The securitisation acts have significantly politicised climate migration and emphasise the necessity to further incorporate climate migration in public policy. Securitisation acts have rarely perceived climate migration as an existential threat to security and have hence not securitised climate migration. The following chapter will rethink the contributions made by the theoretical and practical debates and examine the utility of the conceptual lens.

6 Rethinking Environmental Securitisation in Theory and Practice

This chapter will draw from the conceptual lens, data collected, and data analysed, to rethink environmental securitisation in theory and practice. While the theoretical debates concerning environmental securitisation in IR present valuable contributions to defining, interpreting, and analysing environmental securitisation, a research gap exists regarding whether these theoretical debates are applicable in practice. To examine this research gap, the conceptual framework lists the following questions: how are environmental challenges perceived in terms of human, national, or collective security? Who is securitising environmental challenges? How do environmental challenges become securitised? What is the relationship between securitisation moves and securitisation acts? What responses do securitisation moves and securitisation acts call for? And; what are the advantages and disadvantages of securitising environmental challenges? These questions will now be explored through combining the contributions from the theoretical and practical debates concerning defining security, interpreting securitisation, and analysing securitisation, followed by an examination of the utility of the conceptual lens.

6.1 Defining Security

Environmental challenges like climate migration are increasingly discussed in relation to security in theory and practice. In theory, security is imperative to traditional interpretations of IR and essential to address modern day political concerns. The theories of realism, liberalism, and constructivism each interpret security differently (Burke, 2012). Traditional theories of IR bring insights to addressing modern day political concerns like environmental challenges in GEP in terms of human, national, and collective security (Eckersley, 2012).

How security is defined in practice depends on the platform, securitiser, and way the securitiser uses the platform to address the audience. The platforms used to define environmental challenges in terms of security include securitisation moves like conferences, debates, and speeches, and securitisation acts like policy debates, year plans, and declarations. Each platform used to define environmental challenges in terms of security has its own strength and weakness. While some platforms may be more successful in addressing constituents, other platforms may be more successful in addressing nation states. The platform chosen depends on the securitiser that is defining environmental challenges in terms of security. Securitisers include elite actors, institutions, and

communities. Each securitiser has different arguments and benefits to perceive environmental challenges in terms of security. An elite actor may for instance chose to speak in their own capacity to convince an institution of viewing environmental challenges as an existential threat to security, but may also be used to speak on behalf of an institution convincing constituents of a newly established mandate. Depending on the platform employed and the securitiser, environmental challenges have been defined by in terms of human, national, or collective security.

The cases of the EU and the Netherlands have shown that it most common for securitisers to address the bigger picture of the nexus between environmental challenges and climate migration with security. In doing so, securitisers frequently combine definitions of security or do not specify a specific definition of security at all. The way a securitiser uses a platform to define security can be a strategic move to place emphasis on a type of security. For example, in 2017 Rutte held a speech in the UNGA to address the key priorities of the Netherlands in the UNSC (Rutte, 2017). The Prime Minister used the international platform to address fellow nation states and draw their attention to the essence of collective security and addressing the threats by environmental challenges and climate migration in a multilateral way. The combination of platform and securitiser employed, play an essential role in transmitting the message to its audience.

The practical debates illustrate that the notions from theory are of essence in practice, but that there are more factors involved. Both the platform and securitiser have the ability to influence the message transmitted to the audience. In addition, practice does not always identify with one specific definition and relate to a specific theory of IR as practice frequently tackles the broader picture of environmental security. Practice thereby frequently goes beyond solely one definition and commonly leaves the definition open for interpretation. In defining environmental challenges in terms of security the theoretical contributions are of great value but do not portray the full image of the way that environmental challenges are defined in practice. Theory should thereby further consider the methods used to convey the way securitisation is defined including the platform and the securitiser of the securitisation move.

