

# Environmental security – for everyone?

An ecofeminist and intersectional case study of climate  
displacement in Tuvalu

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# Abstract

The climate change is affecting small island developing states to the amount that the surface of Tuvalu might disappear and the country therefore risk to lose its sovereignty (Pacific Small Island Developing State 2009, p. 10-12). By investigating environmental security through climate displacement this thesis will conduct a case study of Tuvalu. The theory of ecofeminism and intersectionality will be analysing who is being included and/or excluded from the UN document “*United Nations Pacific Strategy 2018-2022 – A multi-country sustainable development framework in the pacific region*” That will be done with help of a critical discourse analysis, where the three dimensional model by Fairclough will be adopted. (Fairclough, 1992 p. 63) By looking at the discursive practice through how the discourse has been produced, distributed and consumed and which discourses that can be found. Followed by an analysis of the text where key words connected to the following power relations: gender, age, sexuality, class, indigenous people, the nature and the environment will be analysed. Lastly the social practice where the social matrix in term of hegemonic relations and structures will be detected by looking at if they are being reproduced, restructured or are challenging the already existing hegemonies.

*Key words:* environmental security, ecofeminism, intersectionality, climate displacement, Tuvalu

Words: 9969

# Abbreviations

<b>CDA</b>	Critical Discourse Analysis
<b>ESS</b>	Environmental Security Studies
<b>IOM</b>	International Organization for Migration
<b>IPCC</b>	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNPS</b>	United Nations Pacific Strategy
<b>UNHCR</b>	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
<b>UNSC</b>	United Nations Security Council
<b>PICTs</b>	Pacific Island Countries and Territories
<b>PSIDS</b>	Pacific Small Island Developing States
<b>SIDS</b>	Small Island Developing State
<b>SRHR</b>	Sexual Reproductive Health Rights
<b>VAWG</b>	Violence Against Women and Girls

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# 1 Introduction

Climate change caused by emissions is a threat to people all over the world, in some places even to the extent of forced displacement, due to the impact of changing environment in their nation (Pacific Small Island Developing States, 2009 p. 1-14). This is the reality for many people living in small island developing states (SIDs) in the Pacific. Tuvalu is one of the smallest and most isolated countries in the world located in the South Pacific (United Nation in the Pacific, 2017, p. 135). The country is facing a great threat of climate degradation because of its location and closeness to the equator (United Nations in the Pacific, 2017 p. 23). The entire nation is at risk of disappearing due to climate change caused by emissions from countries thousands of kilometres away. For Tuvalu this is a security issue of immense proportion. In July 2020 the Pacific Island Forum made a statement to the open debate of the UN Security council on climate and security:

“Climate change is the single greatest threat to the livelihoods, security and wellbeing of the people of the Pacific. As PIF, we are collectively addressing this council today because the link between climate and security for our region are indivisible and demonstrable [...] With regard to the specific security implications of climate change, the UN response should be coordinated by a newly appointed Special Rapporteur on Climate and Security.

(The Permanent Mission of Tuvalu in the United Nations, 2020)

This raises questions of how the United Nations (UN) is tackling the issue of climate and security. What measures are they tanking in their formulations of the problem? Secretary general director António Guterres declared in 2021:

“We need to protect the people and communities that are being hit by climate disruption. We must step up preparations for the escalating implications of the climate crisis for international peace and security.”

(Guterres, 2021)

Another statement was made by Sir Dr Attenborough as the UK holds the rotating presidency of the 15-member security council (UN, 2021):

“If we continue on our current path, we will face the collapse of everything that gives us our security: food production, access to fresh water, habitable ambient temperature, and ocean food chains [...] and if the natural world can no longer support the most basic of our needs, then much of the rest of civilization will quickly break down.”

(Attenborough, 2021)

All of the statements above shows the urgency of connecting the environment with security to be able to see it through the eyes of the people living in the Pacific. Hence this not only raises the question of how one can interpret security but connect it to the environment for those most affected by climate change. In addition to this it also raises questions of who is being included and or excluded from the concept of environmental security. Feminist scholars are trying to connect the environmental security issue through a gendered environmental security (Detraz, 2013 p. 166). They also try to extend the power relations not only to gender but other intersections where people can be discriminated (Kronsell & Kaijser, 2013 p. 419). Intersectionality can be theorized of intersections between gender and other sociocultural categorizes within feminist studies. (Lykke, 2010 p. 85)

The aim of this study is to connect environmental security to climate displacement by conducting a case study of climate displacement in Tuvalu. This by looking at the discourse of who is being included and or excluded from an UN policy document. The general contribution of this study will be in terms of how one talk about environmental security by linking it to climate displacement. It also seeks to contribute to the gap of environmental security, ecofeminism and intersectionality. Since there is a lack of pieces published on this topic my hopes are to contribute to the development of this field by investigating how the UN are taking action by the statement of the people in the Pacific. (Batrićević & Paunović, 2019, p. 126)

## 1.1 Problem

Climate change is affecting all and especially the most vulnerable, such as the people living in SIDs like Tuvalu. (Pacific Small Island Developing State 2009, p. 10-12). There is also a need for a more intersectional approach to the environmental security issues such as climate displacement (Kronsell & Kaijser, 2013 p. 417-9). By investigating who these most vulnerable are in terms of different power relations of intersectionality one can detect who is being included and or excluded in international policy documents as a way of how the UN agencies tackle the issue. The critical discourse analysis (CDA) will help to understand the discourse around the concept of gendered environmental security and how this can be seen through the theory ecofeminism and the intersectional “lens”.

## 1.2 Purpose

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate who is being included and/or excluded in the report “*United Nations Pacific Strategy 2018-2022 – A multi-country sustainable development framework in the pacific region*”. This with the help of the ecofeminist theory and with an intersectional “lens” of the following power relations; gender, age, sexuality, class, indigenous people, the nature and the environment. The report and conclusions will also be seen thorough a broader perspective of gendered environmental security. The analysis will be done with a discourse analysis to try to find what discourses and power relations are being used by the UN, through the help of the case study of climate displacement in Tuvalu.

### 1.2.1 Question

- Who is being included and/or excluded from the “United Nations Pacific Strategy 2018-2022 – A multi-country sustainable development framework in the pacific region”?

