Climate-induced migration in Dutch news media: How the story is told
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Climate-induced migration in Dutch news media:

How the story is told

A critical discourse analysis on mass media's framing of the climate change-migration nexus

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1. Introduction

Migration induced by environmental changes is one of the most profound effects of climate change on the human population (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change [IPPC], 2014). Climate change impacts, such as environmental degradation, rising sea levels, and more extreme weather patterns increasingly cause severe challenges, particularly for vulnerable nations and populations. Over the last decades, this climate change-migration nexus has been the subject of research debates (Parrish, Colbourn, Lauriola, Leonardi, Hajat & Zeka, 2020). Importantly, a consensus emerged among scholars, that environmental factors influence migration decisions, but that they are not the only cause for human movement (Piguet, Pecoud & de Guchteneire, 2011, p. 6).

Interestingly, neither political actors nor the mass media take scholars' more nuanced approaches, into account (Mayer, 2018, p. 91). Currently, mass media in nations that receive refugees or migrants, host countries, frame climate change as the main cause of human movements, whereby other drivers of migration, such as economic, social and political factors are neglected (McAdam, 2012). Specifically, Ransan et al., (2015) argue that mass media frames climate-induced migrants as either victims or threats, whereby it does not consider the adaptive capacity of affected communities to cope with climate change. However, no recent study has investigated whether this argument still holds or the mass media may have encountered a turning point whereby it now incorporates the adaptive frame, thus, frames climate-induced migrants as adaptive agents following insights from various research projects.

This study builds on these components to create a more nuanced understanding of the role of mass media in the framing of climate-induced migration by analysing newspapers in a host country: the Netherlands. This country is selected as it is often considered as a destination country for refugees, and it plays a vital role in the formulation of progressive climate adaptation policy (Honarmand & Ossewaarde, 2019). A critical discourse analysis (CDA) is utilised to investigate which frames Dutch national newspapers use to construct discourses on climate-induced migration. In light of this, this study examines the following research question:

How does Dutch mass media frame climate-induced migration?

Considering that news media has the intrinsic power to influence discourses and transport knowledge within societies, it is often perceived as 'the voice of the public' (Bryand & Oliver, 2009). Hence, issues on climate-induced migration are transmitted through mass

media to reach the public which legitimizes measures by political actors (Schäfer, Scheffran & Penniket, 2016, p. 81). Political acts rest upon a basic level of public acceptance and legitimacy, especially in democratic societies (Balzacq, 2005). Thus, the public can be decisive in bridging the gap between rhetoric and real political action, and access to mass media is essential to achieve this goal (Karafoulidis, 2012). Furthermore, research indicates that media framing has important implications for how the social reality of its citizens is shaped towards climate-induced migration. For example, framing climate-induced migrants as victims or threats can be perceived as a danger to the safety and the security of values in traditional host countries (Fryberg et al., 2012, p. 3). This works in favour of xenophobic sentiments and restrictive migration policies (Sakkellari et al., 2021, p. 77). Thus, mass media's framing of climate-induced migration matters for the perspective of the public and the legitimization of political acts.

This research shows that Dutch national newspapers frame climate-induced migrants as victims, threats, and adaptive agents. Importantly, two important trends could be based on the results: a shift emerges within the security frame and climate-induced migrants are framed as being capable to manage risks associated with climate change. However, this shift in framing climate-induced migrants as adaptive agents, is mostly a negative and potentially problematic trend since it can result in passivity of climate accountability by global decision-makers in the Global North which can reinforce the inequalities between affected areas and traditional host countries. How mass media's framing of issues impacts a countries' responsibility for social problems has been extensively researched (Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2017). Yet, no study has dealt with identifying the relationship between the role of mass media's framing of climate-induced migrants as adaptive agents on climate accountability by host countries. This research might stimulate academics to link these two issues, due to focus on the adaptation frame by Dutch mass media.

This study is divided in four sections. First, a broad overview of current literature on mass media's framing on climate-induced migration will be reviewed, specifically, the role of the victim and security frame will be highlighted. The second section outlines the research design of this study, including the coding frame that will be applied for the critical discourse analysis. Then, the results of how Dutch national newspapers frame climate-induced migration will be presented, whereby an overview of the implications of these results will be covered. Finally, a conclusion will be provided where the most important results, limitations of this study, and recommendations for future research will be presented.

2. Literature review

Discussions on the climate change-migration nexus in academic spheres contribute to the dominant discourses in mass media, therefore, a short overview of the different academic frameworks on the concept of climate-induced migration will be provided. Thereafter, an overview of mass media's framing of the victim and security frame will be examined as scholars argue that these frames are most commonly used by the mass media to construct discourses on climate-induced migrants (Johnson, 2011).

2.1 Academics framing of climate-induced migration

Frames organise central ideas of a complex issue, considering certain dimensions with greater relevance than others (Nisbert, 2010). Overall, within the literature a consensus emerged that there are two fundamental ways to frame climate-induced migrants: maximalist and minimalist standpoints (McAdam, 2012). The maximalist view frames climate-induced migrants as a growing security concern whereby the environment directly causes human movements (Suhrke, 1993). On the other hand, the minimalist framework contextualizes climate change as one of many push factors that contribute to migration (Dickens, 2018). Within academic debates the maximalist projections were dominant, however, increasingly minimalist standpoints emerged as a critique to the narrow focus on the vulnerability aspects of affected communities (Felli, 2013).

Interestingly, research shows that mass media does not take scholars' more nuanced approaches, into account. In recent years catchy news articles with titles such as: "Will climate change cause more migrants than war?" are prominent within the mass media (Santos & Mourato, 2021). Thus, the maximalist framework is mostly applied by the mass media in traditional, developed, host countries as climate change is framed as being capable of generating waves of 'climate change refugees' (Baldwin, 2013).

However, since this study integrates media framing with academic's insights on climate-induced migration, this research follows the minimalist conceptualization on climate-induced migration. Considering this, the interconnectedness of environmental factors with economic, social and political factors as drivers of human movement are highlighted in this study (Bettini, 2014). Thus, the term 'climate-induced migration' will be used, instead of 'climate refugee' or 'climate migrant' as it provides a more nuanced understanding on the climate change-migration nexus.