6.2 Interpreting Securitisation

Beyond a variety of definitions of security, there are also different interpretations of securitisation in theory and practice. In theory, securitisation implies that issues are perceived as an existential threat to security which requires emergency measures to be taken. The Copenhagen School makes two key contributions to securitisation theory: the securitisation spectrum ranging from nonpoliticsed,

through politicised, to securitised, and the two steps required to achieve securitisation, namely securitisation moves and securitisation acts (Buzan et al., 1998).

Securitisation acts have illustrated that environmental challenges and climate migration have been gradually politicised over time in practice. Initially, securitisation acts briefly mentioned environmental challenges in terms of security in public policy documents. Since then, significantly more attention has been given to the relation between environmental challenges and security in public policy. Environmental security has thereby become integrated throughout public policy. While there is significant politicisation, the securitisation of environmental challenges and climate migration has remained scarce. Securitisation acts are not timid to mention the nexus between environmental challenges and security, but remain cautious in framing environmental challenges as an existential threat to security.

The caution by policy makers to frame environmental challenges as an existential threat to security could be a deliberate choice formulated based on the fear of the interpretations of securitisation. Practice illustrates that on an international, regional, and national level, there are proponents and opponents of securitising environmental challenges. Placing environmental challenges in public policy places it on top of the agenda and normalises the discussion, while placing it in security policy views it with the same severity as a military threat thereby requiring emergency measures to deal with it. Perhaps policy makers wish to experience the benefit of increasing the scale of urgency of the environmental security nexus but fear the challenges that giving environmental challenges the same degree of urgency as high level political issues like military threats poses.

In achieving securitisation, the steps indicated by theory are not as distinguishable or linear in practice. It is not always clear what can be considered as a securitisation move or a securitisation act and what the relationship is between moves and acts. While theory implies that securitisation occurs when a securitisation act has adopted a securitisation move, this is not necessarily the case in practice. In practice, policy works both ways, with elite actors adopting the policy from institutions as well as elite actors convincing institutions to adopt a certain policy. Political strategies are thereby continuously influenced by both securitisation moves and securitisation acts. Hence, moves and acts can each contribute to securitisation through bringing a new messages or building on and reinforcing existing messages.

The theoretical debates concerning interpreting securitisation have shown that there are clear components required to achieve securitisation. Practice has illustrated that securitisation of environmental challenges and climate migration is not as black and white. The securitisation spectrum

is more complicated with a large gap between politicisation and securitisation making it difficult to categorise. The steps to achieve securitisation are not as distinguishable and linear in practice with both moves and acts building on each other and contributing towards securitisation independently. Theory should thereby consider broadening the securitisation spectrum with more categories between nonpoliticsed, politicised, and securitised. In addition, theory can still distinguish between moves and acts but should consider that they each provide valuable contributions and do not exclusively result in securitisation when a securitisation act builds on a securitisation move.

6.3 Analysing Securitisation

According to theory, definitions of security and interpretations of securitisation can be analysed through combining a discursive approach with a practical approach. Combining these approaches allows for the examination of securitisation moves and securitisation acts to subsequently analyse the implications for policy directions (Léonard & Francis, 2010). With different definitions and interpretations of security having implications for policy directions, policy remains frequently fragmented between discursive approaches and practical approaches (Brzoska, 2012).

Analysing securitisation moves and securitisation acts in practice has illustrated implications for multiple policy directions. The policy directions can be summarised through the three D's of development, diplomacy, and defence. Viewing environmental security debates through a development direction places emphasis on human security and the fragility and resilience of environmental challenges and climate migration. A development direction builds on development cooperation agendas to create strategies to adapt to and mitigate the effects of climate change. A diplomatic direction implies that environmental challenges and climate migration are a matter of collective security and cannot be tackled alone. A diplomatic direction advocates for a multilateral cooperative approach between nation states and institutions. Approaching these debates through a defence direction refers to environmental challenges and climate migration being portrayed as a threat to national security. This implies the involvement of defensive forces like military troops in tackling environmental challenges. While each direction has advantages, each direction also has disadvantages.

