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Climate Change and Security: Different Perceptions, Different Approaches

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Climate Change and Security: Different Perceptions, Different Approaches

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ABSTRACT

The concerns about the results of climate change have been increasing as new scientific proofs emerge and people witness its direct effects in environmental catastrophes. There also have been different efforts to frame climate change as a security issue. This study aims to analyze different security approaches to climate change with a particular framework. The framework divides these approaches into two: opponents and proponents of the securitization of climate change. It also analyzes different approaches and logics within both camps. Finally, the study examines and evaluates the emerging literature on the “climatization of security” which focuses on the impacts of climate change on the understanding of security in the discipline of International Relations.

Keywords: Climate Change, Security, Securitization, Human Security, Climatization of Security

İklim Değişikliği ve Güvenlik: Farklı Algılar, Farklı Yaklaşımlar

ÖZET

İklim değişikliğinin sonuçlarına yönelik ilgi, ortaya çıkan bilimsel deliller ve karşılaşılan çevresel felaketlerin de etkisiyle gitgide artmaktadır. Son zamanlarda iklim değişikliğini bir güvenlik sorunu olarak ele alan çalışmalar da dikkat çekmektedir. Bu çalışma, belli bir çerçevede, iklim değişikliğini ele alan farklı güvenlik yaklaşımlarını analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu çerçevede, iklim değişikliğine olan güvenlik yaklaşımları, iklim değişikliğinin güvenleştirilmesini destekleyenler ve karşı çıkanlar olmak üzere ikiye bölünmüştür. Bu çalışmada, iki grubun içindeki farklı yaklaşımlar ve mantıklar analiz edilmiştir. Son olarak, literatürde son zamanlarda ortaya çıkan ve iklim değişikliğinin Uluslararası İlişkiler disiplindeki güvenlik anlayışına etkilerini irdeleyen, “güvenliğin iklimleştirilmesi” konusu incelenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İklim Değişikliği, Güvenlik, Güvenleştirme, İnsani Güvenlik, Güvenliğin iklimleştirilmesi.

Introduction

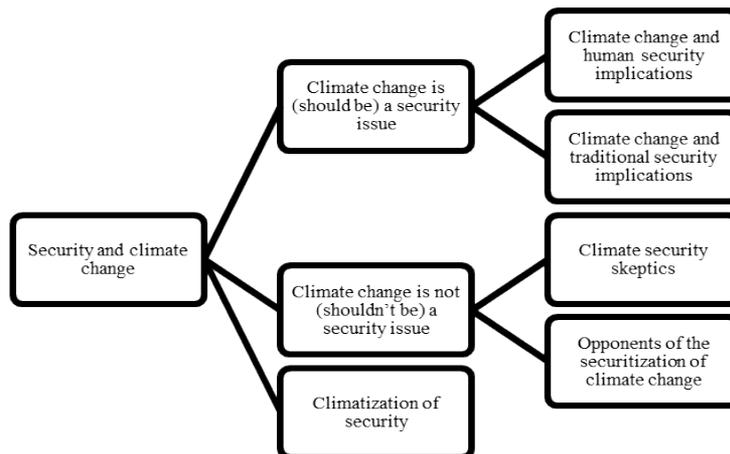
Climate change is taking place with increasing pace and the concerns about its results have been increasing in recent years. In line with these emerging concerns, climate change started to be framed as a security issue. Brown and Crawford summarize these increasing concerns as follows:

We are beginning to realize that the speed and scope of climate change—the way it threatens to affect where we can live, where we can grow food and where we can find water—could undermine the economic and political stability of large parts of the world in the coming years. In so doing, climate change could become a threat multiplier that makes existing problems such as water scarcity and food insecurity more complex and intractable.¹

In addition to the academic concerns, the issue started to take place within domestic and international political agendas too. In his Nobel peace prize speech, for instance, President Obama warned that “there is little scientific dispute that if we do nothing, we will face more drought, more famine, more mass displacement – all of which will fuel more conflict for decades.”² Additionally traditional security actors started to regard climate change as a security issue too. Both the Ministry of Defense of the UK (2010 - Global Strategic Trends –Out to 2040) and Pentagon (2014 – Climate Change Adaptation Roadmap) have adopted climate adaptation into their operations.³

As new studies started to emerge about climate change and security, there emerged a debate over if it is true or not to frame climate change as a security issue. There are supporters and opponents of the securitization⁴ of climate change. Additionally, there are different thoughts both among the supporters and opponents. The following figure summarizes the different approaches to the securitization of climate change.

Figure 1 Framework for Analyzing Different Security Approaches to Climate Change



- 1 Oli Brown and Alec Crawford, “Battling the Elements: The Security Threat of Climate Change”, *International Institute for Sustainable Development Commentary*, December 2009, p.1.
- 2 Nils Petter Gleditsch, “Whither the Weather? Climate Change and Conflict”, *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol.49, No.1, 2012, p.3.
- 3 Delf Rothe, *Securitizing Global Warming: A Climate of Complexity*, Abingdon, Routledge, 2016, p.5.
- 4 In this article the term “securitization” is used to express only “construction of an issue as a security issue” or “framing an issue as a security issue.” To refer the Securitization Theory of the Copenhagen School, we used Securitization with capital “S”. Securitization Theory has a certain framework based on speech acts to securitize issues. For this framework see Barry Buzan, Ole Weaver and Jaap De Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, Boulder, Lynne Rienner Pub, 1998; and Ole Wæver, “Securitization and Desecuritization”, Ronnie D. Lipschutz (ed.), *On Security*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1995, p. 46-86.

The aim of this study is to examine the literature on the securitization of climate change by using the framework used in the figure above, and to examine and evaluate the emerging literature on the climatization of security. For this aim we have conducted a literature review and classified the studies according to the framework. The first part gives a brief history of the securitization of climate change including its roots. The second part analyzes the arguments of the proponents of the securitization of climate change. Although this part divides the supporters of the securitization into two logics, namely human security and traditional security, it also analyzes interrelated security implications of both logics. The third part analyzes the arguments of the opponents of the securitization of climate change. Opponents of climate change are also divided into two: the first group, *climate security skeptics*, argues that climate change is not a security issue and it is impossible to build a causal linkage between climate change and violent conflicts.⁵ The second group maintains that climate change should not be securitized since the securitization of climate change will have adverse effects. The fourth part explains and evaluates the emerging literature on the climatization of security. It focuses on how climate change, with its unique features, has been affecting the understanding of security in the discipline of International Relations.

Climate Change and Security – A Brief History

The roots of the securitization of climate change can be found in the wider environmental security framework.⁶ In line with the broadening efforts⁷ of the concept of security, environmental issues started to take place within the security realm in the late 1970s. Richard Ullman's famous study "Redefining Security" can be regarded as an important attempt in the securitization of environmental (and economic) issues.⁸ In line with this, Jessica T. Mathews' article titled "Redefining Security" also puts a particular emphasis on the necessity to rethink the concept of security beyond national security, and in this way, to incorporate environmental issues into security agendas. Mathews, in the article, especially highlights the transnational character of environmental issues.⁹ Other than the efforts to broaden the concept of security, Club of Rome's "Limits of Growth" study in 1972 and Brundland Commission's "Our Common Future" report in 1987 played a major role in the emergence of public awareness and the politicization of the environmental issues.¹⁰ Especially the so-called Brundland Report "marked the entry of the phase 'environmental security' into international debates."¹¹

The end of Cold War intensified the discussion of environmental security. In 1991, Barry Buzan emphasized, "environmental security concerns the maintenance of the local and planetary biosphere

5 Rothe, *Securitizing Global Warming*, p.120.

6 Ibid. p.85-87.

7 The term broadening is used to refer both the widening and deepening efforts of security in the discipline of International Relations. In simple terms, the term widening is related to adding novel issues (such as environmental and economic) to the agenda of security studies other than military ones. The term deepening refers to adding new reference objects other than states. See Keith Krause and Michael Williams, "Broadening the Agenda of Security Studies: Politics and Methods," *Mershon International Studies Review*. Vol. 40, No.2, 1996, p.229-254; Buzan *et.al. Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, p.2.

