A normative power on climate refugees?

An analysis of the discourse and policy development on climate refugees of the European Commission

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Have a good time reading my work,

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Executive summary

Climate change poses a severe challenge to people and growing numbers of people flee from floods, rising sea levels and more intense hurricanes. So far, no international actor has taken up the challenge to promote a formal commitment to the human rights of climate refugees. Normative powers are actors who foster international commitment to the norms they promote. Within the European Union, the European Commission is the actor who pushes for new policy focuses. The aim of this research is to analyze how the notion 'normative power' can explain the discourse and policy implementation of the European Commission. The norm, which governs the treatment of refugees, is hospitality. Three different discourses on hospitality, the discourse on hospitality in liberalism, critical and liberal cosmopolitanism are discussed and the hospitality approach in liberal cosmopolitanism is assigned to serve as an indicator of a normative power on climate refugees. Key characteristics of the discourse on hospitality in liberal cosmopolitanism are the favoring of multiculturalism, granting of great freedoms to the refugee and a prioritization of hospitality over national economic and geopolitical interests. The analysis suggests that the European Commission is highly active in humanitarian aid on refugees – also on refugees who flee from climate and environmental change. The European Commission seems to prioritize integration of the refugees into local host communities over multiculturalism and takes into account national economic and geopolitical interests of the host countries. This means the European Commission cannot be identified as a normative power on climate refugees. Yet the application of the notion 'normative power' to the hot topic of climate refugees suggest that the European Commission, once it is agreed on a European definition of climate refugees is in an excellent position to promote the protection of climate refugees as global and local humanitarian aid and developmental support networks are already established.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Societal and scientific problem

In the two last decades climate change impacts on local populations have been highly debated in the media, by environmental and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), in political fora on many different levels and in the scientific literature. Droughts, floods, rising sea levels and more intense hurricanes influence human lives and have forced millions of people to migrate (Biermann & Boas, 2010). Environmental and humanitarian NGOs as well as a number of academics have been constantly pushing for a legal recognition of climate refugees. Although the past few years have indicated a turn in international attention towards climate refugees in the recent United Nations Climate Change Conferences, so far, there is not agreed upon a common international definition or on an international action plan for the protection of climate refugees. To date, no powerful and influential actor such as the United Nations, the United States or the European Union has taken up the challenge of promoting the safeguarding individual rights of climate refugees.

International actors who take the lead in promoting international individual rights and norms related to the protection of the environment are called normative powers. Normative powers seek to influence the international discourse on humanitarian and environmental topics and aim to foster the international (legal) commitment to norms such as to the protection of the environment or the establishment of a democratic order (Diez, 2005, 2013; Falkner, 2007; Manners, 2002, 2006). These international actors tend to prefer the use of soft over hard measures, diplomacy and cooperation over economic sanctions and military inventions and thereby aim to foster (formal) commitment to the norms they promote (Diez, 2005).

In a diverse set of literature, the European Union has been identified as a normative power on various international issues and as an actor who uses diplomatic measures to enforce its goals (Diez, 2005, 203; Manners, 2002, 2006). Through its discourses and diplomacy, the European Union has promoted the abolishment of the death penalty as well as the protection of human rights and the environment (Falkner, 2007; Manners, 2002). Aurélie Sgro (2009) outlines that the issues of migration and asylum are highly important on the European agenda and paired with leadership in international environmental protection, the European Union could qualify as a promoter of the protection of climate refugees. Based on this, the European Union seems to be a powerful international actor which is eager to safeguard individual human rights and therefore qualifies for an analysis of its role as a potential promoter of protection and human rights of climate refugees.

In addition, climate change and its local consequences and humanitarian support lie at the heart of European external humanitarian policies. The European Union has on the one hand launched a number of policy responses aiming at the promotion of climate change mitigation and coping strategies for affected people. On the other hand, the European Union is one of the largest contributors to humanitarian aid worldwide, it spends about 1 billion euros on humanitarian aid each year; the largest amount of money is invested into project in Africa (European Commission DG Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection, n.d.-b).

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Taking into account the identification of the European Union as a normative power on some topics, the question arises to what extent the notion 'normative power' can help to explain the current European position on climate refugees.

One of the most important norms regarding refugees and migrants, regardless of whether they flee from war, violence, poverty or climate and environmental change is hospitality. Hospitality determines the scope of and targets which groups of people are granted access to a country as well as the rights, which are granted to migrants and refugees in the host country (compare Bauman, 2013; Friese, 2010; Lomonaco, 2001; Roos & Laube, 2015). Especially under the condition that no common international definition and action plan on climate refugees exists, it is pivotal to analyze to what extent influential actors of the international community demand that host countries protect individual human rights of climate refugees.

1.2.   The focus on the European Commission

Extensive studies have been published on the European Union's discourse and the development of human rights and environmental protection policy. However, the ideas the European Union promotes through its position on climate refugees in its discourse and policy development have not yet been discussed. European Union external policies and discourses have been analyzed in reference to actions and decisions of the European Council or it is referred to the European Union as a whole (compare for example Falkner, 2007; Forsberg, 2011; Tocci, 2011). In addition, the master thesis of Dagmar Röttsches- Dubois & Tessa Tschmedding (2011) on climate refugees focuses on the position of the European Parliament on climate refugees and whether the European Parliament could act as a promoter of the rights of climate refugees within the European Union.

In this thesis the focus will be on a different European actor: the European Commission. Since the Lisbon Treaty, the scope of external actions of the European Commission has grown and it represents the European Union at international summits and conferences, which highlights the enlargement of the competences of the European Commission at the international level. In addition, the European Commission is the mint of ideas on the European level. It pushes for new ideas and developments within the European Union. Moreover, in contrast to the member states that often aim to promote their national interest in European politics, the European Commission is independent of national interests and was created to look after the interests of the Community as a whole.

The independence from national interests can been seen, for example, in the situation over the past few years in which millions of refugees have crossed or are crossing European boarders in hope of protection, shelter and asylum. During this time, the European Commission has been one of group of European actors pushing both – an overarching European solution to the crisis and moreover, upholding of the formal and moral commitments to protect international human rights and the rights of refugees on European ground (European Commission, 2016j). In addition, the European Commission strongly argues in favor of humanitarian actions to help refugees not just in Europe but also on European borders and in conflict regions. Consequently, the European Commission seems to be an international actor who is actively involved in fostering active commitment to upholding international individual rights of refugees and this leaves room for speculation that the European Commission could also aim to promote commitment to the protection of the rights of climate refugees.

1.3. Structure of the thesis

This thesis is structured as follows: in the remaining pages of chapter 1 the research questions are outline as well as the research framework. Moreover, the time frame on which the research focuses is determined as well the focus on the European Commission is argued for. In the part of chapter 1 the scientific and social relevance of the study is outlined. In chapter 2 the notion 'normative power' and the concept hospitality are discussed and defined. Moreover, it is shown how both form together the theoretical basis for the master thesis. Afterwards, n chapter 3 the key concept hospitality is operationalized. In chapter 4 the research strategy of data selection, collection and analysis and the limitations are outlined. Chapter 5 represents the analysis. In chapter 6 the research questions are answered and the theoretical and practical implications of the results are outlined.

1.4. Formulation of research questions

Currently, millions of people are on flight from war, persecution, racial, ethical and social discrimination and from consequences of a changing climate. The focus of this thesis will be laid on people fleeing from climate change; in the literature often referred to as climate refugees (compare for example Biermann & Boas 2008, 2010; Mc Namara, 2007; Williams, 2008). The aim of the thesis is to analyze how the notion 'normative power' can help to explain the position of the European Commission regarding climate refugees from January 2014 – May 2016. The main research question is therefore:

How can the notion 'normative power' explain the position of the European Commission on climate refugees from January 2014 until May 2016?

With the intention of answering the research question, two sub-research questions are formulated. The first one concentrates on the definition of climate refugees of the European Commission. To date, no international legally binding definition of climate refugees exists and for that reason, it is highly important to access the scope of the European Commission's definition of climate refugees. Accordingly, the first sub-research question is:

How does the European Commission define climate refugees?

The second sub-research question is concerned with the rationale of the European Commission's discourse and policy implementation on hospitality regarding displaced people in order to identify what type of hospitality is promoted in the European discourse and policy implementation on climate refugees. The concept 'hospitality' is relevant in this context as it is a pivotal norm governing refugee protection. With the aim of identifying the discourse and policy implementation on climate refugees of the European Commission the problem description regarding climate refugees needs to be identified. Furthermore, it needs to be ascertained which solutions the European Commission has formulated to solve the identified problems regarding climate refugees and, lastly, how these solutions are implemented on the ground. For that reason, the following research questions are posed:

What kind of hospitality is promoted in the discourse and policy implementation of the European Commission regarding climate refugees?

- **What problems are framed on the protection of climate refugees?**
- **What solutions has the European Commission formulated in considering these problems?**

- **How are the solutions implemented on the ground?**

1.5. Research framework

Figure 1 Research framework
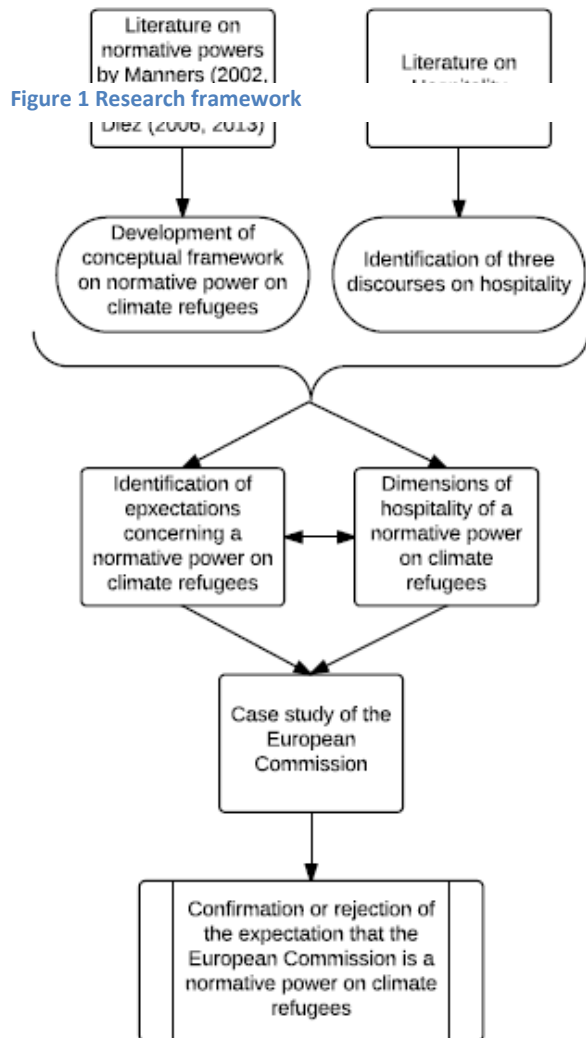
Below the research framework which will be deployed to answer the main research question is shown. The basis of the research framework forms the literature on normative powers by Manners (2002, 2006, 2008) and by Thomas Diez (2006, 20016) as well as the literature on hospitality (compare among others Friese,2010; Lomonaco, 2001; Roos & Laube, 2015). With the help of the literature on normative powers the conceptual framework on normative power on climate refugees is determined. The literature on hospitality serves to identify different discourses on hospitality. Based on conceptual framework and the discourses on hospitality, expectations concerning the research are formulated as well as the dimensions of hospitality to identify a normative power on climate refugees. Then a case study on the discourse and policy implementation of the European Commission is conducted. The outcomes of the analysis of the case study allow in the end for either a confirmation or a rejection on the expectations on the normative power on climate refugees in the case of the European Commission.

Source the author

1.6. Determining the time frame of analysis

The timeframe in which the position of the European Commission is analyzed is the period between January 2014 and May 2016. During this period Europe and particularly the European Union were confronted with a rapidly rising influx of refugees and migrants. In 2015, 1,255,000 people arrived on the shores of the European Union, in comparison to 5,640,000 people in 2014 and 431,000 people in 2013 (Schneider, 2016). For 2016, the European Commission expects the arrival of more than 3

million refugees (Schneider, 2016). This fosters a rising fear in the European Union and a growing debate about the questions of how many refugees are too many and what kind of hospitality should be provided to refugees and migrants. Should refugees receive financial support and, if so, how much? Should a focus be laid on labor market integration? Different national and European institutions, the media and NGOs framed the term "refugee crisis" to capture the massive flight of people from Northern Africa, Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan to Europe and to highlight the ongoing political struggles of European and national institutions to find mitigation and coping strategies for the growing numbers of refugees on European soil.

Hence, by opting for this time frame it is ensured, on the one hand, that most recent data will be collected and evaluated and, on the other hand, that the position of the European Commission is analyzed in times in which medial and NGO focus is on refugees on the flight from war and violence. The underlying assumption is that if the European Commission promotes individual rights for climate refugees in times of a war refugee crisis European Union, it is likely to be the case that the European Commission promotes individual rights for climate refugees in more peaceful periods as well.

1.7.   Focus on European discourse and policy development

With the aim of accessing the position of the European Commission on climate refugees, the discourse as well as the policy implementation regarding refugees is accessed. Ian Manners (2006) and Thomas Diez (2005) both agree that a normative power is a power that is able to shape conceptions of the 'normal`. For Ian Manners (2002) discourse is one important vehicle of power though, which an actor can influence what is considered normal. Michelle Pace (2010) shows that shaping discourses and ideas can be a powerful tool: the EU shaped the idea of a Mediterranean region and in doing so made Israel commit itself to the Mediterranean identity. Hence, discourses can be a powerful means of normative powers shaping the ideas of regions. Discourses, however, can do even more than shape regional identities, discourses can also influence which political instruments are seen as adequate to solve a problem, how to react in new situations and what the general understanding of a topic is. Normative powers are usually associated with using 'soft powers'[1] such as cooptation, multilateral cooperation, institution-building, integration or the power of attraction, discourse and persuasion (Diez, 2005, 20013; Manners, 2002, Tocci, 2008).

Whereas the discourse of the European Commission forms the basis of the analysis, the analysis of the policy implementation of the European Commission helps further deepening the understanding of the actual, local implementations of the claims in the discourse of the European Commission. This means the analysis of the policy implementation of the European Commission regarding climate refugees provides a picture of how the claims in the discourse on climate refugees are translated into actual policies on the ground.

1.8.   Scientific and Social relevance of the study

The scientific relevance of the thesis lies in the application of the notion 'normative power' to the European Commission's discourse and policy development, a topic that so far has not been discussed in the scientific literature. In addition, it is a novelty, that the notion 'normative power' and the concept of hospitality are integrated for the creation of a new conceptual power, namely a conceptual framework on a normative power on climate refugees. The conceptual basis and the

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[1] Please compare Nye (2004) for a more detailed discussion

operationalization of hospitality can easily be applied to other case studies and hence offer a basis for comparison of normative powers climate refugees with regard to their discourses on different dimensions of hospitality as well as on the overall discourse and policy implementation.

The social relevance derives from the focus of the thesis on highly controversial topics such as flight, migration, climate change and refugees. Rising claims for the protection of local religion and culture, the disputes about exclusion, integration and multiculturalism and the discussion about the question of how many refugees a country can cope are hot topics in the European Union. Some stances demand limited access of refugees. Yet, especially in crisis in which millions of people flee from diverse sets of causes and a time in which predictions suggest that the numbers people on the move will continue to grow, it is pivotal to draw attention to the different way of promoting the idea of hospitality and what these discourses mean with regard to the protection of individual, human rights and the upholding of international law.

2. Theoretical framework

In the following, the notion 'normative power' and humanitarian norms with a focus on the concept of hospitality are defined and conceptualized. Afterwards, it is outlined how they form together the theoretical underpinnings of the thesis.

2.1.   Normative powers

Authors across disciplines argue that the EU is a novel type of actor at the international level. On the one hand, they refer to its internal integration process and on the other hand its external policies (compare for example Manners 2002, 20008; Diez 2005, 2013; Tocci, 2008; Balducci, 2010). For Ian Manners (2002, 2008) and Thomas Diez (2005, 2013) European integration and European foreign policies have the same origin, namely the European identity.

The notion 'normative power' describes key features of the European Union when promoting norms and also provides a theoretical framework. The theoretical framework serves as a basis for the expectations regarding the behavior of the European Union within European borders and in the international community. Ian Manners (2002, 2006, 2008) claims that norms such as human rights, democracy, equality and social solidarity form the basis of its internal (European) and external (international) actions and therefore provide the basis of the European identity. For that reason, the European Union is also eager to push for a realization of these norms internally and internationally. These norms differentiate from norms of the traditional nation states (e.g. national self-determination) and the promotion of universal applicable norms might conflict with traditional national norms that particularly focus on national and not universal rights. Still pushing for the (legal) commitment to universal norms distinguishes the normative identity of the European Union from identities of other international actors (Manners, 2002, 2006, 2008). In the following section, the concept "normative power" is discussed more detail.