2.2 Mass media's framing of climate-induced migration

To unpack how actors are interpreting and responding to the issue of climate-induced migration, it is essential to provide an overview of the evolving typologies of frames. Framing is essential as it draws attention to how actors, such as policymakers and citizens, define the boundaries of climate-induced migration, both intentionally and unintentionally (Ransan-Cooper, Farbotko, McNamara, Thornton & Chevalier, 2015). Ransan et al. (2015) established four framings on climate-induced migrants, presenting them as: 1) victims 2) security threats 3) adaptive agents 4) and political subjects. However, this framework primarily focuses on the framing of climate-induced migration by political actors and not the mass media. Considering that mass media can be seen as the voice of the public, issues on climate-induced migration are transmitted through mass media to reach the public, which legitimizes political acts (Schäfer, Scheffran & Penniket, 2016, p. 81). More precisely political acts, rest upon a basic level of public acceptance and legitimacy, especially in democratic societies (Balzacq, 2005). Thus, the public can be decisive in bridging the gap between rhetoric and real political action, whereby mass media's framing on issues is essential to analyse (Karafoulidis, 2012).

Within the literature, scholars focus on the different frames and discourses the mass media uses to represent climate-induced migration. Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017) found that mass media in developed host countries, portray people who are the victims of climate change, as they are forced to abandon their homes. More specifically, Johnson (2011) argues that climate-induced migrants are either framed as victims which mobilises public support, or as a threat by endangering the safety and security values of a host country. Hence, although the vulnerability of the poorest populations is recognised, state and security concerns of the countries in the West are prioritized (Sakkellari et al., 2021, p. 76).

Moreover, images on climate-induced migration presented by news media in host countries reinforce the differences between the Global North (mostly traditional host countries) and the Global South (often affected areas due to climate change) (Sakkellari et al., 2021). These images always capture affected developing countries in the Global South, which allows the mass media to frame climate-induced migrants distantly from the Global North geographically as well as in cultural and social terms (Bleiker, Campbell, Hutchison & Nicholson, 2013). This type of representation creates a single undifferentiated category of passive and equally dangerous people (Sakellari, 2021, p. 65). As such, mass media coverage, on climate-induced migration allows the public in traditional host countries to see climate-induced migrants as 'the other'. Analysing these studies, it can be stated that mass media

mainly frames climate-induced migrants as a victim (vulnerability aspect) or a threat (security aspect). Therefore, an in-depth analysis of these prominent media frames will be outlined, whereby different perspectives and critiques will be presented.

2.2.1 Victim frame

The earliest framing of climate-induced migrants portrayed them mainly as victims (Ransan et al., 2015, p. 109). Particularly, International Non-Governmental Organisations (INGOs), media, and governments in host countries framed climate-induced migrants as victims requiring external humanitarian, legal, and financial assistance. To illustrate, reports often outline that the Global North is largely responsible for climate change, therefore, it is their responsibility, as polluters, to provide financial assistance for the protection of those who will bear the worst consequences (Baird et al., 2007). Thus, the Global North can be seen as the 'saviour' of the Southern climate-induced migrant, as they provide compassion and protection for refugees (Ransan et al., 2015).

As mentioned before, a shift emerged where scientists increasingly criticized the narrow focus on the vulnerability aspects of affected communities (Felli, 2013). Considering this, framing climate-induced migrants as victims acknowledges that the Global North is the 'saviour'. Therefore, solutions are created from the perspective of the Global North, which does not consider the context-specific understanding of the experiences of climate-induced migrants (Ransan et al., 2015). As a result, implementing these solutions neglects affected communities capacity to adapt to climate change (Ransan et al., 2015). Moreover, it can undermine individual agency and it can side-line rights to land and culture in the Global South (Collinson, 2011; McNamara, 2007).

Thus, literature shows that mass media's use of the victim frame to construct narratives on climate-induced migrants is unlikely to promote a more nuanced understanding of the vulnerability of populations experiencing climate extremes. However, Clark (2010) also argues that the compassion and caring element within the victim frame are worth preserving, as it could inspire sympathy for climate-induced migrants. Analysing the important implications of framing climate-induced migration as victims, this study provides an in-depth analysis on this victim frame to provide a full understanding on the implicit and explicit discourses in news media.

2.2.2 Security frame

Mass media also presents climate-induced migrants as a threat to global, regional or national security (Bettini, 2013). Sensational language such as 'flood of climate refugees' presenting a

'threat to national security' and requiring 'military leadership' to address conflict arising out of 'resource scarcity' are often presented in the climate change-migration nexus (Ransan et al., 2015, p. 110). To illustrate, Reuveny (2007) argues that migration is associated with environmental decline, which contributes to tensions over resources, and leads to conflict. Furthermore, the security frame is also legitimised by a broader geopolitical framing: the Global North needs to be positioned as having control in relation to the 'disorganised' Southern states through military intervention and modernisation (Chaturvedi & Doyle, 2010).

However, scholars increasingly argue that creating this division is problematic as it supports the racialised distinctions between the 'us' and 'them', and 'friend' and 'enemy' (Kelly, 2012). Furthermore, research that focuses on linking migration and resource conflict exaggerates the scale of the problem (Ransan et al., 2015, p. 110). Specifically, Bettini (2013, p. 66) argues that most existing databases on the occurrence of conflicts, do not provide information on the impact (the different scales) of conflicts.

Hence, climate-induced migrants are often framed by mass media as sources of violence and threats, instead of framing them as peaceful agents of resilience (Ransan et al., 2015). This security frame includes important underlying assumptions that impact mass media's role in presenting world events to its citizens in a coherent and objective way (Berry, Garcia-Blanco & Moore, 2015). Therefore, a more detailed understanding on the different ways in which mass media uses security framing to construct narratives on climate-induced migrants will be analysed in this research.