8 Richard H. Ullman, "Redefining Security", *International Security*, Vol. 8, No.1, 1983, p.129-153.

9 Jessica T. Mathews, "Redefining Security", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.68, No.2, 1989, p.162-177.

10 Rothe, *Securitizing Global Warming*, p.85.

11 Maria Julia Trombetta, "Environmental Security and Climate Change: Analyzing the Discourse", *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol.21, No.4, 2008, p.585.

as the essential support system on which all other human enterprises depend.”¹² Furthermore, the studies of so-called Toronto Group led by Thomas Homer-Dixon put their mark on the academic discussions about the security implications of environmental issues in the 1990s. In these studies, Homer-Dixon presented the relationship between the environmental problems (including climate change, deforestation, land and water degradation and reduction of ozone layer), and violent conflict.¹³ Although Homer-Dixon did not suggest a direct linkage between environmental problems and violent conflict, he concluded that these problems, in combination with other social, economic and political problems, could cause new conflicts or exacerbate existing ones.¹⁴ The arguments of Homer-Dixon were popularized by Robert Kaplan’s 1994 article “The Coming Anarchy,” which presented a dark future in which environmental problems will cause national security issues.¹⁵

As expressed above, the discussions about the environmental security provide roots for the securitization of climate change. Most of the arguments used in the securitization of climate change are same as the wider environmental security discourses such as migration, conflict because of water problems or food insecurity. In addition to environmental security, securitization of development also provided basis for the securitization of climate change. In the late 1990s and especially after the 9/11 attacks and during the War on Terror, underdevelopment was constructed as a security issue. In this securitization, underdeveloped and failed states were presented as a threat since they provide base for terrorists, cause migration and political instability.¹⁶ These arguments provided basis for the securitization of climate change since climate change will directly or indirectly contribute to the emergence of new failed states. Novel problems, deriving from climate change, like food insecurity and droughts will further deteriorate the situation in already fragile countries.¹⁷

Although there were previous attempts to present climate change as a security issue (apart from wider environmental security),¹⁸ these efforts intensified in the early 2000s. In 2002, German Ministry of Environment prepared a report questioning the effects of climate change on the violent conflict.¹⁹ In 2003, Schwartz and Randall prepared another report titled “An Abrupt Climate Change Scenario and its Implications for United States National Security” on behalf of Pentagon, an explicit security actor.²⁰ In the same period, the UK Ministry of Defense also demanded a similar report from its meteorological unit.²¹ The securitization of climate change intensified when the end of Kyoto Protocol, the first binding quantitative emission reduction agreement, came closer. The efforts of Margaret Beckett, foreign secretary of the UK, were remarkable for the securitization of climate

12 Barry Buzan, *People, States and Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, 2nd ed., Boulder, Lynne Rienner Pub, 1991, p.19-20.

13 Thomas Homer-Dixon, “On the Threshold: Environmental Changes as Causes of Acute Conflict”, *International Security*, Vol.16, No.2, 1991; Thomas Homer-Dixon, “Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict: Evidence from Cases”, *International Security*, Vol.19 No.1, 1994, p.5–40; Trombetta, “Environmental Security and Climate Change”, p.592.

14 Rothe, *Securitizing Global Warming*, p.86.

15 Robert Kaplan, “The Coming Anarchy”, *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol.273, No.2, 1994, p.58.

16 Rothe, *Securitizing Global Warming*, p.89-90.

17 Examples of this argument are given below. See also Denise Garcia, “Warming to a Redefinition of International Security: The Consolidation of a Norm Concerning Climate Change”, *International Relations*, Vol.24, No.3, 2010, p.273.

18 Peter H. Gleick, “The Implications of Global Climatic Changes for International Security”, *Climatic Change*, Vol.15, No.1–2, 1989, p.309–325.

19 Rothe, *Securitizing Global Warming*, p.92.

20 Peter Schwartz and Doug Randall, *An Abrupt Climate Change Scenario and its Implications for United States National Security*. Washington, DC, Global Business Network, 2003.

21 Rothe, *Securitizing Global Warming*, p.92.

change in this period. She was also the first person to use the term “climate security.”²² In 2006, during the UK presidency, the G8 accepted the fundamental links between energy, security, climate change and sustainable development.²³

2007 was the year that witnessed the most intense securitization efforts for climate change. Denise Garcia argues that “2007 was a pivotal year for the prominence of the security dimension of climate change debate.”²⁴ Firstly, after a considerable lobbying by the UK, the first United Nations Security Council (UNSC) meeting on Climate Change was held on April 17, 2007. Although there was no concrete solution or statement, the debate exposed different views about the security implications of climate change.²⁵ This UNSC meeting was crucial since, even taking an issue on the agenda of the UNSC implies that the issue is regarded within the realm of security because the duty of the UNSC is maintaining international peace and security.²⁶

Another major event that occurred in 2007 for the securitization of climate change was the release of the fourth assessment report of International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). The report, which presented a dark picture of regionally differentiated impacts of climate change, grasped vast public attention.²⁷ After the report, on October 12, 2007, both the IPCC and Al Gore²⁸ were awarded with the Nobel Peace Prize “for their efforts to build up and disseminate greater knowledge about man-made climate change and to lay the foundations for the measures that are needed to counteract such change.”²⁹

In 2008, EU High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy, and the European Commission proposed a joint document titled “Climate Change and International Security” to the European Council. This document presented climate change as “a threat multiplier which exacerbates existing trends, tensions and instability.”³⁰ While explaining why climate change should be seen as a security issue, the document provided seven different threats posed by climate change: Conflict over resources; economic damage and risk to coastal cities and critical infrastructure; loss of territory and border disputes; environmentally induced migration; situations of fragility and radicalization; tensions over energy supplies; pressure on international governance.³¹ Additionally, on December 11, 2011 the European Council approved a statement that argues that “climate change can also lead to disputes over trade routes, maritime zones, and resources previously inaccessible.”³²

22 Trombetta is referring to Beckett in “Environmental Security and Climate Change”, p.595.

23 Shirley V. Scott, “The Securitization of Climate Change in World Politics: How Close have We Come and would Full Securitization Enhance the Efficacy of Global Climate Change Policy?”, *Review of European Community & International Environmental Law*, Vol.21 No.3, 2012, p.221.

24 Garcia, “Warming to a Redefinition of International Security”, p.290.

25 Scott, “The Securitization of Climate Change”, p.225.

26 Rafaela Rodrigues de Brito, “A Climate for Conflict or Cooperation? Addressing the Securitization of Climate Change”, Paper presented at the Third Global International Studies Conference, Portugal, August 2011, p.44.

27 Rothe, *Securitizing Global Warming*, p.93.

28 45th Vice President of the US and a climate change activist.

29 “The Nobel Peace Prize”, 2007, http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/2007/, (Accessed on 1 March 2016).

30 “Climate Change and International Security”, High Representative for CFSP and the European Commission, 2008, p.2, http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/reports/99387.pdf, (Accessed on 1 March 2016).

31 Ibid.

32 Hans Gunter Brauch, “Securitizing Climate Change”, Paper Presented at 50th ISA Annual Convention, New York, February 2008, p.11.