2.1.1.   What is a normative power?

Ian Manners (2002) was one of the first authors who coined the notion 'normative power Europe'. He has extensively published on this topic and for that reason Ian Manners' (2002, 2006, 2008) conceptualization of the notion 'normative power Europe' is discussed. Ian Manners (2002, 2008) argues that the European Union is a distinct and novel type of normative power for the reason that normative behavior is determined by the European Union's founding principles. Afterwards, two main points of criticism by Thomas Diez (2005) will be presented: (1) even though Thomas Diez (2005, 2013) agrees that the European Union seems to be a normative power on particular external and security policy issues, he challenges the idea that the EU is a novel type of normative power. (2) Thomas Diez (2005) contests that the European Union's identity as a normative power derives from its core principles and highlights that the European Union's identity is framed in contrast to the 'Other', the foreigner.

According to Ian Manners (2002) the normative identity of the European Union derives from three factors: its particular historical evolution, its hybrid polity and its constitutional configuration. The particular historical evolution is rooted in the time and the political environment of its creation. In the post-war context, a key driver of the foundation of the European Union was to preserve peace and liberty through economic cooperation (Manners, 2002). Nowadays, European cooperation has spun over to a number of political areas; the European Single Market and the European Economic

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and Monetary Union being probably the two most prominent outcomes of the cooperation and integration process of the EU.

The hybrid polity of the European Union derives from its willingness to disregard Westphalian conventions and to create supranational European institutions (Manners, 2002). One fact is that the European Union combines unit and subsystem structure (Buzan & Little, 2000). Both, member states and national federal states or regions can be highly influential in the decision-making process of the European Union, for example, through the committee of the regions, a committee established to provide regions with a platform for the communication of local and regional impacts of European Union policy.

The unique constitutional configuration lies in the strong commitment of the European Union to embrace international law; the European Union is a leader in ratifying international agreements, particularly individual law (Manners, 2002). According to Manners (2002, 2006) the basis of the European Union's relationship with its member states are universal norms and principles that derive from international law. The 1948 United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (hereafter referred to as 1948 UN Declaration) is the most relevant declaration in regards to humanitarian and human rights. In contrast to collective rights, which are granted to a specific group of people, every single person is entitled to human dignity, to hold and demand the right to shelter, protection and food (compare the 1948 UN Declaration). This declaration has been implemented in European law; ideas and norms in the European Convention of Human Rights and in the Copenhagen Criteria, two examples of fundamental European law, which derive partly from this particular international law.

Based on the norms of the 1948 UN Declaration, norms such as human rights, democracy, freedom, sustainable peace, equality, rule of law, social solidarity, sustainable development and good governance form the core of the European Union identity (Manners, 2002, 2008). In addition to this, the European Union does not only embrace international law for its own legal frameworks, Ian Manners (2002) argues that the European Union also seeks to promote (formal) commitment to these norms at the international level. For that reason, the norms that the European Union promotes are closer to international cosmopolitan law than the norms promoted by most of the other actors of the international community (Manners, 2002).

Ian Manner (2002, 2006) argues that the European Union identity results from these three factors, which promote norms that replace the state and its economic and geopolitical interests by concerns of the individual as the center of concern. For this reason, Ian Manners (2002, 2006, 2008) outlines that the European Union has an inevitable identity as a normative power which uses cooperation and dialogue as means of norms promotion. This element seems to distinguish the European Union from other (historical) normative actors, which do not see cooperation as a key feature for a stable and long-lasting peace and which do not promote norms based on international individual law.

Another key concept for judging normative powers is 'exceptionalism' (Manners, 2002). However, the exceptional characteristic of the European Union is that it is an actor that stands out by its lack of exceptionalism, meaning that the European Union does not seek to impose its norms by economic or military forces. In contrast, the European Union treats other, potentially less influential, international players on the same level and seeks cooperation, most desirably in the form of legal commitment to

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cooperation (Manners, 2006). The struggle for cooperation and legal commitment can be traced back to historical roots of the EU and the norms, which form the basis of the European Union identity (Manners, 2006). The European Union was created after a great war with the purpose to safeguard peace through economic cooperation and, for this reason, its founding principles promote cooperative means over more repressive instruments, such as economic or military sanctions.

Moreover, Ian Manners (2006) outlines that the European Union prefers non-hierarchical relations and therefore the European Union sees itself as a partner, mediator and facilitator, but not as an actor which presses for implementation of norms by military forces, even though the use of military forces does not conflict as such with the identity as a normative power (Diez, 2005; Manners, 2006). Arguing along the lines of Ian Manners, the denial of exceptionalism and the attached denial of the power resulting from "being special" means that the European Union ultimately cannot strive for more power as a spread of its norms would manifest in a non-hierarchical cooperation network of international actors based on the norms that the European Union promotes. Consequently, Ian Manners line of argumentation implies that the lack of striving for exceptionalism makes the European Union a special and distinct international actor.

Thomas Diez (2005) has two main points of criticism of Manners conceptualization of the notion 'normative power Europe'. First, Thomas Diez (2005) criticizes Manners' framing of the European Union as distinct from other (historical) normative powers. Other international actors in history, most predominantly the United States in the last century, have taken up the role of normative power. In this context, Thomas Diez (2005) outlines that the actions after WWI of the United States have had a 'strong normative under- if not overtone' (p. 621) and opposed military actions in a similar to the European Union today. In recent history, however, the power of the United States has shifted and it no longer relies solely on the power of norms; military powers have gained increasing relevance in the politics of the United States. Yet, in Thomas Diez's (2005) understanding more recent actions such as the invasion of Iraq were driven by strong normative ideas, namely how democracy should work. For him, the key difference between the United States and the European Union is that, in case of the European Union, interests and norms cannot be so easily distinguished from each other and that the European Union promotes formal commitment to international law. In comparison, the United States tries to enforce their norms, yet they do not seek legal commitment of actors to international norms as, for example, the refusal to sign the Kyoto Protocol shows.

This observation indicates that a normative power, as defined by Thomas Diez (2005) can embrace military power, especially with regard to interventions into conflicts states and regions. Thus, the use of military means and the identity as a normative power do not mutually exclude each other. Furthermore, Diez (2005) highlights the fact that in the case of the United States the transformation from a normative power opposing military means into a normative power relying on military means took place over the last hundred years. This implies that the means of normative power can change over time.

In addition, different authors draw the attention to the fact that external pressure and demands for upholding the responsibility of normative powers can create "new" duties for normative powers. The European Union has also been confronted with such a "duty" when great critique was raised by international actors regarding the late intervention of the European Union in Kosovo in the early

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1990s (Gow, 1997; Hyde-Price, 2006). For that reasons and also with regards to an increasing military engagement of the European Union in conflicts outside Europe, the European Union might also have the potential to undergo a transformation from using cooperative instruments to an increased number of military interventions to promote its norms.

As second point of criticism, Thomas Diez (2005) argues that the European identity is predominantly shaped by its distinction from the "Other", represented by other actors in the international community. Europe needs the "Other" to articulate its own identity and to frame the boundaries of its own identity. In a number of cases the European Union represents the "Other" as "violating universal principles" (p.628) and therefore frames its own identity in contrast to the "Other" (Diez, 2005). This means that the European Union can only frame itself as a normative power because there is the "Other" which acts in a non-normative way according to European standards. By promoting European norms, the European Union therefore distinguishes itself from other actors and shapes its own identity as a distinct, unique actor (Diez, 2013).

When summarizing this review of both conceptualization of 'normative power Europe', both authors agree that the European Union is a normative power and that it appears to be special for the reason that the European Union highly embraces international law into its own judicative and that it seeks to activate commitment of other actors to these legal structures. Moreover, both authors share the opinion that the European Union is pushing ambitiously the implementation of human rights standards and cosmopolitan (individual) law. In addition, both authors agree that the European Union is (still) opposed to enforcing norms by using military power, yet Thomas Diez (2005) outlines that this behavior might change in the future.

The main discrepancy between the two authors evolves around the question of the element that predominantly shapes the European identity. Whereas for Ian Manners (2002, 2006, 2008) Europe's main difference to other international actors derives from the norms on which the European Union is founded, Thomas Diez (2005) highlights that the European Union creates its own, unique identity, namely 'normative power Europe', by highlighting the difference between itself and the "Other".
Accepting the fact that the creation of the European Union is highly interwoven with norms, which Ian Manners (2002) calls universal norms, does not mean that one needs to refuse the idea that the European Union also shapes its identity by differentiating itself from other actors. The claims are not mutually exclusive; in fact, they can stand in a reciprocal relationship to each other regarding the main influential factors of the identity of the European Union.

In Figure 1 one can see the implications of a reciprocal relationship between the idea that a normative identity is based on universal norms and the idea that a normative power shapes its identity in comparison with the 'Other" in the context of the European Union. One can see that international law is the basis for European law and that the European identity derives from European law and constitutes the European identity as a normative power. Being a key promoter of individual law would mean that humanitarian issues such as the protection of refugees should be placed high on the European agenda.

As a normative power on climate refugees, the normative basis of the identity of the European Union would be normative ideas deriving from international individual law. Due to this identity, the European Union would place individual rights over its own economic and geopolitical rights (Diez,

2005). This behavior would (1) define the European Union discourse and (2) redefine and shape its own identity as 'normative power Europe' (Diez, 2005).

Figure 2 Conceptual Framework: normative power Europe
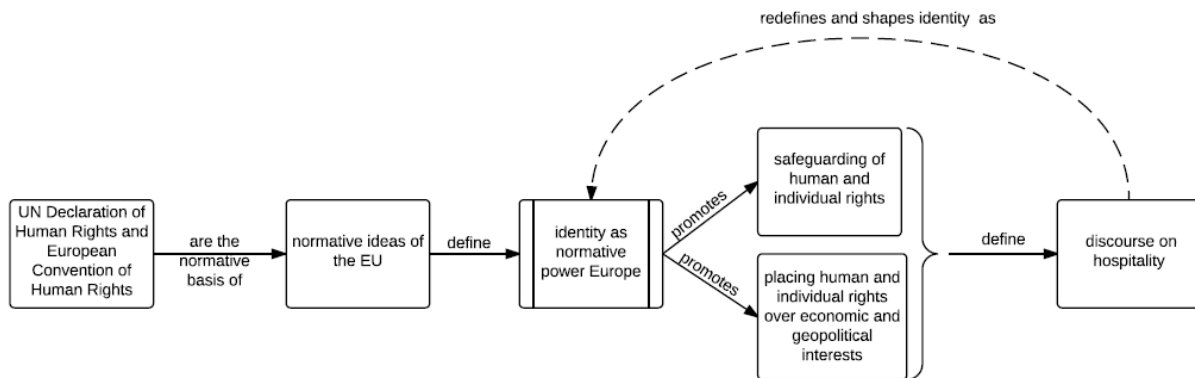
Source the author; based on Manners (2002,2006. 2008) and Diez (2005, 2013)

In the literature, there is disagreement about the question as to what extent the European Union lives up to its own norms and ideas, especially on human rights and humanitarian issues. Ian Manners (2002, 2006) and Thomas Diez (2005) both highlight the success stories of European norm promotion by highlighting the European Union's struggle for the global abolishment of the death penalty by spending a large amount of the European Union budget on the promotion of human rights in third countries. Critics, on the other hand, point to the European Union policies with Russia and China and emphasize the fact that in these cases economic interests seem to be preferred over the upholding and promotion of the European Union's fundamental normative ideas (Balducci, 2010; Youngs, 2004). Accordingly, this might mean that whether and to what extent the European Union performs as a normative power depends on policy areas and topics. Consequently, Forsberg (2011) argues that one should see normative power Europe as an ideal type and discussion should refrain from absolute ideas of the concept.

Along this this line of argumentation it makes sense to apply the idea of "normative power Europe" and the framework above to a specific case. In this thesis, the notion of 'normative power Europe' and the framework discussed above will be applied to the particular case of the European Union position on climate refugees from January 2014 to May 2016.

2.2. Safeguarding of individual rights

For a normative power as envisioned by Ian Manners (2002, 2006) and Thomas Diez (2005), a central point on the agenda is the safeguarding of individual rights. In this regard, the following questions arises: what exactly are these individual rights and how can individual rights of refugees be safeguarded? In this context, the concept of hospitality is key feature and for that reason, a focus will be drawn on discussing three different discourses on this particular concept.

At the international level, the promotion of formal commitment to human rights started after the Second World War. Different international documents such as the 1948 UN Declaration, but also other legal agreements such as the 1951 UN Convention on Refugees (hereafter referred to as 1951

UN Convention), the 1966 International Convent on Civil and Political Rights, the 1966 International Convent on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights or the 1981 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women have crucially transformed international law (Benhabib, 2008). This new international law was not concerned with the governance of economic transactions, but with altering international relations by providing a sort of constitutional code for a world society (Benhabib, 2008). Through the creation of normative international law, the development towards a society, which upholds individual rights has been set in motion because universal rights are not just a moral norm anymore but they become implemented into binding international and state law. This relates especially to the rights of legal and illegal immigrants (Benhabib 2004, 2007, 2008). Hence, through international individual law, a focus was laid on the question of which norms should govern international relations and therefore attention was given to individual rights and entitlements.

Traditionally, however, (nation) states are inclined towards self-maintenance and have a prime responsibility towards their own citizens and thus towards collective rights, such as civil rights as well as national economic and diplomatic interests. The idea of national self-determination was established through the Westphalian order in 1684 and still remains a fundamental criterion of the modern world order. However, modern nation states have committed themselves through international law to the duty of upholding principles of universal rights, first and foremost with regard to human rights (Nash, 2009). Universal human rights are the minimum rights to which every single individual is entitled. This commitment creates a tension between responsibilities of a nation state towards its citizens (collective rights) and the commitment to universal (individual) rights (Eriksen, 2006; Nash, 2009).

Immigration is a policy area in which the tension between national responsibilities, self-interest and the upholding individual rights is evident. Granting asylum impacts national resources and can influence diplomatic relations with the country of origin of the refugees (Rosenblum & Salehyan, 2004). In addition, asylum seekers, in contrast to the selective process of migration, might intensify the conflict between protection of refugees and the national economic interests (Rosenblum & Salehyan, 2004). Tension between these two interests can particularly evolve from competition between refugees and the poorer parts of the population on national labor and housing markets (Collier, 2014). Still, deciding on granting protection to refugees would mean that the act of protection is driven by a humanitarian idea, which places protection of refugees over national economic interests. For that reason, asylum incorporates an altruistic notion of open doors to all people in need (Julie Matthews & Chung, 2008). This altruistic notion stands in a paradox with the notion of a nation state and particularly its national security interests (Eriksen, 2006; Nash, 2009).

The idea of granting asylum to a refugee derives from the idea of hospitality. In history, hospitality was a religious and ethical duty, which demanded the protection and sheltering of strangers (Friese, 2010). This idea can be found in the Old and New Testaments as well as in the Koran (Friese, 2010; Lomonaco, 2001). Later on, with the Westphalian order, nation states were put into the center of political actions and thus states started to define the scope and aims of national hospitality as well as its limits. Hospitality inevitable creates a tension between 'being at home' and the stranger and thus it fosters tensions between political, social and cultural inclusion and exclusion, and between closeness and distance (Friese, 2010). Due to individual histories, cultures, societies and nations, states have developed distinct ideas of the 'Other' and diverse sets of local rules of in - and exclusion (Bauman, 2013). The rules of in- and exclusion depend on the local discourse of hospitality.

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2.2.1. Discourses of hospitality

In order to illustrate the range of how hospitality can be defined, three different discourses of hospitality are outlined: (1) hospitality in liberalism, (2) hospitality in critical cosmopolitanism and (3) hospitality in liberal cosmopolitanism. In liberalism, policies lay the emphasis on national (economic) well-being and for that reason hospitality depends on the national economic interests and needs. In critical cosmopolitanism, the 'Other' is seen as a guest and thus temporary hospitality is a duty. In liberal cosmopolitanism, the demand for unconditional hospitality tries to promote hospitality over national interest.

In the discourse on hospitality originating in **liberalism**, the emphasis is put on autonomy and self-determination of the (nation) state (Friese, 2010). Jürgen Habermas (1998, p. 115) has coined the term the 'Janus face of modern nation'. On the one hand, the modern nation state acts in the name of universalistic norms and, on the other hand, the nation state is bound to a specific people and political community. National as well as international politics center the economic interest of the nation state and this means migration and asylum policies are determined by the economic and political interests of the national state. Hence, hospitality is likely to be practiced in a limited manner, to those who are in immediate danger (Benhabib, 2004) or due to national (economic) self-interest (Friese, 2010) such as practicing selective immigration of labor migrants who can positively contribute to the national economy.