While theory leaves the outcome of analysing environmental securitisation and the implications for policy directions largely unexplored, practice has illustrated that the implications go beyond influencing security policy. Perceiving environmental challenges as a threat to security involves various directions of public policy including development, diplomacy, and defence. Environmental security is thereby not only a way to place traditional security concerns on a defence radar, but also

a way to tackle environmental challenges through the use of development and diplomacy.

6.4 Utility of the Conceptual Lens

The theoretical debates concerning environmental securitisation in IR have provided valuable contributions to examine the securitisation of environmental challenges in practice. With not all theoretical debates fully suitable to be applied in practice, this section will examine the utility of the conceptual lens and the methodological operationalisation of the conceptual lens to present an improved framework for future research.

The conceptual lens formulated through propositions distilled from the theoretical debates concerning environmental securitisation in IR consists of three stages. Stage 1 concerns securitisation moves, Stage 2 concerns securitisation acts, and Stage 3 concerns the implications for policy directions. As illustrated, it is not always possible to distinguish between securitisation moves and securitisation acts, since they both define and interpret environmental securitisation and have implications for policy directions. Practice is thereby more nuanced than the theoretical debates concerning defining security, interpreting environmental securitisation, and analysing environmental securitisation. In defining security, practice uses platforms and securitisers to transmit a message to its audience. In doing so, securitisers do not always frame environmental challenges as one of the definitions illustrated in theory, but frequently combine definitions or leave them open for interpretation. Practice has also illustrated that the interpretations of securitisation are not as black and white as indicated by theory. According to practice, the securitisation spectrum is more complex than solely framing an issue as an existential threat to security. While analysing securitisation and the implications for policy directions is still a research gap in theory, practice has illustrated that the implications are primarily centred around the policy directions of development, diplomacy, and defence.

In combining the contributions presented by the practical debates and building on the theoretical debates, the conceptual lens can be adapted and developed. An adapted conceptual framework considering the contributions above consists of four stages (see Figure 7). The first stage examines both securitisation moves and securitisation acts. The second stage analyses the definition of security and the third stage the interpretations of security. The fourth stage combines the contributions from the definitions of security and interpretations of securitisation to analyse the implications for the policy directions in terms of development, diplomacy, and defence.

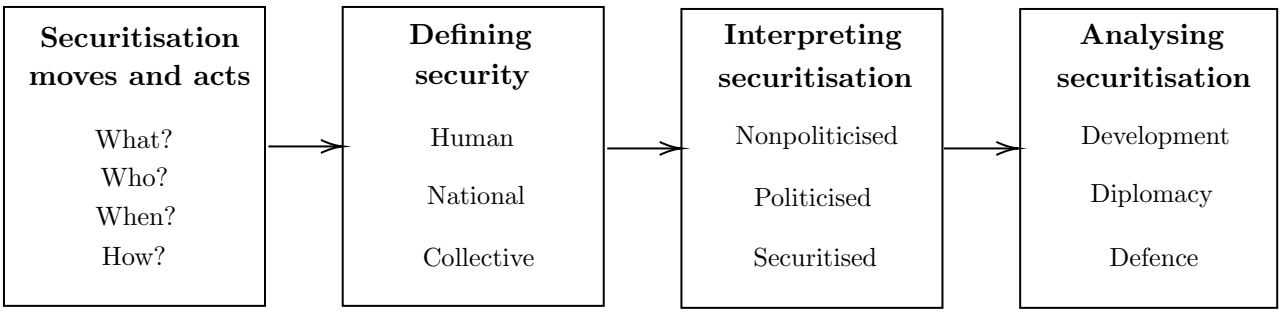

Figure 7: Rethinking the operationalisation of the conceptual lens

In analysing the conceptual lens, the following adapted conceptual framework would further distinguish between categories and indicators (see Table 9). Instead of focusing on securitisation moves and securitisation acts, the adapted operationalisation of analysing the conceptual lens would focus on the way environmental securitisation is defined, interpreted, and the outcome of the analysis. The categories would thereby further distinguish between phases of securitisation as well as policy directions. Moving from politicisation to securitisation would thereby consist of three stages starting with perceiving an issue as a concern for security, later viewing the issue as an existential threat to security, and finally adopting the issue in security policy.