In 2009, UN General Assembly held its first debate on climate change and security. Following an intense campaign by Small Island Developing States (SIDS), the General Assembly passed resolution 63/28 in which it acknowledged that the impacts of climate change could have possible security implications.³³ The resolution also “invited the UN organs to intensify their efforts in considering and addressing climate change, including its possible security implications.”³⁴

The second UNSC debate on climate change was held in 2011. Similar to the previous one, the Council did not adopt a binding statement or agreement. However, this time it agreed on a non-binding presidential statement. The statement warned that possible negative impacts of climate change may exacerbate existing threats to international peace and security. The Council also expressed concerns for the SIDS, which will be threatened from the possible rise of sea level.³⁵

It should be kept in mind that the 1990s were the same period that the broadening efforts to security intensified with the end of the Cold War. Therefore, putting climate change in the security agenda and broadening efforts of the concept of security went hand in hand. Both processes positively affected the advance of the other one. Moreover, in addition to academic works that tried to find out the linkages between climate change and security, and discursive efforts to securitize environment and climate change, other factors also played a crucial role in the process of the securitization of climate change. According to Trombetta, movies contributed to the creation of public awareness about the security implication of climate change and consequently to the process of securitization. “Movies like *the day after tomorrow* and *an inconvenient truth* reinforced the representation of climate change as a threat and security issue.”³⁶ This is in line with the argument of Michael Williams that emphasizes the importance of images in the securitization process. He states that “security policies today are constructed not only with the question of their linguistic legitimation in mind; they now are increasingly decided upon in relation to acceptable image-rhetorics.”³⁷ To add that certain events also played a crucial role for the securitization of climate change. In 2005, Hurricane Katrina, which killed 1833 people in the US, and the summer heat wave in Europe in 2003, contributed to the emergence of public awareness about climate change. The conflict in Darfur and the Genocide in Rwanda also increased the awareness about the security implications of climate change since it is argued that the both events are directly or indirectly related to environmental degradation.³⁸ Finally, increasing scientific data about the ongoing climate change played a major role in the securitization of climate change by making people aware of the problem and making them think about its possible outcomes. The most significant of these is the Release of IPCC reports, which scientifically lay bare the devastating outcomes of climate change.³⁹

33 Scott, “The Securitization of Climate Change”, p.225.

34 “Climate Change and its Possible Security Implications”, UNGA Resolution A/RES/63/281, June 2009, paragraph 1, <http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/res%2063%20281.pdf>, (Accessed on 21 January 2016).

35 Scott, “The Securitization of Climate Change”, p.226.

36 Trombetta, “Environmental Security and Climate Change”, p.595.

37 Michael C. Williams, “Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics”, *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol.47, No.4, p.527.

38 Oli Brown, Anne Hammill and Robert McLeman, “Climate Change as the ‘New’ Security Threat: Implications for Africa”, *International Affairs*, Vol.83 No.6, 2007, p.1148; Oli Brown and Robert McLeman, “A Recurring Anarchy? The Emergence of Climate Change as a Threat to International Peace and Security”, *Conflict, Security & Development*, Vol. 9, No.3, 2009, p.289-305.

39 Selena Tramel, “Social Movements Gain Momentum in the Fight for Climate Justice” *The World Post*, 14 April 2014, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/selena-tramel/social-movements-gain-mom_b_6102184.html, (Accessed on 10 October 2016).

Proponents of the Securitization of Climate Change

As expressed in the introduction, the first camp supports the framing of climate change as a security issue. In this study the proponents of the securitization of climate change is divided into two logics. The first logic focuses on traditional security implications of climate change such as its role as a threat multiplier and a source for violent conflicts while the second logic focuses on human security implications of climate change such as hunger, poverty, food insecurity and other forms of human suffering. Although there are based on different logics, these implications are interrelated. In most cases, climate security has direct implications for human security and these human security implications result in traditional security issues. In this study we divided the traditional and human security implications of climate change for analytic clarity, but the interrelated security consequences of climate change are also analyzed in the following part.

Before looking at the discussion of different perspectives about the securitization of climate change, the reasons of this securitization should be stated. In the literature, two broad reasons for the securitization of climate change can be detected. The first one is “self-evident; it is becoming increasingly clear that future climate change threatens to exacerbate existing drivers of conflict in a way that could roll back development across many countries.”⁴⁰ In addition to this reality, there is another reason that can be seen as pragmatic or political: “it is part of a clear process to invest the international debate with greater sense of urgency.”⁴¹

Climate Change is a Security Issue since it has Human Security Implications

In 1994, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) came up with the notion of human security. Human security simply changed the focus of security from states to human beings in order to alleviate their suffering stemming from existing power asymmetries and processes.⁴² In line with this, the Commission on Human Security (CHS) advanced the conceptualization of human security by underscoring empowerment of human beings.⁴³ From this wider conceptualization, human security is defined as “moving away from traditional, state-centric conceptions of security that focused primarily on the safety of states from military aggression, to one that concentrates on the security of the individuals, their protection and empowerment.”⁴⁴ Therefore in human security the referent objects of security are human beings. The possible human security threats are as follows:

40 Brown *et al.*, “Climate Change as the ‘New’ Security Threat”, p.1143.

41 *Ibid.* p.1144.

42 “UNDP Human Development Report”, 1994, http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/255/hdr_1994_en_complete_nostats.pdf, (Accessed on 03 March 2016).

43 “Human Security Now”, The Commission on Human Security, 2003, http://www.un.org/humansecurity/sites/www.un.org.humansecurity/files/chs_final_report_-_english.pdf, (Accessed on 03 March 2016).

44 “Human Security in Theory and Practice”, Human Security Unit, United Nations, p.6, http://www.un.org/humansecurity/sites/www.un.org.humansecurity/files/human_security_in_theory_and_practice_english.pdf, (Accessed on 02 March 2016).

Figure 2 Possible Human Security Threats

Type of Security	Examples of Main Threats
Economic Security	Persistent poverty, unemployment
Food Security	Hunger, famine
Health Security	Deadly infectious diseases, unsafe food, malnutrition, lack of access to basic health care
Environmental Security	Environmental degradation, resource depletion, natural disasters, pollution
Personal Security	Physical violence, crime, terrorism, domestic violence, child labor
Community Security	Inter-ethnic, religious and other identity based tensions
Political Security	Political repressions, human rights abuses

Source: *Human Security in Theory and Practice*, Human Security Unit, United Nations. p.6

The studies which approach climate change from the perspective of human security focus on its consequences on the lives of individual human beings and their well-being. Detraz and Betsill name this approach as environmental security discourse.⁴⁵ According to Nicole Detraz, the main focus in the environmental security discourse is the human vulnerabilities resulting from climate change. These include food insecurity, health problems, and poverty.⁴⁶

According to Joshi, climate change helped us to realize that security should not be understood as state-centric. The main referent object of security has to be individuals and we need to re-conceptualize security with regard to human security.⁴⁷ Salami also argues that climate change is associated with human security related problems like “food insecurity, increased poverty and reverse development”⁴⁸ Verbeke also argues that state-centric security understanding is unsuitable for the context of climate change and we need a broader concept of security.⁴⁹ According to Denise Garcia, the human security implications of climate change are as follows:

From a human security point of view, it is likely to aggravate already precarious living conditions in low-lying countries and regions struck by floods. The public health consequences, such as an increased risk of malaria and other diseases, will be noticeable, presenting an extra burden on poor countries. Over a million children under age five die every year from water-borne diseases. (...) It can also affect other trends that can diminish human security in the twenty-first century, such as rising sea levels and migration, internal population displacement, loss of territory, crop failure, and many other unforeseen but drastic weather events that may dramatically reduce human security in many regions of the world (the second route of securitization based on human security).⁵⁰

45 Nicole Detraz and Michele Betsill, “Climate Change and Environmental Security: For Whom the Discourse Shifts”, *International Studies Perspectives*, Vol.10, No.3, 2009, p.306.

46 Nicole Detraz, “Threats or Vulnerabilities? Assessing the Link between Climate Change and Security”, *Global Environmental Politics*, Vol.11, No.3, 2011, p.114.

