PONTIFÍCIA UNIVERSIDADE CATÓLICA DE MINAS GERAIS

Departamento de Relações Internacionais

Programa de Pós-Graduação em Relações Internacionais

Letícia Britto dos Santos

THE SMALL ISLAND DEVELOPING STATES (SIDS): responses for the securitization of climate change

Belo Horizonte

2018

Letícia Britto dos Santos

THE SMALL ISLAND DEVELOPING STATES (SIDS): responses for the securitization of climate change

Tese apresentada ao Programa de Pós-Graduação em Relações Internacionais da Pontifícia Universidade Católica de Minas Gerais, como requisito parcial para obtenção do título de Doutora em Relações Internacionais.

Orientadora: Prof. Drª. Matilde de Souza
Coorientador: Cristiano Garcia Mendes

Área de Concentração: Política Internacional - Instituições, Conflitos e Desigualdades

Belo Horizonte

2018

Letícia Britto dos Santos

THE SMALL ISLAND DEVELOPING STATES (SIDS): responses for the securitization of climate change

Tese apresentada ao Programa de Pós-Graduação em Relações Internacionais da Pontifícia Universidade Católica de Minas Gerais, como requisito parcial para obtenção do título de Doutora em Relações Internacionais.

Área de Concentração: Instituições, Conflitos e Desigualdades

_____
Profª. Drª. Matilde Souza - PUC Minas (Orientadora)

_____
Prof. Dr. Cristiano Mendes - PUC Minas (Co-orientador)

_____
Prof Dr. Rodrigo Corrêa Teixeira - PUC Minas (Banca Examinadora)

_____
Profª. Drª Letícia Carvalho de Souza - PUC Minas (Banca Examinadora)

_____
Prof. Dr Paulo Luiz Moreaux Lavigne Esteves - PUC Rio (Banca Examinadora)

_____
Profª. Drª Fernanda Cimini Salles - UFMG – (Banca Examinadora)

Belo Horizonte, 5 de Dezembro de 2018

I dedicate this work to my parents and sisters
for the support and having taught me the value of study and environmental
preservation.

"The mountain in front of us is very high but it is not insurmountable. We know how to scale it."
(General António Guterres – UN Secretary, 2018)

RESUMO

O fenômeno da mudança climática pode ser entendido como uma ameaça à segurança humana. O aumento do nível do mar como consequência de eventos climáticos extremos poderia aumentar a vulnerabilidade de países com grandes áreas costeiras, como as pequenas ilhas, por exemplo. Este processo pode ser identificado como uma questão de segurança, considerando que os estudos de segurança em Relações Internacionais foram estendidos a outras áreas, como a ambiental. No entanto, o processo de securitização envolve muitos aspectos. Esta tese teve como objetivo discutir como as Pequenos Estados Insulares em Desenvolvimento (do inglês Small Islands Development States/ SIDS), como grupo, receberam o discurso dos estudiosos sobre os efeitos das mudanças climáticas baseados em evidências (Painel Intergovernamental de Mudanças Climáticas – do inglês Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change - IPCC) e analisar se as respostas dados por esses países reforçam a tendência de securitização das mudanças climáticas. A maioria dos SIDS é membro de uma coalizão que tem desafios de desenvolvimento e preocupações semelhantes sobre o meio ambiente, chamados de Aliança dos Pequenos Estados Insulares (do inglês Alliance of Small Island States AOSIS), representando a voz dos SIDS de negociação dentro do sistema das Organizações das Nações Unidas (ONU). Teorias sobre securitização em relação ao processo, setores e atores envolvidos foram apresentadas de forma geral e com foco na possibilidade de securitização das mudanças climáticas. O contexto histórico internacional de SIDS relacionado a desafios ambientais e grupos organizados em nível regional e internacional também foi descrito. Para abordar os objetivos desta tese, adotou-se a análise de discurso como metodologia aplicada aos documentos de referência do IPCC, SIDS e ONU, considerando o modelo de construtivismo analítico e uma sequência histórica. A metodologia utilizada foi descrita com detalhes e os documentos analisados foram o quinto relatório do IPCC (2014), o relatório do grupo AOSIS (2015) e o Acordo de Paris (2015). Os resultados da análise indicaram, em resumo: 1) a consideração de questões ambientais como objeto de securitização é recente; 2) há dados, especialmente no relatório do IPCC, para considerar a mudança climática como uma questão de segurança pelo menos para os SIDS, entretanto este relatório também

indicam uma lista de ações que os SIDS poderiam adotar para evitar grandes conseqüências, 3) os SIDS enquanto grupo ainda estão considerando esse tema como um processo potencial de securitização e 4) a ONU não considerou as questões da mudança climática como uma ameaça urgente a ponto de ser considerado como um processo de securitização. Observou-se, em todos os documentos, que às vezes os discursos estão no caminho da securitização e outras vezes não. Como consequência, embora nos documentos analisados vários elementos reforçando a securitização da mudança climática tenham sido encontrados, até o ano de publicação desses documentos (2015) a ONU e SIDS consideraram mais a ação internacional na forma de cooperação para prevenir e preparar SIDS para eventuais problemas relacionados com as mudanças climáticas do que para securitização das mudanças climáticas. Como um processo, a securitização é muito complexa, contínua e depende de diferentes atores e momentos políticos. Assim, pode ser interessante continuar avaliando esse processo ao longo do tempo.

Palavras-chave:

Mudança climática, securitização, Pequenos Estados Insulares em Desenvolvimento, Relações Internacionais

ABSTRACT

The climate change phenomenon can be understood as a threat to human security. The increase of sea level as a consequence of extreme weather events could enhance the vulnerability of countries with large coastal areas, as the small islands for example. This process could be identified as a security issue considering that security studies in International Relations have been extended to other areas as environmental. However, the process of securitization involves many aspects. This thesis aimed to argue how the Small Island Development States (SIDS), as a group, have been received the discourse of scholars about the effects of climate change based on evidences (the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change - IPCC) and analyze whether the responses given by these countries reinforce the trend of securitization of climate change. The majority of SIDS are members of a coalition that have similar development challenges and concerns about the environment, called Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS) representing SIDS negotiating voice within the United Nations system. Theories about securitization regarding the process, sectors and actors involved was presented in general and focusing on the possibility of climate change securitization. The international historic context of SIDS related to environmental challenges and groups organized in regional and international level was also described. To address the objectives of this thesis the discourse analyses was adopted as methodology applied to references documents of IPCC, SIDS and United Nations, considering the analytical constructivism model and a historical sequence. The methodology used was described with details and documents analyzed was the fifty IPCC report (2014), the AOSIS report (2015) and the Paris Agreement (2015). The results of the analyze indicated, in summary that: 1) the consideration of environmental issues as object of securitization is recent, 2) there are data specially on IPCC report for considering climate change as a security issue at least for SIDS, however this report also indicate a list of actions that SIDS could adopted to avoid major consequences, 3) SIDS as a group are still considering these matters as a potential process of securitization and 4) the UN did not consider the issues of climate change as an urgent threat to be considered as a securitization process. It was observed that sometimes discourses are in the way of securitization and sometimes not. As a consequence, although in the documents analyzed (until 2015) several elements reinforcing the

securitization of climate change was found, until now on UN and SIDS are considering more the international action in the way of cooperation to prevent and prepare SIDS for eventual issues related to climate change than the securitization of climate change. As a process, securitization is very complex, continuous and depends on different politics actors and moments. Thus, it may be interesting to continue evaluating this process over time.

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS, ACRONYMS AND SYMBOLS

BPOA — Barbados Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of the Small Island Developing States

CARICOM — Caribbean Community

IOC — The Indian Ocean Commission

IPCC — Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

MSI — Mauritius Strategy

ODA — Official Development Assistance

SPREP — Pacific Regional Environmental Programme

SIDS — The Small Island Developing States

UNFCCC — United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

UN-OHRLLS — United Nations Office of the High Representative for Least Developed Countries, Landlocked Developing Countries and Small Island Developing States

CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

The Security Studies in International Relations had extended to other areas as environmental issue. The climate change phenomenon is uncertain and can be understood as a threat to human security in the global environment. Despite hard evidence about climate change disruptions published by scientists, they have failed to end public global action. Some countries affected by climate change, as the Small Island in Developing States (SIDS), leads with this phenomenon as a security issue, however it is difficult to convince globally that local hazard is, in fact, a global issue. This thesis will argue that the SIDS, as a group, have been improving the response to the international discourse about climate change and reinforcing the discourse of considering climate change as a threat to security.

The extreme weather events could be flooding increased rainfall, melting glaciers, rising sea levels, desertification and/or shortages of water. These events enhance the vulnerability of SIDS increasingly seen as security threats to significant portions of the population in some regions.

The demand of adaptation actions followed by SIDS are a way to protect themselves from threats to global climate change. The choice of this theme relates to the fact that it is an important issue for the international society, since the presence of threats generate greater uncertainty, and, in this case, these uncertainties affect even the perspective of existence of these states. In the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC Reports), a scholar report based on evidences, that will be present in this work, some experts consider that with sea level rise, some SIDS may disappear, which is the major hazard to security.

Many scientists believe that the intensification of some natural phenomena, such as rising oceans, melting glaciers, changes in rainfall regimes - major floods in several regions of the planet - increase in hurricanes, cyclones and typhoons are consequences of global warming[1] (BARNETT, 2001). To International Relations field, the understanding of this issue is likewise of extreme importance once the new phenomena and its challenges involve the international society. The climate change effects are noticeable in our day to day and their consequences are numerous for

---

[1] Defined by the IPCC - Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change - as an increase in global temperature that has been observe in the last 150 years due to the increase of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere.

water, food and energy security on the planet. Thus, the historical theme is contextualized in order to understand how the issue is treat as a security problem, being consider a possible threat that could endanger human life.

Climate change has caused extreme weather events, which has generated and fueled the debate on the issue as a national and international security problem. Viewed from the perspective of security, the issue not only raises the possibility of decision-making in emergencies, but also opens the conditions for proposing mechanisms to adapt to risks in an articulated and integrated way with the management tools already provided for in the normal policy. (WORLD WATER ASSESSMENT PROGRAMME, 2009).

The IPCC made up of scientists from various fields of knowledge and from various parts of the world, presents a series of reports and evidence that taken as references for international negotiations. The Fourth Assessment Report (AR4) of the IPCC (2007a) states that populations living in low-lying coastal areas altitude are among the most vulnerable to the effects of climate change and extreme weather events. A 1-meter rise in sea level could put more than 145 million people at risk. Some island states, such as the Marshall Islands, the Maldives, Kiribati and Tuvalu, are already threatened with their stocks (MATTAR, 2011).

The IPCC has working groups that deal with "climate change mitigation". These are a set of measures aimed at preventing emissions of greenhouse gases and suggest alternatives to increase activities that can remove them from the atmosphere. The main economic sectors taken into account, both in the short and long term, include energy, transportation, construction, industry, agriculture, forestry and waste management.

The working groups analyze the costs and benefits of different approaches to mitigation, also considering the policy instruments and measures of each country. In this way, it deals with emergency issues and points out the risks associated with climate change processes based on empirical evidence identified by methodology widely discussed among its members. In view of the risks, the IPCC alerts the States to possible threats to inform them of decisions in this field. Therefore, the IPPC seeks to convince the audience to recognize such issues as related to Security issues, so that priority actions adopted (IPCC, 2007a).

> Measures that could be implemented in the short term include: Increased emphasis on the development and adaptation of technologies which may increase the productivity or efficiency, consistent with the principles of sustainable growth and development, acceleration of economic development efforts in developing countries. Because these countries have largely resources based economics efforts improving natural. Such efforts would help formation of such capital as may be necessary to adapt to climate change, and generally make sustainable and development more feasible. (INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL ON CLIMATE CHANGE, 1990, p.169, free version).

The IPCC suggests that mitigation measures be taken in planning and strategies to address short-term risks and threats of climate change; in the long term, prevention and adaptation measures are more recommended in an attempt to reduce the extent of human intervention on natural climate change, with a focus on protection and security. Climate change adaptation measures are specific to each region of the planet because the effects of these changes differ from one region to another: in some regions, floods will be more likely; in others, there may be desertification. The IPCC emphasizes and alerts international society to the need to take urgent measures to prevent these phenomena.

There is a group on United Nation (UN) composed by 38 UN Member States and 20 Non - UN Members facing with social, economic and environmental vulnerabilities that is called Small Island Developing States (SIDS). Those countries were recognized as a special case for environment and development at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) in 1992 – Rio 92 - on Agenda 21 document, Chapter 17 (UN-OHRLLS, 2015).

There is a large concentration of SIDS's countries in the Pacific Ocean, corresponding to 42.85% of the total members, while 19.05% are from the Atlantic, Indian and Mediterranean Oceans and 38.10% from the Caribbean region. These countries have established an administrative body for each region: the Caribbean Community, the Pacific Islands Forum and the Indian Ocean Commission.

The majority of SIDS are members of the Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS). AOSIS is a coalition of small island and low-lying coastal countries that share similar development challenges and concerns about the environment, especially their vulnerability to the adverse effects of global climate change. It functions primarily as an ad hoc lobby and negotiating voice for small island developing States (SIDS) within the United Nations system.

In terms of International Climate Change Regime UN council SIDS are represented by AOSIS. In 1990, during the Second World Conference on the Environment held in Geneva, the AOSIS presented itself as a unique diplomatic corps and, since then, had been characterize as a diplomatic entity at the UN. It is accepted that the recognition by the international society of small island states as an alliance was something gained over time (AOSIS, 2013).

In addition, the majority of countries represented in AOSIS are SIDS what shows how representative the SIDS group is in the International Climate Change Regime UN council as well as in international environmental conferences.

These are the objectives of the AOSIS:

1) To develop action programs in the SIDS in order to cooperate and exchange information on policies and strategies in relation to climate change, global warming, and sea level rise.

2) To recommend, when appropriate, to all states to take immediate steps to establish the institutional framework to protect and manage their coastal zones and to enact legislation to facilitate such measures.

3) To urge industrialized countries to develop procedures and mechanisms to facilitate financing, technology transfer, and training related to the causes and problems associated with sea level rise areas; and to make arrangements for the negotiation of a framework convention on climate change to start as soon as possible (AOSIS, 2013).

These goals reflect how the audience receives the securitized speech act of the IPCC Report`s. The SIDS created the alliance based on the belief that those countries that have contributed least to global warming are those that will be the first to suffer with the dramatic consequences of this phenomenon.

However, few studies in International Relations have evaluated and discussed how SIDS are responding to and dealing with the issue of securitization of climate change. Whether or not the actions to strengthen the idea of climate change as securitization can vary accordingly to the level of development, making some strengthen as a group defend the emergency premise to put climate change in the top of the agenda as a security issue. In some cases, SIDS do not have enough input to lead with an expensive climate change adaptation project. The states there has a low national income probably have more interest in securitizing the climate change to attract more attention and financial from the international society, especially

development countries. Those countries had high level of responsibility in the emission of greenhouse gases in the past and contributed to the effects of climate change in other countries (as SIDS) that had not been polluting as much as developed countries.

Considering this scenario, the research question that moves this work is: how have the SIDS responded to the discourse of securitization of climate change? The hypothesis is that SIDS respond to the securitization of climate change not only as an audience, but as a securitized actor as well.

The general objective of this thesis is understood how the SIDS receive IPCC's discourse on climate change and analyze whether the responses given by these countries reinforce the trend of securitization of the issue.

To fulfill the purpose of this study, it will be observed three different levels of analysis and respective arenas. Thus, the specific objectives of this work are to:

1) Check the securitization discourse in the 5th IPCC report (AR5) by alerting, informing and guiding SIDS to address the threats and risks of climate change.

2) Identify how SIDS respond to the securitization of climate change by reproducing the discourse they receive from the IPCC by positioning in international level council of SIDS – in one official AOSIS document.

3) Identify if the UN considered IPCC and SIDS (represented by AOSIS) reports in the last agreement of the Conference of Parties (COP 21) that took place in Paris in 2015.

The Methodology adopted in this work is discourse analyses, having as main sources some documents produced under this international Regime, in the perspective of the idea that the climate change constructed in these reports should became an environmental security issue for the SIDS. The analytical constructivism model will be applied based on the post-cold war security studies including the Copenhagen School' securitization theory and human and environmental security concepts. It will be analyzed the voice (speeches/ reporters) in these International Conferences and will be observed if the historical sequence of the reporters evolves towards the securitization.

The Structure of the thesis had been organized in the following chapters. This introduction is considered as the first chapter. The second chapter presents the extension of the concept of security in International Relations. This chapter will describe the Copenhagen School and Post-Cold War Security Studies including the focus on war and military issues during the Cold War, the use of (Neo) Realism for the

understanding of international conflicts, the beginning of the Copenhagen School, the combination of realism and constructivism, the expansion of the topics considered from the perspective of security and the expansion of the number of theories used to understand international security.

It will be also discussed in this chapter the Securitization and De – Securitization process, the elements of Securitization (existential threat, emergency situations, possibility of breaking rules, the paradoxes of the situation of exception), the actors involved in securitization (securitization actor, object of reference, functional actors), the consequences of securitization, the image of securitization, the cycle of securitization as well as the securitization sectors, the negotiation between securitization actor and audience and securitization as a speech act.

Finally, this chapter discuss the human security and environmental security presenting the securitization sectors, the human being as reference object, the threats of humanity, the environment as a reference object, threats to humanity, the environment as an object of reference, the "waves" of environment security studies and the relation between human security and environmental security.

The third chapter will discuss the possibility of securitization of climate change through different aspects: the threat and risk of climate change for the international society, the possibility to analyses the IPCC as a securitizer actor of the securitization of climate change, the topic of climate change in the United Nations Security Council perspective. Therefore, the climate change discourse (speech act) will be also described.

The fourth chapter introduces the Small Island Developing States (SIDS), the international historic context on how SIDS formed global sustainable conferences, documents and the priority environmental challenges. The regional Groups of SIDS: The Caribbean Community Climate Change Centre (CCCCC), The Pacific Islands Forum and The Indian Ocean Commission will be also presented. After those topics, it will be analyzed the relation between SIDS and climate change, showing the Fourth IPCC Report about how SIDS are affected by climate change. Finally, this chapter will describe the participation of SIDS in the AOSIS.

The last chapter (five) lays out on the methodology used to analyze discourses on this thesis and the results. First, the method designed is described with details. After, documents chosen to evaluate the process of climate change securitization will

be described and the analysis will be reported. The 5[th]IPCC report (2014) will be introduced to see the meaning of this discourse for SIDS. After, it will be analyzed the discourse (speech act) in regard to SIDS. This chapter will also present the AOSIS report (2015) and analyze if SIDS reinforced the idea of the 5[th]IPCC report (action as audience). Finally, the Paris Agreement (last UN agreement on climate change, 2015), will be present focusing on parts where SIDS are mentioned. In the same way, it will be verified if SIDS had been act as a securitized agent as well through the analysis of the convincement (or not) of the participants of the Paris Agreement to put in this document elements related to the securitization of the climate change, that means ultimately if these elements was presented in the 5[th]IPCC Report and in the AOSIS report. Finally, conclusion present final considerations and summarize the discussion considering the presented hypothesis.

1 THE EXTENSION OF THE CONCEPT OF SECURITY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

This chapter aims to present the transformation of the concept of Security Studies in International Relations. Security is understood as protecting fundamental values from potential threats to nations, reinforcing the responsibility of addressing vulnerable populations.

After the Cold War with the new international context, the theoretical debate demanding a new idea to incorporate new issues that start to be understood as new threats. Economic crises, environmental issues, human rights violations, terrorism, drugs and epidemics in the 90`s extend the idea of security considering those aspects.

With the intent to understand the elements that constructed the research question of this work, this chapter presents the idea of the Securitization Theory substantiated by Copenhagen School (CS) – a school of academic thought that describes the security studies in International Relations emphasizing social aspects. These studies began with Barry Buzan[2] and had as members Ole Wæver and Jaap de Wilde.

The elements of the new aspects as human and environmental security are important concepts to understand the central questioning of this thesis. It is comprised that the new threats, like climate change, for example, put the international society at risk, which is considering a new aspect of security. These elements will be presented and discussed in this chapter

1.1 The Copenhagen School and Post-Cold War Security Studies

This section is subdivided into eight parts. In the first, outlines the Security Studies from 1950s. The second, focus on war and military issues during the Cold War. In the third, discuss the use of (Neo) Realism for the understanding of international conflicts. In the fourth presents the beginning of the Copenhagen School (CS). In the fifth suggests the combination of Realism and Constructivism. The sixty builds the expansion of the topics considered from the perspective of security. The seventh

---

[2] The School of Copenhagen begins with Buzan's main work: "People, states, and fear: The national security problem in International Relations" Paperback - 1983.

provides a framework for the expansion of the number of theories used to understand International Security. Finally, the eighth presents The Criticism of the CS.

1.1.1 Security Studies from 1950s

The evolution of the term of the International Security Studies (ISS) in International Relations (IR) were used by the scholars as "international security", "security studies", "strategic studies", "peace research" or other variations. First, the concept of security was related with defense, conflicts, war, military aspects. After the beginning of the Cold War from the 1950s, the perception about non- military threats and vulnerabilities put the term of security as a different meaning.

The relevance of expanding the concept of security in light of the research question of this work: "How have the Small Island Developing States (SIDS) receive and responded to the discourse of the securitization of climate change?" in this case, the climate change is a non-military threats and the vulnerabilities of those countries is not related with military aspect. (BUZAN and HANSEN, 2009)

For classical theorists in International Relations, "security" can be apprehended, in the traditional sense, by the principles of Sovereignty and Territoriality of the State (DER DERIAN, 1995, p.30.). According to Waever (1989), in this perception, security is related to sovereignty and the founding idea of the moder state, that is, it is associated with the task of the state to safeguard domestic peace and political order stability.

Much of the literature stayed within the predominant national security frame of the Cold War, but some of it began to challenge the emphasis on material capabilities as well as state – centric assumptions, opening paths to studies of the importance of ideas and culture and to referent objects for security other than the State.

Accordingly, Buzan and Hansen (2009) security is about crucial political themes such as the State, authority, legitimacy, politics and sovereignty. Nevertheless, are four analytical questions that define the concept of international security and bring the literature together.

The first question that structured the ISS debate since 1940´s is to privilege the states as the reference object. Buzan and Hansen (2009) defined security as something that need to be secured: the nation, the state, the individual, the

environment. The national security primarily involves military issues related to the defense of territoriality, sovereignty, and threats that a country has already received. Further to Buzan and Hansen (2009) the concept of national security as traditionalist international security was the analytical and normative referent object, the state security. Moreover, the international security was not about replacing the security of the state with the security of humanity. Securing the state was the best way to protect the reference objects. The Cold War bring the concept of national security as a fusion of security of the state and the security of the nation to protect the society's values and interests. The relationship between states, their nations, governments, citizens and populations. So, this first question that Buzan and Hansen (2009) present is related to what or whom should be the "referent object" for security?

The second question is about including internal as an external threat, because of the security used to be consider when the state sovereignty placing threats in relation to territorial boundaries. The concept of national security had contrasted the post Second War as the idea of "national interest". Nevertheless, after the Cold War, the concept of International Security from domestic politics changed the concept of external threat.

Accordingly, Buzan and Hansen (2009) present the third question as related to the expansion of security beyond the military sector and the use of force. Later, the more expansion of sector security including the societal, economic, environmental, health, development and gender.

The fourth question according to Buzan and Hansen (2009) is related with the concepts of threats, dangers and urgency. During the Cold War, for example, the Soviet Union and nuclear weapons constituted a clear threat. This aspect of security to urgency and to extreme and radical defense measures was central. Later, the discussion about the expansion of the concept of security gained group in the 1990's. Most of the Copenhagen School's scholars argued that the concept could be expanded as long as referent objects, threats and dangers have this logic of urgency and extreme measures.

1.1.2 Focus on war and military issues during the Cold War

The International Security Studies (ISS) during the Cold War was focused on National Security, because the fear was of a nuclear annihilation. The central theme is how nuclear weapons influenced, and were influenced by, the rivalry between the US and Soviet Union. The aspects of superpower rivalry as theorized by the Strategic Studies core of ISS as scenery of military, political and technologic that happened during the Cold War. (BUZAN and HANSEN, 2009)

The Figure 1 below indicates how the concepts of ISS from The Cold War to the Post–Cold War expand the traditionalist security military issue to other framework of analyses as Feminism, Human Security, Critical Security Studies and the Copenhagen School.

Figure 1: The Change of the International Security Studies from the Cold War to the Post-Cold War
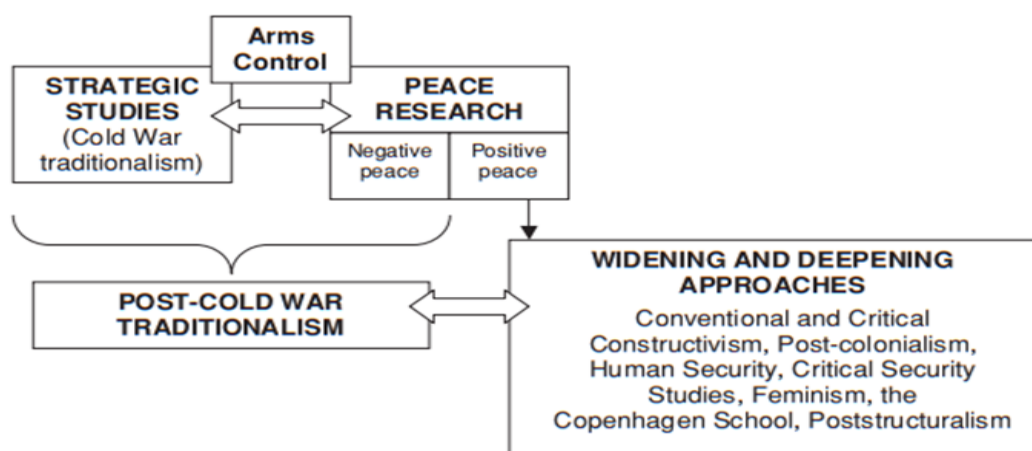
Source: BUZAN and HANSEN, 2009, p.190.

Although security was a new, lead concept in the post Second World War, its implication for a winder, not exclusively military – political understanding of the subject was not fully felt until quite late in the Cold War. The majority of the ISS defined on this time was a largely military agenda of questions surrounding nuclear weapons and a widely embedded assumption that the Soviet Union posed a profound military and ideological threat to the West.

The peculiar strategic bombing and nuclear weapons transcended traditional military warfighting expertise in ways that required, or at least opened the door to, bring the knowledge how best to disable the enemy´s economy and infrastructure, not just how to defeat the armed forces. Nuclear quickly became a threat of the other States and in the same way, was not a military defeated properly related with the first idea of the concept of security. (BUZAN and HANSEN, 2009)

The securitizations of East and West created political space as a long war based in opposed ideologies: communism/socialism and capitalism. The logic of identity was based in the universalism of that bipolarity. The main contemporary case is the Cold War, in which two inclusive universalist ideologies aimed at transcending the particulars positions of great power balancing and local resistance, and imposing instead ideologically defined securitizations that invited (and in part compelled) the whole world to take sides in a zero-sum game about the political and social future of humankind. Although there was an element of classical balancing in the mutual securitizations of the US and the Soviet Union, there was a distinctive departure in the move up to a universalist framing for securitization. No longer was it just about the fate of one great power (or set of great powers) in relation to another: it was phrased as being about the fate of humankind as a whole. (BUZAN and WAEVER, 2009).

From the 1970s, as the nuclear relationship between the superpowers matured, the original scope carried by the term security began to re-emerge, pressing for the expansion of the international security agenda away from the military–political focus. Economic and environmental security became established, even if controversial, parts of the agenda during the later years of the Cold War, and were joined during the 1990s by societal (or identity) security, human security, food security and others (BUZAN and HANSEN, 2009.)

During the Cold War, Peace Researchers pointed out the necessity of granting equal priority to basic human needs and 'structural violence', and the challenges to military security became an established part of ISS. (BUZAN and HANSEN, 2009).

During the 1980´s, research related to peace becomes gradually more specialized. The impacts of Western policies on future generations concerns the environmental issues from 1960's and 1970's. Accordingly, BUZAN and HANSEN (2009) bring to the literature the link with environmental and the traditional agenda of Strategic Studies that conflicts could appear because of the environmental resources. Other point was the broader Environmental Security threatened through climate changes or degradation of land, biodiversity, the atmosphere, water, forests, coastal areas. (BARNETT, 2001a)

1.1.3 The use of (Neo) Realism for the understanding of international conflicts

The (Neo) Realism as a theoretical school in International Relations has been presented by Kenneth Waltz in his book *Theory of International Politics* (1979). In essence (Neo) Realism has been Waltz's response to the famous *Realism theory* by Hans Morgenthau (1948) and an attempt to update and modify the realist approach to international politics.

Accordingly, the author argues that after the end of the Second World War, the Realism theory in International Relations established as a theoretical paradigm in the area. They are guided by minimum interest to protect the States and for the maximum interest of increasing. Its power in the international system (Waltz, 1979)

In a sense, (Neo) Realism is a theory of balance, and the anarchy[3] of international system, is an order rather than a condition of chaos. Balance of power is a way to preserve peace in the world from the conflicts. For those neorealist scholars, in the world, the strong States are less vulnerable on the international arena and the war is inevitable.

Military and economic might are the major criteria for security and development. However, in a nuclear century, wars among the nuclear powers are unlikely to occur

---

[3] It is the absence of a central superior authority in the international system - a government that has authority over the other sovereignties that make up that system. As this government does not exist, anarchy is present in the international system, since each State would have total freedom of action. But to establish order in the international system Hedley Bull (1977) questions the inevitability of conflict.

easily, since the states possessing nuclear weapons realize the consequences of such a war, and therefore, use nuclear arsenal as a means of deterrence and balance of powers.

1.1.4 The beginning of the Copenhagen School

The security studies field has become one of the most dynamic and contested of International Relations in recent decades. The Copenhagen School emerged at the Conflict and Peace Research Institute (COPRI) in Copenhagen in the 1990s from when writings as Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, Jaap de Wilde and others proposed a new framework of International Security Studies. These authors produced many interrelated publications on the security theme (MCSWEENEY, 1996).

Created in 1985 for the purpose of promoting studies for peace -his name officer of the COPRI - the institute constitutes, in the present day, a reference in the area of international security to rethink the insertion of European continent in the post-Cold War international order (TANNO, 2003).

In 1983, the Barry Buzan announced new themes to refine the concept of security and to focus greater attention on 'social identity', suggesting a new direction for scholars to explain new theoretical thinking. His conceptual model gave a new ontological primacy to the state, putting the human and sub-state as an object of security (BALZACQ, 2016).

The theoretical perspective formulated by the Copenhagen be characterized as comprehensive because it holds that threats to the security originate not only from the military sphere, but also from political, economic, environmental and societal spheres (TANNO, 2003).

The new themes of security proposed by the CS with which the work of Barry Buzan and Ole Waever is associated, contributed for the development of the Securitization theory. The aim of Securitization theory is to understand why and how this happens, as well as the effects that this process has on the life and the politics of a community. (BALZACQ, 2016)

This theory highlights the political nature of security, challenging the traditional approach to security and introducing a social constructivist perspective. This theory considers how problems are transformed into security issues (BUZAN, 1983). The words that make references to the existence of a threats are not only linguistic signs, but brings the demand that measures will be taken to protect the units. It will be analyzed the speech act that will be presented on the next sections of this chapter.

