



# Developing forced displacement within the World Bank

- A critical discourse analysis of the forcibly displaced, host communities and the role of the World Bank

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## **ABSTRACT**

The forced displacement situations have, for a considerable time, emerged as an important development challenge on the international cooperation agenda. While the policies and practices of international organizations have gained much scrutiny, what they are saying and what discourses they are producing is less visible in academia. With the World Bank in focus, as an actor with a new role within the international refugee protection regime, this study seeks to explore this production and shaping of discourse. Further, the aim also seeks to examine the influence of power and hegemony in relation to discourse on this international level. Through a postcolonial perspective this study employs a Critical Discourse Analysis that presents a mainly conventional discourse of forced displacement in the context of development. The strong influence of Eurocentrism found in the analysis suggest a continued power imbalance, questioning the real benefit for the people and places of concern.

### **Keywords**

Critical Discourse Analysis, forced displacement, World Bank, postcolonial theory, power

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## 1. Introduction

The forced displacement situations have, for a considerable time, emerged as an important development challenge on the international cooperation agenda. Impacts on host countries and communities as a result of forced displacement have been identified to pose significant challenges to adequately meet the needs of the people of concern, refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), as well as the local populations (UNHCR, 2018a).

Since the adoption of the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees – also known as the 1951 Refugee Convention – and its 1967 Protocol, the international refugee protection regime has only grown. In the latest decade, and perhaps even less, forcibly induced movements of people worldwide have rapidly gained attention and recognition, affecting several aspects of society; on local, national and international level. Not only have the absolute numbers increased but it has also been established that faced with these refugee movements host countries struggle to adequately protect and support the needs of the forcibly displaced (Deardorff Miller, 2018). Moreover, the most concerned countries, facing the majority proportion of forced displacement are already in what is defined as precarious situations, facing volatile domestic environments of socio-economic vulnerability, as well as political and environmental tensions (Loescher et al, 2008; Betts & Collier, 2017: chapter 1; Crisp, 2003). Thus, the response towards the current situations for the forcibly displaced around the world can no longer lean on an aid and maintenance strategy, but rather look to see how they and their host communities can be part of a more sustainable, safer and dignified future (IEG, 2019).

Although the principles of the ‘original’ international agreements still stand as a firm baseline, the commitment on refugee i.e. forced displacement protection was most recently reaffirmed in the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants (UN General Assembly, 2016) as a response to an international refugee regime in need of an update. Reforming the refugee regime had become inevitable and *“The Global Compact on Refugees (GCR) set out to establish a virtuous circle and redistribute the burden associated with hosting refugees”* (Rudolf, 2019: 208). As a part of the overarching declaration the GCR thereby asserted a step forward for the support to forcibly displaced, in humanitarian as well as international development work.

## 1.1 Research Problem

Since the attention to forced displacement situations around the world, and to refugee studies in the academic arena, has grown and developed – not only in size but also in shape – societies, nations, organizations and environments are under constant revision. On such a broad scale the factors that influence and impact forcibly induced movements, their protection and lack thereof, are too many to go into to detail for this paper. What can be stated is that the field of refugee studies have been presented and defended as important in economic, social, political, ideological and cultural aspects. Additionally, it has been strongly connected with a rights-based perspective thereby also touching on the ethics and moral of humankind (Betts & Collier, 2017). Moreover, the different levels on which forced displacement situations are of relevance span from individual experiences to the global relations on the international arena.

Academia is not only presenting the complexity and interconnectedness that refugee studies are facing in society today, but also how discourse around forced displacement is reflected upon. Here, media as an influencing actor on public and political discourse have been extensively researched, but less scrutinized are the portrayal from international institutions, beyond UNHCR. These observations give support for the direction of this study that will therefore remain on discourse at the international level – the World Bank<sup>1</sup> as an international actor and institution – and their recent and directed commitment to forced displacement.

Previous critique towards the international community has been focused on the uneven Western position and perspective guiding the work from the international community, something that the ‘promise’ of the Global Compact on Refugees (GCR) could be a response to. Created and promoted as the effort and achievement of “bottom-up” meeting the “top-down” the GCR is set to improve the responsibility of the international community addressing the protection of refugees and forcibly displaced people. This extend an interest to question if this can be said about the role and the actions of the World Bank as well. Considering its historical past as well as its foundational core principles, how compatible can it be with this vision? The interest therefore lies in taking a closer look at the discourse of the World Bank, in its official capacity, on forced displacement through development. How does the discourse deriving from official documents present the situation that the international community as well as nations and local communities are facing? And what does this say about the World Bank’s own involvement

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<sup>1</sup> Although the institution’s full name is the World Bank Group, the more commonly recognized name addressing it (in academic research as well as media etc) is the World Bank. Thus, I will use the more common name throughout the paper, except when referring to direct quotes and where specific naming would be required.

and role as an international financial institution that focus on development aid? Further, it begs to question; what knowledge are they working with and where does it come from?

## 1.2 Aim and Research Questions

Following the introduction of the research problem above, the interest and attention of my thesis seeks to look closer at the engagement of the World Bank within the context of forced displacement. Even though policies are changed and rewritten, the international context report about deteriorating situations. The aim of this study is therefore to analyse through a critical lens, the discursive practices of the World Bank as an international financial institution, present in their newly adopted approach within forced displacement. Hence, the official language on forced displacement of the World Bank and the context in which it occurs will be analysed. Given the background and operations of the World Bank, as an international organisation, the linkages to structures of power and influence will also be examined. The focus lies in the ambition to increase the understanding of how the view of forced displacement is constructed and thus also what knowledge that indicates the praxis of this institution. With this aim in mind a primary problematization emerged, around what ways discourse and discursive practices could help to understand how the commitment to forced displacement and development by the World Bank is reinforcing or changing the existing (hegemonic) structure of representation in social practices of international cooperation.

In order explore this problematization, the following research questions set out to answer are:

- How are the refugees and/or forcibly displaced and the host countries/communities described?
- How is the World Bank's involvement and role justified?
- How is power and influence embedded in the language and discourse(s) of the processes in play regarding forced displacement?

This study will focus on the critical discourse analysis of three sources: the World Bank report on forced displacement and development from 2017; the final report from the World Bank's funding programme that have dedicated financial support to the forcibly displaced<sup>2</sup> and

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<sup>2</sup> In this paper the people of concern will be addressed under the collective term *forcibly displaced* except for the instances when other terms are used and presented from the material in the analysis.

their host communities<sup>3</sup>; as well as a committee meeting document regarding the funding programme prior to the financial support.

### 1.3 Academic relevance and Contribution

As an independent study, the overarching aspiration is to develop and present new knowledge – to the academic research field and to some extent to the broader societal level. The thesis will set out to approach the research problem of forced displacement through the analysis of one actor’s role in the larger international network and multi-stakeholder partnership around forced displacement as it has recently stepped into a ‘new era’. The academic relevance in the two-fold contribution is composed by several choices which are the building components of this study. Firstly, the unit of analysis (World Bank) is an actor that has previously not appeared too often within the research field of forced displacement on its own, partly because they have not had the explicit focus on this area before 2017. Subsequently, the main material are the documents from the World Bank that have not been available for that long and that has yet to be scrutinized in other academic research in this manner (to the best of my knowledge). Thus, these factors claim novelty for the knowledge that this research will produce. Secondly, the method of choice is not commonly found in the previous research; language in discourse is scarcely questioned in academic work of the international refugee regime concerning protection, assistance, and shared responsibility for the forcibly displaced. This I argue strengthens my motivation to do so and thus explore if there is a need to question their involvement, building on existing research of previous studies with characteristics of a critical perspective.

Furthermore, the thesis will strive to provide a minor contribution for a deeper understanding of how approaching forced displacement is important to question, as its impact has reached the concern of the larger societal and political debate across the world. Further claims for how the different components of this thesis are contributing to the overall purpose of new knowledge are elaborated on in forthcoming chapters.

### 1.4 Disposition

The upcoming chapter two will present a background in order to position this study in its broader context and is followed by chapter three, a review of previous research. Chapter four

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<sup>3</sup> In the same sense, the places of concern will be addressed as *host communities* (unless specified otherwise) as this encompass and refer to all areas affected by forced displacement in the context of this study.

move into the theoretical framework that will be applied, while chapter five deliver a walkthrough of the methodological considerations. In chapter six findings and discussions of the material constitute the analytical part of this study. The last and seventh chapter provide final remarks in a conclusion.

## 2. Contextual Background

In this chapter I will present relevant background information in order to provide a picture of the context in which the discourse analysis is situated. This will partly be of historical context, but also present-day matters in international relations and structures within which the World Bank is operating – in connection to forced displacement as well as development cooperation.

### 2.1 International forced displacement and the World Bank

In a global environment, where interconnectedness is hard to avoid – especially in the areas of migration and forcibly induced movements – there is a need to keep working for better approaches on how to move forward, while they also need to be able to be more than something you read. Only in place, officially, since December 2018 the Global Compact on Refugees (GCR) have had little time to prove itself. The commitment, endorsed by the UN, has been stated as a symbolic action from the international community and could hold some success in its normative strength. Nevertheless, it is not a legally binding international contract (UNHCR, 2018a), which leaves space for critics to question if the aspirations and guidelines are anything more than wishful words (Betts, 2018). However, highlighting its normative strength provides an indication that what is written in these documents will leave a trace for a broader discourse.

As part of this multilateral commitment, the view and agreement is that international aid needs to bridge the humanitarian response with the development agenda; meaning that short-term responses need to be better and more consistently backed by long-term support. Such commitment is needed since, as mentioned earlier, the ‘care and maintenance’ approach has run its course as the main directive for too long (IEG, 2019). This approach has further been emphasized, in the recent two decades, as proving unable to address the challenges presented from forced displacement that generate large movements of people today.

Additionally, from the international discussions leading up to the GCR – in terms of how this would achieve stronger and better actions of responsibility – UNHCR called for engagement and commitment from financial institutions, as well as businesses and private actors (UNHCR,

2016). This call for action signalled an understanding that in order to support the forcibly displaced and their host communities with the realities they are facing, ‘everyone’ should find their place to step up.

As a result, since the World Bank took part in the discussions and consultations of the GCR policy process, their answer to the call in the broader ‘burden-sharing’ responsibility was to pledge financial support for the work on new and innovative ways to address forced displacement and development. Their support was also highlighted and commended by the UNHCR’s Protection Chief Mr Volker Türk (Rummery & Clayton, 2018), and in their own words the World Bank stated that their financial programme “...*underpins the development approach to forced displacement, supporting commitments by host governments to enact policy change and address the social and economic dimensions of refugee situations*” (WBG, 2020a). Thus, this bridged the ‘new approach’ on forced displacement that was adopted by the World Bank in 2016, with the broader international refugee protection regime and the GCR.

The funding programme, called IDA18, seeks to address Low Income Countries (LICs) and is a so-called ‘refugee sub-window’. This is a specific financial instrument for LICs affected by forced displacement and was set to US\$2 billion during the years 2017-2020 (UNHCR, 2018b). Emphasis is placed on the recognition of the specific and substantial challenge that these LICs are already dealing with in terms of their own development, referring to lack of access to safe healthcare, education and other basic resources, for its local population (WBG, 2020a).

## 2.2 The World Bank as an organization

As an international financial institution, the World Bank was founded 1944, in the last stretches of World War II, then known as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). Today it is a global development organization that operates with five co-constituting bodies: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), International Development Association (IDA)<sup>4</sup>, International Financial Corporation (IFC), Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), and International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID). Together they are in different ways working toward the stated and overarching goals for the bank – to reduce poverty and build shared prosperity (WBG, 2020b). Their operations are directed toward developing countries and consist of financial and technical assistance for the realization of their stated goals.

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<sup>4</sup> It is within this body that the funding programme is placed, reflected in the name on the documents which are part of the material.