Cosmopolitanism is a political philosophy, which puts the individual at the center of concern in the hospitality discourse as its key norms are equality in rights, individual self-determination, freedom of movement, social justice protection and hospitality (Roos & Laube, 2015). With regard to hospitality two main streams of cosmopolitanism can be identified: (1) critical cosmopolitanism, based on the Kantian idea of hospitality, does not question the state as the sovereign actor in regulating immigration and focuses on the inclusion and integration of specific groups of people into local society (Roos & Laube, 2015). (2) Liberal cosmopolitanism formulates the demand of unconditional hospitality, meaning that freedom of movement and hospitality to all foreigners are prioritized so that no discrimination of different groups of the 'Other' takes place. For unconditional hospitality, cultural exchange is preferred to integration.

Critical cosmopolitanism argues along the Kantian idea of hospitality, which stresses that providing hospitality is an obligation, yet an obligation with limits. First of all, it is elementary that the sole regulating actor of asylum and immigration affairs is the nation state and its executive bodies. Today, the criteria of admission derive from the 1951 UN Convention. Admission is only granted to individuals who flee from causes beyond their control, namely state violence and war. Consequently, refugees fleeing from non-state violence or natural disaster do not fall into the group of admission.

Kant's idea of hospitality is furthermore related to visitation rather than to residence (Brown, 2006; Lomonaco, 2001). Garrett Wallace Brown (2006) refers to five principles of Kant's idea of hospitality and of cosmopolitan rights: (1) The right of freedom of exit and travel, which gives the right to all earth citizens to visit all the regions of the earth without entry restrictions. (2) The freedom from hostility and from negligence resulting in death, which forms the normative basis for granting asylum in cases of violent persecution of the visitor in his/her home country. (3) The freedom of communication and to engage in public reason, which aims to foster exchange and mutual

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understanding between citizen and visitor for each other's habits, ideas and customs. (4) The freedom to engage in commerce and the use of the world in common, which ensures the visitors right to make use of property and generate an income through commerce and physical interaction. (5) The freedom from false, misrepresented, extorted or fraudulent contracts, which ensures that the visitor can enter into fair and balanced relationships of commerce and contract with the citizens.

In addition to the responsibilities of the host country, Kant also outlines duties of the visitor, namely that local laws must be obeyed by the visitor (Brown, 2006). Otherwise the visitor's right of hospitality vanishes. For permanent settlement on the land of another nation, a specific contract is needed (Brown, 2006). With regard to individuals or groups to which a permanent residence status is granted, it aims at fostering inclusion and integration (Roos and Laube, 2015).

The **liberal cosmopolitan discourse** on hospitality claims that there should not be any temporary or regional limits to granting hospitality to a stranger and no a priori designed criteria or duties should define who is allowed to reside temporarily or permanently in a state (O'Gorman, 2006). Moreover, as no predesigned set of criteria exists, passports or other forms of identification cards become redundant. This means that the guest is free of any subordination or debt (Westmoreland, 2008).

This discourse on hospitality claims that borders should be open; in fact border controls or closed borders should be the exception to the norm (Lomonaco, 2001; Roos & Laube, 2015). The right of individual self-determination and free movement are the key principles. Migration limitations can only be invoked under four conditions: (1) serious overpopulation of a country (Lomonaco, 2001), (2) rapid dislocation of culture, resulting from a sudden and immense influx of migrants (Lomonaco, 2001), (3) as a response to a well-established threat to national security, e.g. terrorism, drug trade and other criminals entering the country (Lomonaco, 2001; Roos & Laube, 2015) and (4) to protect the process of ongoing liberalization (Roos & Laube, 2015). However, as Lomanaco (2001) himself outlines, the conditions leave room for interpretation and misuse. What is a well-established threat to national security? Is it sufficient to have suspicions regarding immigrants or refugees or is hard proof needed to identify (potential) criminals? And could a slow dislocation of culture not pose in the end the same or even a bigger threat to local cultural change? These questions remain open and are not yer answered by advocates of liberal cosmopolitans.

This review on hospitality shows three main discourses of hospitality. The discourse of hospitality in liberalism advocates a limited approach. It focuses on the needs and interests of the collective, namely, the nation state. This discourse clearly seeks to create a separation between refugees and citizens. Integration of refugees into society is not desired. In contrast, critical and liberal cosmopolitanism promote a more welcoming form of hospitality in which the "Other" is either treated as guest or "citizen-like". In critical cosmopolitanism, integration is central. Policies regarding refugees aim at integration of the refugee and assimilation to the local norms. In contrast, liberal cosmopolitanism aims to create an environment for multiculturalism in which people with different cultures and religions live together peacefully and without discrimination.

The first two discourses share the centrality of rights, duties and obligations of the country granting asylum and of the asylum receiver on the other hand (Westmoreland, 2008). For that reason, in these two discourses hospitality has a strong juridical focus and the decision of granting hospitality

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lies within the responsibility of the nation state. In contrast to this, the discourse of liberal cosmopolitanism highlights the individual freedom of movement and consequently the individual makes the decision on where to settle. Hence, this discourse is not concerned with law, duties, obligations or debt (Westmoreland, 2008).

The discussion of the three discourses reveals a basis for defining the relationship between normative power and hospitality. Thomas Diez (2005) argues that a normative power places individual rights over national economical and geopolitical concerns. The review of the different discourses on hospitality suggests that only the discourse on hospitality in liberal cosmopolitanism provides room for prioritizing hospitality over national economic and political interests. Thus, when talking about a normative power relating to refugees and hospitality, unconditional hospitality as advocated in liberal cosmopolitanism is the relevant discourse to identify a normative power on climate refugees.

2.3.   Expectations for the study

After having outlined the notion 'normative power' and the concept of hospitality, the study focuses now on how the different concepts form theoretical underpinnings of the study.

The European Union is considered a normative power, by a number of authors such as Thomas Diez (2005, 2013) and Ian Manners (2002, 2008). The former head of the European Commission José Manuel Barroso also embraced the notion 'normative power Europe' (Manners, 2008). Critics of the notion 'normative power' outline that normative power should be understand as an ideal type – a vision an actor aims to achieve (Forsberg, 2011). Below, in Figure 2, the expected behavior of the European Commission, under the condition that the European Commission is a normative power, is shown. One can see that humanitarian ideas, and more specifically the idea of hospitality, originates in international individual law. The promotion of these specific ideas identifies the European Commission as a normative power which is referred to in the literature under the notion 'normative power Europe'. There are two main points that the European Commission promotes under the condition that the European Commission is a normative power on climate refugees, namely the safeguarding of human and individual rights of climate refugees and the prioritization of human and individual rights of climate refugees over economic and geopolitical interstes. These two factors, still referring to the condition that the European Commission is a normative power on hospitality, define the discourse and policy implementation on climate refugees and the type of hospitality that is present. It is necessary to emphasize again that only hospitality as envisioned by advocates of liberal cosmopolitanism emphasizes unconditional hospitality, meaning that individual and human rights of climate refugees are prioritized over national interests.

Figure 3 Conceptual Framework: Normative power on climate refugees
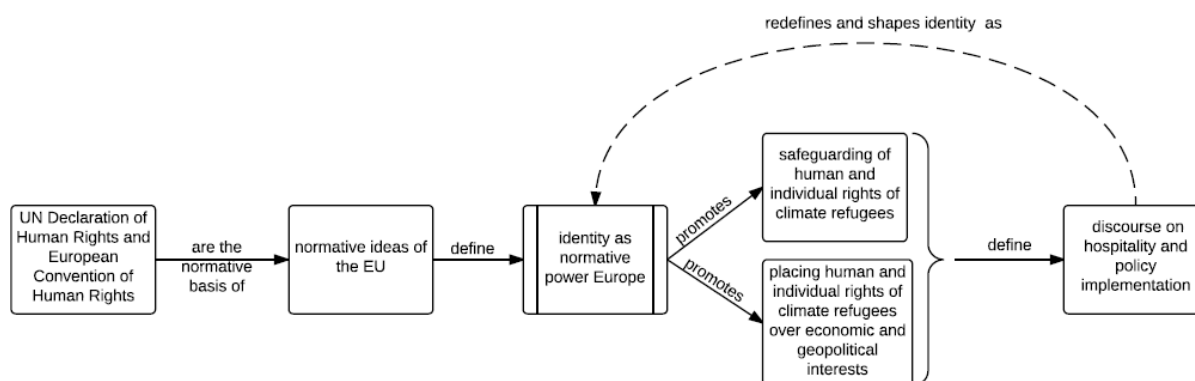
Source the author, based on literature review

This framework above outlines the expected behavior of the normative power Europe and this means that some expectations resulting from the literature review can be drawn.

(1) If the European Commission is a normative power on climate refugees, then the European Commission promotes hospitality based on the demand of unconditional hospitality.

(2) If the European Commission is a normative power on climate refugees, then the European Commission prioritizes hospitality over national economic interests.

(3) If the European Commission is a normative power on climate refugees, then the European Commission promotes a prioritization of hospitality over its national geopolitical interests.

(4) If the European Commission is a normative power on climate refugees, then the basis of European Commission discourse and policy implementation on climate refugees is international law (primarily 1948 UN Declaration).

3. Operationalization

Three discourses of hospitality have been presented in the theoretical framework of this thesis: the discourse of hospitality in liberalism, in critical cosmopolitanism and in liberal cosmopolitanism. In liberalism, the discourse on hospitality promotes a minimum level of hospitality towards refugees. In the discourse of hospitality in critical cosmopolitanism, the refugee is framed as a visitor and for that reason taking care of the refugee who is in need of protection is a central point in this discourse. The refugee is considered temporarily in the host country; however, means of integration are deployed for long-term residents, e.g. the access to citizenship. In the discourse of hospitality in liberal cosmopolitanism, the maximal form of hospitality, unconditional hospitality, is promoted. Borders are completely diminished which means that physical (land) borders are open and cultural, ethical or

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religious borders are erased. Brotherhood between human beings is promoted over membership of national groups. Immigration is only restricted under conditions, which seriously threaten the state's liberal politics, its culture or its capacity and capability to care for refugees and its own people.

In the following, the concept of hospitality and its dimensions in each of the three discourses will be operationalized. For the purpose of this study, five main dimensions of hospitality have been identified, namely, the politics of identity, financial support, integration efforts, religious and cultural freedoms and the politics of geopolitical interest. For each dimension, an operational definition is provided. In addition, each dimension has one and five indicators. Each indicator has a dichotomous nature and can therefore be either present or not present. The more indicators that are present in one dimension the more it indicates that the nation state behaves in this way along one specific discourse of hospitality. Theoretically, a nation state could practice a mixed approach, meaning a variation in the discourse of hospitality dependent on the specific dimension, or even on specific indictors.

3.1. Operational definition of the dimensions of hospitality

3.1.1. The politics of identity

The politics of identity is the first dimension of hospitality. This dimension describes who is considered a part of society and who is excluded. Scott (2009) argues that the European Union practices post-national geopolitics, particularly driven by the European integration process, first and foremost through the establishment of the Schengen Area. In fact, open borders within Europe shape the European identity. When it comes to politics of identity, borders are not necessarily established by actual land borders, but they can be constructed on the basis of ideology, discourse, political institutions, attitudes and agency (Scott, 2009). For that reason, the politics of identity are directed at two audiences. The first audience is the "in" group; the group who shares the identity e.g. a national or European identity. The second audience is the "out" group, referring to the groups of people who do not belong to the "in" group. On the one hand, there is a distinction between the "in" and "out" groups and, on the other hand, the relationship to different "out" groups is defined, e.g., as neighbors, friends, partners or rivals.

In the case of hospitality, the main aspect of the politics of identity is to establish the basis on which refugees will be treated. Does the country in question define refugees as part of the "in" or "out" group in relation to the local society? Depending on this definition, the degree of granting citizenship, facilitation of family reunions as well as the degree to which borders are closed or open is expressed.

Table 1 The politics of identity

Dimension	Operational definition	Indicators
Politics of identity	The politics of identity defines who is considered part of the society and who is excluded.	Degree to which refugees belong to the "in" group
		Degree to which citizenship is granted to refugees
		Degree to which family reunions are possible and facilitated
		Degree to which refugees without documents are allowed to enter
		Degree to which borders are open

Source the author, Scott (2009)

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3.1.2. Accommodation facilities

Accommodation facilities are the housing facilities in which refugees stay after their arrival in their destination country. Housing facilities can be instrumentalized by governments as (dis)incentives for refugees to choose the country as destination (Lomonanco, 2001). In the 1948 UN Declaration victims of non-national persecution and violence are excluded from the definition of refugee and this offers room for states to create deportation centers and jails for refugees who enter the country and do not fall under the 1948 UN Declaration (Lomonaco, 2001). Hence, the quality of housing indicates how welcome a refugee is. Moreover, accommodation facilities can indicate to what extent an in- or exclusion of the refugees into the local society is desired. Housing facilities can be equipped according to minimum standards or they can have qualitatively similar standards to accommodation of local citizens.

For example, when the refugee camp is located close to the border and refugees are not allowed to leave the camp until they are granted asylum, little emphasis is put on the refugee's inclusion into society. At the other end of the hospitality spectrum, refugees can settle in housing facilities among the local citizens. In addition, the extent to which refugees can decide where to settle in their host countries is also a sign for the hospitality of a country. Lastly, the quality of the accommodation, such as water and sanitation facilities serves as an indicator of the hospitality of the host country.

Table 2 Accommodation facilities

Dimension	Operational definition	Indicators
Accommodation facilities	The accommodation facilities refer to all housing facilities provided to refugees.	Location where refugees are accommodated
		Degree of assignment to accommodation
		Degree to which equipment of housing facilities differs from local standard

Source the author, Lomonarco (2001)

3.1.3. Financial support provided to refugees

The third dimension of hospitality is financial support provided to refugees by the government. Financial support, however, is not limited to monetary aid but can also consist of the provision of vouchers or work programs. Money is one particular aspect, which governs livelihoods and fosters individual autarky (compare Brown (2006)). Giving money to refugees so that they are able to purchase their own belongings can affect livelihood and well-being. Furthermore, money provides a basis of minimum contact to the local population when products are purchased or local events can be attended.

Table 3 Financial support

Dimension	Operational definition	Indicators
Financial support	The financial support is defined as the benefits a refugee receive from the government or governmental programs in order to have a minimum of financial autarky.	Degree to which support is provided to have a minimum of financial autarky

Source the author, Brown (2006)

3.1.4. Integration efforts

The fourth dimension of hospitality is the integration efforts deployed by the local government. Learning the language as well as local habits, customs and norms is seen as one of the key elements in order to successfully integrate people from a different identity into the local one (Paul Collier,

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2014). Thus, this dimension defines how open the local society is to integration of people of the "out" group into the "in" group. The main difference between the dimension "the politics of identity" and the dimension "integration" efforts is that the former deals with a society's openness to let a refugee enter the country and the latter targets the question to what extent the local society emphasizes integration of refugees once they have entered the country. The first main branch of this dimension are integration means such as project as for example language and integration classes in which refugees learn about local habits, norms, values and customs. The second branch of this dimension is labor market integration. Working refugees have the opportunity to get into contact with the local population and earn money to live in individual financial autarky. In addition, an income increases the refugees' contribution to the local economy, since they can participate in the consumer market. Lastly, many refugees are children or teenagers and for that reason, access to education such as to primary school, secondary high school, universities, internships and apprenticeships are necessary for participating in the host society as well as to increase the chances of a prosperous future.

Table 4 Integration efforts

Dimension	Operational definition	Indicators
Integration efforts	Integration efforts refer to governmental efforts to integrate refugees into the local society by providing the possibility to participate in language and integration classes as well in the local economy.	Degree to which integration classes are offered. Degree to which language classes are offered Degree to which refugees can participate in the labor market. Degree to which refugees refugee can go to schools and university and participate in other forms of education

Source the author, Paul Collier (2014)

3.1.5. Religious and cultural freedoms

The fifth dimension of hospitality is the granting of religious and cultural freedoms. In the 1948 UN Declaration it is clearly defined that everyone has the right to practice his/ her religion individually as well as in groups (Article 18). Yet this article can be understood as a minimum standard and enlargement of these rights are possible, for example, when it comes to governmental funding for diverse religious practices, the degree to which a religious diet is facilitated in refugees accommodation as well as the tolerance and acceptance of wearing of religious symbols of foreign religions in the local communities.

Table 5 Religious and cultural freedoms

Dimension	Operational definition	Indicators
Religious and cultural freedoms	Religious and cultural freedom refers to the extent of freedom that refugees refugee receive to practice their own religion and customs.	The degree to which cultural or religious diets of refuges are taken into account in housing facilities Extent to which places of worship of other religions are permitted and funded Extent to which religious symbols are allowed to be worn in public.

Source the author

3.1.6. The politics of geopolitical interest

This last dimension of hospitality is directed at the economic and political self-interests of a state in the international community and targets a state's wishes for regional and international stability and security (Scott, 2009). In some cases, the granting of asylum to refugees can lead to political consequences as it might put tension on established relationships and therefore also impact economic interests of the state that provides asylum to the refugees as well as having an impact on stability in the region (Rosenblum & Salehyan, 2004).