## 1.3 Background

The UN has categorized 51 countries as small island developing states (SIDS) whereas Tuvalu is one of them, the SIDS are particularly at risk caused by rising sea levels (Bruner, 2017 p. 346) due to low elevations. Many SIDS do not have the financial and technological resources to effectively handle these issues and therefore several are in danger if complete submersion. A lot of island indigenous people are connected to the land as it provides them both their identity and livelihood, losing it would mean a cultural loss and a loss of social identity. Tuvalu is a Polynesian micro-state covering nine spread low lying islets an atolls. (Balesha, 2015 p. 79-85) Due to the low-lying geography the country is at acute risk from natural disasters, such as rising storm surges, cyclones and tsunamis. In addition to this Tuvalu faces increased water temperatures and ocean acidification which have affected coral ecosystems that serves as fish nurseries, making it harder for the Tuvaluans to catch and eat fish. (United Nations in the Pacific, 2017 p. 135)

Collapsing houses, soil erosion and flooding are all examples of climate-related hazards which in turn raises concerns about the level of security and the risks to which people are exposed. Studies on risk have contributed to the development of policies designed to protect populations but have not fully been taking the gender perspective in to consideration (Rydstrom & Kinvall, 2019 p. 9)

The global North is responsible for 80% of the accumulated greenhouse gas emissions in the atmosphere (Gaard, 2015. p. 25). The question of reducing the third world population has become urgent, this since first-world consumers realizes that the severe climate change outcomes are damaging for the world's most marginalized communities and might create refugee crisis and migrations for the poor. Since it is the growing populations of the Two-Thirds World that will be most affected by climate change effect and will seek asylum in One-Thirds nations, a migration might be perceived as a threat to the disproportionate wealth. (i.e "security) of the North. A strategy to this has been increased militarization as a protection against this kind of migration. Women, who give birth are being seen as part of the problem, when in fact women are being most affected both during climate disasters, by gender-based violence and by material hardships following disasters. (Gaard, 2015 p. 25)

## 1.4 Previous research

In their book *Environmental security. Approaches and issues* (2013) Rita Floyd and Richard A. Matthews presents the linkages between security and the environment. They provide an overview of the history of environmental security studies, divided into three parts. Firstly the initial formulations of environmental security with reference to the environmental movements of 1960s and 1970s. Secondly the increasing of the concept at the end of the Cold War, which changed the way of how we think about security, and the 1992 Rio Earth Summit that mobilized scientific evidence of global environmental change. And lastly the development of research and debate in reaction to the uncovering's of the 2007 reports by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). The emergence of subdisciplines ranges from environmental security, human security, ecological security to feminist environmental security. All of these disciplines see security from different point of views. (Floyd & Matthews, 2013 p.1-9)

Human security arose from the 1994 UNDP Report which presented four dimensions of the concept; it is universal, the components are interdependent, it is easier to protect through prevention instead of intervention and it is centred to people. It was said to have two aspects, one that tends to safety from chronic threats e.g. hunger or disease, and secondly protection from harmful disturbance in the daily life. This in contrast to the earlier formulations that was said to focus too much on conflict. (Floyd & Matthews, 2013 p. 8-9)

Ecological security turns in contrast to human security to the well-being of the biosphere, this aspects has its roots in the so called deep green ecology principle of biocentric equality, where all species are equal. The connection between ecological security and the well-being of humans, make the ecological security a variant of human security. However all ecologist's do not share this view since some of them wants to secure the biosphere, despite the consequences of human beings. (Floyd & Matthews, 2013 p. 9)



Feminist environmental security turns to the gender-blindness of other approaches to environmental security, meaning that women and men are affected in different ways by environmental damage, due to socially constructed roles the genders have been given by society. This makes women more vulnerable to global environmental change. Despite this there is an overlap between the feminist and human security since they both argue for a wide security concept, such as the security of human beings in opposition to the state, they reject a positivist value-free analysis and have an emancipatory goal of what real environmental security should be. (Floyd & Matthews, 2013 p.1-9)

Nicole Detraz (2013) argues that there are several advantages of incorporating gender into the field of environmental security studies (ESS) in her chapter *Gender and environmental security* in the book. For instance asking how the social constructions of masculinity and femininity impact how we relate to nature, the perceived “appropriate” roles for men and women in addressing environmental damage. Most feminist security scholars correspond to the “broadening” and “deepening” of security studies, which entails that it opens security studies in terms of expanding ideas of threats and vulnerabilities at the same time as looking at security in several ways. (Detraz, 2013 p. 157) Building on ecological security, ecofeminism with its origins in France 1974, is concerned with the combination of gender issues and the environment, with scholars struggle to link feminism and ecology. Scholars who use an ecological security discourse at times critique existing conceptualizations of security for being incompatible with environmental problems. (Detraz, 2013 p. 162-4)

One of the most prominent handbook on gender and the environment is the *Routledge Handbook of Gender and Environment (2017)* edited by Sherilyn MacGregor. In this Handbook several key scholars give their view on gender and the environment. They are all in agreement that gender is missing from most environmental fields and are united in their consensus of the limited impact that feminist environmental insights and interventions have had on mainstream environmental research. In addition they see the similarities of social oppression and environmental oppression as well as environmental exploitation as inseparably linked to social constructs, which have evolved simultaneously together with patriarchal capitalist-colonial power relations. How we refer to “gender” and the “environment” affects how we look at the world. However they do not share the meaning of these terms, nor how the nexus of gender-environment should be studied. (MacGregor, 2017 p. 2)

MacGregor provides the similarities and difference within the field of gender and the environment such as ecofeminism and feminist political ecology. Ecofeminism as critically and philosophically questioning dualism, and conditions required for eco-social and interspecies justice, demanding an end to exploitation of nature and other species by humans. Likewise as dismantling the power structures of white, masculine, heteronormative hegemony within the human society. Feminist political ecology analyses the co-constitution of gender, nature and power from intimate to global, using gender as a critical variable when determining access and control over resources in interaction with class, culture, caste, race and ethnicity in terms of shaping environmental change. Furthermore

intersectional analysis of (hetero) sexism, racism, capitalism and colonialism has always been a core to the feminist environmental scholarship. (MacGregor, 2017 p.1-8)

Greta Gaard's article *Ecofeminism and Climate change (2015)* Examines ecofeminism and addresses that feminist studies are well positioned to address inequalities, that the climate change debate previously have been marginalized. Arguing for an intersectional lens that not only address human differences but also the exclusions of species and ecosystems to the intersectional identities (Gaard, 2015 p. 20-30).