As far as security studies are concerned, the contribution of CS is invaluable. The value of the work of this group resides in the fact that it offers the researchers of the area a theoretical framework coherent and alternative to the already criticized Realism. In spite of the deficiencies both for normative aspects and for theoretical and methodological aspects, the comprehensive approach built by the School represents, today, the most important consistent with Security studies (TANNO, 2003).

1.1.5 The combination of Realism and Constructivism

The Idealistic and Realism International Relations theories, although antagonistic and regimented in the way of facing problems, contribute to understanding social phenomena, to the search for explanations of the war phenomena and context of the international system, opening space for the emergence of Neo-Realism and social doctrines (TANNO, 2003).

Accordingly, Tanno (2003) affirms that in the center of the ideological paradigms, "Constructivism" arises in the academic and political context as ideology and allowing the interdisciplinary phenomena of contemporary societies, in which it as one of its main scientific tools for analyzing the conflict.

For instance, where actors are great powers, the social structure is an international system that gives meaning to great power and recognizes this identity in particular practices, such as use of force against smaller states; through such practices, states—great and small—in turn shape the international system. (FARRELL, 2002).

Accordingly, FARRELL (2002), p. 52:

> Constructivists tend to concentrate on the social structure of state action at the level of the international system. What matters most for realists is the material structure of world politics. States do what they have the power to do. For constructivists, states do what they think most appropriate. In so doing, states are guided by norms that define the identities of the main actors in world politics (i.e., modern, bureaucratic, sovereign states) and define the formal rules and accepted practices of the international game. (FARRELL, 2002, p. 52)

The inability of Realism to predict the end of the Cold War strengthened its critics. Such questions quickly international security studies by encouraging the formulation of new theoretical proposal International relations the need to deepen

these relations and understand the paradigms of security and development phenomena sustained on a global scale.

Realists also tend to assume that constructivists want to promote peace in world politics and are "radically concerned with changing state behavior." Realists are confusing conventional with critical constructivists. The constructivists are interested in exploring how norms shape world politics in general, much of their work ends up dealing with the normative bases of interstate conflict and state use of violence (FARRELL, 2002) The big challenge for the constructivists is deciding how to engage realism. In reality and on the ground, constructivists are competing and cooperating with realism. Constructivists have reason to do both. Confrontation with realism is necessary to establish constructivism in a research program. (FARRELL, 2002)

For these theorists, to understand the idea of the security as a construction by an intersubjective process, it is necessary to be considered as a security issue and accepted by a relevant audience. In this thesis It will be analyzed the securitization of climate change in this context of construction in a Constructivism aspect (FARRELL, 2002).

The study of security is a hard case for theories of International Relations. How the security problems emerge, evolve and dissolve. Securitizing Theory argues that the language is not only consider out there, as realists and neorealist assume, but is also constitutive of very social reality.

> Constructivist approaches to security studies face two methodological problems: proving the existence of norms, and showing the impact of norms on behavioral outcomes. The first of these problems flows from the ontological status constructivists give to unobservable. Constructivists recognize norms as having objective existence. Norms are not simply ideas floating around inside peoples' heads. Rather norms are shared beliefs that are "out there" in the real world, in the meaning they give to material things (e.g., the acceptability of owning nuclear weapons), and the practices they yield (e.g., the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty) (FARRELL 2002, p. 60):

In the constructivist literature is a concern with explaining the evolution and impact of norms on national and international security. These norms could operate at multiple levels in world politics. Those levels could be organizational, national, transnational, and worldwide, those that sometimes are in conflict with one another. The constructivist project is not to change the world, but to understand it. The epistemological approach taken by the constructivists discussed in this essay is a conventional but not a critical one;

the purpose is to build knowledge about the world and contribute to mainstream International Relations debate. (FARRELL, 2002).

1.1.6 The expansion of the topics considered from the perspective of security

Accordingly, Buzan, Waever& Wild (1998) affirms that the end of bipolarity after the Cold War provided more space for the globalization and integration of countries and the advent of a new international scenario, expanding the concept of international security in International Relations. No longer left to rely only on classical realism, there was now room for new perspectives in security studies. In addition to the military issue, new phenomena were considered threats to states and individuals, such as terrorist networks, economic crises, global epidemics, and environmental variations, which are also considered global risks.

The agenda today is broader than the traditional agenda. Thus, the establishment of a security agenda depends not only on the efforts of the agents, but it is necessary that the issue presented be recognized as a security threat. This leads us to Copenhagen School's study of security threats as constructed through social interaction (BUZAN, 1997).

Several post-positivist theorists, scholars of the security subject have pointed out to the open nature of security concept in this context, although the CS addressed this argument more thoroughly. This made sense in the post-Cold War period, an era when international security studies were just expanding. Security issues in general implies, implicitly, a position on values and ideology.

The expansion of the new topics considered from the perspective of security are usually in constant movement. Therefore, there are many topics like the food security, energy security, environmental security, economy security, health security, personal security community security and political security, cybernetic security. (CAVELTY, 2010)

The themes that involved the security issues are several on the context after the Cold War: terrorism, energy security, organized crime, drug trafficking, trafficking in women, state failure/ building, migration, cyber security, resource environment and conflict, biological weapons, privatization of international security and military company. (CAVELTY, 2010) Those themes of new Security Studies approaches related with several International Relations theories present in the next section.

1.1.7 The expansion of the number of theories used to understand International Security

In the beginning of the International Relations theory, the States were in conflicts because of the demarcation line of the territorial conflict. However, the debate, which mainly raged in the early 1990s, put the traditionalists' researchers in a way to change the definition and the approach of security and 'strategic studies' from the viewpoint of the nation – state. As presented in the sections before, the Realism and Constructivism theory related with the Security Studies start to give the space to new topics of security (CAVELTY, 2010).

Some objects of references and several different threats put the scholars to work with the new framework of analysis and related with the new theories in International Relations that explained better the object of analyses on the Security Studies (CAVELTY, 2010).

The Liberalism related with the traditionalist theories and the globalization are associated with economic security and some economic crises threats. The new topics of analyses were associated with the recent postpositive International Relations theories: English School, Critical Security Studies, Post Structuralism, Feminism and Post-colonialism (CAVELTY, 2010).

1.1.8 Criticism of the Copenhagen School

The theoretical perspective formulated by the CS could be characterized as comprehensive because it holds that threats to the safety originate not only from scaffolding, but also from political, economic, environmental and societal spheres. However, the development of the theory proposed by the CS, both in Europe and in other continents, had important creativity contribution of the criticism of scholars of other theories would not have been so creative if it had not been for the critics of scholars related to other theories (TANNO, 2003)

This theory had several negative judgments, the majority of them based on the high consideration of the Europe perspective on the theory formulation. One of the criticism is that empiricism is based mainly on theory, unlike the American school that based on real facts.

Another criticism is that in the security area the theory is more related to international than national context, focusing on peace. Thus, the security in Europe would be increasingly linked to issues such as migration and national identities and to a lesser extent related to military issues *stricto sensu.* As we can see, it just the criticism of the international characteristic of the CS who contributed to the strengthening of this theory, considering the comprehensive nature that was necessary to attend the set of European countries. Thus, the CS aims to develop a set of concepts and analytical frameworks to enable the analysis international perspective from a comprehensive perspective proposing that in the security analysis, beyond the military aspects, the economic, social, political and environmental aspects should be considered, however it was more focused on the Europe reality.

In spite of having defended the importance of social, environmental and economics in security analyzes, Buzan (1983) maintained the State as the main reference point for security studies opposing critical theorists (who argue that security is more relevant than State security), to the Buzan (1983) remained state-centric. This criticism is one that contributed to the evolution of the theory from the concept of security related to State for a more comprehensive view that goes beyond the state.

Changes introduced by the CS on the primary Buzan theory occurred slowly and progressively. Most of that was based on the empiric limits to the theory as reported on the book "*Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe*" (Waever et al., 1993). One important change was based in the criticism of the realist paradigm. The inability of realistic analyzes in predicting the end of the bipolar structure put in check the hegemony of the realistic paradigm, since the ability to make predictions was held to be one of the advantages of realism in relation to theories (HALLIDAY, 1999).

MCDONALD (2008) presents a different criticism than the previously presented. He maintains that by focusing its attention on powerful institutional actors and voices, the perspective of security advanced by CS is problematic as it marginalizes the perspectives and experiences of many other non-state actors and thus provides a limited understanding of security in contemporary global politics. He contends that in order to gain a holistic understanding of the term security, one must recognize and explore the variety of ways in which the situations of different political communities are constructed as security issues by different actors such as non-government organizations or the media. This aspect, emphasized by MacDonald, is important to

analyze climate changes issues as security, like the rise of sea level and consequences for SIDS for example, an issue that will be described and contextualized in the following chapters.

1.2 Securitization and Desecuritization

This section is subdivided into ten parts. The first section outlines the securitization and desecuritization process. The second section focus on the actors involved in securitization. In the third, the elements of securitization will be presented. The fourth section presents the paradoxes of the situation of exception. The fifth section describe consequences of securitization if it is successful. The sixty section builds the securitization of images. The seventh provides the cycle of securitization. The eighth presents the different sectors of securitization. Section nine emphasize the negotiation between securitization actor and audience to the securitization process. Finally, the tenth presents securitization as a "speech act".

1.2.1 The Securitization and the Desecuritization Process

The concept of securitization is based on the constructivist perspective of the social world, as well as the identities and interests of actors and structures, and is built by intersubjective and collective processes. While traditionalists link the study of the existence of objective security threats, the CS authors consider that securitization and the criterion of securitization are intersubjective practices through which one securitizer actor demands to socially establish the existence of a threat to a group survival ((BUZAN, WAEVER and WILD 1998, p. 29-31).

This conception of security contrasts the implicit argument of most security analysts, i.e., a security issue is when a question meets a certain ontological criterion such as the undermining of human survival or a threat to the territorial integrity of the nation-state. This criterion is based on an analysis of specific contexts on which security is built, offering insight into the meaning of security policy.

Buzan, Waever and de Wilde (1998) argued that the researcher has only to identify when a question is being presented as belonging to the security area. Academics, when considered the questions related do security, can politically position themselves explicitly, denouncing attempts at securitization considered illegitimate. If

a legitimate political issue exists, especially when it is accepted the argument that the definition of a problem is a matter of security, this will allow exceptional measures to be taken through various policy responses (BUZAN, WAEVER and WILDE 1998).

Securitization theory has been an incredibly fruitful approach for the study of security. Having disaggregated 'state security' into several sectors (military, political, societal, economic, and environmental), Buzan (1998) argues that 'the question of when a threat becomes a national security issue depends not just on what type of threat it is, and how much the recipient state perceives it, but also on the intensity with which the threat operates' (Buzan, 1991).

In certain communities, a special situation can arise where a particular matter is transformed into a security issue of paramount importance that needs to be addressed immediately. Also, the threat has a general upsetting potential; it overflows other areas and, therefore, it should not be weighed and balanced as part of the normal political process. The immigration issue provides a useful example for the need to approach security as a social construction (MCDONALD, 2005).

In terms of potential normative and empirical questions, it is possible to associate the issue of security with particular contexts. Regarding environmental change, for example, security studies may expand the boundaries to recognize the needs of those who are most vulnerable to the effects of environmental change (future generations or those in developing states). Such recognition is clearly incompatible with security concepts that focus exclusively on preserving the nation-state territory, which remains the most common understanding of security in contemporary international politics.

As highlighted in the previous chapter in the topic related to the criticism of Copenhagen School (topic 2.1.8), the definition of security is a dynamic process, that has gone through progressive changes along the time, as well in how it is understood and practiced in global politics (MCDONALD, 2005).

Studies of securitization need to account for the movement of issues into and out of the security sector over time. An issue that has faded from the public view may rest within the security frame. For example, a securitization act may be successful with a scientific or technocratic community, and yet fail in the elite and popular realm, such as the debate over global warming during the 1980s and 1990s. A process of

desecuritization may occur within popular politics, while elites and professionals remain unconvinced, such as security transportation for example (SALTER, 2008).

The success of a securitization act is dependent not exclusively on the formal theory or on the informal social context, but also on the particular history, dominant narrative, constitutive characters and the structure of the setting itself. The same securitizing move could be made by different actors, to different audiences, with different claims to authority, in different languages and consequently with different effects. This could be evident over time as the securitizing move is accepted or rejected by the target audience (SALTER, 2008).

Thus, the same securitizing/desecuritizing moves could be played out, but in a totally different register within different sectors and target audience, even in a same country. CS contributed to the process of allows us to evaluate the politics of successful moves to securitize or desecuritize an issue, making the process subjected to the difference behavior of different actors, audience or politics. Desecuritization could be more suitable to politic action than securitization process. It seems that both process (securitization and desecuritization) operates differently depending on the setting were the issue is placed. Moreover, politics have important role in these processes as to make a threat present requires a continual investment and spending of political capital.

From the Copenhagen School's perspective, desecuritization can become a target when it comes to achieving the best results for normative issues relating to security concepts and practices, such as environmental concerns (WAEVER 1995).

According to Buzan (1998), Securitization theory characterizes security as an objective and self- referential concept that it is necessary to see in the practice. Krause (1998) affirms that to acquire different meanings in different societies, actors see the social practices with their perceptions.

1.2.2 Actors involved in securitization

There are many actors involved in securitization as reference object, securitization actor, audience and the functional actors. The Table 1 presents a synthesis of the actors involved in securitization, their respective meaning and characteristics.

Table 1: Key Concepts of the Securitization Theory

TERM	MEANING
Reference Object	What is posited as having a demand on necessary survival and as currently threatened. Note that societies differ in terms of what is generally assumed to have to survive. Most often, a state sovereignty and national identity are taken to be sufficiently necessary to produce a powerful move to claim they are threatened (which often implies defining them in a particular way). In contrast, it is more varied whether a national film industry is seen as necessary for national identity, or whether the survival of a particular species is necessary and, thus, a reason for taking extraordinary steps if it is threatened.
Securitizing actor:	Is the one that makes the argument about a threat to the referent object. Traditionally, the distinction between securitizing actor and referent object was not always made, usually because the state was seen as both object and actor. With a wider concept of security, the distinction becomes obviously necessary. And when this is noticed, it becomes clear that also the classical cases are about some actor making claims about threats to some other group or principle.
Audience:	Are those who must be convinced in order to the securitizing move to be successful. Although one often tends to think in terms of 'the population' or citizenry.
Functional actors:	Are the central actors in a sector, who are not involved in securitization, but greatly influence the dynamics of the sector.

Source: Created by the author extracted from WAEVER, 2003.

Consequently, the core concepts of the theory are arguably the securitizing actor (i.e. the agent who presents an issue as a threat through a securitizing move), the referent subject (i.e. the entity that is threatening), the referent object (i.e. the entity that is threatened), the audience (the agreement of which is necessary to confer an intersubjective status to the threat), the context and the adoption of distinctive policies ('exceptional' or not). (BUZAN, WAEVER and WILD 1998).

In sum, the key idea underlying securitization is that an issue is given sufficient saliency to win the assent of the audience, which enables those who are authorized to handle the issue to use whatever means they deem most appropriate. In other words, securitization combines the politics of threat design with that of threat management. (WAEVER, 2003)

Building on the speech act literature, securitization theory is based on the premise that the word 'security' has a performative character – that is, it does not only

describe the world but can also transform social reality. (WAEVER, 2003) However, scholars could disagree whether this performative power is intrinsic to the word 'security' and independent from the audience or whether security acquires its performativity when used by particular actors in specific contexts.

In this sense, in order to discuss securitization, it is necessary to analyze the securitizer actor's discourse on securitization, not only related to the survival of a group, but also to the priority of taking action to counter a threat to the group's existence, without necessarily using the word *security*. (BUZAN; WAEVER; and WILDE, 1998)

According to Bigo (2002) the CS has three key issues to focus on the state establishment as the primary *securitizing actor*. First, such a focus can silence securitizations against the state. This is particularly problematic given that the state may be both a source of security and insecurity. Second, and somewhat related, it means that security is defined solely according to state interests. Third, the importance of non-state actors to the development of security discourse in the international community may also not be recognized, in turn providing an incomplete picture of what security truly is (BIGO, 2002).

The discourse regarding securitization itself does not automatically require "securitized". The theme has been initiated and it may or may not be accepted by the audience. Securitization is only effective when the public considers the legitimate demand of the securitizer and when the threat agent is established, so that it justifies breaking the normal rules of politics in order to counter this real threat

Accordingly, MCDONALD (2008) suggest that the order in the international system is better represented on the meaning of security in contemporary global politics, securitization theory must be expanded to recognize the perspectives of all non-state actors and their representations of security.

Such an approach to security, however, is also problematic in that it what follows is an indeterminate conceptualization of the term security. This is because the meaning of security should be construct considering the views of all actors, such a conceptualization implies that the securitization process is open, or in other words, any actor can securitize any issue or referent object (Williams, 2003).

1.2.3 Elements of Securitization

The Securitization theory has three elements of securitization that will be explained in this section:

1) *existential threat;*

2) *emergency situation;*

3) *possibility of breaking rules.*

The scholars from the Securitization theory assumption that threats to security exist independent of someone representing it as such (Buzan, Waever and de Wilde, 1998). Instead, the CS contends that there are choices involved in deciding which issues are to be characterized as security *existential threats*. In this way, whether or not an issue is a security issue is treated not as a result of its objective qualities but rather as a result of what different people subjectively identify as security threats. WAEVER (1995) argues nothing is a security issue by itself, rather it is an issue that only becomes a security issue if someone labels it as such.

The process of success–failure (i.e. debated, existential threat, solution accepted, *emergency* power) is particularly useful in assessing the persistence of a security issue within different audiences and to define on whether an issue remains securitized or not overtime in the way that is justified to develop a theory (SALTER, 2008).

In this process, the *actors* will try to give to one political issue an emerging character. The *emergency* character implies that a political issue presented in this way. In the case of no immediate actions, the existence of a security reference object will be threatened. This type of discourse identifies a situation where it is urgent the use of extraordinary ways to solve the problem.

Any public issue can be located on the spectrum ranging from non-politicized through politicized to securitized. When an issue is securitized, it leaves the normal political sphere and goes into the realm of *emergency measures* (BUZAN; WAEVER; and WILDE, 1998). Therefore, the security argument has not of the same status as other political initiatives.

According to Buzan, Waever and Wilde (1998), in security discourse, an issue is presented as posing an existential threat to a designated *referent object*. The designation of the threat as existential justifies the use of extraordinary measures to handle it. Therefore, it is implicitly or explicitly part of the Securitization theory of an issue that a point of no return be postulated – to deal with this in time and, because of

this urgency, this could not be dealt with by normal procedures. One example is the terrorism attack of September 2011.

The possibility of *breaking rules* depends on the how liberal and democratic are the national political system

> Securitization is not fulfilled only by breaking rules (which can take many forms) nor solely by existential threats (which can lead to nothing) but by cases of existential threats that legitimize the breaking of rules. (Buzan, Waever and Wilde, 1998.p.25)

If a situation of emergency happens, the *actors* will do what is necessary to solve the problem. In those cases, it is possible to have a moment that go over the rules and the actors need to break the rule. So, if a theme is securitized this fact it is possible to do. The emergency justifies non-target actions for what is institutionalized after the securitization process. Some acts changed justified the change of the rules as a long term. One example is the terrorism; the international society was not prepared for that. To try to solve the problems the States had to break some rules, but in many cases, this is not spoken in the speech act.

1.2.4 The paradoxes of the situation of exception

The politic of exception is central to the politics of insecurity. One of the key characteristics of the jargon of exception is its suppression of political renditions of the societal. In doing so, it eliminates one of the constituting categories of modern democratic politics, hence producing an impoverished and ultimately illusionary understanding of the processes of political contestation and domination for how one interprets certain practices such as balancing liberty and security, democracy, and camps.

There are two main scholars on exceptionalism: Carl Schmitt and Giorgio Agamben. The former theory is based on the use of exception in specific situations (that is *who* decides) and the later consider "exception as a rule". Both establish a line between law and politic that in the case of securitization can compromise the decision of considering (or not) one issue as security threat. The paradox is that the politic of exception is one way to solve security issues (de-securitization), especially when the

nature of the problem is new for specific international relations aspect (HUYSMANS, 2008). In this way, it could be considered as a sociological variant of Securitization theory (ROBINSON, 2017).

Robinson (2017) used the case of the "Sun Sea", a Thai cargo ship carrying Sri Lankan asylum-seekers to explain the crisis episode related to the securitization of irregular migration in Canada. Shortly, it is an example of "how *episodes* can be broken down into *facilitating conditions* and mechanisms that combine to produce an outcome: securitization" (ROBINSON, 2017). "Securitization theory has only been applied to the Sun Sea in a relatively unsystematic manner" (RYGIEL, 2011). Shortly, in that case, The Protecting Canada's Immigration System Act proposed an amendment to an emigrant law to allow, at least, individual evaluation of conditions to be or not accepted. Thus, it was a case of facilitating conditions that made securitization possible.

This case shows how the process of securitization is dynamic as well as how the politic of exception could be satisfactory applied in case of urgent threat.

1.2.5 Consequences of securitization

Buzan, Waever& de Wilde (1998) argue that a securitization is successful if an issue dealt with outside the normal bounds of political procedure. Hence, an institutional actor's ability to do this makes them a legitimate securitizing actor.

According to Balzacq (2005) an issue will be successfully securitized if the audience accepted it. The author remembers that as security is a social construction, and an actor's ability to make a socially effective claim regarding a security issue does not depend on their capacity to respond to the threat in question but rather on whether the relevant audience accepts them as an appropriate securitizing actor.

The security is constructed through the subjective representations of actors who have a socially valid voice in global politics such as state officials, non-state organizations, communities, and even individuals (BALZACQ, 2005).

It is important to notice that the securitization process could imply in vantages and disadvantages depending on the situation. In on hand it could be obtained major economic and financial support. However, in the other hand the process

ofsecutizationcould imply in loss of autonomy and high dependence of global institutions to solve local problems.

1.2.6 Securitization of Images

The discussion of whether visuals might securitize is important for our understanding of the capacity of *images* to generate and participate in security discourse. Differently of text where it could be written involving individual emotion and principles, the image allows the spectator to see the reality how it is in real and evokes personally interpretation. Text usually involves the mediation of the narrative by the written and hence a temporal delay. On the other hand, *images* evoke an immediate, emotive response that exceeds that of the text. (HANSEN, 2011).

Butler (2007) considered that visual while postdates the analyze of the event, as it is shown in a real scenario, also permits the spectator to analyze the event, its legibility or illegibility considering the current principles and theories. As a consequence, there is a kind of promise that the event will continue (BUTLER, 2007).

According to Williams (2003) the speech of addressing the dynamics of the security in a world where political communication is increasingly with *images* in which televisual communication is an essential element of communicative action. A number of analyses were increased and the events in the world of security seen daily to demonstrate in the modern media as a central element of communicative security relations.

An important characteristic of image is that it could circulates quickly through modern media technologies and enhance the social-material condition, since different actors (for example audience, actors and political elites as well) will have access to information in the same time and in the real condition that the event occurred, which is a challenge for the traditional theories of securitization (MCDONALD, 2008). Thus, the heightened ability of visuals to circulate improve their securitizing potential for the simple reason that they can reach more audiences than words.

However, even considering the possibility that different audiences might see the same image and at the "same time" (i.e. in the context that it occurred), they probably will not interpret (or "read") it in the same way. Moreover, is just that ambiguity of *images* that makes them such strong to analyze and discuss the processes of

securitization (recognize or not as a threat), but not necessarily helps to decide if it facilitates or hinders securitization per se (HANSEN, 2011).

Other important conflicts of *images* to convince audience is that sometimes there is a lot of politics influence on vehicles of visual information. Like the number of times that some broadcast appeared in a period, the time it is considered in the entire program, etc (HANSEN, 2011).

The use of *images* for the speech-acts could improve the success of "representing" groups and/or states to convince audience to recognize the threat as security object.

1.2.7 The cycle of securitization

"*Security is the move that takes politics beyond the established rules of the game and frames the issue either as a special kind of politics or as above politics*" (Buzan, Weaver and de Wilde, 1998: 23).

The move in the previous paragraph was called by the CS scholars as the "securitizing move". It is comprehended as a social construction of threats with securitizing actor, who declares certain problem as urgent and as threat for the survival of the referent object. If accepted, the audience legitimizes the use of extraordinary measures for neutralization of the threat. In this way, the issue is securitized and removed from the "normal" agenda to the "panic politics" agenda (Buzan, Weaver and de Wilde, 1998: 34).

Figure 2 – Securitization cycle
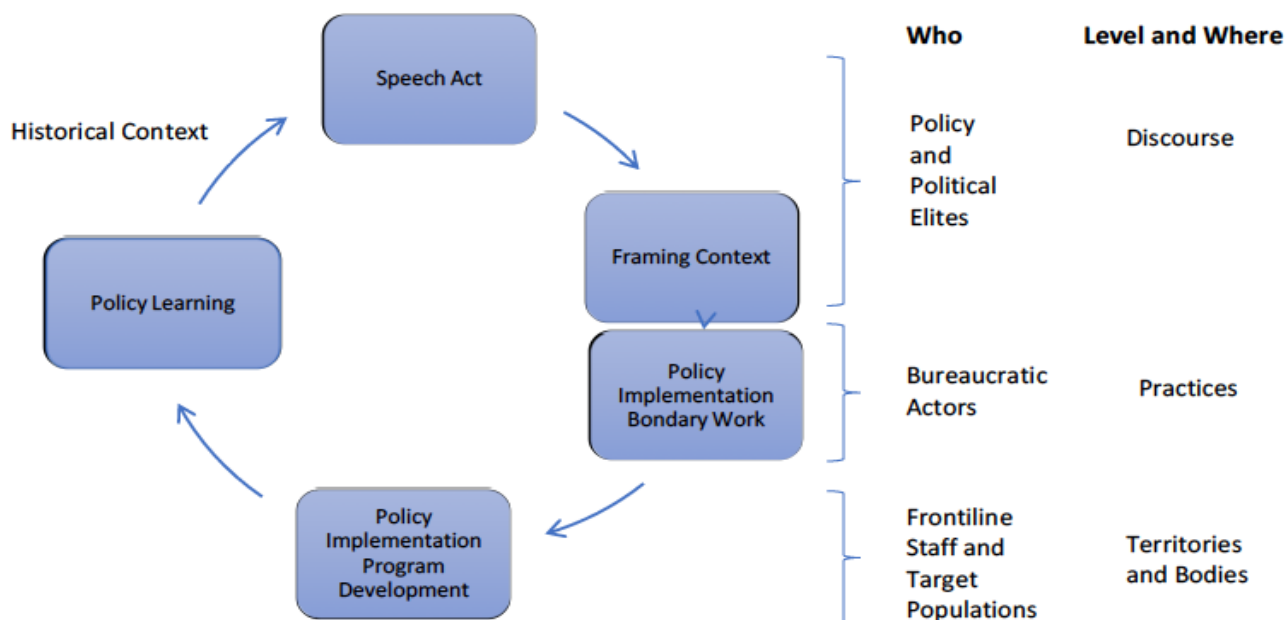
As summarized in the Figure 2, the securitization process has a cycle that depends on the historical context and the way the speech act convinces politics and policy elites using the discourse as a resource. Only after that, on issue could (or not) be considered in practice as a security threat, but still subject to policy implementation and program development as well as policy learning. Continuous the cycle, the object, depending on the historical context could maintain the "securitization" or not. In this process, considering the international level, the approval of the UN Security Council is the major instance to approval or not the securitization process.

1.2.8   The sectors of Securitization

The security studies represent the core of the International Relations, predominantly dealing with the issues of war and peace. After the Second World War security studies strategy focused on the military sector. The traditional framework for the

concept of security did not include environmental problems and was strictly limited to military and political issues.

However, with the growing complexity of the international relations agenda, mainly with the rise of economic and environmental challenges, the studies (BUZAN, WAEVER AND DE WILDE, 1998) started to consider other areas (or sectors) with potential necessity of rules to avoid misunderstandings in the international system.

Thus, the security concept has expended from exclusively military onto political, economic, societal and environmental sectors. Moreover, the altered security concept opened to consider referent objects other than the state, as for example individuals, social groups and humanity as a whole.

Nevertheless, the moment one leaves the idea of the concept of security only to certain referent objects (such as the state) and to certain kind of security threats (such as military), a question "what quality makes something a security issue" (BUZAN, WEAVER AND DE WILDE, 1998, p.21) arrives at the very center of controversy. Without distinctive criteria which separate a security issue from non-security issue, the concept of security is trivial and leaves only confusion behind.

Trying to solve this issue Buzan postulated that security is about survival or, in the same way, it is when an issue, presented as posing an existential threat to a designated referent object, justifies the use of extraordinary measures to handle them (BUZAN, WAEVER AND DE WILDE, 1998)

The analysis of securitization processes has so far proceeded on the basis of an assumption that it is useful to distinguish between various sectors. In the original formulation by Buzan, Waever and De Wilde (1998) these sectors were taken to be the political, the economic, the military, the societal and the environmental sectors, it was postulated that:

> Sectors serve to disaggregate a whole for purposes of analysis by selecting some of its distinctive patterns of interactions. But items identified by sectors lack the quality of independent existence […] Sectors might identify distinctive patterns, but they remain inseparable parts of complex wholes. The purpose of selecting them is simply to reduce complexity to facilitate analysis (Buzan, Waever and De Wilde,1998, p. 8).

Sectors are thus seen as analytical devices that are used to shed light on the diverse practices and dynamics of securitization. Why in the context of security analysis the sectors chosen are military, environmental, economic, societal and

political? The scholars answered this question explaining in empirical terms that 'the principal sectors that define the attempt to construct a broader agenda for international security studies" (Buzan, Waever and De Wilde, 1998, p. 19).

In other words, sectors were identified simply from the existing usages in the discourses of security. In Buzan and Litle (2000) highlighted the same sectors as those mentioned above, however identifying not as the 'principal sectors'; instead, they are described as 'commonly used' in 'analyses of the social. In this evolution of the concepts, sectors become to be considered more as "lenses" that sometimes represents more or less and specific issue.

The five most commonly used sectors in security analysis and international relations have been described:

> The *military sector* is about relationships of forceful coercion, and the ability of actors to fight wars with each other [...]
> The *political sector* is about relationships of authority, governing status and recognition [...] Some might wish to differentiate a *legal sector* from the political one....
> The *economic sector* is about relationships of trade, production and finance [...]
> The *societal* or *socio-cultural sector* is about the sustainability of collective identities [...]
> The *environmental sector* is about the relationship between human activity and the planetary biosphere as the essential support system on which all other human enterprises depend (BUZAN AND LITTLE, 2000, p. 73 - 74).

It has been argued that if there are more or less sectors, depending on the interaction of these five established sectors. For example, in a communication/systems-based view of functional differentiation it is fairly well distinguish with political and economic sectors, and possibly indirectly in relation to the military sector, but not in relation to the environmental and the societal sectors (ALBERT and BUZAN, 2011).

> Since the discourses within the political sector necessarily reflect the wider structure of international society, one begins to see a pattern of linkage between, on the one hand, the changing balance of sectors in the securitization processes within contemporary international society and, on the other, the complex and changing structure of differentiation in the international system as a whole. (ALBERT and BUZAN, 2011, p. 423)

The emergence of security agendas, as economic, environmental and societal can then express and contribute to the increasing importance of functional differentiation *within* the political system. No single sector examined will be able to

provide a complete international security analysis The Agents (not necessarily including state, can be the human) construct the security agendas and issues.

