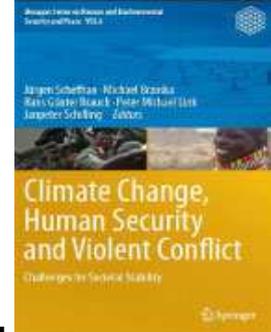


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3 December 2012, 8.30 am - 11.30 pm (3 hours)
Graduates Seminar 1, Lecture Hall: 3F-201-
Politics and International Relations Students

**Reconceptualizing Security in the 21st Century:
End of the Cold War, Globalization and Global
Environmental Change:
Widening, Deepening & Sectorialization**
© Hans Günter Brauch

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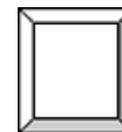
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Reading Texts

- Text 1: Brauch, Hans Günter, 2008: “Introduction: Globalization and Environmental Challenges: Reconceptualizing Security in the 21st Century”, in: Brauch, Hans Günter; Oswald Spring, Úrsula; et al. (Eds.): Globalization and Environmental Challenges: Reconceptualizing Security in the 21st Century (Berlin et al.: Springer-Verlag): 27-43.
- Text 2: Brauch, Hans Günter, 2009: “Introduction: Facing Global Environmental Change and Sectorialization of Security“, in: Brauch, Hans Günter; Oswald Spring, Úrsula; et al. (Eds.), 2009: Facing Global Environmental Change: Environmental, Human, Energy, Food, Health and Water Security Concepts (Berlin et al: Springer-Verlag): 27-44.

Reconceptualization of Security: Towards Comprehensive & Human Security

- 1. Introduction: Object of Analysis: Security**
- 2. Contextual Change: Reasons for Reconceptualizing Security: 9 November 1989: Fall of the Berlin Wall or 11 September 2001**
- 3. Globalization and Global Environmental Change: Conceptual Innovation: Constructivism and Securitization**
- 4. Reconceptualization of Security: 3 Processes of Widening, Deepening and Sectorialization (climate etc.)**
- 5. Widening: Case of Environmental Security**
- 6. Deepening: State- vs. People Centred Human Security**
- 7. Human Security Debates at the United Nations**
- 8. Sectorialization: Water, Food and Health Security**

1. Introduction: Question & Thesis

- **Security** is an **ambiguous & highly contested** political & scientific concept.
- **Security** is a **value, a goal and a legitimizer of policies**
- **Term:** securitas, security & Seguridad, Malay, Chinese & Indian roots matter
- **Concept:** Object of scientific analysis
- **Theory:** Macro (realism, idealism), specific: securitization, critical security studies etc.
- **Has the concept of security changed in history?**
 - Influenced by the cultural, national and international context
- **What are the reasons for the recent global reconceptualization?**
- **Reconceptualization of security occurs from a European perspective**
 - end of Cold War (change in international context, international order)
 - globalization,
 - perception of global environmental & climate change since the 1970s: as a scientific (scientization), political (politicization) & security issue
- **Are these relevant from a Malaysian perspective or are other developments more important: changes in China, reunification of SE Asia?**
- **Thesis: Since 1994 a major shift has occurred from state-centred to people-centred human security concepts!**

1.1. Object of Analysis: Security

- **Methods of analysis: What does security mean?**
 - **Etymological analysis:** tasks for historians
 - **Conceptual history:** history and political philosophy
 - **Conceptual mapping:** social and political scientists
- **Three levels of analysis of security:**
 - Perspective of policy-makers who securitize dangers
 - Perspective of the people: for whom? Audience
 - Perspective of the analyst: interprets dangers & concerns
- **Three modes of analysis of security:**
 - **Objective (dangers); subjective (concerns)**
 - **Intersubjective: What policy-makers make of it**

1.2. Defining security: as a term, concept, value, goal and means?

- A term: Security (lat.: *securus* & *se cura*; fr.: *sécurité*, sp.: *seguridad*, p.: *segurança*,
 - Bahasa Malaysia, Chinese, Hindi?
 - Security was introduced by **Cicero & Lucretius** referring to a **philosophical & psychological status of mind**.
 - It was used as a **political concept** for 'Pax Romana'.
 - Today 'security' as a **political value** has no independent meaning & is related to **individual** or **societal value systems**
 - **UN Charter (1945):** key goal of international peace and security
- A scientific concept**
- As a **social science concept**, *security* is ambiguous & elastic in its meaning (Art 1993)
 - '**Security**': refers to frameworks, dimensions, individuals, issue areas, societal conventions & changing historical conditions & circumstances.
 - **Needed: Logical stringency.**
- A political concept**
- **Tool to legitimate** public funding for an accepted purpose: safety, protection (military & police)
 - **Political acceptability** (support) **gaining and regaining power.**

1.3. Defining the security **concept**

- **Methods:** concept formation, conceptual history, conceptual mapping (contextual, theoretical)
- Difference: ‘words’/‘terms’ & scientific ‘concepts’.
- In **linguistics**, a ‘word’ is the basic element of any language with a distinct meaning. A ‘term’ (from Latin ‘terminus’), in logic, is the subject or predicate of a categorical proposition or statement.
- The word ‘concept’ is used in the analytic school of philosophy as “logical, not mental entities.”
- **Concept formation** refers to “the process of sorting specific experiences into general rules or classes” where in a first phase “**a person identifies important characteristics and in a second identifies how the characteristics are logically linked.**”

1.3. Conceptual mapping

- Our project (vol. III) aimed at **‘conceptual mapping’ of the use of the security concept in different countries, political systems, cultures, religions, scientific disciplines, in national political processes, within civil society & social movements, but also as a guiding & legitimating instrument of international organizations**
- Conceptual mapping has to reflect the **specific context in time and space** that influence the meaning and the use of concepts.
- In the social sciences (security studies), the **meaning of the concept of security is theory-driven.**
- The **‘conceptual mapping’ of security in relation to peace, development, and environment** is a task of political science that requires the knowledge of other disciplines (linguistics, history, philosophy) with a specific focus on the theoretical approaches prevailing in the social and political sciences.

1.4. Conceptual Mapping

- In **social sciences**, security concept has been widely used in **political science, sociology and economics** that focus on **different actors: political realm** (governments, parliaments, public, media, citizens); **society** (societal groups) & **business community** (firms, customers, economic and fiscal policies).
- In **political science**, security concept is used in its threefold context: **policy** (field of security policy), **politics** (process on security, military, and arms issues), and **polity** (legal norms, laws, and institutions on the national and international level).
- **US National Security Act of 1947** and its adjustments has created the **legal and institutional framework for the evolution of the 'national security state'**, sometimes also referred to as a military-industrial complex (Eisenhower 1972).
- This evolution has been encapsulated in the US debate on the concepts of **'national' & since 2001 'homeland' security**.

1.5. Classical Definition in Political Science & International Relations

- Arnold Wolfers (1962), realist pointed to two sides of security concept:
- **“Security, in an objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values, in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked”.**
 - Absence of **“threats”**: interest & focus of policy-makers;
 - Absence of **“fears”**: interest of social scientists, **especially of constructivists: “Reality is socially constructed”**;
- According to Møller (2003) Wolfers’ definition ignores:
 - Whose values might be threatened? Which are these values?
 - Who might threaten them? By which means?
 - Whose fears should count?
 - How might one distinguish between sincere fears & faked ones?

1.6. Objective vs. Subjective Security

- **‘Security in an objective sense’** refers to specific **security dangers**, i.e. to ‘threats, challenges, vulnerabilities and risks’ to specific
- **security dimensions** (political, military, economic, societal, environmental) and referent objectives (international, national, human) as well as
- **sectors** (social, energy, water, soil, food, health, climate),
- **‘Security in a subjective sense’** refers to **security concerns** that are **expressed by government officials, media representatives, scientists** or ‘the people’ in a **speech act** or in **written statements** (historical sources) by those who securitize ‘dangers’ as security ‘concerns’ being **existential for the survival** of the referent object and that require and **legitimize extraordinary measures and means** to face and cope with these concerns.
- **Security concepts** have always been the product of orally articulated or written statements by **those who use them as tools**
 - to **analyse, interpret, and assess past actions** or
 - to **request or legitimize present or future activities** in meeting the **specified security threats, challenges, vulnerabilities, and risks.**

1.7. Subjective Security & Security Perception: Worldviews and Mind-sets

- Perceptions of security dangers (concerns) depend on worldviews of analyst & mind-set of policy-maker.
- **Mind-set (Ken Booth):** have often distorted perception of new challenges: include ethnocentrism, realism, ideological fundamentalism, strategic reductionism
 - **Booth:** Mind-sets freeze international relations into crude images, portray its processes as mechanistic responses of power and characterize other nations as stereotypes.
 - **Old Cold War mind-sets have survived global turn of 1989/1990**
- **3 worldviews** are distinguished by the English school:
 - ❖ *Hobbesian* pessimism (realism): power
 - ❖ *Kantian* optimism (idealism) *international law & human rights*
 - ❖ *Grotian* pragmatism: multilateralism, *cooperation* is vital.
- **3 ideal type perspectives in other cultures & traditions:**
 - Power matters: Sunzi, Thukydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes,
 - **Ideas matter: Kant, W. Wilson (human security tradition)**
 - **Cooperation matters: Confucius, Grotius (human security tradition)**

1.8. English School: Hobbes, Grotius & Kant



Hobbes (1588-1679)

Grotius (1583-1645)

Kant (1724-1804)

Security perceptions depend on worldviews or traditions

- ❖ **Hobbesian pessimist:** *power* is the key category (narrow concept)
- ❖ **Grotian pragmatist:** *cooperation* is vital (wide security concept)
- ❖ **Kantian optimist:** *international law* and *human rights* are crucial

1.9. Security as political **practice**

As a **political concept**: security has many functions:

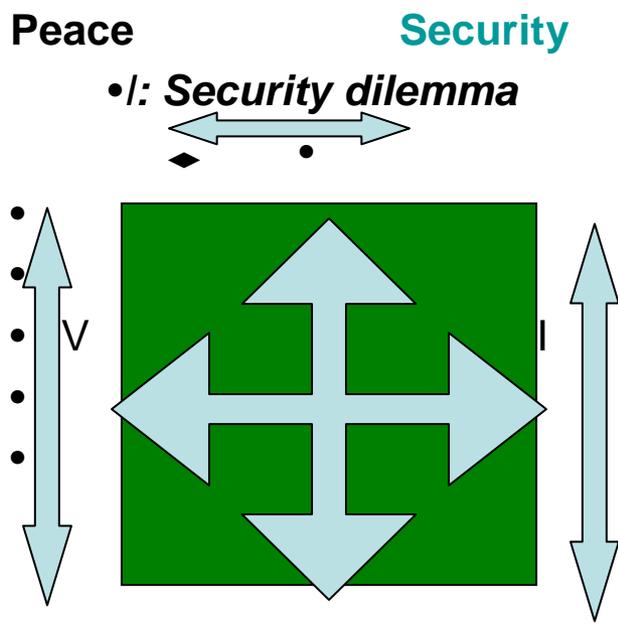
- **Gaining power (elections):**
 - Identify the opponent with the enemy (fear campaigns)
 - Provide a good (public security) to the citizens
- **Maintaining power: Declarations & guidance**
 - Tool to legitimate public funding for an accepted purpose: safety, protection (military & police) and well-being of the citizens (public security)
 - To guide public policy & military planning
 - Political acceptability (support) gaining and regaining power.

1.10. Referent Object: State vs. People

- Since the 19th century key ‘actor’: **the state**, but a major ‘referent object’ of security are often ‘**the people**’ or ‘**our people**’ whose survival is at stake
- From 1947-1989 **national & military security issues**: matter of **means (armaments), instruments (intelligence) & strategies (deterrence)**.
- Whether a perceived threat, challenge, vulnerability, and risk becomes an ‘**objective security danger**’ or a ‘**subjective security concern**’ depends on the political context.
- **Traditional understanding of security** “as the **absence of existential threats to the state** emerging from another state” has **been challenged** both with regard to the **key subject** (state) and carrier of security needs, and its **exclusive focus** on the “**physical – or political – dimension of security of territorial entities**” that are behind the suggestions for a horizontal and vertical widening of the security concept.

1.11. Concepts of security in relation with peace, environment and development

Pillars & linkage concepts within the quartet

IR research programs	Conceptual Quartet	Conceptual Linkages
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Peace Research ▪ Security Studies ▪ Development Studies ▪ Environment Studies <p>4 conceptual pillars</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ I: <i>Security dilemma</i> ▪ II: <i>Survival dilemma</i> ▪ III: <i>Sust. developm.</i> ▪ IV: <i>Sustain. peace</i> 	<p>Peace Security</p> <p>• I: <i>Security dilemma</i></p>  <p>Development ← Environment</p> <p>III: <i>Sustainable development</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy use of concepts & Theoretical debates on six dyadic linkages • L1: Peace & security • L 2: Peace & development • L 3: Peace & environment • L 4: Devel. & security • L 5: Devel. & environment • L 6: Security & environm. <p>[six chapters reviewing & assessing the debates]</p>

1.12. Reconceptualizing Security

- Why has security been globally reconceptualized?
 - Due to changes in the global political context?
 - Due to conceptual innovations: new theories?
- What are the global contextual changes?
 - Fundamental changes in international relations (objective)
 - Perception differs, e.g. in Europe and in other continents
- What are the conceptual innovations?
 - What are the new theories for analysing observed changes
- What processes have occurred and can be mapped?
 - Widening,
 - Deepening
 - Sectorialization

1.13. What has changed? Fernand Braudel's historical times

- a. **Geological times:** Holocene to the Anthropocene
- b. **Macrostructural (very long-term):** Impact of 1st & 2nd industrial revolution (on **strategy & warfare**)
- c. **Structural (long-term):** Political revolutions, change of **international order (context of security)**
- d. **Conjuncture (medium term):** Business cycles & presidencies (4-6 years)
- e. **Events (short-term)**
 - **Single events (without major contextual changes):**
 - Many (e.g. State of the Union Speech of Pres. Obama)
 - **Structure or context changing events.**
 - E.g. 11 September 2001: for the USA and globally?

2. Focus: Change of Security

Concept in 20th Century: 1919-1989

Meaning of term & concept changed throughout history: **Conceptual history**
focus: interaction of historical context & meaning of security

Theories (explanations) are always changing: partly **influenced by the historical context** but also by the **changes in science** (social construction of reality) due to **fundamental changes in scientific theories (worldviews)**

Geological time: phases of earth history

Macro-structural: Impacts of Technical Revolutions:

- First: Neolithic-agricultural revolution (4.000 years)
- **Second: Industrial revolution (1780-1920) (140 years)**
- **Third: (2nd industrial revolution) energy, transportation, communication, IT (1920-today)**
- Fourth: (3rd ind. revolution) **Sustainability revolution: great transformation**

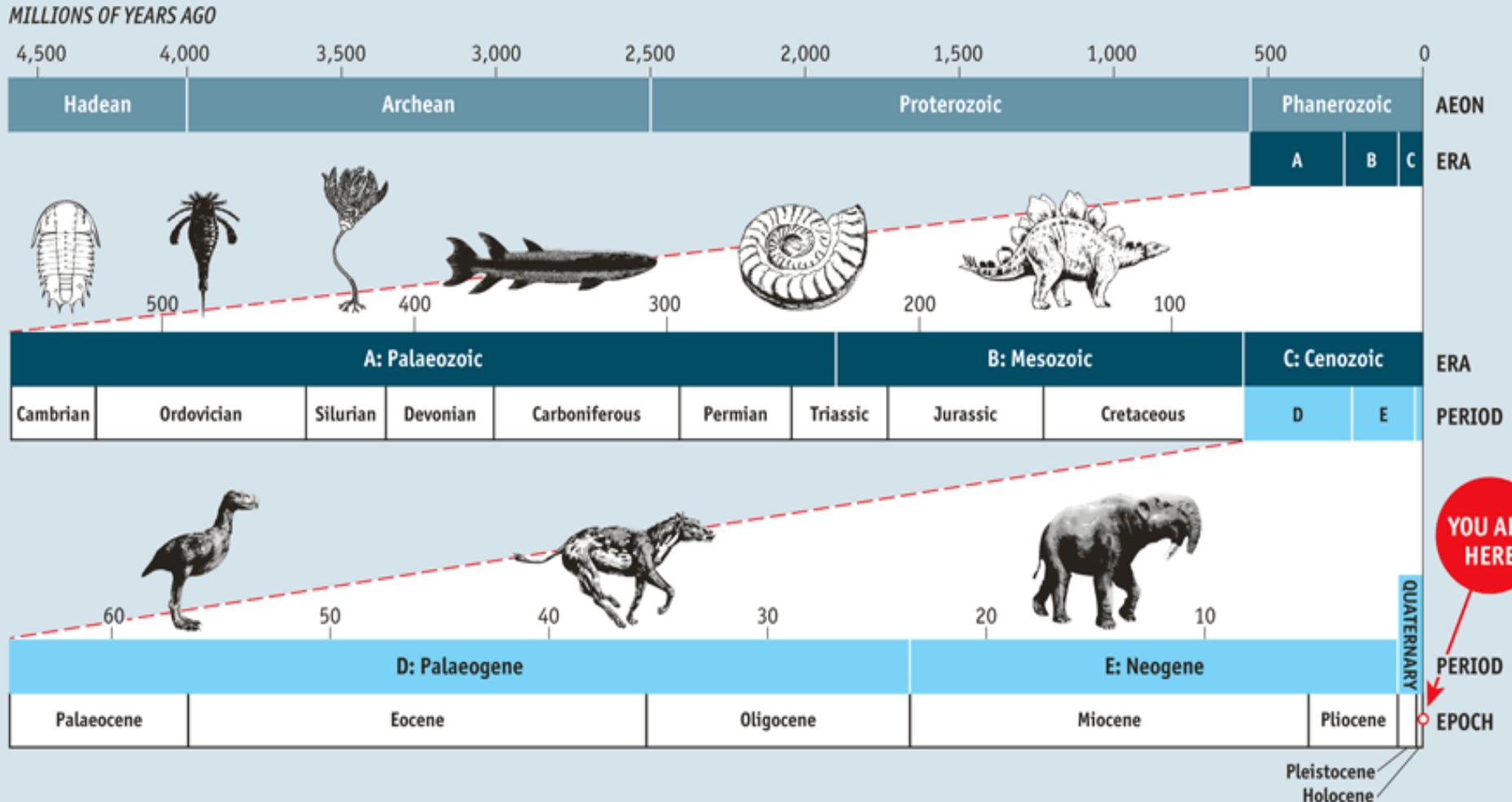
Structural: Changes in international (European dominated) order