47 Sunjoy Joshi, “Climate Change a More Serious Threat than Islamic Radicalism”, *Hindustan Times*, 2009; See also Rothe, *Securitizing Global Warming*, p.279.

48 Nawaf Salami, (Speech), United Nations Security Council, Sixty-sixth year 6587th meeting, July 20, 2011, <http://www.un.org/press/en/2011/sc10332.doc.htm>, (Accessed on 3 April 2016).

49 Johan Verbeke, (Speech), United Nations Security Council, Sixty-second year 5663rd meeting, April 17, 2007, <http://www.un.org/press/en/2007/sc9000.doc.htm>, (Accessed on 3 April 2016).

50 Garcia, “Warming to a Redefinition of International Security”, p.272-273.

The human security implications of climate change are usually direct. For example, decrease in the amount of rain-fed arable lands by climate change can directly affect the well-being of people by leading food insecurity or rising of sea level by the impact of climate change can lead to the replacement of many people especially in low lying coastal places. The 2007 UN Human Development Report outlined a number of risks that threatened human development including:

The breakdown of agricultural systems, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, leaving up to 600 million more people facing malnutrition;

An additional 1.8 billion people at risk from water scarcity by 2080;

Up to a third of a billion people living in coastal regions being displaced by tropical storms and flooding;

Hundreds of millions of people at increased risk from consolidating diseases, such as malaria.⁵¹

As the examples indicate, the securitization of climate change, through the logic of human security focuses on the security implications of climate change on the individual human beings. The next part analyzes the securitization of climate change by the logic of the traditional security approach.

Climate Change is a Security Issue since it has Traditional Security Implications

The traditional security approach, which has Realist roots, adopts a narrow definition of security in which state is the main referent object and security agent (provider of security), and security is achieved through the use of force. Moreover, national independence, maintenance of territorial integrity and sovereignty are the core values in this state-centric understanding of the traditional security logic.⁵² Stephen Walt describes security as “the study of the threat, use, and control of military force.”⁵³ Additionally, Miller argues that “threats to national security are posed by other states; the nature of threats and the way to deal with them require military responses.”⁵⁴

Scholars who tend to securitize climate change by the traditional security logic focus on violent conflict and state security. Detraz and Betsill call this logic of securitization as environmental conflict discourse.⁵⁵ According to this logic, climate change can generate violent conflicts or aggravate existing conflicts.

The main focus in the environmental conflict discourse is “the potential for violent conflict over resources.”⁵⁶ This understanding is based on the idea that “when crops fail, people may take up a gun to make a living.”⁵⁷ In addition to violent conflicts, climate-induced scarcity may result in climate-induced destabilizing migration and state instability.⁵⁸ Garcia also explains this logic as follows: “From

51 Ibid, p.288; “UNDP Human Development Report”, 2007/2008,

http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/268/hdr_20072008_en_complete.pdf, (Accessed on 3 March 2016).

52 Benjamin Miller, “The Concept of Security: Should it be Redefined?”, *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, Vol.24, No.2, 2001, p.17.

53 Stephen M. Walt, “The Renaissance of Security Studies”, *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol.3, No.5, 1991, p.212.

54 Miller, “The Concept of Security”, p.16-17.

55 Detraz and Betsill, “Climate Change and Environmental Security”, p.306.

56 Detraz, “Threats or Vulnerabilities”, p.109-112.

57 Rothe, *Securitizing Global Warming*, 2016, p.125 referring to Betsy Hartmann “Rethinking Climate Refugees and Climate Conflict: Rhetoric, Reality and the Politics of Policy Discourse”, *Journal of International Development*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 2010, p.770; and Damian Carrington, “Climate Changes Double Risk of Civil War, Scientists Warn”, *The Guardian*, 25 August 2011, p.23.

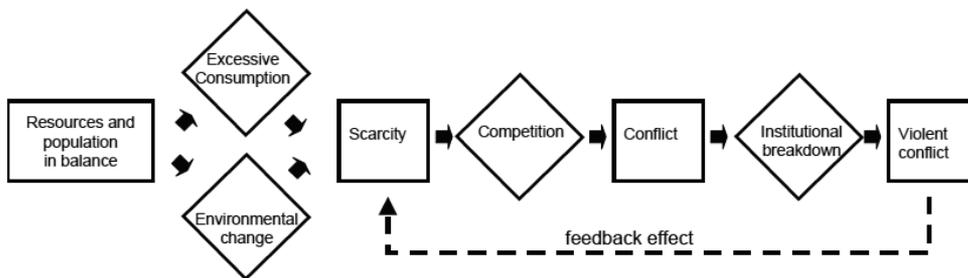
58 Detraz, “Threats or Vulnerabilities”, p.109-112.

a national security point of view, an inability to pursue wealth will lead to instability and ultimately failed states, which will in turn be breeding grounds for conflicts over resources and large population movements.”⁵⁹

Homer Dixon, in his famous study titled “Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict: Evidence from Cases,” presents three areas in which climate-induced scarcity generate security problems. In the first one, scarcity simply leads to conflict between states. Conflicts for water or possible water wars between upstream and downstream states can be given as an example for this area. In the second area, climate-induced scarcity causes migration, which in turn results in identity-based conflict. In the final area climate-induced scarcity causes “economic deprivation, institutional disruption, and civil strife.” In this category climate change generates failed states, civil war or insurgencies.⁶⁰

It should be stressed that there is no direct link between climate change and armed conflict. The link between climate change and conflict is indirect or secondary: climate change generates scarcity (it is not the only factor that generate scarcity) and scarcity generates conflict. Moreover, in addition to climate-induced factors, there are also other factors like political and ethnic tensions, which play a role in the rise of a conflict. Brown *et al.* explains this indirect link as follows:

Figure 3 Common Conceptualization of Security Impacts of Environmental Changes



Source: “Climate Change as the ‘New’ Security Threat”, p.1148.

As the figure indicates, violent conflict itself has a feedback effect for scarcity “since rival groups may increase their consumption of resources to fund further conflict, and refugees fleeing areas of violence may create new demands for resources elsewhere.”⁶¹

In addition to this main focus based on climate-induced scarcity and conflict, there are other traditional security implications of climate change. The first one is that climate change plays the role of threat multiplier. According to Delf Rothe, there is a consensus among different actors of climate change that climate change plays (or can play) the role of a threat multiplier in which it “does *not* pose a security threat *itself*... but it worsens a whole series of factors that are commonly associated with conflicts.”⁶² Secondly, the situation of low-lying small islands also can be regarded within traditional security implications of climate change. The rise of sea levels, resulting from climate change, threatens the existence of these states and state survival is a traditional security issue.

59 Garcia, “Warming to a Redefinition of International Security”, p.273.

60 Homer-Dixon, “Environmental Scarcities and Violent Conflict.”

61 Brown *et al.*, “Climate Change as the ‘New’ Security Threat”, p.1148.

62 Rothe, *Securitizing Global Warming*, p.131.

Climate-Induced Insecurities

As expressed above, the human security implications and traditional security implications of climate change are mostly interrelated. In most cases climate change has primary human security implications and secondary traditional security implications. What's more, in the academic literature on the climate security, most works analyze these implications together. This part will briefly examine the security implications of climate change that are referred in the literature on climate security. By that way, this part will present the interrelated character of these security implications.