The World Bank is described in their own words as a partnership and therefore also managed by its member states (WBG, 2020b). The membership is built on national contributions as a condition to enter, more specifically, economic contributions. The contributions vary in size, as it is depending on the wealth and resources of each member state, and they also determine the weight of voting rights within the institution's operations. The voting process is to a large extent managed through the Board of Governors, i.e. the assembly of all the member states' minister of economy or finance (Armingeon, 2010). Further, for the day-to-day work of the different programs and operations the responsibility is delegated to Executive Directors, 25 in total. Out of the 25 directors, the largest member states appoint one executive each – currently they are France, United Kingdom, United States, China, Japan, and Germany. The remaining 19 executive positions are representatives from the other member states, appointed through elections amongst them, and is done so on a rotating basis (WBG, 2020c). Although the decisions are rarely taken to a vote, as the Board is striving for consensus, this unequal voting power is painting a picture of an international organization with 185 member states, where power connected and 'secured' with the member states that can provide the most money (Castles et al, 2010: chapter 21; Brown & Eckersley, 2018: chapter 29).

Forced displacement is a focus segment within the broader thematic area 'Fragility, Conflict and Violence'. This theme is one of five priority themes that the World Bank identify as to: *"represent the big development challenges of our time and are fundamental to the twin goals of the World Bank Group of ending poverty and boosting shared prosperity"* (WBG, 2020d). Although the work with forced displacement runs through all of the institutions that constitute the bank, the International Development Association (IDA) is the institution that addresses development in what is identified as the world's poorest countries, the LICs (WBG, 2020e), and thus the actor amongst them that are responsible for the 'Regional Sub-Window for Refugees and Host Communities', the financial commitment to forced displacement mentioned in the previous section.

### 3. Previous research

Moving forward, this section will turn to a review of the research field, the previous research from which the topic and aim draws upon. Since the World Bank's engagement in forced displacement is in its starting blocks, studies of their relationship has not built its own sub-field yet and thus, the academic space in which my study will position itself compose of different scholarly aspects relating to research in refugee and forced displacement, (critical) discourse,

development and international aid as well as the World Bank as an global actor. Together the research presented and discussed in this chapter will comprise the context from which the research puzzle has emerged and that this paper sets forth to investigate.

### 3.1 The international refugee protection regime

The research field addressing refugee protection, more specifically with the focus on relief and development aid, is at first glance a large body. Refugee studies in its broad sense has had an upswing and grown exponentially since the start of the 2000s. However, in the ongoing academic debate one of the concerns is that too much emphasis is going into the discussions and analysis of the content of policy documents (McGrath & Young, 2019) – (i.e. what is said to be done) – but less on *how* it is being said. This has resulted in continuous empirical studies that present data and results which say that the protection and empowerment among some of the most vulnerable groups, in the most vulnerable countries, lack progress due to the failure to adapt solutions to the contexts of concern (ibid). As the problematization of how the solutions are being formulated is less present, this opens up to a questioning if there is a lack of understanding of the ‘full’ reality in which we operate, and how that lack of understanding has come to be, and continue to prevail. The outcome and the academic work that has established these findings are then presenting a window and need to rather look at what is happening before policy and implementation – what is ‘behind’ them – namely what can be found in the processes and social practices that shape them. Thus, the research in this thesis will focus on the production of, and around, the discourse of forced displacement as it addresses and seeks more understanding to *how* and what knowledge is represented, that create the content steering policy-driving documents connected to the international refugee protection regime.

The latest effort and commitment, to move forward with the work on the international refugee arena, is the GCR. In academia this policy process has been both celebrated and criticized for its holistic approach. The political analysis from an international political perspective is emphasizing the progress of involving, encouraging and engaging with actors across sectors as well as levels of society, indicating the understanding that forced displacement has now been recognized as a shared responsibility. In studies so far, scholars also argue that this is a step forward for the protection and coordination of this type of international work, as it has moved from previous critique of being a protection regime with a top-down approach, to one that also hear the voices from grassroot movements and local actors (Chimni, 2018; McAdam, 2018). These scholars that have carried out such studies speak in a rather broad

consensus, that its exhausted process of carrying out several rounds of discussions with actors that are supposed to represent all levels of society should be a valued success of the GCR. Further its popularity is also because of the compact's ability to administer 'a structure of reciprocal responsibility'. However, there is still much to prove on incorporating it into practice (Betts, 2018).

These statements and findings from the international level raises questions such as how responsibility can, and will, carry different looks which in turn affect who is assumed to do what. These considerations partly derive from how a discourse is used to set the stage of what reality to adhere to, how (we as) actors understand that same reality and thus how we react to it.

### 3.2 Development discourse, sustainability and forced displacement

The emphasis in the international development agenda on forced displacement about reaching more long-term, sustainable, and stabilizing realities – in particular in these highly affected countries already struggling – is currently revolving to a large extent around the aspiration of self-reliance, which is part of the durable solutions<sup>5</sup> strategy in this type of relief and protection work (Betts & Collier, 2017; Crisp, 2003). The goal of empowering forcibly displaced to take back control over outcomes and their way of living their lives has been expressed in action plans and developmental frameworks for some time and can also be found in the GCR, further reinforced as one of the central aspects (UNHCR, 2018a).

However, self-reliance as a concept and desirable approach has received criticism in studies on previous cases of its implementation, for example for its rhetoric and articulation of the 'neoliberal refugee', a discourse that define the forcibly displaced as a human subject that is to become autonomous, self-directed and an entrepreneur of one self (Dykstra-Devette, 2018). To install such an image is to discard the multiple obstacles that are still demanded of them to overcome; to ignore the differences still present in relation to the local population. By doing so it rather exacerbates exclusion in the instances where this self-reliance is not achieved in this sense, which creates a backlash on the forcibly displaced as a burden because they did not live up to the entrepreneurial image. Thereby, actors implementing these strategies "*remain complicit in the same systems of global inequality that produce the dispossession and the displacement they seek to address*" (ibid: 179). Similar linkages to neoliberal influences in the

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<sup>5</sup> Durable solutions are described and defined by UNHCR as "*Any means by which the situation of refugees can be satisfactorily and permanently resolved, enabling refugees to resume a normal life.*"(UNHCR, 2016: 205).

self-reliance strategies are expressed in argumentations that say they become just notions of dependency in a new disguise (Easton-Calabria & Omata, 2018). In this critique of neoliberal influence, as having a negative impact in humanitarian and development assistance and forced displacement, is presented as an analysis that addresses neoliberalism as both an economic model and a mode of domination (Green, 2011).

Some would argue that such an analysis of domination, particularly around forced displacement can be connected to the larger development discourse. "*Where colonialism left off, development took over*" was argued by Rajni Kothari, as part of his discussion to rethink development (1988:143). He addresses the critical perspectives of development cooperation in its initial steps to rebuild a society, national as well as global, in the aftermath of WW2. This association between colonialism and development speaks to a broader camp of oppositional scholarly voices towards the work of relief and aid programs. Previous studies state that although initially these programmes were set in motion to assist countries that were in need, it developed into a debate about a discourse that justified this assistance by focusing on 'needing countries' – expressed as lacking progressive knowledge and institutional structures that make and shape modern societies (Eriksson Baaz, 2005: chapter 5). The critical voices in previous studies have claimed a biased Eurocentrism<sup>6</sup> and 'Western' praxis as dominating the development discourse and its agenda and being that of cultural imperialism; "*a Western idea that is not adjusted to, but rather imposed upon the 'Third World'*" (ibid: 150). With this line of argumentation it is thus being implied that there is a strong assumption that nations and powers of 'the West' are viewing cultures different from their own as in need of improvement – because they are either considered outdated or inappropriate. Therefore, as the term imperialism indicates, they should change and adapt to what is perceived as better (Young, 2001: chapter 2). The process of creating such a vision, by advocating for one thing over another in order to make one more favourable, can also be seen as a tool of domination, and in this case a continuing domination of one part of the world over others (ibid). Here is where the discussion around past development aid, and present reconceptualized, development cooperation is taking place. However, alternatives called upon from Kothari and other scholars, are suggesting approaches such as 'self-reliance' and thus support this concept but shares the concern and emphasize the importance to recognize which meanings that are ascribed to the concept.

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<sup>6</sup> The concept of Eurocentrism is identified as the view of Europe as the centre of what constitutes civility and modernity. European culture is seen as the elite culture and the ideal for which to strive towards for societies around the world (Berezin, 2001).

With the GCR being adopted so recently, certain caution to the restated emphasis on self-reliance should therefore be raised. Although expressed as a comprehensive collection of best practices and lessons learned, the positively expressed contributions and involvement of new actors are to a larger extent directed toward the private sector and financial institutions, for example the World Bank. Is the affiliation to the GCR able to provide some assurance that strategies and approaches from such actors are not turning out as a mode of domination or reinforcing systems that increases inequality? It should be noted, of course, that self-reliance as a concept and a goal to aim at is not inherently bad – it has been established as the outcome that would increase the success in the most sustainable way in situations of forced displacement. In an objective manner it becomes logical, that by being able to provide for oneself is considered both purposeful and rewarding for the people of concern and the community in which they live. What the studies above question is rather what self-reliance should be affiliated with, and within this questioning is where words and their meaning once again are brought into light. Drawing on the statements and concluding remarks from this previous research, the questions around how and what language that is used in documents that are directed towards the work for improving the lives of forcibly displaced, the host countries and the international community at large, are of interest. Studying how something is being said can disclose who or what is holding the power to decide, and also in what ways such power is justified.

### 3.3 Discourse and The World Bank

The World Bank grew up in a time of rebuilding the world and not without problems did it move its major operations of loans for reconstruction and economic recovery onto the political arena. This became prominent, for example, in the critiqued structural adjustment programs of the 1980s, targeting developing countries around the world. The programs were presented as the organic evolution toward an emerging market-driven capitalist economy, which would be the solution that would pull these countries out of poverty (Young, 2001; Sen, 2014; Collier, 2018). Thus, the World Bank as a known international financial institution, is argued to have a long history of neoliberal values that has had a difficult time, facing critique about their financial approach and involvement to help (Wise, 2018). With such a foundation, and the explicit introduction of targeted funding programmes, such as their ‘new’ involvement with forced displacement then raise questions of how such involvement will impact practices of the countries of concern. This could also be linked to the expressed concern of balancing the fine line between ‘neo’-humanitarianism and neo-colonialism (Hyndman, 2000). In her critical

study on the politics of humanitarianism, refugees and managing displacement Hyndman shows how the remaining tendencies in the work of today still faces the issue of actual renewal. The neo-humanitarianism as she calls it, needs to be treated with caution. If not, it will be the same colonial words only rephrased and thereby repeating bad habits disguised as doing good (ibid). Hyndman's caution is what should remain as a notice also in the broader GCR framework, as well as the World Bank's engagement.

However, the World Bank is as its previous names speak of a development bank and an organization that explicitly has put its overall goal to be poverty alleviation. And for such a direction, the emerging global governance, and organizations' operations outside and beyond nation-states has become an essential and integral part of how actors such as the World Bank gained legitimacy and relevance in national as well as international arenas. The World Bank's policy mechanisms are to the largest extent constituted in loans and grants – with conditions – that are aimed to assist countries' economies if they are not able to acquire adequate support in a more commercial way (Armingeon, 2010). Despite their stated goal and the processes under which they are working for development and poverty reduction, the economic rationality of the World Bank has received critique in various ways. Scholars are touching on the problems of inequality and claim that the involvement of the World Bank has in several cases rather contributed to further global distributional injustice (Caney, 2018; McDonald, 2018). Furthermore, the use of instruments of equality, such as non-discrimination and empowerment of vulnerable groups have been used simply for the purpose of economic growth. For example, in her research on gender equality and the World Bank, Elisabeth Prügl argues that the World Bank's policies are using human dignity matters as means rather than the end (goal), concluding that their practice is economic efficiency above all else (Prügl, 2017). As a global actor, the World Bank alongside the International Monetary Fund (IMF) were, and still are, closely connected to the expansion of global economic governance. That in itself should not be seen as negative as the global connections that have become possible are not inherently flawed, but what critique has pointed out, is how such connections are used; who is benefitting from them; and how such benefits fail to be legitimized or justified (McDonald, 2018).