- **Ancient history: Roman Empire (pax romana)**

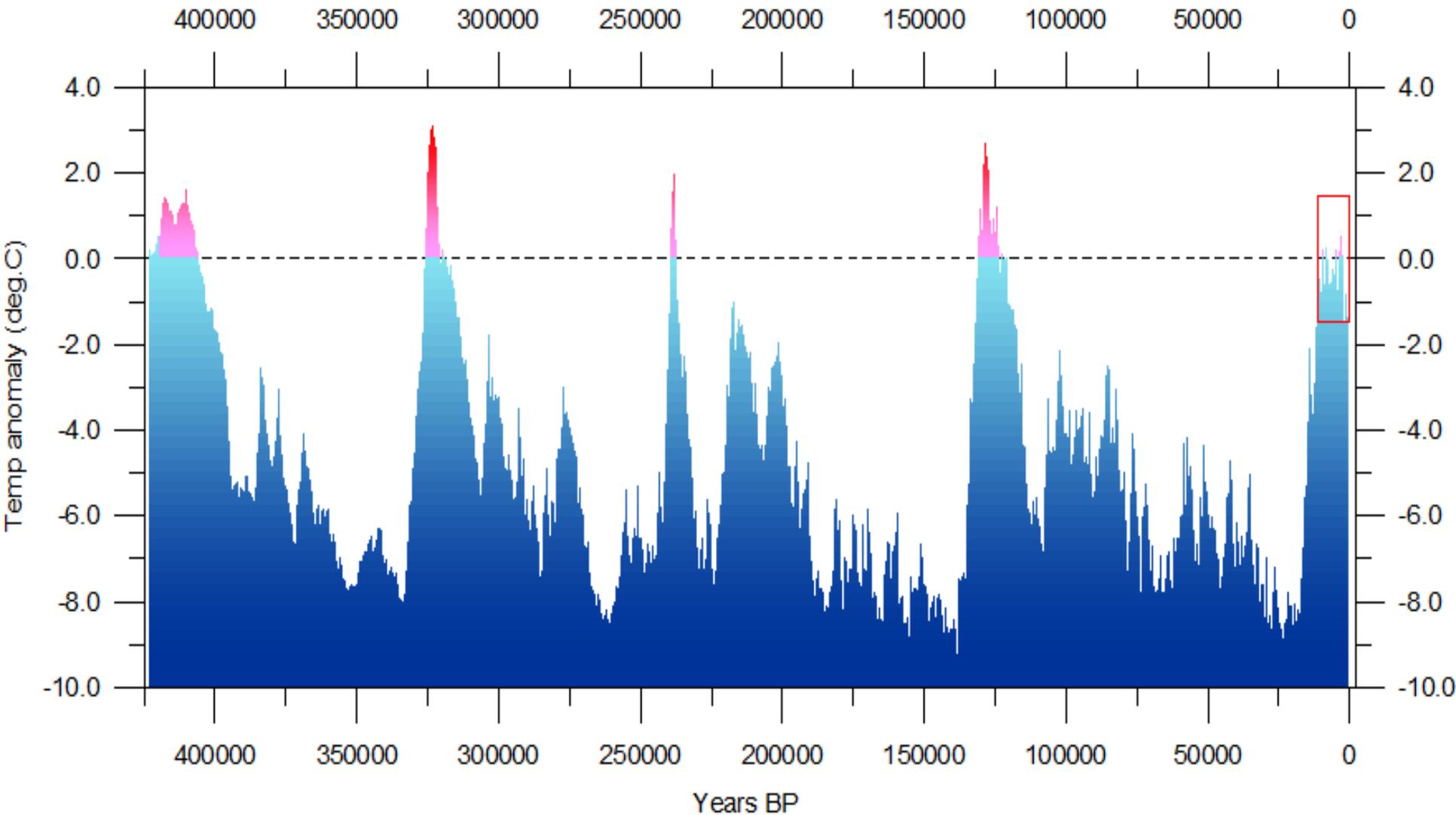
- **Early Modern period in Europe**

- Hispanic World Order (1492-1618)
- Religious Wars: Westphalian State (after 30 years war) (1648-1714)
- Utrecht settlement (1714-1814): century of Christian princes

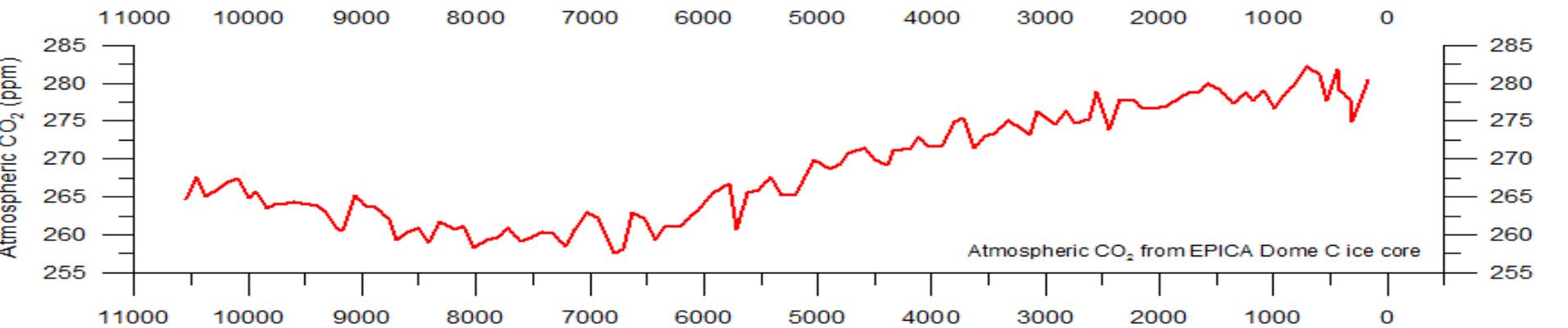
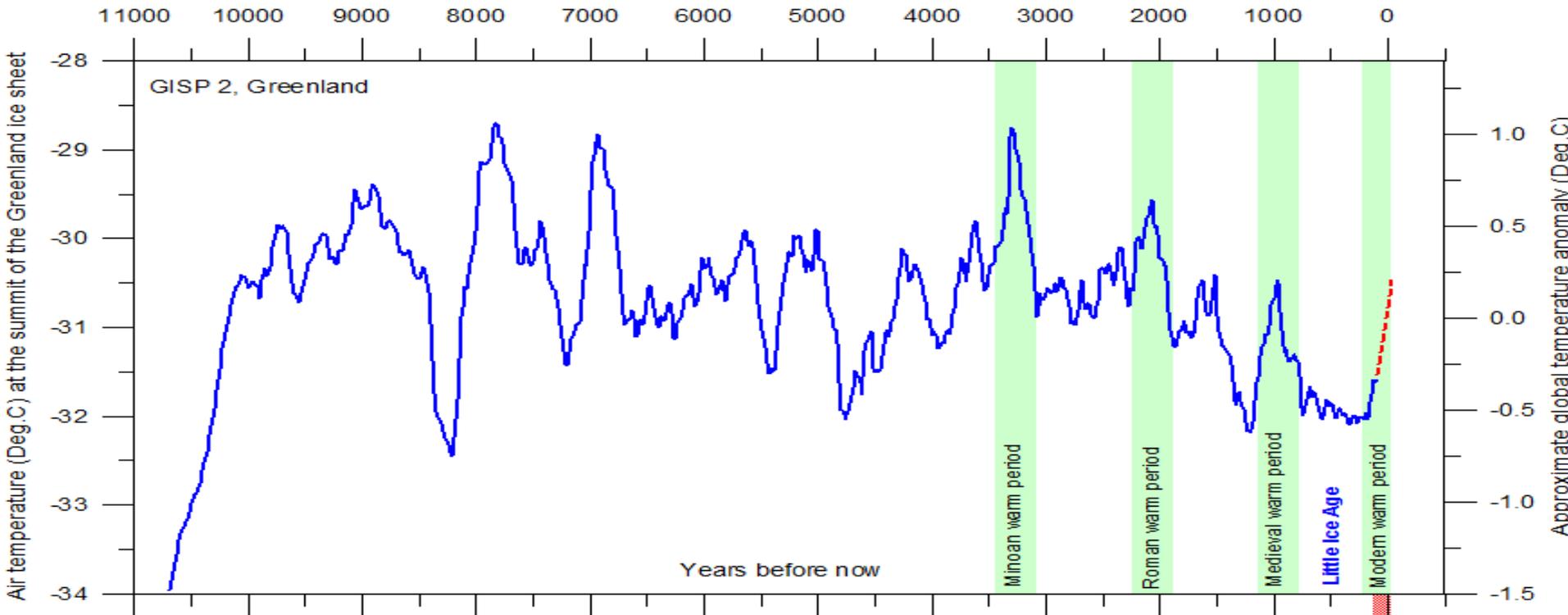
2.1 Geological Time: Earth History



2.2 Geological times: 400 000 years of climate history



2.3 The Holocene (11600 BP-now)



2.4. Change of International Order: From Vienna to Versailles

- a. **Macrostructural Change:** Impact of the first industrial revolution: Polanyi: Great transformation of the economic (**production, consumption, markets**), societal (**urbanization, democratization**), political (**imperialism, control over access resources, impacts on military strategy&warfare**) and knowledge (**scientific inventions, universities, education**) system,
- b. **Structural: Political Revolutions and Change of International Order**
 - Napoleonic war: Peace of Vienna: balance of power (no major wars among European powers and global expansion (imperialism) & independence (for Latin American countries from Spain: Mexico (1811)
 - World War I: first truly global war of European powers (totals mobilization of resources for war, massive death among civilians; **regional impact on the System of Versailles and global on the League of Nations (1919-1939)**
 - World War II: **System of Yalta & San Francisco: United Nations Charter (1945-1989)**
 - Mexican revolution (1910-1920): national impact
 - Soviet Revolution (1917): regional & global impact: Systemic competition
- c. **Conjuncture: Business cycles, presidencies (e.g. in Mexico)**
- d. **Context changing events: e.g. for United States (impacts on Mexico)**
 - i. December 1941: Japanese Attack on Pearl Harbor,
 - ii. 11 September 2001: terrorist attack: globalization and new wars
- e. **Single Events: without impact on structure & international order**

2.5. Four international orders since 1815

After independence of United States (1776), French Revolution (1789), & wars of liberation in Latin America (1809-1824) & the emergence of many new independent states (1817-1839) in Europe **four major international orders and major global structural and contextual changes can be distinguished:**

- **Peace Settlement of Vienna (1815)** & European order of a balance of power based on a Concert of Europe (1815-1914) in an era of imperialism (Africa, Asia) and the post-colonial liberation in Latin America.
- **Peace of Versailles (1919)** with a collapse of the European world order, a declining imperialism and the emergence of two new power centres in the US and in the USSR with competing political, social, economic, and cultural designs and a new global world order based on the security system of the League of Nations (1919-1939).
- **Political Settlement of Yalta (February 1945)** & system of United Nations discussed at Conferences in **Dumbarton Oaks (1944)**, **Chapultepec (Jan./ Feb. 1945)**, and adopted at **San Francisco (April/June 1945)**.
- **First peaceful change triggered by the events of 1989:** end of bipolarity (political, economic, cultural systems & nuclear deterrence, MAD doctrine)

Specific Focus: Changes in international order in 20th century

• changes from **1919 to 1989:** short 20th century

→ change since 1989: **Reconceptualization of security: widening, deepening and sectorialization**

2.6. Transformations of international order in modern history since 1789

- Thesis: All transformation of modern European History: results of major wars and revolutions:
 - **Vienna 1815:** Napoleonic wars produced the order of the European Concert of Vienna that lasted until 1914
 - Key actors different visions: Tsar Alexander, Prince von Metternich; Viscount Castlereagh, Prince Talleyrand
 - **Versailles 1919:** After World War I & Russian Revolution: first collective security system: League of Nations
 - Woodrow Wilson: Kantian universalist: Eternal Peace (1795)
 - Lloyd George: Grotian pragmatist
 - Clemenceau: Hobbesian pessimist
 - **Yalta/San Francisco:** After world War II: United Nations
 - F.D. Roosevelt (US, Kantian/Grotian)
 - W. Churchill (UK, Grotian/Hobbesian)
 - J. Stalin (USSR, Machiavellian realist)

2.7. Tragedy of Versailles: Three Competing Visions

Architects of Versailles

- **Woodrow Wilson's Kantian Approach:** 3 definite Articles of Kant's Treatise on Eternal Peace (1795)
 - **Collective Security:** Founding of League of Nations
 - **System of Rule:** Republican: Democracy Promotion
 - **Cosmopolitan Law:** Human Rights

Wilson: a) democratic system of rule, b) League of nations (international organization), c) human rights

- **Lloyd George's Grotian Pragmatism:** Maintaining the British Empire: Balance of Power
- **Clemenceau's Hobbesian Pessimism:** Security Guarantee & the German Trauma: 1870, 1914

Realism: Protection of France (punishment, humiliation of the losers): Security guarantees from the other powers (US, UK)

2.8. Impacts of International Order of Versailles and the League of Nations on the Security Concept: Three Competing Visions of International Order

Dual Result:

- **Versailles Treaty and other treaties pertaining to Austria, Hungary: occupation, reparations, redrawing of borders**
- **Covenant of the League of Nations: Concept of international security in the covenant:**

Preamble: THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES,

To **promote international co-operation & to achieve international peace & security**

- by the acceptance of obligations not to **resort to war**,
- by the prescription of open, **just and honourable relations between nations**,
- by the firm establishment of the **understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments**, and
- by the **maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect** for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another,

Agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

2.9. Change of International Order: From the League of Nations to the UN: Emergence of International Security Concept & Policy Field

Transformation of the Economic and Political Power

- i. **Exhaustion of imperial powers from WW I:** UK, France (appeasement)
- ii. **Transformation of revisionist powers: Japan, Italy, Germany**
 - **Japan:** Delayed modernization, militarization & expansion: war since 1931
 - **Italy:** Mussolini (Fascism): Attack on Ethiopia (1935)
 - **Germany:** Hitler (national socialism): rearmament and aggression: Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland
- iii. **Consolidation, emergence & expansion of a revolutionary power:**
 - **Soviet Union:** internal transformation,
 - Mobilization and modernization
- iv. **Role of the United States: isolationist world power (outside)**

Structural Deficits and Failures of the League of Nations:

- i. **Exclusion:** Germany, Soviet Union
- ii. **Weak Institutions and powers against aggressors**
- iii. **No implementation** (against members): Japan, Italy,
- iv. **Not representative:** strongest power outside of the League of Nations

2.10. From Atlantic Charter (1941) to Yalta and San Francisco (1945)

- **US postwar planning started in 1939 in State & War Department, Council of Foreign Relations, Committee for Economic Development**
 - Atlantic Charta (1941); Churchill & Roosevelt
 - Four Power Declaration (30.10.1943): US, UK, USSR, China
 - Chapultepec: Chapter VIII: regional arrangements & Agencies
 - Yalta: United Nations (agreement), San Francisco (adoption)
- **Key architects: different philosophies or visions of international order:**
 - **Roosevelt:** realist Wilsonian: 4 world policemen (Security Council)
 - **Churchill:** realist & pragmatist: maintain British empire, regional perspective, balance of power
 - **Stalin:** Machiavellian realist: security through expansion

Roosevelt's price to get Stalin's support at Yalta (Feb. 1945):

- **Veto power** at the Security Council for permanent members
- This paralyzed the collective security system from the outset.

2.11 Conceptual Elements of UN Security

- US conceptual architect of postwar order:
lessons from Wilson's failure
 - FDR: Four Policemen: Security system with teeth
 - Permanent members of the Security Council
- Conceptual components:
 - Stalin: Veto right of five permanent members
- Conceptual input of Latin American countries
 - Art. 2.7 (non-intervention) opposition to Responsibility to protect (human security)
 - Regional collective security system

2.12. International Security Concept: UN Charter

Negotiating the UN Charter

- Negotiations: **Dumbarton Oaks** (1944)
- **Chapultepec** (January/February 1945)
 - Latin American interest: Art. 2.7 (non-intervention)
 - Regional security system
- **San Francisco** (April-June 1945): signing of the UN Charter

Security concept of the UN Charter (175 x security)

- **International peace and security** (34 references)
- Preamble: **Maintain international peace and security**
- Art. 1 & 2: the major goal (besides justice): 3 times
- Art. 11: General Assembly (3 x)
- Art. 12, 15, 18, 23, 24, 26
- Chapter V: Pacific Settlements of Disputes: Art. 33, 24, 37
- Chapter VII: Art. 39, 42, 43, 47, 48, 51 (Self-Defence)
- Chapter VIII: Regional Arrangements: Art. 52, 54
- Art, 73, 76, 84, 99, 106
- **No reference on: international security or national security**

2.13. Three Security Orders in UN Charter during the Cold War

System of Collective Security (chapter VII)

- First test: Korean War, UNGA: Uniting for Peace Resolution)
- Second Test: Ultimatum of UNSC of 1990 against Iraq
- Blockade by Cold War dominance and veto power of permanent members of UNSC (Concession to Stalin)

Regional System of Collective Security (chapter VIII)

- 1943-1944: British (Churchill) regional councils under British control
- iLatin American conceptualization: regional arrangement & Agency (chap. VIII: Chapultepec (Jan./Feb. 1945))

• Hemispheric security: OAS (1947)

- 4 references to ‘collective security’, 1 to ‘national security’ in the OAS Charter, Art. 37 but none to ‘international security’ and many to security only
- Arab League (established in 1945)
- Organization of African Union (OAU) now African Union
- CSCE and since 1994: OSCE (headquarter in Vienna)

National and International Collective Self-defence (Art. 51): Exception became the rule: bipolar structure of international order: NATO vs. WP

- Sen. Vandenberg clause for bipartisan acceptance
- Economic (G. w. Kennan) & Military containment (Nitze)
- NATO (1949): Lord Ismay: Keep the Americans in, the Russians out and the Germans down (fear of German revisionism)
- Bagdad Pact (dissolved)
- SEATO (dissolved)
- ANZUS
- East: Warsaw Pact (1955-1990)

2.14. Phases of the Cold War:

Contexts for International & Alliance and Cooperative East-West Security Negotiations

- Postwar Period of Transition: Demobilization of Forces and partial Reconversion & emerging US-Soviet competition over control of Europe
- Cold War (1947-1963): Disarmament as propaganda in global power, ideol. competition
- Limited Detente (1963-1968) Arms Control I
- Détente (1969-1975/1979): Arms Control II
- Second Cold War (1980-1985)
- Gorbachev's Modernization & Global Transformation (1985-89): Arms Control III

2.15. Which Contextual Change?

- **1989-1991: End of the Cold War (East-West-Conflict): 9 November 1989: Fall of Berlin Wall**
 - **Widening:** from 2 to 5 security dimensions
 - **Deepening:** from national to human security
 - **Sectorialization:** energy, food, health, water security
- **11 September 2001: Increased Vulnerability of U.S.**
 - **G.W. Bush:** Shrinking on weapons of mass destruction, terrorists
 - **Transatlantic dispute on goals: Terrorism vs. Climate Change**
 - **B. Obama:** Widening: multilateralism, hard & soft security issues
- **2008: Econ. crises: econ. & social vulnerability**
 - **Crises, Globalization:** high economic & social vulnerability
 - **Economic & financial insecurity:** increase in food insecurity, poverty: food price protests, hunger riots

2.16. Global Contextual Change: 9 November 1989 or 11 September 2001:

- End of the Cold War?



- Reunification of Germany
- Enlargement of the EU

- New threats, challenges, vulnerabilities and risks?



2.17. Two New Security Challenges: Terrorism & Climate Change



- 11 Sept. 2001
- Terrorist Aggression
- Death toll (31 October 2003): 2752
- Surpassed Pearl Harbor (Dec. 1941)
- (9/11 Comm. Report)
- Response: war on terror: Iraq



- 29 August 2005: Impact of Hurricane Katrina
- 1838 deaths (official) and
- unofficial death toll 4,081 (?)
- \$81.2 billion (2005 USD)
- \$86 billion (2007 USD)
- Policy Response: ??
- Climate Policy: ???