Therefore, each area has a logic owned with rules, actors, codes and speeches to deal with its specific reference objects that have threatened security negotiated between actor and audience, which the next section presents.

1.2.9 Negotiation between securitization actor and audience

The concept of securitization proposed by the CS Securitization is *"essentially inter-subjective process"* (BUZAN, WAEVER AND DE WILDE, 1998). It is the course of the ongoing negotiations between securitizing actor, who puts the issue on the agenda, and the audience, who has a choice of either accepting or declining given agenda. Securitization cannot be imposed.

For the CS, security depends of the constant relationship between actor and audience. Thus, an issue is securitized when an audience accepts it as such. A successful securitization is decided by the audience of the speech act; it is they who must accept that something is an existential threat to a shared value (BUZAN, WAEVER AND DE WILDE, 1998).

Only the audience's consent justifies the application of extraordinary measures, which include breaching of regular political procedures, all in order to neutralize the threat. "Thus, security (as well all politics) ultimately rests neither with objects nor with subjects but among the subjects" (BUZAN, WAEVER AND DE WILDE, 1998, p. 31)

1.2.10 Securitization as a speech act

For the securitization theory, the CS has advanced the argument that security is ultimately an outcome of a special social process or "speech act" rather than an objective condition. Because of that, CS adopted the discourse analysis as a methodology to analyze the securitization process. For Buzan, Waever and Wilde (1998), securitization is a "*speech act".*

Security does not refer to a physical object; security is an idea that involves interactions between individuals through discourse that an act is to be considered. By saying the word *security*, a state representative refers to an event in a specific area

that demands a special right to use any means that may be necessary to avoid the event (BUZAN, WAEVER and WILD 1998).

According to Buzan; Waever and Wilde (1998), the concept of speech act originated in linguistics areas was presented to analyze the communicative process through which an issue is transposed to security sphere. Speech is a form of action and, consequently, carries consequences. Based on the constructivist and/or post-structuralist literature, it is important to think about the concept of security socially constructed in a discourse.

The CS argues that the meaning of security in contemporary global politics is ultimately constructed through the speeches and representations made by relevant political actor. Security as a speech act involves the capability of convincing others of the validity of such a position in a process of securitization.

1.3 Human Security and Environmental Security

This subsection presents the Human Security and Environmental Security that are extend of security studies issues and important for the object of this work: the respond of climate change for the SIDS. The first part of this subsection part describes the Securitization Sectors, the second the human as reference object, the third the threats to humanity, the fourth the environment as an object of reference, the fifth the "waves" or "generations" of environment security studies and the sixth the relation between human security and environmental security.

1.3.1 The Securitization Sectors

The five securitization sectors (that were presented in this thesis before): military, economic, political, societal and environmental BUZAN, WAEVER AND WILDE (1998)   are a useful category of analyze to understand each process. For this thesis, the environmental sector is the most important and will be explored in this topic.

According to Buzan, Waever and Wilde (1998) the environmental sector has two different agenda: the scientific and the political. The first one is considered mainly by actions of natural scientists (academics) and nongovernment activity. The second

is essentially governmental and intergovernmental and include the public decision-making process and public policies on how to deal with environmental concern.

Security in the (international) political aspect is comprehend as the capability of the State in defending citizens, its sovereignty, its territory and its resources. In other words, security consists of minimizing the threat or the ability to cope with it. The political agenda reflects the degree of politicization and securitization and could be evaluated by communication in media as well as by the influence on programs of short events. Whether specific threats to the environmental are real or not is not critical for the political agenda, but the speculation if in fact the threat presume urgency, as the majority of the political issue. BUZAN, WAEVER AND WILDE (1998)

According to Buzan, Waever and Wilde (1998) concepts as resource scarcity and sustainability have successfully mobilized public concern. When considered by governments, this concern is often politicized. However, they usually constitute sub-agenda within the larger political context.

The environmental sector has a wide variety of issues. The literature and international agenda includes numerous deals that are also study in other sectors. Buzan, Waever and Wilde (1998) presents the following issues (object) as belonging to environment:

1) *Disruption of ecosystems:* included climate change, loss of biodiversity, deforestation, desertification and pollution;

2) *Energy problems:* natural resources and disaster (nuclear, oil transportation, chemical industries).

3) *Population problems:* consumption, epidemics and poor health conditional, migrations, urbanization;

4) *Food Problems:* include poverty, famines, overconsumption, loss of fertilely;

5) *Economic Problems:* protection of unsustainable production modes, societal instability and inequity;

6) *Civil strife* includes war – related environmental damage on the hand and violence related to environmental degradation on the other.

The environment is the object of reference of environmental security. The main intention of this sector, as an essential support system, is concern to the maintenance of the local and the planetary biosphere and of course with all human issue dependent of biosphere. The human as a reference object are explained in the next section.

1.3.2 The human as reference object

At the end of the Cold War security was rethought in numerous ways as showed in this thesis on the sections before. To deal with complex humanitarian emergencies, refers to the security of people not only sates, the aspirations to a liberal order where economic progress and human rights were combined (FLOYD and MATTHEW, 2013).

In 1994, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) encapsulated the new agenda in a discussion of human security. The central idea of human life is the referent object that has major implications for almost all aspects of thinking and acting on security which had for decades been built around the primacy of the state. (FLOYD and MATTHEW, 2013).

According to MCDONALD (2002) Human Security is that the elevation of issues of human rights, economic inequality and environmental change, to be priority and maximize the potential of those issues to the policymakers. Human Security proponents have focused on the protection of quality-of-life that has vulnerable and rapid degradations.

The human security concept, accordingly, to UNDP (1994) was primarily viewed as security of a territory from external aggression, the protection of national interests in foreign policy, or as international security meaning when all countries perceive the same threat, e.g., a nuclear risk. This concept relates more to nation-states than to people.

The concept of human security had, at least, four essential characteristics. First, it is a universal concern relevant to people everywhere. Second, the components of security are interdependent. Third, human security is an easier to ensure through early prevention. Fourth, the crucial innovation is the referent object of security from states to people (FLOYD and MATTHEW, 2013).

> Human Security can be seen to be central to questions of humanitarianism in the international system, providing a conceptualization of security which allows for issues such as humanitarian intervention, human rights, refugee movements, structural economic inequality, and environmental change to be included in a new security rubric. Further, the issues that Human Security seeks to address, and the potential for `"progressive" ideas to be included within the practice of security, makes an analysis of its applicability to contemporary political practice particularly relevant. (MCDONALD, 2002, p. 2)

Human security is the idea that the individual is at the receiving end of all security concerns. If the referent object of human security is collectives, then the job it is trying to do is better done by societal or identity security

1.3.3 Threats to humanity

The concept of human security, presented in the UNDP Report of 1994, states that the international system should protect both national sovereignty and individual rights and, therefore, the concept of security should be reformed. In this way, human security is a universal concern and is relevant to all people over the world, whether they live in rich or poor countries, and many threats are common to all, such as drugs, crime, pollution, and violations of human rights. The intensity may differ from one part of the world to another, but the threats to human security are been perceived and growing (FLOYD and MATTHEW, 2013).

Human Security has been viewed as a potential response to the growing insecurity of security: a situation where in the continued prioritization of military concerns at the state level in traditional discourses and practices of security has served to further individual insecurity and failed to respond adequately to the most pressing threats to individuals throughout the world (MCDONALD, 2002).

The UNDP (1994) sought to provide a redefinition of security in which concerns or threats at the individual level were institutionalized in the practice of security. It sought then to move beyond traditional and conceptions and practices of security (MCDONALD, 2002).

According to the UNDP (1994), It is people-centred and is concerned with how human beings live in society and whether they live in conflict or in peace. It is less costly to protect human security by early preventative measures than by later intervention: "*the list of threats to human security is long, but most can be considered under seven main categories"* as the Table 2 bellow.

Table 2: List of Threats to Human Security

CATEGORIES:	COMPONENTS:
1) Economic security	● Poverty ● Vulnerability to global economic change
2) Food security:	● Hunger and famine ● Vulnerability to extreme climate events ● Agricultural changes;
3) Health security	● Injury and disease ● Vulnerability to disease ● Infection
4) Environmental security:	● Resource depletion ● Vulnerability to pollution ● Environmental degradation
5) Personal security:	● Violence ● Vulnerability to conflicts ● Natural hazards ● "Creeping" disasters
6) Community security:	● Violations of the integrity of cultures ● Vulnerability to cultural globalization
7) Political security:	● Political repression ● Vulnerability to conflicts and warfare

Source: Created by the author extracted from UNDP Human Development Report (1994)

Human security is focused in order to protect and improve human freedoms in threatening situations. There must be willingness and the ability to maintain security and stability in the integration of political, social, environmental, economic, military, and cultural systems (Liotta and Owen, 2006). Human security is a perspective on the study of how to approach threats to the survival of societies, groups, and individuals (MCDONALD, 2002). According to Liotta and Owen (2006), p. 46:

> […] vulnerability may not even be recognized or understood—which can be maddeningly frustrating for decision makers. When it is recognized, a vulnerability often remains only an indicator, often not clearly identifiable, often linked to a complex interdependence among related issues, and not always suggesting a correct or even adequate response. While disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, criminality, narco-trafficking, political repression, and environmental hazards are at least somewhat related issues and do impact security of states and individuals, the best response to these related issues, in terms of security, is not at all clear. Further, a vulnerability—unlike a threat—is not clearly perceived, often not well understood, and almost always a source of contention among conflicting views. Compounding the problem, the time element in the perception of vulnerability must be recognized. Some suggest that the core identity in a security response to issues involving human or environmental security is that of recognizing a condition of extreme vulnerability. Extreme vulnerability can arise from living under conditions of severe economic deprivation, to victims of natural disasters, and to those who are caught in the midst of war and internal conflicts. […] (Liotta and Owen, 2006, p. 46)

The human security issues involve the protection of individuals at risk due to certain threats, among which are environmental issues that could put their human lives at risk, as the rise of sea level for SIDS population. According to MCDONALD (2005) Human Security tried to respond the growing insecurity of security: the priority used to be the military concerns at the state level in traditional discourses and practices of security has served to further individual insecurity and failed to respond adequately to the most pressing threats to individuals throughout the world.

An implicit assumption of Human Security is that the elevation of issues of human rights, economic inequality and environmental change, for example, put new issues to the security and maximize the potential for such issues to be addressed meaningfully by policy makers. In Human Security discourse, the UNDP sought to provide a redefinition of security in which concerns or threats at the individual level were institutionalized in the practice of security MCDONALD (2005). So, as part of the Human Security, the next section will present the concept of Environmental Security.

1.3.4 The environment as an object of reference

Buzan, Waever & Wild (1998) present five sectors of Security: Political, Military, Economic, Societal, and Environmental as was presented in the section before. The last one will be the focus of this section. According to those authors, from the possible of ecological threats, global warming affects human life and becomes the environmental sector with more attention in the last years.

According to Busby (2018) to understand global warming as a risk:

[…] there is one threat that is as likely as any of these to define this century: climate change. The disruption to the earth's climate will ultimately command more attention and resources and have a greater influence on the global economy and international relations than other forces visible in the world today. Climate change will cease to be a faraway threat and become one whose effects require immediate action. The atmospheric concentration of carbon dioxide, the main greenhouse gas, now exceeds 410 parts per million, the highest level in 800,000years. Global average surface temperatures are 1.2 degrees Celsius higher than they were before the Industrial Revolution. The consensus scientific estimate is that the maximum temperature increase that will avoid dangerous climate change is two degrees Celsius. Humanity still has around 20 years before stopping short of that threshold will become essentially impossible, but most plausible projections show that the world will exceed it. Two degrees of warming is still something of an arbitrary level; there is no guarantee of the precise effects of any temperature change. But there is a huge difference between two degrees of warming and two and a half, three, or four degrees. Failing to rein in global emissions will lead to unpleasant surprises. As temperatures rise, the distribution of climate phenomena will shift. Floods that used to happen once in a 100years will occur every 50 or every 20. The tail risks will become more extreme, making events such as the 50 inches of rain that fell in 24 hours in Hawaii earlier this year more common. Making climate change all the more frightening are its effects on geopolitics. New weather patterns will trigger social and economic upheaval. Rising seas, dying farmlands, and ever more powerful storms and floods will render some countries uninhabitable. These changes will test the international system in new and unpredictable ways. […] (BUSBY, p. 1, 2018)

The initiatives that should be taken on the environmental sectors depend on the economic and political security sectors as well. They are not for only individual State, they affect international and national security, separately and together, to deal with the security priorities.

It was argued that this cannot be understood without the context of the end of the Cold War and without recognizing the status of environmental issues during that time. The end of the Cold War was the more important of the two. Not only did it provide a window of opportunity for those with a long-standing interest in environmental security issues, but the end of the Cold War itself meant that national security institutions were looking for new missions to justify their continuous existence at a time of dwindling budgets. Environmental security was one such mission (FLOYD, 2010).

To consider environment as an issue of security for International Relations purposes, according to McDonald (2005), the central question is to evaluate the socially constructed character of international security. For an environmental issue becomes a case of security, it would be politically relevant and perceived by people as a threat, a risk and a security problem.

1.3.5 The "waves" or "generations" of environment security studies

McDonald (2005) classifies studies on environmental security in "waves". According to McDonald (2011) the "First Wave[4] or generation of Environmental Security Analysis" proponents the use of environmental change to described fundamental redefinition of security. The author argues as limited considering the conceptualization and practices of traditional security studies. In this case, the environmental issues need to be interpreted as threatening the survival of human to become item on the security agenda. The idea is more related with "low politics".

Another way to understand the idea of Environmental Security is when an environmental problem leads to violent armed conflicts between states. This was an argument used to understand the issue as the "Second Wave or generation of Environmental Security Analysis" discussed by McDonald (2005), which systematizes a vast literature in this field.

According to McDonald (2011) the second "wave" or "generation "of environment security analysts sought to locate the Environmental Security relationship in a language and context closer to the traditionalists in International Relations Theory's as Realism. The idea to preserve the territory of a State could be linked with environment when the conflict occurs from contestation over a trans-boundary resource - as water wars, for example – to environmental degradation leading to economic hardship, and in turn to internal conflict or refugees destabilizing neighboring states.

There are several authors, as Carsten (1997) for example, that, based on the methodological databases analysis, present the causal relationship between conflicts and the environment. The second wave according to McDonald (2011) kept the key assumptions of traditional accounts of security intact even in calling for a recognition of winder range factors that could contribute to insecurity – the protection of the state from organized violence). The conflict is about resource access rather than environmental change for the second wave.

The relationship between climate change and conflict appeared for the first time in the Security Council in 2007. Because of new cases started to appear as: Darfur in the Sudan that war related with environmental change, conflict, underdevelopment and social unrest of the perfect storm (MCDONALD, 2011).

---

[4] Levy (1995) uses the term "wave" and Ronnfeldt (1997) use the term "generations" to refer to similar grouping of scholarsand arguments.

This is, for example, as environmental changes a change of position. As the focus of this work is how the SIDS respond to the securitization of climate change, the meaning of the threat (climate change) and the risk perception are necessary to understand the issue (MCDONALD, 2005). The action that the countries should do to adapt or mitigate climate change is social constructed based on the understanding of the threat. In this case, there is not yet a conflict for climate change (as considered on the second "wave"). So, climate change is more like to be considered as stated by the First Wave of Environmental Security Analysis than the Second one.

In spite of the differences, the first "wave" and the second "wave" theorists analyzed the relationship between environmental change and security issue. Recognizing who or what is need of being secured, from what types of threat and by what means. As a site of contestation and negotiation, security is understood in different ways, in different contexts, by different political communities, at different times, prioritizing the needs of those most at risk from the manifestations of global environmental change (MCDONALD, 2011).

The next topic describes the relation between human security and environmental security.

1.3.6 The relation between human security and environmental security

Matthew et al. (2010) presents the *Global Environmental Change and Human Security* project (GECHS), the analysis of human security and the global environmental change literature. The consequences of the environmental changes on agriculture, forestry and rural land use, and the immediate hazards as results of storms, floods, droughts and wild fires apparently will threaten the human security of people in many places in coming decades.

McDonald (2005) states that because there is no common understanding of security among academics, we should try to answer the following key security questions: *"security for whom; from which threats; and by what means?"*

For the National Security, the object of reference is states that could be organized in International Regimes, the value at risk is the sovereignty, integrity and territory; the origins of threat are the other states and sub-state actors, the form of threat are military attacks. A 'national security' issue is any trend or event that (1) threatens the very survival

of the nation; and/or (2) threatens to drastically reduce the welfare of the nation in a fashion that requires a centrally coordinated national mobilization of resources to mitigate or reverse (GOLDSTONE, 1996, p. 66).

On the other hand, for Human Security the object of reference is the individuals (humanity), the value at risk is the survival and quality of life. The origin of threat is the globalization and environmental changes. The form of threat is crime and underdevelopment. For Environmental Security the object of reference is the Ecosystem (species), the value of risk is the sustainability, the origins of threat is the humanity, (because of the human intervention in the nature), the form of threat is the pollution and global warming.

The characteristics human security and environmental security are synthesized in Table 3 below, as national security as well.

Table 3: National, Human and Environmental Security

Category	Object of Reference	Values at Risk	Origins of Threat	Forms of Threat
National Security	States (regimes)	Sovereignty; Integrity; Territory	Other states sub-state actors	Military attacks
Human Security	Individuals (humanity)	Survival; Quality of Life	Globalization; Environmental changes	Crime; Underdevelopment
Environmental Security	Ecosystem (species)	Sustainability	Humanity	Pollution; Global warming; Destruction of natural habitats

Source: Moller (2005)

According to McDonald (2005) the questions (*"security for whom; from which threats; and by what means?"*) would be more consistent if we understood what type of security we are approaching or conceptualizing when we consider environmental changes issues. Thus, you might think of global climate change as a matter of a socially constructed international security due to the nature of the threat to human life, the ecosystem, and the international system. This is the case of SIDS for example.

When environmental issues compromise the survival of humanity it becomes a security issue and will be included in the security agenda. The threat for the international system could be the forced migrations because of an environmental issue, like climate change:

> The seasons are changing. Dry spells are occurring when meteorologists would normally expect rain. Lack of rain increases the risk of forest fires, such as those that occurred in California last year. When it does rain, too often it is all at once, as happened in Houston during Hurricane Harvey. As sea levels rise and storm surges get stronger, what were once normal high-tide events will flood coastal infrastructure, as has already happened in Miami in recent years, necessitating the installation of storm water pumping systems at the cost of hundreds of millions of dollars. (Busby, p.2, 2018)

The theme becomes part of the agenda not only because of the nature of the problem, but also because of the perception of this nature by relevant actors. Given the catastrophic impact that environmental changes could take to international society, the security issues are then perceived as a threat to the international system. (CARSTEN, 1997)

In the context of this work, the global warming (threat) as consequence of humanity action (pollution and emission of carbon dioxide) contributes to sea level rising, compromising not only the sustainability of species but also the quality of life or even the survival of individuals. Thus, it is clear that in this example the environmental and human becomes a security issue.

Moreover, in the example cited above, as consequences of the sea level rise (an environmental change) parts or even all the territory of SIDS could be in the risk of disappear leading to the necessity of migrant movement (i.e. international security). Threaten the territory (not by conflict or military attack) it would be also considered as national security. However, this idea is less considered in the literature.

> By the middle of the century, the oceans may well have risen enough that salt water will destroy farmland and contaminate drinking water in many low-lying island nations, making them uninhabitable long before they are actually submerged. The evidence on the effects of climate change on tropic tropical cyclones and hurricanes is murkier, but it suggests that although there may be fewer such storms, those that do occur are likely to be worse.

In this context, it is possible to see how a global politics could be change for an international security issue. The reasoning behind this normative argument to considerer an issue as environmental security, human security, national security and international

security, is to recognize and enhance the environment as a global matter that needs "high politics" regarding security. If so, environment issue would receive more political attention, international funding from the agencies, and be considered a priority, given that it is a question with potential urgency that requires an effective solution.

Liotta and Owen (2006) alerts that climate change could be one of the plausible "creeping vulnerability" scenarios of human security. For the authors:

> […] emerging vulnerabilities will not mitigate or replace more traditional hard security dilemmas. Rather, we will see the continued reality of threat-based conditions contend with the rise of various vulnerability-based urgencies. Creeping vulnerabilities, nonetheless, may likely receive the least attention from policymakers, as their interdependent complexities grow increasingly difficult to address over time […] (Liotta and Owen, p.47, 2006)

Hough (2014) affirms that the clearest case of how environmental change can become an issue of human security is the threat of climate change. Because of the consequences of global warming could affect the human life in various forms. Natural disasters are often caused by human – induced. And the human insecurity emanating from environmental change also comes in the form of natural disasters. Human vulnerability to natural risks has increased in recent years in the population of global south. Other issues of environmental change have come to be framed in anthropocentric or human security terms.

This chapter presented the extension of the concept of security in International Relations, from the military issues to the Copenhagen school after the Cold War and described the Theory of Securitization including the Human and Environmental Security.

The next chapter explores the securitization of climate change as the object of study of this thesis and a case of expansion of security issues (that affect human security and environmental security).

2   THE POSSIBILITY OF SECURITIZATION OF CLIMATE CHANGE

In this Chapter, it will be analyzed the securitization process of climate change. It is organized in five sections: 1) The threat and risk of climate change for international society: concepts and consequences (focusing on sea level); 2) The historical presence of climate change impacts in international panels; 3) The elements of climate change securitization and how the IPCC could be considered as a securitizer agent of climate change; 4) The United Nations Security Council discuss the issue of climate change, as an another point of the securitization of climate change; 5) The climate change discourses by the IPCC.

2.1 The threat and risk of climate change for the international society

Scientists from the IPCC believe that global warming[5] can change Earth's climate, contributing to the intensification of some natural phenomena, such as: droughts; sea level rise; glaciers melt; changes in rainfall patterns, resulting in major flooding in several regions of the planet; and increased occurrence of hurricanes, cyclones, and typhoons. This information was taken from part of a speech act presented by the IPCC, which, apart from alluding to the existence of those events as physical phenomena, presented an idea through discourse on threats that certain environmental disasters can be intensified. (IPCC, 2014b)

The concept of "environmental risk" is defined here as the probability that a vulnerability event is either expected or not to become a reality in the environment. It also means the idea that something can occur because it is configured as a danger. The risk is a warning that a catastrophe, disaster, threat, or impact may occur if preventive measures are not taken (DAGNINO & CARPENTER, 2007). From environmental risk point of view, according to the IPCC, these facts do not affect the overall population in the same way or in the same degree, but do cause extreme weather events, may initially threaten vulnerable populations and, ultimately, may threaten the survival of humanity itself.

---

[5] Global warming is defined by the IPCC as a global temperature increase that has been observed in the last 150 years due to the increase of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere.

During the 1980s, environment had an increased presence in various discussions, forums, and international conferences, such as Rio 92, and it was treated as a priority issue by many countries and on several international organizations' agendas. From this understanding, some countries have participated in the discussions and in the establishment of international standards for environmental preservation. However, in seeking to adopt collective measures, a consensus is not always possible.

Climate change is an issue that is part of a series of international negotiations. The history of the International Regime on Climate Change (RIMC) began in 1988 under the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), which, along with the World Meteorological Organization (WMO), created the IPCC. This panel is a body that brings together scientists from around the world to provide an analysis, through research and assessments of the state of climate change in the world and its environmental and socioeconomic impacts, fully observing the phenomenon and enabling the panel to publicize reports regarding its findings.

In 1990 the IPCC concluded, based on the analysis of a set of data, that emissions of greenhouse gases (GHGs) into the atmosphere increased as a result of uncontrolled human activities, identified as the driving force of climate change (IPCC, 1990a).

The current climate change problems stem from past emissions mainly by developed countries. Significant emissions of greenhouse gases are a product of developed countries that historically, since the Industrial Revolution, have been undergoing technological and industrial advances (IPCC, 2014b).

Regarding to global warming, the IPCC (2014b) reported an increase in globally averaged combined land and ocean surface that the temperature anomaly from -0,8ºC to 0,2º C between 1910 to 2010 as showed in Figure 3 below.

Figure 3 - Globally averaged combined land and ocean surface temperature anomaly
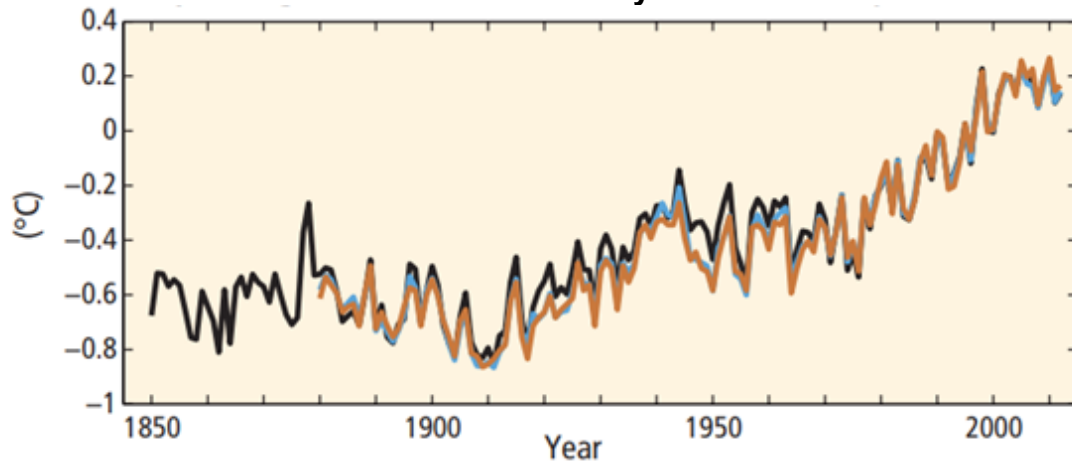
In this sense, as a result of global warming, the glaciers in Antarctica and Greenland could melt, and this would raise the sea level, which, in turn, would threaten the SIDS´ territory. In Figure 4 it is possible to see that from 1900 to 2010 the globally averaged sea level change increases from − 0.15metros (m) to 0.05m, affecting the land of islands which have only few centimeters above the sea level.

Figure 4 - Globally averaged sea level change
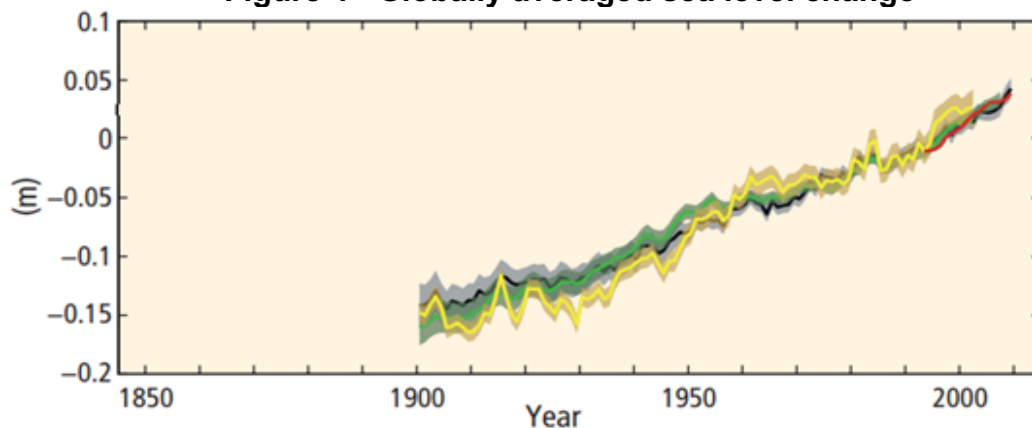
These climate changes could also cause an increase in rainfall, causing floods, the displacement of vulnerable populations, and other effects primarily observed on Islands. In Figure 5 it is possible to see the perceptual of countries land area that are

5m above sea level. Between the SIDS, Tuvalu and Maldives are the countries with total land area within 5m above sea level (100% of the country territory).

Figure 5 - Share of land area within 5m above sea level

COUNTRY	% OF LAND AREA WITHIN 5M ABOVE SEA LEVEL
Maldives, Tuvalu	100%
Marshall Islands	99%
Kiribati	96%
Cook Islands	88%
Average	26%
Haiti	4%
Suriname, Timor-Leste, Guyana	3%
Papua New Guinea	2%

Source: UN-OHRLLS (2015, p.21).

Figure 6 shows the percentage of countries' population living in those islands with 5m of sea level rise. The main consequence of this issue, considering the international perspective, is the improvement of migration, and in that case as urgency. We can observe that Tuvalu population is the main country, between the SIDS group, that could have the necessity to migrate (100%) in case of sea level rise above 5m. Moreover, it is also possible to see in Figure 6, the greater impact of this issue for other islands, like Marshall Islands, Kiribati and Suriname, respectively with 99%, 95% and 68% of the population living 5m above sea level.

In the islands as Papua New Guinea, for example, with low percentage of population in this situation, although climate change is a hazard, they are not in the zone of risk to move to another country, because it is possible to have local strategies to mobilized population inside their own land.

Figure 6 - Highest and lowest share of population living 5m above sea level

COUNTRY	% OF POPULATION LIVING WITHIN 5M ABOVE SEA LEVEL
Maldives, Tuvalu	100%
Marshall Islands	99%
Kiribati	95%
Suriname	68%
Average	**29%**
Mauritius	6%
Haiti	5%
Timor-Leste	4%
Dominican Republic	3%
Papua New Guinea	2%

Source: UN-OHRLLS (2015, p. 21).

Those countries showed in Figure 5 and 6 are part of SIDS group. In regard to the perceptual of global Greenhouse Gas Emission (GGE) they are not one of the main countries contributing to climate change, because they have lower level of development and industry production implying in lower potential of atmosphere pollution. The paradigm is that although they do not have important responsibility for the global climate change, they do have important issues. Thus, SIDS is the majority of countries that could suffer more with the global warming, especially considering that the more the sea level rise the more they have change to disappear. This issue has been more discussed in different levels (international, regional and local) and by scholars like ADGER (2001) as one of climate change fundament, namely climate justice.

This work analyzes that SIDS are not only the audience for the consequences of climate change alerted by the securitizer actor as IPCC, but they could be activist securitizer actor as well. As securitizer actor, the challenge is to convince the international society the injustice related to climate change. In other words, they have to convince that development countries that have been polluted and contributed more for the phenomenon of climate change, do it as a consequence of the great economic activity and in favor of the constant development, to maintain the position as power nation. On the other hand, SIDS are suffering the consequences of climate change

with impact in their economic potential and consequently in their decision-making power in international forums.

Faced with this information, developing countries accepted the warnings presented by the IPCC and begun to address the issue of climate change from the perspective that SIDS are the biggest "victims" of global warming. As a result, SIDS have blamed developed countries for the threats posed by the climate change. (CENAMO, 2004).

2.2 The historical of climate change impacts in international panels

As part of the organizational structure of the International Regime of Climate Change, there is the Conference of the Parties (COPs), which are annual meetings of the countries that are signatories to the International Regime on Climate Change. These meeting aim to discuss policies related to the implementation of the Climate Convention, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), which came into force in 1994. In COPs, "party" is considered as "country" and the COP constitutes the supreme body of the Climate Convention. As defined in Article 4 of UNFCCC:

> All Parties, taking into account their common but differentiated responsibilities and their specific national and regional development priorities, objectives and circumstances, shall: develop, periodically update, publish and make available to the Conference of the Parties national inventories of anthropogenic emissions sources and removals by sinks of all greenhouse gases not controlled by the Montreal Protocol (UNFCCC, art 4, 1992).