As far as the involvement in situations concerning forcibly displaced persons, the World Bank has since its installation been an actor in development assistance, but its direct association to these specific populations have varied, and has predominantly been addressed under the broader field of migration and development, although some support has been given in the form of humanitarian relief. Various projects to reform and rehabilitate governments after war, violence and/or natural disasters was the focus of the World Bank in the 1980s and while two

examples of success that “enables former war-refugees to shake off their dependency upon relief-aid, re-establish themselves on a productive basis, and gradually become again self-sustaining” (Cernea,1990: 329) the majority of the programmes did not live up to their aspirational and hoped-for prosperity (ibid). So, while migration, historically, has been part of the thematic work of the World Bank forced displacement has not been given much attention in the field of refugee studies or the connected – and broader – field of international development. Thus, the academic studies of this remain to be explored further.

### 3.4 Discourse of the Refugees/Forcibly displaced

In the interest of what knowledge that is being used around forcibly displaced, and how that knowledge is revealed by taking a closer look at the language, can be traced to studies of refugee discourse in other areas of society. Most recent, due to the large movements that spiked in Europe in 2015, the media discourse became a heated field for scholarly work. A sample of studies point to the power of media discourse around the imagery of refugees in negative forms. This influence have been traced and found to steer both political and public opinion toward this social group, in a very unfavourable way – thus creating the sense of difference and divide that expands to impact larger social practices of how refugees are being treated; or how the willingness in the political and public opinion is affecting the work to support and protect them (Leudar et al, 2008; Triandafyllidou, 2018; Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017). Another perspective directing attention to refugee discourse turn to governmental and organizational policies, such as border control, pointing to the power and influence that discourse and the choice of a certain language use, is playing in management of the borders (Pickering, 2004), thus, having a role in the decision-making power and ‘policing’ of who is included in, and who excluded from, a community (ibid). Studies like these are presenting the relevance and worth of studying discourse about and around forced displacement as it impacts the practices that are affecting them.

Drawing from the arguments, contradictions or agreements over these different areas of previous research some observations can be concluded and thus assist in navigating where in this review of the field that I argue this paper fills a space; a position of relevance and contribution. Firstly, there is still a general call for more research within the field of refugee studies (forcibly displaced) as their situations continue to be precarious as well as of concern in the social, political and economic world. The international refugee protection regime has been a loyal dedication in forced displacement research, however, there is less focus on organizations

involved beyond UNHCR, such as the World Bank which thus allow for my study to locate itself as seeking new knowledge and understandings of, a so far, under researched branch within this regime.

Moreover, in the discussions on development discourse and the role of the World Bank, my study position itself toward the critical voices of Eurocentrism, which is guiding the choice of theoretical framework, that I will now turn to in the following chapter.

## 4. Theoretical framework

The application of theoretical frameworks in conducting academic research hold significance for the structure of how the study will be carried out. Further, theory presents frames in which a social phenomena can be understood as well as guiding tools of how to interpret the findings collected (Bryman, 2012: chapter 1). The postcolonial perspective referred to, and applied in this thesis will be seeking to approach the research problem as to appropriately address the questions that surround the significance of power, knowledge and how this is shaping the reality in which forced displacement (refugees and internally displaced persons) is dealt with.

### 4.1 Postcolonial theory

Postcolonialism is described as a set of experiences brought together around the concern about violent injustices in our societies, with regard to the discrepancy in levels of material wellbeing of the different peoples of the world. By identifying these discrepancies postcolonial critique calls for social change at a transnational level. Moreover, the ideas of postcolonialism is also interested and stresses the urgency to look at how continued disempowerment is connected to economy and economic power under the control of what has been identified as neocolonialism (Young, 2001). The postcolonial lens further provides for "*...uncovering the relations of power discursively at work and the discursive effects of power in institutional terms*" (Guion Akdağ & Swanson, 2018: 67).

Power and knowledge and the power of knowledge are conceptions that are at the very core of postcolonial thought. Taken through the philosophical standpoint and the theories of epistemology, postcolonialism's relation to the nature of knowledge is that of a constructed reality. Thus, the power of what knowledge is, i.e. who 'decides' which knowledge that should be assumed as the truth is defined by the actor(s) that holds the most power in society (Hall 1992; McEwan, 2019: chapter 1). What postcolonialism argues then, about violent injustices,

is that the imbalance of power is also affecting which knowledge that reaches the broader public, what becomes naturalized. Consequently, what we know, and call reality happens when the shared view of that knowledge reaches a point of consensus to which we align ourselves and thus, socially construct (Loomba, 2005; McEwan, 2019).

A postcolonial perspective is also interested and emphasizes the need to analyse the use of language. In short, the importance to recognize the language as a tool and access to power is central in postcolonial thought in the sense that it argues to be an initial step of immaterial power, leading up to, the support and/or reinforcement of material power and the imbalances that it can create between different actors (in society). Taking this into consideration, how and what type of language that is used, has followed the postcolonial scholars in their scrutiny of how people and places are referred to. Looking at the *how* can then indicate what meanings that are shaped and how they in turn create differences. However, the critical arguments in postcolonialism wish to highlight that it does not stop at differentiating but takes it further and uses that difference to create hierarchies between societies and its peoples (Young, 2001; Loomba, 2005).

Following this line of argumentation, this paper, by looking at documents and written texts then points to the use of this theoretical framework as a lens in order to look closer at the language used by the World Bank about forced displacement and how using a certain language can reflect and mirror some discursive practices that in turn have an impact of the wider social practices, effecting the forcibly displaced and host communities' access to resources connected to their wellbeing.

Postcolonialism is not a homogenous ideology but a theory consisting of multiple positions and priorities, as well as being a fluid framework that can change over time, and depending on the context, for which it has received criticism (McEwan, 2019).

As a response to such criticism is to address and clarify the direction of this study. More specifically to address the discussion around the contested meaning of *post* itself and the connected questioning if there even is a postcolonial state to be identified. The latter concern resonates with the neighbouring theoretical school of neocolonialism that directly argues that colonialism never ended, it only transformed and took on new means of domination and control by certain actors over others (McEwan, 2019; Loomba, 2005; Young, 2001). The question around the meaning of *post* and how it can be defended, and used, has been divided into two perspectives. One treating it as the time after colonialism as a theoretical framework claiming

we moved into a new epoch and pointing to the very aspect of time. The other perspective is ascribed as critical and is taking the meaning of *post* as a way to emphasize the aftermath of colonialism, thus taking an interest in scrutinizing how present time can hold colonial attributes that have persisted. It also takes an interest in which ways they have been able to do so (McEwan, 2019: chapter 1). Following these discussions, this study will take the perspective of the postcolonialism approach of a *critical aftermath*, as this explores representations in culture and discourse, as well as the exercise of lingering colonial power in broader societal structures of politics and economy. In order to apply a postcolonial perspective in this study a number of conceptual tools that appear central within the theory will be used. They are presented more in detail below and will facilitate an operational understanding of postcolonial theory and thus how it will translate into the analysis.

## 4.2 Conceptual tools

### 4.2.1 Power & hegemony

According to academic scholar Michel Foucault power in its most direct form should not only be seen as an instrument only used through coercion (Foucault, 1980). Rather, he believes that power could be, and happen ‘everywhere’ as it is taking part in – and allows – for the production of things. In this meaning, power is something that gains value not only under repressive circumstances but also in its ability to produce possibilities. Through such an understanding power can and will therefore bring outcomes that are both positive and negative. Consequently, focusing on the positive productive force, power is also something that can create a sense of collective and shared belief about ideas and values that are good, valid and ‘right’. When this acknowledgement takes place, that is when power is legitimized and thus an attractive idea to strive for, rather than a contested one (ibid). This producing force that power holds is revealed as it takes part in shaping knowledge. Here Foucault is joined by socio-linguist Norman Fairclough in his discussion around the concept which addresses power and its dynamics in processes that take place, and take part, in influencing people’s actions, thoughts and beliefs. Thus, holding the power according to Fairclough, who draws on Foucault, is to be able to regulate the practices that construct knowledge and ultimately what we see and understand as reality (Fairclough, 1992: chapter 3).

Power, when discussed in relation to social contexts and social practices also allows for the interest in the concept of hegemony. It grew out of a demand to describe what it meant to have a ‘superior’ influence or authority over something, or someone. Hence, if influence (i.e. power)

is making something dominate over other possibilities, it is hegemonic and create a structure that reveals dimensions of dominance (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: chapter 3). However, Fairclough adds that hegemony also follows under processes of negotiation, meaning that a shared opinion or belief does not need to be held by everyone in society. Instead, based on the degree in which people stand behind it, it makes it possible for different and various beliefs to co-exist while challenging each other for a more dominating position (Fairclough, 1992: chapter 3). Following these conceptualizations by Foucault and Fairclough, the notion of power and hegemony will in this study be used because of its applicability on the research to investigate what language is constructing the reality and what that can reveal about more or less dominating understandings of that knowledge, while simultaneously explore who is holding that power of construction, specifically in the selected material for the analysis. Lastly it will also be connected to the power relations of the broader international arena in which the World Bank is an actor.

#### 4.2.2 Discourse

The way in which things, people, places and society are communicated about, in spoken or written language produces discourses. Discourse is *“a group of statements which provide a language for talking about – i.e. a way of representing – a particular kind of knowledge about a topic”* (Hall, 1992: 155) and: *“The way in which forms of knowledge is constructed within a particular kind of language...”* (Young, 2001: 384).

Language is not working only to describe a reality as if it can only be described in one way – because language is not and cannot be neutral. Rather in its composition language determines *“...the objects of reality and the ways in which they are perceived and understood”* (Young, 2001: 388). However, language does not equal discourse and necessitates participants. Further it requires some connection to a context. It is with the interpretations and responses of participants that language communicates a discourse (Strauss & Feiz, 2014: chapter 2). Subsequently, when theorizing about discourse it remains important to remember that the concept also includes the recognition that when naming something (or someone) in a particular way it becomes a generalization, that helps us to describe and understand it. At the same time, it should not be forgotten that these generalizations are simplified representations that still carry complex meanings (Hall, 1992).

For the academic transparency in general, and more specifically for the intentions and focus of this study, it should be recognized that discourse is both a theory and a method and will be taking both of these roles herein. The understanding and analytical importance it holds in

theory, addressed above, will be further elaborated on in the forthcoming methodology chapter where it will be connected to the practical components it adheres to as a method.

#### 4.2.3 Development – “the West and the Rest” and its legacy

The meaning of the concept *development* used in international politics, humanitarian aid, and international cooperation has been, and continues to be, shaped by the descriptive words, synonyms and labels associated with it. Brought together, development with a postcolonial perspective recognize the implications of what language and representation can have, for the exercise and production of power – from immaterial communication to material effects in people’s lives (McEwan, 2018: chapter 1). The idea of what development, and thus a developed country should look like has gathered shared meaning and consensus in words like; *modernity* (McEwan, 2019: 40), *industrialized* and *urban* (Hall, 1992: 142) among others. The same is subsequently seen for its opposite, underdevelopment, and thus developing countries with synonyms such as: *rural* and *non-industrial* (Hall, 1992: 143). This dichotomous relationship is retraced within the literature on postcolonialism, power and discourse (McEwan, 2019; Loomba, 2005).