One of the security implications of climate change is food insecurity. According to Dupond and Pearman, there are several reasons of food insecurity that are related to climate change. Firstly, increasing temperatures and unevenly distributed rainfall will result in desertification and erosion in different areas and this will diminish the arable lands. Secondly, rising sea levels also will make arable lands unusable. Finally, extreme weather events will drastically deteriorate the agriculture. All of these impacts will result in food insecurity.⁶³ Moreover, Brown and Crawford also argue that diminishing arable lands will result in reduction in agricultural production and this will lead to food insecurity, political instability, and conflicts on the control over arable lands.⁶⁴

In addition to food insecurity, climate change will generate water scarcity. This also derives from uneven distribution of rain because of climate change.⁶⁵ Brown and Crawford argue that reduced water supply is a climate-induced insecurity and it will lead to increasing competition.⁶⁶ Dupond and Pearman also argue that both food insecurity and water scarcity can also exacerbate existing tensions or raise new ones, which may result in violent conflicts for the control of resources.⁶⁷ Moreover, these scarcities, with the help of "temperature increases, extreme weather, air pollution" will lead to infectious diseases.⁶⁸

Another direct security implication of climate change is emergence of weather related disasters because of warmer ocean temperatures resulting from climate change.⁶⁹ Low-lying coastal areas and islands will also face severe insecurities including loss of whole territory (or arable lands) because of rising sea levels.⁷⁰ In addition to this, fresh waters will get salted in these low-lying places because of the rise of sea levels. As an indirect security implication, climate change will also cause unregulated population movements deriving from water scarcity, food insecurity, rising sea levels and devastating natural disasters. These movements will lead to destabilization and conflict within and between origin, transit and destination countries.⁷¹

63 Alan Dupond and Graeme Pearman, "Heating up the Planet Climate: Change and Security", Lowy Institute Paper 12, 2006, http://www.lowyinstitute.org/files/pubfiles/LIP12_Dupont_WEB.pdf, (Accessed on 1 March 2016).

64 Brown and Crawford, "Battling the Elements", p.1.

65 Dupond and Pearman, "Heating up the Planet Climate", p.36.

66 Brown and Crawford, "Battling the Elements", p.1.

67 Dupond and Pearman, "Heating up the Planet Climate", p.36; See also Kurt M. Campbell, Alexander T.J. Lennon and Julianne Smith, "The Age of Consequences: The Foreign Policy and National Security Implications of Global Climate Change Report", Center for Strategic & international Studies, November 2007, p.106-108, http://csis.org/files/media/CSIS/pubs/071105_ageofconsequences.pdf, (Accessed on 3 April 2016); "Climate Change and International Security", High Representative for CFSP and the European Commission, 2008.

68 Dupond and Pearman, "Heating up the Planet Climate", p.36; See also Campbell *et al.*, "The Age of Consequences".

69 Dupond and Pearman, "Heating up the Planet Climate".

70 Detraz and Betsill, "Climate Change and International Security"; Dupond and Pearman, "Heating up the Planet Climate".

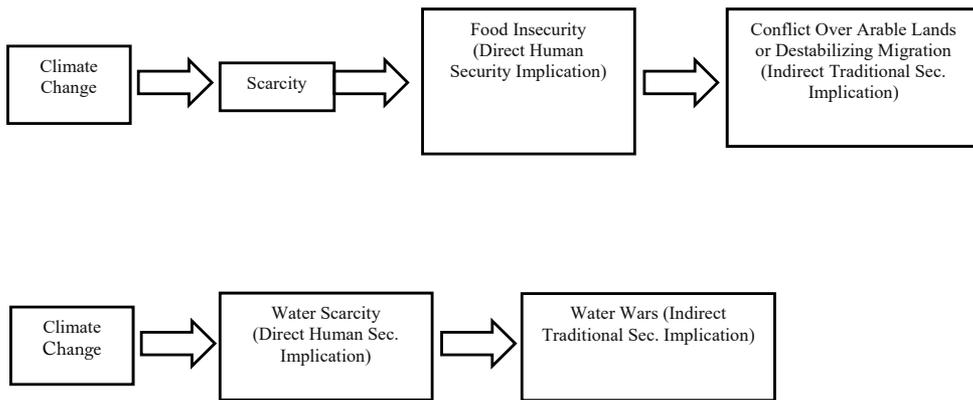
71 Campbell *et al.*, "The Age of Consequences"; Dupond and Pearman, "Heating up the Planet Climate"; Detraz and Betsill, "Climate Change and International Security"; Brown and Crawford, "Battling the Elements".

Other climate induced insecurities include disputes over ownership of new energy resources in the arctic, passages to which will be opened by rising temperatures; increasing north-south tensions related to the responsibilities and measures against climate change; increasing nuclear activity for eliminating the use of fossil fuels. Moreover, these impacts, cumulatively, will contribute to domestic political problems and generate increasing number of failed states.⁷²

In addition to these examples, climate security literature focuses also on the climate related roots of contemporary conflicts. Two of the most referred examples of these cases are the Darfur conflict and the genocide in Rwanda.⁷³ Even United Nations Secretary General Ban ki Moon linked conflict in Darfur with climate change.⁷⁴ More current than these events, the emergence of ISIS and the conflict in Syria has also been linked to the climate change. According to Kelley et al. the drought between 2007 and 2010 in the Fertile Crescent has contributed to the emergence of “social conflicts and ultimately the outbreak of war and the rise of the ‘Islamic State.’”⁷⁵ The drought increased food prices and this led to migration to peri-urban areas. These places later became a hub for crime and social unrest. According to Sellers, climate change also has contributed to the Syrian catastrophe although it cannot be argued that climate change is the unique reason.⁷⁶

This part analyzed the arguments of the proponents of the securitization of climate change including analyses based on both human security implications and traditional security implications. However, as the examples above indicate, the security implications of climate change are usually interrelated. In most cases, climate change has direct/primary human security implications and indirect/secondary traditional security implications and it is mostly the primary human security implications, which lead to secondary traditional security implications. Therefore, in the literature on the security implications of climate change, it is possible to detach chains such as:

Figure 4 Interrelated Security Implications of Climate Change Chains



72 Dupond and Pearman, “Heating up the Planet Climate”; Brown and Crawford, “Battling the Elements”; Campbell *et.al*. “The Age of Consequences”.

73 Brown *et.al*. “Climate Change as the ‘New’ Security Threat”, p.1148; Brown and McLeman, “A Recurring Anarchy?”

74 “UNEP Annual Report”, 2007,

http://www.unep.org/PDF/AnnualReport/2007/AnnualReport2007_en_web.pdf, (Accessed on 4 September 2016).

75 Colin P. Kelley *et.al.*, “Climate Change in the Fertile Crescent and Implications of the Recent Syrian Drought”, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America (PNAS)*, Vol.112, No.11, 2015, p.3241–3246.

76 P. J. Sellers, “Cancer and Climate Change”. *New York Times*, 16 January 2016. See also Lucas Hermwille, “Climate Change as a Transformation Challenge. A New Climate Policy Paradigm?”, *GAIA - Ecological Perspectives for Science and Society*, Vol.25, No.1, 2016, p.19-22.

Opponents of the Securitization of Climate Change

The opponents of the securitization of climate change argue that climate change is not or should not be a security issue. We can also divide this group into two. These are the climate security skeptics who argue that there is no causal linkage between climate change and violent conflict and the group, which argues that climate change should not be securitized since securitization of climate change will have adverse effects for its solution. Although both groups oppose the security framing of climate change, their arguments are completely different.

Climate Change is not a Security Issue

At first glance it seems like that, according to the traditional approach to security environmental issues such as climate change cannot take place in the security agenda since these issues are in the realm of “low politics”. As expressed above the traditional security understanding has a state centric security approach which is based on military measures. Moreover, this approach stands against the broadening efforts of the concept of security in International Relations. According to Trombetta, realists tend to create a hierarchy of threats, distinguishing between threats that can be legitimately included in the security agenda, and those that cannot.⁷⁷ Walt explains the dangers of broadening the concept of security as follows:

Because nonmilitary phenomena can also threaten state and individuals, some writers have suggested broadening the concept of “security” to include topics such as poverty, AIDS, environmental hazards, drug abuse, and the like (Buzan, 1983; N. Brown, 1989). Such proposals remind us that non-military issues deserve sustained attention from scholars and policymakers, and that military power does not guarantee well-being. But this prescription runs the risk of expanding “security studies” excessively; by this logic, issues such as pollution, disease, child abuse, or economic recession could all be viewed as threats to “security.” Defining the field in this way would destroy its intellectual coherence and make it more difficult to devise solutions to any of these important problems.⁷⁸

However, the literature about the securitization of climate change shows that climate change has already passed this broadening-not broadening debate. This is because, as explained above, there are two logics for the securitization of climate change, and according to the second logic, which is based on the traditional security understanding, climate change can be seen as a security issue from traditional perspective too.