3. Research design

3.1 Methodology

Discourses on climate-induced migration shape collective and individual attitudes. This research tries to identify patterns of mass media's framing of climate-induced migration in a traditional host country. Media frames are part of a discourse, hence, any discourse can include competing frames (Bryant & Oliver, 2009). Thus, framing of climate-induced migration involves a strong discursive element. Therefore, a critical discourse analysis (CDA) is utilised for this study. CDA is a methodology that highlights the implicit and complex relations between text, discourse, and framing to better understand how media language in a text can be related to underlying patterns of framing of the mass media (Dickens, 2018). Considering this, CDA provides insights in the relation of how texts associated with climate-induced migrants, influence the discourses on this topic and the underlying frames of mass media's representation of climate-induced migration. Furthermore, this interaction of text, discourses, and framing works in both ways. First, this study focuses on how the construction of newspapers' texts, impact the general discourses on climate-induced migration in the mass media, which influences the different framings the mass media utilises. Correspondingly, through framing, discourses will shape collective and individual attitudes, which impacts the texts in newspapers articles on topics such as climate-induced migration. These attitudes, in turn, form the basis of collective and individual action, which subsequently shape the shared social reality in a society (KhosraviNik, 2010, p. 4).

Thus, CDA draws attention to detail and specific forms of meaning-making, whereby it enables an understanding of the overall social contexts of climate-induced migration by analysing the underlying frames (Carvalho, 2000). This research utilises CDA for a case-study, the Netherlands. A case-study is selected for the purpose of this study, as it allows for a detailed understanding on media framing of climate-induced migration in a host country and it advances the broader research on the climate change-migration nexus (Halperin & Heath, 2020). Hence, by analysing specific language in a cross-section of news media in the Netherlands, one obtains the tools to uncover layers of hidden meanings on the topic of climate-induced migration. Subsequently, these hidden meanings provide insights on how mass media's framing of climate-induced migration can influence and reinforce the dichotomous rhetoric of 'us' versus 'them' within societal discourses in the Netherlands (Sakkellari et al., 2021). Thus, CDA will be utilised for a case-study since it fulfils the

purpose of this study to understand how discourses on climate-induced migration within traditional host societies interact with underlying mass media framing mechanisms.

3.2 Case selection

The Netherlands is often considered as a destination country for migrants and refugees (Boas & Rothe, 2016). Furthermore, security implications of climate change, such as a potential wave of climate-induced migrants, play out in Dutch politics (Boas and Rothe, 2016). Therefore, the Netherlands can be considered as a typical case as it represents a traditional host country for refugees and immigrants. This typical-case selection approach allows for a high representativeness, which leads to an increase in the reliability of the results in this research (Gerring, 2008, p. 4).

Importantly, this country plays a vital role in the formulation of European policy on migration such as the Common Basic Principles (Scholten, Entzinger, Penninx & Verbeek, 2015, p. 103). On top of this, the Netherlands has been nominated as the seat of a Global Center of Excellence for climate Adaptation and intents to become a Global Center of Excellence in the water safety and security domain (Honarmand & Ossewaarde, 2019, p. 1). Thus, the country is very active in the field of climate change, security, and research which might affect how mass media frames climate-induced migration.

Lastly, the Dutch political media system fits in Hallin and Mancini's (2004) "democratic corporatist system". This system is characterized by a relatively benign form of state intervention that allows for a high degree of journalistic professionalism to develop whereby there is a high newspaper circulation (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). A higher newspaper circulation allows for a broader range of viewpoints on issues, since a wide variety of journalistic professionals are able to write about issues from their own perspective (Fico & Freedman, 2001). As a result, a variety of discourses on the topic of climate-induced migration can be covered through a diverse set of media frames. Hence, analysing the Dutch political media system which can be characterised by a high newspaper circulation, allows for a wide range of journalistic perspectives on issues such as climate-induced migration, which could result in finding a wider variety of frames relating to this topic.

3.3 Data selection

Scholars often measure the variable of mass media through analysing newspapers (Soroka, 2002). Importantly, this form of news media has the intrinsic power to influence discourses within societies (Dickens, 2018). National newspapers present events and issues from different perspectives, whereby it supports discourse's function as a transporter of knowledge

(Bryand & Oliver, 2009, p. 61). Thus, by analysing texts on climate-induced migration in newspapers within a host country, one obtains an understanding of how specific texts are related to the reigning "common sense" of the public and in the political sphere on the topic of climate-migration within traditional host countries. Furthermore, national and regional newspapers focus on different viewpoints to cover international issues such as climate change. National newspapers highlight national and international climate change issues, whereas regional newspapers focus on specific solution strategies to cope with climate change for regional areas (Ahchong & Dodds, 2012). Considering this, this study focuses on national newspapers' framing of climate-induced migration rather than regional newspapers since this research focuses on the broader national implications of an international issue.

Lastly, national newspapers with different ideological positions are considered to provide a wide overview of the different ideological and political perspectives on the coverage of climate-induced migration. Considering this, a cross-section of national newspapers in the Netherlands will be analysed in this study. These national newspapers, ranking them from their ideological position on the left-right spectrum, include: the AD, the Volkskrant, Trouw, NRC Handelsblad, and the Telegraaf. These national newspapers will be evaluated from the period of 2016 to 2021.This period is selected as it covers several important events related to the climate change-migration nexus: the Paris agreement, the culmination of the refugee crisis in Europe, and the increasing media coverage on climate change (Sakellari et al., 2021).

Moreover, it is necessary to identify the recording unit for climate-induced migration: the search words that need to be analysed within the newspapers. This recording unit will consist of two elements. First, newspapers are selected when they include the word 'climate refugee', 'climate migrant' or 'climate-induced migration'. However, framing on sensible topics, such as climate-induced migration, is often not explicitly presented in national newspapers. Therefore, also newspapers that contain a combination of 'climate change' and 'migration' will be analysed for the purpose of this research.

3.3.1 Coding frame

This research utilises a critical discourse analysis, operationalized by a frame analysis of how national newspapers construct climate-induced migration. These frames are classified using a concept-driven coding frame. To provide an extensive exploration on discourses on climate-induced migration in the mass media, this study also examines 'sub-frames'. These subcategories, such as the humanitarian frame, are attached to the primary issue frames like

the victim frame (Minsky, 1975).