Table 6 The Politics of geopolitical interest

Dimension	Operational definition	Indicators
Politics of geopolitical interest	Politics of geopolitical interest refer to issues of economic and political self-interest in regional and international stability and security	The degree to which a state wants to safeguard its beneficial economic relations with other states. The extent to which a states want to safeguard beneficial political relations with other states.

Source the author, Rosenblum & Salehyan (2004), Scott (2009)

Having outlined the operational definitions of the five dimensions of hospitality, the following section will focus on how each dimension is operationalized in each of the three different discourses. In this context, indicators for each dimension in each discourse on hospitality are outlined.

3.2. Hospitality in liberalism

In the discourse of hospitality in liberalism, national security and economic concerns are central topics and they determine national and international actions. For that reason, in this discourse of hospitality national (economic) well-being is prioritized over hospitality. This discourse deploys minimum standards of hospitality deriving from international law, such as the 1948 UN Declaration. Concerns for well-being are therefore primarily directed towards the national citizens. Consequently, national border controls are a high priority and only refugees who fall under the definition of the 1948 UN Declaration are allowed to enter the country; refugees without a document of identification cannot cross the border.

International law provides a number of minimum standards regarding the individual's rights to shelter, food and access to clean water. Refugee accommodation facilities are equipped to these standards. Refugees might share large dormitories with a minimum level of privacy, have reduced access to sanitation, water and cooking facilities. As integration or exchange with the local population is not desired, the refugees are not allowed to leave the refugee camp. Local institutions assign the refugee to camps in host country. Refugees who crossed the border illegally are sent back to the last transit country or to their home country (Lomonaco, 2001). If these countries refuse to accept the refugees, the refugees are sent to detention camps or jail ((Lomonaco, 2001).

In the discourse on hospitality in liberalism, refugees are described as a financial burden and the concern of economic well-being is directed towards the national population. For that reason, financial support to refugees is not provided and for commodities other than the minimum necessities and goods, refugees depend on humanitarian support through local or international NGOs or civil society groups.

Integration of the refugees into the host society is not desired in this discourse of hospitality. Accordingly, no language or integration classes are offered for refugees. Labor market participation is prohibited, school education for children is provided according to the minimum standards of international law[2]. In addition to restricting integration of refugees, protection of local customs, norms and habits is a central concern and subsequently religious and cultural freedoms exceeding the 1948 UN Declaration are not granted.

In the hospitality discourse in liberalism, a high priority is given to national economic interests. Subsequently, the state is highly interested in maintaining good economic and diplomatic relations with partner countries. This means in situations of diplomatic tension, the primacy is given to economic and diplomatic interests over the provision of hospitality to refugees.

3.3. Hospitality in critical cosmopolitanism

In the discourse of hospitality in critical cosmopolitanism, refugees are seen as "temporary guests" (Brown, 2006; Lomonaco, 2001). As the word "temporary" implies, refugees are granted residence for a period of time. The exact time span depends on the situation in the home country of the refugee. In addition, the term "temporary" implies that the refugee will at some point leave the country and go back to his/her home country. The term "guest" implies that the host country wants to provide a pleasant stay for the refugees. Integration is ambitiously promoted in this discourse of hospitality and this leaves room for continuous settlement of the refugees and for an enjoyable stay with participation in society. Citizenship can be granted to refugees and the criteria for citizenship depends on national requirements and might include the capability to speak the local language, a regular income and employment in the host country.

Accommodation facilities are above the requirements of international law and an emphasis is put on the provision of privacy for each refugee. Accommodation facilities might range from refugee camps to local housing opportunities if the number of refugees is low. The accommodation facilities are well-equipped and sanitation, water and kitchen facilities are available in an amount suitable for number proportionate to the number of residents in the accommodation.

Governmental bodies assign the refugees to accommodation facilities according to the local capacities and capabilities. Integration is a keyword in the discourse of hospitality in critical cosmopolitanism; hence, means such as language and integration classes, family reunions and, as the ultimate integration tool, the granting of citizenship are deployed to facilitate and encourage integration. As integration is promoted, financial support is provided for refugees to encourage interaction with the local population and to guarantee a minimum level of individual autarky. However, the financial support is less than the financial benefits granted to unemployed national citizens. Moreover, this discourse claims that access to the labor market and integration in local education programs fosters integration into the local culture as local habits, norms and the language are promoted in these institutions.

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[2] Compare for example the 1960 UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education which states that without discrimination everyone has the right to equality of opportunity, access to free primary education and the rights of minority group.

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Religious and cultural freedoms are a serious concern in the discourse of hospitality in critical cosmopolitanism. For that reason, religious signs and symbols of other religions are tolerated as is, for example, the wearing of a headscarf or a kippah. Religious or cultural minorities are supported in practicing their religion and customs and for that reason they can receive funding for the establishment of a local infrastructure necessary to practice religion and customs. This includes the availability of food according to specific religious dietary needs in refugee accommodations or the provision of places of worship according to the needs of different religions.

In terms of geopolitical interest, the discourse of hospitality in critical cosmopolitanism does not differentiate from the discourse of hospitality in liberalism. Economic interests and diplomatic relations are prioritized over hospitality. The main difference between both discourses lies in their different approaches of how and to what extent hospitality should be practiced with regard to refugees who have already entered the country.

3.4. Hospitality in liberal cosmopolitanism

In the hospitality discourse in liberal cosmopolitanism, the idea of having a common identity as human beings replaces the national identity. Accordingly, this discourse advocates that all people should be granted asylum, even if they flee from reasons not mentioned in the 1951 UN Convention such as environmental disasters or climate change. This means, generally, that border controls are the exception and not the rule and access can only be denied in exceptional situations[3].

The duration of residence is not limited to the time of war or violent conflict in the home state of the refugee but depends on the refugee's individual decision and citizenship can easily be applied for. For that reason, the refugee is also free to choose where to relocate to in the country. An exception could be the threat of overpopulation of a particular region (Lomonaco, 2001). An emphasis is put on providing refugees with the same housing conditions as offered to local citizens. In this respect, apartments, rooms in shared flats or houses are promoted as accommodation facilities. Consequently, the idea of refugee camps is not promoted in the discourse of unconditional hospitality and is seen as a last resort when the numbers of refugees are high.

In contrast to the discourse of hospitality in critical cosmopolitanism, exchange between different religious, ethical and cultural groups replaces the idea of integration as the main concern. Accordingly, the discourse of unconditional hospitality promotes equality in the labor markets and with regard to access to education facilities. Moreover, to foster a common degree of autonomy, unemployed refugees receive the same financial support as unemployed local citizens. Diverse religious and cultural practices are encouraged and an exchange between the different religions and cultures is promoted. Thus, no preference is given to the local religion and culture apart from the situation in which the existence of the local customs are threatened.

Lastly, the discourse of unconditional hospitality diverges greatly with regard to its demands concerning the politics of geopolitical interest. Therefore, with regard to international economic and

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[3] Compare page 13 2.2.1 discourses on hospitality liberal cosmopolitan discourse

diplomatic relations, the discourse of unconditional hospitality prioritizes hospitality over economic interests or diplomatic relations.

Table 7 Overview Operationalization

Dimension	Operational definition	Indicators Hospitality in Liberalism	Indicators Hospitality in Critical Cosmopolitanism	Indicator Hospitality in Liberal Cosmopolitanism
The Politics of identity	The politics of identity defines who is considered part of the society living in a particular nation and who is excluded from this definition.	Only national citizens belong to the "common identity", foreigners are excluded. Refugees receive a limited temporary permit of residence. Citizenship is not granted to refugees. Family reunions are not conducted. Refugees without documents are not allowed to cross the borders. Closed borders; entrance is only possible for refugees as defined under the 1948 Declaration.	Citizens of the local state belong to the nation state, but temporary "guests" are granted temporary residence Refugees receive temporary permits of residence. Refugees have the possibility to become citizens. Family reunions are facilitated. Refugees without documents are allowed to enter. Border controls, refugees allowed entering in order to apply for protection.	Identity is not defined by common citizenship; all people are granted a residence to stay. Everybody is allowed to enter except for terrorists, and in the case of serious overpopulation and cultural merge. No border controls, border controls are the exception to the norm. Permits to stay are not bound to any temporal time frame but depend on the refugee's decision. The granting of residence and border crossing does not depend on the documents the refugee carries.
Accommodation facilities	The accommodation facilities refer to all housing facilities provided to refugees.	Refugees are accommodated in detention camps and refugee camps. Entrance and exists of the camps are controlled. Refugees are always assigned to their temporary place of settlement. Refugees share large bedrooms with many other refugees. There are a small numbers of sanitation facilities for many people.	Refugees are accommodated in refugee camps/ housing facilities. Assignment of refugees is guided by national needs, e.g. accommodation facilities, equal distribution of refugees across country. The entrances and exits of the camps and housing facilities are not controlled for. Refugees share the bed room with a small number of people Few refugees share sanitation facilities.	The refugee can decide where he/she wants to relocate. Individual (shared) apartments and houses are promoted as preferred accommodation facilities. Ideally refugee camps do not exist, refugees live among national citizens.

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Dimension	Operational definition	Indicators Hospitality in Liberalism	Indicators Hospitality in Critical Cosmopolitanism	Indicator Hospitality in Liberal Cosmopolitanism
Financial support provided to refugees	The financial support for refugees refers to the money or vouchers granted by the government which refugees can use in the wider economy.	No financial support is provided for refugees.	Financial support is provided for refugee but in a smaller amount than for unemployed national citizens.	Refugees receive the same financial support as national citizens.
Integration efforts	Social support for refugees refers to the possibilities of labor market integration and education possibilities on the one hand and social integration at the other hand as for example language classes, "integration classes" or similar integration projects.	There are no integration projects as language or integration classes offered. Refugees do not have the possibility to work. Minimum international requirements on education apply to children. Refugees have little/ no possibility to get into contact with local population.	Integration projects are offered to the refugees and residence permission can depend on the refugee's participation. Refugees receive work permit after temporary residence permit is granted. Children get quickly integrated into the school system and also other education possibilities are available for teenagers and adults. Refugees are encouraged to get into contact with local population.	Cultural and religious exchange is facilitated and encouraged through local or governmental projects. After arrival of refuge, labor market integration of refugees has high priority. Refugees have the same rights to go to school and to participate in the same education facilities as residents of the host country. Refugees and national citizens are encouraged to get into contact with each other.
Religious and cultural freedom	Religious and cultural freedom refers to the religious and cultural freedom given extra to the minimum requirements laid out in the 1948 Convention	Protection of local religion and customs has high priority. Minimum religious and cultural freedoms are granted.	Religion and customs can be practiced, e.g. wearing a headscarf or a kippah. Financial support and infrastructure is granted to practice foreign religions and customs. Religious and cultural food is served in accommodation facilities, e.g. halal or vegetarian food.	Cultural and religious exchange is facilitated and encouraged through local or governmental projects. No restriction on foreign religious and cultural freedoms, all religions and cultures receive the same rights
The politics of geopolitical interest	The politics of geopolitical international interests refers to issues of economic self-interest, and regional or international stability and security.	State has a high interest in safeguarding beneficial economic relations with other states. State has a high interest in safeguarding beneficial political relations with other states.	State has a high interest in safeguarding beneficial economic relations with other states State has a high interest in safeguarding beneficial political relations with other states.	Unconditional hospitality as priority over the safeguarding of political relations. Unconditional hospitality as priority over the own national economic interest.

Source the author, literature review

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4. Research strategy

4.1. Data sources

The following documents will serve as a source of data collection:

1. *Communications of the European Commission*. Clarification on the standpoint of the European Commission; often a policy proposal is attached. Recipients of communications can be the European member states, the European Parliament or particular working unites of the European Commission and/ or the European Parliament.

2. *Recommendations of the European Commission*. Recommendations are published by the European Commission; they are not binding to the European member states, though they outline what the European Commission desires the European member states to do.

3. *Reports of the European Commission*. Reports can vary in their scope of recipients, depending on the issue of the report. Usually, the reports are used to manifest and promote a need for action on a particular topic and for that reason the member states as well as bodies of the United Nations, regional organizations and states can be addressed.

4. *Statements of the European Commission*. European Commission clarifies its standpoint on a particular topic.

5. *Policy memo*. A short and comprehensive summary on a particular event or topic.

6. *Press releases and speeches of the European Commission*. Members of the European Commission/ the European Commission promote(s) overall opinion on a specific topic or event.

7. *Factsheets created by the European Commission*. Short summary of the European Commission standpoint regarding a certain policy topic or country. The discourse and actions of the European Commission are briefly summarized.

4.2. Data analysis

4.2.1. Data analysis: The climate refugee definition of the European Commission

Resulting from the fact that the issue of climate refugees have first been identified as a pressing topic by the European Commission and other European actors such as the European Parliament in 2007 this part of the analysis concentrates on documents published between January 2007 and May 2016. Originally, it was intended to limit the analysis on the European Commission definition of climate refugees to the time frame from January 2014 to May 2016, the same time frame applied to the analysis of the European Commission discourse and policy development on hospitality on climate refugees. This decision to expand the time frame was based on the very limited number of sources (8) dealing with persons displaced by natural phenomena and human-induced climate change found after a first round of data collection in which the data sources published between January 2014 and May 2016 were collected. Subsequently, the time frame has been extended and so the number of available sources was doubled to a total number of 16 sources for the analysis of the European Commission definition of climate refugees.

The data sources were found on the website of the DG Climate Action, the DG Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection (DG ECHO) and the DG International Cooperation and Development (DG DEVCO). No

documents were found on the website of the DG Migration and Home Affairs. In addition, EUR-Lex was searched for communications of the European Commission. Most of the sources were found on the DG ECHO and DG DEVCO. Only a few sources were found on the website of the DG Climate Action. The search modus on the web sites was used to identify a sample of documents dealing with the environment and migration and disaster-prone areas and migration.

For the coding of the data, the Coding Program NVivo11 was deployed. With the help of this program sentences, parts of a sentence or paragraphs can be assigned to different categories: In the program the categories are called knots. The names of the knots were decided upon by the author and aim to identify a connection between climate change and the mobility of people and how the European Commission defines climate refugees. The first knot aims to identify the factors the European Commission frames causing flight. The second knot focuses particularly on the role of climate and environmental change regarding migration and flight. The third knot targets the European Commission definition of the term refugee to identify to what extent people on the flight from natural disasters can .be defined as such. The fourth knot outlines the European Commission's ideas and governing tools to support and protect people who need to migrate as a result of climate change. Consequently, the following knots were deployed:

- Factors that drive migration and flight;
- Climate and environmental change as a driver for migration and flight;
- Definition of the term refugee;
- Protection of climate refugees.

In addition, while reading the documents and during the coding process the author paid attention to other possible categories (knots) that might be relevant in order to extend the scope of analysis or to specify particular knots when one aspect proves to be especially relevant.

4.2.2. Data Analysis: Hospitality discourse and policy implementation of the European Commission

Documents published in the time period from January 2014 to May 2016 were searched for on the web sites of the European Commission, particularly on the website concerned with external issues regarding humanitarian topics. For this reason, the search of data sources concentrated on the DG ECHO and the DG DEVCO. It was concentrated on this period between January 2014 and May 2016 as it encompasses the time in which the refugee crisis in Europe came to the attention of European politicians, the European media and European citizens. Following on from this, concentrating on the analysis on the last two years allows for an identification of the most recent developments in the discourse in the European discourse and policy development with regard to climate refugees. A limitation of concentrating on such a narrow and recent time period is the fact that concrete impacts of the discourse and actual policy implementation can barely be accessed.

Firstly, a set of 104 data sources was collected with the help of the key words: climate refugees and climate-induced migration and environmentally displaced people, natural disasters, forced displacement environment. Also, a combination of the words was deployed. Further keywords and synonyms for climate refugees were included. Moreover, in this context attention was paid to the regional context, specifically to what extend the text mentioned the region to be prone to climate change or environmental disasters.

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Secondly, to identify the documents dealing with hospitality the six dimensions of hospitality were deployed as coding key words in the Coding Program NVivo 12. Furthermore, as it has been extensively outlined before that it is central that the European Commission refers to international as well as to European law, the documents were also searched for references to both international and European law. This included both terms as key words as well as the references to specific international or European laws such as the 1948 Declaration or 1951 UN Convention. Below the key words are listed:

- Accommodation facilities
- Financial support
- Geopolitical Interest
- Integration efforts
- Politics of Identity
- Reference to EU law
- Reference to international law
- Religious and cultural freedoms

Thirdly, 44 documents were identified to deal with one or more of the knots listed above. For the coding of the data, the Coding Program NVivo11 was deployed. With the help of this program, sentences, parts of a sentence or paragraphs can be assigned to categories, which are called knots in the program. Three knots were used:

1. European Commission problem description regarding hospitality towards climate refugees in developing countries
2. European Commission solution discourse
3. European Commission solution implementation.