Concept	**Category**	**Definition**
Defining security	Human security	Security of the people
	National security	Security of the state
	Collective security	Security of the system
Interpreting securitisation	Nonpoliticised	No concern from the state
	Politicised	Concern in public policy
	Securitised 1	Perceived as a concern for security
	Securitised 2	Viewed as an existential threat to security
	Securitised 3	Concern in security policy
Analysing securitisation	Development	Resilience
	Diplomacy	Multilateralism
	Defence	Missions etc.

Table 9: Rethinking the operationalisation of analysing the conceptual lens

Given the adapted conceptual lens, the methodology should also be adjusted accordingly. The methodology applied in this thesis consists of a case study application, qualitative primary data, and

a qualitative CDA. Instead of using specific primary data to analyse specific stages of the conceptual framework, a modified methodology would employ all sources of primary data to contribute to the entirety of the conceptual framework. In doing so, both political discourse and public policy documentation can be used as inputs to examine the definitions of security and interpretations of securitisation. With the changes presented by the adapted operationalisation of analysing the conceptual lens, the qualitative CDA functioning as output would be more thorough and in depth reflecting every element of the adapted conceptual framework.

While the conceptual lens has presented a valuable framework for examining environmental securitisation in practice, the application in practice has revealed several gaps. For future research, the conceptual lens can be adapted through including the contributions made by the practical debates. In doing so, the adapted conceptual lens and adjusted methodology present an improved framework for future research allowing for a more thorough and in depth analysis of environmental securitisation.

This chapter has drawn from the conceptual lens, data collected, and data analysed, to rethink environmental securitisation in theory and practice. Through discussing and comparing the theoretical debates and practical debates for defining security, interpreting securitisation, and analysing securitisation, this chapter has shed light on the research gap of whether the theoretical debates are applicable in practice. While the theoretical debates present valid contributions to examining the applicability in practice, practice moves beyond the theories provided by environmental securitisation in IR. Since not all theoretical debates are fully suitable to be applied in practice, this has implications on the way the conceptual lens functions. In adapting the conceptual lens and adjusting the methodology, future research can examine the implications on policy directions more thoroughly and in greater depth. The following chapter will present conclusions to this thesis through summarising key findings, listing contributions, and suggesting areas for further research.

7 Conclusion

This final chapter will conclude on the theoretical debates concerning environmental securitisation in IR and the practical contributions of how and in what way environmental challenges and climate migration have been securitised in the EU and the Netherlands, if at all, and what the implications are for policy directions. This will be conveyed through summarising key findings, listing contributions, and suggesting areas for further research.

7.1 Findings

This thesis has answered the question of how and in what way environmental challenges and climate migration have been securitised on multiple levels, if at all, and the what the implications are for policy directions. Through looking at the cases of the EU and the Netherlands, this thesis can conclude that environmental challenges and climate migration are increasingly defined and interpreted in terms of security. Securitisation moves have perceived environmental challenges and climate migration as a threat to human, national, and collective security. Securitisation acts have largely politicised, and scarcely securitised environmental challenges and climate migration. The securitisation moves and securitisation acts advocate for environmental security policy to be tackled through development by focusing on resilience and through diplomacy by focusing on multilateralism. While both theory and practice increasingly view environmental challenges as a whole and the specific environmental challenge of climate migration in terms of security, the political reasoning behind defining and interpreting security as well as the implications for policy directions remains speculative. Security language can be seen as a method employed to increase the scale of urgency of environmental challenges in public policy to subsequently be placed higher on a development, diplomacy, and development agendas. Public policy remains sceptical of environmental securitisation as the political climate remains hesitant to fully treat environmental challenges with the same degree of urgency as a military threat justifying the political emergency measures necessary to deal with it. In rethinking environmental securitisation in theory and practice, it has become clear that theory at times lags behind on practice and practice does not always follow the trends illustrated in theory. As a result, this thesis has suggested an improved theoretical framework to be used for future research.