Importantly, to incorporate current research on the topic of climate-induced migration in the concept-driven coding frame, this study integrates several frames identified by other researchers. As mentioned before, mass media often uses the victim and threat frame to construct discourses on climate-induced migration (Johnson, 2011). Crawley et al.'s (2016) framework operationalizes both frames. This framework is applicable for this study as it provides a comprehensive framework that includes the victim and security frame as well as a broad variety of sub-frames that fit within these primary frames. For example, within the security frame, the burden and public order frame are identified, as both sub-frames focus on different elements of framing climate-induced migration as a threat to society of a host country. This study highlights the importance of analysing different framings by national newspapers, since the implications for societal discourses on the climate change-migration nexus might vary across the different (sub) frames. Therefore, Crawley et al. 's (2016) concept-driven coding frame on the victim and security frame is suitable for this study.

Notably, this research integrates academic insights into the critical discourse analysis. As specified in the literature review, social scientists argue that climate-induced migration needs to be seen more from the perspective of a collective adaption strategy whereby affected communities can manage climate change. Scholars argue that mass media does not integrate this adaptive frame in the representation of climate-induced migration (Ransan et al., 2015). However, no study has investigated whether mass media has encountered a turning point whereby climate-induced migrants are framed as adaptive agents. Considering that news media has the intrinsic power to influence discourses and transports knowledge within societies, incorporating the adaptive frame for the critical discourse analysis is essential (Bryand & Oliver, 2009). Namely, a potential turning point in mass media's framing might indicate a switch in societies understanding of climate-induced migration within host countries.

Primary frame	Sub-frames	Description	Examples
Victim frame	Humanitarian frame	Climate-induced migrants are helpless people in disadvantaged situations (victims) and should be supported to improve their welfare and have their rights guaranteed.	Emphasizing the inhumane conditions of climate-induced migrants and the potential to face violence, human rights violations, and encounter unsafe conditions.
Security frames	Burden frame	An influx of climate-induced migrants is costly to the host states and local authorities so it cannot go on indefinitely. Considering this, the local state needs to be protected by reducing the immigration flows and needs to focus on providing help in the affected areas.	Stressing the monetary aspect of institutions focusing on the admission of immigrants.
	Competition frame	Climate-induced migrants compete for scarce jobs and funds in the host country, which increases poverty, unemployment and insecurity, leading to risks for natives.	Emphasizing the retrenchment of the welfare state in the host country, and how employment rates increase due to the immigration flows.
	Public order frame	Climate-induced migrants are dangerous, criminal and/or violent and this poses a threat to the public order and safety of native people in the host countries.	Stressing how climate-induced migration increases the likelihood of youth criminality, organized crime, and terrorism.
Adaptation frame	Collective adaptation frame	Climate-induced migration is part of a collective adaption strategy, whereby indigenous people can manage climate change.	Emphasizing that climate-induced migrants need to be able to speak up for themselves, so that more light is shed on the complexity of the reasons why people migrate.

Figure 1: Concept-driven coding frame operationalized by analysing different frames and sub-frames

4. Analysis

4.1 Results

In order to access the wide variety of Dutch national newspaper articles, the Nexis Uni database is used for the purpose of this study as it provides an overview of recent Dutch national newspapers. In total there were 800 news articles identified following the recording unit for climate-induced migration. However, only articles that implicitly and explicitly referred to the international climate change-migration nexus could be used for the CDA.

All in all, from 2016 to 2021 a wide variety of Dutch national newspapers use different frames and sub-frames to highlight the issue of climate-induced migration. With the exception of the Telegraaf, all Dutch national newspapers used the victim frame. The other (sub) frames, such as the security and adaptive frame, were not identified in all newspapers. Furthermore, the victim frame was the most prominent frame used by Dutch national newspapers to construct narratives on climate-induced migration.

Since the purpose of this research is to identify patters of how climate-induced migration is framed across Dutch national newspapers, the results are reported following each frame and sub-frame. Thereafter, the findings are interpreted by linking them to existing research to provide a comprehensive overview of the implications of these findings.

4.1.1 Victim frame

Analysing the selection of different Dutch national newspapers, the victim frame was most explicitly used across the different articles. Importantly, a threefold of different patters could be identified within this victim frame. Firstly, the vulnerability and inhumane conditions of climate-induced migrants are emphasized by focusing on the unsafe conditions of the population in the affected areas due to climate change. To illustrate, "in areas of the Middle East and Africa … villages in lower areas do not get fresh water anymore, harvests fail, and the population suffers. The new refugee is a climate refugee" (Algemeen Dagblad, 2020).

Secondly, climate-induced migrants are mostly framed in relation to concepts such as humanity and human rights. Different newspapers point out that climate-induced migration is a phenomenon which is increasingly associated with fear within the Dutch society, instead of taking into account considerations relating to humanity. For example, "climate refugees are 'dehumanized' in the hardened political climate, whereby they are no longer granted a minimum of humane treatment" (de Volkskrant, 2018). Moreover, some news articles even state that "a state is violating its human rights obligations if it sends someone back to a

country where his or her life, because of the climate crisis, is at risk." (Trouw, 2020).

Lastly, climate-induced migrants are framed as being helpless people who are victims of the welfare in the Global North.

> "We need to remember that … people are already being affected by our changing climate, with major consequences for their physical and mental health, not to mention their quality of life. We cannot accept a world where a small group of privileged people are protected from the ravages of climate change while the rest of the world suffers" (Trouw, 2021).

These news articles highlight that countries in the Global North, which are often considered as the traditional host countries, are most responsible for environmental collapses since they are the historical drivers of greenhouse gas emissions. Therefore, various articles suggest that traditional host countries need to take more responsibility by helping countries in the Global South to cope with climate change.

4.1.2 Security frame

The critical discourse analysis indicates that Dutch national newspapers do not often frame climate-induced migrants as a burden in terms of monetary costs for the Netherlands. Instead, climate-induced migrants are implicitly framed as being costly for the authorities in the host state since they need to implement changes for the affected communities to cope with climate change. Importantly, underlying this aspect is an implicit fear of an untenable influx of refugees that would impact the traditional host countries negatively. This implicit fear is often associated with words such as 'our country' to indicate a preservation of national boundaries and a culturally homogenous society to uphold the Dutch identity.

> "Trees are the best weapon to prevent migrants coming to the Netherlands. Massive forest construction prevents erosion, helps biodiversity and provides food and income for millions of small farmers. Thus, immigrants will no longer come to our country identifying themselves as climate refugees" (de Telegraaf, 2019).