Stuart Hall, a scholar with extensive dedication toward studies of colonial and postcolonial questions – of how processes and discourses of dominance come to be – highlights this dichotomy further. Some of his most prominent work centres around power, culture, and the depiction of a ‘western’ discourse, which he connects with the concept of development. Following the postcolonial and the diasporic as formulated by Hall, he exemplifies the importance of understanding the conceptualization of ‘the West’ as it tells the historic involvement that is development – inseparable from colonialism, domination and power. Hall emphasizes that ‘the West’ is not only a simple meaning of a geographical description for the location of certain countries, but also an idea. An idea that embodies a set of chosen values and characteristics that was so persuasively, and forcefully, communicated that it became the ideal to strive for. Thus, everything that did not live up to what was seen as ‘the West’, ultimately became ‘the Rest’. This western ideal has transferred into what is known today as developed, following the same thought, and many times also associated with Eurocentrism. In the discussion about societies that are described as developing are then assigned the understanding that they are lagging behind and must work to catch up – with the developed world. Another postcolonial critic, Frantz Fanon, opposes the destructing terminology that this creates and requested to the developing countries “*not to want to catch up with anyone*” (Fanon, 1967: 25, as cited in McEwan, 2019: 62). These discussions about the theoretical conceptualization of

development becomes highly relevant the area in which the World Bank operates, as one of the leading development institutions working toward eradicating poverty – where the work with forced displacement now is to take place. The power, knowledge and discourse that construct, describe and explain what development is – following Hall’s conceptualization – can help unveil possible traces of hegemonic structures.

Additionally, as Chandra Mohanty sets forth in her critical work on decolonizing feminism, that even though not all development looks the same, “...it is possible to trace a coherence of effects resulting from the implicit assumption of ‘the West’ (in all its complexities and contradictions) as the primary referent in theory and praxis” (2003: 17-18).

## 5. Methodology

Forthcoming in this chapter, I will present the research design and its methodological considerations that are framing as well as guiding the analytical process. The choice of method and material will be discussed and described in order to explain their relevance to the aim of this study, and the considerations on how they influence the criteria for making sound research, i.e. evaluation criteria. Lastly, I will reflect on my role as a researcher.

### 5.1. Research Design

Taking a qualitative research approach, I am conducting a case-based study for its purpose and strengths that allows for an in-depth examination of the case selected (Bryman, 2008: chapter 2). The case being the exploration of the discourse on forced displacement within the World Bank. The general rule of qualitative research is that the external validity in terms of generalization is weakened, which is recognized in this study, but not the primary aim either. However, the exemplifying character of the case is argued to increase the relevance and meet the trade-off of low external validity. Analyzing the discourse in official documents in a particular area – such as the forced displacement – within one of the largest financial institutions internationally will have the possibility to shed light to onto certain patterns and tendencies that share circumstances and conditions with other similar organizations and thereby present some exemplification of how, and what role, discourse(s) from these organizations have within our wider social world.

Methods are closely tied to different visions of how social reality should be studied (Bryman, 2012: chapter 1), and for the aim and purposes of this thesis the social reality of power, hegemony and its interrelations are central in the investigation of seeking understandings in the

discourse within the World Bank. Both for its involvement in forced displacement, as well as prime components within the methodological approach in discourse analysis. This means that by making the choice of applying a discourse analysis, the strengths of this method will be how it can assist in presenting findings that help understand the social reality within a delimited area of forced displacement and protection through development.

## 5.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

The analytical approach taken in this study will follow the format of a critical discourse analysis (henceforth CDA). Analysing discourse(s) attempts to see how they shape social relations, but also how social relations shape the discourse(s), an interplay that can be observed both on a micro and macro level in the study of societies, the social order and the (in)equalities that they create, reinforce, uphold and potentially amend (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: chapter 3).

Recognizing that the previous chapter introduced discourse in its theoretical conceptualization – because of its relevance within the postcolonial perspective – it will be further elaborated on in this chapter, however, it should also be clarified that discourse functions as both theory and method in academic research and will fill both functions for this study. Discourse analysis (DA) in its general terms processes and addresses language as a central point of the investigation of the social world and/or a social phenomena. Thus, DA as theory allows us to question how language communicates social situations while also explore how those situations can prescribe meaning to the language that is being used (Bischooping & Gazso, 2016: Part III). In its methodological capacity DA/CDA provide the tools of how the study of that language can be carried out (Gee, 2011).

CDA then angles its interest toward the relation between the language-in-use and power (Wodak & Meyer, 2001), and described further by Jørgensen and Phillips as: “*Critical discourse analysis is ‘critical’ in the sense that it aims to reveal the role of discursive practice in the maintenance of the social world, including those social relations that involve unequal relations of power*” (2002:63). For that purpose and reasoning, it resonates well with the focus of this paper and the theoretical framework on which it rests on. Consequently, CDA goes beyond DA, as it allows for the analysis of not only the linguistics of language but also examine that language in its relation to the structures that shapes the context in which it is being communicated.

However, CDA can take various approaches and like most methods, the approach chosen should be guided by the purpose of a study. The specific approach that will be used in this research is known as the three-dimensional model by Norman Fairclough. Not only because the model is considered one of the most elaborate, within the field of DA in general and CDA specifically (Jørgensen & Philips, 2002: chapter 3), but also because of how these three dimensions of analysis hold the qualities necessary to answer the stated research questions. The model will be elaborated on in the forthcoming section of this chapter.

When approaching the understanding that dominance is a prominent feature of what discourse is, and can do – while recognizing the importance of how history takes part in shaping it – then follows the assumptions that time and space are also factors that impact the construction of discourse. Thus, discourse is a constituting and constituted concept that can and do change, due to its dependence on context. As discussed in the theoretical chapter, structures of dominance are then, in turn, something that is connected to power and who holds that power. Herein the ideology becomes important as the ideology that present itself as the ‘normal’ will in turn legitimize power to some, and not to others (Fairclough, 1992: chapter 3). By analysing discourse and identify how it is legitimizing power is therefore an approach that can reveal power imbalances, and it is then that the knowledge about the given reality can be critically reviewed, questioned and challenged for the purpose of dealing with social injustices (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). CDA is, or should be, concerned with both these aspects, with discourse as the instrument of power and control as well as with discourse as the instrument of the social construction of reality (ibid).

Additionally, how we communicate is part of our (larger) social life. The type of communication used, produced and consumed is also part of a discourse and depending on interests and motivations. The discourse(s) being used are working towards steering an audience in the direction that aligns with the interest of the actor communicating it (Cameron, 2001: chapter 9). Therefore, as the focus in my study is of the World Bank as an institution and how the discourse(s) used is communicating the relation with and towards the forcibly displaced persons and their host communities I will seek how discourses within the World Bank can function as “*not only a consequence of social change, but also an instrument of social change*” (ibid: 130; author’s emphasis). Following this argument and central claims of CDA, this method as an analytical approach correspond well with the aim and research questions of this thesis because it provides the support to seek how language in written text lay the ground for what knowledge is creating the reality that the World Bank will adhere to when moving forward in their work with forced displacement.

CDA has however, not been excluded from criticism alongside its establishment in academia. The claim that by studying the knowledge that is included in a text, by analysing the meanings and motivations as an interpretative act, will then never be a complete presentation of reality. The fact that choices are being made, around the methodological approach will impact the outcome of the interpretation and thus what can be said about knowledge and reality. To minimize critique on the part of reality and knowledge that is interpreted, the act of transparency holds a central role. The analysis I will make is based on a series of selections – as all studies can be argued to be – and as such it cannot exhaust all of what is being said. The research questions, material, theoretical framework all simultaneously and parallel function to focus on what perspectives that will be lifted (Fairclough, 1992). But what the interpretation will do is to seek and increase the understanding of those perspectives, within the broader social arena, the structure that it constitutes, and is being constituted by.

The importance to emphasize when it comes to CDA and analysis is that it strives “...to show how discourse in its first sense (language in use) also functions as discourse in its second sense (a form of social practice that ‘constructs the objects of which it purports to speak’)” (Cameron, 2001: 123). In order to show these different functions of discourse, the methodological concerns now turn to the specific analytical framework that will be used in order to carry out such an analysis on the chosen material.

### 5.3 The analytical framework – Fairclough and CDA

For the purpose of conducting and presenting the analysis in a sound manner, I will apply Fairclough’s three dimensional model which will serve to both identify and separate the stages in which discourse takes place, but also to point out the interaction and interconnectedness that the dimensions share, in order to discuss how language, in fact, shapes and is shaped by the events and structures around it.

Not every tool in the box will be used, as exhausting all aspects of the model is well beyond what this study can achieve. The use of Fairclough’s model is a condensed version, using the features that enable me to stay true to the purpose and aim of this thesis, and while still upholding a proper framework to claim the critical perspective that signifies CDA.

Fairclough adheres to the principles and notions of CDA put forth in the previous section, but elaborates further in detail about how these beliefs about discourse, power and hegemony should be analysed to present a more fair and comprehensible picture of what the impact and

influence of discourse can have (Jørgensen & Philips, 2002: chapter 3). By applying Fairclough's CDA as a framework, it means that every occurrence of language use is a communicative event (an article, a speech, a video etc), and that all such events are a product of three interconnected dimensions – a text, a discursive practice and a social practice (ibid: 68). This is then what becomes the analytical framework, that through three dimensions assess and explore how discourse is part of the wider social context. CDA is thereby emphasizing the dialectical relationship between discourse and other social dimensions as their interaction through discursive practices that connects language with social practice is one way of investigating how maintenance of the social order look like. Thereby, CDA functions with the purpose of identifying how, when or where discourse is constructing or being constructed by change; resisting injustices; or reinforcing power (im)balance (Jørgensen & Philips, 2002: chapter 3; Bryman, 2008: chapter 20).

### 5.3.1 Coding the material

In order to provide clarity in the analytical process of the empirical material a number of selected tools will now be presented, as well as the process of the three-dimensional framework and what each dimension entails. This allows for a structured way of searching the material for relevant findings in accordance with the aim and connecting research questions guiding this study. The tools have been selected with regard to their relevance and accuracy toward the theoretical framework and concepts used in this study, as well as under guidance of the aim and research questions.

#### **First dimension – Discourse as text**

Entering the analysis of discourse around forced displacement within the World Bank will on this level be what is referred to as the descriptive part of the CDA (Fairclough, 1992: chapter 8; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: chapter 3), as it will address and scrutinize the language in the chosen written material, which for this study are the official documents of the World Bank. It is an analysis of formal features – such as grammar, vocabulary and sentence coherence to seek how linguistic choices are part of realising different types of discourse(s). Furthermore, through words and the way that they are organized and presented in a text it is argued that a better assessment about the author's point of view is possible to uncover (Strauss & Feiz, 2014: chapter 3). For my text analysis I will look at the following features in the text:

- Representation of *us* and *them*
- Naming and Wording: nouns, verbs, adjectives used to define/describe the subject
- Modality: degree of affinity with or affirmation to a statement
- Transitivity: favouritism among processes and participants

By looking at representation in text, I will draw on the theorization by Hall (1995) to assist in identifying certain expressions that could indicate a differentiation between the actors included. This focuses on who and how roles of actors are depicted in a positive/negative manner (Strauss & Feiz, 2014: chapter 9). For the purpose of using wording in the text analysis, questions such as: what nouns and types of verbs are combined with ‘forcibly displaced’, ‘host communities’ and the World Bank, will be asked. These tools will be of specific importance for answering my first two questions of this study.

Modality and transitivity are two grammatical practices that in this study are employed with primary focus to lift the broader questions around power and hegemony that can be identified through the texts. Modality is used to check for certainty in the language used and in this study I will analyse if statements are presented as 1) truth, claiming that what is said is how it is; 2) hesitant, using words or expressions such as ‘a bit’, ‘somewhat’ or ‘maybe’. Exploring transitivity will approach the text to seek if there is favouritism of some participants over others by looking at active vs. passive voices in the material and thereby see if there are symmetrical or asymmetrical patterns (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: chapter 3).

These features will in different ways contribute to better understanding of what social identities, relations and realities are present in the text (ibid). It also provides insight on the knowledge and specifically which knowledge that is present as well as prioritized (Strauss and Feiz, 2014: chapter 9).