These three knots lead the discussion on the three subordinate research questions regarding the European Commission policy description regarding hospitality, the European Commission solution discourse and policy implementation. In sub-knots (sub-dimensions) different problem descriptions, solutions and implemented solutions are identified and categorized.

Most of the European Commission documents were published within the policy area of EU Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection and only a few documents were published in the EU International Assistance and Development policy area.. As the European Commission outlines itself, protection of and support for any kind of refugee falls traditionally under the scope of the EU humanitarian aid policies. Hence, it is not surprising that the majority of data is retrieved from this EU policy sphere. Again, no data was found on the DG Migration and Home Affairs. Most data had a reginoal focus on Africa, and more particularly on the Horn of Africa region.

4.3. Limitations

Firstly, this thesis concentrates on a very limited period of time from January 2014- May 2016 regarding the discourse and policy implementation of the European Commission. In this respect, little can be said about the basis of this thesis beyond the time span from which the data was collected. Especially considering that discourses can shift quickly and if the high influx of refugees continues, policies might

target particularly refugees of war and violence and leave climate refugees out of the discussion and policy focus.

Secondly, the analysis focuses particularly on the discourse of refugees and on the policy implementation in the in developing countries. This implies that even if the European Commission is identified as a normative power on climate refugees in these external policies, this does not need to have to reflect its internal discourse and policy implementation on climate refugees.

Thirdly, the thesis focuses on a very limited niche of European external policies and therefore few generalizations can be made with regard to other external policy areas and the extent to which the EU can be identified within other policy spheres as a normative power or not.

Fourthly, triangulation of data sources was deployed only to a certain extent as data was collected in the form of different documents, ranging from European Commission Communications, policy memos, policy factsheets and policy reports to speeches of members of the European Commission. However, no interview were conducted to receive more private and differentiated opinions from members of the European Commission on this topic.

Fifthly, in this thesis the European Commission discourse and policy development regarding climate refugees are analyzed. Hence, from the position of one important actor, little can be said about the positions of the European member states or the European Parliament. In addition, no generalizations about the European Union "as a whole" can be made, as only one actor among three has been analyzed and consequently the position only reflects the discourse and policy implementation of the European Commission.

5. Analysis

5.1. The European Commission's definition of climate refugees

5.1.1. Environmental – and climate change and migration

The basis of European refugee law is the 1951 UN Convention relating to the Status of Refugees. In this international law refugees are clearly defined:

"*As a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951, and owing to a wellfounded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his (sic) nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself (sic) of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his (sic) former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable, or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it*" (*United Nations, 2007, p.16)

In this definition, there are four main components associated with the term refugee: (1) the person of question has to be outside the country of his /her nationality or former residence; (2) The person must fear persecution and (3) the fear of persecution must originate in reason of 'race', nationality, religion, membership of a particular social group or political opinion. Lastly, (4) the fear of persecution must be well-founded (McNamara, 2007). None of these categories leaves room for including people fleeing

from climate change. Thus, based on this definition the European Commission cannot define people fleeing from natural disaster as refugees.

Taking a closer look at the main reasons the European Commission calls to be responsible for flight and migration, war and persecution is listed first, followed by social instability, poverty and environmental change, climate change and natural disasters among others (European Commission Staff Working Paper, 2008; European Commission Communication, 2011; European Commission Communication, 2013; European Parliament, 2016). This means, even though not included in the definition of refugees, the European Commission acknowledges that environmental and climate change as well as natural disasters can multiply and intensify drivers of migration and flight. In this regard, the key claim of the European Commission is that one can hardly detangle poverty, conflicts over resources, social instability and environmental and climate change from each other as they stand in reciprocal relations to one another and can consequently influence and intensify each other. For the European Commission, the main driver of migration is to secure the individual or family livelihood and many factors can impact livelihood and force people to migrate (European Commission Staff Working Document, 2013). According to the European Commission, one isolated factor rarely influences the decision to migrate; usually it is a complex set of interacting factors (European Commission Communication, 2013; Science for Environmental Policy, 2015; Ammer et al.; 2014; European Parliament, 2016). Consequently, for the European Commission, economic social and environmental factors are very closely related and impact the decision to migrate.

The European Commission identifies environmental phenomena such as floods, droughts, hurricanes, land-and mudslides as well as different forms of environmental degradation and depletion like, for example, degrading agricultural land and water scarcity as drivers for flight as well as factors influencing migration patterns (European Commission Staff Working Paper, 2008; European Commission Staff Working Document, 2013; Warner et al., 2013). In this context, three types of regions are identified which are particularly prone to natural disasters and environmental change: (1) mountain regions, (2) low elevation coastal regions and small islands and (3) dry and semi-arid regions.

People living in mountain regions such as the Andes or the Himalayas are particularly prone to natural disasters as, due to melting glaciers, floods as well as land- and mudslides can destroy houses and infrastructure, including sanitation, electricity and access roads. In addition, melting glaciers can lead to (clean) water scarcity in mountain regions (European Commission Staff Working Document, 2013)

Low elevation coastal areas and low-laying islands such as the coastal areas of Bangladesh and Haiti and small islands such as Tuvalu can be impacted by stronger and more intense rainfall and hurricanes. These phenomena pose a severe threat to mega cities in coastal areas and along river deltas of the Nile, the Mekong or the Ganges (European Commission Staff Working Document, 2013). (Mega)cities along these deltas are not only disaster prone, they also attract migrants from the countryside and therefore it is expected that these cities will continue to grow. With regard to small and low-lying islands, in addition to more intense rainfall and hurricanes, the raising sea-level poses a severe threat to livelihoods on these islands; in worst case scenarios these islands might disappear. Rising sea levels and floods also pose a severe threat to low-lying coastal areas such as southern parts of United Kingdom, low-lying party of the Netherlands and Venice and might lead to migration within Europe to regions located at higher altitudes (European Commission Communication, 2013).

In dry and semi-arid regions, the lack of rainfall can lead to prolonged and more intense dry periods and droughts. A reduction in rainfall impacts water availability and increases soil degradation and desertification (European Commission Staff Working Document, 2013). Consequently, people suffer from water scarcity for irrigating the agricultural fields, the livestock and for their own consumption. All these factors can highly impact local livelihoods.

In addition to the differentiation between geographical regions which are prone to environmental and climate change, the European Commission identifies two different categories of environmental impacts causing migration: (a) sudden- onset of climate change and (b) slow- onset of climate change. The first category of environmental impacts is constituted of natural phenomena that are caused or intensified by anthropogenic actions and climate change such as, for example, (extreme) floods or hurricanes. The causal relationship between such events and climate change is well established (European Commission Communication, 2013). The European Commission claims that in the aftermath of such events, rapid evacuation and displacement of the local population is often the only way to save lives. In these cases, the displacement can be of a temporary nature and people might return to their homes once the extreme weather event is over. Consequences of sudden- onset of climate change are dealt with under the EU foreign policies targeting humanitarian aid and support after natural disasters. Additionally, the European Commission's international assistance and development policies aim to increase local resilience and provide financial and technical resources for local climate change mitigation and adaptation.

According to the European Commission, designing policy responses for the slow onset of climate is more problematic because no causal relationship between climate change and migration can be established as too many other factors impacting migration behavior such as poverty, social instability and local conflicts exist. Environmental factors are likely to impact human lives both directly and indirectly. Yet, migration routes caused by slow- onset climate change are primarily determined by economic pull factors and people tend to migrate to economic areas. On top of that, people migrating due to environmental changes tend to use already established (labor) migration channels (European Commission Communication, 2013). This movement pattern can pose new challenges to the migrants as many economic centers and megacities are also vulnerable to climate change impacts.

At this point in the analysis three aspects can be highlighted: (1) The European Commission frames environmental disasters and environmental change as a driver for displacement and migration. (2) The European Commission differentiates between three types of region which are particularly prone to environmental and climate change: mountains regions, low elevation coastal areas & small low-lying islands and dry and semi-arid regions. (3) The European Commission frames migration resulting from environmental and climate change as a problem occurring primarily in the Global South. Even though the European Commission identifies regions within Europe to be prone to climate change impacts, the focus is on supporting developing countries in coping with environmental and climate change and the resulting consequences of a growing migration influx to particular destinations.

Besides the diverse impacts of environmental and climate change on the local population, the European Commission claims that a key characteristic of people migrating and fleeing from environmental change is that they stay within their country of origin (Ammer et a., 2014). Hence, they are internally displaced persons (IDPs). To receive protection as a refugee, people affected must be located outside their former country of residence. So far, the European Commission and the European Union as a whole has not

formally agreed to an international legal definition of IDPs. In this context, the European Commission refers to the African Union, which drafted the 2009 Kampala Convention, a resolution on IDPs. Theoretically, this legal definition provides room for an incorporation of a legal definition of climate refugees who are displaced within national boundaries. Yet, in reference to IDPs and the international responsibility to protect them, the European Commission refers to the norms of state self-determination and associated responsibility to care for its people. Hence, this suggests that the European Commission is of the opinion that migration flows within country boundaries need to be managed by the national government.

5.1.2. Framing of people displaced due to environmental and climate change

The term "refugee" is defined in the 1951 UN Convention and is limited to victims of persecution for reasons of race, nationality, religion membership of a social group or political opinion. The term has a particular legal meaning. Environmental factors are not incorporated into this definition. Accordingly, the European Commission refrains to use the term refugee when referring to people displaced by natural hazards, environmental degradation or climate change. In addition, the European Commission underlines that it remains questionable in many cases to what extent environmental factors act as (the main) push factors in contrast to the economic pull factors of cities or more economically viable regions. Therefore, the European Commission argues that, at least at the moment, it is not feasible to widen the 1951 UN Convention. Consequently, the European Commission does not use the term "refugee" (European Commission Communication, 2013).

Another term used for people who move to a different place is the term migrant. Yet, the European Commission warns against using this term in a general manner for people on fleeing from events caused by environmental and climate change origins for the reason that the term migrant implies a degree of volition regarding the decision to move (Warner et al., 2013). Often, however, especially in cases of sudden onset of environmental change such as hurricanes and flooding, people do not have the option to stay. For that reason, the reference to a migrant in general terms is negated by the European Commission with regard to people who are displaced by environmental and climate change.

The term most commonly used by the European Commission to refer to people who flee from environmental change and natural disasters is the term "environmentally induced displaced person". The European Commission points out that this definition does not necessarily imply governance responsibility because the term "displaced person" is not yet legally defined (European Commission Communication, 2013). Thus, this term describes the phenomenon, however, it leaves it open as to who is responsible for protecting this particular kind of displaced person.

5.1.3. Measures to govern environmentally induced displaced people

The European Commission argues that the 1951 UN Convention is not the appropriate tool for governing aid for environmentally displaced people. Yet the European Commission refers to other instruments as being more suitable mechanisms to govern environmentally induced displaced persons: (1) the precautionary principle, (2) the common but differentiated responsibility, (3) the 1998 Guiding Principles of Internal Displacement and (4) the 2009 Kampala Convention (European Commission Communication, 2013).

The precautionary principle is a principle which can be found in international documents of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change as well in the Lisbon Treaty. In essence, this principle lays out that the burden of proof is on the actor committing an action, for example, showing that a

certain substance which flows into rivers is not harmful to the biodiversity and water quality or that certain gases emitted into the air do not contribute to climate change. In the end, this principle refers to potential mitigation of actions harming the climate or environment and thus does not protect people on the flight due to environmental or climate change, but rather governs environmental protection.

The common but differentiated responsibility refers to the responsibility of industrialized and developing nations with regard to climate change mitigation. Here, the focus lies on implementing global climate change mitigation measures but still acknowledging that developing states might have higher pollution levels to let their national economies grow. As the precautionary principle, the common but differentiated responsibility has its origin in climate change mitigation politics and also governs environmental protection and deals with the question of who (which state) is responsible for climate change to what extent.

The next mechanism is the first mechanism dealing with migration and flight and does not concentrate solely on mitigation of the people's movement, but on managing it. The 1998 Guiding Principles of Internal Displacement is a non-binding international instrument reflecting the international human law focusing on internally displaced people. In these guiding principles a particular reference is made to people fleeing from natural or man-made disasters (United Nations, 2004). Yet, again, this mechanism is not binding and hence it remains within the scope of each state how to apply these principles to its own locally displaced people.

The last instrument the European Commission names as a means to govern environmentally induced migration and flight is the 2009 Kampala Convention drafted by the African Union. This convention is the first legally binding international mechanism concerning internally displaced people. As in the 1998 Guiding Principles of Internal Displacement a reference is made to people fleeing from natural and man-made disasters (African Union, 2009, p.5). The European Commission refers to the 2009 Kampala Convention as a regional instrument, which can contribute to manage internal migration flows in African countries.

Overall, the European Commission seems to favor climate change mitigation over legal protection of people who are displaced due to natural hazards. This might result from the fact that the European Commission distinguishes between two different forms of climate change: a slow- and a sudden-onset of climate change. Victims of sudden- onset of climate change such as hurricanes, floods or land- and mudslides need quick disaster relief and humanitarian aid. Temporary displacement of affected people might be needed, yet usually they can return to their villages after the crisis is over. This kind of protection and humanitarian aid is provided by the European Commission within the DG ECHO as well as to some extent by the DG DEVCO. The European Commission is one of the biggest financial contributors of humanitarian aid (European Commission Communication, 2015b, 2016) and promotion of climate change mitigation and adaptation also contributes to build and increase resilience to events of sudden-onset of climate change. This suggests that the European Commission considers that for this kind of environmentally induced migration functioning support mechanisms are in place.

Slow-onset of climate change in contrast to that is more difficult to manage. Besides the increased movement of people from climate change prone and environmentally degraded regions, the European Commission raises the attention to two other groups of people affected by climate change and the migration: people left behind in natural disaster prone area who cannot afford to migrate and host communities of displaced people. With regard to the first group the European Commission points out

that this group of people should at least be as much of a concern as people migrating for climate and environmental change reasons as they lack the capabilities to migrate. Hence, they must cope with the change in the environment and might need more support, protection and aid than people who have the financial capacities to move. In addition the European Commission outlines that climate change induced migration is a phenomenon of developing countries, migrants might move internally or migrate to neighboring countries that are also prone to climate and environmental change. This can put additional stress on poor host communities and hence, these communities should also receive aid and support (European Commission Communication, 2016).

Lastly, migration and flight originating from climate change is a phenomenon which according the European Commission takes primarily place in developing countries; and for that reason adaptation and mitigation of slow-onset of climate change might be covered by the DG DEVCO. Lastly, the European Commission highlights that isolating climate and environmental change impact on migration from region in which change happens slowly can hardly be separated from poverty and resource conflicts (European Commission Communication, 2013); particularly as climate and environment change impacts these factors directly and indirectly, e.g. through an decrease in harvest and water and agricultural land availability.

5.2. The problem description and demanded solution of the hospitality discourse of the European Commission

Today, more than 60 million people are on the move and this is the highest rate of displacement since the Second World War (European Commission Communication, 2016). Out of this 60 million refugees and IDPs 86% of these people find asylum or are internally displaced in developing countries (European Commission Communication, 2016).This means people who are forced to leave their homes find refuge in countries suffering from poverty and food insecurity (European Commission, 2015h).

In different studies, the European Commission identifies climate change to be among the top drivers of human displacement next to civil war, persecution, hunger and poverty (European Commission Communication, 2015, 2016; European Commission Decision, 2015). These factors are connected to and reciprocally influence each other. For that reason the European Commission argues, along the one prominent line of argumentation in the scientific world that one single factor of migration can rarely be isolated (compare for example Black et al., 2011; Myers, 2002). Climate change induced migration, as well as the majority of flight related to violence, war and hunger, is preliminary taking place in the developing countries and as the European Commission declared migration as one of the primary interest of EU external policies (European Commission Communication, 2015). In 2016, the European Commission has adopted the highest humanitarian aid budget in the European history (European Commission, 2015g).

A particular interest with regard to supporting refugees is to develop sustainable long-term solutions for refugees and IDPs which foster self-reliance, self-determination of the forcibly displaced people and independence from humanitarian aid (European Commission DG International Cooperation and Development, 2014; European Commission, 2015h, 2016e; European Commission Communication, 2016). The European Commission advocates that in this context the upholding of International Humanitarian Law, the right of protection, shelter, access to food, education and labor is a human

imperative (European Commission, 2016i). Among others, the European Commission highlights that these rights are vital to ensure the dignity of human being. This is especially relevant, as many developing countries do not have capacities to cope with massive, long-term influx of refugees and IDPs. Increasing pressure on resources intensifies tensions and can lead to conflict between displace persons and local population. For this reason increasing capabilities of forcibly displaced persons and foster their resilience can create a win-win situation between host community and refugee as both parties benefit from the migration process (European Commission Communication, 2016).