The competition frame was also used by a variety of Dutch national newspapers to construct narratives on climate-induced migration. Risks for Dutch citizens due to the influx of climate-induced migrants are often described in the broader sense of "disrupting society as a whole" (Trouw, 2019). Interestingly, news articles did not frame climate-induced migration as a risk for Dutch citizens by illustrating that these people will compete for scarce jobs and funds. On the contrary, migrants can be the solution for the labour shortages in specific sectors. Furthermore, Germany is often used as an illustration of a traditional host country where the arrival of refugees helped the society, for example, "migrants are needed to pay the pensions"

(de Volkskrant, 2020). Therefore, news articles claim that other host countries need to learn from the German case by not framing climate-induced migration as something negative for a host country. Instead, this issue needs to be framed from a positive standpoint to highlight the advantages of the arrival of refugees and climate-induced migrants.

> "Many sectors in Europe are faced with labour shortages... you need to create a map to highlight these shortages so that you can invite migrants in a targeted manner; broaden the opportunity to come to Europe with temporary seasonal employment contracts, blue cards and study visas" (de Volkskrant, 2017).

Lastly, framing climate-induced migrants as a threat to the public order and safety of Dutch people is not explicitly addressed by the national newspapers. Rather, various news articles indicate that the risk of war increases due to climate change whereby it can lead to "migratory flows towards host countries" which can impact the national safety in host countries (NRC Handelsblad, 2018).

> "When the fields dry out scarcity arises, people will be violent … in order to access food and water. Or they migrate to other areas where there is water, which creates tensions with the local population there. In short, when there is a lack of natural resources, armed conflicts are more likely to arise" (de Volkskrant, 2020).

Thus, climate change poses a threat to the national safety within the affected areas. As a result, an influx of climate-induced migration will arrive in host countries, which might impact the public order. However, Dutch news articles mostly emphasize the impacts of the climate change-migration nexus on the national safety in affected areas instead of highlighting that climate-induced migration poses a threat to the public order in the Netherlands.

4.1.3 Adaptation frame

In order to construct narratives on climate-induced migration, Dutch national newspapers frame the climate change-migration nexus also from the perspective of the adaption frame. News articles that followed the victim and security frame to construct narratives on climate-induced migration pictured this issue as a reactive survival strategy to which individuals are forced to migrate due to the environmental stress which outweighs their coping capacity. Thus, climate-induced migrants are framed as a failure to adapt: when an individual had been able to withstand environmental stressors successfully, there would be no reason to migrate to a host country. However, utilising the CDA a new wave of discourses in Dutch newspapers emerged where climate-induced migrants are framed as having the capacity to manage risks associated with changing environmental conditions.

> "In a southern village on the coast of Bangladesh, people built their houses on an elevation to adapt to the high water. Furthermore, people bought 'emergency houses' on the mainland, where they go in times of storms or high water" (NRC Handelsblad, 2021).

So, climate-induced migrants are framed from a positive viewpoint since these migrants contribute to the resilience of their vulnerable communities. Thus, news articles that frame climate-induced migrants as adaptive agents no longer frame this form of migration as a forced process, but as a strategy of adaptation to climate change.

Furthermore, Dutch national newspapers increasingly highlight that "there are a number of factors why people decide to migrate so a changing climate is not the only reason for this decision" (NRC Handelsblad, 2021). Hence, climate-induced migration is framed as a voluntary movement since migration is the result of a decision, whereby other factors need to be considered. Lastly, climate-induced migration is also framed from an optimistic economic perspective. Namely, Dutch newspapers use discourses to recognize a migrants' economic agency whereby remittances often are invested by households and communities to build resilience.

> "Climate-induced migration is often framed as a flight from misery … while, certainly in the case of international migration, in the majority of cases it is a deliberate investment in a better future." (NRC Handelsblad, 2021)

Hence, Dutch news articles use the adaptive frame to highlight that climate-induced mobility is a mechanism that can foster development and reduces the vulnerability of affected communities in itself.

4.2 Interpretation

4.2.1   Framing climate-induced migrants as victims or threats

Overall, Dutch national newspapers frame climate-induced migrants as victims, threats, and adaptive agents. The Dutch national newspapers present articles around climate-induced migration based on emotional appeals by emphasizing the vulnerability and unsafe conditions of the population in the affected areas due to climate change. By framing issues from an emotional perspective, a higher level of interest arises from audiences based on a feeling of sympathy for climate-induced migrants (Pantti & Ojala, 2018). As a result, framing climate-induced migration as victims creates a call to action for readers to support the cause (Kelly, 2020). Thus, when newspapers use the victim frame to cover discourses on climate-induced migration it helps alleviate negative criticisms towards asylum of this specific group of migrants, since it could inspire reflexivity on the interconnected nature of vulnerabilities

refugees encounter.

However, when Dutch newspapers utilise this victim frame to construct discourses on climate-induced migration, these migrants are portrayed as victims who lack agency and need a host state to advocate for their rights on their behalf. Considering this, news texts implicitly suggest that affected nations, in the Global South, are not able to adapt towards climate change. Instead, traditional host countries that are situated in the Global North can be the 'saviour'. Importantly, these discourses reinforce the understanding that countries in the Global South depend economically and politically on the Global North, which is often considered as a form of discrimination (Baldwin, 2014).

Moreover, Dutch news articles focus on the presence of climate-induced migration in developing countries, as well as less privileged indigenous communities. Consequently, this allows for framing climate-induced migrants distantly geographically and in cultural and social terms (Sakellari et al., 2021, p. 74). By framing climate-induced migrants as victims, these migrants are positioned as "Others" compared to an otherwise normal unmarked subject of climate change discourse (Sakkellari et al., 2021). As a result, victimisation encourages cultural essentialism of a host country (Steimel, 2010). Climate-induced migrants are portrayed as victims, which reinforces stereotyped and racist representations of their 'backward' country compared to the privileged society in host countries (Steimel, 2010). Thus, the victim frame is the embodiment of racial otherness or the potential embodiment of an external threat to a host country, since victimhood are defining attributes of racialised bodies (Gilroy, 1991). Importantly, racialised otherness in this respect is not defined as 'different from', rather, it is seen as 'yet to come', since the potential arrival of climate-induced migrants have implications for how citizens in traditional host societies live and frame this phenomenon in the present (Baldwin, 2014).