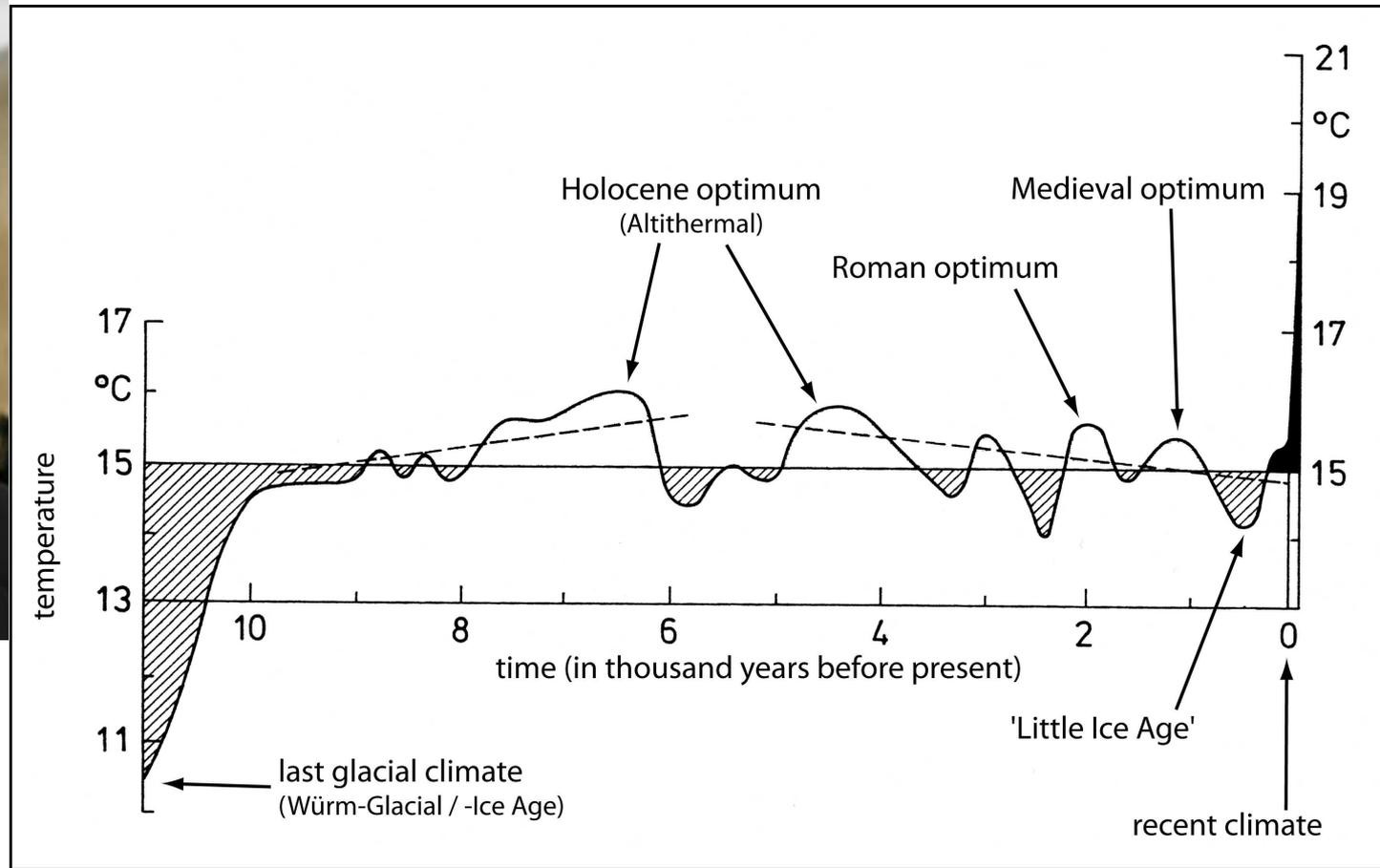
3. Globalization: Terrorism, Drugs, Global Financial Crisis

- **Globalization: new actors and processes**
 - Non-state actors: terrorists, organized crime (trafficking of humans, drugs, weapons etc.)
 - Personal: revenge, ideology, fanaticism etc.
 - Structural: greed & speculation
 - Uncontrolled financial flows and speculation:
 - 2008/2009: Global Financial and Economic Crisis
- **Change from Holocene to Anthropocene: Global Environmental Change:** global climate change, transformation of the cause of security dangers: from „them“ to „us“: „we are the threat & victim“ but both are not identical: requires global equitable solutions

3.1. From the **Holocene** (12.000 years b.p.) to the **Anthropocene** (1784 AD)

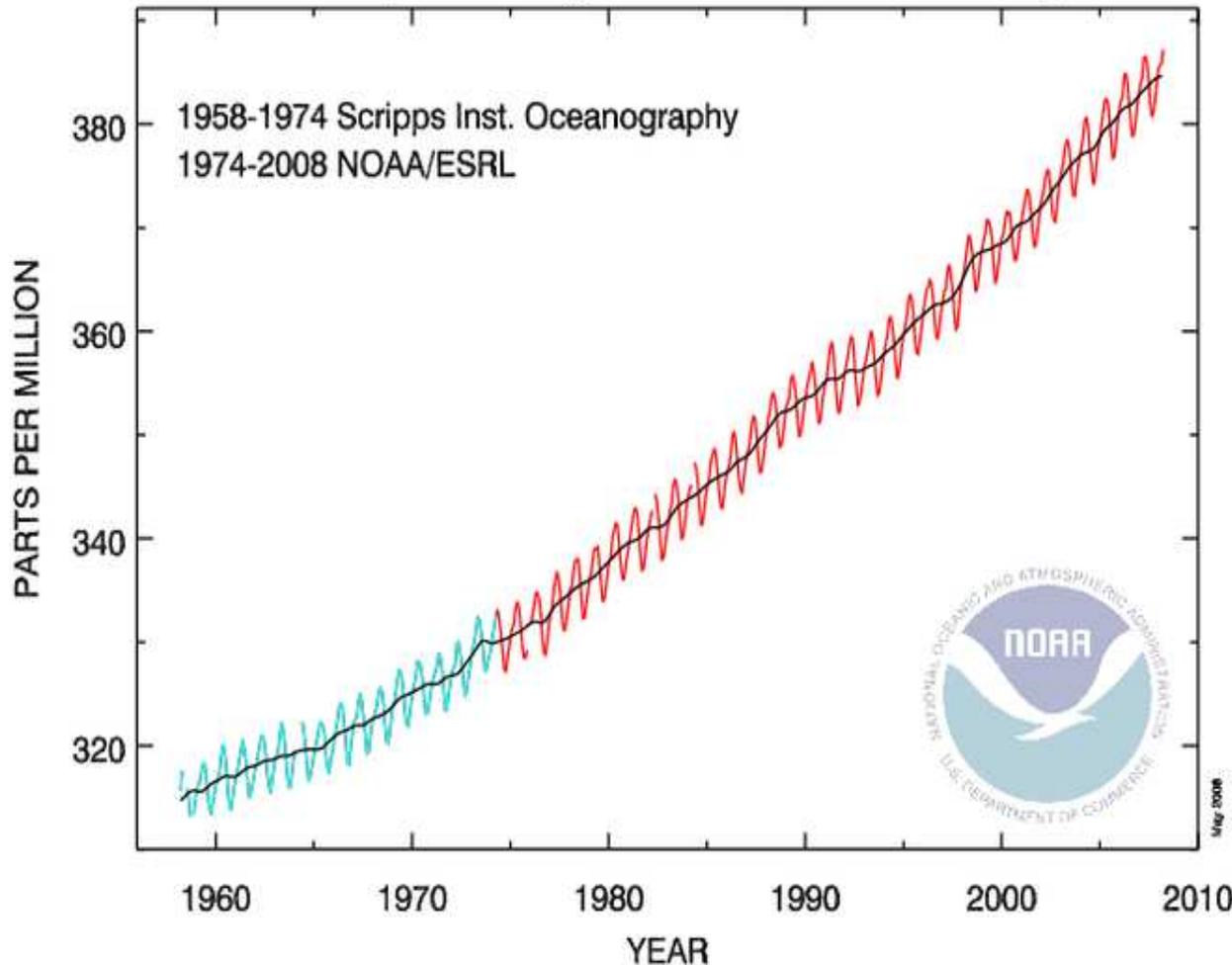


**Paul Crutzen,
Nobel Laureate for
Chemistry (1995)**



In Geology/geography: **Holocene** era of earth history since end of glacial period (10-12.000 years ago, Anthropocene, since industrial revolution (1784, J.Watt's invention of steam engine: anthropogenic climate change: burning of coal.oil,gas→GHG increase

3.2. Anthropogenic Climate Change in the Anthropocene Era (1750 to present)



- **GHG concentration in the atmosphere**
- **1750: 279 ppm, 1987: 387 ppm**
- **2011: 393 ppm**
- **1/3: 1750-1958: 279 to 315 ppm**
- **2/3: 1958-2011: 315 to 393 ppm**

4. Conceptual Innovations:

- **Crutzen:** Holocene -> Anthropocene
 - Relationship: human beings & nature
 - Anthropogenic change
- **Braudel:** 3-5 historical times: events, conjuncture and structure (long duration)
- **Social constructivism: Wendt -> Waeber** (theory of securitization)
- **Ulrich Beck's (international) Risk Society**
- **Structural (contextual) change & conceptual innovation: permanent interaction**

4.1. Conceptual Innovations:

Social Constructivism & Theory of Securitization

- From a social constructivist approach in international relations ‘security’ is the outcome of a process of social & political interaction where social values & norms, collective identities & cultural traditions are essential. [relevance of anthropology]
 - Security is *intersubjective* or “what actors make of it”.
- Copenhagen school security as a “speech act”, “where a securitizing actor designates a threat to a specified reference object and declares an existential threat implying a right to use extraordinary means to fend it off”.
 - Such a process of “securitization” is successful when the construction of an “existential threat” by a policy maker is socially accepted and where “survival” against existential threats is crucial.

4.2. Copenhagen School: Securitization

- **Securitization:** discursive & political process through which an intersubjective understanding is constructed within a political community to treat something as an existential threat to a valued referent object, and to enable a call for urgent and exceptional measures to deal with the threat.
- **'Referent object'** (that is threatened and holds a general claim on 'having to survive', e.g. **state, environment or liberal values**),
- **'Securitizing actor'** (who makes the claim – speech act – of pointing to an existential threat to referent object thereby legitimizing extraordinary measures, often but not necessarily to be carried out by the actor), and
- **'Audience'** (have to be convinced in order for the speech act to be successful in the sense of opening the door to extraordinary measures).
- **It is not up to analysts to settle the 'what is security?'** question – widening or narrowing – but more usefully one can study this as an open, empirical, political and historical question.
- **Who manages to securitize what under what conditions & how?**
- **What are the effects of this?** How does the politics of a given issue change when it shifts from being a normal political issue to becoming ascribed the urgency, priority and drama of **'a matter of security'**.

4.3. Since 1990: Widening, Deepening & Sectorialization of Security Concepts:

- **Widening** (5 dimensions, sectors),
- **Deepening** (state to people-centred: levels, actors)
- **Sectorialization** (energy, food, health, water, soil),

Dimensions & Levels of a Wide Security Concept

Security dimension ⇒ ↓ Level of interaction	Military	Political	Economic	Environmental ↓	Societal
Human individual ⇒			Food sec. Health sec.	Cause & Victim	Food sec. Health sec.
Societal/Community				↓↑	
National	shrinking		Energy security	↓↑	Food & health security
International Regional			Water security	↓↑	Water security
Global/Planetary ⇒				GEC	

4.4. Environmental & Human Security

Label	Reference object	Value at risk	Source(s) of threat
National security	The State	Territ. integrity	State, substate actors
Societal security	Societal groups	National identity	Nations, migrants
Human security	Individual, humankind	Survival	Nature, state, global.
Environmental security	Ecosystem	Sustainability	Humankind
Gender security (Oswald Spring)	Gender relations, indigenous people, minorities	Equality, identity, solidarity	Patriarchy, totalitarian institutions intolerance

4.5. From International & National to four Pillars of Human Security

- **International Peace & Security:** League of Nations (1919): “high contracting parties”; UN Charter (1945): “*We the peoples of the United Nations*”
- **National Security:** new U.S. concept World War II, post WW II: National Security Act (1947), before: goal defence, means: Army (War Dep.), & Navy Dept.
- **Alliance Security:** NATO (1949-), WP (1955-2001)
- **Common Security** (Palme Report 1982)
- **Environmental Security** (Brundtland 1987)
- **1990:** Widening, Deepening, Sectorialization
- **2001:** Shrinking: U.S. nat. security agenda **Global Security:** Steinbrunner (2000)
- **Cooperative Security:** Brookings Institution (1990’s)
- **Human Security:** UNDP (1994): 4 pillars of HS

5. Widening: Four Stages of Research on Environmental Security (1983 - 2009)

- ❖ **First conceptual phase (1983-1990):** Impacts of wars on environment (**Westing**), since 2001: **UNEP-PCAU** debate on env. security as a **national security issue** (Ullman, 1983; Mathews, 1989, N. Myers, 1989)
- ❖ **Second empirical phase (1991-2000):** Canadian (Th. **Homer-Dixon**) & Swiss (**ENCOP, Bächler**): case studies on env. scarcity, degradation as causes of environmental stress & conflicts and env. cooperation (**ENCOP**)
- ❖ **Third Phase:** methodological diversity (since ca. 1995: e.g. GECHS, state failure project, Swiss project: mitigating syndroms of global change, PRIO: Civil War research: ongoing, many directions, little synthesis)
- ❖ **Fourth Phase:** proposals by Oswald Spring, Brauch, Dalby (chap. 59 and 98 in: Facing Global Environmental Change)

5.1. Two Phases of Environmental Security Debate: 1988-today

- **Phase 1: Environmental (National) Security (3-4 Stages)**
 - Policy debate: started in 1989 in the USA: putting environmental issues on the US national security debate
 - Scientific discourse: with theory guided case study research: 1990s
 - Three stages of the environmental security research
 - Oswald Spring, Brauch, Dalby: proposal for a fourth phase
- **Phase 2: Global Environmental Change and Climate Change and Security Debate & Discourse**
 - Policy debate: UN, EU, USA, UK etc. (since 2002)
 - International, national and human security (framing)
 - Scientific discourse: since 2007
 - Different positions of the authors
 - Different scientific approaches and methods

5.2. Three Stages of Research on Environmental Security (1983 - 2006)

- ❖ **First conceptual phase (1983-1990):**
 - ❖ Impacts of wars on environment (Westing), 2001: UNEP-PCAU
 - ❖ debate on environmental security as a national security issue (Ullman, 1983; Mathews, 1989, N. Myers, 1989)
- ❖ **Second empirical phase (1991-2000):** case studies on environmental scarcity, degradation as causes of environmental stress & conflicts and environmental cooperation
 - ❖ Canadian (Th. **Homer-Dixon**)
 - ❖ Swiss (**ENCOP, Bächler**): (**ENCOP**)
- ❖ **Third Phase:** methodological diversity (1995-?): many directions, little synthesis
 - ❖ **GECHS**, state failure project (1999-2009)
 - ❖ **Swiss project:** mitigating syndroms of global change
 - ❖ **Collier, Bannon, World Bank studies:** abundance as conflict cause
 - ❖ **PRIO:** Civil War research

5.3. First Research Stage: Policy Agenda Setting: Threat to (inter)national security

- **International security:** Brundtland Report (1987)
 - New threats: environmental pollution, scarcity & degradation of resources: water, soil and food
 - Less climate change (evolving issue on policy agenda)
- **US national security:** discourse
 - New policy focus and allocation of financial resources
 - New military tasks and missions (during the Clinton Administration) Under Secretary of Defense for ES
- **State-centred:** State and international organizations as key referent and actor to respond!

5.4. Second Research Stage: Empirical Case Studies: Toronto & Zuerich

Two empirical case study projects: different focus

- **Toronto group: Homer-Dixon: 1991-1999**
 - 3 projects of case studies: linkage between environmental scarcity, stress and conflict
 - Homer-Dixon 1991, 1994, 1996, 1999, 2000; Homer-Dixon/Blitt 1999.
- **Swiss group: Bächler & Spillmann: ENCOP (1990-1999)**
 - environmental scarcity & degradation as causes of environmental conflict & of conflict resolution outcomes
 - Bächler 1990, 1995, 1999a, 1999b, 1999c; Bächler/Spillmann 1996a, 1996b; Bächler/Böge/Klötzli/ Libiszewski/Spillmann 1996).
- **North American Debate influenced by Homer-Dixon**
- **Inductive & deductive studies:**
 - complex interaction among environmental inputs,
 - environmental-societal linkages and extreme outcomes

5.5. Second Research Stage: Homer-Dixon Sources and Consequences of Environmental Security (1994: 31)

Sources of environmental scarcity

Social Effects

Decrease in quality and quantity of renewable resources

Population growth

Unequal resource access

Increased environmental scarcity

Migration, expulsion

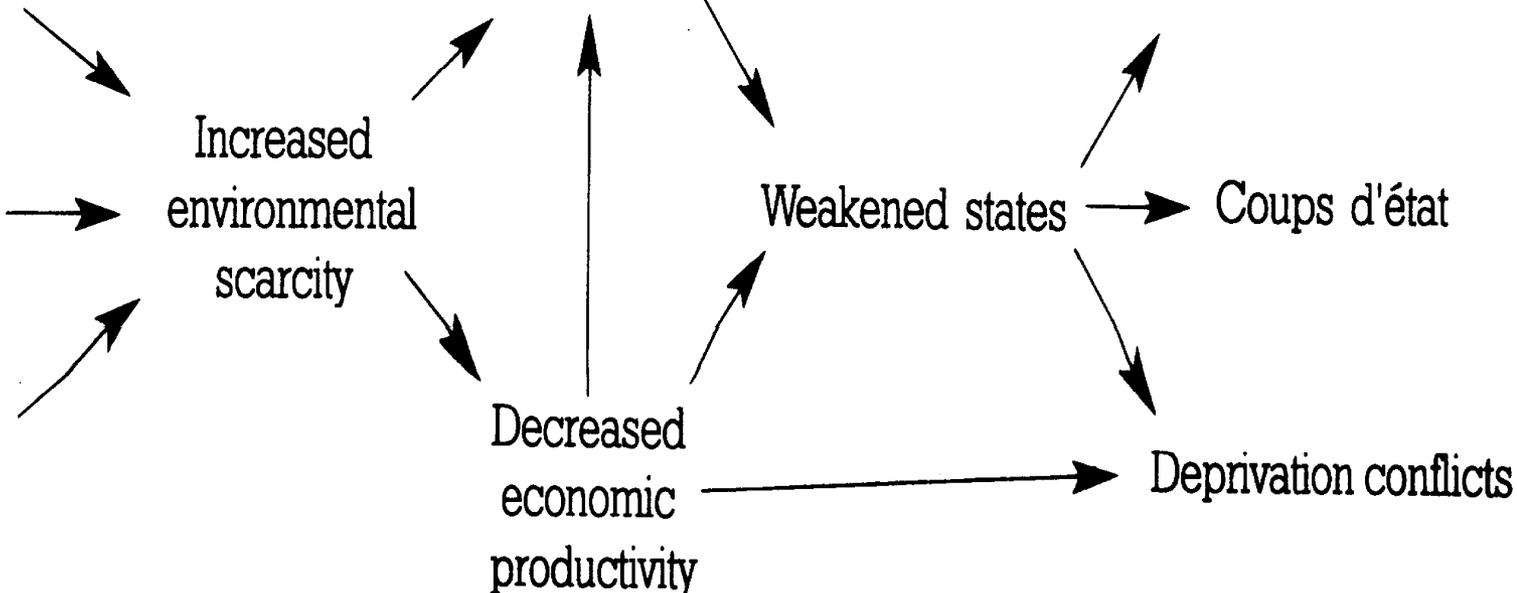
Decreased economic productivity

Weakened states

Ethnic conflicts

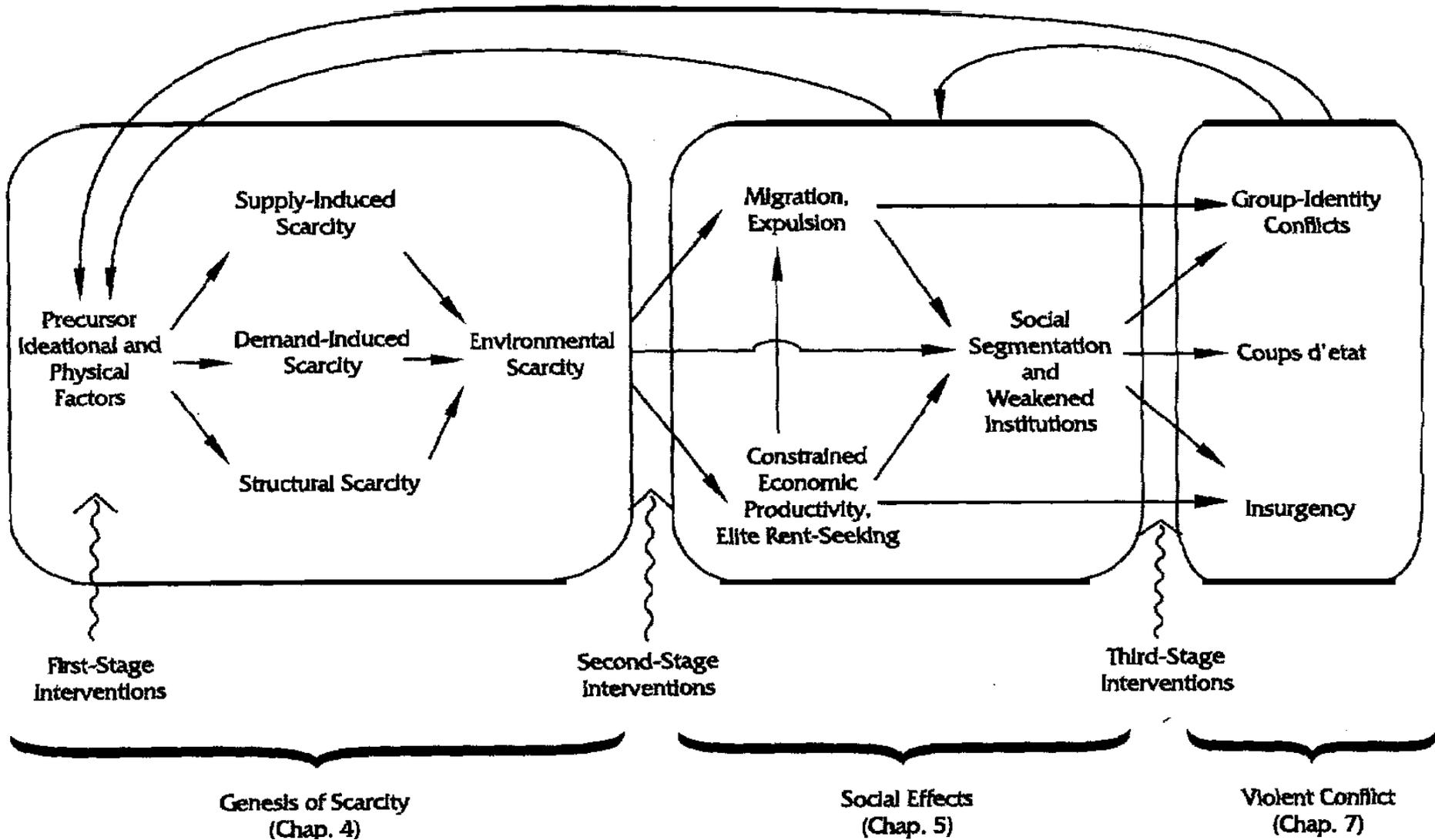
Coups d'état

Deprivation conflicts



5.6. Second Research Stage: Homer-Dixon

Core model of causal links environmental scarcity and violence (1999: 134)