One of the few articles connecting ecofeminism and environmental security is written by Anna Batrićević, and Nikola Paunović, *Ecofeminism and environmental security (2019)*. The authors argue for giving the gendered aspect of environmental security more attention. They advocate for the influence of human security and how to look at the problem from different security aspects such as ecological security and human security as well as the role women play in environmental protection. (Batrićević & Paunović, 2019, p. 125-6)

In the article *Climate change through the lens of intersectionality (2013)* Annica Kronsell and Anna Kaijser introduces us to the importance of an intersectional perspective on climate change and to give understanding to how individual and group-based differences are connected to climate change, in material and institutions together with norms. The authors also presents the findings that little attention has been given to gender or intersectionality in climate policy documents. (Kronsell & Kaijser, 2013 p. 417-33).

A. E. Kings, present connections between intersectionality and ecofeminism in the article *Intersectionality and the changing face of ecofeminism (2017)*. Kings gives us an overview of the origins of intersectionality from black feminism and the tools of the concept to help illuminate interconnectedness of class, race, gender, disability, sexuality, caste, religion, age and the consequences these can have in terms of discrimination, oppression and identity of women and the natural environment. Ecofeminism has not always been labelled intersectional, even though it has been concerned with the unique experiences of those being discriminated. By adding intersectionality researchers can be more constructive and culturally sensitive in their analyses. (Kings, 2017 p. 12-26)

## 2 Theory

In this section I will present the theoretical framework, ecofeminism and the “lens” of intersectionality, which will be seen as an addition to the theory. Ecofeminism will be used as theory-seeking (Ackerly & True, 2020 p. 77) with a goal to listen to “silenced voices” whose insight were not making it to a broader audience (Ackerly & True, 2020 p. 89) this by the intersectional approach.

### 2.1 Ecofeminism

Feminism is a broad concept with lots of different schools of thought. This thesis rests upon an ecofeminist approach that focuses on the overlapping between exploitation of women and the earth (Ackerly & True 2020, p. 2-4). Numerous theorists questioned the representation of both ecofeminism and the women about whom it claimed to speak, mainly those from the Global South. Within the academic of ecofeminist there are a range of different definitions and approaches, which sometimes conflict with one another. What they have in common is the analysis that social oppression and environmental exploitation are linked to fundamental social constructs, and they have co-evolved with power relations such as capitalist and colonial. (MacGregor, 2017 p. 2-7)

There are two main versions of ecofeminism, essentialist ecofeminist framework and constructivist ecofeminism where the first focuses on women and their connection to nature. Such as being programmed to nurture and sympathize with the “fertile natural world”. This essentialist perspective is however not accepted by all theorists, other scholars such as constructionist ecofeminism means that gender is socially constructed, saying that women’s relationship to nature is constructed in specific social contexts. (Batrićević & Paunović, 2019, p. 126)

Rather than providing clear answers ecofeminist theory might provide critical engagement with the severe experiences contributing to the discrimination of women and the environment, while at the same time acknowledge the limitations and restriction of one’s analysis. (Kings 2017, p. 70)

It is the central connection of ecofeminist political theory that the oppression of women and nature are related “conceptually, historically, materially but not essentially”. Ecofeminism acknowledge the ethical interconnection of the control of women and the control and exploitation of nature. The historical pattern which separates and sets human above nature is also accountable for contributing to the ‘violent rapture’ between humankind and nature – which helps to provide the

humanity ignorant of its obligation towards the natural environment and the non-human other. (Kings, 2017 p. 70)

Ecofeminists call attention to this dualistic concept of culture/nature that seeks to maintain both the “ecological superiority of humans and the cultural superiority of men” in other words, that the liberation of women cannot be fulfilled without the simultaneous liberation of nature, free from exploitation. They also explore the double oppressions that women and nature experience, in trying to understand their shared destiny. Inseparably connected to the joined destinies of women and nature, is the idea that humanity itself is inseparable from nature as a whole, and that the damage forced on nature by humans in turn leads to harm upon all of humankind, not solely women. (Kings, 2017 p. 70-71)

New ecofeminism, as called by Greta Gaard suggest a more intersectional approach to ecofeminism. This in terms of not only being discriminated by gender, but also class, race or other intersections of social identities, which can give a voice to those already marginalized and vulnerable. (Kings 2017, p. 82)

## 2.2 Intersectionality

The lens of intersectionality will work as a tool for looking at different power structures and how people are affected by those. These are often interconnected and related to one another which makes people more vulnerable than others depending on what power relations they experience. To deepen the understanding of feminism and not only limit it to gender the lens of intersectionality will broaden the analysis. (Lykke, 2010 p. 50-2)

The development of Kimberlé Crenshaw’s intersectionality originated from failure of both feminist and anti-racist discourse, in trying to express the discrimination that black women faced. By reflecting upon one’s position, particularly in terms of privilege, helps to avoid unwanted marginalization of other groups or identities. To be able to use intersectionality as a “lens” we need to know how. Mari J. Masuda’s ‘asking of the other question’ works as an functional tool towards an intersectional analysis:

“When I see something that looks racist, I ask, "Where is the patriarchy in this?" When I see something that looks sexist, I ask, "Where is the heterosexism in this?" When I see something that looks homophobic, I ask, "Where are the class interests in this?"

(Matsuda, 1991 p. 1189)

By this we can detect hidden forms of prejudice and discrimination, and expose the various disadvantages and privileges. (Kings, 2017 p. 63-5) By using intersectionality as an analytical tool, the researcher is able to fully explore these multileveled points of intersection, and in turn create a more captivating (and thorough) analysis of the double dominations of women and nature. (Kings 2017,

p.78) Intersectionality does not offer a complete and flawless solution to the issues of difference. However, it does offer a way to questioning our assumptions and epistemological positioning before conducting research, while also taking into account the mutually shaping nature of social categories, the structures of power and its influence on identity and discrimination. In other words we might become more sensitive towards others facing disadvantages. (Kings, 2017 p. 83)

The need for intersectional analysis is clear, which makes the lack of a general consensus about approaching issues, among climate change and environmental degradation, in an intersectional manner, worrying. Intersectionality allows researchers to provide more constructive and culturally sensitive analyses, in terms of encourages the recognition of the current structures of power under which we live, and by temporarily stabilizing social categories. Climate change can be seen as a 'wicked problem' in the sense that it cannot fully be understood in a way that is not intersectional. Attempts to do so might lead to confusion, since there is a possibility of failure to recognize and account for the complex nature of the consequences and burdens of climate change, which often disproportionately strike those at neglected points of an intersection. (Kings, 2017 p. 74)