However, although climate change can be securitized from a traditional security logic, there are skeptics who reject climate change as a security issue. Skeptics argue that climate security is not a security issue since there is no link between the climate change and conflicts. For example, Brown *et al.* argue that “there is comparatively little empirical evidence on the links between climate change, state security and conflict.”⁷⁹ According to the skeptics, even without climate change it is very difficult to anticipate conflict among or inside states. Climate change, with its complex and uncertain consequences, further complicates this already tough prediction. “A further analytical challenge is to disaggregate the role of climate change from other environmental, economic, social and political

77 Trombetta, “Environmental Security and Climate Change”, p.587.

78 Walt, “The Renaissance of Security Studies”, p.213.

79 Brown *et.al.*, “Climate Change as the ‘New’ Security Threat”, p.1147.

factors, if it is at all possible to do so.”⁸⁰ They also criticize the case of Darfur, which is one of the most referred examples for the security implications of climate change, by arguing that drought cannot explain the violence there fully since in other places with similar environmental conditions, such as the northern Nigeria, there was no similar conflict.

Theisen *et al.* also argue that the political debate related to the securitization of climate change “has run far ahead of the scientific evidence.”⁸¹ In their study, they analyzed whether droughts are the reason for civil conflicts in Africa, as suggested by the proponents of the securitization of climate change.⁸² The results of their study indicate that there is no direct and short-term relationship between droughts and civil conflicts.⁸³ The authors conclude that the primary reason of the civil conflicts is political rather than environmental, and ethnopolitical exclusion is the main reason for these conflicts.⁸⁴

Halvard Buhaug also empirically investigates whether drought and prolonged heat waves drive civil wars in Africa in his study titled “Climate not to blame for African civil wars.”⁸⁵ Similar to the previous study, Buhaug concludes that, rather than climate change other factors like “generic structural and contextual conditions: prevalent ethno-political exclusion, poor national economy, and the collapse of the Cold War system” explain the African civil wars.⁸⁶ In a similar study, Tor A. Benjaminsen criticizes the environmental security approach and presents that supply-induced scarcity is not directly related to conflict by analyzing Tuareg rebellion in northern Mali.⁸⁷

In addition to these climate security skeptics, developing countries also stand against the securitization of climate change for political reasons. Firstly, they reject climate security narratives of West by arguing that these narratives aim to blur the responsibilities of Western industrialized countries in the case of climate change and shift attention to the conflict areas in the global South. According the developing world, climate security should be seen as a development issue.⁸⁸ Secondly, developing countries (G77) reject the securitization of climate change since when securitized the issue get out of more inclusive bodies like United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) or United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) to exclusive UNSC.⁸⁹

Climate Change should not be Framed as a Security Issue

In addition to the skeptics who believe climate change is not a security issue, there are other scholars who argue that climate change should not be framed as a security issue since securitization will have adverse effects for the solution of the issue. The most evident example of this group is the Copenhagen

80 Ibid.

81 Ole Magnus Theisen, Helge Holtermann and Halvard Buhaug, “Climate Wars? Assessing the Claim that Drought Breeds Conflict”, *International Security*, Vol.36, No.3, 2012, p.80.

82 The authors refer to the studies of Thomas Homer-Dixon (1991-1999) and Colin Kahl (2006) as examples which present climate change as a security issue.

83 Theisen *et al.*, “Climate Wars”, p.98 and 105.

84 Ibid, p.105.

85 Halvard Buhaug, “Climate Not to Blame for African Civil Wars”, *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the USA*, Vol.107, No.38, 2010, p.16477–16482.

86 Ibid, p.16477.

87 Tor A. Benjaminsen, “Does Supply-Induced Scarcity Drive Violent Conflicts in the African Sahel? The Case of the Tuareg Rebellion in Northern Mali”, *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol.45, No.6, 2008, p.819-836.

88 Rothe, *Securitizing Global Warming*, p.127 referring to Ingrid Boas, “Where is the South in Security Discourse on Climate Change? An Analysis of India”, *Critical Studies on Security*, Vol.2, No.2, 2014, p.152-153.

89 Rothe, *Securitizing Global Warming*, p.94.

School and its Securitization Theory. According to the Copenhagen School scholars, security does not have a positive value; rather it is seen as a failure of normal politics. It legitimizes extraordinary measures in which normal democratic rules can be broken.⁹⁰ Therefore, they claim “Less Security, More Politics”.⁹¹

For the Copenhagen School scholars, security has its own dynamics and it is about “survival, urgency and emergency”.⁹² The logic of security is based on zero-sum understanding and friend-enemy dichotomy. Therefore, the Copenhagen School scholars argue that securitization is something that should be avoided and they stand for desecuritization.⁹³ According to this standing, when climate change is securitized, the logic of security will be applied to it and this will have problematic consequences like the militarization of the issue and the legitimization of undemocratic decision making processes.

In addition to the Copenhagen School’s standing, from the perspective of the Paris School’s insecurity approach, the securitization of climate change may have adverse effects too. Insecurity approach focuses on how the securitization of certain issues results in insecurity of individual human beings or groups. According to the school, security of one referent object is always provided by sacrifice of the security of individual human beings or groups.⁹⁴ In other words “security of x always leads to the insecurity of y .”⁹⁵ From this perspective, securitization of climate change, and the security practices as a result of this securitization will result in insecurities for other people such as the migrants who have to move because of the results of climate change.

In addition to the Securitization Theory and the Insecurity approach, there are other scholars who reject the securitization of climate change with pragmatic or normative reasons. According to Oli Brown, there are several important risks in the securitization of climate change. Firstly, since there are increasingly more desperate predictions or worst case scenarios, there is the risk of “climate change fatigue” among the public in which there is going to emerge a feeling of “hopelessness and the resignation” against an undefeatable threat. In the securitization attempts of climate change, it is usually presented as if climate change will inevitably result in conflict or catastrophe, and this presentations creates sense of hopelessness, which will diminish the motivation for fighting against climate change.⁹⁶ Secondly, these dire predictions about climate change and framing it as a security issue imply that climate change requires military or military-like solutions. This includes protecting the resources or preventing climate-induced migration via military like methods. Thirdly, shifting the focus to military solutions may move attention and efforts away from the current development problems that already pose immediate threats to vulnerable societies; “extreme poverty, access to education, HIV/AIDS and so on.”⁹⁷ This shift of focus may even aggravate these vulnerabilities. Finally, the securitization of climate change may create a perception that climate security is an “another way for northern interests

90 Buzan *et al.*, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, p.21.

91 Wæver, “Securitization and Desecuritization”, p.56.

92 Trombetta, “Environmental Security and Climate Change”, p.588.

93 In simple terms desecuritization means removing an issue from the security agenda, by which the issue is no longer regarded as a security threat.

94 Didier Bigo and Anastassia Tsoukala, “Understanding (In)security”, Didier Bigo and Anastassia Tsoukala, *Terror Insecurity and Fear*, Abingdon, Routledge 2008, p.2.

95 Columba Peoples and Nick/Voughan-Williams, *Critical Security Studies: An Introduction*, Abingdon, Routledge, 2010, p.69.