Since COP creation, there was five Conference. A milestone in this process of climate change was the COP 3, held in Kyoto in 1997, which gave rise to an international treaty that aimed to establish the measures that have to be considered by States to protect the atmosphere and, at the same time, strengthen the Regime International Conference on Climate Change (CENAMO, 2004).

Based on this understanding, the Kyoto Protocol established different targets and commitments for the reduction of GHGs to be considered for each group of countries. It was defined that industrialized countries (members of the group called as Annex I) would reduce their emissions by at least in 5% compared to levels emitted in 1990, a commitment that would remain for a period of five years from 2008 to 2012.

After this period, a new agreement was expected to be discussed. The Developing countries, known as the Non-Annex I Group, would not have mandatory GHG reduction targets at this first moment; they could not restrict their conditions to allow economic growth (BREIDENICH et al., 1998). It was considered that the responsibility for the current scenario of the emissions was from the developed countries, which had economic growth and much polluted until that moment.

The Kyoto Protocol is very complex, reflecting complicated political, economic and scientific issues raised by the human induction of climate change. As a result of more than two years of preparatory discussions and 11 days of intensive negotiations, the Protocol was opened for signature in March 1998. After this, it was expected to have the participation of at least 55 parties to the Convention, including Annex I countries. The protocol established that countries (parties) had the compromise of reducing account for 55% of total CO2 emissions, based on 1990 (BREIDENICH et al., 1998).

In contrast, the industrialized countries argued that the greenhouse effect is a global problem caused not only by then but by all nations, and that no solution would be effective without the participation of all countries. They questioned the fact that emissions from developing countries would increase considerably over the years, as they were growing and developing, so they argued that countries belonging to Non-Annex I according to the Kyoto Protocol should also have targets for reductions (CENAMO, 2004). This issue is extremely relevant, as it has scored the main issue generating conflicts in the climate negotiations.

Under these conditions, it is possible to notice a considerable increase of the emissions by the developing countries that surpass the emissions of the developed countries. It was agreed that developing countries could contribute to the International Regime on Climate Change by adhering to sustainable development measures and projects called CDM (Clean Development Mechanisms), by selling the surplus of carbon quotas to developed countries that needed to meet their goal (CENAMO, 2004).

Figure 7 - Global Top 10 Emitters
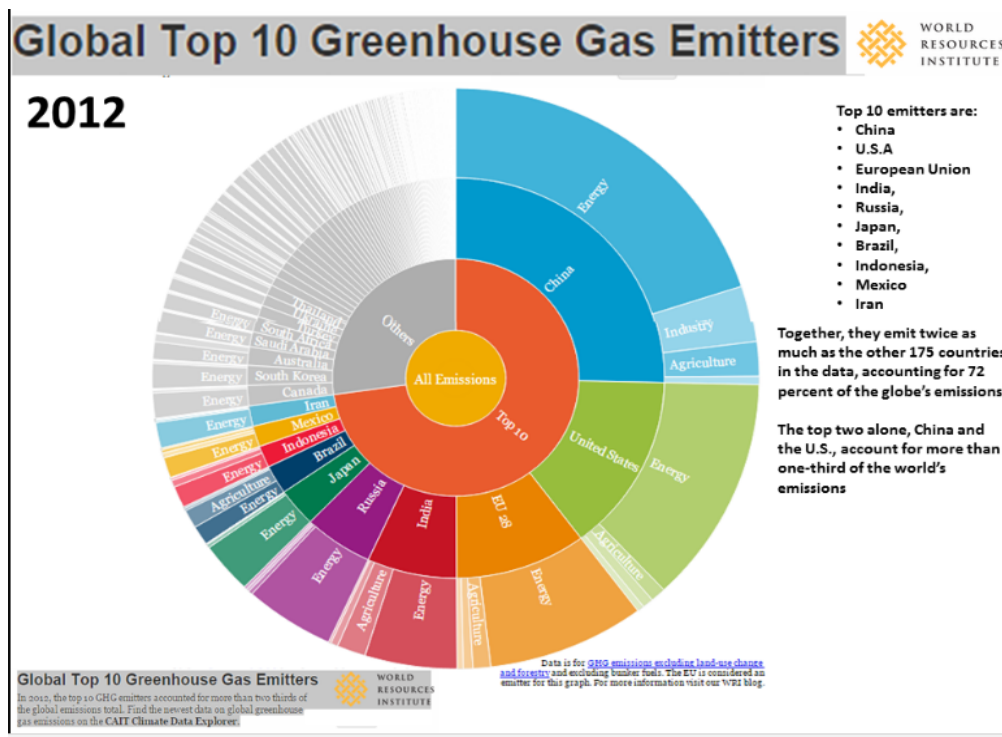
Source: CAIT - CLIMATE ANALYSIS INDICATORS TOOL- (2012)

The evolution of the climate problem has become more urgent in the last 10 years, since China has changed the scenery from that time when the Kyoto Protocol was signed. There are data on the worsening of the problem to better inform the action of the IPCC towards the securitization of the adverse effects of climate change. According to the Climate Analysis Indicator Tool (CAIT, 2012) China overtake Unites States of American (USA) greenhouse gas emissions. In Figure 7 it is possible to see that the Global Top Greenhouse Gas Emitters in 2012 were in order was: China, USA, European Union, India, Russia, Japan, Brazil, Indonesia, Mexico and Iran.

As far as China is concerned, the country has surpassed US emissions. The Chinese economy is carbon intensive because of its energy matrix heavily based on coal and oil. The United States occupies the position of second largest GHG emitter, emitting billion tons of carbon, corresponds the second country of total global emissions.

From this perspective, it is important to note that developing countries are exempted from complying with any binding commitment to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. This is because even if the Annex I countries made efforts to meet their

emission reduction targets, these efforts would not be enough to mitigate the problem of climate change. It is noted that there has been a more than proportional increase in emissions from developing countries. Therefore, since developing countries do not have mandatory GHG reduction targets, even if developed countries are able to meet their commitments, this was not sufficient to ensure the Protocol's effectiveness in view of the significant growth in emissions by developing countries.

After 2012, Post- Kyoto, the countries start to discuss in the COP´s a new agreement. According to Falker (2016) in the conference Paris, the COP 21 brought a ground in international climate policy, changed the twenty years of negotiations focused on establishing mandatory emission reductions.

The Paris Agreement instead, acknowledges the primacy of climate change domestic politics mitigations and managed to remove one of the biggest barriers to international climate cooperation. The Paris Agreement submit heralds the beginning of a new era between to the two biggest greenhouse gas emitters: China and USA, to offer the possibility to have a more durable international cooperation in the international climate politics focusing on the mitigation challenge. (FALKER, 2016)

However, it is important to note that, in addition to the fact that developing countries do not have mandatory targets, some of them that did not have the Global Top 10 emitters; have been considered the more vulnerable to climate change. SIDS are one group of those countries. Their economies are more dependent on climate and water activities such as agriculture, which depends to a large extent on the rainfall regime and the availability of water resources (IPCC, 2014b). With these projections and affirmations for these countries, the climate came to be securitized by the IPCC, as will be discussed in following topics.

Thus, climate change and the impacts on human survival conditions can be considered as a threat, constructed from the identification of a human security problem. It can also be considered as a problem of environmental security, since the securitization discourse shows the effect in ecosystems and species, involves values of risk, like sustainability, and deals with pollution, global warming and the destruction of natural habitats.

2.3 The IPCC as a securitizer actor of the securitization of climate change

The IPCC is an intergovernmental panel and is open to all member countries of the United Nations (UN) and WMO. It currently has 195 states and a secretariat that coordinates and articulates all work with the governments. Governments participate in the process of reviewing reports and in plenary sessions, in which key decisions and IPCC reports are accepted, approved, and adopted. The members of the IPCC and the Bureau, including the President, are elected during the plenary sessions of the body. The IPCC is funded by regular contributions from WMO, UNEP and its member countries. The annual budget is decided by the Panel in its plenary sessions. (IPCC, 2012)

The IPCC is organized into three working groups, which some of its meetings are in the plenary sessions and are assisted by Technical Support Units. Those experts can also be designated to support the chair of the IPCC in the preparation of the Synthesis Reports evaluation. (IPCC, 2012) These reports are prepared every six years from 1990 (First IPCC Report). Groups are organized as described below.

Working Group I deals with "the physical basis of Climate Change". In this way, it assesses the physical aspects of the climate system and climate change. The main topics evaluated are: changes in the concentration of greenhouse gases and aerosols in the atmosphere; observed changes in temperature of land, air and sea; changes in rainfall, glaciers and ice sheets, in the oceans and at sea level; the historical and paleoclimatic perspective on climate change; the carbon cycle, the projections and causes of climate change. (IPCC, 2012)

Working Group II assesses the "impacts of climate change, adaptation and vulnerability". In this way, it analyzes socioeconomic systems, the consequences of climate change and the adaptation options through measures aimed at sustainable development. The information evaluated is considered by sectors that include: water resources, different ecosystems, food security, forests, coastal systems, industry and health. The sectors are also divided by regions: Africa, Asia, Australia and New Zealand, Europe, Latin America, North America, Polar Regions and Small Islands. (IPCC, 2012)

Working Group III (WGIII) assesses options for "mitigating climate change" that can prevent greenhouse gas emissions and focus on alternatives that seek to remove

them from the atmosphere. The main economic sectors are taken into account, both in the short and long term, including energy, transportation, construction, industry, agriculture, forestry and waste management. The WGIII analyze the costs and benefits of different approaches to mitigation, also considering the political instruments and measures of each country. The Task Force on National Greenhouse Gas Inventories (TFI) was established by the IPCC and seeks to develop and improve an internationally accepted methodology with software prepared to calculate and report national greenhouse gas emissions (IPCC, 2013a)

IPCC's work is guided by a set of principles and procedures which, according to the Organization's website, "[are] constantly being revised and updated to ensure that official documents remain transparent and reliable." (IPCC, 2013a)

The IPCC, hosted by the WMO at its headquarters in Geneva, is, according to the definition from their website:

> [...] the main international scientific body for the assessment of climate change. Because of its scientific and intergovernmental nature, the IPCC embodies a unique opportunity to provide rigorous and balanced scientific information to decision makers. By endorsing the IPCC reports, governments acknowledge the authority of their scientific content. The work of the organization is therefore relevant to the neutral policy, never policy prescriptive. Therefore, it evaluates the latest relevant scientific technical and socio-economic information produced worldwide for the understanding of climate change [...] (IPCC, 2013a).[6]

It is understood that the IPCC takes over the theme of climate change as the securitizer actor, because, among its scientific convictions, is the understanding that climate change is a verifiable and observable fact, as well as the understanding that such fact carries, as one of its consequences, a threat to humanity and the life conditions on the planet.

According to the IPCC website:

> [...] The IPCC is currently organized in 3 Working Groups and a Task Force. They are assisted by Technical Support Units (TSUs), which are hosted and financially supported by the government of the developed country Co-Chair of that Working Group/Task Force. A TSU has also been established to support the IPCC Chair in preparing the Synthesis Report for an assessment report. Working Group I deals with "The Physical Science Basis of Climate Change", Working Group II with "Climate Change Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability" and Working Group III with "Mitigation of Climate Change".

---

[6] To see more information :http://www.ipcc.ch/organization/organization.shtml#.UFD7m42PU1M

> Working Groups meet in Plenary session at the level of government representatives. The main objective of the Task Force on National Greenhouse Gas Inventories is to develop and refine a methodology for the calculation and reporting of national greenhouse gas emissions and removals. Besides the Working Groups and Task Force, further Task Groups and Steering Groups may be established for a limited or longer duration to consider a specific topic or question. One example is the Task Group on Data and Scenario Support for Impact and Climate Analysis (TGICA). [...] (IPCC, 2013b). [7]

This study will not judge the reliability of the data, the science, or the processes adopted and/or produced by the IPCC. The idea is to present the political point of view and to discuss the role of the IPCC in the production and dissemination of the information that guide the international climate negotiations to adopt emergency measures for the countries that need to have a solution for those problems. According to the IPCC (2013a), thousands of scientists from around the world are contributing to prepare reports for the IPCC on a voluntary basis and claim that reflect a range of views of the international community.

These reports of scientific and political importance, which have been widely recognized by actors in the international system, provide relevant information and support discussions in the international political arena that warn of the likely impacts of climate change on both humankind and ecosystems. The UN conference negotiators' discussions are based on IPCC data, as well as on various domestic and international policy measures.

A first version of the reports is prepared by a Coordination of the main authors based on available information, whether technical-scientific and/or socioeconomic. IPCC assessments should be supported, as far as possible, in international literature references. In preparing an IPCC report, lead authors should clearly identify their divergent views, for which there should be significant technical and scientific support. Contributing authors may be invited to submit additional material (IPCC, 2012).

The review is an essential part of the process that aims to ensure an objective and complete assessment of the IPCC. In the course of the review process, it passes through experts and officials, who are invited to comment on the integrity and accuracy of drafts, as to the technical-scientific and socio-economic content.

The process of circulation of these preliminary versions between the experts and rulers is extensive, with hundreds of scientists analyzing the same document to

---

[7] See: http://www.ipcc.ch/working_groups/working_groups.shtml

verify the solidity of the scientific information contained in them. Review comments are kept in an open file at the conclusion of a report (IPCC, 2012).

All IPCC reports must be approved by a Working Group and the Panel at a Plenary Session meeting, and the report may be:

1. "Approval" means that the material has been discussed line by line and agreed. This is the process used for the Summary of Reports for Policymakers.

2. "Adoption" is an endorsement process that passes section by section. It is used for synthesis reports, chapters overview and methodology reports.

3. "Acceptance" means that the material has not been subjected to a line by line observation process, or section by section, but nevertheless presents a comprehensive, objective and balanced view of the subject.

The preparation of Evaluation Reports, Special Reports and methodology reports follow the same procedures, which represents the draft received by several scholars in the panels. The IPCC accepts comments if an individual suspected there are an error in a report, trying to prove the transparency of the panel.

There is still no consensus from scientists' predictions regarding changes in rainfall patterns in Small Island Developing States, but experts have noted changes that may affect the availability of water resources in the Pacific Islands. The scientists indicate that sea levels will rise in the range of 0.2 to 0.4 meters in the coming decades, despite the controversy over whether or not these data can be proven, thus pointing to another aspect of a securitization subject. (WORLD WATER ASSESSMENT PROGRAMME 2009).

Thus, climate change, insofar as it can produce a negative impact on the conditions of human survival, can be seen as a threat constructed from the identification of a problem relating to human security. This is in view of the belief established from data on environmental aspects that indicate an imbalance in the ecosystem. It can also be considered a problem related to environmental security, because the securitizer actor indicates that climate change can affect species and ecosystems, involving pollution, global warming, and the destruction of natural habitat.

This trend of considering the impacts of climate change as threats to human survival can be explained by using indicators for possible future scenarios. The planning and strategy for addressing the risks and threats of climate change in the

long-term, such as adopting preventive and adaptive measures in countries like SIDS, can be seen as the acceptance of this discourse regarding security.

Thus, the impacts would threaten not only human life, but the survival of the territory in some states, which also threatens the national security. This is an aspect of the discourse regarding securitization actors as identified, and securitization actors are protagonists of the securitization process.

IPCC uses certain terms to draw attention to the fact that there is an urgent risk, denoting it as a security issue. All of these expressions, even if not direct, imply the word "security" refer to an idea that the problem is real and urgent, that there is a risk to society, and that, to prevent damage, measures should be taken and priority should be given as for an emergency issue. For this study, the IPCC is considered the securitizer actor.

For this work, it will be analyzed the response of SIDS for the securitization of climate change pointed by IPCC. So, it is important to identify if those states adopted exceptional or prevent measures in their politics as a response of the securitization of climate change. Uncertainties about the future existence of SIDS have been seen as security issues and are being urgently addressed in international conferences for the protection of life and to guarantee the conditions of human survival.

The next section will present how the topic of climate change started to be discussed in the United Nation Security Council.

2.4 The United Nations Security Council and Climate Change

One of the indications that the issue has the potential to be securitized is the fact that there have been discussions on the topic at Security Council meetings[8] of the United Nations (UN). The issue of climate change was brought to the Security Council on April 17, 2007[9], to discuss its implications for international peace and security. According to the Foreign Secretary (2007) of the United Kingdom, Margaret Beckett, said: "*climate change referred not to the issue of national security,*" but the "*collective*

---

[8] More information can be found at:
<http://www.unep.org/newscentre/Default.aspx?DocumentID=2646&ArticleID=8817&l=en>
[9] The Security Council recognized other UN agencies (in particular the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change) that will pursue other aspects of climate change (including negotiations on the stabilization of greenhouse gases concentrations in the atmosphere) that are not under the mandate of the Security Council (SOUSA, 2009).

security in a fragile and increasingly interdependent world," thus transforming "*the way the international community thinks about security*".

At this time, it was predicted that sea level rise, by the end of the century, would be between 20 and 60 cm. However, according to the studies by the IPCC, the most likely rise could exceed one meter, due to glaciers melting acceleration. According to IPCC scientists' speech acts, this increase would be significant enough to threaten the existence of most of the coastal towns and small developing countries, such as the islands of the Marshall Islands and Tuvalu (IPCC, 2007b).

On June 21, 2011, the Second Meeting on Climate Change of the Security Council of the United Nations (meeting number 6587) was held, and it was discussed the risks of climate change on food security and global peace. There were divergent opinions on whether or not to treat the issue as a matter of international security (LIPINSKI, 2011).

The most vulnerable countries, like Nauru, the smallest island nation in the world, questioned whether the opinions at the meeting would be different if more nations were being affected by climate change. Nauru President, Marcus Stephen, asked:

> In my frustration, I often wonder where we would be if the roles were reversed. What if the pollution coming from our island nations was threatening the very existence of the major emitters? What would be the nature of today's debate be under those circumstances? But that is not the world that we live in, and this is not a hypothetical exercise for us. Many of our countries face the single greatest security challenge of all, that is, our survival. For that reason, we have come to the Security Council today. (UNITED NATIONS. Security Council Sixty-sixth year 6587th meeting. S/PV.6587 20., 2011, p. 22).

After discussing this issue however, the security council members reached an agreement to incorporate climate change projections into its global report on local issues and suggested member countries to develop a text on the possible implications of climate change on security. The experts also considered that, apart from climate change consequences in the short-term, such as rising of the seas and droughts, there could also be long-term impacts, such as changes in economy as a risk and threat for some countries. Several members defended the idea of climate change security, however on the other hand, the majority did not agree with this idea. For example:

> The representative of the Russian Federation expressed his scepticism about the "repeated attempts" to place the issue of the threat posed by climate change to international peace and security on the Council agenda, which would not

bring any added value and would merely politicize the issue and increase disagreement among countries." (UNITED NATIONS Repertoire of the Practice of the Security Council, Part VII. Chapter VII, 2010-201, p. 462)

However, as a result of this meeting the Council adopted a presidential statement, in which the Council expressed its concern that 1) "possible adverse effects of climate change might, in the long run, aggravate certain existing threats to international peace and security" and 2) "possible security implications of loss of territory of some States caused by sea level rise might arise, in particular in small low-lying island States" (UNITED NATIONS Repertoire of the Practice of the Security Council, Part VII. Chapter VII, p. 463, 2010 -2011).

Thus, the decision was not considered as a security problem. This is the historical point that was considered as a mark to select the documents that will be analyzed in this thesis, as will be observed later. From this definition of the UN, how did SIDS get organized? What speech did they keep?

2.5 The Climate Change Discourse as potential object of analyses

This section will expose how the climate change discourse present in the IPCC Reports should be object of analyses of this work. In order to understand the methodology adopted in this study, it is important to understand why the discourse analysis will be presented in the climate change discourses.

The reports by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) are the key to understand the process of securitization and will be analyzed based on the symbolic power of language.

As can be seen from the data presented by the IPCC and other research entities, although some questioned the scientific reliability of the panel and the non-belief about global warming by others, such questions are important elements for the securitization of the theme. This is because the causal belief built in global warming, which would be triggered by anthropogenic action leading to extreme events such as those already cited, ends up demanding measures aimed at human security. Thus, IPCC reports and studies elements contain information, empirical evidence, and cause and effect connections that directly and indirectly influence decision makers, incorporating such issues set forth in the securitization discourse into their policies. (WORLD WATER ASSESSMENT PROGRAM, 2009).

This is the great challenge of this work. Distinguish what is a belief for a particular society, which in this case is the belief of the global warming and the effects of climate change, and for international society as a whole. Distinguish the securitization actor, which in this case is considered in the figure of the IPCC, and how this actor builds the issue to be treated as a security problem.

To uncover what is between language and speech and what is inserted in social life, the 5th IPCC report will be analyzed, over which will be made a speech analysis to understand the securitization of such question. Subsequently, a discourse analysis will be carried out over the audience, on how the most vulnerable countries, which in this case SIDS will be analyzed, receive IPCC's speech.

This work does not intend to discuss whether the effects of climate change are "real" or whether these effects generate a "real" threat in the sense of having an external and independent existence apart from the understanding that actors construct the phenomenon and its potential threats. The goal is to discuss how this issue has been transformed into an accepted threat, i.e., the process of securitization of the effects of climate change.

Thus, it is sought to understand the securitization of new issues on international agenda, such as environmental issues, specifically the climate change. Scientists, especially those involved with the IPCC, have built a causal connection between climate change and the related consequences by focusing on natural phenomena changes such as: rising oceans, melting glaciers, rain patterns variation and floods in various regions of the planet.

Consequences related to individuals' lives are perceived as threats to current economic conditions. This is a new phenomenon that creates risks and uncertainties in the relations between international system actors. Because it may pose threats to individuals, issues such as ensuring water access, it is perceived the need for protection against extreme weather events such as floods and droughts (IPCC, 2013).

Through the symbolic power of language, the securitizer actor constructs the interpretation of the idea that human life is threatened by the changes caused by climate change in the world. The next chapter will present the object of The Small Island Developing States (SIDS), the regional groups and the alliance of this group of countries.

This chapter proposed to present the securitization of climate change, as a process that has several steps. One can anticipate that the process begins with IPCC reports alerting to the risks and threats of climate change. The second step is that the securitizer content of IPCC speech acts was accepted by various actors in the international system. The need to establish multilateral measures is a third step of the countries to face the problem that could advance or delay the securitization process, in order to cooperate, to reach an agreement that solves the common problem. SIDS are vulnerable with the consequences of climate change, so it will be analyzed on the next chapter.

3   THE SMALL ISLAND DEVELOPING STATES - SIDS

This chapter will present on the first section how the group SIDS as UN group was formed, the geographical regions where they are, the international council and conferences they have been participating and some documents that revealed the environmental challenges of those countries.   The second section will describe the SIDS and the Regional Geographic Groups: The Caribbean Community Climate Change Centre (CCCCC), The Pacific Islands Forum and The Indian Ocean Commission. The third section will develop the topic about SIDS and Climate Change, with the subsection showing how IPCC Reports have been described the climate change and consequences for SIDS. The fourth and last section of this chapter will present the SIDS in the specific International Regime of Climate Change as a group: Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS).

3.1 The international historic context on how SIDS UN group was formed and participation on global sustainable conferences

The Small Island Developing States (SIDS) is a group of 38 UN Member States and 20 Non - UN Members (that could be some Associate Members of Regional Commissions) facing with social, economic and environmental vulnerabilities. Those countries were recognized as a special case for environment and development at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) in 1992 – Rio 92 - on Agenda 21 document, Chapter 17 (UN-OHRLLS, 2015).

The three geographical regions in which SIDS are located are: Caribbean, Pacific, and Atlantic, Indian Ocean and South China Sea (AIMS) as shown in Table 4 and Figure 8.

Table 4 – 38 UN Members and 20 Non UN Members/ Associate Members of Regional Commissions of SIDS

Region	Country
Atlantic, Indian Ocean, Mediterranean and South China Sea (AIMS) **(8 countries)**	1. Cape Verde 2. Comoros 3. Guinea-Bissau 4. Maldives 5. Mauritius 6. Sao Tomé and Principe 7. Seychelles 8. Singapore
Caribbean **(16 countries)**	1. Antigua and Barbuda 2. Bahamas 3. Barbados 4. Belize 5. Cuba 6. Dominica 7. Dominican Republic 8. Grenada 9. Guyana 10. Haiti 11. Jamaica 12. Saint Kitts and Nevis 13. Saint Lucia 14. Saint Vincent and the Grenadines 15. Suriname 16. Trinidad and Tobago
Pacific **(13 countries)**	1. Fiji 2. Kiribati 3. Marshall Islands 4. Micronesia (Federated States of) 5. Nauru 6. Palau 7. Papua New Guinea 8. Samoa 9. Solomon Islands 10. East Timor 11. Tonga 12. Tuvalu 13. Vanuatu
NON-UN MEMBERS/ **ASSOCIATE MEMBERS OF REGIONAL COMMISSIONS** **(20 COUNTRIES)**	1. American Samoa 2. Anguilla 3. Aruba 4. Bermuda 5. British Virgin Islands 6. Cayman Islands 7. Commonwealth of Northern Marianas 8. Curacao 9. Cook Islands 10. French Polynesia 11. Guadeloupe 12. Guam 13. Martinique 14. Montserrat 15. New Caledonia 16. Niue 17. Puerto Rico 18. Saint Maarten 19. Turks and Caicos Islands 20. U.S. Virgin Islands

Source: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2015).

Figure 8 - Small Island Developing States

Small Island Developing States (SIDS)
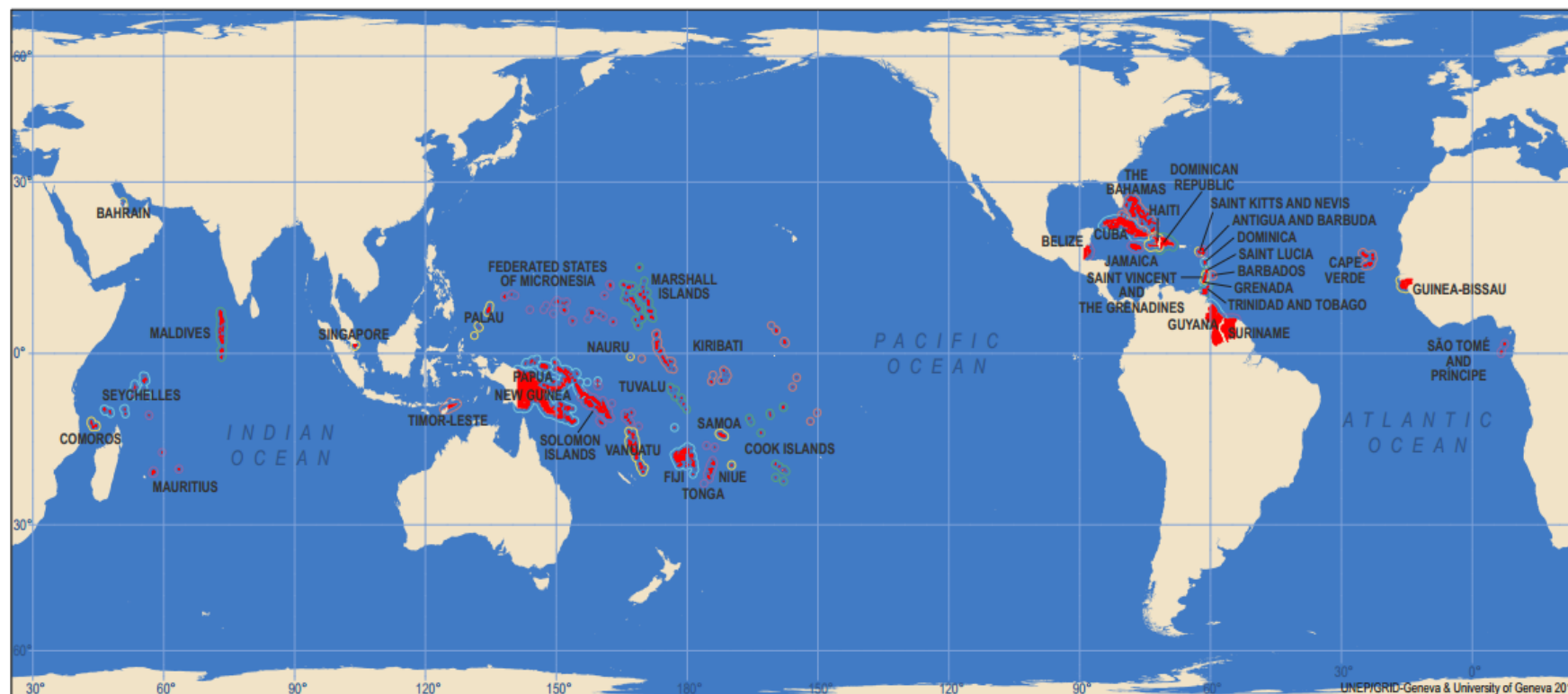
Source: UNITED NATIONS ENVIRONMENT PROGRAMME - UNEP/ G (2014a)

After two years of the Rio 92, from 25 April to 6 May 1994, the UN Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of SIDS occurred in Barbados. It was the first conference that reviewed and translated Agenda 21 into a programme of action in specific policies, actions and measures for a group of countries. (UNESCO, 2018).

In this context, it was adopted the Barbados Programme of Action (BPOA). The BPOA defines the priorities, the cross sectoral areas, as well as the actions and strategies for SIDS. The Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of SIDS Report was written in a document[10] by United Nations General Assembly, A/CONF.167/9, Resolution 47/189. (UN-OHRLLS, 2015).

3.2 The Regional Groups of SIDS

As shown in the last section, SIDS has three regional groups:

1) The Caribbean Community Climate Change Centre (CCCCC);
2) The Pacific Islands Forum;
3) The Indian Ocean Commission

It will be shown in this section how each group of SIDS are organized to deal with the challenges in each region.

3.2.1 The Caribbean Community Climate Change Centre (CCCCC)

The Caribbean Community Climate Change Centre (CCCCC) was created in 2005 in Belize with the World Bank and the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) support.

> The Caribbean Community (CARICOM) is a grouping of twenty countries: fifteen Member States and five Associate Members. It is home to approximately sixteen million citizens, from the main ethnic groups of Indigenous Peoples, Africans, Indians, Europeans, Chinese, Portuguese and Japanese. The Community is multi-lingual; with English as the major language complemented by French and Dutch and variations of these, as well as African and Asian expressions. Stretching from The Bahamas in the north to Suriname and Guyana in South America, CARICOM comprises states that are considered developing countries, and except for Belize, in Central America and Guyana and Suriname in South America, all Members and Associate Members are island states. While these states are all relatively small, both in terms of population and size, there is also great diversity with

---

[10] To see more information: http://www.un.org/esa/dsd/dsd_aofw_sids/sids_pdfs/BPOA.pdf

regards to geography and population as well as the levels of economic and social development (CARICOM, 2018).

The CCCCC is a center of excellence in Central America to coordinate the responses of the region to adapt, make projects with some solutions to the environmental impacts of climate change. In this body all of information, data, guidelines and policies are recognized by the United Nations and other international agencies as a focal point for climate change issues (CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY CLIMATE CHANGE CENTRE, 2018).