### 2.2.1 Intersectional ecofeminism

Intersectionality has become a useful tool when applied to ecofeminist analysis of the relationship between women and the environment. This especially in its ability to deepening our understanding of how a person's relationship with the environment is not completely dependent on one aspect of their lives, but rather several. For instance not only in terms of gender, race, class, sexuality or age but rather a combination of all of the mentioned and further. More recently, ecofeminism have started incorporating an intersectional approach to their work, not only to promote inclusivity but also to explore the ways in which intersectional analysis can improve the ecofeminist view. Even though it is difficult to find ecofeminist work that explicitly presents itself as intersectional, it appears that this is quickly changing. It is currently transitioning through a post-definition phase and into a period of application. (Kings, 2017 p. 71-72)

Intersectional ecofeminist work has been particularly prominent in research concerning both climate change and human relations with non-human others. In spite of research demonstrating the increased vulnerability of women to environmental threats, the economic, social, and political barriers prevents women from being involved in decision-making processes. Not to mention that environmental and climate research remains ignorant towards issues of gender, class, race, caste and sexuality. An intersectional ecofeminism can help to avoid limited analysis: which sometimes establishes conclusions and recommendations based upon a specific, cultural, historical and contextual epoch. (Kings, 2017 p.73-4) By the intersectional approach ecofeminism has been able to confront some skeletons in its closet and challenge the past of essentialism and exclusion (Kings 2017, p.64).

Intersectional ecofeminism builds upon the foundation that freedom of humanity is not solely reliant on freedom of nature and women, but also reliant on the achievement of liberation for all of those at the intersection along these fault lines. (Kings, 2017 p.71)

Intersectionality provides a ‘new twist’ on critical ecofeminism by giving a “nodal point” or contrasting approaches to contribute to ecofeminist scholarship, and identifying the effects of sexism, homophobia, class, racism, and caste systems on women and their relationship with the environment. It permits a cross-examination of issues from various theoretical backgrounds using a wide range of methodological approaches. And allows for being a part of a larger post-structuralist project, in attempt to deconstruct categories and dismantle the universalism in ecofeminism and feminist scholarship. (Kings, 2017 p. 66) An intersectional analysis of capitalism, rationalist science, (hetero) sexism, racism, colonialism and speciesism has always been at the heart of feminist environmental scholarships (MacGregor, 2017 p. 1). The theory’s vagueness allows for intersectionality to be interpreted and utilized in a various numbers of ways, and even though it does not suit sociology’s criteria for a typically ‘good’ conceptual theory, it does however fit the criterion for a good feminist theory. (Kings 2017, p. 69)

## 3 Methodology

In this section, I will present the methodological approach to this thesis. I will use a critical discourse analysis (CDA), feminist and critical approach to methodology. The three dimensional model will be presented and the method of analysis. I will also describe how I will operationalize the model in three sections. In addition to that the motive of why CDA will be presented as well as choice of case study and demarcations of the material.

### 3.1 Why Critical Discourse Analysis?

This thesis will interpret a method of critical discourse analysis with the case of displacement in Tuvalu, where the discourses of the material “*United Nations Pacific Strategy 2018-2022 – A multi-country sustainable development framework in the pacific region*” will be analysed. The CDA will help to understand the discourse around the concept of gendered environmental security and how this can be seen through the ecofeminist theory and the intersectional “lens”. Critical discourse analysis uses theory and method to problematize and empirically investigate the relations between discursive practise, social and cultural development in various social gatherings (Jørgensen & Philips, 2000 p. 66). There are three kinds of ‘critique’ in CDA, firstly to examine the content of discourses and texts, secondly how it figures within a social context to reveal different power relations, and thirdly some sort of action to change the existing reality in certain aspects (Jørgensen & Philips, 2000 p. 308).

On the one hand discourse is shaped and constrained by social structures, and on the other hand discourse is socially constitutive. We can dismantle three aspects of constructive effects of discourse, firstly it contributes to the construction of social identities, and subject positions for social subjects and self. Secondly it constructs social relationships between people, and thirdly it contributes to the construction of knowledge and belief. (Fairclough, 1992 p. 64)

Fairclough see social structures as social relations in society as a whole and in institutions, and the social structure does both have discursive and non-discursive elements. In CDA, language as a discourse is both a form of act which is socially and historically constituted and stands in a dialectically relationship towards other aspects of the social. Discursive practise contributes to creating and reproducing uneven power relations between social groups such as social classes, gender and ethnic minorities. It is thereof critical, since its task is to clarify the discursive practise role, in the upholding of the social world, including the social relations, which in turn means uneven power relations. (Jørgensen & Philips, 2000 p. 67-72)

Critique made towards CDA is foremost concerning the normative positioning that characterises CDA, it has been criticised as partial and unscientific since science is supposed to be objective and descriptive. In other words there is a coalition with critical research tradition where objectivity hardly is possible, and that scientists should use their knowledge and privileged positions to critically review the power relations of society. Another critique is directed towards the homogenous choices of themes and research material, the analysis is often conducted with little exception of contemporary political and social problems. Nevertheless my choices have been cautious in terms of specifically these problems, such as exploiting racism and sexism patterns instead of upholding them. (Boreus & Brylla, 2018 p. 341)

In addition to this concerns have been made in terms of the unclearness of the consequences of the divide between discursive and non-discursive. Fairclough does not describe his critical approach in relation to other contemporary theoretical approaches (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2000 p.93). However by providing my choice of feminist and critical approach I am clear in my choice.

### 3.1.1 Fairclough's three-dimensional model

Fairclough describes his three-dimensional framework as *discursive practice*, which looks at discourse from a 'macro level', *analysis of the text* which turns to the 'micro' aspects of discourse practice and *analysis of the social practice* that the discourse is a part of. Within each of these three dimensions there are several tools available to analyse, and according to Fairclough you need to choose the one that suits your study the best (Fairclough, 1992 p. 225-31). The discursive practice involves processes of text production, distribution and consumption and the nature of these processes varies between different types of discourse according to social factors (Fairclough 1992, p. 78). It can be interpreted and analysed as either interdiscursive, manifest intertextuality or through intertextual chains. I will apply interdiscursivity to specify what discourse types are put to use in the discourse sample under analysis, and how. (Fairclough, 1992 p. 232)

In the next section of the framework, the analysis of the text, there are also several ways to choose how to analyse your text. I will use 'word meaning' to try to find 'key words' (Fairclough, 1992 p. 234-6). The key words for this thesis are the power relations stated in earlier: "gender, age, sexuality, class, indigenous people, the nature and the environment" to see if they are included and or excluded from the text.