7.2 Contributions

Through examining the securitisation of environmental challenges and climate migration in the EU and the Netherlands, this research has shed light on the novelty of environmental securitisation in both theory and practice. This research has contributed to the theoretical debates of environmental securitisation in IR, GEP, and CSS, in combining the contributions by multiple sub disciplines to study environmental security. Moreover, this research has also contributed to practical debates through providing an inventory and examination of securitisation moves and securitisation acts concerning environmental challenges and climate migration in the EU and the Netherlands. Furthermore, this thesis has rethought the contributions by environmental securitisation in both theory and practice as well as how they can be combined to formulate a revised framework to more accurately study theoretical and practical debates concerning environmental securitisation in the future.

7.3 Future Research

Future research should endeavour to carve a greater niche of environmental securitisation in both theory and practice that places emphasis on the implications of environmental securitisation for policy directions. In theory, IR should build on further combining the disciplines of GEP and CSS and continue to map debates in practice to rethink the application of theoretical debates concerning environmental securitisation. In practice, policy should build a stronger political voice in climate policy and diplomacy through creating more comprehensive strategies through development, diplomacy, and defence policy while considering the benefits and shortcomings of environmental securitisation. Further combining theoretical and practical debates concerning environmental securitisation will contribute to addressing the environmental challenges of the 21st century to create an environmentally sustainable and secure planet for future generations.

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Appendix

A List of Participant Observations

The participant observations were conducted at the following events and conferences:

- 'Alternatieve Veiligheidsraad over de Klimaatvluchteling'[11] an event organised by the Humanity House on the 19th of June 2018 in The Hague
- 'Humanitarian Implications of Climate Change' a photo exhibition organised by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs from the 1st of October until the 11th of October 2018 at the United Nations Office in Geneva
- Planetary Security Conference a conference organised by the Planetary Security Initiative and partners from the 18th to 19th of February 2019 in The Hague

B Transcripts Critical Discourse Analysis Coding

The data collected was coded through using the operationalisation of analysing the conceptual lens (see Table 8). Tables 10 to 13 illustrate the transcript from coding the CDA of securitising environmental challenges and climate migration in the EU and the Netherlands.

[11] Translation from Dutch to English: Alternative Security Council about the Climate Refugee

Move/Act	**What?**	**Who?**	**When?**	**How?**
Act	Security Strategy	EU	December 2003	P
Move	Temporary Committee on Climate Change	European Parliament	April 2007 - February 2009	CS
Act	Paper European Council	European Council	March 2008	S
Act	Report European Security Strategy	EU	December 2008	S
Act	Draft Resolution Temporary Committee	European Parliament	December 2009	S
Act	Report G7	G7	April 2015	P
Act	Security Strategy Report	Directorate-General for External Policies	June 2015	S
Act	Agenda 2030	UNGA	September 2015	P
Act	Paris Agreement	COP21	December 2015	P
Act	Council Conclusions	Council of the EU	February 2016	S
Act	Global Strategy	EU	June 2016	S
Act	Progress Global Strategy	European External Action Service	January 2017	P
Act	Council Conclusions	Council of the EU	March 2017	P
Act	Communication on Resilience	European Parliament and Council to the EU	June 2017	P
Act	Council Conclusions	Council of the EU	February 2018	S
Act	Motion Climate Diplomacy	European Parliament	June 2018	S
Move	Climate Diplomacy Week	EU	June 2018	HS, CS
Act	Progess Global Strategy	European External Action Service	June 2018	S
Move	Group of Friends	UN	August 2018	P
Act	Council Conclusions	Council of the EU	November 2018	S
Move	World Economic Forum	World Economic Forum	January 2019	n/a
Act	SDG Reflection Paper	European Commission	January 2019	P
Act	Council Conclusions	Council of the EU	February 2019	P
Move	Munich Security Conference	Munich Security Conference	February 2019	HS, CS
Move	UNSC	UNSC	n/a	P