> A number of vulnerability and impact assessments, adaptation strategies were conducted, and suggested Climate Change policies were conducted/prepared for eight Member States. The sectors assessed included:
> 1. Tourism – Barbados, Saint Lucia
> 2. Water – Antigua and Barbuda, Belize, Grenada, Jamaica, St. Kitts and Nevis, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines
> 3. Agriculture – Barbados, Belize, Guyana and Suriname
> 4. Fisheries – Jamaica
> 5. Climate Change Policy – Belize and Suriname
> 6. Water Policy – Belize
> (CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY CLIMATE CHANGE CENTRE, 2018)

In October of 2017, CARICOM organized the First Congress for the Environmental Charter and Climatic Change in Caracas, and the Caribbean Community Climate Change Centre prepared a document called "Regional Framework for Achieving Development Resilient to Climate Change". The CARICOM Member States showed the strategic elements and goals to be used as a guide to deal with climate change impacts (CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY CLIMATE CHANGE CENTRE, 2018).

3.2.2 The Pacific Islands Forum

The Pacific Islands Forum was created in 2005, with 18 Associate State Members in 2014: Australia, Cook Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, French Polynesia, Kiribati, Nauru, New Caledonia New Zealand, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Republic of Marshall Islands, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu and Vanuatu (PACIFIC ISLANDS FORUM, 2018).

Although Australia and New Zealand are developed countries, there are a lot of SIDS in this forum:

> As part of its outreach assistance to Members, the Forum Secretariat has desk officers in the Smaller Islands States (SIS) of Cook Islands, Kiribati, the Marshall Islands, Nauru, Niue, Palau, and Tuvalu to complement the resources of its smallest Members. The Forum Secretariat also has a representative based in Solomon Islands and plans to widen representation in other member countries. (PACIFIC ISLANDS FORUM, 2018)

In 2015, the Pacific Islands Forum wrote a document [11] called Pacific Islands Forum the Leaders Declaration on Climate Change Action, as there are the Pacific Small Island Developing States and the pacific islands region is one of the most regions at risk in the world, with some countries categorized as extremely vulnerable[12] by United Nation Environmental Program. The Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environmental Programme (SPREP) has a portal[13] with all the resources, documents, projects and countries profiles (PACIFIC ISLANDS FORUM, 2018).

3.2.3 The Indian Ocean Commission

The Indian Ocean Commission (IOC) was created in 1982 at Port-Louis, Mauritius. Five countries are members of IOC: Union of Comoros, France / Réunion, Madagascar, Mauritius and Seychelles. Since the creation, members decided to focus on four areas: 1) Diplomacy and Political Cooperation; 2) Economy and Trade; 3) Environment and Sustainable Management of natural resources; 4) Human Development. (THE INDIAN OCEAN COMMISSION, 2018).

Those group of the countries work in partnership with the Caribbean and the Pacific Group of States to lead together the Global Climate Change Alliance. Programs work with sharing challenges, technical assistance and dialogue to help solving similar challenges. Those national, regional and international actions to adapt to the impact of climate change are necessary, especially in those countries that the sea level rise impact the loss of the land and the population who may leave their country, as showed in Figure 5 and 6 before.

The main consequences of climate change and respective challenges will be presented in the next topic.

---

[11] See more:
<http://www.forumsec.org/resources/uploads/attachments/documents/Annex1_PIF_Leaders_Declaration_on_Climate_Change_Action,%2010Sept2015.pdf>
[12] See more information: <http://www.vulnerabilityindex.net/>
[13]https://www.pacificclimatechange.net/

3.3 SIDS and Climate Change

Many SIDS are highly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change and sea-level rise. Moreover, scholars have been alerted for a strong possibility of higher risks of more persistent and devastating tropical cyclones in a warmer world. These phenomena comprise small land masses surrounded by ocean, and are frequently located in regions susceptible to natural disasters.

Usually SIDS are mainly in tropical areas, and they host relatively large populations for the area they occupy, with high growth rates and densities. Moreover, many small islands have poorly developed infrastructure and limited natural, human and economic resources (i.e. high vulnerability), and often small island populations are dependent on marine resources to meet their food needs. Most of their economies are based on a limited resource base and are subject to external forces, such as changing terms of trade, economic liberalization, and migration flows. Adaptive capacity to climate change is generally low, though traditionally there has been some resilience in the face of environmental change. (IPCC, AR4, 2009)

External pressures that contribute to the vulnerability of SIDS to climate change include energy costs, population movements, financial and currency crises, international conflicts, and increasing debt. *Internal processes* that create vulnerability include challenges to increase economic growth dependent of natural resources (such as forests, fisheries and beaches) and weak infrastructure to explore these resources. In the human aspect include challenges as rapid population growth, improved income inequality, unemployment, political instability, a growing gap between demand for and provision of health care and education services, weakening social capital, and economic stagnation. These *external* and *internal* processes are related and interact in complex ways to heighten the vulnerability of island social and ecological systems to climate change. (IPCC, AR4, 2009)

Societal changes such as population growth, increased cash economy, migration of people to urban centers and coastal areas, growth of major cities, increasing dependency on imported goods which create waste management problems, and development of modern industries such as tourism have changed traditional lifestyles in many SIDS.

The Figure 9 shows how the climate change affects the economy and the food security for some countries of SIDS. In the majority, the economy of those countries could be affecting many sectors, as per example, sustainable energy, tourism, transport and waste management. As a consequence of climate change, SIDS could have more problems to manage mainly in three regions in the world: 1) Atlantic, Indian Ocean and South China Sea Region; 2) Caribbean Region; and 3) Pacific Region.

Figure 9 - SIDS' Economy and Food Security

	SUSTAINABLE ENERGY, TOURISM, TRANSPORT, AND WASTE MANAGEMENT[a]	FOOD SECURITY[b]
Atlantic, Indian Ocean and South China Sea Region		
Cape Verde	✓ Energy, tourism	
Comoros	✓ Energy	✓
Mauritius	✓ Energy	✓
Sao Tome and Principe	✓ Energy, tourism, waste	
Seychelles	✓ All	
Caribbean Region		
Antigua and Barbuda	✓ Energy; tourism	
Barbados	✓ Energy, tourism, waste	✓
Grenada	✓ Energy	✓
Guyana	✓ All	✓
Jamaica	✓ Energy, tourism, waste	
Saint Kitts and Nevis	✓ All	✓
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	✓ Energy, tourism, waste	
Trinidad and Tobago	✓ Energy	✓
Pacific Region		
Fiji	✓ Energy, tourism, transport	✓
Kiribati	✓ Energy, tourism, waste	
Marshall Islands	✓ Energy	
Nauru	✓ Energy, waste	✓
Palau	✓ Energy	✓
Samoa	✓ Energy, transport	✓
Solomon Islands	✓ Energy	✓
Tonga	✓ Energy	✓
Tuvalu	✓ Energy	
Vanuatu	✓ Tourism	✓

Source: UNEP (2014b, p. 42).

In Figure 10, the graphs demonstrated the comparison between the population and out – migration in SIDS. Some countries like Guyana, Suriname and Cabo Verde have a high number of migrations, but a high population as well. On the other hand, countries like Palau and Samoa, for example, they have small population, but a high number of immigrants. In case of Palau the number of population is almost the same of migrations.

Figure 10 - Comparison between total population and out-migration in the SIDS
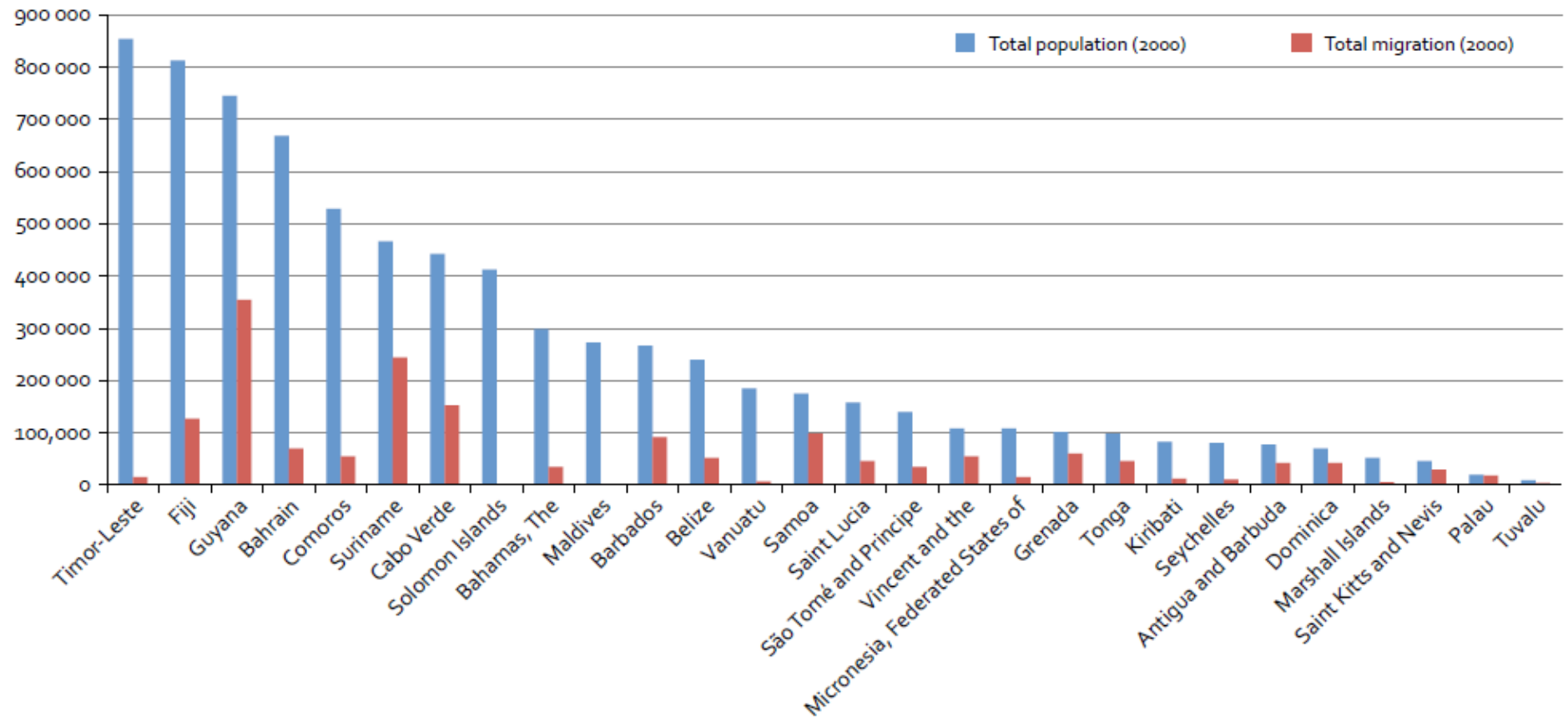
Source: UN-OHRLLS (2015, p. 12)

It is not possible to see in this graph the cause of immigration. But is interesting to think about if those countries are affecting by climate change and in the future, it is not possible to live in those islands, the number of immigrations could increase or even if the island disappears, some population may be displaced in its entirety. It is called environments immigrants. Because the cause of immigration was an environmental problem (KOUBI et al., 2017).

Figure 11 - Regional average sea level trends from January 1993 to December 2013 (mm/year)
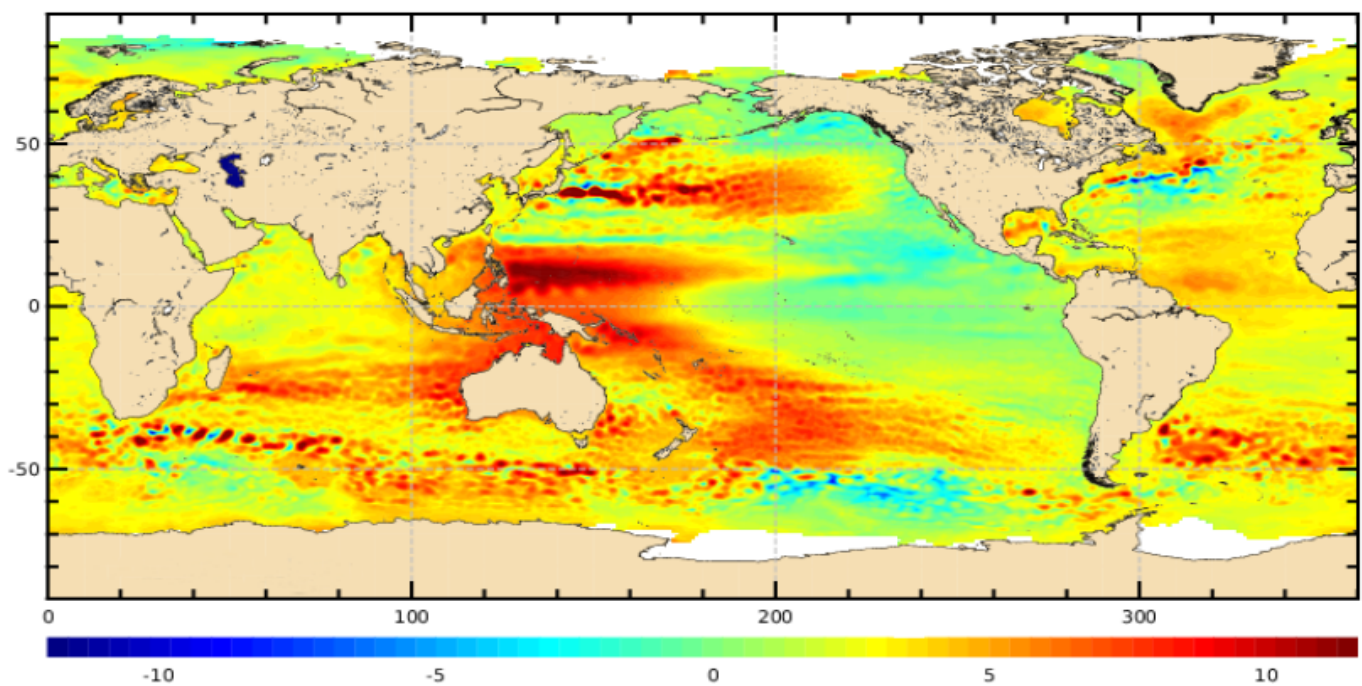
Source: CNES/ LEGOS/ CLS 2014
http://www.aviso.altimetry.fr/en/data/products/ocean-indicators-products/mean-sea-level/products-images.html

Source: UNEP (2014b, p. 4).

In Figure 11 it is possible to see regional average sea level trends from January 1993 to December 2013 (mm/year). In the Pacific Ocean (near Australia and southeast Asia) the sea level increased more in those ten years. It is a regional that the SIDS are more affecting by this effect of climate change. It is why those pacific islands are more worried about the disappearance of those territories. If the sea level rise continues increasing the land may be submerged in the future.

Following IPCC's past reports, many still believed that the effects of climate change would continue (LIPINSKI, 2011). According to the experts from UNEP (2014):

> The climate outlook for SIDS differs considerably depending on their topography and location. Low-lying islands are highly vulnerable to extreme weather events and sea-level rise. In the western Pacific, where the rates of sea-level rise on islands, such as Tuvalu and Funafuti, have been recorded as up to 3 times the global average of 2.8-3.6 mm/year, islands are also susceptible to extreme sea level events such as storm surges and tidal waves. Under the latest IPCC scenarios for a global average temperature increase of approximately 4°C, sea level rise could be as much as one meter by 2100 and higher levels thereafter. SIDS would be severely affected as almost 30% of the population lives in areas less than 5 meters above sea level (UNEP, 2014b, p. 4).

Adaptation to climate change are one of the challenges and key priority for SIDS because of their small geographical area, isolation and exposure. The sea-level rise, altered rainfall and storm threaten their population and land. Responding to climate challenges in SIDS requires significant development capacity and support for engagement in international negotiations.

Many researches have been studying the impact of climate change and IPCC is a reviewer of the most recent scientific, technical and socio-economic information produced worldwide relevant information to the understanding of climate change.

3.3.1 The IPCC Reports: Description of how are the SIDS affected by climate change

The main problem impacts of climate change, including sea level rise, to SIDS as reported for IPCC AR4 (2009) report are: 1) water resources, 2) coastal systems and resources, 3) agriculture, fisheries and food security, 4) biodiversity, 5) human settlements and well-being, 6) economic, financial and socio-cultural impacts and 7) Infrastructure and transportation.

Most SIDS have limited sources of freshwater because they have no surface water or streams and are fully reliant on rainfall. Many small islands are experiencing water stress at the current levels of rainfall input, and extraction of groundwater is often one option to supply. However, with the sea level rise, the pollution of groundwater is often a major problem, especially on low-lying islands (EBI; KOVATS; MENNE, 2006).

Water quality is just one of several health issues linked to climate variability and change and their potential effects on the well-being of the inhabitants of SIDS. Many small island states lie in tropical or sub-tropical zones with weather conducive to the transmission of diseases such as malaria, dengue, filariasis, schistosomiasis, and food- and water-borne diseases as well (EBI; KOVATS; MENNE, 2006).

Other important issue, that also implies in high economy cost, is the hazard of human health because of the increased incidence of vectors and diseases.

The coastlines of SIDS are long relative to island area. They are also diverse and resource-rich, providing a range of goods and services, many of which are threatened by a combination of human pressures and climate change and variability arising especially from sea-level rise, increases in sea surface temperature, and possible increases in extreme weather events. Key impacts will almost certainly include accelerated coastal erosion, saline intrusion into freshwater lenses, and increased flooding from the sea. The mobility of fish makes it difficult to estimate future changes in marine fish resources (GRAHAM; et 2006).

Furthermore, since the life cycles of many species of commercially exploited fisheries range from freshwater to ocean water, land-based and coastal activities will also be likely to affect the populations of those species. Coral reefs and other coastal ecosystems which may be severely affected by climate change will also have an impact on fisheries (GRAHAM; et 2006).

Migration (internal) as a potentially effective adaptation strategy has been alluded, particularly in the context of temporary or permanent out-migrants providing remittances to home-island families, thereby enhancing home-island resilience (BARNETT, 2001b). In the case of very SIDS with risk of low entire land, it is possible to demand international migration.

Small islands have traditionally depended upon subsistence and cash crops for survival and economic development. While subsistence agriculture provides local food security, cash crops (such as sugar cane, bananas and forest products) are exported

in order to earn foreign exchange. Local food production is vital to SIDS, even those with very limited land areas. Agricultural production in the small islands, specially in Pacific region, may be adversely affected by climate change through the loss of coastal land and the increase contamination of groundwater and estuaries by the incursion of seawater, and losses due to cyclones, storms, heat, and drought. (IPCC, AR4, 2009)

The hazard for biodiversity could compromise agriculture, fisheries, health conditions, economic and so on. In the way that, sometimes it is difficult to classify the impact individually as one has impact in another. However, biodiversity has been recognized as one of the main problems for SIDS just because of the range of consequences it is related.

Fishing villages, government buildings and important facilities such as hospitals are frequently located close to the shore. Moreover, population growth and internal migration of people are putting additional pressure on coastal settlements, utilities and resources, and creating problems in areas such as pollution, waste disposal and housing. Changes in sea level, and any changes in the magnitude and frequency of storm events, are likely to have serious consequences for these land uses. An important consideration in relation to settlements is housing. The kind of house SIDS people live is commonly very different of the ones who sometimes they must move, with implications not only in adaptation (for example control of temperature) but also in culture behavior.

Tourism is a major economic sector in many SIDS and its importance is increasing. Since their economies depend so highly on tourism, the impacts of climate change on tourism resources in small islands will have significant effects, both direct and indirect (BIGANO et al., 2005).

The forth IPPC report (AR4) illustrated the vulnerability of small islands with this example:

> The devastation of Grenada following the passage of Hurricane Ivan on 7 September 2004 is a powerful illustration of the reality of small-island vulnerability (NURSE and MOORE, 2005). In less than 8 hours, the country's vital socio-economic infrastructure, including housing, utilities, tourism-related facilities and subsistence and commercial agricultural production, suffered incalculable damage. The island's two principal foreign-exchange earners – tourism and nutmeg production – suffered heavily. More than 90% of hotel guest rooms were either completely destroyed or damaged, while more than 80% of the island's nutmeg trees were lost.

Analysis of observational data showed a global mean temperature increase of around 0.6°C during the 20th century, while mean sea level rose by about 2 mm/yr, although sea-level trends are complicated by local tectonics and El Niño-Southern Oscillation (ENSO) events. (IPCC, AR4, 2009). Moreover, sea level is projected to rise at an average rate of about 5.0 mm/yr over the 21st century, and would pose great challenges and high risk, especially to low-lying islands that might not be able to adapt (NURSE et al., 2001)

As the natural resilience of coastal areas may be reduced, the 'costs' of adaptation could be expected to increase. Moreover, in the same time the economy condition would decrease as anticipated land loss, soil salinization and low water availability would be likely to threaten the sustainability of island agriculture and food security.

Considering the high vulnerability and low adaptive capacity, SIDS have legitimate concerns about their future, based on observational records, experience with current patterns and consequences of climate variability. Although emitting less than 1% of global greenhouse gases, many SIDS have already perceived a need to reallocate scarce resources away from economic development and poverty alleviation to adapt to the growing threats posed by global warming (e.g., NURSE and MOORE, 2005).

IPCC's discourse states that people living in low-lying coastal areas (about 634 million people) are among the most vulnerable to the effects of climate change and extreme weather events. It is important to note that, according to the panel, a one meter rise in sea level could put more than 145 million people at risk (ZETTER, 2010 *apud* MATTAR, 2011).

Also, according to the IPCC, it is estimated that some islands have already suffered the consequences of extreme weather events and will continue to be victims of these events with an increasing frequency. Some Small Island States such as the Marshall Islands, Maldives, Kiribati, and Tuvalu are already facing threats to their continued existence as a result of sea levels rise (KELMAN, 2008, *apud* MATTAR, 2011).

The speech acts made by IPCC for The Small Island States are in Report 3, published in 2001. There is an entire chapter dedicated to SIDS. An excerpt from this chapter is provided below:

> [...] Several human systems are likely to be affected by projected changes in climate and sea levels in many Small Island States. [...]. For most small islands, the reality of climate change is just one of many serious challenges with which they are confronted. Such socioeconomic concerns are poverty; high unemployment; and the need for the improvement of housing, education, and health care facilities all of which must come from the few resources available to these countries. In these circumstances, progress in adaptation to climate change will almost certainly require integration of appropriate risk reduction strategies with other sectoral policy initiatives in areas such as sustainable development, planning, disaster prevention and management, integrated coastal management, and health care planning [...] (IPCC, 2001b, p. 846).

IPCC reports have been used for all international, regional as well as national councils on climate change and SIDS as a reference to justify the necessity of actions, as they give notion of how fast climate changes are compromising these countries. So, it is considered in terms of securitization, active actor emphasizing the risks of SIDS, the vulnerability as well as the implication in terms of guidance actions. In this way, IPCC is cited in those council reports as it will show in the next topic.

3.4 SIDS in the International Regime of Climate Change: presence in UN Agenda 21, Barbados Programme of Action (BPOA) and Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS)

During the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) in 1992 – Rio 92 - on Agenda 21 document, Chapter 17 (UN-OHRLLS, 2015) member States commit themselves to address SIDS sustainable development problems. The Agenda 21 recognizes the need:

> […] to adopt and implement plans and programmes to support the sustainable development and utilization of their marine and coastal resources, including meeting essential human needs, maintaining biodiversity and improving the quality of life for island people" as well as the need for the adoption of "measures which will enable Small Island Developing States to cope effectively, creatively and sustainably with environmental change and to mitigate impacts and reduce the threats posed to marine and coastal resources […] ". (UNITED NATIONS SUSTAINABLE DEVELEPOMENT, 1992)

The resulting Declaration of Barbados and the Programme of Action for SIDS listed 15 priority areas for specific action necessary for addressing the special challenges faced by SIDS: 1) Climate change and sea-level rise; 2) Natural and environmental disasters; 3) Management of wastes; 4) Coastal and marine resources; 5) Freshwater

resources; 6) Land resources; 7) Energy resources; 8) Tourism resources; 9) Biodiversity resources; 10) National institutions and administrative capacity; 11) Regional institutions and technical cooperation; 12) Transport and communication; 13) Science and technology; 14) Human resource development; 15) Implementation, monitoring and review. (UNESCO, 2018)

In this work, the focus is to analyze the first priority area: Climate Change and sea level rise, that could impact in the other areas quoted as well. In the BPOA, that specific topic (underlined for this thesis) is showed as:

> 18. Small island developing States are particularly vulnerable to global climate change, climate variability and <u>sea-level rise</u>. As their population, agricultural land and infrastructure tend to be concentrated in the coastal zone, <u>any rise in sea-level will have significant and profound effects on their economies and living conditions</u>; the very survival of certain low-lying countries will be threatened. Inundation of outlying islands and <u>loss of land</u> above the high-tide mark may result in <u>loss of exclusive economic rights</u> over extensive areas and in the destruction of existing economic infrastructure as well as of existing human settlements. Global climate change may damage coral reefs, alter the distribution of zones of upwelling and <u>affect both subsistence and commercial fisheries production</u>. Furthermore, it may <u>affect vegetation and saline intrusion may adversely affect freshwater resources.</u> The increased frequency and intensity of the storm events that may result from climate change will also have <u>profound effects on both the economies and the environments</u> of Small Island developing States. Small Island Developing States require all available information concerning those aspects of climate change, as it may affect their ability to enable appropriate response strategies to be developed and implemented. (UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY. A/CONF.167/9, 1994, p. 10)

In the Barbados Programme of Action (BPOA), there are recommendations at national, regional and international levels to the priority area for Climate change and sea-level rise on pages 10, 11 and 12. The Table 5 below synthetize these recommendations.

Table 5: Priority areas for climate change and sea-level rise on the BPOA

A) National Action, policies and measures	B) Regional Action	C) International Action
(i) Ensure early ratification of or accession to the UNFCCC;	(i) Create programmes and projects to monitor and improve predictive capacity to assess the impacts of climate change on marine resources, freshwater and agricultural production, including pests;	(i) Implement immediately the prompt-start resolution agreed to by the Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee for UNFCCC;
(ii) Monitor, survey and collect data on climate change and sea-level rise;		
(iii) Formulate comprehensive adjustment and mitigation in the context of integrated coastal area management;		(ii) Support SIDS to respond the IPCC to develop integrated coastal zone management plans, including measures for responding adaptively to the impacts of climate change;
(iv) Assess the effects and the socio-economic implications of the impact of climate change on SIDS;	(ii) Develop and/or strengthen mechanisms to facilitate the exchange of information and experiences among SIDS, and to promote technology transfer and training in those States in response to climate change, including preparedness response;	(iii) Provide improved access to financial and technical resources for monitoring variability for assessing the impacts of climate change and for developing and implementing response adaptation strategies in a timely manner, recognizing the specific vulnerabilities and disproportionate cost borne by SIDS.
(v) Map areas vulnerable to sea-level rise and develop computer-based information systems covering the results of surveys, assessments and observations as part of adequate response strategies;		
(vi) Improve public and political understanding of the potential impacts of climate change;	(iii) Provide technical assistance for ratification or accession to the UNFCC and assist those Parties that have ratified the Framework Convention in assuming their major responsibilities under it;	(iv) Provide improved access to information from the activities carried out to reduce uncertainties and assist the inter-island exchange of this information;
(vii)Formulate comprehensive strategies and measures, associated with the development of methodologies to adapt to climate change;		(v) Provide access to environmentally sound and energy-efficient technology to assist SIDS in conserving energy;

(viii) Promote a more efficient use of energy resources in development planning and use appropriate methods to minimize the effects of climate change on those resources;	(iv) Support national efforts aimed at developing strategies and measures as well as the development of technical guidelines and methodologies to facilitate adequate adaptation to climate change.	(vi) Support the activities of intergovernmental, regional and subregional organization assisting SIDS to research, monitor, survey and data collection, as well as assessment, in the areas of coral reefs, and the salt water intrusion of freshwater;
(ix) Increase participation in the bilateral, regional and global research, assessment, monitoring and mapping of climate impacts, including the adoption of oceanographic and atmospheric measures, policies and the development of response strategies.		(VII) Provide improved access to financial and technical resources to assist SIDS which are vulnerable associated with the development of national and regional strategies, measures and methodologies.

Source: UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY. A/CONF.167/9, 1994. p. 10-1

As cross-sectoral areas, the program recognizes: 1) capacity building; 2) institutional development at national, regional and international levels; 3) cooperation in the transfer of environmentally sound technologies; 4) trade and economic diversification and finance. (UN-OHRLLS, 2015)

The BPOA highlights the special challenges to SIDS' socio-economic development, some of which had already been considered in Agenda 21, including small size and geographic isolation that prevent economies of scale. In addition, the BPOA underlines: 1) the excessive dependence of SIDS on international trade; 2) high population density, which increases the pressure on already limited resources; 3) overuse of resources and premature depletion; 4) relatively small watersheds and threatened supplies of freshwater; 5) costly public administration and infrastructure; 6) limited institutional capacities and domestic markets. (UN-OHRLLS, 2015)

To monitoring the implementation of BPOA, it was created a Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) to follow up actions and review the progress in the context of its Multi – Year thematic Programme of Work. (UN-OHRLLS, 2015).

In 1999, five years after the BPOA, a comprehensive review of the Barbados Programme of Action and its implementation was taken in the 22nd Special Session of the UN General Assembly (UNGASS-22). The special session called "*State of Progress and Initiatives for the Future Implementation of the Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of SIDS*" identified six highlighted problems that should receive more attention. (UNITED NATIONS DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS, 2015) These problems and respective action is summarized in the Table 6 bellow. Observe that "climate change and sea level rise" is the first problem listed and that is the respective justification for action: "as some islands nations could submerge".

Table 6 – Six problems that require some urgent actions in the view of BPOA

Problem	Action
1) Climate change and sea level rise	To adapt for the climate change as some islands nations could submerge;
2) Natural and environmental disasters and climate variability	To improve and be prepared for those situations and try to recover when it happened;
3) Freshwater resources	To Prevent the worst scarcity as the demands grow;
4) Coast and Marine Resources	To protect the ecosystems and the coral reefs from the pollution and over-fishing;
5) Energy	To develop solar and renewable energy to lessen dependence on expensive imported oil;
6) Tourism	To grow the tourism and to encourage the tourists to protect the environmental and cultural integrity;

Source: Adapted from UNITED NATIONS DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS (2015)

To implement those challenges, the special session realized that it would be necessary to focus on some sustainable developing strategies: 1) Capacity Building; 2) Resource Mobilization and Finance; 3) Globalization and Trade Liberalization; 4) Transfer of environmentally sound technology; 5) Vulnerability Index; 6) Information management through the strengthening of SIDS network; 7) International Cooperation and partnership. (UNITED NATIONS DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS, 2015)

In the end of this special session, it was adopted a declaration with the member states reaffirming the commitment and the principles of sustainable development established in Agenda 21, in the Barbados Declaration and in the BPOA (UNITED NATIONS DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS, 2015).

Ten years after the Barbados Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of the Small Island Developing States (BPOA), a new review was necessary. In January 2005, the high level of Mauritius International Meeting occurred in Port Louis, Mauritius. By UN General Assembly Resolution (S/57/262), the Mauritius Strategy (MSI) for the Implementation of the BPOA was adopted to continue to address the challenges and vulnerabilities still faced by SIDS. Some of than were especially about the limited financial resources and the reduction in the Official Development Assistance (ODA) (UNITED NATIONS DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS, 2015).

> Varying degrees of water insecurity resulting from these challenges are already being experienced by many SIDS. For example, Mauritius is projected to become a "water stressed" country, and Comoros a "water-scarce" country by the year 2025. Further, as many SIDS economies are heavily dependent on agriculture or tourism activities, both major consumers of freshwater, economic losses are likely to result when operations have to be discontinued. What makes the matter of water security particularly challenging in a SIDS context, is the immediacy of water-related problems, and many SIDS' limited capacity to respond. (UN-OHRLLS, 2015).