96 Brown *et al.*, “Climate Change as the ‘New’ Security Threat”, p.1153.

97 *Ibid.*, p.1154.

to interfere in southern affairs.”⁹⁸ Rita Floyd supports this argument by maintaining that securitizer may abuse the securitization process and securitization usually takes place in favor of the securitizer, not the referent object.⁹⁹

In line with these arguments, Ben Buckland argues that the securitization of climate change is an unsuitable reaction for the solution of the issue. According to him, climate change requires a political solution rather than a military one.¹⁰⁰ Idean Salehyan considers that trying to deal with climate change with military means brings about wasting resources and efforts while “missing more productive opportunities” to solve the problems derived from climate change.¹⁰¹ Rita Floyd approaches the issue from an environmentalist perspective and argues that “climate security is not a desirable concept as it may inhibit much needed cooperation between states.”¹⁰² She believes cooperation on climate action seems much more likely in the absence of securitization. Hartman concentrates on U.S. defense interests and argues that framing climate change as a security issue may “militarize the provision of development assistance and distort climate policy.”¹⁰³ Finally, Theisen *et al.* argue that “raising alarm about coming ‘climate wars’ may do more harm than good, as it could lead to a militarization of the issue and rising of barriers to prevent immigration, thereby harming those who are most in need of assistance.”¹⁰⁴

In addition to these anthropocentric¹⁰⁵ arguments, eco-centric approach puts the environment itself in the center of analysis. As opposed to the anthropocentric approaches to the securitization of climate change, which are related to the threats to human beings or their aggregates like the nation state, the eco-centric understanding considers that environment should be protected for the sake of environment. According to this perception, the securitization of climate change with an anthropocentric focus will lead to the change of focus from saving our planet to saving human beings or nation states, or preventing violent conflicts and destabilizing climate-induced population movements. This change of focus is dangerous since it cannot address the essence of the issue. Both the traditional security logic and human security logic that are explained above miss this point of view. They take either human beings or nation states as the referent objects of security and ignore the environment and earth itself. The securitization of climate change with this anthropocentric perception will lead to focus on secondary pragmatic and political issues and have adverse effects for the solution of the issue.¹⁰⁶

One point that deserves attention in the literature is that the opponents of the securitization of the issue mostly oppose the securitization of climate change via the traditional security logic. They

98 Ibid.

99 Rita Floyd, “Climate Change, Environmental Security Studies, and the Morality of Climate Security”, 20 January 2012, <http://www.e-ir.info/2012/01/20/climate-change-environmental-security-studies-and-the-morality-of-climate-security/>, (Accessed on 2 March 2016).

100 Ben Buckland, “A Climate of War? Stopping the Securitization of Global Climate Change”, Geneva, International Peace Bureau, 2007, p.1, http://www.ipb.org/uploads/tbl_contingut_web/176/documents/paper.pdf, (Accessed on 1 March 2016).

101 Idean Salehyan, “From Climate Change to Conflict? No Consensus Yet”, *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol.45, No.3, 2008, p.323.

102 Floyd, “Climate Change”, p.63.

103 Hartmann, “Rethinking Climate Refugees and Climate Conflict”, p.233.

104 Theisen *et al.*, “Climate Wars”, p.100.

105 Anthropocentric refers to human-centric: taking human beings or groups as the primary referent object.

106 This eco-centric perception has been under-analyzed and has not impacted climate security discourses yet, and it is open to further analysis and research.

either claim climate change will not cause traditional security issues like violent conflict or interstate/civil war, or they argue that it is not true to securitize climate change with a traditional security logic since this securitization will have negative effects like the militarization of the issue. However, the scholars in this camp do not oppose that climate change has/will have human security implications (they either do not mention about the human security implications of climate change or accept these implications). For example, Buckland argues that “while climate change is clearly a major threat to human security – to food, to housing, to water and to livelihoods – it is unlikely to be a major cause of violent conflict.”¹⁰⁷ Theisen *et al.* also reject that climate change and droughts will directly generate traditional security issues like violent conflict while accepting that “drought and other climatic shocks frequently cause dismay and poverty, and more extreme weather in the years to come suggests more human suffering.”¹⁰⁸ Therefore, it can be argued that there is a common point of view in the literature about the human security implications of climate change.

Climatization of Security: For Whom?

As the meaning of security is contested, the relationship between security and climate can be considered contested as well.¹⁰⁹ Scholars and security professionals diverge from each other regarding the questions of what security is and what security does. One’s take on the relationship between security and climate change differentiates in accordance with different conceptions in Security Studies as well as in security professionals’ minds. What’s more, the consequences of climate change and its relation to security thinking and doing make scholars and policy-makers rethink what has been thought about security so far. For instance, according to McDonald, climate change will be the most important issue in the 21st century.¹¹⁰

In line with the growing interest in understanding security in relation to climate change, one of the prominent attempts in developing a novel security paradigm is Burke’s security cosmopolitanism.¹¹¹ By drawing on a lack of connecting cosmopolitan thinking with security, Burke puts forward security cosmopolitanism in order to propose a new global security architecture to offer solutions to global problems including climate change. Burke starts out his inquiry by portraying security cosmopolitanism as a project to reconceptualize security towards overcoming diverse and all-encompassing threats to human existence.¹¹² Accordingly, a novel security understanding intertwined with cosmopolitanism, argues Burke, may help to transform existing state-centric security relations, and in line with this, to pave the way for new transnational norms and global institutional arrangements.¹¹³ By doing so, this new security understanding can urge states to take part in finding solutions to globalized security issues including climate change.¹¹⁴

107 Buckland, “A Climate of War”, p.1.

108 Theisen *et al.*, “Climate Wars”.

109 Steve Smith, “The Contested Concept of Security”, Ken Booth (ed), *Critical Security Studies and World Politics*, Boulder & London, Lynne Rienner, 2005, p.27-62; Ken Booth, *Theory of World Security*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007; Matt McDonald, *Security, the Environment and Emancipation: Contestation over Environmental Change*, London & New York, Routledge, 2012; Simon Dalby, *Security and Environmental Change*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 2009.

110 McDonald, *Security, the Environment and Emancipation*, p.109-110.

111 Anthony Burke, “Security Cosmopolitanism”, *Critical Studies on Security*, Vol.1, No.1, 2013, p.13-28.

112 Burke, “Security Cosmopolitanism”, p.13.

113 *Ibid.*

114 *Ibid.*

Security cosmopolitanism, as a novel security understanding, problematizes a global insecurity condition that affects individuals, communities, states as well as humanity's planetary existence. By putting a particular emphasis on a global insecurity condition stemming from various security issues, security cosmopolitanism sees the state-centric ontology of international relations as a problem, and offers a transformative alternative that aims to re-build international relations in a cosmopolitan manner.¹¹⁵ While doing this, Burke differentiates his approach from the transformative and progressivist vision of emancipatory security theory.¹¹⁶ Burke argues that, given the impact of emancipatory security theory on his security cosmopolitanism, security cosmopolitanism goes beyond the limitations of emancipatory security theory by offering a relational global ontology and a different ethical stance that is more sensitive to otherness and to global issues such as climate change.¹¹⁷

By drawing on the points security cosmopolitanism emphasized, Burke comes up with a new ethical stance for security actors such as states, non-governmental organizations, multinational companies including military ones.¹¹⁸ Instead of being a source of insecurity for their citizens, security actors may develop a different and inclusive global governance that favors collective decision-making, gives voices to the voiceless and considers the growing problem of climate change as well as its consequences for all humanity. Burke also argues that security cosmopolitanism “would also aim to create space for more radical projects in which people and communities can build peace and security from below”. Nevertheless, given the whole strength of security cosmopolitanism in terms of examining climate change in relation to security, his proposition that claims that one of the aspects of security cosmopolitanism is to pave the way for bottom-up projects is problematic. Since people on the bottom are the most affected from climate change but least powerful in terms of having an influence to overcome insecurities resulting from climate change¹¹⁹, the questions of how exactly security cosmopolitanism may empower humans and how humans can empower themselves are not elaborated sufficiently. Therefore, security cosmopolitanism can be considered a powerful but limited opening in terms of climatization of security.