### **Second dimension – Discourse as discursive practice**

The analysis of discursive practices is concerned with the settings around the (written) text and how such settings are taking part in its formation. This level is therefore where the act of interpretation of discourse mainly takes place (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: chapter 3). Lifting the gaze from a regular discourse analysis and entering the critical parts, this dimension is also where the questions around power and influence will move more into focus. The interest and purpose is to concentrate on what knowledge is applied by the World Bank, through analysing the discourses found in the text, and thus gain a deeper insight as to where this actor is drawing

support from, to create meaning of what reality we are operating within and how different discourses are arranged and applied to present that – the *interdiscursivity* in the text. Subsequently the inquiry into this will also contribute to analyse what Fairclough identifies as an important dimension to analyse about discourse – namely *the order of discourse*, which is the collection of genres and discourses that are used for the particular field in society. “*The use of discourses and genres as resources in communication is controlled by the order of discourse because the order of discourse constitute the resources (discourses and genres) that are available*” (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002:72). By taking this approach, the significance to examine the order of discourse supports the acknowledgement that a text cannot operate as an explanation to larger societal issues and by itself create or resist change. Language, and the use of it in theory have endless possibilities to create meaning, but adopting this thinking in practice would be to ignore and neglect hegemonic (power) relations that are in fact constraining this ‘endless creativity’ (Fairclough, 1993). Thus, the interdiscursivity will examine the order of discourse for the relevance of disclosing some of the influence of power, thus taking on the third research question.

Due to the material chosen, and accessible to me within the frames of this thesis, the focus is on the settings for the production of the text, rather than the distribution and consumption. It is looking at what lies behind the creation of these texts and how knowledge is being constructed, and what that knowledge is.

### **Third dimension – Discourse as social practice**

Moving further into the analysis of power and influence, the third dimension is when this study will touch more upon these relationships and how they come to present themselves. In this dimension the ambition is to seek more indications about patterns of power and some identifying attributes. Questions encouraged to be posed are for example: “*Does the discursive practice conceal and strengthen unequal power relations in society, or does it challenge power positions by representing reality and social relations in a new way?*” (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 87). The analysis will in this part become an outlook into the broader societal context to see in what ways the discursive practices are transferring the (written) text out into the everyday life (ibid). Discourse as social practice is the analytical dimension where the dialectical relationship of text and context is elaborated. In order to do this, the analysis needs to consider social structures, institutions and to some extent specific situations that occurred and contributed to the creation of the context in which the text, the discursive event, is taking place (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). The text(s) can either lean closer toward interaction and

integration to shape and reinforce the norms existing, or it pushes to oppose and drive for change of the dominating discourses and their practices. Extending this description of discourse does not only say that it takes part in constructing knowledge, but also in revealing reality in the sense that a discourse can set the stage for what is normalized, which becomes naturalized and so entrenched in our understandings of how things are, that it is rarely challenged (Young, 2001).

For this study this will touch upon the need to also address historical context and its meaning for the present, with the postcolonial lens of questioning a structure operating to assist forcibly displaced people in some of the world's most vulnerable countries, that also happens to be communities with colonial pasts. This part of the analysis will also explore the institutional structure of the World Bank as part of the context that constitutes and is constituted by the knowledge produced through the discursive event.

## 5.4 Material

Considerations that were made for the purpose of using the chosen material reflects on several components in the making of this study. Partly it was made following the limitations of what material that I could access about an international organization from my location in Sweden. Further it could also be argued as a purposeful sampling of material, since the interest was to explore the specific institution's "own words" – therefore, the selection of what documents to use was narrowed down by default.

### 5.4.1 Official documents of the World Bank

The body of material that will be used in my study, providing the empirical data are documents officially published by the World Bank. They are policy related papers; reports that are part of their strategic (and operational) plans regarding the World Bank's commitment and engagement in forced displacement as a development topic. The documents public character speaks to, and 'verify', that as far as how they view what is and should be known about forced displacement – and how that knowledge is expressed – is displayed in the documents.

The specific documents that is providing the data for what will mainly be analysed in the first two dimensions are:

- 1) 'Forcibly displaced: toward a development approach supporting refugees, the internally displaced, and their hosts', 187 pages – the World Bank 'informational' report on forced

displacement and development that was initiated and published as the topic grew into its own focus area;

- 2) 'Report from the Executive Directors of the International Development Association to the Board of Governors: Additions to IDA Resources - Eighteenth Replenishment', 171 pages – which is the final 'financial' report from the IDA18 funding programs that have dedicated financial support to the forcibly displaced and their host countries;
- 3) 'Forced displacement and Development', 22 pages – a text prepared for the Development Committee meeting (Joint Ministerial Committee of the Boards of Governors of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund on the Transfer of Real Resources to Developing Countries), regarding funding programme initiation of the financial support to the 'Regional Sub-window for Refugees'.

The first two documents were chosen because of their connection and initiation of the World Bank's commitment to the UN Global Compact on Refugees (GCR). They form the base on which the work that will be carried out by the World Bank should lean on. The third document, the committee meeting preparation text was chosen to provide some insight on the process leading up to their financial commitment and addresses mainly data on the discursive discussions around the role of the World Bank within this field and topic, thus the second research question in my thesis.

Due to the length of the documents a number of criteria have been applied to narrow down the text that will be part of the analysis, both in respect of the time at my disposal, but also considering the direct relevance to the focus of my study. For the report that is wholly about forced displacement and development, I selected to analyse from the front cover to the end of the first section called 'Overview' (31 pages) as it is the summary of all the sections in the full document, as well as back cover. The conclusion drawn here is that it provides material from all aspects and being a summary, it should also contain the most essential parts that the full text strives to convey. For the extensive report of the IDA Eighteenth replenishment there are parts that do not speak about forced displacement as it is a document concerning funding for all operations that the IDA conduct. Therefore, the specific sections selected are:

- 'Executive Summary' and 'Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations' (14 pages)
- 'Introduction' (page 1-4 in document)
- 'Special theme 4: Fragility, Conflict and Violence', as forced displacement falls under this theme as a focus area (4 pages)

- 'Section IV: IDA18 Operational and Financing Framework – A. Enhancing Volumes and Terms of IDA Assistance (7 pages)
- 'Annex 5: Implementation Arrangements: Regional Sub-Window for Refugees and Host Communities', (2 pages)

Further, I made use of the in-text search tool for key terms such as 'refugee', 'IDP', 'forcibly displaced', 'forced displacement' and 'host communities/countries' as well as let the documents headings work as a guide to control for the relevant data.

Due to the novelty of the World Bank's commitment the selection of material might seem somewhat arbitrary as it is selected from a small pool of accessible material. However, I argue that this will rather emphasize their meaning further, as they are the guiding lights that initiated this work, and therefore their content weighs heavily in the discourse. Moreover, since the focus does not lie on looking into discursive changes over time, this early stage for the World Bank from which the material is taken, support the interest of looking into the language and discursive practices that is seen as this 'new era'.

## 5.5 Evaluation criteria

Validity and reliability as evaluating criteria imply a rather straightforward meaning, and Bryman (2008: chapter 16) argues that its application for qualitative research is not always the best. However, to the extent possible they are providing reflections and considerations for the making of sound qualitative research in social science. Firstly, to address the internal validity it is of importance that when evaluating a qualitative case-based study the presentation of the findings are as clear and transparent as possible so that this CDA approach is regarded as credible to the reader (ibid). For that, I will revisit the aim and theoretical framework to seek support for the interpretation of the data collected, and the analysis of the observations found.

Since the in-depth approach is taking on an interpretative lens, aspirations in seeking external validity recognize that most qualitative findings remain dependent on a specific context, and thus "*the degree to which findings can be generalized across social settings*" (Bryman, 2008:376) will be weakened. However, for my study, the way to aspire to some external validity will be when considering the characteristics of an exemplifying case, as discussed earlier in the research design.

To seek reliability in this study I have kept a record of the selection of material and how the data will be collected as well as how it is analysed with the Fairclough model. I recognize that comparable replications can be questioned as creating settings of any social study is impossible to establish exactly the same as the original (LeCompte & Goetz, 1982). Nevertheless, the framework and tools are working toward clarity of the research process, of how the coding of the texts are conducted and thereby showing what it is that I am doing so that the findings can be perceived as dependable.

## 5.6 My role as a researcher

### 5.6.1 Reflexivity

As part of the methodological considerations, the aspect of reflexivity needs to be addressed for its importance of showing awareness and transparency in the study. Emphasized by Bryman, it concerns a self-awareness to the fact that the “methods, values, biases, and decisions” (2008:377) – which a researcher brings into their study – will affect the knowledge generated of the social world that is being studied. Within the frames of this study, this becomes an important task to stay attentive to, as the study of discourses inevitably insert an author into the process of subjectification (Bischoping & Gazso, 2016: chapter 9), i.e. in conducting my research I will observe and interpret discourse, thus produce and reproduce it to some extent. However, with the theoretical framework as guidance, and the method and its analytical tools framing my workspace, I believe the process can be held accountable and conducted in a sound manner.

### 5.6.2 Epistemology and Ontology

Furthermore, in my role as a researcher I acknowledge, to begin with, that the method of choice is placing the research in the epistemological position of critical realism. Since CDA, as according to Fairclough is approaching research through interpretation it concludes that the knowledge observed and also produced is contributing to one of several realities about our social world rather than one unchangeable truth (Bryman, 2008: chapter 1). This position therefore recognizes that there are possibilities to introduce changes to that knowledge and thereby changes to the status quo (ibid). Thus, from an ontological perspective this study adopt a constructivist position, acknowledging that the objects of study do not exist independently but through the meanings ascribed and associated to them, which the choice of theoretical framework as well as method has argued for above.

### 5.6.3 Ethical considerations

Further considerations of reflexivity are turning to the ethics of this study. Here I wish to acknowledge that as a Swedish student, and citizen, I have obtained experiences and knowledge in environments of what is addressed in this thesis as ‘western’, and therefore my awareness of my role in producing and reproducing discourse is important. This will also be relevant as my position is that of an outsider, since I have no personal experience of forced displacement and need to be considerate in the way that it can, and will, affect my observations as well as my interpretations. Lastly, an outsider perspective is also true in the sense that I have no personal connection to the World Bank, but here I claim that in this instance it speaks in favour of maintaining objectivity in the research.

### 5.7 Delimitations

The most impacting delimitation in this paper, is the material selection. Although the World Bank was selected as the actor in focus, in order to keep the material manageable for the time and scope of a master thesis it was necessary to apply a more narrow and micro-level perspective of a discourse analysis of the World Bank. Additionally, the specified research questions for this study helped in keeping a focus when processing the material. As the organization’s branches are too many to have a deeper discussion about them all the delimitations also considered the importance to keep the relevance of an IMER perspective and thus focus on forced displacement specifically and what these meanings bear. Although it might be a small portion of the Fragility, Conflict and Violence (FCV) special theme work also *within* IDA, one of the constituting bodies of the World Bank, it is the essential place to look at for the interest around forced displacement. Thus, the language in these micro-areas – when put within its larger context still holds value for the understanding of some tendencies, and views, that are placed on or upon these people and their host communities. Their position, explicitly identified as vulnerable, becomes of high relevance and interest also in the larger web of power and hegemonic discourses, behaviours and systems within the World Bank – and on the international arena.

## 6. Analysis

In the following chapter the primary material of the official World Bank documents will be presented in an analysis with the application of the theoretical framework using the CDA method of Fairclough's three-dimensional model. Therefore, I will present and discuss the findings of the different documents together under each dimension as this will follow the most coherent and clear structure of the CDA. The findings and reflections however will show an overlap between the different dimensions, as one is not isolated from the other. Hence, there will be traces and crossings in-between the three. In order to carry out the CDA accordingly, although the World Bank documents are the primary material – and will have a linguistic focus in the first dimension – their meaning is interconnected to the larger context which is complemented and supported by the previous research and contextual background which transcends to the second and third dimensions of the model. For the purpose of demonstrating the dimensions' reliance on each other in CDA, I end the analysis with a discussion.

### 6.1 Findings and observations

#### 6.1.1 First dimension – Discourse as text

This part of the analysis is largely concerned with the selected documents and the linguistic tools applied to it, which are mainly guided by the first two research questions of this study, regarding how forcibly displaced and host communities are described – as well as how the role of the World Bank is presented. By using these tools, I will below present examples from each text in order to analyse discourse as text; that possibly shape, reinforce or change discursive practices and what this can or cannot say about power relations, identities and knowledge (Fairclough, 1992) – reflected in the social reality within the international work around forced displacement and development.