5.7. Second Research Stage: ENCOP

- **Environmental conflicts manifest themselves as political, social, economic, ethnic, religious or territorial conflicts over resources or national interests, or any other type of conflict.**
- **Traditional conflicts *induced by environmental degradation*. Environmental conflicts are characterized by principal importance of degradation in one or more of the following fields:**
 - **overuse of renewable resources;**
 - **overstrain of environment's sink capacity (pollution);**
 - **improvement of the space of living (Bächler 1998: 24).**

5.8. Second Research Stage: ENCOP

- ENCOP's analytical framework: analysis of environmental conflict followed four steps:
 - to describe the environmental situation on the background of human activities;
 - to deduce the social and economic effects of environmental transformation and degradation;
 - to analyse the political implications of these socio-economic effects and conflicts arising from them; and
 - to evaluate approaches to peaceful management and resolution on different levels of analysis.
- ENCOP concluded that besides resource degradation other contextual factors were decisive for conflicts.

5.9. Second Research Stage: ENCOP

Bächler (1998: 24) concluded

- Neither apocalyptic scenarios of env. catastrophes nor alarmist prognoses of world environmental wars tenable.
- Environmentally-caused conflicts escalate across the violence threshold only under certain conditions.
- Human-induced environmental change can be either a contributing or a necessary factor for both the emergence and/or the intensification of violent conflicts.
 - Violent conflicts triggered by environmental disruption are due in part to socio-economic and political developments.
 - Social and political maldevelopment, due in part to degradation of natural resources, is an international peace and security challenge.
- *Development and security dilemmas* are connected to a syndrome of problems which produces environmental conflicts of varying intensity and nature.

5.10. Third Research Stage: 1990s

- **2nd & 3rd phase: open: dependent variable - conflict vs. cooperation.**
- Many research projects: some addressed scarcity problems, such as:
 - The *Global Environmental Change and Human Security (GECHS 1999-2009)* project within IHDP: a framework for research cooperation and coordination.
 - *ECOMAN, ECONILE and Environmental Change and Conflict Transformation* in Zürich and Bern continue case study approach, focus on peaceful & cooperative management of renewable resource use in the Horn of Africa, the Nile region
 - Part of Swiss project: '*Research Partnerships for Mitigating Syndromes of Global Change*'.
 - *Scientific Advisory Council on Global Environment Issues of the German government* focuses on the patterned interaction of symptoms of global change with socio-economic processes (WBGU 1996, 1997; Biermann/Petschel-Held/Rohloff 1999).
 - *The Transboundary Freshwater Dispute Database* at the Oregon State University
 - *Global Assessment of Environment and Security (GLASS)* at Kassel University.
 - Others (Peluso/Watts 2001) have analyzed causes and intensity of violent **conflicts, but only few have focused on environment and conflict linkages.**
- **Debate was picked up by global peace research, security studies, environmental and development research communities.**
- **By geographers (Dalby, Bohle), social anthropologists (Elwert) and hydrologists (Biswas, Bogardi/Castelein) et al.**

5.11. Results of Environmental Security Research (1990s)

- Recognition that environmental change and resource scarcity and degradation was **less likely to lead to international war** than had been supposed in the first phase.
- While **national security** is important, and there are plausible arguments concerning threats of state collapse and internal conflict caused, triggered or intensified at least in part by environmental factors, the **focus is more on state capacity and the policy dilemmas of social and environmental change**.
- Research focused on **insecurity in many places** looking for policy initiatives that can **mitigate disruptions caused by environmental change**.
- The hazard community identified environmental & social vulnerabilities from natural hazards, storms and droughts. But only few studies discussed linkages between hazards, disasters and conflicts that occur in complex emergencies.

5.12. Scientific Critiques of Environmental Security Approaches

- **Diehl/Gleditsch (2001)** pointed to limitations & gaps in environmental security including insights without evidence (empirical and theoretical short-comings), and on primary focus on environmental conflicts rather than cooperation.
- **Peluso/Watts (2001)** rejected “automatic, simplistic linkages between ‘increased environmental scarcity’, ‘decreased economic activity’, and ‘migration’ that purportedly ‘weaken states’ and cause ‘conflicts and violence’”.
- Environmental scarcity was challenged from Cornucopian perspective (**Deudney 1991; Lomborg 2001**): human inventiveness, trade, substitution of raw materials, price increases encouraging technological change: answers
- **Conca (2001)**: environmental cooperation may have benefits but does not “prevent or mitigate violent conflict” & more conflict management may be needed.

5.13. Scientific Critiques of Environmental Security Approaches

- **Resource abundance** is more likely to lead to conflict while scarcity fosters cooperation (Collier, Bannon et al. World Bank sponsored studies).
- **Peluso/Watts (2001)** focus on “ways that **resource environments** (tropical forests) & **environmental processes** (deforestation, conservation, or resource amelioration) are constituted by, & constitute, the **political economy of access** to & control over resources.”
- They claim that both shortage and abundance and processes of environmental rehabilitation and amelioration are often associated with violence.
- **Conca/Dabelko (2002)** suggested shifting focus of research & policy debate from ‘ecological security’ or from ‘violent outcomes’ of environmental stress to environmental peacemaking

5.14. New Areas for Multilateral Cooperation: Environmental Conflict Prevention & Peacemaking

- **UNEP** (2004): “scientific assessments of link between environ-ment & conflict to promote conflict prevention/peace building”
- **UNEP Div. of Early Warning and Assessment (DEWA)** launched an *Environment and Conflict Prevention* initiative
- Environmental security issues were put on policy agenda of many international organizations: **ASEAN, NAFTA, OAS, and African Union**
- **OSCE**: security risks from environmental stress in Central, Ea-stern, South-Eastern Europe, Caucasus, Central Asia from pollution, shortage of drinking water, disposal of radioactive waste, reduction of human losses in disasters & natural catastrophes
- **ENVSEC initiative** of OSCE, UNEP, UNDP, NATO on SE Europe, Central Asia
- **Madrid Declaration on Environmental Security** (Nov. 2007)
- **European Union**: two strategies for ‘environmental security’:
 - integrating environmental goals into all sectoral policies (**Cardiff process**),
 - stressing conflict prevention and management in its activities in interna-tional organizations (UN, OSCE) and for specific regions.
 - **Barcelona European Council in March 2002**, a sustainable developm. strategy emphasized of environmental concerns into sectoral policies.
 - **European Council meeting in Thessaloniki** (2003) approved a ‘green strategy’

5.15. Tasks for a Fourth Phase of Research on Environment & Security

- ❖ **Fourth Phase: My proposal: Human & Environmental Security and Peace (HESP): chapt. 2 and 51 (2003), in: Brauch: in: Security & Env. in the Mediterranean**
- 1. Broaden research stakeholders: Bring together those working on human & environmental security issues with the peace research, development, environmental research communities.**
- 2. Broaden empirical focus: on six causes of the Survival Hexagon & interactions (nat. sciences: simulation techniques, modelling).**
- 3. Focus on fatal outcomes & interactions: disaster, migration, crises, conflict & efforts for resolution, prevention & avoidance.**
- 4. Broaden policy constituency: climate change, disaster & early warning (disaster & conflict) & conflict prevention community.**
- 5. Support mainstreaming of policy initiatives: early warning, adaptation & mitigation & conflict prevention,**

Requires: Multidisciplinarity & horizontal cooperation

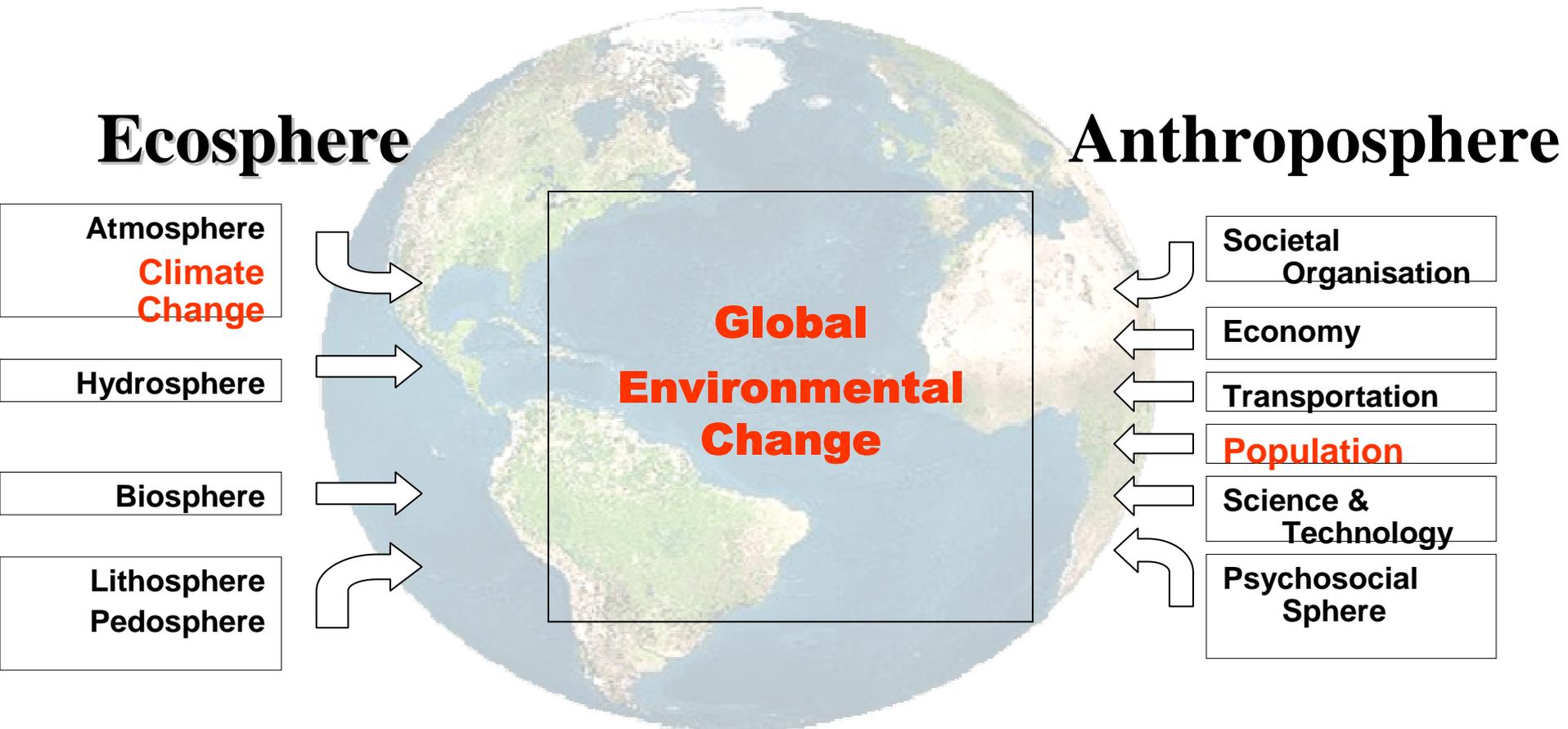
5.16. Goals for Fourth Research Phase

- ❖ A “**people-centred**” **human security perspective** from the individual to the global level to develop strategies for adaptation and mitigation to reduce both the likelihood and the impact of and the vulnerability to these outcomes by strengthening resilience .
- ❖ The **normative orientation** at the dual policy goals of sustainable development and sustainable peace requires the scientific development of complex **knowledge, a societal and political problem awareness, anticipatory learning and “ingenuity” in the framework of a “culture of prevention”**.
- ❖ **Practical purpose & policy relevance** of a 4th phase of research is to recognise **early-warning indicators**, to examine both the **environmental consequences of wars and the existing conflicts over scarce resources** that may lead to environmental stress to **prevent that they escalate into violence** and, last but not least, to **develop longer-term priorities for European countries, as well as for international organisations** to avoid environmental outcomes from occurring, to contribute to **regional environmental good governance**.

5.17. From Research to Action: Enhancing Environmental & Human Security Towards Environmental Conflict Avoidance

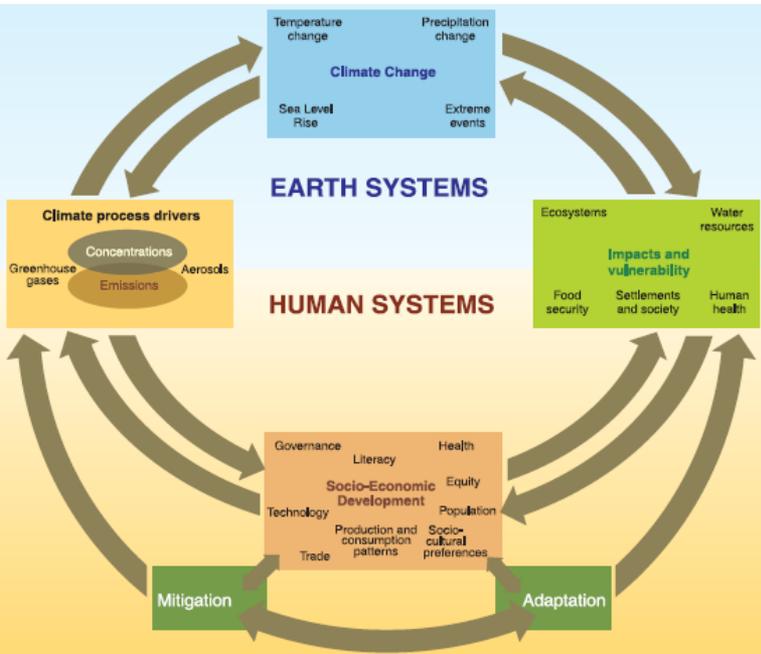
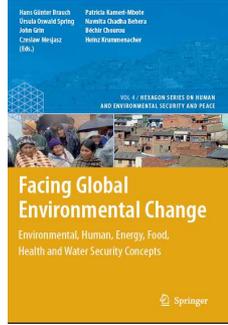
- **Primary Goal:** address fatal outcomes of GEC: hazards and disasters, migration, crises & conflicts that may have been caused, triggered, induced, influenced by: a) environmental stress and b) extreme weather events,
- **Enhance Environmental Security:** Address human behaviour that contributes to GEC via climate change, soil degradation, water pollution & scarcity: sustainable strategies
- **Enhance Human Security:** address factors of GEC that challenge survival of individuals, families, villages, ethnic groups
- **Avoid Environmentally-induced Conflicts:** address structural or causal factors (of Survival Hexagon), e.g. climate policy, combat desertification, cope with water stress.

5.18. Security Challenges of Global Environmental Change



GEC poses a threat, challenge, vulnerabilities and risks for human security and survival.

5.19. Addressing Linkages of Global Climate Change and Security



Four Schools

- Dramatizers: Climate wars
- Sceptics: lack of research (PRIO)
- **Empiricists: PEISOR Model & linkages**
- Trend & future scenarios

Two Approaches

- **Policy & Scenario analysis (consultants)**
- **Causal analysis**
 - Natural phenomena -> migration, crises, conflicts (violence)
 - 2nd phase: Homer-Dixon, Bächler
 - 4th phase: Oswald – Brauch - Dalby
- **Discourse analysis: climate change**
 - International security
 - National security

Objects of Security Analysis (Securitization)

- Physical Effects: e.g. temp, rise
- Impacts: Sectors & Regions
- Societal Effects (migration, crises, conflicts)

Whether they pose:

- **Objective Security Dangers**
- **Subjective Security Concerns**

5.20 Towards the PEISOR Model

- **PEISOR: Result of pressure and response models and of debates on environmental security and on natural hazards.**

The PEISOR model combines five stages:

- ***P (pressure)*** refers to 6-8 drivers of global environmental change
- ***E to the effects*** of the linear, non-linear or chaotic interactions within the 'hexagon' on environmental scarcity, degradation, and stress;
- ***I to extreme or fatal impacts*** of human-induced and climate-related natural hazards (storms, flash floods, flooding, landslides, drought);
- ***SO to societal outcomes***: internal displacement, migration, urbanization, crises, conflicts, state failure, and
- ***R to response by society***, business community, state where both traditional & modern technological knowledge can make a difference.