Similarly, when Dutch national newspapers frame climate-induced migration as a threat to Dutch society, the public can see climate-induced migrants as "Others" (Sakkellari et al., 2021). However, this form of framing by the mass media, creates a single undifferentiated category of passive and equally dangerous people, which creates racial otherness (Sakellari et al., 2021, p. 65). The results show that climate-induced migration is costly for authorities in host states, since they need to implement changes for the affected communities to cope with climate change. This form of framing suggests that affected nations, in the Global South, are not able to adapt towards climate change. Moreover, the Netherlands is framed as having control in relation to the 'disorganised' Southern states through military intervention and modernisation (Chaturvedi & Doyle, 2010).

Notably, the results of this study have important implications for the future. This study shows that Dutch national newspapers frame climate-induced migrants as victims or threats, whereby these individuals are perceived as a future danger to the safety and the security of values in the Netherlands (Fryberg et al., 2012, p. 3). This result is important for how media framing impacts citizens understanding on climate-induced migration. First, by framing climate-induced migrants as a future threat to a host country, citizens are likely to see climate-induced migrants as 'Others'. This could influence citizens' voting behaviour towards parties with anti-immigration stances, which are often extreme-right parties (Gudykunst, 1995). An increase in the public support towards these parties is associated with the rise of polarization within a country (Castanho Silva, 2018). As a result, cultural, moral, and ideological segregation and polarization of the Dutch electorate are enabled, which impact the democratic accountability of Dutch politicians.

Secondly, creating a distance between migrants and citizens complicates the creation of progressive policies on climate-induced migration in the Netherlands (Sakkellari et al., 2021, p. 77). Instead, it risks working in favour of xenophobic sentiments and restrictive migration policies (Sakkellari et al., 2021, p. 77). Lastly, framing climate-induced migration as a threat to Dutch society can lead to the passivity of policymakers at the local, regional, and national levels (Sakkellari et al., 2021). As a result, political accountability towards the climate change-migration nexus are not addressed (Sakkellari et al., 2021, p. 75).

Importantly, this study also shows that a shift is happening within the security frame. The competition frame, which frames climate-induced migration as being a competitor for scarce jobs and fund, is explicitly critiqued by Dutch national newspapers. However, this shift is surprising in the context in which the news articles are presented. Namely, the Netherlands encounters a couple of crises where the competition aspect is crucial. To illustrate, the Dutch housing market encounters several issues, from 2013 onwards a sharp decline in the number of new buildings appeared in combination with an increase in the number of new households due to immigration (Boelhouwer, 2020). This rising housing shortage drives social inequalities between the low, middle and high income groups (Boelhouwer, 2020). As a result, the competition aspect in the context of the Dutch housing market is a crucial component. Considering this, it would be likely that negative sentiments and discourses towards climate-induced migrants would occur in Dutch society. An influx of climate-induced migrants in the Netherlands, increases the competition in the housing markets leading to risks for Dutch citizens to find a residence. However, Dutch national newspapers which are often

perceived as 'the voice of the public' criticize this competition frame, which is surprising given the Dutch context in which the news articles are situated (Bryand & Oliver, 2009).

4.2.2 Framing climate-induced migrants as adaptive agents

Dutch national newspapers increasingly frame climate-induced migration as a strategy of adaptation to climate change: individuals can manage risks associated with changing environmental conditions. This result is interesting since, up to now, no research has identified that mass media uses the adaptive frame to construct narratives on climate-induced migration. Instead, scholarship on this topic highlights that mass media does not provide a nuanced understanding on climate-induced migration since only the victim and security frame are utilised (Ransan et al., 2015). Thus, previous research on media framing of climate-induced migration, cannot be generalized to the Netherlands. This remarkable shift in mass media's framing of climate-induced migrants as adaptive agents, can be related to a changing perception on news media's role in the Dutch society. Chouliaraki and Stolic (2017) show that mass media's role in using the victim and security frame to cover climate-induced migration is increasingly critiqued. Instead of mass media's 'formal' role to address the general responsibility of the public to help climate-induced migrants, the mass media needs to focus on establishing a platform where climate-induced migrants can speak up for themselves and where their adaptive capacity is emphasized (Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2017). There is a possibility that this shift in the changing role of media coverage might have appeared in the Netherlands, which provides an explanation for why mass media focuses increasingly on the collective adaption strategies of climate-induced migrants.

The fact that Dutch national newspapers utilise the adaptation frame to construct narratives on climate-induced migration has important implications. On the one hand, framing climate-induced migrants as autonomous, adaptive agents highlights the individual agency's ability to cope with climate change which poses a critique on the understanding that the Global North needs to be 'the saviour' for climate-induced migrants (Ransan et al., 2015). Furthermore, the adaptation frame highlights that mobility is a mechanism that can foster development. Thus, negative connotations related to climate-induced migration are reduced, which creates more positive attitudes towards migration in general among Dutch citizens, which decreases the level of polarization in the Netherlands (Gudykunst, 1995).

Furthermore, this adaptive frame places the emphasis on affected individuals to alter their own behaviour in response to climate change, whereby their adaptive capacity is often associated with their willingness to participate in capitalist markets of traditional host

countries as labourers (Felli & Castree, 2012). Highlighting the neoliberal aspect underlying this adaptation frame shifts the responsibility on individuals rather than state actors. By over-reliance on individual adaptiveness of climate-induced migrants, it can lead to a broader trend of passivity of global and local decision-makers in traditional host countries towards neo liberalisation of adaptation to environmental change (Felli, 2013). In this respect, adaptation no longer means a collective, political, and social transformation of external issues, instead, individuals themselves need to become more adaptive (Chandler, 2010). Moreover, this frame indicates that no climate accountability of the world's polluters is necessary as individuals can take care of themselves.