The last part of the framework is the social practice, this can be more difficult to reduce to a sort of checklist, the general objective here is to specify the nature of social practice of which is the basis for explaining why the discourse practice is a part, which is the basis for explaining why the discourse practice is as it is: and the effect of the discourse practice upon the social practice. Social matrix of discourse specifies the social and hegemonic relations and structures which constitute the matrix of this particular instance of social and discursive practice; how this instance stands in relation to these structures and relations. The



ideological and political effects of discourse on the other hand is useful to focus particular ideological and hegemonic effects. (Fairclough, 1992 p. 237-8) I will turn to the social matrix and the concept of hegemonic, to analyse the social practice within which the discourse belongs in terms of power relations, and whether they reproduce, restructure or challenge existing hegemonies (Fairclough, 1992 p. 95).

## 3.2 Case study

In my choice of the case, I have chosen to study one of the smallest countries in the world, Tuvalu, and a vulnerable area, the South Pacific (UNSDG, 2021). Tuvalu is a former British colony which leads to the question of how the indigenous people are being recognised. It exists gender inequality in the country, women faces sexual violence and other threats that questions the gender equality in Tuvalu. (United Nations in the Pacific 2017, p.135) Indigenous groups together with all inhabitants are threatened by rising sea levels (Farbotko & Lazrus, 2011 p. 382) which leaves them without their identity and their livelihood's. The country is projected to disappear in 2050. Since the country faces a threat of dissolving it is also interesting to see what measure are being taken to defend the environment and nature. (Balesh, 2015 p.79-85) Therefore Tuvalu is an interesting choice of case to see through the lens of environmental security, ecofeminism and intersectionality.

In addition to this there is also a need to clarify the different views of the terms refugee, migration and displacement. 'Refugee' is mostly discussed in term of the legal status as being seen as a refugee or migrant (Balesh, 2015 p. 81). Migration was not considered as a solution, as the Prime minister of Tuvalu stated in 2009 that: "Tuvaluans will remain in Tuvalu. We will fight to keep our Country, our culture and our way of living. We are not considering any migration scheme". (Balesh, 2015 p. 87 ) Displacement means you need to leave your home due to "natural or human-made disaster". Although there is a growing recognition that climate displacement is occurring, there is still no legal framework that currently protects climate refugees. Thus I am using the term climate displacement in this case study.

## 3.3 Demarcations and material

The material I will use for the critical discourse analysis is a UN strategy document called "United Nations Pacific Strategy 2018-2022 – A multi-country sustainable development framework in the pacific region" (United nations in the Pacific, 2017). Since the material covers a range of 14 countries in the Pacific I am making a demarcation towards looking at one case and one country, Tuvalu

which in the Report concerns page 135-137. In addition to this I will however be looking at the overall Outcomes set to the Pacific regional as a whole, since Tuvalu might not always have an country specific outline.

The report contains six areas of focus, called outcomes. Outcome 1: Climate Change, Disaster Resilience, and Environmental Protection. Outcome 2: Gender Equality. Outcome 3: Sustainable and Inclusive Economic Empowerment. Outcome 3: Equitable Basic Services. Outcome 5: Governance and Community Engagement. Outcome 6: Human Rights. To narrow the outcomes down towards this analysis I will focus upon Outcome 1, 2 and 6. (United nations in the Pacific, 2017 p. 28-38)

The Outcome's general descriptions can be found in the beginning of the Report. Outcome 1 Climate Change, Disaster Resilience and Environmental Protection states that: *"By 2022, people and ecosystems in the Pacific are more resilient to the impacts of climate change, climate variability and disasters; and environmental protection is strengthened."* (United nations in the Pacific, 2017 p. 29)

Outcome 2 Gender Equality declare: *"By 2022 gender equality is advanced in the Pacific, where more women and girls are empowered and enjoy equal opportunities and rights in social, economic, and political spheres, contribute to and benefit from national development, and live a life free from violence and discrimination."* (United nations in the Pacific, 2017 p. 31)

Outcome 6 Human Rights *"By 2022 people in the Pacific effectively enjoy a strengthened legal framework and institutions that deliver human rights protection in accordance with international commitment under relevant treaties, and the Universal Periodic Review (UPR)"* (United nations in the Pacific, 2017 p. 37)

The report was conducted by 26 UN agencies in the Pacific; such as United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), International Organisation for Migration (IOM), UN Environment (UNE) and United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women (UNWOMEN) (United Nations in the Pacific, 2017 p. 9)

## 4 Analysis

In this section the analysis will be conducted by Fairclough's three dimensional framework. Beginning with the discursive practice where different discourses will be analysed and presented. Followed by the analysis of the text where 'key words' in terms of the chosen power relations will be introduced, and lastly the social practice where the social matrix will be explained more thoroughly. Finally a summary of the findings.

### 4.1 Discursive practice

The United Nations Pacific Strategy (UNPS) describes the material as follows:

“UN embodies a people centred, human rights based approach to development in the Pacific that seeks to “leave no one behind” and to provide an umbrella framework for strategies that embody the UN’s commitment to “reach the furthest behind first” by using improved metrics to identify the most vulnerable, innovative practices, and durable partnerships, including with civil society and the private sector, that respond to priorities and reflect the comparative advantage of the UN system”

(United Nations in the Pacific, 2017 p. 15)

By this one can firstly detect a discourse around human rights, and secondly a discourse around the UN, and its work within the Pacific. Since the Framework is conducted by several UN agencies, that sometimes shines through in some part of the discourse presented. For instance in Outcome 2: Gender equality, a feminist discourse around equal rights can be detected. (United Nations in the Pacific, 2017 p. 31) In terms of human rights, in Outcome 6: the presenting of the LGBTQI community can be seen as a discourse around sexuality and can additionally be found through the discourse around human rights. (United Nations in the Pacific, 2017 p. 24-38) In addition to this one can detect a discourse around migrations and displacement:

”Most PICTs experience various forms of internal and international migration, including rapid urbanization, displacement linked to natural disasters and investment projects, relocation, and labour mobility, in particular to Australia, New Zealand, and the United States”