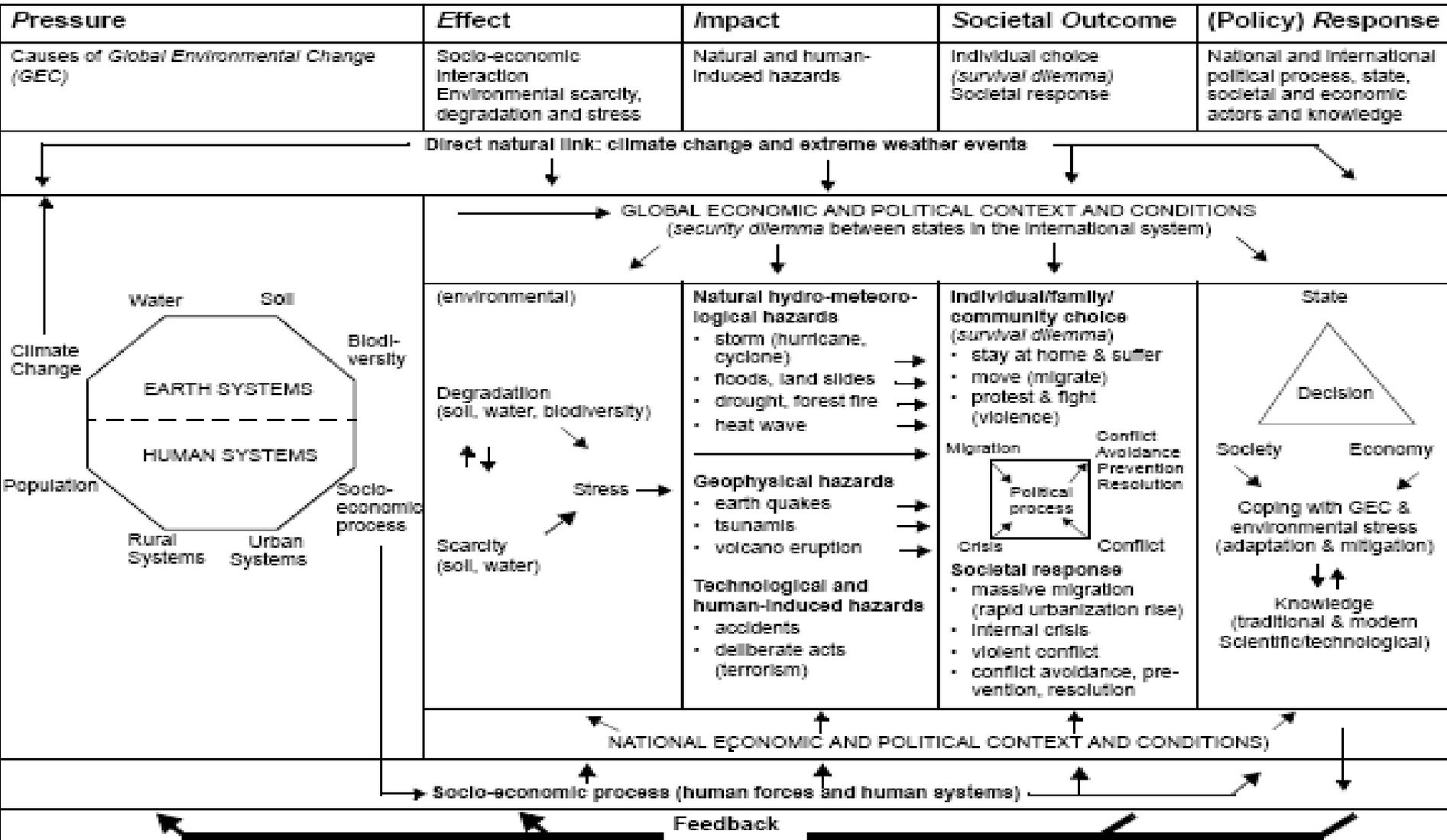
Hazards cannot be prevented, their **impact** in terms of deaths, affected people, economic & insured damages can be reduced by policies & measures that link protection with empowerment of the people to become more resilient.

5.21. PEISOR Model on Climate Change: Geophysical Effects & Societal Outcomes

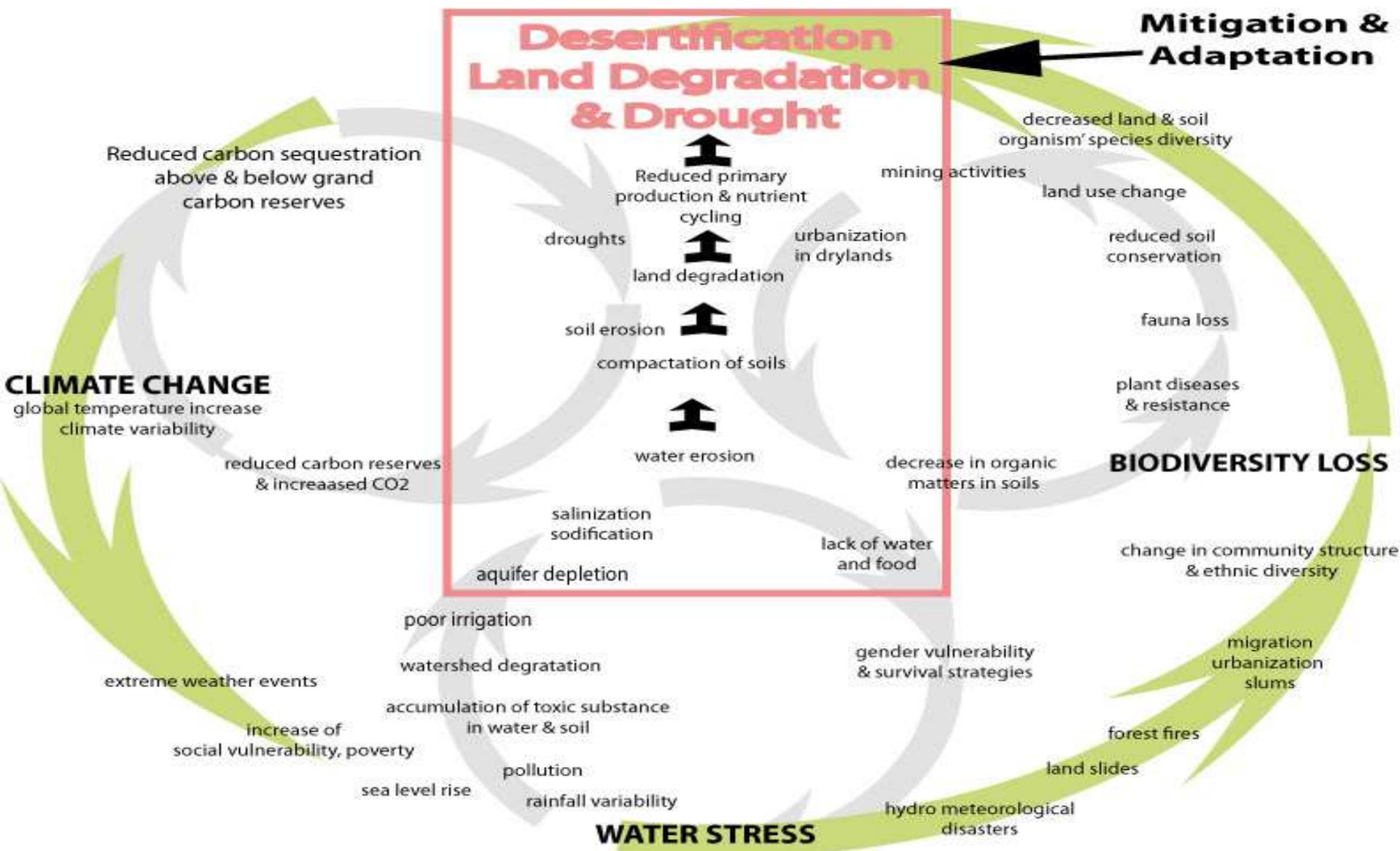
- **4 geophysical effects will most likely increase**
 - Temperature change (2°C stabilization goal by 2100??)
 - Sea-level Rise much higher and longer lasting (threat)
 - Precipitation change (impact on drought, food security)
 - Increase in hydro-meteorological, climatological hazards

Likelihood of crossing tipping points in climate system may rise
- **2°C world increasingly unlikely, 4°-6°C world more probable: dangerous, catastrophic Climate Change**
 - People's movement (displacement, distress migration)
 - Domestic, regional crisis & violent conflicts may increase
- **How to analyse these changes: models?**

5.22. Global Environmental Change & Impacts: Revised PEISOR Model (2009)

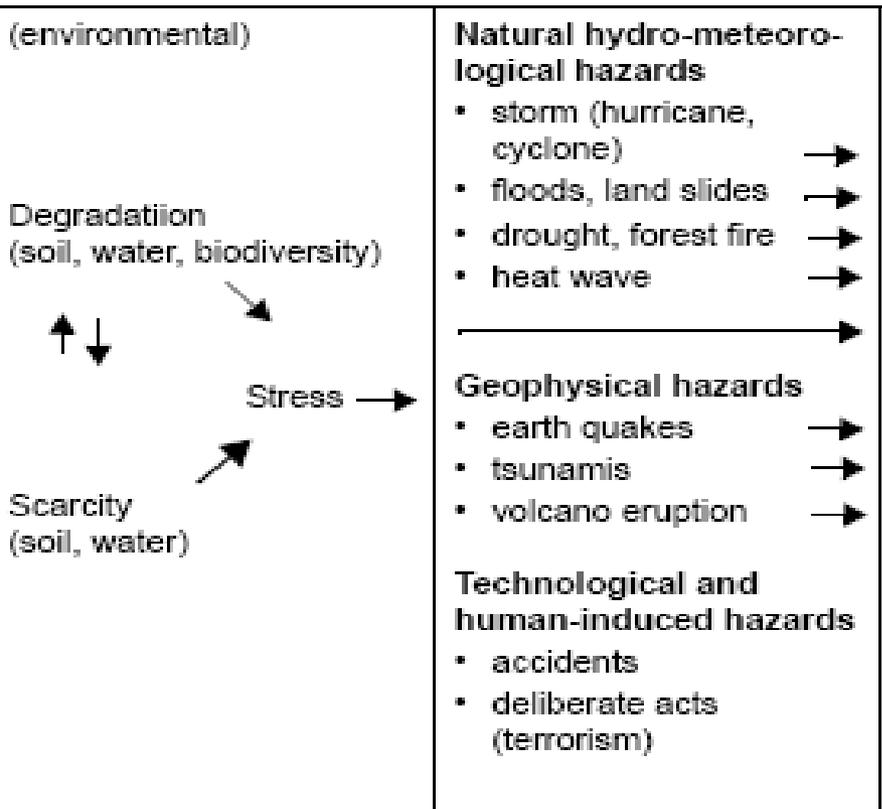


5.23 P: Pressure: Interactions of GEC



Effect	Impact
Socio-economic interaction Environmental scarcity, degradation and stress	Natural and human-induced hazards

Direct natural link: climate change and extreme weather



NATIONAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL

5.24 E: Effect & I: Impact

- **Effect:** Environmental security debate of 1990s
 - Toronto school
 - Swiss school (ENCOP):
 - **Soil scarcity > degradation > environmental stress**
- **Impact:** climate change -> extreme weather events
 - Hydrometeorological hazards
 - **Drought (wind erosion)**
 - Heatwaves
 - Forest fires
 - Storms (hurricanes)
 - **Flash floods & landslides (wind & water erosion)**

5.25 Effects: Environmental Scarcity, Degradation & Stress

Four Phases of Env. Sec, Research since 1983 - 2003

First Phase: Conceptual : Environmental Security

**Second Phase: Empirical : Case studies: environ-
mental scarcity, degradation, stress > Conflict**

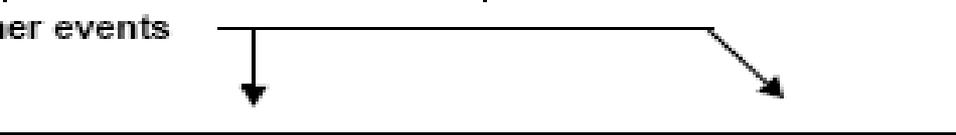
➤ **Toronto: Homer-Dixon: since 1991: 3 Projects (t. 1)**

➤ **Zürich/Bern: Günther Bächler, K.Spillmann (text 2)**

Third Phase: Manifold Research without Integration

Fourth Phase: own proposal (chap. 59 and 98)

Societal Outcome	(Policy) Response
Individual choice (<i>survival dilemma</i>) Societal response	National and international political process, state, societal and economic actors and knowledge



POLITICAL CONTEXT AND CONDITIONS
(events in the international system)

**Individual/family/
community choice**
(*survival dilemma*)

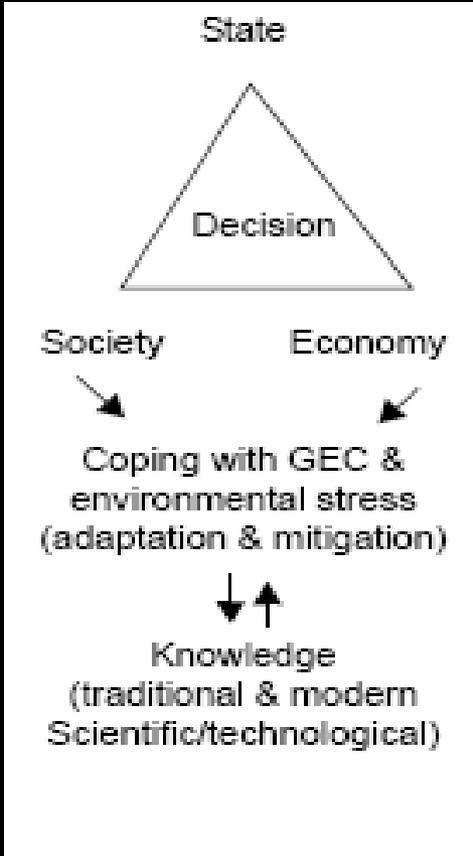
- stay at home & suffer
- move (migrate)
- protest & fight (violence)

Migration

Crisis Conflict

Societal response

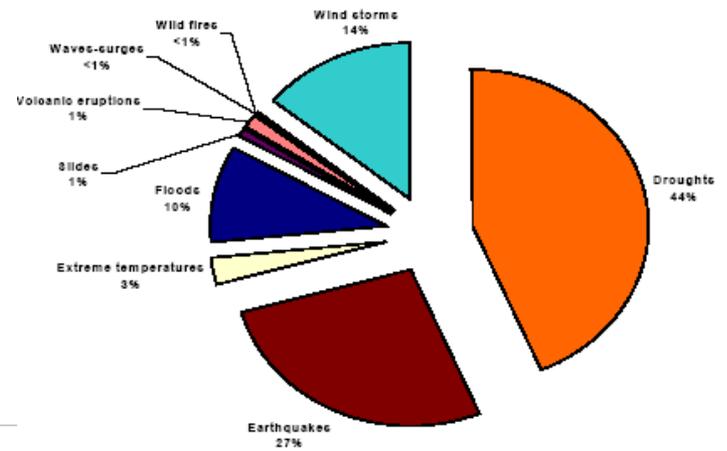
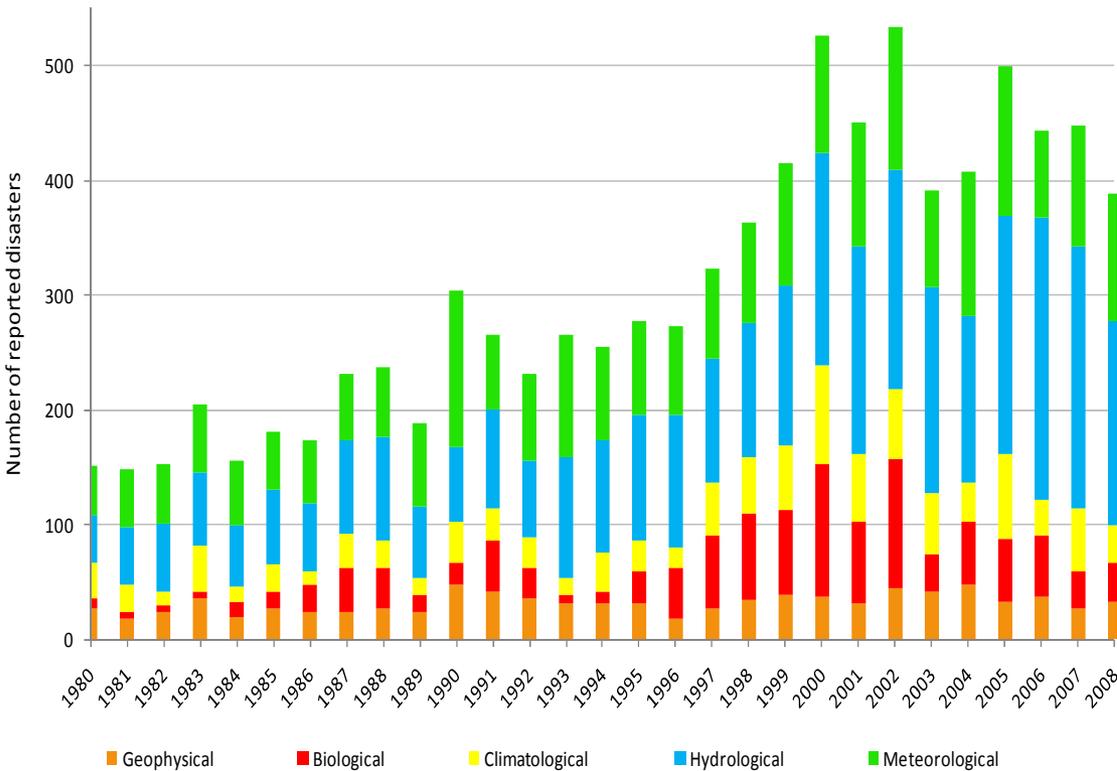
- massive migration (rapid urbanization rise)
- internal crisis
- violent conflict
- conflict avoidance, prevention, resolution



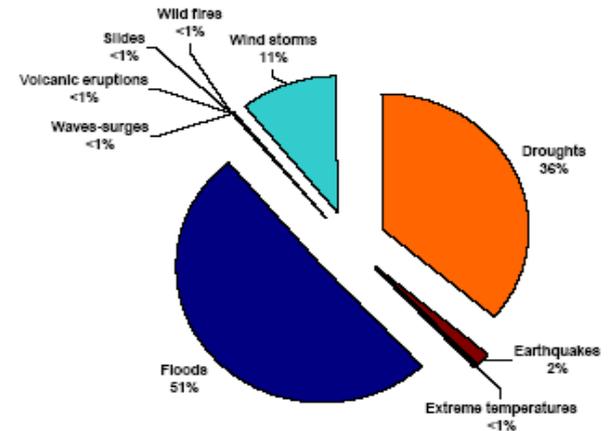
5.26. SO: Societal Outcomes

- Individual level (choice)
 - Human security perspective
 - Survival dilemma of humans
- State/society level
 - Hunger, famine
 - Migration to urban slums
 - Rural-rural migration
 - Transborder migration
 - Seasonal (labour, nomads)
 - Permanent
 - Crises: domestic
 - Conflicts:
 - Peaceful protests

5.27. Climate-related natural hazards



Reported Death of Natural Hazards globally (1974-2003): 2.066.273 persons
 Affected persons of Natural Hazards globally (1974-2003): 5 076 494 541 persons



(1) injured + homeless + affected

Changes of Hydro-meteorological Hazards (Guha-Sapir 2010)

5.29. Pentagon of Extreme Outcomes

Increase in greenhouse gas emissions

Specific national socio-economic and political conditions

National

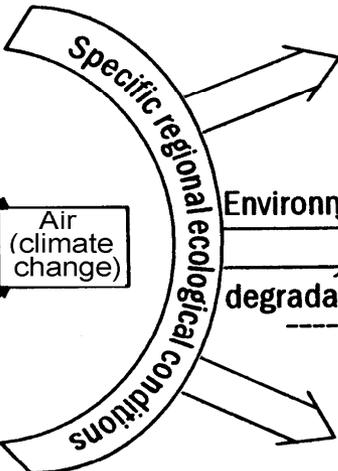
Urban violence

Human induced (demand factors)

Nature induced (supply factors)