This remarkable shift in the Dutch national newspapers to frame climate-induced migrants as autonomous, adaptive agents is mostly a negative and potentially problematic trend. Collective and structural solutions are crucial to tackle international issues compared to individual responses. To illustrate, COVID-19 has shown that structural responses are essential, since the crisis is having disparate impacts across different nations and social groups. Currently, the ability of an individual nation's healthcare system to control the virus determines the spread and mortality (Manzanedo & Manning, 2020). However, this increases the inequalities between nations in the Global North and Global South, due to differences in economic resources to purchase vaccines (Manzanedo & Manning, 2020, p. 2). Climate change will operate similarly. Through emphasizing the adaptive capabilities of climate-induced migrants, an individual response to climate change is required by the affected nations that are mostly situated in the Global South. Traditional host states in the Global North can invest in climate change prevention and reconstruction, whereas without a structured coordinated response to climate change, affected nations in the Global South suffer the worst climate change impacts (Althor, Watson & Fuller, 2016). Hence, media's presentation of climate change, and climate-induced migration in particularly, through the adaptation frame can lead to passivity of climate accountability by global decision-makers in the Global North. As a result, it can reinforce the inequalities between affected areas and traditional host countries.

5. Conclusion

This study aimed to provide an overview of the different framings Dutch national newspapers use to construct narratives on climate-induced migration. The research question utilised in this study was: *How does Dutch mass media frame climate-induced migration?* This research's main finding is that Dutch national newspapers frame climate-induced migrants as victims, threats, and adaptive agents. Importantly, this research highlighted that the victim and security frame create a distance between climate-induced migration and Dutch citizens, whereby these migrants are positioned as "Others". As a result, it risks working in favour of xenophobic sentiments, restrictive migration policies, and polarization of the Dutch electorate (Sakkellari et al., 2021).

Furthermore, two important trends could be identified on the basis of the critical discourse analysis. First, a shift emerges within the security frame: Dutch newspapers critique the narrow focus of the competition frame which presents climate-induced migrants as competitors for scarce jobs and funds in the Netherlands. This trend is remarkable given the Dutch context in which the news articles are situated. An illustration of the current Dutch housing markets shows that negative sentiments and discourses towards climate-induced migrants would be likely to occur in Dutch society given its competitive aspect. Hence, Dutch national newspapers as 'voice of the public' would also use the competition frame to construct discourses on climate-induced migrants as they pose a threat to Dutch citizens (Bryand & Oliver, 2009). However, the opposite is true: news articles criticize the relation between the competition aspect and the arrival of climate-induced migrants.

Secondly, Dutch national newspapers frame climate-induced migrants as adaptive agents: affected individuals and communities can manage risks associated with climate change. This result is remarkable since no research has identified mass media use of the adaptive frame to construct narratives on climate-induced migration. Therefore, research such as Ransan et al.'s (2015) study on media framing in host countries, cannot be generalized to the Netherlands. Importantly, this shift in mass media's role of highlighting the adaptive aspect, is mostly a negative and potentially problematic trend since it can result in passivity of climate accountability by global decision-makers in the Global North which can reinforce the inequalities between affected areas and traditional host countries.

Although the limitations of this study were tried to keep at a minimum, this research comes with several limitations. Firstly, this study only includes newspaper articles as a representation of the mass media. However, newspaper articles are not the only way to

measure the representation of the mass media, images are also often used for visual storytelling and framing of climate-induced migration (Sakkellari et al., 2021). Therefore, a combination of using visual aspects in combination with discourses in Dutch national newspapers would provide a more detailed overview of how Dutch national newspapers frame climate-induced migration. Secondly, this study focuses on a case-study which allows for a collection of detailed data since it is context-specific. Yet, the obtained data and observed trends cannot necessarily be generalised to other host countries, which limits its representation. Nevertheless, this study contributes to the existing literature as it identifies important trends and implications of mass media's framing of climate-induced migration.

Future research can investigate whether similar patterns can be generalized to other host countries. For example, scholars can examine whether a shift in the security frame can be identified where newspapers critique the narrow focus of the security frame in constructing narratives on climate-induced migration. Furthermore, it might be interesting to investigate whether mass media in other host countries frame climate-induced migrants as autonomous, adaptive agents. If so, a clear overview of the academic and social implications for the global relations between traditional host countries in the Global North and affected communities in the Global South need to be established. Notably, the link between the role of mass media's framing of climate-induced migrants as adaptive agents and climate accountability by host countries needs to be investigated.

Additionally, since mass media has an important role in the legitimisation of political acts, future research could investigate under which conditions mass media can impact the political agenda-setting on climate-induced migration. Such research might provide useful insights into the reasons why political actors do not frame climate-induced migrants as adaptive agents yet. One reason might be that political actors are pressured to frame media hypes to maintain their links with societal groups (Maurer & Arendt, 2016, p. 16). Therefore, political actors would prefer to use a simplistic understanding of climate-induced migration, instead of focusing on the complexity of the topic by using the adaptive frame. Analysing the complexity of this process and considering the contextual factors of different political systems, might provide useful insights for the effects and implications of mass media's framing of climate-induced migration.

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7. Appendix

7.1 Overview identified media frames in Dutch national newspapers

Frame title	Subcategories frames	Newspaper quotes
Victim frame	Humanitarian frame	"Climate change is a threat to present and future generations. If actors on national or international level are not able to combat the effects of climate change, there may be a violation of human rights. In that case an asylum seeker may not be deported from a host country" (Trouw, 2020). "A state is violating its human rights obligations if it sends someone back to a country where his or her life - because of the climate crisis - is at risk" (Trouw, 2020). "In short, a relationship can be identified between anticipation of actors towards climate change and a reciprocal humane policy for refugees and migrants in host countries. For many people, this relationship is already evident because of respecting the fundamental rights of fellow human beings in need" (Trouw, 2019). "The stories are different, but there is a common message: the sea drives people from their land and homes. Everyone knows the concept of 'climate refugee', says Van Lohuizen. However, you cannot apply for asylum anywhere in the world, because your country has been flooded and has become uninhabitable" (NRC Handelsblad, 2021). "In the Middle East and Africa, it is getting drier and dams and reservoirs are built to keep the water within its limits. Due to climate change the water level increased dramatically. Water activist Stas Peter: villages in lower areas do not get fresh water anymore, harvests fail, and the population suffers. The new refugee is a climate refugee" (Algemeen Dagblad, 2020). "A climate migrant is not an retiree who travels to Costa Brava to enjoy life the fullest, instead, it's a refugee who flies elsewhere because of broken dikes, drought, forest fires or cities blown away by hurricanes" (NRC Handelsblad, 2021). "The fear for (climate) seems to be more prominent within our society than considerations relating to humanity and our responses towards them. Refugees as well as migrants are 'dehumanized' in the hardened political climate. They are no longer even granted a minimum of humane treatment. Migration is simply a given, due to the wealth gap and climate-change related problems in the world. It is time to stop these inhumane and chaotic conditions and attitudes towards migrants in Europe. European leaders should let go of their panic and show both heart and realism" (de Volkskrant, 2018). "We need to remember that millions of people are already being affected by our changing climate with major consequences for their physical and mental health, not to mention their quality of life. We cannot accept a world where a small group of privileged people are

| | | protected from the ravages of climate change, while the rest of the world suffers" (Trouw, 2021).