(United Nations in the Pacific, 2017 p. 24)

“Migration is recognised as a complex and dynamic process affecting a wide range of actors in the Pacific region [...] UN support in relation to the Migration Governance Index will focus on “Domain 2: Migrant rights – access to basic social services and social security, family rights, the right to work, long-term residency and path to citizenship”,

(United Nations in the Pacific, 2017 p. 38)

By these sections there are acknowledgement of displacement linked to natural disasters and mentioning of migration. One can also detect a discourse around displacement in the country specific identified priorities “*Support Tuvalu to meet obligations under the resolution to protect rights of people displaced by the effects of climate change*” (United Nations in the Pacific, 2017 p.136) Another discourse that can be detected is one around the ‘most vulnerable’ and what that actually means. In some parts there is no explicit explanation of who might be included in the discourse around vulnerability. However there is one part that states as follows:

“Vulnerable and marginalised groups – defined as those living in hardship and those marginalised socially and politically, as well as through inadequate economic opportunities – include the poorest 20 per cent of the population, vulnerable migrants, the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBTI) community, persons living with disabilities, women and girls, children, and the elderly.”

(United Nations in the Pacific, 2017 p. 24)

Here there is a clear definition of vulnerability, I will come back to this in the next section 4.2 analysis of the text. Moreover, as mention earlier, one can detect a discourse in connection to the LGBTI community, gender and age. (Kings 2017, p. 64-72) Furthermore there are discourses around UN agencies and other local organisations and governments being mentioned (United Nations in the Pacific, 2017 p. 15):

“Framework that outlines the collective responses of the UN system to the development priorities in 14 pacific Island Countries and Territories (PICTs)” The UNPS supports the 14 governments and peoples in the Pacific to advance localized response to the global 2030 Agenda for sustainable Development. [...] In addition, the UNPS confirms the UN’s commitment to engaging with key regional bodies including the Council of Regional Organisations of the Pacific (CROP) agencies - the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (PIFS); the Pacific Community (SPC); the Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP); [...] and the University of the South Pacific (USP), amongst others. Overall, collaboration at the regional level centres on the commitment to continue to explore opportunities to strengthen coordination and partnership, and increased harmonisation between the UN and regional organizations in the context of the Framework for Pacific Regionalism 2014.”

(United Nations in the Pacific, 2017 p.15)

It is clear that there was a variety of people that contributed to the production of the material, however it is hard to know whether the people of Tuvalu have been able to speak up about their experiences through these organisations, and the discourse connected to that. There might also be different discourses colliding within these UN agencies and local organisations and it is hard to know which discourse that ‘won’ in terms of being included in the material. As mentioned before sometimes it shines through when it is clear which discourse that is presented and which agencies that might have pushed for their agenda. However in contrast, it is hard to know which ones that have not been included. It is also unclear about who that have access to the distribution of the material in terms of it being accessed through the internet. Therefore there are still some gaps in terms of distribution and consumption.

In reference to the a discourse around the environment one can see connections to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC):

“The UN will support Pacific efforts in global fora such as the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) to form durable partnerships to address the region’s vulnerabilities and to inform global policy choices. The implementation of nationally determined contributions (NDC) [...]”

(United Nations in the Pacific, 2017 p. 30)

What is missing is a discourse around gendered environmental security and intersectionality. There is no mentioning of either.

## 4.2 Analysis of the text

By starting with the chosen Outcomes one can find as follows; in Outcome 1 which contains of three country development strategy priority/pillars, Strategic area 1: Climate change, Strategic Area 8: Natural Resources, and Strategic Area 12: Oceans and Seas. Thereafter one can detract Identified Priorities 2018-2020 as following:

“Support Tuvalu to meet obligations under the resolution to protect rights of people displaced by the effect of climate change. [...] Provide technical assistance to continue work in ecosystem resilience, marine protection. [...] Provide technical support to youth to participate in decision-making processes at all levels to ensure that the world we have today cannot leave youth behind.” “Provide technical support to develop Tuvalu’s Building Code and climate proofing of infrastructure in all areas”.

(United Nations in the Pacific 2017, p. 136)

Here one can find displacement, and youth which can be interpreted as the power relations “age”. There is no mentioning of the environment or nature however

there is a reference to ecosystem, marine protection which could be seen as a part of the environment and nature. (Kings, 2017 p. 64-72)

Another important part presented in the text that could be connected to this Outcome is following:

“Vulnerability to the impacts of climate change will be addressed by scaling up transformational adaptation initiatives in flood control, coastal zone management, and water and food security, undertaken with strong community engagement. Resilience will be built by supporting livelihood diversification and adaptive capacity – including addressing the links between migration and climate change – for the most marginalized and vulnerable populations in the Pacific, particularly those living on atolls, along the coast, and in urban areas.”  
(United Nations in the Pacific, 2017 p. 29)

”Migration is increasingly important to the development of the region with Pacific Islanders described as one of the most mobile groups anywhere in the world. Most PICTs experience various forms of internal and international migration, including rapid urbanisation, displacement linked to natural disasters and investment projects, relocation, and labour mobility, in particular to Australia, New Zealand, and the United States.”  
(United Nations in the Pacific, 2017 p. 24)

In the first section one can detect the first mentioning of security, and a connection between climate change and migration which can be interpreted as climate displacement, and an addition to the previous statement in section 4.1 about vulnerability. However there is not a clear statement of the power relations for indigenous people, they mention pacific islanders which is more a general term for people living in the pacific. (Kings, 2017 p. 64-72) In the next section one can nonetheless find:

“Attention will be given to ensuring risk-informed and gender-sensitive development plans, [...] Likewise, disaster responses will continue to provide cross-sector and gender-sensitive recovery support to restore livelihoods, [...] Collaboration with national authorities in high risk countries will ensure that sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) and VAWG are adequately addressed in preparedness and contingency plans, taking into account the needs of women, adolescents, and youth.”

(United Nations in the Pacific, 2017 p. 29)

In this section one is provided with a clear connection to the power relations gender, by the mentioning of “gender-sensitive”, women and youth which one again can be classifies as “age” (Kings, 2017 p. 64-72). One gets a clear view towards the gender-sensitiveness in terms of a contingency plan on SRHR and VAWG, however this is not stated in the sections concerning Tuvalu. As mention in 4.1, the report also brings up the UNFCCC, which could be seen as a connection to the power relation environment and nature (Kings, 2017 p. 64-72) but nonetheless it is not a clear connection.