The European Commission has also identified a number of barriers which hinder the realization of the overall goal of enabling refugees to a life in dignity and self-determination and to create a win-win situation for refugees and the host country: (1) climate change as a driver for migration and as a threat for displaced people and the local population in the host country, (2) the lack of capacities to cope with massive refugee influx of host countries, (3) thereof resulting restrictive policies regarding refugees, (4) humanitarian aid dependence of refugees, (5) the lack of synergies between humanitarian aid and development aid and lastly (6) breaches of international law. The European Commission tries to combat these factors with the help of a positive discourse on refugees and with particular policy implementation. The analysis below shows what these challenges are and how they are aimed to be overcome.

5.2.1. Climate change

Various regions of the world, first and foremost developing countries suffer from climate change impacts. Climate change, urbanization and rapid population growth lead to immense exploitation and degradation of natural resources (European Commission DG Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection, 2016). In the last two decades the quantities of natural disasters has grown from around 200 to more than 400 events and especially the number of floods and cyclones has intensely risen (European Commission DG Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection, 2016). This means that the ranges, the frequency as well as the scale of water related crisis has grown dramatically as well as the number of demands for humanitarian actions to support people who are in distress (European Commission DG Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection, 2016).

In autumn 2015 the Sahel zone, Lake Chad and the Horn of Africa suffered severely from droughts and floods related to the weather phenomenon El Niño (European Commission, 2016g). In in the south of Somalia alone, 145,200 people were hit by floods and in the north of the country over 340,000 people faced droughts. The pressure on resources has been further intensified by the flight of Yemini and Somali returnees, which added additional stress on the capacities of the local Somalian population (European Commission, 2015c). In Ethiopia, the country which is hosts the second largest refugee population in the Horn of Africa after Kenya, the number of food insecure people has more than tripled from 2.9 million to over than 10 million people in 2015 (European Commission, 2016d). In Kenya, current home to almost 600 000 refugees, El Niño put severe stress on the people as well as on agricultural fields (European Commission, 2016b). Consequently and owing to the reoccurring droughts in Sahel zone, Lake Chad and the Horn of Africa, recurrent food insecurity and lack of water, as well as the water quality is a paramount challenge for displaced people and the local population (European Commission, 2015b, 2016g).

The European Commission responses to these disasters through funding of food support, health services, water, sanitation hygiene, shelter and protection as the European Commission stresses that these factors have a tremendous impact on the individual livelihood and self-determination.

Consequently, the provision of assistance to people in crisis is a core principle of the European Commission (European Commission, 2016a).

5.2.2. Lack of capacities of host countries

A combination of violence and war, natural disasters, hunger and poverty forces people to leave their homes and livelihoods behind in order to find a place of protection, support and better living conditions. However, as a major part of migration takes places from one developing country to another, the coping capacities of the host countries to deal with a massive influx of refugees are often limited. As the example of Somalia and the high influx of Yemini refugees and Somalian returnees show, refugees can overstretch the capacities of already fragile, conflict and national disaster prone states to provide hospitality (European Commission, 2015c). In addition, local climate change phenomena and environmental stress such as food insecurity can trigger internal displacement across regions in one country and hence put further stress on the capacities of the host country in providing good living conditions to the local population, IDPs and refugees. Refugee camps can be overcrowded and forcibly displaced people face intensified stress regarding protection, access to shelter, other basic needs such as health, nutrition, water, sanitation, hygiene and education (European Commission, 2015h). Also people who resettle in urban areas, which has been more than 50% of all displaced people in 2014, face major challenges as they are prone to poverty, lack psychosocial support and might face violence and exploitation (European Commission, 2015h, European Commission Communication, 2016). In addition, a growing population, resulting from the refugee influx puts pressure on local public services as waste management, public education, housing and property prices, food prices and the overall stability (European Commission Communication, 2016). In both locations, women and children are the most vulnerable to discrimination, violation, exploitation and abuses (European Commission, 2015h, 2016c). In order to cope with the challenges arising from great refugee movements, countries are in need of (additional) humanitarian assistance (European Commission, 2016d).

5.2.3. Hostility towards refugees

Host governments tend to have a rather negative image of refugees (European Commission Communication, 2016). The dominant picture of a refugee is that he/ she is a burden to the local economy (European Commission, 2016e). In addition, the European Commission points out two fears of host countries (1) that too much humanitarian assistance, especially provided in form of cash, will increase the refugee's incentives to stay permanently in the host country and (2) if refugees receive aid in form of cash they will not spend it on the goods intended by the donators and the host country and instead save it up or spend it in the informal economy (European Commission DG International Cooperation and Development, n.d.). The European Commission took these claims seriously and for that reason conducted studies on the spending of the money received by the participants of the 'cash for work' programs and the result show that the beneficiaries tend to spend the money on the intended purposes. Hence, the European Commission underlines that claims of the host countries are not based on facts and to foster the host country's trust into the refugees, stronger communication with the host countries is needed.

For the European Commission a greater concern regarding the 'cash/ voucher for work' program is the fear of host countries that displaced people receive more money that the poor local host population. This can develop into greed and grievances of the local population. However, the European Commission highlights that this point can be resolved quite easily by taking the minimum salary of the host country into account when the amount of the 'cash for work' programs is determined.

In addition, refugees and IDPs often chose a country or region as destination in which family and relatives have already relocated. For that reason these refugees have often greater capacity to cope with poverty, rising housing -, property-, and food prices as the poor host population since the family can support them (European Commission Communication, 2016). Consequently, the European Commission fears that this can trigger mistrust, greed grievances and conflict between the local and the host population.

The prejudices against refugees of the host countries and the practice of humanitarian aid that does not fit to the local conditions drive host governments to encounter refugees with a hostile rather than with a welcoming attitude. In many countries refugees face restrictions which form a barrier to a life of dignity, self-reliance and social and economic interactions which the host community. Host policies can restrict labor market access and limit the possibility of movement and claims to residency in the country (European Commission Communication, 2016). This means, it is rarely possible to receive a long-term legal status of residence or citizenship as refugee (European Commission Communication, 2016). The lack of labor market access and an insecure long-term legal status drives refugees into permanent dependency of humanitarian aid and uncertainty about their futures.

With the aim of changing the negative picture of refugees, the European Commission is keen to create a more positive picture of refugees as they can serve as human capital to the host government's economies (European Communication DG International Cooperation and Development, 2014). When restrictive labor market access policies for refugees are implemented in the host countries, refugees cannot become independent from humanitarian aid, as they cannot generate an income. This means their skills remain unused human capital and on top of that, potential demand for local goods and services on local markets is restricted.

Moreover, discrimination on a fair and equal access to the labor market can foster the reappearance of child labor, forced labor, exploitative forms of work and the risk of social dumping, as refugees will work in informal markets for generating an income (European Commission Communication, 2016). Yet an integration of refugees into the host economy would create the possibility to receive tax revenues as well as an increased demand in goods and services (European Commission Communication, 2016). In consequence, refugees transform from a financial burden into a source of domestic state income.

5.2.4. Lack of synergies between Humanitarian Aid and Development Assistance

A major challenge in governing the well-being of forcibly displaced people is that they often remain dependent on humanitarian aid. Humanitarian aid can provide vital and important short-term assistance yet does not have the capacities to providing the foundation for a sustainable long-term solution, which is needed for refugees and internally displaced people (European Commission, 2016g; European Commission DG International Cooperation and Development, 2014). Long-term aid is development aid, which shall contribute to developing a sustainable perspective to gain a livelihood, so to say to create resilient communities. Yet, in the recent years, there has been rarely debated about the relationship between displacement and development aid (European Commission DG International Cooperation and Development, 2014).

Today, long-term crisis and permanent displacement have become the "new normal" (European Commission, 2016e). As a result management schemes need to be adapted and the European Commission outlines that identifying synergies between humanitarian aid and development assistance is essential to facilitate the refugee's opportunities to release their full potential and contribute to the

economic and social development of the host community (European Commission, 2016e). The European Commission claims that currently, it is too often the case that forcible displaced people do not benefit from development aid whereas in other cases the local poor population does not profit from humanitarian aid , which is usually only directed at refugees and IDPs.

The European Commission frames the diaspora as an important local actor who can support newly arrived forcibly displaced persons with administrative procedures, labor market integration and with fostering an understanding for the local culture (European Commission Communication, 2016). In addition, consultation of and communication with local and national actors is elementary to find the best solution for the local framing conditions for synergizing humanitarian and development aid. Consequently, humanitarian and development aid needs to stronger integrate with local development actors, local communities, civil society, the diaspora and the displaced people to ensure that none of the affected groups feels left behind in the provision of aid and support (European Commission, 2016e). In essence, the European Commission outlines that it is pivotal to minimize potential conflict between local population and forcibly displaced people, so that local communities see the displaced people as enrichment for the community.

5.2.5. Breaches of International Law

The last main barrier to the goals of the European Commission is breaches of international law. Humanitarian aid workers are exposed to the reoccurring violent attacks (European Commission, 2015e). Especially local humanitarian workers have been targeted by the violent attacks. In some regions safe access to victims cannot be guaranteed and for that reason life-saving aid cannot be delivered ((European Commission, 2015e).

The European Commission stresses that humanitarian assistance is need-based in its humanitarian approach and consequently it contributes to the fulfillment of human rights (European Commission DG Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection, 2016). Thus, creating barriers to humanitarian workers to fulfill their mission does not only threaten the lives of people dedicated to help other people in need, but it is also an obstacle regarding the fulfillment of the human rights of people in need. Within the sphere of humanitarian action, the European Commission highlights that it is crucial that missions are led by humanitarian values, so that protection is centered. Subsidiarity and solidarity are key principles as is the partnership between the humanitarian and the development community (European Commission, 2015a). On top of that, if possible, the European Commission prefers to work with local governments, which are called partners (European Commission, 2016b; European Commission Communication (2016). This shows that the European Commission advocates the fact that decisions on the implementation on the ground are made in accordance and in cooperation with the country that asked for humanitarian aid and by respecting international law.

5.3. Policy responses of the European Commission

The European Commission has designed a number of policy programs which are implemented as emergency aid programs in countries affected by crisis. Among war, natural disaster, a massive influx of refugees and the lack of capacities to cope with rising numbers of refugees and IDPs can lead to an emergency situation. The European Commission has four main priority areas which policy responses address regarding forcibly displaced persons: 'Cash/ Voucher for work' programs, fostering of education

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in crisis situation, WASH (which stands for Water, Sanitation and Hygiene) and the promotion of synergies through increased exchange and cooperation between development and humanitarian actors, local population, refugee, local and national governments. The European Commission highlights the need for an individual action plan for each country, as they differ in their needs, scopes and target populations.

5.3.1. Cash / Vouchers for Work

Host countries tend to have a rather negative image of refugees and consider them as a burden to the already weak social and economic systems. The European Commission is keen to promote a different approach in its policies and emphasizes the pivotal task of integrating refugees into the local community. Hereby, labor market integration and the access to public goods and services are centered.

When refugees are not allowed to participate in the formal economy, they consider other sources of income as the informal economy. The European Commission advocates that a possibility to minimize the incentives for creation of new informal economies and for the refugee's participation of already existing informal economies is to encourage the implementation of 'cash/voucher for work' programs. Cash assistance especially in the early stages after the arrival of the forcibly displaced people is highly important to provide them with a minimum of autarky and self-determination (European Commission DG Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection, n.d.-a). In cooperation with local communities, the need for work in the public sector, as for example shelter or road construction can be identified and the refugees can be employed in sectors which maintain for enhance public goods (European Commission Communication, 2016). This means, the local community can greatly benefit from the work of the refugees.

'Cash/Vouchers for work' is a tool to complement humanitarian in-kind aid. Under a specific condition, usually work, attendance of school, planting seeds, the provision of shelter or demobilization of rebels, beneficiaries receive conditional cash or voucher transfer (European Commission, n.d.-a). In some cases, unconditional aid is deployed which means that no conditions must be fulfilled to receive cash or vouchers (European Commission, n.d.-a). In these cases household needs are usually heterogeneous or the target groups are elderly or ill people (European Commission, n.d.-a). Both cash and vouchers can help to increase the resilience of households (European Commission, n.d.-b). With the help of vouchers and cash, refugees gain back a certain degree of autarky and can reduce their independence of in-kind humanitarian aid. In addition, cash assistance can help to (re)create local markets after a disaster whereas market structures need to be already established for the use of vouchers (European Commission, n.d.-b).

Telecommunication and the internet enable a quick and safe installment of 'cash/voucher for work' programs as banking and cash transfers can take place through the mobile phone. The European Commission outlines that this is especially helpful in areas in which banking infrastructures do not exist (European Commission Communication, 2016). The European Commission acknowledges furthermore that attention needs to be paid to the local situation. Cash- based aid should not exceed the local minimal income. In addition, to discourage conflict over resources from humanitarian and development aid, programs should target both, poor people of the refugee population, of the IDPs as well as of the local host population.

In addition, the 'cash for work' programs can provide a good first start of labor integration of the refugees in the short-run. The conditions can be designed in accordance with the host country and the private sector (European Commission, n.d.-a). In the long-term the European Commission suggests that information about the skills, qualifications and past occupations of the refugees can be collected in data bases so that forcibly displaced people can be employed according to their skills in sectors in which human capital is needed (European Commission Communication, 2016). For that however, a stronger exchange between local private and public sector and the refugee is needed. In that way, benefits for both the host country and the forcibly displaced people can be maximized.

5.3.2. Education

A main concern of the European Commission is education of emergencies. Education in crisis is one of the most underfunded area worldwide (European Commission, 2015d). Two thirds of the needs for education in emergency situation are currently underfunded and for that reason there is the threat of a whole lost generation of young people who cannot access education (European Commission, 2015d).

Education in emergencies is an area of humanitarian action, which has long been overshadowed by the demands of quick supply of in-kind aid of food, shelter and protection (European Commission, 2016h). Yet, in recent years the European Commission has identified education as a prime area of action. For that reason the European Commission has set out the protection of children, including their right to education and non-discrimination as a top priority and increased the budget on education in emergencies from 1% to 4% (European Commission, 2015f; 2015g). The current EU Commissioner for Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection Christos Stylianides himself declared education is one of his main priorities of EU humanitarian aid policies (European Commission, 2015d, 2015g). The European Commission highlights that attendance of primary, secondary and higher education can contribute to a better future of children and teenagers, especially to those of girls and young women (European Commission Communication, 2016). Girls and women are particularly at risk of discrimination of basic rights, abuses and exploitation.

In addition to providing the basis for a brighter future for forcibly displaced children, school serves as the major integration institution for children and teenagers since they learn the language spoken in their host country. Especially for young children school is a safe place to interact and play with other children and can therefore facilitate overcoming the trauma of war, violence and the time of the flight (European Commission DG Humanitarian Aid and Civil Development, 2016). In order to make best use of all human capital available and to implement the children's right of education, the European Commission proposes that refugees who have been employed as teachers or other education personnel should help to establish the right of education in this emergency situation and help to raise intercultural awareness within the hosting education system (European Commission Communication, 2016).

5.3.3. WASH

In emergency situations the provision of food, health services, water, sanitation and hygiene, shelter and protection are highlighted as European Commission priorities (European Commission, 2016a). The European Commission is one of the largest humanitarian aid donor of WASH assistance. WASH is one of the three main sectors of humanitarian operations of the European Commission along with food and health (European Commission DG Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection, 2014). The European Commission hereby emphasizes the fact that access to clean drinking water is of pivotal importance for survival. Safe and clean water is necessary for drinking and food preparation, for ensuring a minimal

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level of hygiene, which can protect from diverse sanitation related and vector–borne related diseases and in addition, water is needed or agricultural cultivation and livestock (European Commission DG Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection, 2014). WASH is a policy instrument, which can contribute to lifesaving, especially in the short term after the emergency.

WASH is a program, which highly relies on synergies and the communication with other humanitarian aid actors and the local population. In order to set up a water and sanitation infrastructures the European member states civil protection services are needed as they can contribute knowledge, skill and therefore a safe and quick building of water and sanitation infrastructure (European Commission DG Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection, 2014). In addition, it is essential to know about and mitigate between different local water needs and to raise awareness for a sustainable water management in industries with extensive water such as in livestock, agriculture and the brick stone industry (European Commission DG Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection, 2014). The exchange with local actors can contribute to long-term change in the behavior of the local population relating to its water uses and hygiene behavior (European Commission DG Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection, 2014). As the European Commission outlines WASH is designed to have an impact beyond the period of humanitarian assistance.

5.3.4. Synergies

A core priority of the European Commission with regard to refugees is to end the long-term dependence and to foster self-reliance of the refugees. In this regard, Christos Stylianides outlined that even though permanent crisis have become the new normality, they are usually still managed in old ways (European Commission, 2016e). This means that for refugees and IDPs long-term solution must be designed, yet currently the gap between emergency aid and development assistance is too wide (European Commission, 2016i). For the European Commission the foundation for a closer cooperation of humanitarian and development actors is the common upholding and promotion of the International Humanitarian Law (European Commission, 2016e). On this basis and reaffirming the common goal of providing the aid so that people can create resilience more structured cooperation and knowledge sharing should be created (European Commission Communication, 2016). Consequently, on the one hand synergies between emergency and development aid needs to be facilitated, enhanced and encouraged. On the other hand, forcibly displaced people should be fully able to integrate into the host communities through legal, economic and social processes (European Commission Communication, 2016).