An initial observation and notice will be the reflection of the overarching view of the situation of forced displacement – the view that is setting the stage for the rest of the discussion around this topic. More specifically the description about how the new approaches and shifts from the traditional humanitarian relief and protection of forcibly displaced is now applying a developmental mid- to long-term approach focusing on responsibility, which will be addressed in the name of *burden-sharing*. President of the World Bank, Jim Yong Kim, introduces this burden-sharing in the published 'informational' report on forced displacement : “*The burden of responding to this mass movement has largely been shouldered by a handful of countries and*

*humanitarian groups confronting an emergency that could last a generation or more*” (World Bank, 2017a: ix). As identified in the material and also presented by previous research this description is used to introduce the topic and the work that lies ahead, and thus sets a certain standard as to how the overarching situation is perceived, as a burden.

Its use by the actor under scrutiny here also marks one building block in terms of their view and language around this situation, as well as the people and communities affected, which is to set a negative tone from the start.

### **The challenge of forced displacement**

Two of the more prominent words used to describe the situation and the actors impacted by the situation are the *challenge* this presents for the social good, as well as the *need* that should be met and/or addressed in order to move toward the development that is wished for. This is also what describes difference in the most prominent way throughout the empirical material. One example, where the financial programs are addressed and thus describing what the World Bank (IDA) will do to further engage as an assisting actor, use the following language: *“Establish a regional sub-window for refugees within the Regional Program to provide a dedicated source of funding for host governments struggling to meet the **needs** of both refugees and their host communities”* (WBG, 2017b: iv; emphasis added).

In the same document, the same tone around the financial programme states the forcibly displaced themselves as the challenge: *“In order to focus particular efforts and resources **on the challenge** of refugees, Participants welcomed and endorsed the creation of a SDR1.4 billion sub-window within the Regional Program to finance projects benefiting refugees and their host communities (...) The proposed sub-window will put in place necessary incentives for addressing **the refugee challenge** and accessing funds”* (WBG, 2017b: 43; emphasis added).

The tone changes to some extent in the publish ‘informational’ report on the overall situation of forced displacement, where the language becomes more generic and objective:

*“The arrival and inclusion of large numbers of people in specific locales creates both risks and opportunities...”* (WBG, 2017a: 6). It is not contradictory, but it recognizes a potential and partial positive outcome from the presence of forcibly displaced. Though, noticeable is that when the situation is presented as both risk and opportunity, they use people instead of forcibly displaced or refugees, which then takes away the direct link of seeing movement of forcibly displaced as an opportunity. Lastly, the fact that risks are placed before opportunities, could be seen as the reflection of which one of the two that is considered to have more significance in

this context, as placement is viewed as influential to the meaning that an author conveys (Strauss & Feiz, 2014: chapter 9).

Although the material does not explicitly use *us* and *them* repeatedly, the text provides a clear distinction between those who are in need of support/help – the forcibly displaced/host communities, and those who will provide that support/help – the World Bank/development actors. The division of two camps is supported throughout the material with formulations such as: “*During the crisis, support must be provided to those forcibly displaced as well as to their host communities. Over time external actors should help create conditions that enable the forcibly displaced to truly rebuild their lives*” (World Bank, 2017a: 5). The strength and belief of a ‘saviour-complex’ in this example would be identified in the use of definitive words such as *must* and *truly* because not only does the former make clear that this is the way forward, the latter also indicate that the only way to do so is with the help from an outsider, a development agent. By using this type of wording, it reveals to some extent the modality in the language, that of assertion to what is perceived to be right (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: chapter 3).

Another example of this type of language says: “*The plight of the forcibly displaced poses significant challenges to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the WBG’s own goals of eradicating extreme poverty and boosting shared prosperity*” (WBG, 2016: 4). Addressing the acknowledged situation as not only a challenge, which is not a novel description of the forcibly displaced, it directly presents as a challenge for the World Bank itself to achieve their goal. In analysing the language and formulation then puts the bank in centre as the actor that needs to take on these challenges, rather than the forcibly displaced and the host communities. There are indications of active and passive voices, since using this language then shifts focus. It turns to the goal of the World Bank and how this is a challenge *for them* which takes precedence and addressing protracted displacement as a means to *their* end (not the other way around). In this view, a superiority/inferiority role is present, although not fully articulated and without the use of historically degrading language identified in early postcolonial theory critique.

These examples point to several traces of a pattern and portrayal of the concerned actors in relation to the function of representation with positive and negative sentiments attached to their description. Although the line and distinction is not a choice between two extremes but rather a spectrum of choices – where grey areas will always mean interpretation and depend on the reader – the most explicit description that separate forced displacement in the ‘us’ and ‘them’ terminology is: “*The report depicts the reality of forced displacement as a developing world*

*crisis with implications for a sustainable growth: 95 percent of the displaced live in developing countries and over half are in displacement for more than four years”* (World Bank, 2017a: back cover).

This statement is coining a crisis as an issue of the developing and thus contradicting the statements of a shared responsibility approach. This is done through a language use that draws directly from the theorization by Hall (1992) regarding ‘the West and the Rest’ – developed and developing – and thus reinforce the divide between the two. Further, this can be problematic as it risks strengthening the belief that this ‘developing world crisis’ is creating challenges for growth, globally, and thus framed as something that impedes on the social good. It should also be problematized for the use of ‘developing’ and what such a reproduction of development discourse can have on the naturalization that these challenges and severe struggles are, and continues to, just ‘happen’ to these communities. This is because of the negative references connected to the concept of developing such as: ‘poor’, ‘disadvantaged’ and ‘rural’ (Hall, 1992; Eriksson Baaz, 2005). Thus, this only enhances the colours of the picture painted about how ‘the West’ are not experiencing situations like this and should therefore help – with context sensitivity in mind. However, this seems to be only context in present time, and not so much historical contextualization where the creations of the divisions started and enabled the power imbalances, both in their abstract and material sense.

### **The forcibly displaced and their host communities**

Legal and formal recognition and also differences between refugees and IDP is stated in the ‘informational’ report. This is for the World Bank an important distinction when addressing the future planning, as it should be noted that their different formal status provides different protections, vulnerabilities and opportunities from a rights-based perspective. Most obviously the material clarifies that: *“the differences between the two groups, especially their legal status, are significant”* (WBG, 2017a: 2).

Although this separation for the sake of definition is important, the majority of the expressions and/or descriptions about both of these legally separated groups of people are shared. As an example, the World Bank writes about them with the following wording: *“The forcibly displaced have often acquired vulnerabilities that are specific to them, such as catastrophic losses of assets or trauma”* (WBG, 2017: 1) or *“Forcibly displaced persons – both refugees and IDPs – have typically suffered a major setback”* (WBG, 2017a: 9). The fact that they (the forcibly displaced) are further differentiated by their vulnerability status, provides a picture of a collective group of people that are in need of ‘help and rescue’. It continues in a

similar manner using words that declare certainty in the statements such as: “*Internally displaced persons (IDPs) are amongst **the most** vulnerable of the poor*” (WBG, 2017b: 43; emphasis added), and another: “*...forcibly displaced persons are **often** unable to take full advantage of existing opportunities for poverty reduction...*” (World Bank, 2017a: 9; emphasis added). Looking at these types of formulations their description by using wordings such as ‘catastrophic’, ‘unable’ and so forth, when referring to forcibly displaced is reinforcing a picture of negativity around their identity as a group.

The other part of ‘them’ are the host communities, that are seeing similar attributes and understandings of them, in the documents: “*Host countries and host communities are also facing specific issues and require support*” (WBG, 2016: 6), or: “*host communities have development needs...*” (WBG, 2017a: 6). Also: “*In a number of areas, the challenges for host communities already existed before the influx of forcibly displaced persons*” (World Bank, 2017a: 7).

When it comes to host communities attitude experiencing forced displacement, they are presented as “*...most host countries and communities are unwilling to accept, at least explicitly, the continuing presence of large numbers of refugees...*” (World Bank, 2017a: 11) and: “*...host countries are often reluctant to borrow on non-concessional terms or to use their limited IDA allocation to address the needs of non-nationals*” (WBG, 2016: 16). Again, associating host communities with descriptions as ‘unwilling’ or ‘reluctant’, and doing so with formulations with high assertion of this reality (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: chapter 3), it consolidates a negative overall picture of the host communities as actors in the international refugee protection regime. In contrast, there is a recognition in the extensive report about forced displacement and development, that this type of reluctance is not a particular trait for the countries and communities in focus of the text, but that this attitude has been found also in the OECD countries, especially after the so-called refugee crisis in Europe in 2015 (World Bank, 2017a: 11). Thus, it could be questioned if such language is necessary at all in these texts if it is not something actually specific to the host communities of LICs. The risk is that it could also provide more fuel to the belief that they are not able to handle this, and as such, work further to justify the presence of development actors in these environments. Additionally, it influences the development actor’s views on how to address forced displacement.

However, there are opposing descriptions regarding host communities as well, that recognize that they are upholding international refugee law in terms of proving protection. This is an acknowledgement that is important to take notice of, because there is a common understanding

from the material that most of the responsibility so far, has been upheld in majority, by countries and communities that are located Low Income Countries (LICs). The shared view is also that they are unfairly being held accountable for a social and humanitarian situation of global measure. For example: *“Countries hosting refugees are providing a global public good by upholding their commitment to provide asylum for those who flee conflict and violence”* (WBG, 2016:6).

A shift in naming, especially of the forcibly displaced, in the ‘informational’ versus the financial documents, is stark. In the financial document refugees become clients, and thus shift the discourse more towards an economic/market-driven discourse. This change also entails a shift in meaning, where the World Bank as authors are removing the label of forcibly displaced/refugee on the people of concern. This is potentially positive in the way that it could be seen as an attempt to remove stigma and the victimization that such a label is carrying, which has been constructed in and by the discourse of forced displacement for a long time. It does however, to some extent take away the recognition that they are facing different circumstances than ‘non-forcibly displaced people’ and can risk undermining the severity of certain experiences that work as institutionalized obstacles for them to live ‘as everyone else’. The ‘client’ category is also indicating that there is a business deal between two parties or more, and therefore risks adding obligations to the forcibly displaced, that are uncalled for. This would be where the discussion around self-reliance can be lifted for this study, in relation to previous research on the positive and negative sides to this approach as a solution for the forced displacement situations, and the people affected around the world. By ‘selling’ an idea of self-reliance in the manner that, most strongly, the financial documents in the material is doing – could reflect out to the social structure and common understanding of how people reach better livelihoods. Through the scholars that speak of caution of developed and developing actors’ relationships, a harmful approach to self-reliance would thus steer also the forcibly displaced toward the ‘single world-economic system’ (Young, 2001; Dykstra-Devette, 2018) that in the end only drives a market-system that equals the playfield for some social groups, but rarely those that are propagated to need it the most.

Nevertheless, their choice to describe refugees as clients, is showing an effort to the stated commitment that they should, too, be seen as economic agents that do have self-determination, skills and assets that are, and should be, the opposite of a burden.

Consequently, for the focus of the World Bank in this study, the social identities for the forcibly displaced and the host communities are shaped inconsistently in the material; from the

'informational' point of view as people that are vulnerable, powerless and in need of support; to the financial point of view where they are turned into active economic agents and clients. This can be concluded as either a purposeful terminology for the World Bank to insert their way of operating into these environments, or a reflection of a conflict in knowledge. It also reflects on the constitutive force that communicative events, such as the chosen material, can have on categorizations and their associated meanings.

### **The World Bank – a development actor**

The material, all three selected documents are published by the World Bank and thus, it comes as less of a surprise that large parts of the content includes the role of them as actors, since the documents are their presentation and position within this area of focus that they have decided to engage themselves in. For the purpose of this study, the interest is how their role is portrayed as it can tell some tales about their understanding and reasoning for how they should be involved. As it is their perspective, it is however also of interest to see how it looks through their eyes due to the interest of investigating the relation that is constructed by the use of the chosen language.