Turning to the next Outcome 2: Gender Equality, that contains of one country development strategy priority/pillar; Strategic Area 3: Economic Growth and Stability and the identified priority is set to be “*Provide support to promote gender equality*” (United Nations in the Pacific 2017, p. 136) Turning towards other mentioning of this, such as:

“Programming that is consistently responsive to the need of vulnerable groups – women, children, youth, and persons with disabilities – and analysis of the impact of climate change on groups with special needs – the elderly, people with disabilities, women and children; operationalization of programme support services, [...] on the links between disaster and climate risk, and water sanitation, hygiene, and health; and advocacy on resilience in support of resilient cities, school and hospital safety, and climate smart agriculture for food security [...] Continuing to give priority to the cross cutting issues of sex, age, and diversity disaggregated and gender support evidence based on decision-making. This will include the establishment of integrated M&E for environment, climate change and disaster risk management; child vulnerability mapping with a WASH entry point; and the analysis and integration of climate risk perceptions, adaptation and resilience in decision-making processes”

(United Nations in the Pacific, 2017 p. 30)

“[...] the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBTI) community, persons living with disabilities, women and girls, children, and the elderly”

(United Nations in the Pacific, 2017 p. 24)

In these sections one is provided with several connections to power relations, such as children, youth and the elderly which all fits to “age”, thereafter the mentioning of women which contributes to “gender” and one can also detect the mentioning of sex. In addition to that the mentioning of LGBTI which relates to “sexuality”, all of these indicate a somewhat inclusive approach to intersectional by looking at several ways to be marginalized even though it is not fulfilled. (Kings, 2017 p. 64-72)

However one is also presented to the limitations in terms of achieving gender equality which indicates that measures might be taken, but not satisfactory, as well as an explanation to how these are going to be fulfilled. The power relations mentioned here are man and woman which can indicate an exclusion of other descriptions of genders that might face discrimination (Kings, 2017 p. 64-72) :

“While there is progress toward gender equality and women’s empowerment, discrimination towards women and girls in the Pacific remains a key development challenge. All PICTs except Palau and Tonga have ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), but reporting has been delayed by up to 10 years. The Pacific region has the world’s lowest levels of women in parliament (8 per cent), [...] The rate of violence against women and girls (VAWG) in Pacific countries is among the highest in the world. Formal research and

anecdotal evidence indicate that violence against women in the home and the community is endemic and affects the lives of more than 68 per cent of women in several countries.”

(United Nations in the Pacific, 2017 p.25)

“Ensuring the elimination of discriminatory policies and practices in all aspects of life and working towards achieving gender equality benefits individual women and men, families, communities, and countries. The UN will advocate for joint legal and policy reforms and educational programming in the Pacific that promote gender equality, women’s and girls’ empowerment, and respect of women’s and human rights in an effort to introduce the population and young learners to concepts of equal opportunity and treatment of women, fairness, respect of bodily integrity, and freedom from stigma and violence”

(United Nations in the Pacific, 2017 p. 31)

Turning towards the last, Outcome 6: Human Rights which has been left blank in in the report concerning Tuvalu, whereas we turn to the overall strategies for this Outcome in the beginning of the report. In this section the report has named potential areas of joint programming:

“focusing on disability, supporting migration with links to the need of refugees, supporting LBGTI rights, supporting human rights defenders working with marginalised and vulnerable groups, encouraging youth engagement and leadership in the Sustainable Development goals“ [...] The UN, in collaboration with the Pacific Community and the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (PIFS), will provide technical support to strengthen national legal frameworks and institutions that deliver human rights protection and support countries in implementing international human rights standards” The Pacific has a low rate of ratification of international human rights treaties.”

(United Nations in the Pacific, 2017 p. 38)

Once again the inclusion of LBGTI, and a statement of marginalised and vulnerable groups, which are not fully clear in terms of who it regards (Kings, 2017 p. 64-72). Similar to the addressing of gender equality there is a low rate of ratifications in terms of other framework conducted by the UN. Moving forward to a power relation yet not addressed, one can detect it here:

”The UNPS seeks to provide the framework around which the UN will focus on providing development opportunities to those most marginalized and isolated by both poverty and distance.”

(United Nations in the Pacific, 2017 p. 17)

”Most PICTs remain heavily reliant on official development assistance (ODA), overseas remittances, and imported goods, with one in five Pacific Islanders living in poverty. Although extreme poverty is declining, hardship and vulnerabilities are increasing and levels of poverty differ widely across the PICTs. [...]Women are more vulnerable to



hardship and poverty due to socio-economic contexts, labour force discrimination, migration, a lack of property rights, heavy responsibilities in the household and the community, and subsistence farming [...] The proportion of the population living below the national poverty line has been increasing in the Federated States of Micronesia, Samoa, Tonga and Tuvalu”

(UNPS, 2017 p.23)

Here it can be detected that the Framework is addressing the power relation of ‘class’ in terms of mentioning poverty which can be indicated of including poverty to their analysis of marginalisation (Kings, 2017 p. 64-72). However it can also be argued for that this analysis is limited.

### 4.3 Social practice

The social practice is more complex and needs to be set in the context of in what social context the material was conducted. Seen from it being in total 26 UN agencies in the Pacific, together with several regional organisations, relying on, and trying to incorporate an already conducted framework made by The Pacific Island Forum Secretariat, this needs to be taken into consideration (United Nations in the Pacific, 2017 p.15). In terms of the hegemonic, social relations and structures there are foremost hegemonic and social structures within the UN agencies getting to push their agenda in the framework. This can be seen from the example of UNHCR an IOM having different agendas and definitions towards migration and displacement. They might want to incorporate different statements in terms of refugee, migration and displacement. On the other hand there are the UN agencies and on the other hand there are the regional organisations and governments wanting to push their agenda. This might turn to a hegemonic struggle between the regional organisations as well as the regional organisations towards the UN agencies. With help from the UN agencies, there might have been some restructure or challenged hegemonic structures, between the government pushing for their agenda, as well as the UN pushing for theirs. As well as they might just reproduce their own social practice within their agency. There are several hegemonic and social struggles to reflect upon, and as reader one can interpret some power relations and hegemonic structures, but mainly the ones that can be detected. Therefore one cannot be fully certain of which struggles there have been, only the ones one can interpret from the material. This makes it hard to fully determine the social practice. Nonetheless this is how the material presents the internal struggles:

”The UNPS recognizes the unique and particular vulnerabilities and development needs of Small Island Developing States (SIDS) and emphasizes the importance of enhanced coherence, coordination, and responsiveness in the UN system’s support for SIDS.”