Table 10: CDA of securitising environmental challenges in the EU

Move/Act	**What?**	**Who?**	**When?**	**How?**
Act	A World of Difference	MFA	1990	P
Act	A World in Conflict	MFA	1993	P
Act	Conflict Prevention	MFA	2001	P
Act	Mutual Interests Mutual Responsibilities	MFA	2003	P
Move + Act	PSI	PSI	2015 - present	HS, CS, P
Move	COP21	Government	2015	P
Move	Future Force Conference	Ministry of Defence	February 2017	NS, CS
Act	Rutte III	Government	March 2017	NS, CS
Act	Draft Climate Agreement	Ministry of Economic Affairs and Climate	December 2017	P
Move	UNSC Membership	Government	January - December 2018	P
Act	Investing in Global Prospects	MFA	May 2018	S
Act	Working Worldwide for Security	MFA	May 2018	S

Table 11: CDA of securitising environmental challenges in the Netherlands

Move/Act	What?	Who?	When?	How?
Act	Security Strategy	EU	December 2003	P
Act	European Council Paper	European Council	March 2008	P, S
Move	European Free Alliance Seminar	European Free Alliance	June 2008	NS, CS
Move	European Parliament Agora	European Parliament	June 2008	NS, CS
Act	Draft Resolution Temporary Committee	European Parliament	10 December 2008	P
Act	Report European Security Strategy	EU	11 December 2008	P
Act	Council of Europe Report	European Council	23 December 2008	P
Act	European Parliament Resolution	European Parliament	April 2009	P
Act	Stockholm Programme	Council of the EU	December 2009	P
Act	European Parliament Study	Directorate-General for Internal Policies	December 2011	P
Act	European Commission Document	European Commission	April 2013	P
Act	European Commission Paper	European Commission	December 2013	P
Act	Report Security Strategy	Directorate-General for External Policies	June 2015	P
Move	State of the Union	Juncker	September 2015	HS, NS, CS
Move	Nansen Consultations	Nansen Initiative	October 2015	CS
Move	Trainee Conference	European Economic and Social Committee	January 2016	HS
Move	Conference	European Commission	February 2016	HS, CS
Act	Council Conclusions	Council of the EU	February 2016	S
Act	Global Strategy	EU	June 2016	S
Move	State of the Union	Juncker	September 2016	HS, NS, CS
Act	European Parliament Motion	European Parliament	February 2017	P
Act	Communication on Resilience	European Parliament and Council to the EU	June 2017	P
Move	Session IOM	European External Action Service	November 2017	HS, CS
Act	Council Conclusions	Council of the EU	February 2018	P
Move	European Parliament Plenary Session	European Parliament	April 2018	HS, CS
Act	European Parliament Briefing	European Parliament	May 2018	P
Act	European Parliament Factsheet	European Parliament	June 2018	P
Move	Climate Diplomacy Week	EU	June 2018	HS, CS
Act	Council Conclusions	Council of the EU	November 2018	P
Act	Press release	European Commission	November 2018	P
Act	Global Compact	UN	December 2018	P
Act	SDG reflection paper	European Commission	January 2019	P

Table 12: CDA of securitising climate migration in the EU

Move/Act	**What?**	**Who?**	**When?**	**How?**
Act	A World of Difference	MFA	1990	P
Act	A World in Conflict	MFA	1993	P
Act	Conflict Prevention	MFA	2001	P
Act	Mutual Interests Mutual Responsibilities	MFA	2003	P
Move + Act	PSI	PSI	2015 - present	HS, CS, P
Act	Rutte III	Government	March 2017	P
Move	Rutte Speech	Rutte	September 2017	HS, NS, CS
Move	UNSC Membership	Government	January - December 2018	HS, NS, CS
Act	Migration Agenda	Ministry of Justice and Security	March 2018	P
Move	Debate Sea Level Rise	Parliament	April 2018	HS, NS, CS
Act	Investing in Global Prospects	MFA	May 2018	S
Act	Working Worldwide for Security	MFA	May 2018	S
Move	Debate Global Compact	Parliament	December 2018	HS, NS, CS
Move	State of the Union	Blok	February 2019	HS, CS

Table 13: CDA of securitising climate migration in the Netherlands