A 2016 introduced program of the European Commission is the Regional (Development and) Protection Program (RDPP). The aim of this program is to create the framing conditions for each of the three sustainable solutions of asylum and refugees: repatriation, local integration or resettlement (European Commission Communication, 2016). Repatriation is according to the European Commission the preferred long-term outcome for most refugees as they hope to return to their home countries after the crisis (European Commission, 2015h). The other two solutions are local integration either in the host country or in a third country (European Commission, 2015h). Comparing the amount of integration outside of the home country, the numbers of displacement to a third country are very small (European Commission Communication, 2016). The European Commission also brings the attention to the need of accessing the capacities and needs of the local as well as of the refugee population. The RDPP is an inclusive tool, as the best outcome regarding developmental processes for both groups can be accessed (European Commission Communication, 2016).

In addition, the European Commission points to other programs, which are (re)designed to provide a better exchange with local needs. The WASH program for example draws the attention to the needs of access water of local businesses and industries as well as the agricultural sector. The 'cash/voucher for work' program has become more sensitive to the local conditions, especially regarding minimum income of the local population. For example in Afghanistan after great floods a 'cash for shelter' program was initiated in which families received the money to (re)built a house for them so that the high need for shelter could be reduced (European Commission DG Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection, n.d.-a). Moreover, also 'cash/voucher for work' programs can be improved through closer exchange to identify in which areas workers are needed so that long-term employment of the refugees beyond the 'cash for work' program can be achieved.

In the matrix below, the results of the analysis to this point are summarized. The five priority target areas, a summarized problem description regarding each target area, an outline of the demands of the European Commission to solve the problems and an overview of the implementation of the advocated demands to target the problems are shown.

Table 8 Overview Policy description, demands to solve the problems and solution implementation of the European Commission

Target areas	Problem description of the European Commission	Demands of the European Commission to solve the problem	European Commission solution implementation
Climate change impacts	• Food insecurity • Water scarcity • Poor water quality • Destroyed and ruined shelters	• Provision of food existence • Promotion of water and sanitation infrastructure • Promotion of hygiene • Fostering resilience though climate change mitigation and adaptation mechanisms	• WASH • Local adaption and mitigation mechanisms • In-kind assistance
Lack of host countries capacity to cope with forcibly displaced people	• Fragile, unstable, weak states • Overpopulation in refugee camps • Lack of basic service provision as food, shelter, water, sanitation and hygiene, education • Pressure on public waste management • Conflict over accommodation and properties	• Provision of short term humanitarian in-kind aid to provide basic needs • Provision of food • Promotion of water and sanitation infrastructure • Promotion of hygiene	• WASH • RDPP • In-kind assistance
Hostility towards forcibly displaced people	• Restriction on labor participation of refugees • Discrimination, exploitation and abuse of refugees • Restriction on access to public services • Insecure legal long-term status • Greed of local citizens	• Refugee as contributor to host economy • Access to public services • Work programs for forcibly displaced people as an introduction to the labor market • Granting of citizenship for long-term refugees • Designing refugee support programs according to local living standards • Exchange over integration measures between local population, refugees, private and public sector	• Cash/ Voucher for Work programs • RDPP

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Target areas	Problem description of the European Commission	Demands of the European Commission to solve the problem	European Commission solution implementation
Lack of synergies	• Conflicts between refugees and local population over humanitarian and development aid • Lack of capacity of humanitarian assistance to provide long-term support	• Better coordination between humanitarian and development actors • Greater inclusion of local population and refugee into decision making processes • Greater coordination with national governments and local private sector	Synergies and communication improved in the different programs such as: • WASH • CASH/Voucher for Work program • RDPP
Breaches of International Law	• Violence against (local) humanitarian aid workers • Violation of human rights of forcibly displaced people due to host countries lack of capacities • Violation of human rights of forcibly displaced people and local population due lack of communication on the part of humanitarian and development actors	• Better coordination of humanitarian assistance between development actors and local actors, such as forcibly displaced people, local communities and governmental bodies • Better coordination between humanitarian and development actors	

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Target areas	Problem description of the European Commission	Demands of the European Commission to solve the problem	European Commission solution implementation
Lack of synergies	• Conflicts between refugees and local population over humanitarian and development aid • Lack of capacity of humanitarian assistance to provide long-term support	• Better coordination between humanitarian and development actors • Greater inclusion of local population and refugee into decision making processes • Greater coordination with national governments and local private sector	Synergies and communication improved in the different programs such as: • WASH • CASH/Voucher for Work program • RDPP
Breaches of International Law	• Violence against (local) humanitarian aid workers • Violation of human rights of forcibly displaced people due to host countries' lack of capacities • Violation of human rights of forcibly displaced people and local population due to lack of communication of humanitarian and development actors	• Better coordination of humanitarian assistance and development actors with local actors, such as forcibly displaced people, local communities and governmental bodies • Better coordination between humanitarian and development actors	

Source the author based on the analysis

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6. Conclusion

International individual law has changed the international society and the European Union has been eager in various policy topics to push for formal commitment to norms, accordingly, the European Union has been identified on diverse topics as a normative power. This thesis aimed to analyze to what extent the notion 'normative power' can explain the discourse and policy development on climate refugees of one important European actor, namely the European Commission.

6.1. Answering the research questions

6.1.1. Answering the first sub-research question

The first sub-research posed in this thesis was: "**How does the European Commission define climate refugees?**". The first part the analysis concentrated on identifying the definition of climate refugees of the European Commission. The analysis shows that the European Commission clearly defines climate and environmental change as a driver of migration and flight. The European Commission provides moreover an outline of particularly climate change prone regions and conceptualizes how different natural phenomena can force people to migrate. In cases of the sudden- onset of climate change, people need to flee from natural hazards and need to be immediately replaced to safe places. In scenarios of a slow- onset of climate change, natural degradation for example by droughts force people to migrate. The European Commission explains that according to its understanding, the term "refugee" cannot be broadened for the inclusion of people on the flight from consequences of climate and environmental change since climate change and environmental drivers of flight cannot be separated from economic or social drivers as poverty and hunger. In this context, the European Commission argues that one cannot isolate one single factor. The European Commission hereby implies that the people might not flee from climate change; instead, people flee from poverty and hunger. Both are drivers of flight which climate change can negatively influence. In the end, this means that the European Commission questions to what extend a changing climate and environment influence human lives directly in such a way that they can be identified as the main driver of flight and migration.

Consequently, the European Commission does not propose concrete policies on governing the flight from climate change and environmental causes. In addition, as the European Commission outlines that it lacks scientific evidence on direct linkages of climate and environmental change and flight, no definition of climate refugees is given. The European Commission refers in this context to 'environmentally displaced people', yet the theoretical and legal scope of this term is not completely determined and leaves room for argumentation of which environmentally related scenarios can cause environmentally displaced people and who, national governments or the international community is responsible for governing the displacement. It seems that as the European Commission lacks scientific evidence on the climate/ environmental change – flight relationship, the European Commission is hesitant to formulated a clear and precise definition of environmentally replaced people and the scope of action of the international community as well as of nation states.

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6.1.2. Answering the second sub-research question

The second part of the analysis aimed to answer the following sub-research question: "**What kind of hospitality is promoted in the discourse and policy implementation of the European Commission regarding climate refugees**"

Below, a matrix shows the six dimensions of hospitality, the indicators identified in the discourse and policy implementation of the European Commission and the corresponding indicators of the three streams of hospitality in liberalism, critical cosmopolitanism and liberal cosmopolitanism. The matrix is a summarized version of the complete matrix outlining all indicators of all three streams, including those indicators, which have not been identified in the discourse and policy implementation of the European Commission. The complete matrix can be found in the appendix.

In the following section, each dimension will be explored with the aim of outlining the discourse and policy implementation on hospitality. The matrix below shows that the European Commission deals only with five of the six dimensions of hospitality in its discourse and policy implementation. The dimension cultural and religious freedom dimension has not been covered by the EU discourse and implementation of hospitality in the area of humanitarian assistance.

6.1.2.1. The politics of identity

The analysis of the European Commission discourse and policy implementation shows that the European Commission aims to foster a sense of belonging between forcibly displaced persons and the local population. Usually migration takes place between neighboring countries or from countries with low economic productivity and/or climate change prone regions to economic centers within a country (European Commission Communication, 2016). The European Commission criticizes the fact that long-term refugees rarely have the possibility to become citizens of their host country. Legal integration of displaced people is a priority of the European Commission discourse on hospitality; the final step of integration is the access to citizenship. No particular reference is made in the documents of the European Commission concerning action to facilitate family reunion. Yet, the European Commission clearly highlights that it considers the diaspora an important actor of governing integration of forcibly displaced people (European Commission Communication, 2016). The European Commission emphasizes that the diaspora can initially support refugees in their host country, as they are already integrated into the labor markets and know about administrative procedures, local habits, norms and customs. Hence, with this position, the European Commission pushes host countries to rethink their definitions of "in" and "out" groups. It also emphasizes that the European Commission promotes an inclusion of diaspora and forcibly displaced persons into the "in" group.

Consequently, as there is a demand for means of integrating refugees into the local population, the discourse and policy implementation on the dimension "the politics of identity" of the European Commission originates in the critical cosmopolitan discourse. This highlights the need for exchange with and embracing of the foreigner to provide the stranger with a pleasant stay and the enforcement of long-term residence through formal integration measures, such as the granting of citizenship.

6.1.2.2. Accommodation facilities

In contrast to the dimension "politics of identity", the indicators of the accommodation dimension are barely covered in the European Commission discourse on policy implementation of hospitality. The main reason for this may lie in the fact that developing countries often have very limited capacities to cope with refugee influx. In many cases, developing countries already receive assistance to cover the needs of

their own population and, accordingly, they also lack the capacities to take care of displaced people. Consequently, the European Commission provides in-kind assistance to refugees so that forcibly displaced people have access to shelter, protection, water, sanitation, hygiene and education. This means, in this context the European Commission takes up the responsibility of the host country to provide a minimum of hospitality in order to cover the most pressing needs of survival.

In addition, as Christos Stylianides, the Commissioner for Humanitarian Assistance and Civil Protection, has outlined after his visit to Kenya's largest refugee camp he acknowledges that the support for refuges is a task no country can cope with alone (European Commission, 2016b). Hence, even though the European Commission seems to prefer the establishment of long lasting, sustainable housing facilities such as provided in the Shelter for Work program in Afghanistan, it seems that in cases of massive displacement of people the European Commission does not have the capacity to create houses for each family. Moreover, after a great disaster provisional shelter and covering the basic needs might be most pressing.

Regarding the second indicator, this means that one can argue that discourse and implementation of hospitality diverge in the ideals of the discourse and in reality. On the one hand, there is the idea of providing long-term shelter and, on the other hand, provisional accommodations which are provided in emergencies and in refugee camps. Hence, it seems that the European Commission lacks the capacities to implement the demands of its own discourse. Yet, concerning the often very low housing standards in developing countries, and the more pressing need for providing emergency assistance one might argue that, if aid capacities are limited, in-kind assistance might be more important in the short term in order to guarantee the survival of the displaced people. Consequently, (due to a lack of capacities) the discourse highlights elements of the hospitality discourse in liberalism.

6.1.2.3. Financial support

Financial autarky of forcibly displaced people is a top priority of the European Commission's discourse and policy implementation. Whereas some developing countries do not have the capacity to support displaced people financially, other countries consider the refugees as a burden and for that reason do not provide financial assistance with the aim of minimizing the spending on forcibly replaced people.

The European Commission constantly warns against the exclusion of refugees from the local labor markets, as it fosters dependencies, informal market structures and the greed of the displaced people, which can spark conflicts with the local population. Subsequently, the European Commission strongly encourages host communities to integrate displaced people into the local labor market structures. To support host countries in this endeavor, 'cash/voucher for work' programs are promoted and implemented by partner organizations of the European Commission. In the time period that was analyzed in this thesis the European Commission responded to (local) critics of this program by enhancing the consultation with the local community to identify local framing conditions such as the local minimum wage and sectors, which are in need of manpower. Though this program, independence of refugees from humanitarian aid can be created, economic sectors in need can benefit from additional man power, and the local economy profits from increased spending on good, food and services by the forcibly displaces people.

For the third indicator one can stress that a primary concern of the European Commission is to achieve independence from humanitarian assistance and the need for individual autarky for forcibly displaced people. In many countries, refugees and IDP's receive financial support from the European Commission

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and the main focus seems to be on equipping the displaced person with financial capital so that they can sustain their own life. This is pivotal as in some cases financial support might not guarantee autarky when the assistance is below minimum wage as the local minimum wage is already very low. This means, regarding the third indicator, that the European Commission promotes a discourse and policy implementation based on the fundamental part of critical cosmopolitanism that displaced people should have the possibility for financial autarky. However, local framing conditions and the needs of the local populations need to be taken into account when forcibly displaced people are integrated into the host country.

6.1.2.4. Integration efforts

As already pointed out under the dimensions "financial support", labor market integration is a key concern of the European Commission. In addition to this, education has been announced as one of the top priorities of humanitarian policies. On the one hand, schools are seen as a safe haven for children where they can temporally forget about flight, violence and poverty, and for some time enjoy the right of a child to play. On the other hand, schools are considered to be places to form the future of the children. In schools, refugee children learn the local language, norms and habits. Integrating forcibly displaced people who have the profession of teacher or educational practitioner into the local education system is central aim for the European Commission as it can create reciprocal understanding among populations and provides displaced people with a perspective for local integration.

With regard to the fourth indicator, the European Commission is clearly leaning towards a liberal cosmopolitan approach, however, as the outline of the indicators show, critical and liberal cosmopolitanism formulate demands which lie relatively close to each other. However, keeping in mind the crucial need for education and labor market integration to achieve aid independence and financial autarky from humanitarian aid, which is a declared aim of the European Commission humanitarian policy, one can argue that education and labor market integration are main priorities of the European Commission and should be facilitated as soon as possible in the host country. This becomes evident in the cash/vouchers for work programs as well as in the integration of education into the rapid in-kind humanitarian assistance after a disaster. Consequently, this indicator could be assigned to the liberal cosmopolitan stream, yet as integration remains a key word of the European Commission regarding this dimension of hospitality, this dimension should be assigned to the discourse on hospitality in critical cosmopolitanism. If the European Commission were truly opting for a liberal instead of a critical cosmopolitan approach on this dimension, the European dimension would not demand that host communities indicate where workers are needed so that displaced people can contribute with this work to the local community, rather the displaced people could decide in which sector they would like to work. Moreover, cultural exchange and co-existence would be favored over integration

6.1.2.5. Religious and cultural freedom

This dimension is the only one not covered in the data sources. This may be due to the fact that religious and cultural freedoms are not of pivotal importance under the scope of humanitarian aid. Even though the European Commission is ambiguous in foster synergies between humanitarian aid and development assistance, traditionally humanitarian aid aims to provide people with a basis for survival and, to a certain extent, a road map to becoming self-reliant. In comparison to needs such as food, water, sanitation and health, the right of religious and cultural freedom seems to not be considered as one of the most pressing issues in a crisis. In addition to this, the establishment of the right to religion and

cultural freedom might be targeted under the scope of other EU external policy areas, for example, under the scope of minority rights or human rights.

6.1.2.6. The politics of geopolitical interest

The European Commission is a keen promoter of fostering regional and local cooperation and partnerships. Through this, the European Commission claims, mobility and flight can be managed in a better way. The RDPP shows that the European Commission is keen to broaden local partnership into global networks as European member states or other countries can serve as a permanent host countries for the refugees.

A main rationale behind this promotion is the provision of stability in the region. Even though this might facilitate movement of forcibly displaced people, it is clearly evident that, regarding the last indicator, the European Commission promotes regional political stability over hospitality and thus can be assigned to liberalism and critical cosmopolitanism.

6.1.2.7. Conclusive remarks on the hospitality discourse and policy implementation of the European Commission

Overall, it seems that the European Commission promotes hospitality in which the individual is the center of concern. International individual rights are cited in the documents of the European Commission and contribute to the upholding of universal, individual rights seems to be a main aim of the humanitarian policies. However, as the analysis shows, discourse and policy implementation can diverge. It seems that the European Commission has identified the lack of cooperation of local, national and regional actors as the main barrier for local acceptance of European Commission policy programs and, consequently, the European Commission has improved its policy design. The actual policy implementation depends on persuading actors on all different levels of the local need of the policy programs and therefore of the need for a welcoming culture in the host countries. It seems that for the European Commission the essence of coping with refugees is to integrate them into the local economy so that they can contribute to a growing economy of the host country. In cases where host countries cannot cope with high numbers of refugees and displaced people, the European Commission further calls for international solidarity; through mechanisms such as the RDPP forcibly displaced people can find a new home in third countries.