(United Nations in the Pacific, 2017 p. 17)

It is clear here that the framework is using a discourse around the UN agencies, using its hegemonic place and also the social relation within the UN system. It might also seem as they want the reader to know that they have coordinated between their agencies and that they have a shared agenda all together. Another example follows:

”Consultations between the UN and each of the 14 PICT governments took place in 2016. The Strategy’s prioritisation involved multiple national stakeholders, including civil society, the private sector, local governments, and regional bodies. These consultations were held in tandem with the process of localising the SDGs to each country’s development priorities. The UN in the Pacific will continue to incorporate identified needs and priorities in future planning and programme development to tailor UN programme responses to SDG localisation processes, as well as to national development plans and decision-making.”

(United Nations in the Pacific, 2017 p. 19)

In this example one can see the hegemonic struggle between the UN, the local organisations as well as the governments in terms of power relations between the ones producing and distributing the framework. Once again the material presents itself as free from struggle even though reader one cannot fully know if that is true. Last example:

”The UNPS represents the Joint Pacific UN Country Team (UNCT) commitment to working together on the basis of comparative advantage and with a commitment to increasing Pacific-to-Pacific cooperation, demands that resonate with the global UN comparative advantage. [...] Support national monitoring and implementation of international commitments, norms, and standards”

(United Nations in the Pacific, 2017 p. 21)

This provides us with the knowledge that there has been a cooperation and no struggle to incorporate a national point of view to the material.

## 4.4 Summary of findings

In 4.1 Discursive practice, I detected discourses around; human rights, feminism connected to gender equality and the UN. I also found discourses connected to the power relations sexuality and age. In addition to that a discourse around vulnerability was also detected. There was also sings of discourse concerning displacement and migration. However there is was no profound discourse connected to gendered environmental security.

The second section, 4.2 Analysis of the text, presented similarities to the discourses, some included such as gender, age, sexuality and some excluded such as indigenous people, and some in-between such as environment and nature. A general finding was that there was no mentioning of looking at these power relations from the perspective of intersectionality. Regarding ecofeminism there was little attention given to the environment and nature as also being in need of saving or development, not only for or human needs but for their own sake.

In terms of the last section 4.3 Social practice I found that there was a hegemonic struggle both within the UN agencies and local organisations and between the UN and the local agencies and governments. However it was hard to know how these hegemonic struggles might have taken place since there were only a few clear examples that could be found in the text. It was also hard to determine who won which struggle.

## 5 Conclusion and discussion

In this chapter I will present the conclusions made from the analysis. I will also connect them to the research question; *Who is being included and/or excluded from the “United Nations Pacific Strategy 2018-2022 – A multi-country sustainable development framework in the pacific region”*? In addition to that I will present the limitations of this study, and add suggestions on further research based on my findings and conclusions.

### 5.1 Conclusion

By analysing the material I found that the power relation gender, was the most included power relation in the report in terms of having an own ‘Outcome’, Outcome 3: gender equality. Age was also included in terms of mentioning of both young and elderly which makes a span in-between left out, however it could be argued for that this power relation also was including. Turning to the next one, sexuality, was mostly connected to human rights and the LGBTI community which makes is somewhat included, it could have been more comprehensive. Class was mentioned in connection to poverty which like sexuality makes it somewhat included. Indigenous people were not mentioned once. It could be argued that ‘the most vulnerable’ would consider indigenous people, however it was not clearly stated in the text. In terms of the environment and nature which can be connected to Outcome 1: Climate Change, Disaster Resilience and Environmental Protection I will argue for it being both included and/or excluded. Included in terms of mentioned several times and having an own Outcome. Excluded in terms of it being seen from the perspective of humans and not in the sense that ecofeminist wants to include the nature to the analysis. Having that said the power relations all together miss being seen from the lens of intersectionality. Despite the mentioning of marginalisation and vulnerability there is a limited operationalization of those words, and they do not connect all of the mentioned power relations. That makes the analysis less extensive than it would have been having done so. To conclude, some power relations are being included, some not and some in-between included and excluded. In general more can be done in terms of including people and marginalised voices to this framework.

## 5.2 Discussion and further research

Tuvalu is only one of many SIDS meeting great challenge from climate change and even facing the possibility of losing sovereignty over its land (Balesh, 2015 p.79-85). Tying climate displacement to environmental security is a necessity in giving this issue more attention. We need to help those most affected and vulnerable to climate change. The UN has through its framework “*United Nations Pacific Strategy 2018-2022 – A multi-country sustainable development framework in the Pacific region*” presented a report on how to move forward for a more sustainable Pacific. In doing so they need to listen to the people experiencing the loss of its land and acknowledge those most vulnerable. By doing so they need to incorporate a more intersectional analysis to their next framework and try to look at different power relations as they intersect and asking ‘the other question’ (Matsuda, 1991 p. 1189). In terms of including the environment and nature it might be necessary to think more of what the nature need from us humans instead of what we humans need from the nature and the environment. They too needs to be incorporated through an intersectional ecofeminist lens. Without the security amplifications to the sustainable development, will there even be a development?

The limitations of this study is the narrow analysis of only one out 14 countries included in the Framework. By adding several countries to the analysis there could have been a greater depth and other findings might have appeared. In addition to this it would have been fruitful to ask the Tuvaluans what they themselves thought of the material and the Outcomes. This could have added to the feminist perspective in terms of listening to those silenced, and even broaden the analysis in terms of knowing which hegemonic struggles that had been left out or been included seen from the people of Tuvalu. Did the local organisations speak for the inhabitant? In addition to this other power relations could have been added such as disability, nationality, cast and more, this would have broaden the answer to the research question.

In continuing my work further research could focus on these limitations presented, by adding several countries to the analysis and adding other power relations. In addition to this the connection between ecofeminism and intersectionality can be continued as to conduct more research within this theory, and the connection between gendered environmental security and climate displacement through other case studies. It would also be of interest to analyse another material maybe one conducted by the UNSC to see how they look at the term gendered environmental security. Hopefully also continue to recognize that these policy documents are trying to be inclusive but might need to incorporate an intersectional ecofeminist lens and dare to ask “the other question”.

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