For the overarching picture that is told from each of the documents, there is a strong coherence and belief in the role of the World Bank to take part in the work with forced displacement. Expressions such as: *“As the World’s Premier Fund for the poorest, IDA is **uniquely** positioned to help countries realize the international community’s far-reaching and ambitious development agenda set for 2030”* (WBG, 2017b: 1; emphasis added), and also: *“Participants highlighted the **unprecedented** financing package for FCS/FCV and the establishment of new innovative financing mechanisms for tackling fragility problems and helping refugees and host communities”* (WBG, 2017b:41; emphasis added).

These are expressions that hold a very optimistic tone toward the work that is expected to lie ahead, and the involvement of the World Bank in particular. Their broader view on development actors’ roles and responsibilities is however holding a more neutral tone, as well as humility to the task at hand: *“...the WBG is neither mandated nor equipped to engage in some issues which are critical to the agenda, especially in the political arena. It has limited capacity to deliver urgent assistance on the ground compared with others, especially humanitarian agencies”* (WBG, 2016: 7). Further, the material continues to emphasize the importance of partnerships: *“The WBG’s effectiveness is directly linked to its ability to develop synergies with others, such as the UN. Partnerships are critical to successfully reducing fragility risks and responding to*

*the forced displacement crisis, in particular in contexts where development agendas are subsumed by political negotiations and security concerns” (WBG, 2016: 14).*

Here it shows that while the focus is concentrated on the response from the development actors it also provides an awareness that their involvement should be carried out with caution, and with respect to the context. Wording around contextualization as a priority in responding to forced displacement is then showing expressions of a view that nothing should be imposed on the host communities and/or the forcibly displaced: *“Development actors should assist national and local authorities in articulating the most effective responses for a given set of initial conditions and shock” (World Bank, 2017a: 7).*

To draw from this part of the CDA, with the chosen linguistic features in order to analyse discourse as text, there are a few patterns that provide significance for the interest of this study. Although the texts are giving examples of a mixed perspective – that forcibly displaced and host communities are not only connected with negative representation – the ‘bad’ exceeds the ‘good’ when focusing on the wording around these actors from a postcolonial perspective. The representation also, to the most extent, is providing a picture that there is an ‘us’ and ‘them’ between forcibly displaced/host communities and the World Bank.

However, what is also the most prominent for the linguistic analysis and the use of language is how the material is applying passive and active voices, the *transitivity* in the text (Fairclough, 1992: chapter 8). When addressing forcibly displaced and host communities it is almost exclusively with a passive voice, whilst addressing the World Bank is done almost exclusively with an active voice. Now, this will partly be explained by the mere origin of the material, being official World Bank documents. Nevertheless, by using this language it does not appear inviting, linguistically, for the actors that are of most concern to be part of and in the centre of this discussion. These minor shifts in the use of language also lifts the problematization of discourse as text, that what it reproduces in words can possibly affect practice.

Following this descriptive part of the analysis, the linguistics has provided findings about words used, how they are used and to what extent. I will now turn toward more interpretation of the material, and thus seek what meanings that the descriptive findings can say about the knowledge about the realities of forced displacement.

#### 6.1.2 Second dimension – Discourse as discursive practice

For the purpose of this level of analysis, I will look at the practices that connect the concrete event (1<sup>st</sup> dimension) and more abstract structures (3<sup>rd</sup> dimension) and thereby treat this level

as an intermediate part of the CDA (Fairclough, 2003). The definition of practices by Chouliaraki and Fairclough is that they are “*habitualised ways, tied to particular times and places, in which people apply resources (material or symbolic) to act together in the world*” (1999: 21). By this definition, the intermediate practices are working as a limiting force, to the possibilities of which broader structures – which will be the focus of the last analytical dimension – that will influence the discourse of interest (Fairclough, 2003).

What Fairclough is directing attention to in this dimension is the production, distribution and consumption of the text analysed. In order to follow the aim of this study, the main focus for this analytical level will be the process of and around the production of the communicative event, i.e. the selected written documents, and specifically the more prominent types of discourses that can be found in them – institutional, development and market-driven discourse. The analysis of the second dimension will end with some summarizing reflections.

### **Interdiscursivity**

In ‘framing’ the outlook of production of the empirical material it should firstly be noted that “*...interdiscursive practices become powerful vehicles for discourse consumption and for the naturalization of dominant ideologies of power and normalcy*” (Strauss & Feiz: 2014: 318). This means that by exploring the way in which different discourses are used, and how they are used, will be an analytical process that can extract the meaning the material wishes to convey.

Further, what should be mentioned in the beginning of this section is that the analysis of interdiscursivity in this paper will draw upon the principles in the Fairclough model. Still, considering the delimitations for this study I will not exhaust all criteria as it will go beyond the scope and capability of this paper, but I will apply parts that are appropriate to the material selected, as well as following the aim of the paper. Thus, for the second-dimension analysis and specifically regarding interdiscursivity I will examine the discourse types that previous research has highlighted, supported by the attributes of concern from the postcolonial perspective. This mean to analyse the different economic and market-driven attributes that has previously been connected and researched in regard to the World Bank as well as the development discourse that has been under discussion in relation to forced displacement and within the larger field of international work on poverty alleviation. However, I will first turn to institutional discourse, which is the first instance that show the constrain that discursive practices can place upon the language in use.

### ***Institutional discourse***

Initially, it should be recognized that the institutional discourse communicated in the documents is a discourse “*produced for and by members of specialized sectors of society, organized through specific types of social order*” (Strauss & Feiz, 2014: 76). This is then already touching upon the constraints that are set by discursive practices, on language and its (seemingly) endless creativity as argued by Fairclough (1993). The production of texts, such as the documents selected herein, can thus be argued to be constrained by certain rules and regulations of what is expected and allowed within an institutional discourse of the World Bank. The language can therefore be expected to be constrained by formality, as well as technicality of the terms and expressions used to convey the(ir) information (Fairclough, 1992).

This is of relevant concern for the connection with the development discourse – as well as the market-driven discourse – that is often communicated with the type of language that is common within institutions and international organizations, something that can be seen as a politics of formality. The documents are expected to deliver a certain language, as doing so, also gain legitimacy and more specifically authority. For example, if the material selected was written less formally, using a language perhaps more associated as spoken language between two friends, it would probably not receive as much authority and significance as it would then be seen as less serious, coming from an established organization. This position of authority is also reinforced by the World Bank itself, in their way of describing themselves in the selected documents working as material in this study.

However, beyond the institutional discourse there are more traits in the use of language that are of interest through the eyes of postcolonial theory. Traces in the discursive practices that serves to legitimize their involvement as the ‘saviours’ in the meaning that it is firstly framed as a problem – a challenge both in a development discourse of modernizing the social world, and making it more sustainable – but also in the economic perspective of prosperity and fighting poverty. This would find strength both in the use of modality in the text, addressing the certainty in their statements (as presented in the text analysis), and also in the overwhelming active voice of the World Bank, speaking *about* the forcibly displaced and their host communities.

### ***Development discourse***

“*They should help **modernize** the delivery of external assistance, so that it can better stimulate economic activity*” (WBG, 2017a: 8; emphasis added). This sentence is not only an example from the material where the role of development actors (i.e. the World Bank) is

expressed as ‘helpers’ but it also addresses the direct way in which that would happen, and how it would look like. Subsequently, discussing the concept of development, the text here shows both the view that modernizing is part of what development work means, and at the same time indicating that this is something that is lacking in the environments of concern. It also refers directly to modernization as the way to improve economic elements, and thus, economic activity requires modernization in order to progress and meet the needs of the people and communities affected. Since modernization is here linked to economic activity and drives the assumptions about the definition of development in a certain direction, namely that the development discourse is following its previous patterns and problematization of being Eurocentric/Western (Hall, 1992; Eriksson Baaz, 2005; Mohanty: 2003).

Throughout the material, the visibility of development discourse is high, which should not be surprising. The World Bank is specifying that the way they will engage with forced displacement is through development. What can be concluded further is that they are reproducing the conventional discourse of development, so even though this commitment to engage in forced displacement is a ‘new phase’ for the World Bank – as part of their work with the broader poverty reduction vision – the reinforcement of knowledge about development remains mostly unchallenged. The drivers of development within these documents are building on the argument about the dominating understanding and view of what development means and is valued for. For example: “*A development approach to forced displacement has several characteristics (...) It sees the forcibly displaced and their hosts as economic agents, who make their own choices and respond to incentives...*” (WBG, 2016: 6).

On the other hand, one of the more stark examples from the material where the portrayal of doing good is disguised through development discourse say: “*An equitable sharing of responsibilities is essential to resolve the current crisis, and high-income countries should do more in **providing solutions***” (WBG, 2017a: 11; emphasis added). This is a statement that sees the expertise of the high-income countries (developed actors) as a justified answer and provider of proper solutions, thereby being able to impose on identified communities of concern. This would then not only take away agency from the forcibly displaced and the host communities, but it is also an expression of power to implicate that the people and places of concern are not equipped to seek solutions together with support from high-income countries, but should be handed the already designed solutions from them.

### ***Economic/market-driven discourse***

Representations of development through an economic perspective and as an economic experience is also not a surprising way of producing discourse from a financial institution. It is, explicitly defined in its name, a bank, and by association and general consensus of what ‘bank’ entails, certain procedures and operations should be expected. In this case, in this study, this is shining through most clearly in the analysed document about the IDA18 Replenishment, the financial framework for the World Bank’s programs directed towards the most vulnerable, the LICs, in the world. This financial document, addressing the regional sub-window for refugees is where the clinical and technical type of discourse is most present, as it uses a language referring to, for example ‘clients’, ‘stakeholders’ and formulations such as: *“Given the cost of conflict to countries and regions, this is likely to constitute a cost-effective engagement, even though its success may be uncertain”* (WBG, 2016: 13). This is a move away from the more common language when referring to forced displacement and international development work. The shift of the most prominent type of discourse with this different use of language provides a representation that neutralizes the actors from its commonly identifying marks. A client can be seen as a more objective identity within the field of forced displacement and development. On the other side, with the relationship of client and stakeholder present, it maintains a relationship of imbalance as the clients are expected to uphold and fulfil certain criteria to be able to join a partnership with the stakeholders. Moreover, it keeps the power intact as it is a conditional relationship that demands performance from the client in order to reach a potential prosperity, which in itself becomes an unspoken condition for the hope of continued and secured partnership.

If an economic discourse is used in this way, it continues to reproduce the knowledge and understanding of the World Bank, through those economic terms. Since the bank is addressing issues of poverty, and working for development, this more technical language risk reducing the affected people and communities of forced displacement down to their ability of contributing to the society only through productivity. This will then disregard the complexities of the situation. If it trickles down to everyday life the risks of neglecting complexities could influence the response and understanding of forced displacement. If they are not the group of people of concern, but clients, then the ‘contract’ signed for the social relationships can be altered.

However, the World Bank as the globally recognized institution that it is does also show a more integrated discourse which is, again, more generic: *“What is needed is a comprehensive response, driven by affected governments and stakeholders, and supported by the international community in line with the spirit and principles of international cooperation”* (WBG, 2017a:

13). Here the words are leaning more toward a conventional language, possibly constrained in the mix of institutional discourse, moderating their own role, and instead emphasize a sense of humility for their involvement.

The different usages of discourse, with a more dominant development discourse in the postcolonial sense, bearing in mind Hall's (1992) interpretation of development, is visible in the 'informational' report that is addressing forced displacement and development. The referencing and acknowledgement of UNHCR specifically, but the larger international development arena as well, is showing signs of the more conventional use of language, and thus discourse, that can be expected from this institutional setting. Furthermore, this provides the broader justifications for the World Bank as a financial institution to get involved. They are building a case for their own relevance, by reproducing a language that presents a problem, a challenge and the need to act on it. It is influenced to a much higher degree of moral obligations, as expected by an international actor, in order to share the responsibility. When this setting is done for forced displacement and development, the specifics of their expertise can move on to the then more 'creative' use of discourse as can be found in the financial frameworks. In this sense, the financial document is where the World Bank, as a bank, is truly identified. This goes beyond describing forcibly displaced as clients, and can also be found in the descriptions of the development work and approach itself, such as: "*Support from the sub-window will target both refugees and host communities in order to promote **more effective, equitable and sustainable solutions to this development challenge***" (WBG, 2017b: 49; emphasis added), or "*Development actors should help work toward solutions that can be more **cost-effective and sustainable***"(WBG, 2017a: 12; emphasis added).