Water

Land



Environmental degradation

Hunger riots

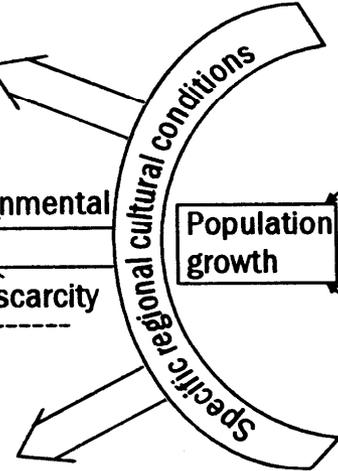
Dispute on access to water and land

Migration

Domestic instability and crisis

Civil wars

Environmental scarcity



Rural systems

Urban systems

Clashes on water and land migrants vs nationals

Violent conflicts on water and territory

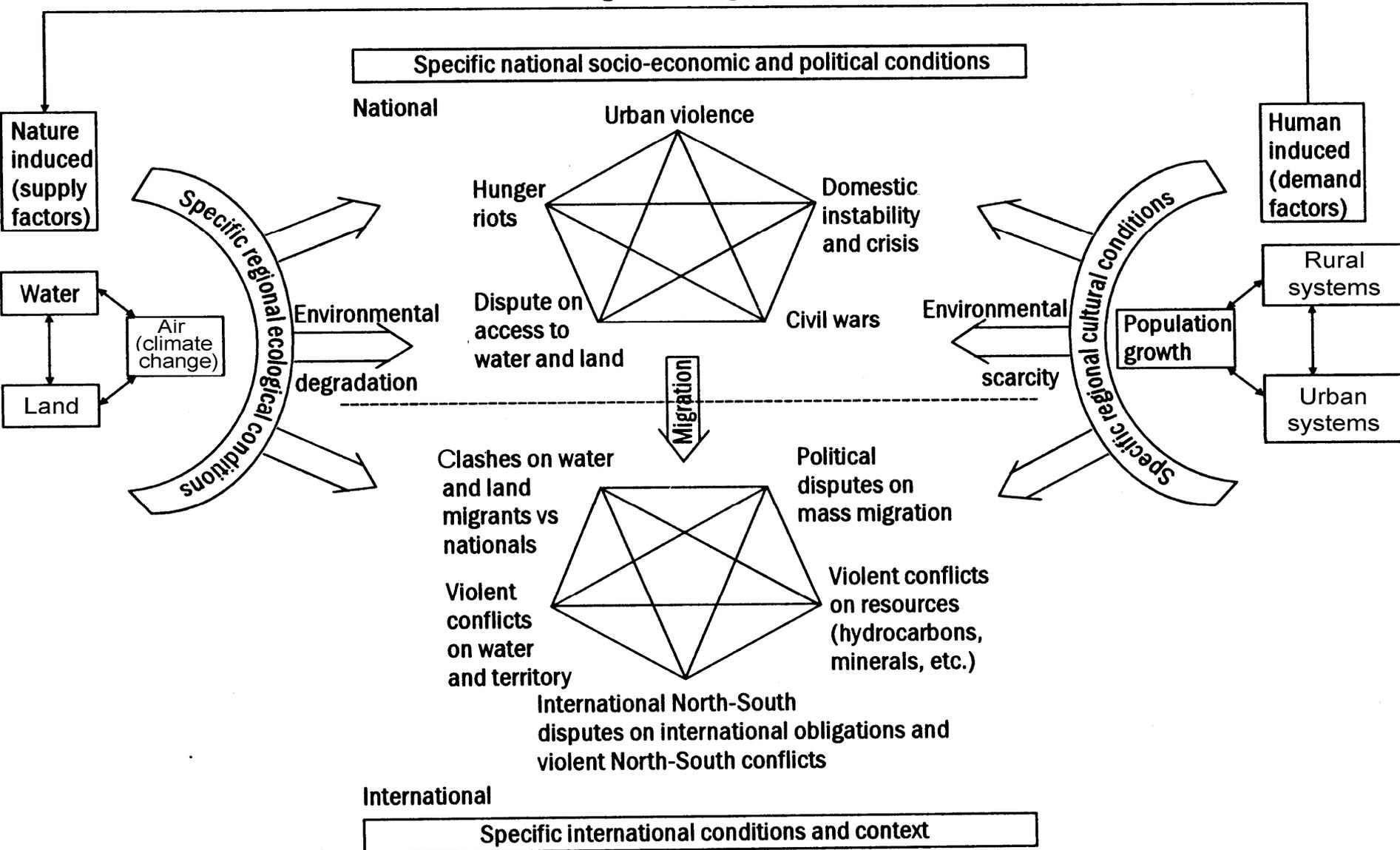
Political disputes on mass migration

Violent conflicts on resources (hydrocarbons, minerals, etc.)

International North-South disputes on international obligations and violent North-South conflicts

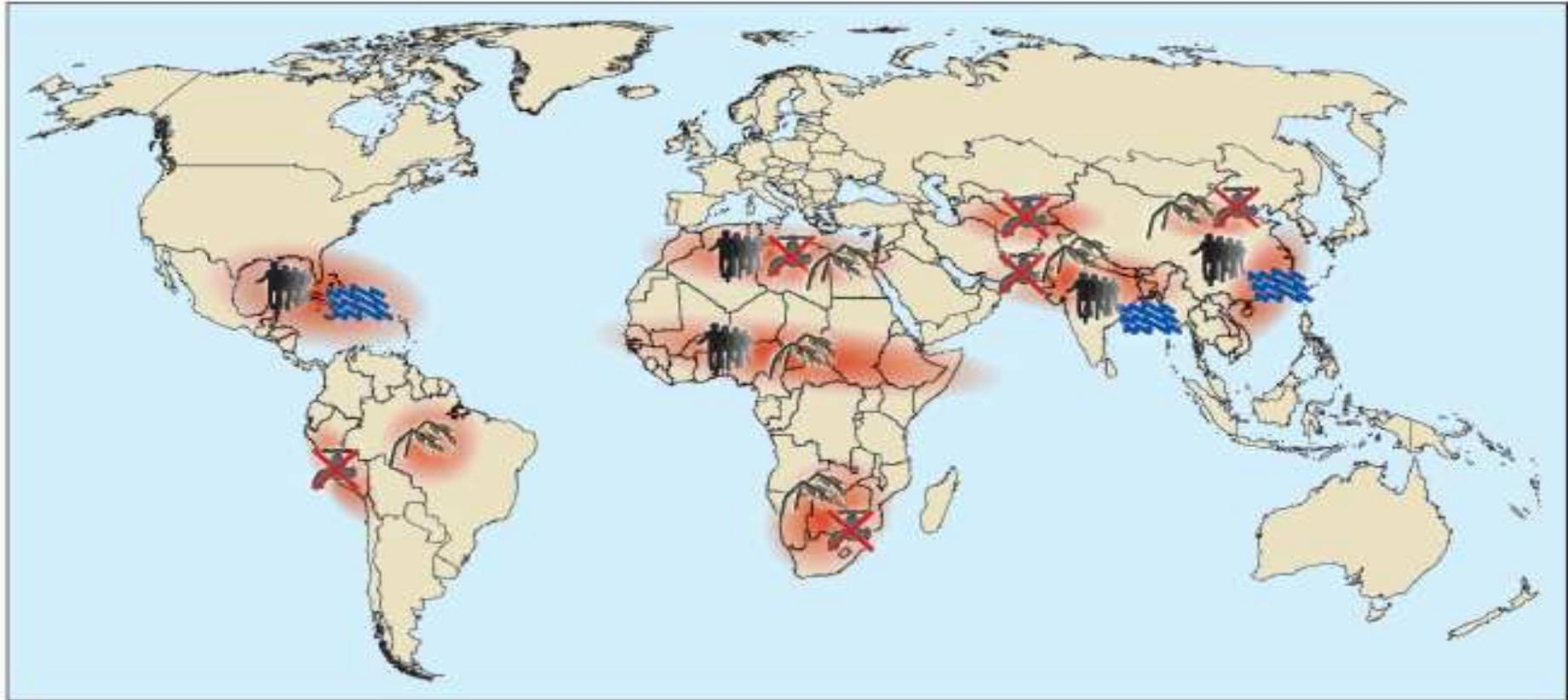
International

Specific international conditions and context



5.30. Environmental Hotspots (WBGU 2008)

Figure 4.7: Regional hotspots and security risks associated with climate change. Source: WBGU (2008: 4), Reprinted with permission.



Conflict constellations in selected hotspots



Climate-induced degradation of freshwater resources



Climate-induced decline in food production



Hotspot



Climate-induced increase in storm and flood disasters



Environmentally-induced migration

5.31. Climate Change & Security: Challenges for New Peace & Security Policy in Anthropocene

- **New security challenges require new security & peace policy for the Anthropocene**
- **We are the threat! Impossible to fight war against oneself**
 - **threat:** our fossil energy consumption and way of life
 - **solution: GHG reduction by 2050: -50% (global), -80% ICs**
 - Electricity, heating, transportation, industry
 - Increase in energy efficiency and renewable energy
 - **Global responsibility and global action**
 - **Proactive vs. reactive Policy and Crisis Management**
 - **Reactive: Welt financial crisis: no price is too high**
 - **Proactive: climate change: we cannot afford drastic measures**
 - **Short term horizon: political & economic action**

6. Deepening: Evolution of the Human Security Concept & Debate

The human security concept has evolved since 1989:

- **1989: Arthur Westing (US forrester working at SIPRI and PRIO on environmental impacts of herbicides in war)**
- **1990: January meeting of Pres. Arias (Costa Rica)**
- **1994: Mabhub ul Haq: UNDP's 1994 Report**
- **1996-2008: UNESCO: global dialogue**
- **1999: Human Security Commission: Human Security Now (2003): Japanese initiative**
- **1999: Human Security Network (Norway & Canada)**
- **2000: UN Security Council (Canadian Initiative)**
- **2003: OAS Statement on Human Security**
- **2005: UN General Assembly: Outcome Document**
- **2006: Friends of Human Security (Japan/Mexico, co-chairs)**
- **2008, 2010, 2011: UN General Assembly: informal HS debates**
- **2010, 2012: Secretary General Report on Human Security**

6.1. UNDP Report of 1994

- In UNDP Human Security Report (1994) prepared by Mahuq ul Haq, Pakistan: *New Dimensions of Human Security*:
 - human security was first introduced as a distinct concept.
 - UNDP broadly defined human security as “freedom from fear and freedom from want”.
 - **Four basic characteristics**: (universal, people-centred, interdependent and early prevention) and
 - **Seven key components** (economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political security) were presented as the main elements of human security.
 - Security ... means safety from the constant threat of hunger, disease, crime and repression. It also means protection from sudden and hurtful disruption in the pattern of our daily lives – whether in our homes, in our jobs, in our communities or in our environment.

6.2. Deepening: State- vs. People Centred Human Security

- UNDP Human Security Report (1994: 3) by Mahbub ul Haq, Pakistan: *New Dimensions of Human Security*
 - Security ... means safety from the constant **threat of hunger, disease, crime and repression**. It also means protection from **sudden and hurtful disruption in the pattern of our daily lives** – whether in our homes, in our jobs, in our communities or in our environment.
- Human Security Commission: Human Security Now, 2003 (Ogata/Sen)
 - **Human security complements state security, enhances human rights and strengthens human development**. It seeks to **protect people** against a broad range of threats to individuals and communities and, further, **to empower them to act on their own behalf**. And it seeks to forge a global alliance to strengthen the institutional policies that link individuals and the state – and the state with a global world. Human security thus brings together the human elements of security, of rights, of development.
 - The Commission on Human Security's definition of human security: **to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment**. Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms – freedoms that are the essence of life. It means **protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations**. It means using processes that build on people's strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building **blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity**.

6.3. UNESCO: International Dialogues

- **UNESCO:** Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World
- UNESCO's midterm programmes (1996-2001, 2002-2007): dialogue with institutes of strategic studies, defence and members of the armed forces:
 - “improving human security by better managing environment and social change”
 - with the “need to prevent conflicts at their source and the needs of the most vulnerable populations at regional and sub-regional levels through its global network of peace research and training institutions”
 - elaboration of integrated approaches to human security at the regional, sub-regional and national levels targeting the most vulnerable populations including the preparation for the prevention and resolution of conflicts, in particular over natural resources”
 - **2001: UNESCO-FLACSO conference in Santiago de Chile:**
 - **Goucha, Rojas Aravena (Eds.): Human Security, Conflict Prevention and Peace in Latin America and the Caribbean (Paris: UNESCO, 2003), Spanish**
 - **Fuentes, Rojas Aravena: Promoting Human Security: Ethical, Normative and Educational Frameworks in Latin America and the Caribbean (Paris: UNESCO, 2005) also in Spanish**

6.4. Human Security Network (1999)

- In 1999, a group of like-minded States from different regions of the world, including Austria, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Greece, Ireland, Jordan, Mali, Norway, Slovenia, Switzerland, Thailand and South Africa, which participates as an observer, established the **Human Security Network (HSN)**.
- The Network defined human security as
 - “A humane world ... where every **individual** would be guaranteed **freedom from fear and freedom from want**, with an equal opportunity to fully develop their human potential ... In essence, **human security means freedom from pervasive threats to people’s rights, their safety or even their lives** ... Human security and human development are thus two sides of the same coin, mutually reinforcing and leading to a conducive environment for each other”.

6.5. Human Security Commission: Human Security Now (2003)

In 2001, the independent Commission on Human Security (CHS), led by Sadako Ogata and Amartya Sen, reached a new consensus on security threats facing contemporary societies in the twenty-first century. The CHS in its 2003 report entitled *Human Security Now: Protecting and Empowering People*, defined HS as

- The Commission on Human Security’s definition of human security: to **protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment**. Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms – freedoms that are the essence of life. It means **protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations**. It means using processes that build on people’s strengths and aspirations. **It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems** that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity.
- **Human security complements state security, enhances human rights and strengthens human development**. It seeks to *protect* people against a broad range of threats to individuals and communities and, further, to *empower* them to act on their own behalf. And it seeks to forge a global alliance to strengthen the institutional policies that link individuals and the state – and the state with a global world. Human security thus brings together the human elements of security, of rights, of development.

Working definition of HS by Friends of Human Security

6.6. UN-SG: “A more Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility” (2004)

- **Report of the Secretary General’s High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change - “A more Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility” (4.12.2004)**
- **Good analysis: *Sebastian von Einsiedel, Heiko Nitzschke, Tarun Chhabra: Evolution of the United Nations Security Concept: Role of the High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change (in: vol. 3: Globalization and Environmental Challenges (2008): 621-636.***
 - They argues that although **human security concerns** feature prominently in the **UN Charter**, the policy and institutional architecture created in the aftermath of the Second World War was naturally framed in politico-military terms and based on a traditional understanding of state sovereignty.
 - The focus of security policy and discourse, particularly in the UN Security Council, shifted from the **integrity of the state to the protection and well-being of groups and individuals within states**. This shift was mirrored in academic and policy circles of the 'human security' concept. The inevitable implication was a **qualification of sovereignty, including the concept of a 'responsibility to protect'**.
 - **The UN has remained torn between concepts of human security and state security**. The Panel was to propose a new and comprehensive vision of **collective security which attempts to reconcile concepts of 'state' and 'human security'**.

6.7. Kofi Annan's Report: In Larger Freedom (March 2005)

In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security & Human Rights for All

- proposes an agenda for the UN summit (Sep. 2005) to review progress since the Millennium Declaration (2000).

I. Freedom from Want:

- National strategies, financing for development, trade debt relief
- Environmental sustainability (climate change, desertification, biodivers.)
- Infectious diseases

II. Freedom from Fear:

- Preventing terrorism
- Nuclear, chemical, biological weapons
- Reducing prevalence and risk of war
- Use of force
- more effective cooperation to combat organized crime, to prevent illicit trade in small arms and light weapons, landmines which kill innocent people and hold back development in nearly half the world's countries.

III. Freedom to Live in Dignity: (see below)

IV. Strengthening the United Nations

- General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council and Secretariat

Annex: Human Rights Council and Peacebuilding Commission

Report was structured in three pillars of human security!

6.8 Human Security a Political Concept

- **Different Trends and Reasons: first phase**
 - Freedom from want: UNDP: human security vs. human development: impact of Asian crisis (1994)
 - Freedom from fear: Canada & Norway (1999)
 - Japan: expression: idealist foreign policy
 - Human Security Commission & Human Security Unit (within OCHA)
- **Promoters of Human Security in the UN**
 - Human Security Network
 - Friends of Human Security
- **Stages of HS debate and Fora**
 - Debate in UN Security Council: Canada -> responsibility to protect (1999 ff., res., 1325 (role of women in security))
 - UN General Assembly: 2004, 2007, 2010, 2011
 - UN Secretary General
 - Kofi Annan: In larger Freedom (2005)
 - Ban Ki-Moon (2010 and 2012)

6.9. Four Pillars of Human Security

- **“Freedom from want” human development agenda: poverty** (stimulated by Asian economic crisis of 1990s) by reducing social vulnerability through poverty eradication programmes (UNDP 1994; CHS: Ogata/Sen: Human Security Now, 2003, Human Security Trust Fund, HSU of OCHA), **Japanese approach**;
- **“Freedom from fear”**: humanitarian agenda: **violence, conflicts, weapons** (Canada, Norway, Human Security Network) (UNESCO, HSN), **Canadian approach**: Human Security Rep.(2005)
- **“Freedom to live in dignity”**: agenda: **rule of law, human rights, democratic governance** (Kofi Annan: *In Larger Freedom* (March 2005))
- **“Freedom from hazard impact”**: **environmental (GEC) & natural hazard agenda**: Bogardi/Brauch vision, goal: securitize: “environment” (GEC as pressure) and “natural hazards” as impact by reducing environmental & social vulnerability & enhancing coping capabilities of societies confronted with natural & human-induced hazards (Bogardi/Brauch 2005; Brauch 2005a, 2005b): Greek Presidency of HSN.

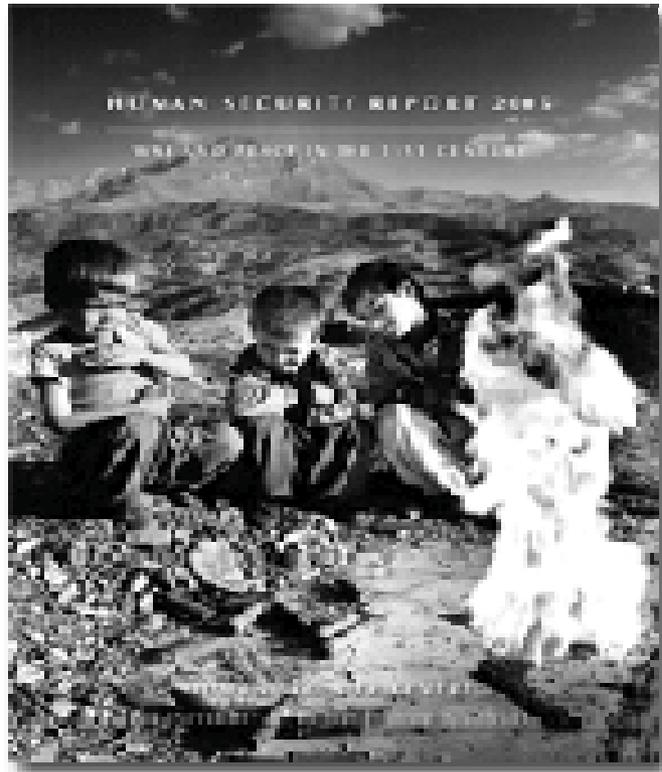
6.10. First Pillar of Human Security: Freedom From Fear

- **Narrow:** pragmatic, conceptually precise, **Goal:**
 - “to provide security that individuals can pursue their lives in peace” (Krause)
 - “lasting security cannot be achieved until people are protected from violent threats to their rights, safety or lives” (**FA Canada**)
- **Threats:** inter-state wars, intra-state conflicts, criminality, domestic violence, terrorism, small arms, inhumane weapons, land-mines, “to provide security so individuals can pursue their lives in peace” (Krause 2004).
- **Requirements and objects:**
 - **Rule of Law:** ICC, International Court of Justice and national, regional and local judicial courts and mechanisms
 - **Universal Humanitarian Standards:** initiatives in inter. humanitarian and human rights law, human development, human rights education,
 - **Good Governance:** capacity building of not only national, but regional and local governments or leadership authorities; fostering democracy; respect for minorities
 - **Conflict Prevention/ Post-Conflict Reconstruction:** land mines, child soldiers, protection of civilian population in armed conflict, small arms and light weapons, trans-national organized crime (Ottawa Convention on Anti-personnel Landmines)
 - **Strong intern. institutions** that can support & enforce above

6.11. Human Security Report (2005)



HUMAN SECURITY CENTRE



In absence of official statistics on political violence or human rights abuses, there is a need for a **comprehensive annual report** that tracks trends in these human security issues.