Consequently, the analysis shows that the discourse and policy implementation with regard to forcibly displaced people, climate refugees also come under this definition, is shaped by a focus on individual rights. The upholding of individual rights is promoted on the ground through in-kind assistance of basic needs as well as through education and labor market integration programs. Yet, the analysis also clearly shows that the European Commission does not demand in its discourse or policy implementation that the host countries should promote hospitality over their own economic and geopolitical interests. Instead, the host countries institutions should govern the integration process with the help of humanitarian workers and European Commission support. Moreover, the European Commission acknowledges that many host countries with great numbers of forcibly displaced people such as Kenya and Somalia have little (economic) capacities to cope with the influx of displaced people. In order to take pressure off them, the European Commission provides in-kind aid and promotes regional and international cooperation on the migration issue.

In addition, the discourse as well as the policy implementation of the European Commission strongly targets the integration of refugees in the local communities. The European Commission pushes for labor

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market integration and educational integration so that refugees can learn local languages, norms and habits. For this reason, one can conclude that overall the European Commission uses the rationale of the critical cosmopolitanism discourse of hospitality as a basis for its discourse and policy development on hospitality.

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Table 9 Summarized version: the hospitality discourse and policy implementation of the European Commission

Dimension	Indicators Hospitality in Liberalism	Indicators Hospitality in Critical Cosmopolitanism	Indicator Hospitality in Liberal Cosmopolitanism	Hospitality discourse of the European Commission
Politics of Identity		Citizens of the local state belong to the nation state, but temporary "guest" are welcomed. Refugees have the possibility to become citizens.		The European Commission try to foster though mobility and migration cooperation a sense of partnership. European Commission promotes an easier access to citizenship in host country.
Accommodation facilities	Refugees share large bedrooms with many other refugees. There are a small numbers of sanitation facilities for many persons.			The European Commission promotes in-kind assistance of shelter, protection, water, sanitation, hygiene and education to provide a minimum of living standard.
Financial support		Financial support is provided for refugee but in a smaller amount than for unemployed national citizens.	Refugees receive the same financial support as national citizens.	The European Commission sees financial autarky as key for life in self-determination.
Integration efforts		Refugees receive work permit after temporary residence permit is granted. Children get quickly integrated into the school system and also other education possibilities are available for teenagers and adults.	After arrival of refuge, labor market integration of refugees has high priority. Refugees have the same rights to go to school and to participate in the same education facilities as residents of the host country.	The European Commission highly promotes labor market integration. Education is a top priority of European Commission humanitarian aid.

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Dimension	Indicators Hospitality in Liberalism	Indicators Hospitality in Critical Cosmopolitanism	Indicator Hospitality in Liberal Cosmopolitanism	Hospitality discourse of the European Commission
Religious and cultural freedom				No particular reference is made
Politics of geopolitical interest	State has a high interest in safeguarding beneficial economic relations with other states. State has a high interest in safeguarding beneficial political relations with other states.	State has a high interest in safeguarding beneficial economic relations with other states State has a high interest in safeguarding beneficial political relations with other states.		The European Commission tries to emphasize cooperation and partnership among neighbor countries, particularly on the issue of mobility and migration.

Source the author based on the analysis

6.1.3   Answering the main research question

The main research question was posed: "**How can the notion 'normative power' explain the position of the European Commission on climate refugees from January 2014 until May 2016?**". The discourse and policy development of humanitarian aid of the European Commission shows that the demands of the European Commission discourse and policy development are anchored in critical cosmopolitanism, as the refugee's integration into the local community is the declared goal and since the impacts of the refugees on the economy and the geopolitics of the host country are a severe concern.

In the theoretical framework, four expectations were formulated. Each expectation formulates a condition that the European Commission needs to fulfill, if it is a normative power on climate refugees. For this reason, this expectations must be assessed to determine whether or not the discourse and policy implementation of the European Commission suggests that the European Commission is a normative power on climate refugees or not.

The four expectations are the following:

(1) If the European Commission is a normative power on climate refugees, then the European Commission promotes hospitality based on the demand of unconditional hospitality.

(2) If the European Commission is a normative power on climate refugees, then the European Commission prioritizes hospitality over national economic interests.

(3) If the European Commission is a normative power on climate refugees, then the European Commission promotes a prioritization of hospitality over its national geopolitical interests.

(4) If the European Commission is a normative power on climate refugees, then the basis of European Commission discourse and policy implementation on climate refugees is international law (primarily 1948 UN Declaration).

As the analysis shows, the discourse of the European Commission derives from critical cosmopolitanism. Based on this, the first, second and third expectations must be rejected, as the European Commission does not promote a liberal cosmopolitanism discourse and policy implementation on hospitality. The national interests of the host country are taken into account in the discourse and policy implementation and hospitality is not prioritized over any national economic or geopolitical interests.

In contrast, regarding the fourth expectation the analysis suggests that European Commission highly emphasizes the application of international law in crisis and catastrophes. Individual entitlement such as the rights to food, shelter and protection are particularly relevant to the European Commission and forms the basis of its humanitarian support. The idea to support countries who cannot cope themselves with a high influx of displaced people seems to originate in the idea of safeguarding the dignity of individuals. The norms, on which the European Commission in-kind aid is based, originates in the 1948 UN Declaration. Moreoever, between 2014 and 2016 the European Commission declared that a focus within its scope of humaitarian support will be directed towards safeguarding the rights of children to go to school. Consequently, the European Commission strongly promotes international individual law in its discourse and policy implementation on hospitality towards forcibly displaced people.

However, a weak point regarding the fourth expectation is that the European Commission, so far, is not pushing for a common European or international definition of climate refugees. Yet, a definition,

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institutionalized in European and international law would clarify the scope of action on climate refugees. Consequently, as three of the four expectations needs to be rejectetd the anaylsis showed that the position of the European Union on climate refugees is not the position of a normative power on climate refugees, yet the Euroepan Commission clearly frames a position as a strong humanitarian actor on refugees. However, so far, climate refugees do not lay at the center of the European Commission concerns. Below in Figure 4, this position of the Euroean Commission is summarized.

Figure 4 European Commission as a humanitarian actor
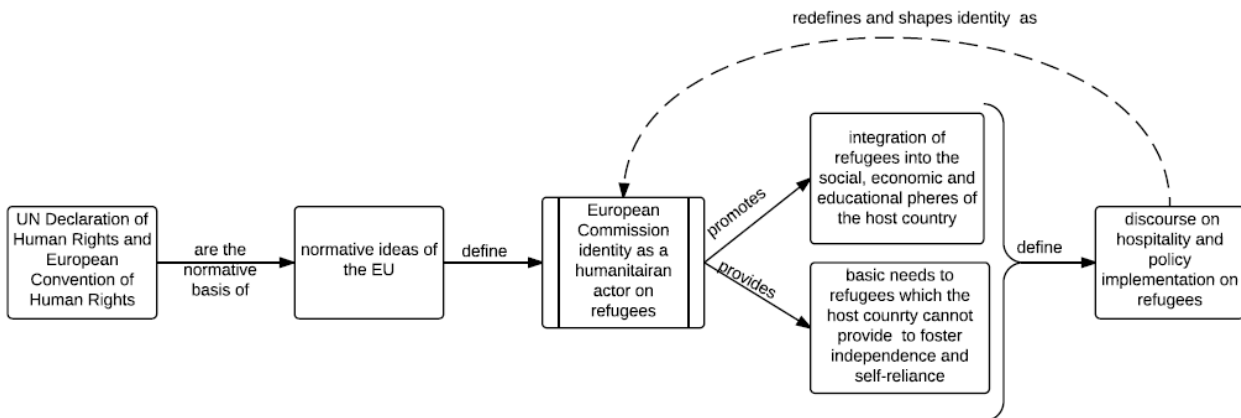
Source the author, based on the analysis

6.2.   Theoretical implcations of the results

In essence, a normative power tries to promote its own norms and to thereby commit other actors to the same norms (Manners, 2002; Diez, 2006). The analysis shows that developing countries lack the capacities to hold up the same norms considering refugees as the European Commission, for example regarding the provision of basic entitlement as well as the finacial capacities to invest into integration programs for refugees. Massive influx of refugees can destabilize poor and fragile regions and lead local conflicts about limited resources. Consequently, the promotion of unconditional hospitality in such reagions might lead to reverse effects of the desired outcomes. Instead of creating the basis for protection of refugees, new conflicts, violence and discrimintaion might arise on the side of the local population.

The results of the analysis suggests that some preconditions for the demand of unconditional hospitality are not fulfilled, as developing countries often lack the economic, political and social power for such demands. This leads to a number of questions which has so far not been covered by advocates of the demand of unconditional hospitality and which question whether it should be aimed to promote a liberal cosmopilitan approach of hospitaliy towards developing countries: To what extent is it right to demand fragile, instable and poor states to commit to a liberal cosmopolitan approach of hospitality, if this can have severe consequences on the political, social and economic stability of the host country? Should not in the end an alternative approach on hospitality be favored which ensures that refugees can be supported while at the same time the carrying capacity of the local political, economic and social systems is guarenteed?

Moreover, the conceptual framework in which a normative power can only be identified as one under the condition that it promotes unconditional hospitality raises further concerns. In contrast to the discourse on hospitality in critical cosmopolitanism the discourse on hospitality in liberal cosmopolitanism favors multicultralism over integration. In this sense a paramount degree of autarky is provided to the hosted people and the duties of the refugees are minimized, if not abolished (compare for example Lomonaco, 2006; O'Gorman, 2006; Roos & Laube, 2015; Westmoreland, 2008). As envisioned by advocates of unconditional hospitality, multiculturalism also means an exchange between different cultures. However, in reality it often means the existence of two societies: the local population and the refugee population, which barely have spheres of exchange and interaction (Collier, 2014). This leads to the questions: Should multiculturalism indeed be favored over integration? And what are the long-term consequences of favoring multiculturalism over integration with regard to refugees, especially in politically, socially and economically instable countries?

Lastly, the design of the research provides a basis for expanding the conceptual framework and the results to other groups of refugees. Even though the documents analysized dealt which refugees from regions in which climate change can be a main driver of flight, the dimensions of hospitality as well as the problems framed and the demanded and implemented solutions are not limited to a particular group of refugees. The framed problems in the European Commission discourse on hospitality are of structual, politcial and economic origin which means that all types of refugees can suffer from the bad living conditions, discrimination and humanitarian aid dependency. This also implies that the demanded and implemented solutions are not limited to people displaced due to climate and environmental change, the advocated solutions of the European Commission can also contribute to a better life of war refugees.

6.3. Policy implications of the results

The results clearly show that the European Commission is highly active in humanitarian aid concerning refugees and considers climate and environmental change as a driver of climate change. in the literature recently published on the European Union and climate refugees, authors demand the European Union to take up the leadership on this issue and call to the European Union to define the term 'climate refugee' so that European action can follow (Röttsches-Dubois & Schmedding,2011; Sgro, 2009). The key challenge for a more extensive promotion of the rights of climate refugees is that the European Commission needs to clarify more explicitly its standpoint regarding the impact of climate change and environmental factors on flight. Defining this standpoint more explicitly would also mean to provide a concrete definition of climate refugees. The conceptualization of environmental driving forces of flight and the conceptualization of slow- and sudden-onset of climate change might be valuable in this context. Comparing this conceptualization with other conceptualization of climate refugees, it becomes evident that only victims of sudden-onset of climate change fall under the definitions of climate refugees advocated in the literature (compare for example Biermann & Boas (2010)). In cases of rising sea levels, hurricanes, tsunamis or any other natural catastrophe with immediate life-changing impact a relationship between climate change and resettlement can easily be established. Victims of these types of climate change impacts should qualify for a definition of climate refugees. Hence, the conceptualization of sudden-onset of climate change could serve as a basis for a European definition. Once a common European definition is agreed upon, the European Comission is in a good position

thanks to its already established humanitarian and development networks to promote the protection of climate refugees internationally but also on the local level.

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Appendix

Table 10 Complete version: hospitality discourses and the hospitality discourse of the European Commission

Dimension	Indicators Hospitality in Liberalism	Indicators Hospitality in Critical Cosmopolitanism	Indicator Hospitality in Liberal Cosmopolitanism	Hospitality discourse of the European Commission
Politics of Identity	Only national citizens belong to the "common identity", foreigners are excluded.	**Citizens of the local state belong to the nation state, but temporary t "guest" are welcomed.[4]**	Identity is not defined by common citizenship; all people are granted a residence to stay.	**European Commission try to foster though mobility and migration cooperation a sense of partnership**
	Refugees receive a limited temporary permit of residence.	Refugees receive temporary permits of residence.	Everybody is allowed to enter except for terrorists, and in the case of serious overpopulation and cultural merge.	**European Commission promotes an easier access to citizenship in host country**
	Citizenship is not granted to refugees.	**Refugees have the possibility to become citizens.**		
	Family reunions are not conducted.	Family reunions are facilitated.	No border controls, border controls are the exception to the norm.	
	Refugees without documents are not allowed to cross the borders.	Refugees without documents are allowed to enter.	Permits to stay are not bound to any temporal time frame but depend on the decision of the refugee.	
	Closed borders; entrance is only possible for refugees as defined under the 1948 Declaration.	Border controls, refugees allowed entering in order to apply for protection.	The granting of residence and border crossing does not depend on the documents the refugee carries.	

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[4] Bold and dark blue indicate which hospitality discourse the European Commission uses.

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Dimension	Indicators Hospitality in Liberalism	Indicators Hospitality in Critical Cosmopolitanism	Indicator Hospitality in Liberal Cosmopolitanism	Hospitality discourse of the European Commission
Accommodation facilities	Refugees are accommodated in detention camps and refugee camps. Entrance and exists of the camps are controlled. Refugees are always assigned to their temporary place of settlement. **Refugees share large bedrooms with many other refugees.** **There are a small numbers of sanitation facilities for many persons.**	Refugees are accommodated in refugee camps/ housing facilities. Assignment of refugees is guided by national needs, e.g. accommodation facilities, equal distribution of refugees across country. The Entrances and exits of the camps and housing facilities are not controlled for. Refugees share the bedroom with a small number of persons. Few refugees share sanitation facilities.	The refugee can decide where he/she wants to relocate. Individual (shared) apartments and houses are promoted as preferred accommodation facilities. Ideally, refugee camps do not exist, refugees live among national citizens.	**The European Commission promotes in-kind assistance of shelter, protection, water, sanitation, hygiene and education to provide a minimum of living standard.**
Financial support	No financial support is provided for refugees.	**Financial support is provided for refugee but in a smaller amount than for unemployed national citizens.**	**Refugees receive the same financial support as national citizens.**	**The European Commission sees financial autarky as key for life in self-determination.**
Integration efforts	There are no integration projects as language or integration classes offered. Refugees do not have the possibility to work. Minimum international requirements on education apply to children. Refugees have little/ no possibility to get into contact with local population.	Integration projects are offered to the refugees and residence permission can depend on the refugee's participation. **Refugees receive work permit after temporary residence permit is granted.** **Children get quickly integrated into the school system and also other education possibilities are available for teenagers and adults.** Refugees are encouraged to get into contact with local population.	Cultural and religious exchange is facilitated and encouraged through local or governmental projects. **After arrival of refuge, labor market integration of refugees has high priority.** **Refugees have the same rights to go to school and to participate in the same education facilities as residents of the host country.** Refugees and national citizens are encouraged to get into contact with each other.	The European Commission promotes exchange, for example in education system. **The European Commission highly promotes labor market integration.** **Education is a top priority of European Commission with regards to humanitarian aid.**

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Dimension	Indicators Hospitality in Liberalism	Indicators Hospitality in Critical Cosmopolitanism	Indicator Hospitality in Liberal Cosmopolitanism	Hospitality discourse of the European Commission
Religious and cultural freedom	Protection of local religion and customs has high priority. Minimum religious and cultural freedoms are granted.	Religion and customs can be practiced, e.g. wearing a headscarf or a kippah. Financial support and infrastructure is granted to practice foreign religions and customs. Religious and cultural food is served in accommodation facilities, e.g. halal or vegetarian food.	Cultural and religious exchange is facilitated and encouraged through local or governmental projects. No restriction on foreign religious and cultural freedoms, all religions and cultures receive the same rights.	No particular reference is made No particular reference is made No particular reference is made (might be subject to other EU external affairs, HR, Democracy)
Politics of geopolitical interest	**State has a high interest in safeguarding beneficial economic relations with other states.** **State has a high interest in safeguarding beneficial political relations with other states.**	**State has a high interest in safeguarding beneficial economic relations with other states** **State has a high interest in safeguarding beneficial political relations with other states.**	Unconditional hospitality as priority over the safeguarding of political relations. Unconditional hospitality as priority over the own national economic interest.	**The European Commission tries to emphasize cooperation and partnership among neighbor countries, particularly on the issue of mobility and migration.** **The European Commission tries to emphasize cooperation and partnership among neighbor countries, particularly on the issue of mobility and migration.**

Source the author based on analysis