When it comes to the question of how security professionals take up the issues of climate change, a different understanding comes about. Security professionals' particular readings of climate change put forward practices and discourses that combine climate change with defense, military, migration and development.¹²⁰ Contrary to Burke's positive security cosmopolitanism and its associated sensitivity toward climate change, security professionals' practices and discourses toward dealing with climate change, instead, reflect an securitization process. Accordingly, even though the relationship between security and climate change can be examined under the practices and discourses

115 Ibid, p.14.

116 Ibid, pp.14-15. Emancipatory security theory is basically a transformative understanding of security that offers its own deepening of security, that takes the individual as the referent-object of security, and that aims to widen life-options of individuals beyond their survival. By drawing this, Booth in his *Theory of World Security* argues that “survival is being alive; security is living” (p.107). For the most comprehensive account of emancipatory security theory and its understanding of security, Booth, *Theory of World Security*.

117 Burke, “Security Cosmopolitanism”, p.14-15. Booth's *Theory of World Security* also sees climate change as one of the most urgent problems; however, anthropo-centric perspective of emancipatory security theory may have a difficulty in examining climate change as a security issue. This difficulty can also be relevant to McDonald's *Security, The Environment and Emancipation*.

118 Burke, “Security Cosmopolitanism”, p.21.

119 McDonald, “Security, the Environment and Emancipation”, p.109-110.

120 Angela Oels, “From Securitization of the Climate Change to Climatization of the Security Field”, Jürgen Scheffran, Michael Brzoska, Han Günter Brauch, Peter Michael Link and Janpeter Schilling (der), *Climate Change, Human Security and Violent Conflict: Challenges for Societal Stability*, Heidelberg, London & New York, Springer, 2012, p.198.

of human security, these practices and discourses help to govern the populations of the global south when human security becomes one of the means for the biopolitical governance of populations¹²¹ under the risk of climate change-induced disasters and displacement.¹²²

In this sense, while “the defense community in northern industrialized states”¹²³ sees the issue of climate change as a security issue, their attitude is rather to protect existing parameters of the global mobility of goods and individuals.¹²⁴ This framing of the issue of climate change in relation to security differs from the way security cosmopolitanism advocates “global security as a universal good”¹²⁵ or UNDP’s original understanding of human security that is inclined to development of humans beyond physical existence.¹²⁶ To this aim, security professionals underscore the importance of disaster management to provide technical, civil and military humanitarian assistance to those countries likely to be affected by climate change. Disaster management functions by detecting “migration hot spots” and “conflict hot spots”¹²⁷ that includes potential populations that are under the risk of climate change-induced migration or conflict.

In order to prevent the potential mobility of climate change-induced immigrant or the climate change-induced conflict, there are two strategies: namely, (1) “civilian-military stability interventions” and (2) “military responsibility-to-protect interventions”.¹²⁸ Civil-military stability interventions aim to develop weak states or the so-called failed states under the risk of climate change by building a better functioning infrastructure that may overcome insecurities stemming from climate change. By doing so, civil-military stability interventions not only help vulnerable states possess a better functioning infrastructure and disaster management, but also direct conduct of those states under the existing power asymmetries and hierarchies. Second, military responsibility-to-protect interventions aims to help disaster-affected states and their populations. Since those states are not able to properly protect their citizens and are inclined to produce climate-change induced immigrants, military responsibility-to-protect interventions aim to provide assistance to those states to “secure global circulation from disruption.”¹²⁹ It can be argued that climatization of security, therefore, help to make the issue of climate change manageable and becomes to a tool to govern already disempowered regions, states and populations.

121 Instead of sovereign power that is organized around a set of laws and that sees power as something solid and inherently possessed by states, institutions or individuals, a biopolitical understanding of power focuses on populations, sees laws as tactics to govern populations, depends upon multiple forms of political technologies to shape and classify both by totalizing populations and by individualizing each body in those populations. For Foucault’s investigations about power, see Michel Foucault, *Society Must be Defended*, David Macey (trans.), New York, Picador, 1997; Michel Foucault, *The Will to Knowledge: The History of Sexuality Volume 1*, Robert Hurley(trans.), London, Penguin Books, 1998; Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*, Graham Burchell (trans.), New York, Picador, 2007.

122 Angela Oels, “From Securitization of the Climate Change”; David Chandler and Nik Hynek, *Critical Perspectives on Human Security: Rethinking Emancipation and Power in International Relations*, London & New York, Routledge 2011; Mark Duffield and Nicholas Waddell, “Securing Humans in a Dangerous World”, *International Politics*, Vol.43, No.1, 2006, p.1-23.

123 Oels, “From Securitization of the Climate Change”, p.199.

124 Ibid.

125 Burke, “Security Cosmopolitanism”, p.14.

126 “UNDP Human Development Report”, 1994.

127 Oels, “From Securitization of the Climate Change”, p.199.

128 Ibid, p.199; Hartman, “Rethinking Climate Refugees and Climate Conflict”.

129 Oels, “From Securitization of the Climate Change”, p.199.

Conclusion

This study analyzed different approaches to the security implications of climate change. In other words, it examined the framing climate change as a security issue: should it be framed as a security issue or not? It also examined and critically reviewed the emerging literature on the climatization of security.

In both academia and political agendas, there are supporters and opponents of framing climate change as a security issue. The approaches of the supporters of framing climate change as a security issue can be divided into two. The first logic focuses on the human security implications of climate change. These include the food insecurity or problems about reaching fresh water. These implications are usually direct. The second logic focuses on traditional security implications of climate change such as violent conflicts and destabilizing migration. In this category, traditional security implications of climate change are usually indirect. In most cases other factors like weak governance or ethnic or religious tension play a role in the emergence of conflicts too.

Although there are two logics, we argue that the human security implications and traditional security implications of climate change are mostly interrelated. In most cases primary human security implications leads to secondary traditional security implications. Therefore it is possible to see chains such as: climate change leads to scarcity and this leads to food insecurity (a direct human security implication) and this leads to a conflict over arable lands or destabilizing population movements (indirect traditional security implications).

The opponents of the securitization of climate change argue that climate change is not or should not be a security issue. We can also divide this group into two. Climate security skeptics claim that it is impossible to draw a causal link between climate change and conflict. According to them, rather than climate change, political factors play a primary role in the emergence of violent conflicts. The second group argues that climate change should not be framed as a security issue since this will have adverse effects.

As another conclusion, it can be argued that, although the opponents of the securitization climate change reject the traditional security implications of climate change, they do not reject its human security implications. Therefore, it can be argued that there is a consensus in the literature about the human security implications of climate change.

When it comes to the emerging literature on the climatization of security, it necessitates considering how to act together against the consequences of climate change. Nevertheless, while coming up with an idea to act together, it is vital to keep in mind the immense power asymmetries between states or between regions. Additionally, the question of how to empower against climate change also begins with the question of how to empower humans against state-centric exclusionary practices in international relations. Thus, these two questions are closely interrelated and cannot be solved with being sensitive to climate change.

As was emphasized in security cosmopolitanism, new global arrangements are necessary to deal with climate change. Nevertheless, as was underscored in governing climate change as a security issue, security professionals' reading of the issue is quite different from the way security cosmopolitanism puts forward. Therefore, it is necessary to bear in mind that an all-encompassing solution to climate change in relation to security needs to take security professionals' reading of the issue into consideration. In line with this, existing power asymmetries permeating global politics further complicates the issue.

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