The MSI document[14] - A/CONF.207/CRP.7 of UNITED NATIONS (2005) - showed 19 priorities areas. The BPOA listed 14 thematic challenges for SIDS and the MSI added 5 new areas: 1) Graduation from least developed country status; 2) Trade, sustainable production and consumption; 3) Health; 4) Knowledge management; 5) Culture.

On that time, all of those 5 new challenges were to achieve Millennium Development Goals (MDG´s) targets, that should be fulfilled until 2015. Five years after the MSI, the UN General Assembly reviewed the document and recognized <u>the vulnerabilities of SIDS as a special category within the UN system.</u> (UNITED NATIONS DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS, 2015)

In 2014, in the Third International Conference on SIDS in Samoa, the international community gathered a new pathway for the sustainable development of SIDS. The SAMOA Pathway, recognizes the adverse impacts of climate change and sea-level rise on this group of countries. The efforts to achieve sustainable development are their survival, viability for addressing economic development, food security, Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR), ocean management, among other issues. While many SIDS have made advances in achieving sustainable development, their vulnerabilities, including small size, climate change impacts, biodiversity loss and their special case status, remains (UN-OHRLLS, 2015).

In 2015, the UN declared the International Year of the SIDS and highlighted the challenges and solutions to urgent global issues for this group of countries (UNITED NATIONS DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS, 2015). That initiative shows how UN considered the vulnerability of SIDS and the demand for specific actions.

---

[14] To see more information of Mauritius Strategy (MSI) 2005:
<http://www.un.org/smallislands2005/pdf/sids_strategy.pdf>

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) provides support for SIDS and low-lying countries at the global, regional and national scales. (UNITED NATIONS DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS, 2015).

> About 90 percent of SIDS are located in the tropics – areas naturally prone to suffer more frequently from severe weather events ranging from rapid-onset and temporary events, such as storms and flooding, slow-onset processes including land erosion and changes in the global water cycle. What is more, as SIDS populations grow and move into more at-risk areas in search of livelihoods, the number of people exposed to risk stemming from severe weather events also increases. (UN-OHRLLS, 2015)

In regard to regional level we can considerer as an example of "call for attention" The Mauritius Strategy (2005), that in the session of climate change and sea level rise, affirmed:

> 16. The adverse effects of climate change and sea-level rise present significant risks to the sustainable development of small island developing States, and the long-term effects of climate change may threaten the very existence of some small island developing States. Based on the Secretary-General's report and other available data, Small Island Developing States believe that they are already experiencing major adverse effects of climate change. Adaptation to adverse impacts of climate change and sea-level rise remains a major priority for small island developing States.
>
> 17. Small Island Developing States, with the necessary support of the international community, including through the facilitation and improvement of access to existing resources and, where appropriate, through allocation of dedicated financial resources, will as an integral component of their national sustainable development strategies, where appropriate, develop and implement national adaptation strategies and facilitate regional and inter-regional cooperation, including within the framework of the UNFCCC[15].
>
> 18. Small Island Developing States, with assistance from regional development banks and other financial institutions, as appropriate, should coordinate further, on a regional basis, to establish or strengthen national and regional climate-change coordination mechanisms. (UNITED NATIONS, 2005, p. 3 and 4).

As another example of regional action, The Indian Ocean Commission (IOC) has also some projects to deal with the disaster risk and climate change adaptation. In 2016, they announced the action plan to adopt the climate change adaptation strategy, to be carried out between 2016 and 2020, pointing the specific vulnerabilities of member States and supporting nationally contributions (WISEMAN, 2018).

> Noting that over the past 20 years, the region has experienced more than 50 natural catastrophic events, amounting to more than US$17 billion in

---

[15] United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC).

economic costs, the IOC underlines in a press release that implementing this plan builds on its advocacy for Indian Ocean island States, as well as other small island developing States (SIDS), in various international climate change policymaking fora. (WISEMAN, 2018)

As revealed in those documents, the long term threatens of climate to SIDS in agriculture, quality of water consequently affect economy reducing the development of these countries. SIDS already receives some kind of international assistance and support to adapt to climate change. However, the threat of climate change in these islands are portrayed with evidence by scholars in IPCC reports, as it will be shown in the next section. In this way, more than have economy assistance, the urgency of climate change issues (as quickly sea level rise for example) probably requires more attention of international agencies and perhaps securitization should be an option to guarantee actions

The Small Island Developing States in the International Climate Change Regime are organized in a coalition called the Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS). In the history of the alliance formation, it can be emphasized that, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, island countries recognized their individual vulnerabilities and impotence. Although its members rarely appear on the international scene, seemingly little influential in politics and the global economy, united by the common challenges they face, the group has become a key player in regime's negotiation, recognized as a major player in the International Regime of Climate Change (BETZOLD; CASTRO e WEILER, 2011).

In 1990, during the Second World Conference on the Environment held in Geneva, AOSIS presented itself as a unique diplomatic corps and, since then, it has been characterized as a diplomatic entity at the UN. The recognition of small island states as an alliance by the international society was achieved over time (AOSIS, 2014). The alliance represents a quarter of the world's developing countries and about a fifth of total UN memberships. The construction of a coalition also offers Small Island States some bargaining power in numbers of countries (BETZOLD; CASTRO e WEILER, 2011).

AOSIS has a membership of 44 states and observers from all oceans and regions of the world, including Africa, the Caribbean, the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean, the Pacific Ocean, and the South China Sea. The states are Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Cape Verde, Comoros, Cook Islands,

Cuba, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Fiji, Federated States of Micronesia, Grenada, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Kiribati, Maldives, Marshall Islands, Mauritius, Nauru, Niue, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Puerto Rico, Samoa, Singapore, Seychelles, Sao Tome and Principe, Solomon Islands, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname, East Timor, Tonga, Trinidad and Tobago, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu. The observers are American Samoa, Netherlands Antilles, Guam, and the Virgin Islands of the United States. Of these, 37 are members of the United Nations, corresponding to 28% of the UN developing countries, and the AOSIS makes up 20% of all UN members. Together, they constitute five percent of the world population (ALLIANCE OF SMALL ISLAND STATES, 2014).

AOSIS members are geographically divided into three regions: the Caribbean; the Atlantic, Indian and Mediterranean; and the Pacific, as shown in the previous section in the Table 4. Each region has specific needs and interests, but AOSIS seeks to find a common ground between participants so that everyone can be represented equitably. There are also thematic groups already dealing with the issue of climate change, such as the Climate Change Centre of the Caribbean Community (CCCCC)[16] and Pacific Group[17], which also hold conferences on the topic of climate change adaptation and disaster risk reduction in developing countries such as Small Island States.

According to the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, are parts of the group:

> [...] Currently, fifty-one small island developing States and territories are included in the list used by the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs in monitoring the sustainable development of SIDS. These countries are often categorized by their three regions: the AIMS (Africa, Indian Ocean, Mediterranean and South China Sea), the Caribbean and the Pacific. These States and territories often work together in the United Nations through the Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS). [...] [18] (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2015)

These countries are allies because they share challenges and concerns about environmental development and because of their shared susceptibility to environmental disasters, especially in terms of climate change. These countries also have geographic and demographic similarities, such as small populations, the lack of

---

[16] See http://www.caribbeanclimate.bz/
[17] See http://www.acp.int/
[18] See: https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/index.php?menu=1520

transportation resources, remoteness, and the dependence on international trade, among others.

Thus, these countries have organized themselves into a group so that, within the International Climate Change Regime and during the annual meetings of the Conference of Parties, they have a voice and can be heard by the international community. According to Barbados Programme of Action (BPOA):

> 19. The process established by the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change 3/ and the ongoing negotiations of its Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee are important international actions aimed at addressing the threat of climate change, mitigating its adverse impacts on small island developing States and assisting them in adapting to its adverse consequences. It is becoming clear that the commitments contained in Article 4.2 (a) and (b) of the Framework Convention, in particular those related to emissions of greenhouse gases, should be considered inadequate for the long term and further action may be required to make satisfactory progress towards achieving the objective of the Framework Convention. In that regard, the consideration at the first meeting of the Conference of the Parties of the adequacy of those and all other relevant commitments under the Convention, in particular those aimed at achieving effective adaptive response measures, is of the utmost importance to small island developing States and the international community. The development and use of renewable sources of energy and the dissemination of sound and efficient energy technologies are seen as having a central role in mitigating the adverse impact of climate change. (UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY. A/CONF.167/9, 1994)

Being countries with few capabilities, including financial and political resources, and little influence in the international system, it is likely they would have difficulty being heard in this scenario. These states act primarily as an *ad hoc* lobby, pressuring other states within the International Regime on Climate Change and serving as a voice for Small Island Developing States (SIDS) bargain within the United Nations system (ALLIANCE OF SMALL ISLAND STATES, 2013).

This alliance works as a bargaining tool and represents these nations so that their needs are brought to the international community. The individual actions of members of AOSIS do not have a strong chance of success and the formation of the coalition is the best alternative for this group of coastal countries. Prior to the creation of this coalition group, these countries had little ability to influence international negotiations, but currently they effectively contribute to the debate on climate change and the construction of the current International Regime on Climate Change (BETZOLD; CASTRO e WEILER, 2011).

The objectives of the alliance are to develop action programs within the Small Island States in order to cooperate and exchange information on policies and strategies on climate change, global warming, and sea level rise; to recommend, when appropriate, to all states to take immediate steps to establish the institutional framework to protect and manage their coastal zones and to enact legislation to facilitate such measures; to urge industrialized countries to develop procedures and mechanisms to facilitate financing, technology transfer, and training related to the causes and problems associated with the sea level rise areas; and to make arrangements to negotiate a framework convention on climate change (BETZOLD; CASTRO e WEILER, 2011).

These goals reflect how the audience receives Small Island States and, based on the securitizer speech act and the IPCC reports, the very creation of the alliance was based on the belief that these are the countries that least contributed to global warming increase and, admittedly, would be the first to suffer the dramatic consequences of this phenomenon.

4   DISCOURSES ANALYSIS FOR AND OF SIDS

The purpose of this chapter is to present the method and results of the discourse analysis (DA) used to evaluate the hypothesis under study: SIDS respond to the securitization of climate change not only as an audience, but also as securitized actor; considering the research question of this work: "How have the Small Island Developing States (SIDS) receive and respond to the discourse of the securitization of climate change?"

The first section will present the DA as a method used in International Relations studies and will specify how it was applied in the present study. Basically, three documents were analyzed using DA as method and constructivism as theory. The first document, which is presented in second section, is The Fifth Assessment IPCC Report (AR 5, 2014): Working Group (WG) II – Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability – Part B: Regional Aspects, Chapter 29 entitled Small Islands. It was analyzed to be considered as a reference for the negotiation in international arena. This document was chosen because it reports, based on scientific evidence, the impacts of climate change in SIDS, emphasizing the vulnerability of the security of those SIDS, as well as demanding the consideration and action of the international society in this matter.

The second document chosen to express SIDS' speech was the Third International Conference on Small Island Developing States Report, 2014, in Samoa. This document was selected because it was presented historically between the 5th IPCC report and the Paris Agreement (2015).

The third document (fourth section) is the Paris Agreement, which was signed one year after the IPCC AR 5 in the Conference of the Parties (COP) 21, in Paris 2015, under the scope of the United Nations Framework on Climate Change (UNFCCC). This document was chosen because it is in part based on the 2014 IPCC alerts for the policy makers in the UNFCCC. To sign this agreement, the negotiator was based on the IPCC Reports.

The result of Paris Agreement was a commitment by 197 parties to keep the global average temperature rising in this century well below 2 degrees Celsius and to direct efforts to limit the temperature increase even further to 1.5 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels (UNFCC, 2015). These measures to limit warming, even

assumed by developing countries, meet the demands of SIDS. This is crucial for those countries, which are at serious risk from global warming.

The ultimate objective of all UNFCCC agreements is to stabilize greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that will avoid dangerous human interference with the climate system (UNFCC, 2015). The Paris Agreement has been considered an important step to prevent issues related to climate change, including the sea level rise and, consequently, the threat to SIDS.

4.1 Discourse Analyses as Methodology

This part of the thesis presents the methodology chosen as research tool to analyze the discourses produced by the international forums that involve climate change issues for SIDS, in order to identify elements that should be characterized as a security problem.

First, the discourse analysis concept and its use as a qualitative research methodology will be presented. Second, the use of discourse analysis as research tool on security studies will be explored. Last, the third part will present how the discourse analysis was applied in this thesis.

4.1.1 Discourse analysis as research methodology

The history of knowledge cannot be counted in a linear trajectory, as something that progresses gradually, dimensioning the human-world relations through the mere accumulation of progressive knowledge. In fact, the constitution of new scientific paradigms imposes another dynamic, whatever the field of knowledge in which a research is inserted. (ROCHA, DEUSDARÁ, 2005, page 305)

Qualitative analysis can be classified as two main types: content-based analyses (eg thematic analysis) and interpretive analyses (eg discourse analysis). The first mainly analyses*what* the data say and aims to identify patterns within the data. The later mainly examines *how* they say it: in other words, for meaning constructions and how they shape and constrain our perception of the world.

In this kind of analysis, it is particularly attentive to language as a strategic space of power struggles, and how it is used to claim hegemony or to impose a particular

worldview. It seems that both content and thematic analysis share the same aim of analytically examining narrative materials from life stories by breaking the text into relatively small units of content and submitting them to a descriptive treatment. Both content and thematic analysis approaches are suitable to answer questions such as: what are people's concerns about an event? (Sparker, 2005)

Discourse analysis is a methodology that appears in the late 1960s, from the publication of Michel Pêcheux's book *Automatic Analysis of Discourse* (1969): the author places the discourse as an object of study and analysis (CARNEIRO, 2008).

Discourse analysis emerges as a multidisciplinary method, used in the area of Psychology, Linguistics and Social Sciences. Thereby, in view of the changes in theoretical perspectives through which human sciences, social sciences and, above all, International Relations study, it is necessary to re-dimension the object of study and to use new methodologies.

Initially, it can be said, considering the type of analysis used in this thesis (the second, DA2 type), that discourse taken as the object of analysis, is not language, neither text nor speech, but it needs linguistic elements to have a material existence. Therewith, it can be said that speech implies an exteriority to the language in the social context and involves questions of a non-strictly linguistic nature, referring to social and ideological aspects impregnated in words when they are pronounced. (FERNANDES, 2005, p.20)

In this way, discourse becomes an object of analysis, being seen not only as a simple element of information transmission or an act of saying, because its nature is much more complex. In the speech, it is possible to identify the ideology and history of the subject. Historical facts come to our minds through the symbolic power of language, in which everything is represented. In this context, the discourse analysis method was implemented to enable the construction of another conception of linguistic practices, capable of incorporating the new epistemologies in the theoretical-methodological scope.

According to Mussalim (2001), discourse analysis (DA) could be based in three phases and, consequently, structured as different types. The first (DA1) focus on more stable discourses of common origin and closed in their own structure (eg the Communist Party with few social conflicts) and, therefore, they have been recognized as "*discursive machines*".

The second (DA2) breaks the concept of "discursive machines", it considers the possibility of external influence on the production of discourses, with more conflicting and less stable discourse, namely "*discursive formation*", because it is integrated based on a social perspective. In DA2, the analyzis is based on internal (the discourse) but also on external (other discourse or audience) perspectives. Thus, it is considered as the relations of the "*discursive machines*" (Mussalim, 2001).

The third and last phase (DA3) was considered as the breaking of "discursive machines", like in a post-structuralism theory, addressing different structures in the same context (also called as *interdiscourse*). (Mussalim, 2001)

In International Relations studies, the three phases of the AD explained in the previous topic can be associated with the theories. Usually AD1 is considered in classical theories (such as realism, for example), AD2 in constructivism theories and AD3 in critical theories (post structuralism or marxism).

In DA2, the speech act considers not only the language (CARNEIRO, 2008), but the historical and social context of the interlocutors (HANSEN, 2006). The meanings in a discourse, therefore, are not disconnected from the reality it seeks to construct. They are, in fact, an intrinsic part, without which one cannot understand how the structure of interest is constructed (LEITE, 2012).

For the proposal of this thesis the constructivist discourse analyzys (DA2) was used to analyze different discourses around climate changes and SIDS, considering the social relevance and how the audience replicates or transforms the discourse along the time, trying to identify elements related to the process of securitization. So, the characterization of the discourse analysis in this thesis considered mainly authors that deal with DA2 as in the following paragraphs (Mussalim, 2001).

According to CARNEIRO (2008), the discourse analysis was not conceived to be only a simple field of study, but to be an instrument of political intervention. This is why political discourse has quickly become one of the main objects of discourse analysis.

Methodologically, according to EPSTEIN (2008), the powerful discourse is, quite simply, one that makes a difference:

> Discourse confers meanings to social and physical realities. It is through discourse that individuals, societies, and states make sense of themselves, of their ways of living, and of the world around them. A discourse is a cohesive ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorizations about a specific object that

> frame that object in a certain way and, therefore, delimit the possibilities for action in relation to it. It is a structured yet open and dynamic entity. (EPSTEIN, 2008. p. 17)

Epstein (2008) considers that the term '*discourse*' refers to a set of statements that are based on a discursive formation. It consists of a limited number of statements, for which a set of conditions of existence can be defined; and that truth is a discursive construction in history, which does not exist without relations of power. *Speech* is a practice, an action of a subject on the world that founds an interpretation and constructs a truth. In this way, discourse is not neutral. The *subject* of the discourse interacts with other subjects in society and carries their values and beliefs. Epstein (2008) affirms that the actors' discourses recognize themselves, as their identities are constituted by the norms that they adopt, and their behaviors. Speeches characterize what they are, what they intend for themselves others.

According to CARNEIRO (2008), the three fundamental elements of discourse analysis are:

1) Language: gives material existence to discourse , even being a place of conflict, in which the ideology also expresses itself;

2) Subject: is a socially constructed concept;

3) History: is the product of the discourse.

In this case, both language and subject are affected by history in the immediate context of its enunciation. History, in turn, is affected by subject and language.

Speeches also move toward others. It is never single, it is always crossed by voices that preceded it and that keep with it a constant duel, sometimes legitimizing it, sometimes confronting it. The formation of a discourse is based on this constitutive principle - dialogism. Discourses come into the world populated by other discourses, with which they dialogue. These discourses may be dispersed by time and space, but unite because they are crossed by the same thematic choice, concepts, objects, modalities or an event (CARNEIRO, 2008).

Carneiro (2008) stated that a discourse, even if criticizing another discourse for its eventual failures, is necessary to constitute and reaffirm the power of that discourse that gave rise to it, which initiated the process. This is why the sense of discourse is constructed by verbal interaction that maintains ideological relation.

According to Fernandes (2005, p.35), "understanding the discursive subject requires understanding the social voices that are present in his voice". It is important

to point out that the subject is expose to the result, but also to the discursive effect. Thus, power is taken as a resource of the subject's discourse on society, which leads to an understanding about a reality, especially in official discourses. The audience receiving the speech can find its identity in what is being enunciated and accept it as truth that was socially constructed.

In this way, language does not represent something given from the discursive point of view, since it is part of social interaction. The enunciator, endowed with power, can draw an ideal profile and condition individuals to form a lifestyle in the community, and control them. This is considered by discourse analysis as the process of subjectivities: through power, a truth is created about the subject that regulates it.

In discourse analysis, it is possible to establish a relation between the production of knowledge and the discourse considered as given and true. The objective of discourse analysis is, therefore, to achieve a deep meaning of reality that was conferred by the speaker in the very act of producing the discursive text. (ROCHA & DEUSDARÁ, 2005). Therefore, discourse analysis is a good way of evaluating speech on security studies as will be present in the following topic.

4.1.2   The use of the discourse analysis as research tool on security studies

For the Securitization Theory in International Relations, according to Hansen (2006) *"in keeping with the understanding of discourses as social, it is important to point out that the crucial issue is not whether 'something' is an individual or a collective security problem but rather how certain threats are endowed" (*HANSEN, 2006, p. 32)

Leite (2012) also reinforces the influence of the social context in the discourse:

> The discursive practice from which the text is subtracted is part of a larger social practice that encompasses the entire discourse environment, that is, all social relations between the enunciator and the receiver, and the factors that directly interfere in the way a message is transmitted (LEITE, 2012; p. 189, translated by the author).

For Hansen (2006), even if one speaks security on behalf of an individual, claiming the rights, threats, or concerns of the individual, it constitutes an engagement in public and political fields; 'individual security' is, in this sense, always collective and political. Rather than conceptualize security along a collective-individual dichotomy,

one should focus on how political practices individualize certain threats, thereby locating them outside of the public, political realms, while others become visible as collective concerns.

> Security discourse grants certain issues heightened priority, but it also bestows a particular legitimacy on those handling the policies in question […] Security discourses are thus characterized by a dual political dynamic: they invest those enacting security policies with the legitimate power to undertake decisive and otherwise exceptional actions, but they also construct those actors with a particular responsibility for doing so. These mobilizations of power and responsibility are intimately linked: the construction of something as so threatening as to warrant decisive action is followed by a responsibility for answering those threats. Once on the political agenda, politicians cannot turn their back on threats to national security without rearticulating the situation in such a manner that it is no longer one of security: in Wæver's terms, 'de-securitizing' it. (HANSEN, 2006, p. 31)

"Security as practice" process is shown in Figure 12 below. This research design illustrates that discourse analysis entails a comparative dimension and, so far, it studies the articulation of a foreign policy issue across a series of selves over time, or through a series of events. For practical methodological purposes, Hansen (2006) synthesized the following four dimensions that must be defined in every textual analysis model: the number of selves, the temporal perspective, the intertextual model and the number of events.

Figure 12: Research Design for Discourse Analysis

NUMBER OF SELVES

- Single;
- Comparison around events or Issues;
- Discursive encounter.

INTERTEXTUAL MODELS

- **Official Discourse**
- Wider Political debate
- Cultural Representations
- Marginal Political Discourses.

TEMPORAL PERSPECTIVE

- One moment;
- Comparative Moments;
- Historical Development.

STUDY

NUMBER OF EVENTS

- **One;**
- Multiple related by issue;
- Multiple related by time
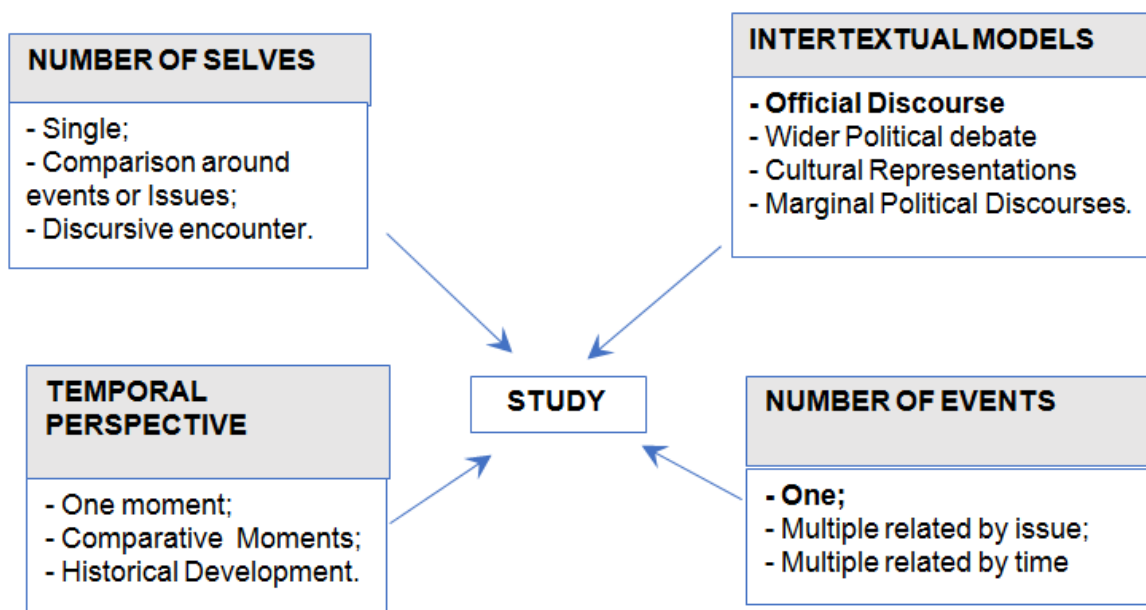
Source: Hansen, 2006, p. 67 and 72.

The number of selves refers to the number of identities analyzed. It is possible to choose between only one, involving a comparison between events or issues, or a discursive encounter between identities. With regard to intertextual models, these refer to the nature of the discourses that will be analyzed, and can be classified into four categories: official discourse, wild political debate, cultural representations, or such as media, for example and marginal political discourses. The temporal perspective deals with the specific moment of the event to be studied, the comparison between moments, usually before and after a period of time, or a historical development, chronological or not. The fourth dimension deals with the number of events, which can be about a single event or multiple events (related by subject or time). (Hansen, 2006)

According to Hansen (2006), methodologically, both the intertextual models and the three additional dimensions (number of selves, number of events and temporal perspective) are the basic structure of analytical discourse as a research method -in security studies.

4.1.3 The application of the Discourse Analysis in this thesis

To explain the methodological strategy adopted in this thesis, it is necessary to remember the key research question that moves this work, that is: How have the Small Island Developing States (SIDS) respond to the threat of the securitization of climate change? The hypothesis is that SIDS respond to the securitization of climate change not only as an audience, but as securitized actor (speech-actor) as well.

In this thesis, the modality of discourse analysis was the constructivist (DA2), the Copenhagen School is the joining of realistic categories to Constructivist approaches. As previously shown, it is the most appropriate theoretical method to understand social construction, through the social practices established between the object and the speech-actors.

Moreover, according to Emers (2010), the first step to the Securitization process is a discursive representation, in which one tries to construct a subject as a threat to the existence of a particular actor. In addition, the importance of the concept of securitization lies in the possibility of using discursive practices to construct a scenario that allows the understanding of the notion of security (LEITE, 2012).

The threat of the securitization of climate change for SIDS was constructed in a *historical view,* as documents and international conferences build the idea of securitization over time. The number of events is *one:* the global warming and sea level rise. Three documents were analyzed to evaluate the hypothesis as follows:

1) The key discourse for "*what is spoken*": document prepared by international scholars, in which climate change and the consequence of sea level rise for SIDS were emphasized (the 5th IPCC Report published in 2014);

2) To identify "*how*" SIDS ("*who")*speaks* about: document produced by SIDS group reinforcing the magnitude of the threats and calling for international attention and action (the report of the third International Conference on Small Island Developing States, 2014); and

3) To evaluate "*how*" SIDS act voice was considered in an international forum: the official document produced by the UN (the International Conferences of Paris (2015)) in which SIDS were considered as a special group. DA2 was used to understand the way actors interpret reality, which is direct related to the issue that could be securitized.

According to the securitization theory, the languages, the speech acts and the identities present in the discourses will be worked out so that reality can be understood (Hansen, 2006). In this model, the perception of the actors builds the object that should become a security problem.

Figure 13 was constructed based on Hansen (2006) to show the research design. The number of selves is comparative, because there are more than one actor (scholars, SIDS, OASIS) and speech (IPCC report, AOSIS document and Paris Agreement).

Figure 13: Research Design for Discourse Analysis of Climate Change for SIDS
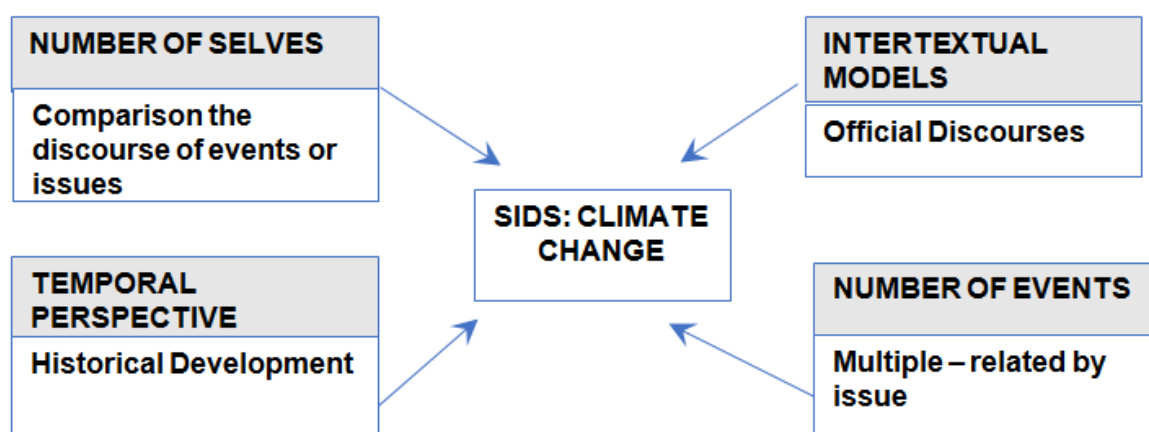
Source: Prepared by the author adapted from Hansen, 2006.

The discourse analysis of the actors, who will be identified as responsible for the internalization of the international policies in the SIDS, will be carried out considering the threats of climate change extreme events. Thus, discourse (reports) is the key object that will be used to analyze the process of climate change securitization in this thesis. This stage of the work is very important, since the discourse analysis involves more than knowing *what is spoken*, but it involves also knowing *who speaks*, *how they speak* and *what they speak* (ORLANDI, 2013).

The process of convincing others based on discourses depends not only on the production of the discourses, but also on how they are communicated and even considered by the audience. Thus, it is necessary to analyze and compare the use of

the same object in more than one discourse. According to Araujo (2000), relations between speeches about the same object are the way in which they negotiate the different means that they have adopted to dispute the supremacy (or not) of one, or sometimes the way they negotiate a different mean to the same object (or situation). This concept proposed by Araujo (2000) corroborates with the intention of this thesis.

Moreover, Orlando (2013) emphasizes that the meaning of the words can change based on *who* uses them and *how* they are used. To do this, different references (i.e. words, phrases) need to be selected, as well as the theory used as reference (which is usually also specific for each area). In discourse analysis is possible to use words, phrases, sentences or even names of institutions or organizations. It is also necessary to identify the context in which the discourse was produced, especially when the analyzes could have politic implications. For example, for the purpose of the present thesis it is important to analyze *who* produced the report, and which countries were represented or not, as well as the intention of most countries or councils with this document.

In this thesis, specific words frequently found in documents and reports on the consequences of climate change for SIDS as an object of securitization were used. The purpose will not be to check the accounting of those words in the documents, but the meanings in the passages in which those words are located. In this way, it will be identified whether the SIDS are, at the same time, securitization subject and object of securitization actions.

The discursive markers to process the analysis in the three documents were chosen to express different aspects of the securitization process shown in Figure 14 bellow.

Figure 14: Discursive Markers - The groups of words to the Discourse Analyze of this Thesis

WORDS

Existencial of Situation	**POTENTIAL THREATS** • Any situation that can cause damage	threat hazard, sea level rise global warming
	POTENTIAL RISK • The probability that exposure to a threat will lead to a negative consequence	vulnerability (or vulnerable) risk
Situation as Special	**NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES**	loss damage disappearance migration
	CHARACTER OF URGENCY	urgency (or urgent) emergency (or emergent)

DISCOURSE ANALYZE OF DOCUMENTS

Source: Created by the author

After the identification of the groups of words or expressions in each document, they were highlighted in the pdf file using different colors. Then, the analysis (of *how*) was conducted identifying in each part how the expressions or words were used in the context of emphasizing or not the idea of securitization.

