

**Climate Risk and Climate Security: A Comparison of Norm
Emergence under the FCCC, the EU and the UNSC, 2001–
2019**

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degree of
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under the supervision of

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Certificate of Original Authorship

I, Christo Idowu Odeyemi declare that this thesis, is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy, in the School of Communication / Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at the University of Technology Sydney.

This thesis is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

This document has not been submitted for qualifications at any other academic institution.

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- Odeyemic, C. (2020). The FCCC, the EU, and the UNSC: A research agenda proposal for the climate security question. *Advances in Climate Change Research* 11(4): 442-452. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.accre.2020.11.004>.

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
Candidate Norm	Emerging Climate Security Norm
CLICO	Climate Change, Hydro-Conflicts and Human Security
COP	Conference of the Parties
EU	European Union
FCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IR	International Relations
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGOs	Non-governmental Organisations
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNOWA	United Nations Office for West Africa
UNOWAS	United Nations Office for West Africa and the Sahel
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
US	United States

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Abstract

This thesis documents and analyses an intensifying dialogue between the changing discourses of global security and climate change governance. It presents a comparative assessment of the extent to which policy statements and debates on climate risk and climate security within three interstate institutions – the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, the European Union, and the United Nations Security Council – might indicate an emerging dominant discourse on climate security and thus how these institutions have understood, conceptualised and recognised climate security. Drawing from the literature on epistemic communities, riskification, and securitisation, the thesis conceptualises the three analytical themes as a set of tools relevant for analysing the nuances of climate and security discourses. It applies these themes within the domain of interstate climate security, attending to key differences between the themes while acknowledging conceptual overlaps and interchange between them. In doing so, the thesis demonstrates and extends understanding of how these themes can be deployed.

Using discourse-historical analysis, supplemented by scoping interviews with leading climate security experts, it scrutinises transcripts of relevant meetings held within the three institutions between 2001 and 2019. It offers an in-depth analysis of the extent to which an ‘epistemic community on climate security’ has emerged within these institutions, along with associated commitments that signal a process of ‘climate-riskification’ and ‘climate securitisation.’ The data reveals that the epistemic community on climate security has made riskifying and securitising moves, which have created institutional locations that have allowed the development of climate security in the first stage of the norm life cycle. Serious contestation has persisted but, from all indications, climate security discourse seems unstoppable. The thesis draws out the unfolding but distinct conceptualisations of climate security within the three institutions, including the wider significance of this phenomenon. Despite limits on the policy mandates assigned to the institutions, the thesis finds clear indications of an emerging discourse on climate security and thus a distinctive understanding of security. The findings offer a clear evidence-based guiding tool for scholars and policymakers who aim to identify priority elements for climate security action.