Following the previous research that positioned this paper, and the theoretical framework as support, the interdiscursivity focused on the development discourse, the authority of institutional discourse and the economic influences of market-driven discourse shows that the more dominating development discourse is reinforcing the traditional understanding and thus the power of knowledge of how to address forced displacement in locations identified as developing. However, with its subtleness – of an objective language, as well as the articulations exemplifying both risks and opportunities – partly constrained by the institutional discourse, could also be what Cameron would argue to be a possible 'hidden agenda' that CDA in fact can help uncover (2001: chapter 9). In this context it would be what, for example, Hyndman is alerting about when highlighting the risks of development discourse to in fact be colonial words rephrased and only a repetition of bad habits disguised as doing good (Hyndman, 2000).

Through the analysis of the order of discourse then, this present some interesting reflections about exercise as well as reinforcement of certain aspects of power between the people and places of concern, and the World Bank.

### 6.1.3 Third dimension – Discourse as social practice

In order to, and following the principles of Fairclough's CDA, the model is working for the purpose of supporting the argument that the meaning (and influence) of a text cannot be understood without any insight or knowledge about the context in which a text is situated. Therefore, in this third and final dimension I will address the closer context in which the texts are situated. It is not a reasonable task to attempt to grasp the all of the context in which these documents are situated, but I will focus on certain aspects that are of more interest in regard to the aim and theoretical considerations, which is further guided by the research questions of this study.

Set forth in the analysis of the social practice dimension, it is recalled that the discursive practices and the language shaping discourse for the World Bank, is located within the structure of the international refugee protection regime and the GCR, as well as the international development (cooperation) community. As a result, this then includes the politics of knowledge that has been under question in the previous works of postcolonial studies expressed in previous research (Eriksson Baaz, 2005; McEwan, 2019). Although, and perhaps because of, the material's institutional discourse, the data did not reveal any extreme or controversial language as part of the discourse. However, by taking the view on development discourse as colonialism with a new face (Kothari, 1988; Hyndman, 2000; Easton-Calabria & Omata, 2018), it would indicate that in the production of these written texts there is a clear use of a discourse that is reproducing elements of difference and disparity between communities, and people. The potential harm this differentiation can have in this specific setting of the World Bank's engagement with forced displacement, lies beyond this study to make assertive claims about. Nevertheless, it calls to question how this more subtle articulations, terminologies and influences are feeding into the social practices and structures that affects the knowledge of reality, as well as the identities and relations of the social world – allowing for a certain hegemonic order to remain (Fairclough, 1992). Some of these potential influences will now be discussed in the remaining part of the analysis.

The most obvious of structures is that of the institution itself and its organizational foundation, which according to Fairclough (1992) is important to consider when searching for

influences of power in text and discourse. Firstly, the structure of the institution is setting some constraints on the discursive practices, as mentioned in the previous dimension. The institutional discourse is mutually legitimizing the World Bank as an institution, that then in turn – with its institutional character – will serve as a guide of what type of discourse that is legitimate to be communicated from this type of actor. This would be coherent with what Agar defines as an institution: “*a socially legitimized expertise together with those persons authorized to implement it*” (1985: 164, as cited in Mayr 2008: 4). So, since the expertise that is part of the very definition of institutional features, together with the accrediting support of the UNHCR, and previous academic studies, the World Bank qualifies well within a support for such a structure.

Remaining in the structural discussion of the World Bank, and in the context of discourse production, the voting system and how the executive unit is constructed are of interest. These observations shed some light and considerations as to how and which voices are, or could be, stronger than others. Not only that the member states’ votes are unequal in influence, but the fact that the top economic contributors of the member states are guaranteed a seat at the Executive Directors Board is what Fairclough would argue a typical ‘non-discursive’ element that impacts the analysis of power dynamics in CDA. It is something that “*...were originally discursively constituted, but have become sedimented in institutions*” (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 62). Additionally, the remaining member states are working under the conditions to vote forward a representative, which mean 179 member states represented by 19 Executive Directors, compared to the one seat per state for the six biggest contributors. This is a structure that creates complexity for the meaning of representation in the postcolonial problematization by Hall (1992). Thus, the composition of the World Bank, with member states influential power connected to a voting system based on economic contributions does pose concern about the balance of power. The lack of equal representation, and the overrepresentation of a few voices, does speak in favour of how this affect the dominating discourses, as well as the order of discourse. Taken together with the fact that five out of the six most contributing member states are part of the ‘developed’ world further strengthens the indications of a power imbalance that can trace back to the historical context of colonialism. To take a little more straightforward position – rich countries in the organizational structure of the World Bank seems to have more to say in setting the agenda – which presuppose that this element of social practice takes part in constructing the guiding rules of behaviour, response and reinforcement of a Eurocentric/Western reality of the world.

Furthermore, the discourse and discursive practices indicate support for the continued strive that has become globalization, and the ‘single-economic system’ that revolves around a market-driven world, where progress and development is measured in efficiency and productivity and based in competitiveness that results in the assumption that there will be a winner and loser. In this case, it also allows for the exercise of power to remain in the hands of those that contribute financially.

Turning to a different perspective of this dimension is the discussion and interest about which wider context the production of these documents took place, as well as when they went public – identifying a so-called specific situation (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). One such situation would be the international context in the aftermath of the 2015 refugee ‘crisis’ in Europe. The fact that the forced displacement situation became addressed as a crisis can also indicate that the discourse around large movements of people, falling under the categorization of forced movement and adopting a description of a crisis, display a description rarely associated with positive meaning.

So, as these documents came about in a time where Europe had faced a situation of migration that it was unprepared for, created a stark reaction. Not that forced displacement was ignored before, but this event moved the questions around forcibly displaced closer to home for the European/Western societies which remain important to reflect upon. This could explain the increased moral responsibility (we should do more), that followed in the statements of the New York Declaration and the GCR of shared responsibility. However, this shared responsibility can be analysed also by questioning the authenticity, since it can be perceived as a reaction of suddenly doing more to avoid such a surprise again, and thus be part of controlling forced displacement away from Europe. A situation such as this, that did contribute to shaping the international refugee protection regime from then on, is however part of the speculating surroundings in this study but should nonetheless be acknowledged.

On a larger contextualized level this draws on the understanding that what dominates the global discourses continues to draw from the definitions and decisions that are dictated by western knowledge about the world. The representations that are given through the discourses hold associated meanings of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ and this follows the argument about where the postcolonial variations all come together in the understanding that the European colonial past continue to have a lingering influence (McEwan, 2019; Eriksson Baaz, 2005).

#### 6.1.4 Discussion

Although the discourse itself is not noticeably colonial, the postcolonial perspective introduced in the theoretical framework of this thesis, and argued by McGowan (2019), can be traced in the material. The perspective from the postcolonial corpus around the discussion of how to understand and analyse *post* would mean that there is something after what we know as the direct and territorial colonialism, simply reshaped and reformulated. Developed and developing remain under the same and closely associated definitions in the institutional discourse of the World Bank which previous research also critique – here reproduced for the discourse around forced displacement. Thus, with the findings identified in the documents, there is some strength to the argument that a superior/inferior discourse is also reiterated, through a development discourse of ‘the West and the Rest’; now developed-developing world. Abiding by this line of argument, new problematizations arise in discussing how and which meanings that could be reinforcing the ‘right’ kind of structures, or creating the appropriate knowledge that better addresses situations where the forcibly displaced and the host communities can flourish.

Subsequently, following the theorization about power as a productive force, the text analysis and the interdiscursivity are together building onto and into the system where the World Bank continues to operate on the knowledge about a reality that developed (rich) actors are providing the help and support, and even downright solutions to developing (poor) communities and its people, in order to share the ‘burden’ that is forced displacement. This should, according to the analysed material be carried out through the work and practices that are leading to more modern societies and systems, which is the idealized goal to strive for. The first dimension of this analysis is constructing a language that steer the direction of forcibly displaced as vulnerable and even unable. Further, by presenting them in a passive voice, show tendencies that the reality to operate within is a reality where the World Bank, together with its partners, is taking a lead role (as experts) to assist forcibly displaced and host communities through grants and loans. Grants and loans that are conditionalized upon criteria that contain the meaning of development found in Hall’s conceptualization. So, if these traces exist, then the hegemonic order and power of knowledge continues to produce a reinforcement of imbalance between those communities and people that already are carrying a colonial past, which then continues to show patterns of disadvantage. This in turn, could question the intention and sincerity of the ‘shared responsibility’ that was supposed to be the new and ground-breaking change within the international refugee protection regime. A responsibility that the World Bank would be taking a part in from here on forward. Consequently, if there are traces of a certain type of immaterial

power imbalance, it should remain to question if this is not also going to influence material power, and that issues around injustices and inequality will persist. Now, to discuss that this would be the real or true intentions of the World Bank as it is organized today is not something that can be established through this CDA of forced displacement. Within the international community, that is politicized – both intentionally and unintentionally – such ‘true’ intentions will most likely always be left to speculation. Nevertheless, the discourse on forced displacement within the World Bank is showing tendencies that can at least support the relevance to continue these types of problematizations. Particularly with the postcolonial perspective that argues that our global society still operates in a reality that hold signs of colonialism (McEwan, 2019). In this line of argumentation, this is a postcolonial state for the international community and forced displacement, through the eyes of the World Bank – now in a somewhat modified shape with social identities, relations and systems of knowledge reflecting that.

## 7. Conclusion

This study and its analysis have been driven by the interest, through a critical perspective, to identify how language as discourse can provide a deeper understanding of the social world in which the work with forced displacement exist. Additionally, it sought to explore how discourse is tied to wider hegemonic structures and power (im)balances that either uphold injustice or create means for resistance. The goal was therefore never to produce results that can point to sound and replacing alternatives, that should work better, but rather it has been an exploration to highlight the importance of questioning the reality that is presented.

I do not argue that the language that shapes the discourse needs complete altering, but the way that the current system is facilitating the continued naturalization of how the world works – in the field of forced displacement and development – is steadily producing and exercising the type of power defined by Foucault as consensual (1980). A shared and agreed upon ‘consensus’ left mainly unquestioned. This type of power can then operate more behind the scenes, rather unchallenged, partly because it is operating on the basis of agreement with the wider public. Therefore, what I will advocate that this study has given examples of, and argues for, is the importance of staying critical to be able to catch the possible harmful meanings and beliefs that are ‘hidden’ in a larger discourse and that functions as producers and supporters of structures of power – which uphold or even reinforce injustices and inequalities in our

globalised world. This should be concerning for all actors that continues to emphasize the shared responsibility on forced displacement as a true intention.

From a postcolonial perspective, the language analyzed in the material tends to point to this very question. The importance of continuously examining what is meant by development, and in this case in direct connection with people who are identified as particularly vulnerable, should never become irrelevant. Because if the prominent voices around development cooperation are never questioned, there is a risk that it will disguise as a modern colonial project. It should then be remembered that many of the concepts and terms that we today see as universal and neutral, have reached such status through the exercise of power. They have been shaped into legitimate knowledge, but are nevertheless historically conditioned, and thus not entirely unproblematic. Critically analyzing discourse therefore elevates this immaterial power that language possesses - something that, not completely unlikely, can be reflected in real power and material strength.

Future research interest could therefore be to follow up on the practice that the implemented programmes funded by the IDA18 (and forthcoming) regional 'refugee sub-window' will generate, in order to collect empirical data of how the reflected discourse is influencing the field work in environments of concern. Another approach would be to dive deeper into the more detailed structure of the World Bank and by doing so, gain more understanding in some 'true intentions' based to a larger extent on the decision-making processes of the institution in relation to forced displacement, and thus trace patterns of power.

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