The next session will present the results obtained by the discourse analysis of the selected documents.

4.2 Discourse analyses of the IPCC report (AR5), SIDS Conference and the Conference of Paris

In all documents, the common use of the discursive markers and respective classification and the pattern of using these markers was analyzed and discussed taking into account prior security studies. It was analyzed whether SIDS seems to appear as an audience of the IPCC securitizer actor, or whether SIDS appeared as securitizer actor as well.

What defines the complete strategy of analysis is the question proposed by the analyst, the sense/ characteristics of the documents and the purpose of the study (as implication) (ORLANDI, 2013).

The Table 7 bellow shows the number of words in each document and group of meaning that was presented in the section before. The Fifth Assessment IPCC report (AR 5) Working Group II – PART B - in the Chapter 29 of the Small Islands (2014) is the Document 1. The Report of the Third International Conference on Small Island Developing States in Samoa in 2014 is the Document 2. The Paris Agreement of the COP 21 in 2005 in Paris is the Document 3.

Table 7: Number of The Words in Each Document in each group of the Discourse Markers to the Discourse Analyze in this Thesis

Aspects/ Group of Words	Doc 1	Doc 2	Doc 3
1) Potencial Threat			
- Threat	32	5	3
- Hazard	49	4	0
- Sea Level Rise	38	9	0
- Global Warming	16	1	0
Total	135	19	3
2) Potencial Risk			
- Vulnerability	84	25	3
- Vulnerable	14	10	9
- Risk	148	25	5
Total	246	60	17
3) Negative Consequences			
- Loss	32	6	6
- Damage	37	3	5
- Disappearance	1	0	0
- Migration	65	3	0
Total	135	12	11
4) Character of Urgency			
- Urgency/Urgent	6	10	2
-Emergency/Emergent	10	2	1
Total	16	12	3

Source: Created by the author

4.2.1 Discourse analyses of Document 1: the Fifth Assessment IPCC Report (AR5) Working Group II – Chapter 29 - Small Islands

The Document 1 is part of the Fifth Assessment IPCC Report (AR5) Working Group II – Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability – PART B: Regional Aspects - Chapter 29 - Small Islands. According to IPCC (2018), the decision to prepare the AR5 was taken in 2008 by IPCC members . The scope and outline of this document were presented and approved in 2009.

In 2010, 831 authors were selected for the AR5 work on the Assessment. The review of this processes and procedure was completed in 2012 based on recommendations from the Inter Academy Council. The AR 5 Working Group (WG) 1 (The Physical Science Basis) was finalized in 2013. The WG 2 (Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability) and WG 3 (Mitigation of Climate Change) were finalized in 2014. The Fifth Assessment Report was completed in November 2014 with the Synthesis Report.

The Chapter 29 – Small Islands - is part of Part B (Regional Aspects) in the AR 5 – WG 2. The Part B presented the impacts, adaptation and vulnerability in the following regions of the world: Africa, Europe, Asia, Australasia, North America, Central and South America, Polar Regions, Small Islands and the Ocean (IPCC, 2018).

The IPCC examined the differences or similarities in how decision-making is being addressed by policy and informed by research in different regions and could be useful for enhancing decisions in the future. The decisions that are or could be made based of climate change science impacts and social vulnerability differ strongly from global to local scale, and from one region to another (IPCC, 2014a).

 The different decision-making contexts also determine the types of climate information required, including the climate variables of interest, and the geographic and time scales in which they need to be provided. Many climate change impact assessments have traditionally focused on changes over longer time horizons and on vulnerability to changing climatic conditions, longer-term climate risk information is required.

In the Figure 15, it is possible to see how the world regions are described in the WG 2 of the IPCC AR5.

Figure 15: The world regions described in the follow chapters WG2 of the IPCC AR5
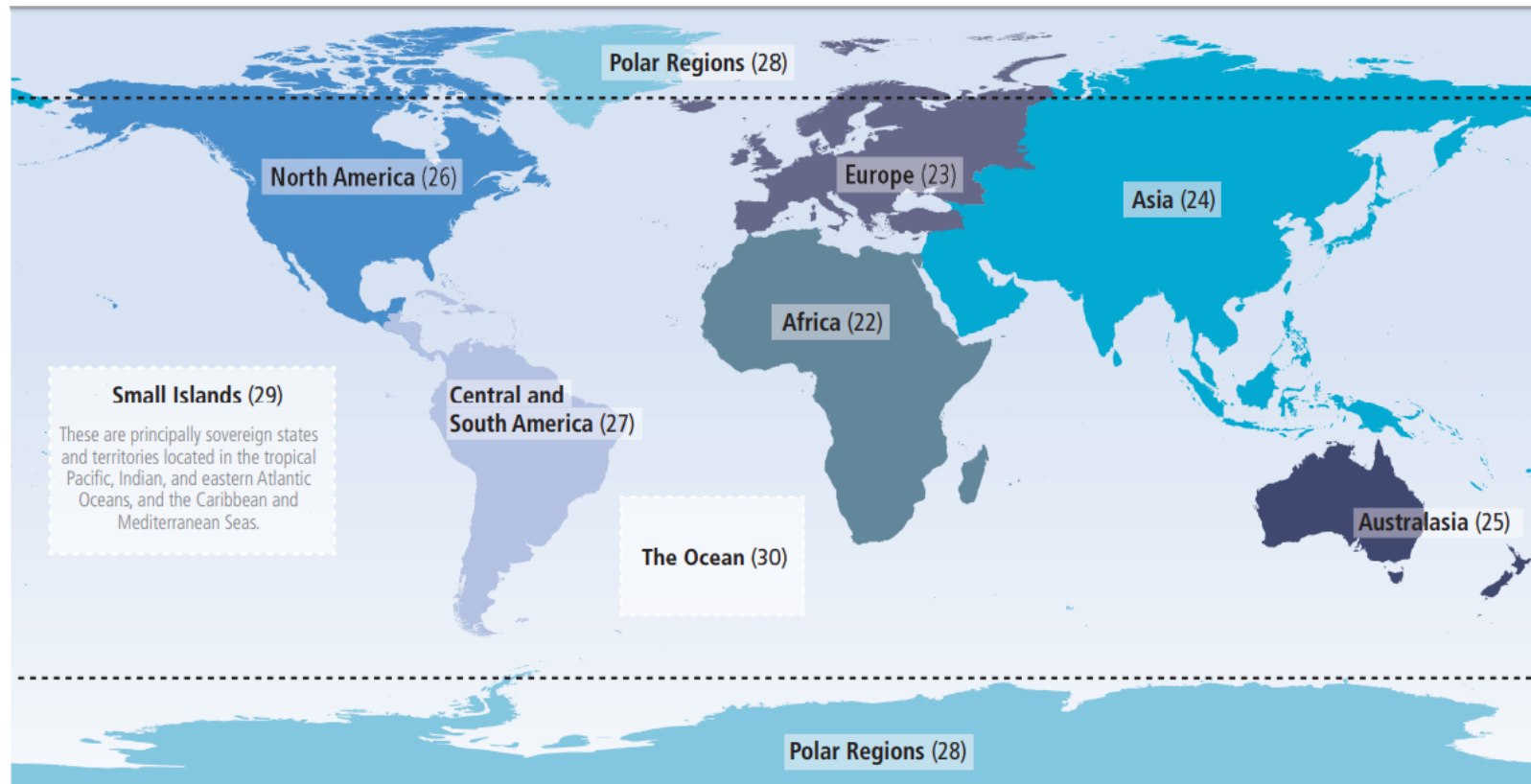
Source: IPCC (2014a, p. 1142)

In the Fourth IPCC report (2007) – AR4 – seven years before the IPCC AR5 – that will be analyzed in this work, the delivered *speech act* presented information exclusively on SIDS. The scientists considered that the concepts and warnings are repeated with only few changes and updates regarding projections presented in the previous reports.

> The analysis of observational data showed a global mean temperature increase of around 0.6 °C during the 20th century, while mean sea levels rose by about 2 mm/yr. While some spatial variation within and among regions is expected, the **sea level** is projected to **rise** at an average rate of about 5.0 mm/yr over the 21st century, and it is concluded that a sea-level change of this magnitude would pose great challenges and **high risks**, especially to low-lying islands that might not be able to adapt. Given the sea level and temperature projections for the next 50 to 100 years, coupled with other anthropogenic stresses, the coastal assets of small islands would be at great **risk** (IPCC, 2007b, p. 690, free version).

Thus, this part of that report showed elements that would be considered strong content on securitization as, for example, the use of terms such as _high_ "*risk*" and other elements to define the urgency of the situation of island countries in relation to the impact of climate change. The discourse analysis of the IPCC 5ᵗʰ report was conducted searching for elements of expression like that and will be presented on the next section.

4.2.1.1 Group of Words 1: Potential Threat

The first group of words regarding the **"threats"** (threat, Hazard, Sea Level Rise, Global Warming) appeared more than 130 times in the IPCC report, as shown. In fact, it represents the character of the report as expected (researchers reporting what is identified with evidence in the last year after the last IPCC report). As in the previous IPCC reports, academic have drawn attention to biodiversity, human health, tourism compromises and water quality without presenting relevant new aspects of the consequences of sea level rise. In regard to human health, they called attention to the high increase of mental health disease, which could be related to the stress of the population that have to migrate for other areas of the same country or even for other countries, as well as changes in routines and culture aspects. This way of searching for mental illness was considered as "new" in the 5ᵗʰ IPCC report.

The word ***"threat"*** (or "*threats*") appears 32 times in the Document 1. The first one is in the Executive Summary that is a short report prepared to assist policymakers

on the definition of international policies negotiated at conferences. The sentence in which the word appeared is as follows:

> Sea level rise (SLR) poses one of the most widely recognized climate change **threats** to low-lying coastal areas on islands and atolls (high confidence; robust evidence, high agreement). (IPCC, 2014, p. 1616)

In this IPCC discourse, the experts recognized that climate change threats SIDS due to sea level rise. So, the idea of SIDS as a special group is emphasized. The IPCC uses certain terms to draw attention to the fact that there is an urgent risk, denoting it as a security issue. All of these expressions, even if not direct, should imply the word "security," referring to an idea that the problem is real and urgent, that there is a risk to society, and that, to prevent damage, measures should be taken and priority should be given to an emergency issue. For this reason, it can be said that IPCC sometimes acts as a securitizer agent.

The second and third times that the word "**Threat**" or "**threatened**" appear in this text are:

> It has long been recognized that greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions from small islands are negligible in relation to global emissions, but that the **threats** of climate change and sea level rise (SLR) to small islands **are very real.** Indeed, it has been suggested that **the very existence of some** atoll nations is **threatened** by rising sea levels associated with global warming. (IPCC, 2014, p. 1618)

In this part of the Report, the IPCC affirms the possibility that some specific islands (such as atoll nations) will disappear because of global warming, climate change and sea level rising. The threat of the existence of SIDS affects the human security and could force migration to another country. In this case, the object of reference that is in risk is the States. The values at risk of Territory, Integrity, and Sovereignty, as shown before in this work, can be observed.

However, in this context the forms of threat are not the military attacks and the origins of threat are not other States as frequently observed, but the climate change and the global warming. There is no enemy in the process, so probably that it is why it could be difficult to convince that it is the case of securitization. Considering that the population of these countries will need to go elsewhere, perhaps it could be considered as a global security.

The fourth and fifth times that the word **"threaten"** and **"threats"** appear in this Chapter 29 of Small Islands on the IPCC AR Report reinforces this idea:

> First, a 30- to 50-cm SLR projected by 2050 would **threaten** low islands, and a 1-m rise by 2100 "would render some island countries **uninhabitable**" (Tegart et al., 1990, p. 4 *apud* IPCC, 2014, p. 1618,*)*.

> Sea Level Rising poses one of the most widely recognized climate change **threats** to low-lying coastal areas (Cazenave and Llovel, 2010;Nicholls and Cazenave, 2010; Church and White, 2011 *apud* IPCC, 2014, p. 1619)

IPCC affirms that some islands could become uninhabited with the sea level rising between thirty to fifty centimeters. The origin of the threat, in this case, is the environmental changes. The value that is in risk is the survival and the quality of life. The objects of reference are the individuals (humanity). As the human life is treated, it could be considered a problem in the category of human security. So, in this case, it is possible to identify elements of the securitization process.

The loss of the coastal areas caused by climate change and sea level rise affect the biodiversity by the destruction of natural habitats. These are forms of threat that put at risk the sustainability value. The object of reference, in this case, is the ecosystem and the category of security is also the environmental security.

The sixty time that the word **'threaten"** appears is in:

> Such examples serve to highlight that **extreme events superimposed** on a rising sea level baseline are the main drivers that **threaten** the habitability of low-lying islands as sea levels continue to rise. (IPCC, 2014, p. 1620)

In this part of the text, the IPCC made a future projection for SIDS if the sea level continues to rise. According to those experts, the climate change extreme events threaten the habitability of those countries. As mentioned before, the value at risk is the survival of these origins of threats as this environmental change. Humanity (individuals), as the objected of reference of this human category of security, confirms that IPCC sometimes act as a securitizer agent for the SIDS.

The seventh time that the word **'threaten"** appears is in this excerpt:

> Globally, the incidence and implications of temperature-related coral bleaching in small islands is well documented, and combined with the effects of increasing ocean acidification these stressors could **threaten** the function and persistence of island coral reef ecosystems. (IPCC, 2014, p. 1621)

4.2.1.2   Group of Words 2: Potential Risk

This group of words represents the words vulnerability, vulnerable and risk. An important aspect, considering that academics try to convince the audience based on methodological studies, is that they considered the methods used to measure **"vulnerability"** are very different between the studies. In this case, it is difficult to characterize (or not) the idea of exceptionality of some countries (eg SIDS) in relation to others. So, they agree that future studies could contribute to measure this variable with more evidence. Again, considering that the "securitization process" could change over time, it is possible that future analysis identify different behavior.

The IPCC also argued that the specificity of the threats to different countries probably will demand different actions and, therefore, they do not express the *speech* in the way of securitization (as the kind of international support necessary to lead with these problems is more based on financial support) as expressed in this part of the report:

> "As a result, indicators of **vulnerability** for small islands often misrepresent actual **vulnerability**. Recent moves toward participatory approaches that link scientific knowledge with local visions of **vulnerability** offer an important way forward to understanding island **vulnerability** in the absence of certainty in model-based scenarios." (IPCC, 2014)

4.2.1.3   Group of Words - Negative Consequences of climate change and Group of the Words 4: Character of Urgency

This group of words related to the Negative consequences climate changes issues (disappearance, loss, damage and migration) has been identified 135 times, as presented in Table 7 before. As an example, the word *"**disappear**"* was cited one time in Document 1, but the bold elements in the next part show the idea of problem, the "**severe reduction**" consequences:

> A2 and B2 scenarios for the periods 2040– 2069 and 2070–2099 suggest that the higher altitude native humid forest, called the Laurissilva, may expand upward in altitude, which could lead to a **severe reduction** of the heath woodland which because it has little upward area to shift may reduce in range or ***disappear*** at high altitudes, resulting in the **loss** of rare and endemic species within this ecosystem. (IPCC, 2014, p.1629)

The word **"loss"** appears 32 times in Document 1. In this part of the text it is possible to observe that the scholars considered the consequences as a possibility of compromising the ecosystem. But they did not emphasize the risk to global health and, in this case, actions to control the issue were proposed.

The consequences of this phenomenon put at risk the object of reference of the ecosystem and threaten the sustainability value. It is a case for the environmental security. It also expresses the securitization of climate change for SIDS, as discoursed before. Changes in ecosystems are a very common theme because it could, in large scale, compromise other countries besides the one where the issue happened.

The word **"migration"** appears 65 times. In fact, this is the aspect that was more emphasized in this report comparing to the previous one. However, the idea the IPCC report showed is that the studies in this area are not sufficient to consider high evidence of the climate change as the main issue responsible for migration. They also considered that sometimes the low economic perspectives of the countries could be the reason for this movement. The group of the Words 4 Character of Urgency (**urgent)** can be observed bellow:

> To understand better the impact of climate change on **migration** there is an **urgent** need for robust methods to identify and measure the effects of the drivers of migration on migration and resettlement."- (IPCC, 2014, page 1625)

So, even migration considered as the main issue that could lead to "security of climate change", it still needs more researches and methods to show that.

> Drawing any strong conclusions from this literature is challenging, as there is little understanding of how to measure the effect of the environmental signal in **migration** patterns (IPCC, 2014, page 1639).

In summary, the discourse analysis of the 5th IPCC report sometimes went in the direction of the process of securitization, but sometimes not. In contrast with the previous 4th report, academics were more conservative in considering the evidences of vulnerability and migration, for example, showing that more studies are necessary to contribute to this process.

Considering that, as expressed before, the IPCC analyzes would be the reference to evaluate how SIDS respond or not the idea presented by scholars, the analyzes of the AOSIS document in the next part allows to identify which behavior (as audience or as securitizer actor) was observed.

As already presented in this study, the discourse of securitization itself does not automatically require that the securitization be done; it means the theme has been initiated and it may or may not be accepted by the audience. Securitization is only effective when the existential threat is understood by the audience, and the public considers it a legitimate demand by the securitizer actor. To be understood, it is necessary sufficient evidence that the 5th IPCC report failure to show.

4.2.2 Discourse analyses of Document 2: The Third International Conference on Small Island Developing States, 2014

Before presenting the document and the respective analyzes, it is important to considerer the previous movement of SIDS in the way of securitization. The social relationship is built and established by the securitizer entity actor, by the object to be securitized, and by peripheral actors, such as the media and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). One way to understand how the audience repeats the "securitizer speech act" (considering the IPCC as reference for this thesis) is by observing the AOSIS speech act .

In the UN Declaration of Leaders in 2012, a considerable number of ideas based on previous IPCC's reports and speech acts (specifically addressed to SIDS) have been incorporated, as previously presented. Based on the UN principles for the sovereign equality of all nations, the Small Island States presented this idea, as can be observed in the text bellow:

"1) We are gravely concerned that climate change poses the most serious **threat** to our territorial integrity, viability, and survival, and that it undermines our efforts to achieve sustainable development goals and threatens our very existence. [...]; 2) We reiterate our alarm that the scientific evidence shows the effects of climate change are human-induced and are happening faster and are more extremely than previously projected, and the impacts of climate change that we are already experiencing, including **sea-level rise** and storm surge, more frequent and extreme weather events, ocean acidification, coral bleaching, coastal erosion, and changing precipitation patterns, will intensify further; 3) We express profound alarm that due to the impacts of climate change, people have been forcibly displaced from their homes and entire islands are uninhabitable or may become entirely submerged causing mass displacement; 4) We emphasize that there is an **urgent** need to consider and address the security implications of climate change, including violations of territorial integrity, more frequent and severe climate-related disasters, **threats** to water and food security, natural resource scarcity, increased and forced displacement, and the human implications as a result of climate change; [...] 8) We reiterate preventing dangerous anthropogenic interference

with the climate system and ensuring the viability and <u>survival</u> of all SIDS requires the following mitigation imperatives [...] (ALLIANCE OF SMALL ISLAND STATES, 2012, free version).

In this speech, there are several elements that show the acceptance of an idea by the securitizer actor and the securitized actors. Thus, as noted in this study, securitization is only effective when the public considers the demands of a securitizer agent as legitimate, in view of the existential threat to life, and when there is a negotiation between the government and the public to consider the question a security issue.

From this idea, it can be explored and interpreted a little more about the position and the speech of SIDS threat signaling and securitization as a process that can lead agents to propose actions to prevent the threat from materializing.

However, as previously reported, the UN in Security Council (meeting 6587, 2011): did not considered that in climate change there were sufficient evidences for the securitization process of climate change. One possibility is that the Security Council would like not to securitize the theme, to avoid greater bases of conflict in the international system with one more element. Although signaling for securitization, the process may not reach its apex, because, possibly, when the threats become real, there will be nothing else to be done.

The discourse analyzed, that will be presented afterward, were prepared on 2015, and after the UN meeting cited above. It is important to observe that the 5th IPCC report was already available. What is intriguing is to evaluate whether SIDS maintained the previous discourses in the way of securitization or whether they accepted the 5th IPCC report and the outcome of COP 21 pointing more to planning actions with international view and commitment.

The Document 2 "Report of the Third International Conference on Small Island Developing States" took place in Apia, Samoa, on 1-4 September 2014. 39 countries were represented as:

1) *AMIS Region:* Cape Verde, Comoros, Guinea–Bissau, Maldives, Mauritius, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles and Singapore;

2) *Caribbean Region:* Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Cuba, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Grenada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and Grenadines, Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago;

3) *Pacific Region:* Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru and Niue, Palau, Papua New Guine, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Timor Leste, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu.

The theme of the Conference was the Sustainable development of SIDS. The Accelerated Modalities of Action (SAMOA) adopted partnerships in the priority SIDS areas that require urgent actions and support to those islands achieve their sustainable development, one of them being the climate change risks.

4.2.2.1   Group of the Words 1 – Potential Threat, Group of Words 2 - Potential Risk and Group of Words 3 – Negative Consequences

The first group of words *Potential Threat* and expressions related to "**threats**" and similar meaning appeared 60 times. One of the parts shows the "exception" characteristic of the consequences of climate change to SIDS and emphasizes "significant **risks**" – for the Group of Words 2 *Potential Risk.* The word "loss" represents the Group of Words 3 - *Negative Consequences.*

> 11. We recognize that sea-level rise and other adverse impacts of climate change continue to pose a significant **risk** to Small Island Developing States and their <u>efforts</u> to achieve sustainable development and, for many, represent the gravest of **threats** <u>to their survival</u> and viability, including, for some, through the **loss** <u>of territory.</u> (UNITED NATIONS, p. 6, 2014)

In this part of the document it is observed that although the 5th IPCC report presented doubts about these characteristics of SIDS, as a group, they still keep the discourse, at least in part, on the path of the securitization.

On the other hand, it also possible to identify in the documents that AOSIS, in part, considered the idea of working more to organize actions to prevent the negative effects of climate change in SIDS, as proposed by the UH and 5th IPCC report in the Group of Words 2 - *Potencial Risk **(vulnerability),*** as presented below.

> 15. We recognize that the adverse impacts of climate change compound existing challenges in Small island developing States and have placed additional burdens on their national budgets and their efforts to achieve the sustainable development goals. We note the views expressed by Small Island Developing States that the financial resources available to date have not been adequate to facilitate the implementation of climate change adaptation and mitigation projects, and we also recognize that, at times, complex application procedures have prevented some Small Island Developing States from

> gaining access to funds that are available internationally. In this regard, we welcome the recent Green Climate Fund Board decision to aim for a floor of 50 per cent of the adaptation allocation for particularly ***vulnerable*** countries, including small island developing States, and we note the importance of continued support to address gaps in the capacity to gain access to and manage climate finance (UNITED NATIONS, p. 7, 2014).

It also possible to identify that SIDS are committed to prepar systematic documents, organizing possible actions to avoid large hazards. In the discourse below, it is possible to identify words of Group 3 (**loss, damage**) and Group 2 (vulnerable).

> 43. We will work together to implement and operationalize the Warsaw international mechanism for **loss** and **damage** associated with climate change impacts through comprehensive, inclusive and strategic approaches to address **loss** and damage associated with the impacts of climate change in developing countries, including Small Island Developing States, that are particularly **vulnerable** to the adverse effects of climate change (UNITED NATIONS, p. 13, 2014).

4.2.2.2   Group of the Words 4: Character of Urgency

Reinforcing this idea, the part below shows how they continuous to talk in the character of **urgency:**

> 18. We recognize that Small Island Developing States have made significant <u>efforts</u> at the national and regional levels to implement the Barbados Programme of Action and the Mauritius Strategy. They have mainstreamed sustainable development principles into national and in some cases regional development plans, policies and strategies, and undertaken political commitments to promote and raise awareness of the importance of sustainable development issues. They have also <u>mobilized resources</u> at the national and regional levels despite their limited resource base. Small Island developing States have demonstrated strong leadership by calling for ambitious and **<u>urgent</u>** action on climate change, by protecting biodiversity, by calling for the conservation and sustainable use of oceans and seas and their resources and by and <u>adopting strategies</u> for the promotion of renewable energy (UNITED NATIONS, p. 7, 2014).

As the 5th IPCC report was more careful to affirm that there are high evidences that climate change increases the vulnerability and the migration movement, for example, showing how this report was less emphatic them the 4th IPCC, the AOSIS group sometimes reported to the 4th IPCC report, in which the idea of securitization could be identified. In this way, is possible to see that AOSIS did not replies all the essence of the 5th IPCC report. In the part below is possible to identify this:

> 32. We also reaffirm that climate change is one of the <u>greatest challenges</u> of our time, and we express profound <u>alarm</u> that emissions of greenhouse gases continue to <u>rise globally</u>. We are deeply concerned that all countries, particularly developing countries, are vulnerable to the adverse impacts of climate change and are already experiencing an increase in such impacts, including persistent drought and extreme weather events, sea-level rise, coastal erosion and ocean acidification, further threatening food security and efforts to eradicate poverty and achieve sustainable development. In this regard, we emphasize that adaptation to climate change represents an immediate and **urgent** <u>global priority</u> (UNITED NATIONS, p. 11, 2014).

In the next part of the document, it is also possible to observe that, while claiming collaboration and responsibility from other countries, it is more in the direction of economic and development support. It is possible to consider that economic aid and improved development can contribute to better adaptation of the countries to the climate problem, precisely by reducing the possibility of the threat to take effect.

> 116. We call upon the United Nations system, international and regional financial institutions and other multilateral development partners to continue to <u>support</u> Small island developing States in their <u>efforts</u> to implement national sustainable development strategies and programmes by incorporating the <u>priorities</u> and activities of Small Island Developing States into their relevant strategic and programmatic frameworks, including through the United Nations Development Assistance Framework, at both the national and regional levels, in line with their mandates and overall <u>priorities</u> (UNITED NATIONS, p. 32, 2014).

Summarizing, in the AOSIS document it is possible to identify the duplicity of ideas: sometimes in the direction of securitization, sometimes not. However, comparing with previous documents presented to UH asking to consider the possibility of securitization, it seems that SIDS changed the way they ask for the global attention to the consequence of climate change for them.

One alternative to securitization presented in the 5th IPCC report was the implementation of programs to protect the beaches and tourist areas while conscientiously use the resources. This could be integrated into a plan for coastal management and sustainable tourism. As this idea seems to be accepted and incorporated by SIDS, it becomes further evidence that the audience accepts the speech act of the "securitizer actor" (in this case, the "dessecuritization" idea).

4.2.3 Discourse analyses of the Document 3 - Paris Agreement

The Paris Agreement became an important document post–Kyoto, after 2012, when the international society was expecting a new global agreement for climate change. The UNFCCC is also the parent treaty of the 1997 Kyoto Protocol. The ultimate objective of all agreements under the UNFCCC is to stabilize greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere at a level that will prevent dangerous human interference with the climate system, in a time frame which allows ecosystems to adapt naturally and enables sustainable development (UNFCC, 2015).

In the Paris Agreement (Document 3) following the Conference of Parts 21, this research is interested in assessing whether the issues raised by the 5th IPCC and the discourse of AOSIS were considered.

The <u>Group of Words 1 - *Potential Threat*</u> related to the identification of **threats**, was identified 17 times. However, it is important to notice that the document is not specific related to SIDS and, therefore, only the part specific related to SIDS will be shown and considered in the analyzes.

In the Article 9, item 4, it is possible to see the reference of SIDS and the <u>Group of Words 2 – *Potencial Risk* </u>(**vulnerable, risk).**

> The provision of scaled-up <u>financial resources</u> should aim to achieve a balance between adaptation and mitigation, taking into account country-driven strategies, and the <u>priorities</u> and needs of developing country Parties, especially those that are particularly **vulnerable** to the adverse effects of climate change and have significant capacity constraints, such as the least developed countries and <u>small island developing States</u>, considering the need for public and grant-based resources for adaptation. (SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, 2015, p. 8)

In this part of the discourse, the word **vulnerable** has been found referring to the effects of climate change on SIDS. The meaning of this part of the text also present the idea of securitization, even the word "security" has not been used and the discourse is more in the way of "strategies".

The word "<u>priorities</u>" and the request for "<u>financial resources</u>" in this part of the text put the environmental problem of climate change in the top of the agenda of the countries. This is another aspect of the idea of securitization, because when an issue is securitized as an **emergency,** it has <u>priority</u> in the financial aspects of the countries

(BUZAN, WAEVER & WILD, 1998). So, in this part of the discourse, it is possible to identify the idea of the _Character of Urgency_ of The Group of Words 4.

The Article 11, item 1, considered the "particular" characteristic in terms of vulnerability of SIDS:

> Capacity-building under this Agreement should enhance the capacity and ability of developing country Parties, in particular countries with the least capacity, such as the least developed countries, and those that are particularly **vulnerable** to the adverse effects of climate change, such as Small Island Developing States, to take effective climate change action, including, inter alia, to implement adaptation and mitigation actions, and should facilitate technology development, dissemination and deployment, access to climate finance, relevant aspects of education, training and public awareness, and the transparent, timely and accurate communication of information. (SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, 2015, p. 10)

In this discourse of the Paris Agreement, it is possible to perceive that the countries recognize the vulnerability of climate change and the lesser capacity of the SIDS to deal with this phenomenon. The word **"vulnerable"** is present in this context and the **"finance"** as well.

The First Group of Words – _Potential Threat_ with the word "threat" appeared only 3 times in the document. The context was to call attention for the global action that is necessary to enable adaptation and mitigation actions as needed for training, education, information and financial aspects of SIDS. In this way, the countries that have signed the Paris agreement are recognizing the importance and priorities that SIDS deserve, as well as the commitment to work towards this.

The third and fourth group of words appeared 14 specific times: "emergency" (1), "urgent" (2), "loss" (6) and "damage" (5) always call attention to the necessity of global action. However, as reported before, the use of these words is considered as an "implicit" acceptance of the characteristic of urgency and the possibility of exceptions. When an issue is securitized, it leaves normal politics sphere and passes into emergency politics realm (Buzan, 1997).

What could be observed was the acceptance of the audience to the urgent nature required of SIDS to address the issue. According to the CS, security threats are constructed through social interactions (Buzan, 1997). Thus, it is essential for the process that SIDS group continuous to act in this direction, although the interaction and interests of different nations could compromise the primary intention.

Considering that this document is not specific to SIDS, the word "island" was also considered to check parts in which these countries were reported, as in the item 6, for example:

> The least developed countries and <u>small island developing States</u> may prepare and communicate strategies, plans and actions for low greenhouse gas emissions development reflecting **their special circumstances**. (SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, 2015, p. 3)

The idea of the securitization of climate change in SIDS here is emphasized in the following expression: "**reflecting their special circumstances**". The citation indicates that "'special" and urgent actions need to be done to prevent security-related issues. However, the idea of supporting "strategies, plans and actions" as an alternative is also observed.

In the same direction, the Article 13, item 3:

> The transparency framework shall build on and enhance the transparency arrangements under the Convention, recognizing the **special circumstances** of the least developed countries and <u>small island developing States</u>, and be implemented in a facilitative, non-intrusive, non-punitive manner, respectful of national sovereignty, and avoid placing undue burden on Parties (SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, 2015, p.11)

Here, the idea of specific actions ("arrangements") as well securitization process ("recognize the special circumstances") could also be identified. The Article 9, item 9, also reinforces this idea:

> The institutions serving this Agreement, including the operating entities of the **Financial Mechanism of the Convention**, shall aim to ensure efficient access to **financial resources** through simplified approval procedures and enhanced readiness **support** for developing country Parties, in particular for the least developed countries and <u>small island developing States</u>, in the context of their national climate strategies and plans. (SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, 2015, p. 9)

In this discourse, there are no words like "vulnerable", "sea level rise', "threat" and "disappear", but the idea of securitization would be considered in the meaning of the words as **"financial".** At the beginning of the sentence, it was possible to analyze that the Financial Mechanism of the Convention on climate change should, in particular, **"support"** SIDS with their national climate strategies and plans.