The ***HUMAN SECURITY REPORT*** is inspired by UN's ***HUMAN DEVELOPMENT REPORT*** with the difference that its focus is on security trends. The ***HUMAN SECURITY REPORT*** draws on scholarly research, focuses on people rather than states, strives to be accessible to non-specialists.

<http://www.humansecurityreport.info/index.php?option=content&task=view&id=28&Itemid=63>

6.12. Human Security Report Project

- **Human Security Report Project (HSRP)** is an independent research centre affiliated with **Simon Fraser University (SFU)** in **Vancouver, Canada** since May of 2007.
- HSRP tracks global & regional trends in **organized violence, their causes and consequences**. Research findings and analyses are published in the **Human Security Report**, **Human Security Brief** series, & **miniAtlas of Human Security**.
 - **Human Security Report 2012: human costs of war**. It argues that widely held beliefs about wartime sexual violence & impact of war on education
 - **Human Security Report 2009/2010** analyzes the **drivers of war and peace and the causes of the decline in the deadliness of armed conflict** over the past six decades
 - **Human Security Brief 2007**: Challenges expert consensus that the threat of global terrorism is increasing, uncovered a sharp **net decline in the incidence of terrorist violence around the world**.
 - **Human Security Brief 2006**: **The post-Cold War decline in armed conflicts and related fatalities demonstrated, with sub-Saharan Africa seeing the greatest decrease in political violence**.
 - **Human Security Report 2005** documented a dramatic, but largely unknown, decline in the number of wars, genocides and human rights abuse over the previous decade.

6.13. Second Pillar of Human Security: Freedom From Want

- **Broad:** wider agenda, conceptually more convoluted
- **Goal:** reducing individual/societal vulnerabilities in the economic, health, environment, political, community, and food sphere. Create conditions that can lead to empowerment for individuals,
- **Japanese FM:** HS “comprehensively covers all menaces that threaten human survival, daily life, and dignity...and strengthens efforts to confront these threats”
- **Threats:** diseases, poverty, financial crises, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression, land degradation, deforestation, emission of GHGs, environmental hazards, population growth, migration, terrorism, drug drug trafficking
- **Ogata/Sen: 2 Approaches: Protection & Empowerment**
 - Protection:**
 - protection in violent conflict and proliferation of arms, in post-conflict situations
 - strengthening the rule of law
 - developing norms and institutions to address insecurities
 - Empowerment:**
 - achieve UN Millenium Devel. Goals, poverty eradication encouraging fair trade, markets
 - sustainable development
 - universal access to basic health care and universal education
- **Protection & Empowerment are Mutually Reinforcing!**



6.14. Human Security Commission Report: S.Ogata & Amartya Sen: Human Security Now (2003)

- **Commission on Human Security (CHS)** established in January 2001 at initiative of Japan. The Commission consisted of twelve persons, chaired by Sadako Ogata (former UNHCR) Amartya Sen (1998 Nobel Economics).
- **CHS goals:** a) promote public understanding, engagement and support of human security; b) develop the concept of human security as an operational tool for policy formulation and implementation; c) propose a concrete program of action to address critical and pervasive threats to HS.
- **Human Security Now** (2003) proposes a **people-centered** security framework that focuses “**on shielding people** from critical and pervasive threats and **empowering them to take charge of their lives**. It demands creating genuine opportunities for **people to live in safety and dignity and earn their livelihood**. Its final report highlighted that:
- More than **800,000 people a year lose their lives to violence**. Ca. **2.8 billion suffer from poverty, ill health, illiteracy & other maladies**



6.15. Third Pillar of HS: “Freedom to live in dignity” (Annan 2005)

- **Kofi Annan** – need for a human centered approach to security
“human security can no longer be understood in purely military terms.
- It must encompass economic development, social justice, environmental protection, democratisation, disarmament, and respect for human rights and the rule of law.”
- “Embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict”



6.16. Fourth Pillar of Human Security: Freedom From Hazard Impacts

- **UNU-EHS:** Bogardi/Brauch (2005), Brauch (2005)
- **Goal:** reduce vulnerabilities & enhance capacity building & coping capabilities of societies faced with natural & hum. hazards
- **Threats/Hazards:**
 - Environmental: floods, droughts, and other natural disasters, environmental degradation, lack of water or clean water, human-induced climate change, exhaustion of fish resources, depletion of finite resources (e.g. oil, gas)
 - Societal: poverty, improper housing, insufficient food and water, malfunctioning of technical systems, traffic accidents, population explosions, terrorism and organized crime
- **Develop vulnerability indicators & vulnerability mapping to apply to operational realm: working on solutions**
 - improved early warning systems_capacity-building for early warning
 - disaster preparedness (education and training, infrastructure)
 - coordinated rapid disaster response by local, regional and national level
 - developing clear guidelines for post hazard reconstruction
 - long term strategies: e.g. Kyoto, Montreal Protocol
 - adaptation measures: e.g. dams, switching to renewable energy
 - mitigation measures: restrict housing in hazard areas (coastal areas-flooding, mud slides), charging more for garbage disposal and energy usage, birth control measures
- **Find sustainable ways of development**

6.17. Scientific Human Security Concept

- **In international relations, HS concept is controversial.**
 - **Neo- or structural realists, strategic studies community, ‘state-centred’ peace researchers rejected the human security concept,**
 - **Liberals and constructivists peace research accepted this concept.**
 - No agreement on scope, approach and goals: many definitions
 - Major divide: narrow (freedom from fear) and humanitarian and human rights agenda; wide (freedom from want and hazard impacts)
- **Primarily from peace research and critical security studies**
 - Uvin (2004): HS: a “conceptual bridge between the ... **fields of humanitarian relief, development assistance, human rights advocacy, and conflict resolution**”
 - Hampson (2004) human security gives voice to **politically marginalized**
 - Acharya (2004): a **response to globalizing of international policy,**
 - response to **genocide & limits of sovereignty justifying humanitarian intervention**
- **Source: Brauch: chap. 74: Facing Global Environm. Change**

6.18. Overview of Scientific HS Debates

An extensive scientific HS literature evolved:

- **No agreement on the definition, scope, theory, approach, methods of studies** on HS (Alkire)
- **Scientific HS Discourses:**
 - Theories: conceptual, normative, critical theories, social constructivism, securitization etc.
 - Methods: qualitative & quantitative
 - Approaches/schools/programmes: peace, development, environment studies
- **HS Approach to Functional Debates**
 - Human and gender security (patriarchy, matriarchy)
 - Water security: Falkenmark, Oswald Spring, Brauch (text 39)
 - Soil security: Brauch/Oswald Spring
 - Food security and humanitarian assistance
 - Health security: Jennifer Leaning
 - Global environmental change and climate change: Lecture & Thursday

6.19. Fora for Human Security Debate

- Realist Hobbesian tradition remains state and power centered focusing on state monopoly of violence
 - Traditional national & international security studies
 - Strategic or war studies: (non-state actors: organized crime and terrorism): armed forces, justice & home affairs
- Macro theory or intellectual tradition: liberal Kantian or pragmatist Grotian tradition (reformist, cooperation)
 - International relations
 - Peace studies
 - Development studies
 - Humanitarian crises and conflicts (natural disasters)
 - Environmental studies
 - Gender Studies
 - Social Anthropology
 - For journals: Security Dialogue, few HS journals

6.20. Definitions in international relations

- Newman (2001) distinguished four interpretations of human security: referring to basic human needs, an assertive or interventionist focus, social welfare or a development focus, and new or nontraditional security issues such as drugs, terrorism, small arms, and inhumane weapons. The victims of *human security challenges* have been:
 - “1) victims of war and internal conflict; 2) persons who barely subsist and are thus courting ‘socio-economic disaster’; and 3) victims of natural disasters” (Suhrke 1999) that create severe humanitarian emergencies.
- To overcome the dispute between the proponents of a narrow and a wide human security concept, Owen (2004) suggested combining the wide definition of UNDP with a threshold-based approach “that limits threats by their severity rather than their cause.” He suggested that each category of threats should be “treated separately for the purpose of analysis.” For Owen
 - “human security is the protection of the vital core of all human lives from critical and pervasive environmental, economic, food, health, personal and political threats” regardless of whether people are affected by floods, communicable disease, or war, but all those threats would be included “that sur-pass a threshold of severity [and] would be labelled threats to human security” (Owen 2004).

6.21. Two Decades of Human Security

Debates: Mixed Assessment

- Since 1994 a major shift occurred from state-centred to *people-centred* HS concept.
- It put human beings, communities on the research & security policy agenda.
- It contextualized security in the framework of four policy areas analysing human beings both as actors and victims,
- The human security concept is both a new analytical and a political concept that is widely used in policy declarations in the UN system.
- Social scientists must analyse whether the adoption of these concepts has been implemented and resulted in changes in policy activities.
- Human centred approach to security, changed the focus but not necessarily policies
- Human security inspired the thinking and writing on human rights, on small arms and on development
- A goal for a humanitarian agenda for smaller and middle countries in a global context.
- However, it did not redirect policies nor did it succeed to change the mindset of policymakers
- Human security was opposed by mainstream international relations and security scholars while it was supported by many peace researchers.

6.22. Climate Change as a Human Security Challenge

- From a human security perspective, climate change has been addressed by the ***Global Environmental Change and Human Security (GECHS)*** programme of IHDP in June 2005.
- It was the focus of the **Greek Presidency of the Human Security Network (2007-2008)** that aimed “to raise the international community’s awareness of the impact of climate change and global warming on human security, with regard to vulnerable groups, particularly women, children and persons fleeing their homes due to climate change”.
- A **policy memorandum on ‘Climate Change and Human Security’** pointed to manifold impacts for international, national, and human security for selected direct, indirect, and slow-onset linkages. The conceptual debate on climate change and human security is just starting.
- **Barnett and Adger (2005: 1)** discussed how climate change may undermine human security, and how human insecurity may increase the risk of violent conflict; as well as the role of states in human security and peace-building.
- **The linkage between climate change and human security is currently being addressed by Working Group (WG) II of the IPCC, that will be released in its fifth assessment report will be released in 2014. Latin American representative is: Ursula Oswald Spring.**

6.23 Launching and Promoting Human Security in the UN System

- UNDP: Launching the Human Security Concept since 1994, human security reports (M. ul Haq, Pakistan)
- CHS: Sadako Ogata, Amartya Sen (India, Bangladesh)
- Japanese Initiatives: idealist foreign policy (Takasu)
 - Human Security Commission in the UN (2003)
 - Human Security Unit in UN Secretariat (funding of small projects primarily in developing countries)
- UNESCO Programme: Promoting Human Security (1996-2008)
- UNU: Using the Concept for framing during the period of Hans van Ginkel as Rector

6.24. States: Formal & Informal Networks for Human Security

- **Human Security Network (founded in 1999)**
 - **Loose network for agenda-setting of humanitarian issues within UN bodies**
 - Disarmament & Humanitarian law (violence)
 - Development issues Human rights
 - Gender (Res. 1325)
 - Global environmental change and climate change
 - The **Netherlands** left after 2006 and **Canada** left after Harper became Prime Minister (2011)
 - **Friends of Human Security (since 2006/2011):**
 - Amb. Takasu (Japan) and Amb Heller (Mexico)
 - Not active any more

6.25. Human Security Network Members

NATO	EU	Third World
		Chile
Greece Slovenia	Austria Ireland	Costa Rica Jordan Mali Thailand
Norway	Switzerland	South Africa (observer)

The Network has an interregional & multiple agenda perspective, strong links to civil society & academia.

The Network emerged from landmines campaign at a Ministerial, Norway, 1999.

Conferences at Foreign Ministers level in Bergen, Norway (1999), in Lucerne, Switzerland (2000), Petra, Jordan (2001) **Santiago de Chile (2002)**, Graz (2003), Bamako, Mali (May 2004), Canada (2005), Thailand (2006), Slovenia (2007), Greece (2008); Ireland (2009), **Costa Rica (2010)**

Anti-pers. Landmines, Intern. Criminal Court, protection of children in armed conflict, control of small arms & light weapons, fight against transnational organized crime, human development, human rights educat., HIV/AIDS, implement. of intern. humanitarian & human rights law, conflict prevention

So far no environmental security issues on the agenda of this HS-Network.

6.26. Human Security Network: 10th Ministerial Conference Athens (2008)

Climate Change and Developing Countries

- Developing and Least Developed Countries will pay heaviest toll due to dependence on agriculture & limited capacity to deal with natural disasters, Most vulnerable to climate change impacts.

Climate Change and Women

- Climate change will disproportionately affect lives of poor women in developing world who suffer from limited access to basic goods and rights.
- Women are more exposed to dangers when fleeing their homes, due to natural disasters or conflicts, during their resettlement to camps and recipient countries.
- Girls are most vulnerable to exploitation, human trafficking and other forms of gender-based violence.

Climate Change and Children

- Children are physically more vulnerable to malnutrition, disease and hardships.
- The lives of up to tens of millions of children will be endangered by floods, drought and climate change related diseases over the next decades (malaria, dengue fever).
- They will also be affected by disasters with long-term impact, such as desertification.

Climate Change and People on the Move

- The severe HS effects of climate change will be more acute for the population with high resource-dependency in environmentally & socially marginalized regions.

6.27. Human Security Network (HSN): Ministerial Conferences, 2010-2012

HSN was chaired by countries:

- Norway, 1998/1999, 1st ministerial meeting, Lysøen, 20 May 1999;
- Switzerland, 1999/2000, 2nd ministerial meeting, Lucerne, 11–12 May 2000;
- Jordan, 2000/2001, 3rd ministerial meeting, Petra, 11–12 May 2001;
- Chile, 2001/2002, 4th ministerial meeting, Santiago, 2–3 July 2002;
- Austria, 2002/2003, 5th ministerial meeting, Graz, 8–10 May 2003;
- Mali, 2003/2004, 6th ministerial meeting, Bamako, 27–29 May 2004;
- Canada, 2004/2005, 7th ministerial meeting, Ottawa, 19–20 May 2005;
- Thailand, 2005/2006, 8th ministerial meeting, Bangkok, 1–2 June 2006;
- Slovenia, 2006/2007, 9th ministerial meeting, Ljubljana, 17–18 May 2007;
- Greece, 2007/2008, 10th ministerial meeting, Athens, 29–30 May 2008;
- Ireland, 2008/2009, 11th ministerial meeting, Dublin, 26–27 May 2009;
- Costa Rica, 2009/2010
- Switzerland, 2010/2011
- NN, 2011/2012: no more information
- NN, 2012/2013: no more information

Website of HSN discontinued

6.28. Friends of Human Security (FHS): Co-chairmen: Japan & Mexico

Friends of Human Security (FHS): unofficial, open-ended forum in NY.

- Purpose: to provide an informal forum for UN Members & relevant international organizations to discuss the HS concept to seek a common understanding of HS and explore collaborative efforts for mainstreaming it in UN activities.
- **1st FHS meeting** in October 2006: chaired only by Japan (Amb. Takasu)
- **2nd meeting** in April 2007: MDGs, peace building, humanitarian assistance, climate change, protection of children and other human rights issues.
- **3rd meeting** in November 2007: Protection of children from violence, climate change, conventional weapons, sub-munitions, peace building, disaster risk reduction, MDGs
- **4th meeting**: 15 May 2008: climate change, MDGs, rising food prices, peacebuilding, human rights education, gender based violence
- **5th meeting**: 20 November 2008: financial crisis, MDGs, climate change, rising food prices, legal empowerment of the poor, protection of children in armed conflicts, and human rights education
- **6th Meeting**: 4 June 2009 at UN Headquarters in New York: co-chairs: Amb. Yukio Takasu (Japan), Amb. C. Heller (Mexico), with OCHA Repres.: 96 UN Member States, 20 UN organiz.

7. Human Security Debates in the United Nations: SC, GA, SG Reports

- **Human Security Debates in the Security Council**
 - Canadian Presidency (1999): Jürgen Dedring (2008)
- **Human Security Debates in General Assembly**
 - GA Outcome Document (2005)
 - Debate in 2007
 - Debate in 2010
 - Informal Debate in 2011
 - Debate in 2012
- **Reports of Secretary-General (2005, 2010, 2012)**
 - Kofi Annan (2005): In Larger Freedom: 3 pillars doctrine
 - Ban Ki-Moon (2010, 2012)

7.1 Human Security Debates in the Security Council: Agenda-setting

- **Canadian Presidency (1999)**
 - 1999-2000: Canadian UNSC presidency Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy proposed “Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict”; on 12 February 1999, the UNSC adopted a presidential statement that requested the Secretary-General to submit a detailed report with recommendations to Council by September 1999 on civilians in situations of armed conflict.
- **UNSC Resolution 1325**
 - UNSC resolution 1325, adopted on 31 October 2000, the Council called for the adoption of a **gender perspective that included the special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement, rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction**
 - It was the first formal and legal document from the United Nations Security Council that required parties in a conflict to **respect women's rights and to support their participation in peace negotiations and in post-conflict reconstruction**. The res. was initiated by Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah, Minister of Women's Affairs in **Namibia** when it chaired UNSC. After lobbying by dozens of women's organizations and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM),
 - Friends of 1325 is an informal group of UN Member States

7.2. UN, GA, *World Summit Outcome*, 24 October 2005:

Follow-up: Annan report (2005) *In Larger Freedom Outcome document of UN Reform debate 2004-5*

143. We stress the right of people to live in freedom and dignity, free from poverty and despair. We recognize that all individuals, in particular vulnerable people, are entitled to **freedom from fear and freedom from want, with an equal opportunity to enjoy all their rights and fully develop their human potential.**

To this end, we commit ourselves to **discussing and defining the notion of human security in the General Assembly.**

7.3. Debate on Human Security in UN General Assembly (2008)

Outcome Document: Sept. 2005 (policy mandate)

– **22 May 2008:** UN GA first debate on human security:

- EU, Arab group (SIDS) and 22 member states: FHS (Japan, Mexico), HSN (Greece, Austria, Chile, Switzerland, Thailand, Canada); 14 other countries from Asia (Mongolia, Turkey, Qatar, Philippines, Kazakhstan, Republic of Korea, Israel), Africa (Egypt, Sudan), Europe (Monaco, Portugal), Latin America (Colombia, Cuba, Brazil) contributed; no permanent member of UN-SC
- All refer to a **widening of security**. **12 states** referred to climate change; **10** natural disasters & food crises (food security); 6 diseases (health security)
- A *widening, deepening and sectorialization* of security could be mapped.
- Narrow HS concept (violence, weapons, protection of vulnerable people, promotion of human rights); wider HS concept of human security (development and environmental agenda, climate change, natural disasters)
- Members of HSN referred to achievements to adopt the landmine convention (1999), agreement to ban cluster bombs (2008).
- Canada, Austria, Switzerland Slovenia, Greece, Chile were successful to create awareness for the protection of civilians in armed conflicts and addressing the role of women as victims and as actors on international peace and security.

7.4. First formal Thematic Debate on Human Security in UN General Assembly

- A formal debate on human security was subsequently held at the General Assembly on **20 and 21 May 2010**, and on 17 July 2010, the General Assembly adopted by consensus its **resolution on human security entitled Follow-up to paragraph 143 on human security of the 2005 World Summit Outcome (A/RES/64/291)**.

Reaffirming its respect for all purposes & principles of the Charter of the UN
Recalling the 2005 World Summit Outcome, especially paragraph 143 thereof,

1. Takes note of the first formal debate, organized by the President of the General Assembly on 20 and 21 May 2010, in which different views on the notion of human security were presented by Member States, including on the report of the Secretary-General;
2. Also takes note of the ongoing efforts to define the notion of human security, and recognizes **the need to continue the discussion and to achieve an agreement on the definition thereof in the General Assembly**;
3. Requests the **Secretary-General to seek the views of the Member States on the notion of human security, including on a possible definition thereof, and to submit a report to the General Assembly at its sixty-sixth session**;
4. Decides to **continue its consideration of the notion of human security**.