"Migrants come to Europe, not because they want to leave their homeland so badly. Instead, they move since they have no other choice. Importantly, this certainly applies to the main cause of migration in the 21st century: global warming. This is not fair since climate refugees come from countries that hardly contribute to global carbon monoxide emissions" (de Volkskrant, 2020). |
|---|---|---|
| **Security frames** | Burden frame | "Trees are the best weapon to prevent migrants coming to the Netherlands. Massive forest construction prevents erosion, helps biodiversity and provides food and income for millions of small farmers. Thus, immigrants will no longer come to our country identifying themselves as climate refugees" (de Telegraaf, 2019).

"Governments of host countries prefer to keep the climate-induced migration problem as small as possible, if necessary by adjusting definitions about vulnerability" (NRC Handelsblad, 2020). |
| | Competition frame | "We are going to see more climate refugees in the future, and this is alarming. For this reason, The Dutch Council for Refugees needs to focus on public support, otherwise it will disrupt society as a whole" (Trouw, 2019).

"Europe must outline a more realistic (climate) migration policy, which takes the phenomena of migration as a given. If you take into account the needs on the labour market, conscious choices can be made. Many sectors in Europe are faced with labour shortages due to an aging population or because people no longer want to do certain types of work. You need to create an overview to highlight these needs so that you can invite migrants in a targeted manner; broaden the opportunity to come to Europe with temporary seasonal employment contracts, blue cards and study visas" (de Volkskrant, 2017).

"It's not just a matter of space, is it? In the Netherlands we have a welfare state. Therefore, the question often arises whether it is possible to let millions of (climate) migrants enter our country without harming our welfare state? To answer this question it is important to take a look at Germany as this country accepted the arrival of 1 million migrants in 2015. Germans feared that these migrants, including climate migrants, would immediately claim benefits or crash the German health care system. None of that happened. Germany, on the other hand, needs many more migrants to pay the pensions. Research by the Morgan Stanley bank shows that the country needs an influx of 1.5 million migrants per year until 2030.Thus, Dutch people do not need to worry about a retrenchment of the welfare state, due to an influx of migrants" (De Volkskrant, 2020). |
| | Public order frame | "Last year at the Munich security conference, climate was named as 'a new element of national security'. Considering this, millions of people have to look for a new life internally or internationally due to climate change, which can impact the national security" (NRC Handelsblad, 2018). |

		"At the end of 2016, General Tom Middendorp, at that time still Commander of the Armed Forces, warned in an interview with the NOS: "I think climate change can be a cause of conflicts, create a breeding ground for extremism, and can lead to migratory flows towards host countries" (NRC Handelsblad, 2018). "The risk of war, another important cause of migration, is increasing due to climate change. The figures show that civil war and temperature are related. When the fields dry out scarcity arises, people will be violent to one another in order to access food and water. Or they migrate to other areas where there is water, which in turn creates tensions with the local population there. In short, when there is a lack of natural resources, armed conflicts are more likely to arise" (de Volkskrant, 2020).
Adaptation frame	Collective adaptation frame	"In a southern village close to the coast of Bangladesh, people built their houses on an elevation to adapt to the high water. Furthermore, people bought 'emergency houses' on the mainland, where they go in times of storms or high water. In Kenya, shepherds keep certain areas shielded from the cattle in times of drought, so that they can recover. On the contrary, they use their mobility to adapt, and move to places where it rains more, or they temporarily work in the city. Moreover, via WhatsApp they share information: where there is good vegetation, where there is conflict, where there are water sources, which ranch you should stay away from because 'invaders' are being shot at. I don't want to downplay the danger of climate change, but we have the wrong idea that people are at the mercy of the threat, says Boas" (NRC Handelsblad, 2021). "In areas in Bangladesh, where climate change increasingly affects daily life, you don't see people moving out of their country. When people have to leave their home, for example to shelter from a hurricane, they usually return as quickly as possible. Most people want to stay as long as they can, where they try to adapt to the changing climate. For example, on the west of the island of Kutubdia I met families who live on the beach. They told me that the land around them has been swept further and further away. On another part of the island people lived close together on a dike. It is the last sheltered place until the land is used up, or the government decides that the dike needs to be strengthened" (NRC Handelsblad, 2018). "Brian stands with his feet in the washed up garbage. Cans, bottles, diapers and plastic bags can be seen around his ankles. With recycling programs he tries to convince residents not to throw their rubbish on the street or in the sea. With a sense of understatements he tells us that it is not easy to convince other citizens. Like a small group of highly educated contemporaries, he has no intention of leaving his country. 'I'm not going to be a climate refugee', Brian says with the fortitude of a leader. He will stay in his country and he will remain fighting the consequences of climate change" (de Volkskrant, 2018). "Climate-induced migration is often framed as a flight from misery, while certainly in the case of international migration, in the majority of cases it is a deliberate investment in a better future" (NRC Handelsblad, 2021).

		"Take the island of Tuvalu. This island is crumbling due to the rise of the sea level. It is waiting for the money that rich countries pledged in the Paris Climate Agreement for 'adaptation'. This allows Tuvalu to limit climate damage. At least that was the idea: the Prime Minister of Tuvalu told the United Nations 'no thanks'. They do not want to adapt to climate damage. They demand the right to be part of their home country and to remain there" (Trouw, 2020).