In general, the Paris Agreement was also on the sidelines of the "securitization process", but still with cautious in regard to affirm that there is sufficient evidence to support this process.

6 CONCLUSION

Traditionally, the concept of security considered the object of reference related to military matters. However, with the expansion of the concept and from the constructivist idea that the security issue could be constructed, new sectors arise, as stated by Buzan; Waever; and Wilde (1998): economic, social and environmental. Thus, security, even if it implies a political aspect, can also be considered in other aspects, as presented, and that also threaten the sovereignty of the countries. Another point to be considered by these actors is that although they affirm that these five security sectors exist: military, political, economic, environmental and social, a specific security analysis does not start by cutting the world into sectors.

According to Buzan; Waever; and Wilde (1998), those sectors are related between them. For example: When it is possible to define an environmental problem as an environmental security problem? Sometimes, the environmental problem as climate change, can affect an economic, politic, military or societal area. From a threat to a specific region, this can make a worldwide threat in other sectors.

Buzan; Waever; and Wilde (1998) affirms that sectors are distinctive arenas of discourse in which a variety of different values (eg sovereignty, sustainability). Although some qualities of security are common across sectors, each sector also has its own unique actors, referent objects, dynamics, and contradictions that need to be understood in those terms. Thus, the environmental sector can unleash effects on other sectors cited.

The consideration of environmental problems is historically recent and the reality of these Small Island Developing States has emerged as examples. But just as projections have not yet occurred, Small Islands Developing States still do not disappear with the sea level rise. This situation is new for the International System to deal with. Until then, there were only disappearances of territories due to military wars.

The loss of a territory due to environmental issues, related to different economic, social and political conditions, threatens other countries (Example: if a Pacific Island country disappears and the population migrates to Australia, it could affect the Australian population and economy).

However, the data from this thesis indicate that, for the environmental issue to be securitized and reach the top of the agenda of countries that are not yet directly affected, it is difficult. It is a long process of securitization that happens easily for those vulnerable countries, but it is not the same for the Development Countries that are not in a real risk like SIDS do.

Using the analyses of the discourse of three forums, one of scholars, one of SIDS as speech actor, and finally how climate change and SIDS was considered in the Conference of Parties (COP) 21 in Paris, 2015, it was possible to identify that sometimes discourses are in the way of securitization and sometimes not. The character of urgency that 5th IPCC report would be applied to the context of securitization as well as threats such as land loss , migration and water supply. However, in the same period, the 5th IPCC identified and showed a list of actions that SIDS could adopt, as well as other countries around the world, to avoid major consequences of climate change and towards alternatives of securitization.

Likewise, the discourse of SIDS shows that they were probably still considering the process of securitization, the behavior identified by the amount of times words expressing urgency and important consequences of sea level were found in the AOSIS report. As stated by Buzan, Weaver and Wild (1998), a speech act does not need to use the word "security" to be treated as a securitizing move.

However, while most of SIDS speeches appear to be in the way of securitization, it seems that the UN has not considered climate change issues as an urgent threat to consider the process of securitization. It can be analyzed as the duality of discourse, as mentioned before.

The way UN in the Conference of Paris deal with SIDS' issues does not reinforce the process of securitization, even though the character of securitization is implicit. The Conference of Paris considered more the sense of incentive and viable international cooperation, contributing to prevent and to prepare SIDS for eventual issues related to climate change.

Thus, the period evaluated by this thesis (until 2015) identify several elements that reinforced the securitization of climate change. In fact, the same conduct was observed as in the UN in Security Council (meeting 6587, 2011): it is important to reflect that is not an immediate threat and the risks for the most severe situations are still sufficient for threat management. But this requires important

international actions and agreements to address this challenge. Perhaps this previous agenda has influenced the flow generated in the securitization process of climate change during the period analyzed in this thesis.

SIDS could be responding in the form of "actions" or "securitization", adopting regional actions and domestic plans to adapt to the threat of the climate change phenomenon, as alerted by IPCC and UN Security Council, or reorganizing the idea of securitization. Unfortunately, this thesis did not analyze in each way they have been responding after the Paris Agreement, what is a good question for future studies in this area.

The securitization is a very complex process and its apex is the breaking of rules. Signaling threats and projecting the scenarios in which such threats would takes place as a sign of the urgency to act. In this work, two things was possible to be concluded: 1) the IPCC effectively considers climate change as a threat that can have an effective impact on the security of people living in Small Island Developing States; 2) the IPCC , while alerting to a possible need for securitization, at the same time points out alternatives - measures that can be taken to avoid the worst scenarios. This duality of the IPCC's speech shows exactly the complexity of the process.

It is important to emphasize that, as reinforced along this thesis, the securitization is a continuous process and depends largely on diverse political moments, as well as new events related to climate change. It would be interesting to continue evaluating this process of SIDS advocating movements in the way of securitization over next years, considering new historical moments and new political and environmental elements.

The complexity of alternatives to minimize or maximize securitization brings insights for future research. There is a dilemma related to the measures to be taken in the short and long term. If the domestic political economy of SIDS is observed, new questions arise. Do local governments prefer to join the securitization discourse for immediate gains through international cooperation and foreign funding?

Since it is an emergency issue, the issue goes to the top of the agenda of the countries and becomes a priority to receive financial assistance to projects related to adaptation to climate change. Or would the issue involve desecuritization in order to achieve the normal SIDS policy for adaptation to climate change in the long term and would it no longer be treated as an emergency issue?

From the documents analyzed, it is possible to observe the international level of bargaining strategies and negotiation of SIDS as a group, but for a deeper analysis of the topic, it would be necessary to do case studies at the domestic level, choosing some countries based on indicators such as GDP (strong or weak economy), level of vulnerability to climate change, State capacity, among others. For example: check how the government of Singapore (strong economy) deals with the issue of climate change and, on the other hand, how the government of Tuvalu (weak economy) deals with the issue through the National Plan for Climate Change Adaption.

The idea of extraordinary becomes ordinary with the entry of concepts such as "vulnerability" and "resilience" (capacity to adapt to changes), since in the latter context, urgency no longer exists, and exceptionality is embedded in the process of climate change adaptation. The existence of risk, as countries respond to this threat, the duality of how they understand international security and how countries have to deal with the issue is what differs. Create adaptive capacity throughout the process (resilience) and mediation (vulnerability). The SIDS perceived a chance of international insertion within the environmental crisis. How to promote growth considering socio-democratic environmental justice?

From the historical analysis carried out in this thesis, it can be seen that SIDS has generated an ecopolitical reconfiguration in the last 15 years. They have secured effective support from many countries at the international level and at the United Nations conferences on environment. They have created a revolution, since they have turned risk into a condition of reinventing themselves. Through this game and the negotiation bargain, SIDS - until then considered small countries not only from the territorial point of view, but of power in the international system - managed to manipulate the decisions of the "big" countries with great territorial, economic, military, etc. capacities.

In other words, through the environmental and climate change issues, SIDS managed to gain prominence at the international level. AOSIS has even achieved a new way of translating the identity of the group as vulnerable, how it is constructed and how these countries identify themselves. At the same time as SIDS signaled the "panic" of their vulnerabilities to climate change, such as the possibility of territorial loss, these countries did in fact come into being from an international point of view and, thus, gained a larger visibility in the international system through this theme. From the

irrelevance, they came to have a position as protagonist of the international environmental issue, being considered the countries that suffer the most from the impacts of climate change.

The existence or not of the securitization process is less important than the effects that this movement generates. Studies on climate order and governance could also be done, and how these relate to international politics. In a position of marginality, these countries bring a vision of existence and courage to deal with the complex issue within international dynamics.

From these final questions raised, this work pointed to the need to have more studies on this topic in the field of International Relations. In this way, the call is made for new research to be carried out encompassing the issue of SIDS, climate change and new perspectives of Security in the international system.

REFERENCES

ADGER, W. Neil. **Scales of governance and environmental justice for adaptation and mitigation of climate change**, 2001.

ALBERT, Mathias and BUZAN, Barry. **Securitization, sectors and functional differentiation**. Security Dialogue 42 (4–5): 413–425. 2011

ALLIANCE OF SMALL ISLAND STATES. **Members and Observers**. 2014. Available at http://www.sidsnet.org/aosis/members.html. Accessed 20 February, 2014.

ALLIANCE OF SMALL ISLAND STATES. **About AOSIS**. 2013. Available at http://aosis.org. Accessed 20 February, 2014.

ALLIANCE OF SMALL ISLAND STATES. **AOSIS Leaders´ Declaration.** Documents Climate Change. 2012. Available at http://aosis.org/wp content/uploads/2012/12/Closing-Statement-UNFCCC-COP-8-December-2012-Doha.pdf. Accessed 20 February, 2014.

ARAUJO, Inesita Soares. **A Reconversão do Olhar: prática discursiva e produção dos sentidos na intervenção social**. São Leopoldo: Ed. Unisinos, 2000.

BALZACQ, Thierry, Léonard, Sarah, and Ruzicka, Jan. **Securitization' revisited: Theory and cases.** *International Relations*. , Vol. 30(4) 494– 531. 2016.

BALZACQ, _____. **The Three Faces of Securitization: Political Agency, Audience and Context**. *European Journal of International Relations* 11(2): 171-201. 2005.

BARNETT, Jon**. Security and Climate Change**. *Tyndall Centre Working Paper*, n. 7, 2007.Available at: <http: // www.tyndall.ac.uk/publications/working_papers/wp7.pdf>. Accessed 3 February, 2015.

_____ Jon. **The meaning of environmental security: Ecological politics and policy in the new security era**. Nova York, Zed Books, 2001a.

_____ Jon. **Adapting to Climate Change in Pacific Island Countries: The Problem of Uncertainty.** Elsevier. **World Development. Volume 29, Issue 6.** Pages 977-993. 2001b.

BETZOLD, Carola; CASTRO, Paula; WEILER, Florian. **AOSIS in the UNFCCC negotiations: from unity to fragmentation?** In: CIS WORKING PAPER Nr. 72 , 2011

BIGO, Didier. **Security and Immigration: Towards a Critique of the Governmentality of Unease.** *Alternatives* 27(Special Issue): 63-92. 2002.

BIGANO, A., J.M. Hamilton and R.S.J. Tol, **The Impact of Climate Change on Domestic and International Tourism: A Simulation Study.** Working paper FNU. 58, 23 pp. 2005

BREHM, Hollie Nyseth and PELLOW, David. **Environmental Justice: Pollution, Poverty, and Marginalized Communities.** Pp. 308-320 in the Routledge Handbook of Global Environmental Politics. Edited by Paul Harris. New York: Routledge. 2013.

BREIDENICH C., MAGRAW, D., ROWLEY ,A., RUBIN ,J.W.**. The Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change**, American Journal of International Law, Vol. 92 pp.315 - 331, 1998.

BULL, Hedley **The Anarchical Society.** New York, 1977.

BUTLER, Judith. **Torture and the ethics of photography**. Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 25: 951–966. 2007

BUSBY, Joshua. **Why Climate Change Matters More Than Anything Else.** Warming World. Foreing Affairs. Published: June 14, 2018. Available: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2018-06-14/warming-world> Accessed 19 July 2018.

BUZAN, Barry **People, states, and fear: The national security problem in International Relations.** Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press,1983.

_____, **Barry. People, States and Fear: an Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era**. Boulder, Colorado, Lynne Rienner Publishers. 1991.

_____, Barry. **Rethinking Security after The Cold War**. Cooperation and Conflict. v. 32, n. 1, pp. 5-28, 1997.

BUZAN, Barry, and Lene Hansen. *The Evolution of International Security Studies*. Cambridge University Press, 2009.

BUZAN, Barry and WÆVER, Ole. **Macrosecuritisation and security constellations: reconsidering scale insecuritisation theory.** Review of International Studies / Volume 35 / Issue 02 / April 2009.

BUZAN, Barry; WAEVER, Ole; WILDE, Jaap de. **Security: A New Framework for Analysis**. Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc, 1998.

BUZAN, Barry and Little Richard. **International Systems in World History**. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2000

CAIT (CLIMATE ANALYSIS INDICATORS TOO). **Data on global greenhouse gas emissions.** Graphic by Johannes Friedrich based on work by Duncan Clark, Kiln, Mike Bostock and Jason Davies. 2012. Available at: <https://www.wri.org/blog/2017/04/interactive-chart-explains-worlds-top-10-emitters-and-how-theyve-changed> Accessed 5 June 2018.

CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY. **CARICOM.** 2001 – 2018. Available at: <https://caricom.org/about-caricom/who-we-are> Accessed 20 January, 2018.

CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY CLIMATE CHANGE CENTRE. **Empowering People to Act on Climate Change**. 2018. Available at <http://yourbelizevacation.com/climatechange/?page_id=7> . Accessed 20 January, 2018.

CARNEIRO, Eduardo de Araújo. **Análise do Discurso: notas introdutórias** (Apêndice). O Discurso Fundador do Acre: heroísmo e patriotismo no último oeste. Dissertação de Mestrado em Letras – Linguagem e Identidade, Departamento de Letras, UFAC, Rio Branco – Ac, 2008. Available at: <http://pt.scribd.com/doc/4298842/ANALISE-DO-DISCURSO-notas-introdutorias> Accessed 20 February, 2016.

CARSTEN F. Rønnfeldt. **Three Generations of Environment and Security Research**. Journal of Peace Research, 34. pp. 473-82. 1997.

CAVELTY, Myriam Dunn; MAUER, Victor. **The Routledge Handbook of Security Studies.** London: Routledge. 2010.

CENAMO, Mariano Colini. **MudançasClimáticas, O Protocolo de Quioto e Mercado de Carbono**.Centro de EstudosAvançadosem Economia Apllicada. 2004.

DAGNINO, Ricardo de Sampaio; JUNIOR, Salvador Carpi. **Risco Ambiental: Conceitos e Aplicações. Climatologia e Estudos da Paisagem Rio Claro**. Vol.2-n.2- Julho/ Dezembro/ 2007, p. 50.

DER DERIAN, James. **The value of security: Hobbes, Marx, Nietzsche and Baudrillard.** In: LIPCHUTZ, Ronnie. On security. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995. Cap 2, p.24.

EBI, KL; KOVATS, RS; MENNE, B. **An approach for assessing human health vulnerability and public health interventions to adapt to climate change**. Environmental health perspectives, 114 (12). pp. 1930-4. 2006. Available at: < **http://researchonline.lshtm.ac.uk/10530/**> Accessed 4 September 2018.

EPSTEIN, Charlotte. **The Power of Words in International Relations: Birth of an Anti-Whaling Discourse.** 2008. Cambridge, MA: MIT press.

FALKER, Robert. **The Paris Agreement and the New Logic of International Climate Politics.** *International Affairs*, Volume 92, Issue 5, 1, Pages 1107–1125. 2016.
Available at: <https://academic.oup.com/ia/article/92/5/1107/2688148> Access 15 June 2017.

FARRELL, Theo. **Constructivist Security Studies: Portrait of a Research Program**. International Studies Review, Vol. 4, No. 1, Pp. 49-72, 2002

FERNANDES, Cleudemar. **Análise do Discurso: reflexões introdutórias**. Goiânia: Trilhas Urbanas: 2005.

FLOYD, Rita. **Security and the Environment: Securitisation Theory and US Environmental Security Policy**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2010.

_____, Rita and MATTHEW, A. Richard. **Environmental Security Approches and issues.** London and New York, NY: Routledge, 2013.

FONSECA, Rodrigo Oliveira. **Uma Proposta de Ensino de análise do discurso.** Anais do Seminário Internacional de Texto, Enunciação e Discurso. Porto Alegre, RS, Núcleo de Estudos do Discurso, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, 2010. Available at: <http://ebooks.pucrs.br/edipucrs/anais/sited/arquivos/RodrigoOliveiraFonseca.pdf> Accessed 20 February, 2016.

HALLIDAY, Fred. **Repensando as Relações Internacionais**. Porto Alegre, FAPA e UFGRS. 1999.

HANSEN, Lene. **Security as Practice: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War**. London, Francis & Taylor (Journal of Peace Research). 2006.

_____Lene. **Gender, Nation, Rape: Bosnia and the Construction of Security.** International Feminist Journal of Politics, 3:1, 55-75. 2000.

_____Lene. **Theorizing the image for Security Studies: Visual securitization and the Muhammad Cartoon Crisis.** European Journal of International Relations. 17(1). 51–74. 2011.

HOUGH, Peter. **Environmental Security: An Introduction.** Rutledge, 2014.

HUYSMANS,Jef. **The Jargon of Exception – On Schmitt, Agamben and the absence of Political Society**. International Political Sociology v2, 165–183. 2008.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL ON CLIMATE CHANGE. **The Physical Science Basis: Contribution of Working Group I to the First Assessment Report (AR1) of the IPCC**. 1990a. Cambridge University Press, Available at <http://www.ipcc.ch/publications_and_data/publications_ipcc_first_assessment_1990_wg1.shtml#.URvYyqXhoqI)>Accessed October 23 2017

INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL ON CLIMATE CHANGE. **Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability: Contribution of Working Group II to the First Assessment Report (AR1) of the IPCC**.1990b. Cambridge University Press. Available at <http://www.ipcc.ch/publications_and_data/publications_ipcc_first_assessment_1990_wg2.shtml#.URvZS6Xhoq>Accessed October 23 2017

INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL ON CLIMATE CHANGE.**Mitigation of Climate Change:Contribution of Working Group III to the First Assessment Report (AR1) of the IPCC.**1990c. Cambridge University Press. Available at<http://www.ipcc.ch/publications_and_data/publications_ipcc_first_assessment_1990_wg3.shtml#.URvZgaXhoqI>Accessed October 23 2017

INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL ON CLIMATE CHANGE. **The Physical Science Basis: Contribution of Working Group I to the Second Assessment Report (AR2) of the IPCC**. 1995a. Cambridge University Press. Available at<http://www.ipcc.ch/publications_and_data/publications_and_data_reports.shtml> Accessed October 23 2017

INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL ON CLIMATE CHANGE. **Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability: Contribution of Working Group II to the Second Assessment Report (AR2) of the IPCC**. 1995b. Cambridge University Press. Available at<http://www.ipcc.ch/publications_and_data/publications_and_data_reports.shtml> Accessed October 23 2017

INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL ON CLIMATE CHANGE. **Mitigation of Climate Change: Contribution of Working Group III to the Second Assessment Report (AR2) of the IPCC.**1995c. Cambridge University Press. Available at http://www.ipcc.ch/publications_and_data/publications_and_data_reports.shtml

INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL ON CLIMATE CHANGE. **The Physical Science Basis: Contribution of Working Group I to the Third Assessment Report (AR3) of the IPCC.**2001a. Cambridge University Press. Available at <http://www.grida.no/publications/other/ipcc_tar/> Accessed October 23 2017

INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL ON CLIMATE CHANGE. **Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability: Contribution of Working Group II to the Third Assessment Report (AR3) of the IPCC**. 2001b. Cambridge University Press. Available at <http://www.grida.no/publications/other/ipcc_tar/> Accessed October 23 2017

INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL ON CLIMATE CHANGE. **Mitigation of Climate Change: Contribution of Working Group III to the Third Assessment Report (AR3) of the IPCC**. 2001c. Cambridge University Press. Available at <http://www.grida.no/publications/other/ipcc_tar/>

INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL ON CLIMATE CHANGE. **The Physical Science Basis: Contribution of Working Group I to the Fourth Assessment Report (AR4) of the IPCC**. 2007a. Cambridge University Press. Available at <http://www.ipcc.ch/publications_and_data/ar4/wg1/en/contents.html>Accessed October 23 2017

INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL ON CLIMATE CHANGE. **Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability: Contribution of Working Group II to the Fourth Assessment Report (AR4) of the IPCC**. 2007b. Cambridge University Press. Available at<http://www.ipcc.ch/publications_and_data/ar4/wg2/en/contents.html>Accessed October 23 2017

INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL ON CLIMATE CHANGE. **Mitigation of Climate Change: Contribution of Working Group III to the Fourth Assessment Report (AR4) of the IPCC**. Cambridge University Press.2007c. Available at<http://www.ipcc.ch/publications_and_data/ar4/wg3/en/contents.html>Accessed October 23 2017

INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL ON CLIMATE CHANGE. **How does the IPCC work?** 2013a. Available at <http://www.ipcc.ch/organization/organization_structure.shtml#.URZ6TKXhoqK> Accessed October 23 2017

INTERGOVERNMENTAL PANEL ON CLIMATE CHANGE. **Working Groups/Task Force**. 2013b. Available at <http://www.ipcc.ch/working_groups/working_groups.shtml> Accessed October 23 2017

INTERGOVERNMENTAL PAINEL OF CLIMATE CHANGE. **The Fifth Assessment IPCC Report: Working Group II – Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability – PART B: Regional Aspects. Chapter 29 - Small Islands.** 2014a. Available at: <http://www.ipcc.ch/report/ar5/wg2/> Accessed 20 January, 2018.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL PAINEL OF CLIMATE CHANGE. **Synthesis Report Fifth Assessment Report.**2014b. Available at: <http://ar5-syr.ipcc.ch/> Accessed 20 July, 2018.

GOLDSTONE, Jack. Debate. **Environmental Change and Security Project Report**. Washington dc: The Woodrow Wilson Center, 1996.

GRAHAM, N.A.J., S.K. Wilson, S. Jennings, N.V.C. Polunin, J.P. Bijoux and J. Robinson, 2006: **Dynamic fragility of oceanic coral reef ecosystems**. P. Natl. Acad. Sci. USA, 103, 8425-8429.

KRAUSE, Keith. **Critical Theory and Security Studies: The Research Programme of 'Critical Security Studies**. Cooperation and Conflict, vol. 33, p. 298–333. 1998

KOUBI V, BÖHMELT T, SPILKER G and SCHAFFER L. **The determinants of environmental migrants' conflict perceptions** Int. Organ. 1–32. 2017

LEITE, Lucas Amaral Batista. **O discurso como objeto de estudo e instrumento metodológico nas Relações Internacionais.** Revista Monções: Vol. 1 n. 1 – UFGD – Jan/Jun 2012

LEVY, Marc. **Time for a Third Wave of Environmental and and Security Scholarship?** Environmental Change and Security Project Report, p. 44 -46, 1995.

LIOTTA AND OWEN, Taylor. **Why Human Security? The White head Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations**. Winter/Spring. 2006.

LIPINSKI, Jéssica (2011). **ONU debate se mudança climática é questão de segurança. Instituto Carbono Brasil. Agências Internacionais**. Availableat<http://www.institutocarbonobrasil.org.br/noticias2/noticia=728069> Accessed October 23 2017

MAINGUENEAU, Dominique. **Novas Tendências em Análise do Discurso.** Pontes. Editora UNICAMP. 3ª edição. 1997

MATTAR, Marina Rocchi Martins. **Deslocamentos ambientais: o caso dos pequenos países insulares.** 2011. In: 3° Encontro Nacional da Associação Brasileira de Relações Internacionais (ABRI). Available at http://www.proceedings.scielo.br/scielo.php?pid=MSC0000000122011000300023&script=sci_arttext

MATTHEW, Richard ; BARNETT, Jon; MCDONALD, Bryan and O'BRIEN, Karen (eds).**Global Environmental Change and Human Security**. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010.

MCDONALD, Matt. **Discourses of Security and Environmental Change**. University of Birmingham. Paper present at International Studies Association (ISA) Conference in Hawaii, on March, 2005. Available at <http://citation.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/0/7/2/1/6/pages72165/p72165-1.php>
Accessed October 23 2017

_____, Matt**. Security, the Environment and Emancipation: Contestation over Environmental Change .** Routledge, New Security Studies series. 2011.

_____, Matt. **Human Security and the Construction of Security**. Global Society, 16:3 pp. 277-95, 2002.

_____,Matt. '**Securitization and the Construction of Security'**. European Journal of International Relations 14(4): 563-587, 2008.

MCSWEENEY, Bill, **Identity and Security.** Buzan and the Copenhagen School', Review of International Studies 22(1), pp. 81–93,1996.

MUSSALIM, Fernanda. **Análise do Discurso.** in: MUSSALIM, Fernanda; Bentes, Ana Paula, Introdução à Linguística – vol. 02. São Paulo: Cortez. 2001.

NURSE, L and G. Sem. J.J. McCarthy et al (eds.). **Small Island States. Climate Change 2001: Impacts, Adaptation, and Vulnerability**. Contribution of Working Group II to the Third Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 842-975. 2001.

_____ MOORE, R. **Adaptation to global climate change: an urgent requirement for small island developing states**. RECIEL 14:100–107. 2005.

ORLANDI, Eni Puccinelli. **Análise de discursos: princípios e procedimentos.** São Paulo: Pontes Editores. 2013.

OFFICE OF THE HIGH REPRESENTATIVE FOR THE LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES, LANDLOCKED DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND SMALL ISLAND DEVELOPING STATES (UN-OHRLLS). **Small Island Developing States in Numbers.** 2015. Available at <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/2189SIDS-IN-NUMBERS-CLIMATE-CHANGE-EDITION_2015.pdf>Accessed 18 January, 2018.

PACIFIC ISLANDS FORUM. **The Council of Regional Organizations in the Pacific**. Available at<http://www.forumsec.org/pages.cfm/about-us/> Accessed 20 January, 2018.

ROBINSON, Corey. **Tracing and explaining securitization: Social mechanisms, process tracing and the securitization of irregular migration**. Security Dialogue. Vol. 48(6) 505–523. 2017

ROCHA, Décio; DEUSDARÁ, Bruno. **Análise de Conteúdo e Análise do Discurso: aproximações e afastamentos na (re) construção de uma trajetória**. Alea Volume 7 Número2 p. 305-322, 2005. Available at: <http://www.scielo.br/pdf/alea/v7n2/a10v7n2.pdf> Accessed October 23 2017

RONNFELDT. **Tree generations of environmental and security research.** Journal of Peace Research, 34:4 p.473 – 82. 1997

RYGIEL, KIM. **Governing mobility and rights to movement post 9/11: Managing irregular and refugee migration through detention.** Review of Constitutional Studies 16(2): 211–241.2011.

SALTER, Mark B. **Securitization and Desecuritization**. Journal of International Relations and Development. Volume 11, Number 4, 2008

SOUSA, Rodolgo M. (2009) "**Mudanças Climáticas e Segurança Internacional: Conflitos e novos desafios do direito internacional".** Revista Eletrônica CEDIN. Available at: <http://www.cedin.com.br/revistaeletronica/volume4/arquivos_pdf/sumario/art_v4_XI V.pdf> Accessed October 23 2017

SPARKER, A. **Narrative analysis: exploring the whats and how so personal stories. In: Holloway I (ed.). Qualitative Research in Health Care (1st edn).** Berkshire: Open University Press, 2005;191–208.

TANNO, Grace. **A contribuição da escola de Copenhague para os estudos de segurança internacional**. Contexto Internacional, v. 25, n. 1, p. 459-501, Jan./Jun. 2003.

THE INDIAN OCEAN COMMISSION, 2018.Available at: **<http://www.commissionoceanindien.org/fileadmin/resources/Partenaires/Book let_IOC_English_nov13-GR.pdf>** Accessed 18 January, 2018.

UNITED NATIONS. **United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change**. New York: United Nations, 1992. Available at: **<**http://unfccc.int/ resource/docs/convkp/conveng.pdf>Accessed October 23 2017

UNITED NATIONS, A/CONF. 207/CRP.7. **Mauritius Strategy for the further implementation of the Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States.** 2005. Available at: **<http://www.un.org/smallislands2005/pdf/sids_strategy.pdf>** Accessed 20 January, 2018.

UNITED NATIONS, A/CONF.223/10. **Report of the Third International Conference on Small Island Developing States**. Apia, Samoa, 2014.

UNITED NATIONS DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS, 2015. **Sustainable Development Knowledge Platform.** Available at <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/topics/sids/list>Accessed 4 February, 2015.

UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME. **Human Development Report, New Dimensions of Human Security.** New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. Available at <http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-report-1994>Accessed October 23 2017.

UNITED NATIONS ENVIRONMENT PROGRAMME. **UNEP/GRID-Geneva.** 2014a. Available at: **<**https://d396qusza40orc.cloudfront.net/sids/images/SIDS_map_A1.pdf**>**Accessed 4 February, 2017.

UNITED NATIONS ENVIRONMENTAL PROGRAM. **GEO Small Island Developing States Outlook**. United Nations Environment Programme, Nairobi, Kenya. 2014b.

UNITED NATIONS FRAMEWORK CONVENTION ON CLIMATE CHANGE - UNFCCC (2015). **Paris Agreement.** Available at: <http://unfccc.int/files/home/application/pdf/paris_agreement.pdf> Accessed January 30 2018.

UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY. A/CONF.167/9. Report of the Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States. **Barbados Programme of Action (BPOA).** Barbados, 1994.

UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION FOR EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND CULTURE (*UNESCO). 2018. Intersectoral Platform on Small Island Developing States.* Available at: **<http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=12117&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html>**Accessed 20 January, 2018.

UNITED NATIONS REPERTOIRE OF THE PRACTICE OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. **Part VII. Actions with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression.** Chapter VII of the Charter. 2010-2011. Available at: < **http://www.un.org/en/sc/repertoire/actions.shtml**> Accessed 4 September, 2017.

UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL Sixty-sixth year 6587th meeting S/PV.6587 20. July 2011. New York. Available at:

<**https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7b65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7d/CC%20SPV%206587.pdf**> Accessed 4 September 2018.

UNITED NATIONS SUSTAINABLE DEVELEPOMENT. **AGENDA 21.** United Nations Conference on Environment & Development. Rio de Janerio, Brazil, 3 to 14 June 1992. Available at**:**
<https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/content/documents/Agenda21.pdf >
Accessed 18 January, 2018.

WAEVER, Ole. **Security, The Speech Act. Analysing the Poltics of a Word**. Working Paper COPRI, n. 19, 1989.

_____, Ole. **Securitisation: Taking stock of a research programme in security studies.** Available at**:** *https://www.clisec.uni-hamburg.de/en/pdf/data/waever-2003-securitisation-taking-stock-of-a-research-programme-in-security-studies.pdf.* February 2003.

_____, Ole. **Securitization and Desecurization**in R. Lipschutz (ed) *On Security*, New York: Columbia University Press, 46-86.1995

WALTZ, Kenneth Neal. **Theory of International Politics**. Reading, Mass., Addison-Wesley, 1979.

WILLIAMS, Michael C. **Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics.** International Studies Quarterly, Vol. 47, No. 4. Dec.pp. 511-531. 2003.

WISEMAN, VIRGINIA. **The Indian Ocean Commission Develops Climate Change Adaptation Plan.** 2018.Available at:
<**http://sdg.iisd.org/news/indian-ocean-commission-develops-climate-change-adaptation-plan/**>
Accessed 18 January, 2018.

WORLD WATER ASSESSMENT PROGRAMME. **The United Nations World Water Development Report 3: Water in a Changing World. Case Studies Volume: Facing the Challenges.** Paris: UNESCO (The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) London: Earthscan. 2009.