7.5. UN-SG Ban ki-Moon: Human Security (8 March 2010) (A/64/701).

- It takes stock of discussions on human security, its various definitions and its relationship to **State sovereignty and the responsibility to protect**. The report also outlines the **principles and the approach for advancing human security and its application** to the current priorities of the United Nations. Key human security initiatives undertaken by Governments, regional and subregional intergovernmental organizations, as well as the organizations and bodies of the United Nations system, are presented as examples of the reach of this important concept and its growing acceptance. The report **concludes by identifying the core elements and the added value of human security** and provides a set of recommendations as a follow-up to the above-mentioned commitment contained in the World Summit Outcome.
- Human security is based on a **fundamental understanding that Governments retain the primary role for ensuring the survival, livelihood and dignity of their citizens**. It is an invaluable tool for assisting Governments in **identifying critical and pervasive threats to the welfare of their people and the stability of their sovereignty**.
- It advances programmes and policies that counter and **address emerging threats** in a manner that is contextually relevant and prioritized. This helps Governments and the international community to better utilize their resources and to develop strategies that **strengthen the protection & empowerment** framework needed for the assurance of human security and the promotion of peace and stability at every level — local, national, regional and international.

7.6. UN-SG HSR (2010)

- I. Introduction
- II. Increased interdependence: threats & challenges
- III. Major efforts to define HS
 - A. Human security and national sovereignty
 - B. HS and responsibility to protect
- IV. HS principles & approach
- V. Applying HS to UN priorities
 - A. Global Financial & Economic Crisis
 - B. Food security
 - C. Infectious diseases & health threats
 - D. Climate change
 - E. Prevention of violent conflicts
 - F. Initiatives to promote HS
- VI. Conclusions: Core values & added value of HS

7.7. UN-SG HS Report (2012).

II. Discussion on HS in GA

III. Defining core values of HS

IV, Scope of the notion of HS

V. HS approach

VI. Actors promoting HS

VII. Common Understanding

VIII: Areas of UN activities where HS is useful

- Climate change and related hazards
- Post conflict peace building
- Global financial & economic crisis
- Health and related challenges

IX Activities of the UN Trust Fund

X. Conclusions & Recommendations

8. Sectorialization of Security: Water, Food and Health Security

Security Concepts are used by international organizations by upgrading political urgency & requiring extraordinary policy responses for coping with these challenges.

- **Energy security:** since oil shocks of 1973: Creation of International Energy Agency (IEA): supply security (for consumers) but also demand security (for producers)
- **Water Security:** Hague Declaration on Water Security (2000)
- **Soil Security:** UNCCD (Brauch/Oswald Spring 2009)
- **Food Security:** since 1970s developed by FAO (Rome): right to the access of sufficient and healthy food (supply security) but also **food sovereignty (by social movements, Via Campesina)**
- **Health Security:** by WHO (with regard to pandemics): SARS, Swine Flu etc. with different referent objects (international, national and human security)

8.1. Survey of Sectoral Security Concepts and 3 approaches: (inter)national vs. HS

Table 1.2: Vertical Levels and Horizontal Dimensions of Security in North and South

Security dimension ⇒ (referent objects)↓	Military	Political	Economic	Environmental	Societal
Sectoral security concepts	The sectoral security concepts cut across dimensions and referent objects				
Human security					
Village/Community/Society	▲ ▼ ◀ energy, food , health, water, and livelihood ▶ ▲ ▼				
National security					
International security					
Regional security					
Global/Planetary security					

Water, Soil, Food and Health Security problems

may be analysed as issues of

- **international security**
- **national security**
- **human security** as it affects both the individual human being but may also face humankind.

8.2. Definition of Water Security

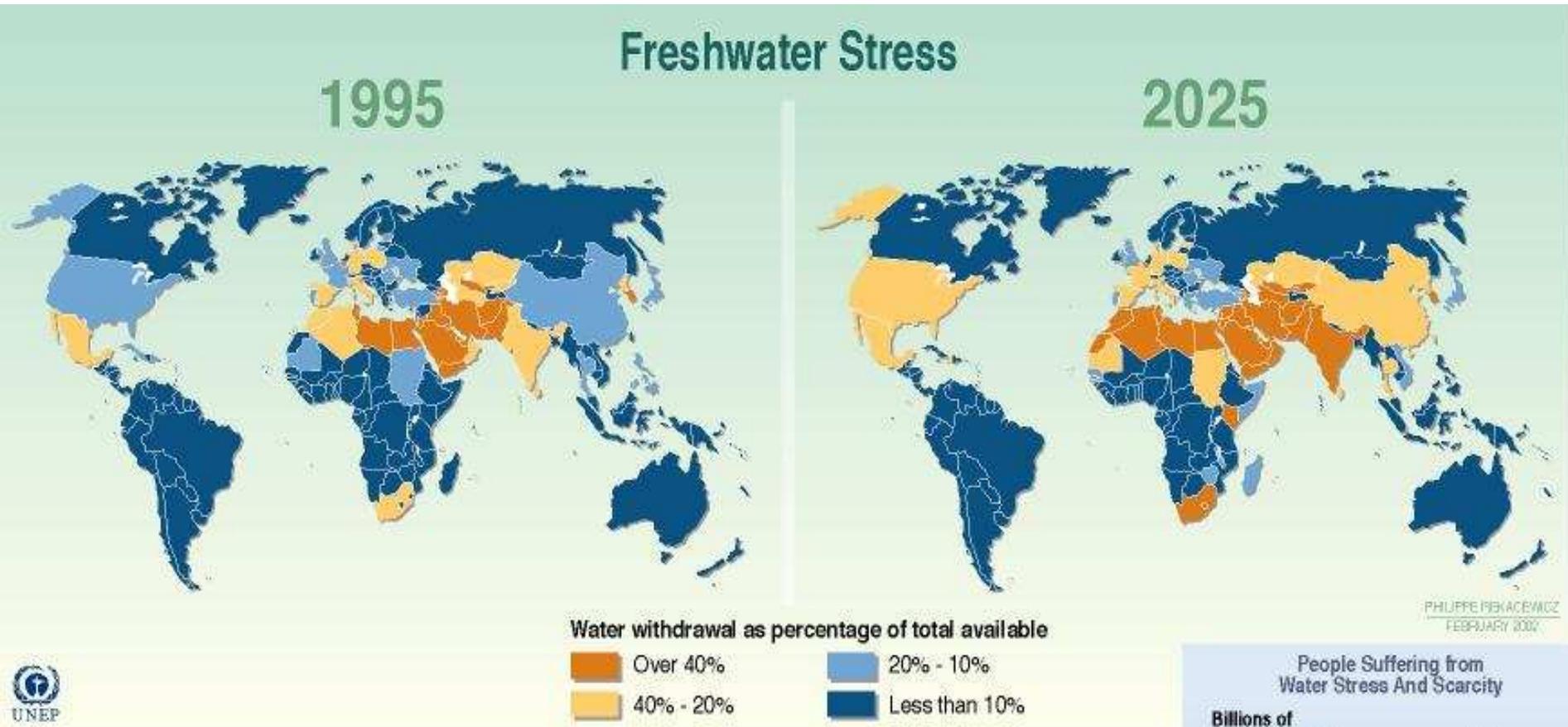
- **The concept of ‘water security’ was introduced in the Ministerial Declarations of the Second *World Water Forum* (WWF) in The Hague (2000) and developed further at the 3rd WWF in Kyoto (2003), 4th in Mexico City (2006) and 5th in Istanbul (2009).**
- **The Ministerial Declaration of The Hague (2000) pointed to these challenges for achieving water security that refer to several other security concepts:**
 - *a) meeting basic needs* (societal security);
 - *b) securing food supply* (food security);
 - *c) protecting ecosystems* (environmental security);
 - *d) sharing water resources* (political security);
 - *e) managing risks* (environmental, human and gender security);
 - *f) valuating water* (economic security);
 - *g) governing water security* (political security).

8.3. Global & Regional Water Scarcity, Degradation and Stress

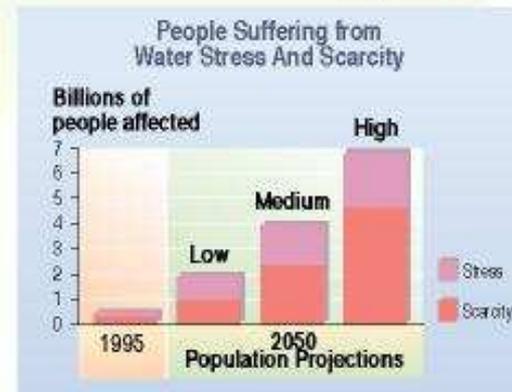


PHILIPPE BEKAERWAZ
FEBRUARY 2006

8.4. Freshwater Stress: 1995 to 2025

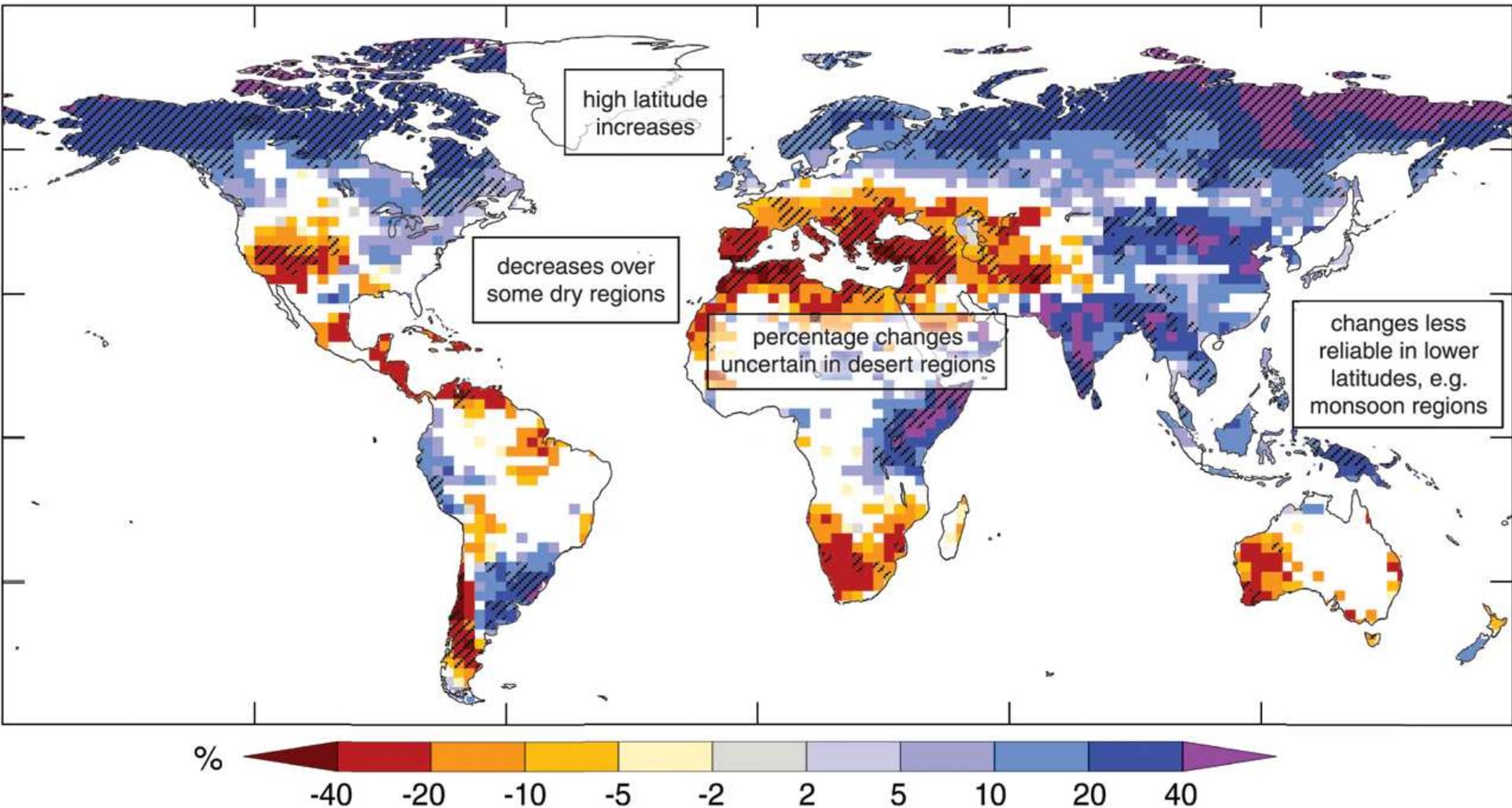


Source: World Meteorological Organisation (WMO), Geneva, 1996; Global Environment Outlook 2000 (GEO), UNEP, Earthscan, London, 1999.

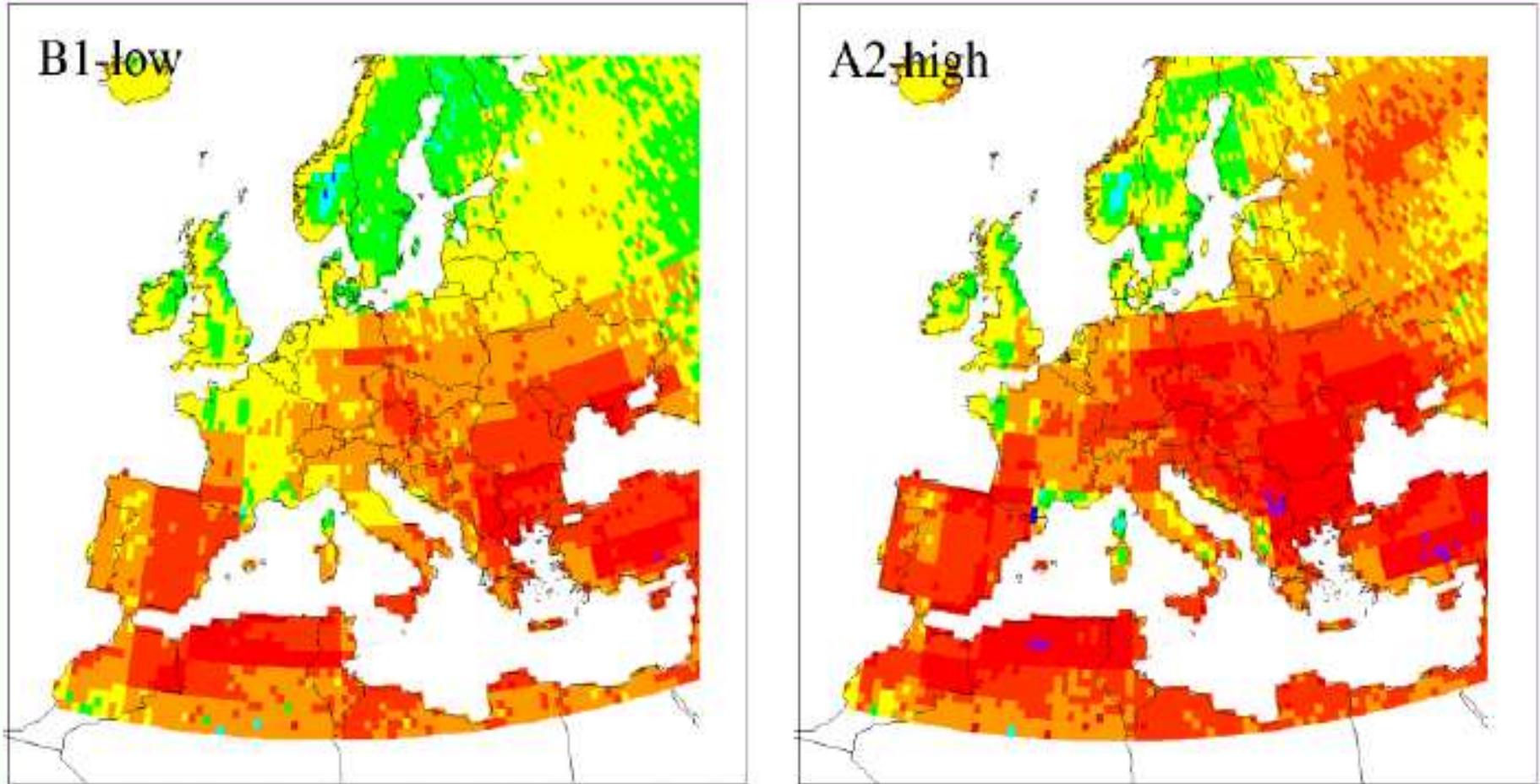


8.5. Precipitation Change by 2100:

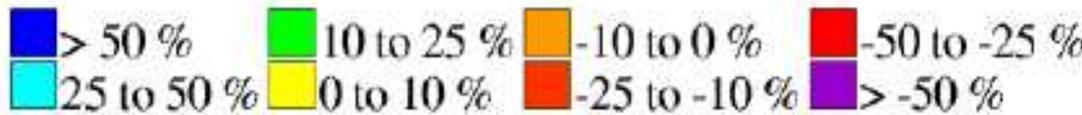
Projections and model consistency of relative changes in runoff by the end of the 21st century



8.6. Water Availability 2050 (Parry, IPCC, 2005)



% change



8.7. Water and other Security Concepts

The links between 'water' & 'security issues are complex and directly linked with many other security concepts:

- Water is a major object of analysis in **environmental security** to maintain ecosystem services, and to protect the biological and hydrological cycles and the ecosphere.
- As a key problem of **social and societal security** permits livelihood, recreation, and joy of life. It requires policy initiatives to avoid hydrological disasters and illnesses through protection, prevention, resilience-building, early warning, and evacuation to safe places in case of extreme weather events.
- Water as an issue of **economic security** creates development opportunities.
- Water is a **precondition for food security** that requires permanent, sufficient, accessible, safe, and nutritional food that is also culturally accepted.
- Water is essential for **health and livelihood security** to protect people from thirst, waterborne illnesses, vector diseases, but also from floods, drought, and plagues.

8.8. Deepening & Sectorializing of Water Security

Deepening

- **Human security approach on water issues**
 - Falkenmark/Rockström: secure, avoid, foresee
- **National security approach on water issues**
 - US EPA: protect water quality against terrorist attacks
- **International security approach on water issues**
 - Hydrodiplomacy (US/Mexico, Turkey/Syria, Israel/Jordan)
 - International Water Resource management: NBI (Nile)

Sectorializing

- **Water and soil security:** condition for food security
- **Water as food security** ('virtual water')
- **Water as health security:** water-related diseases

8.10. Definitions of Food Security

Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food which meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life.

Household food security is the application of this concept to the family level, with individuals within households as the focus of concern.

Vulnerable people are greatly exposed to famine (FAO, 2003)

8.11. Evolution of Food Security Concept

- FAO (2003) food security concept gradually emerged in mid-1970's when the initial focus was on:
 - **food supply problems** – of assuring the **availability** and to some degree the **price stability** of basic foodstuffs at the international and national level.
 - That supply-side, international and institutional set of concerns reflected the changing organization of the global food economy that had precipitated the crisis.
 - A process of international negotiation followed, leading to the **World Food Conference of 1974**, and a new set of institutional arrangements covering information, resources for promoting food security and forums for dialogue on policy issues (ODI 1997).

8.12. Food Security: From Supply to Demand

- Focus on **productivity, Green Revolution**, independent of social, environmental, and political costs.
- Focus: Famine, hunger, & food crises, “redefinition of food security, which recognized that the behaviour of potentially vulnerable & affected people was a critical aspect” (FAO 2003).
- The insight that the **green revolution** “did not automatically and rapidly lead to dramatic reductions in poverty and levels of malnutrition ... were recognized as the result of lack of effective demand” (FAO 2003). Food security was defined in 1974 as:
 - **availability at all times of adequate world food supplies of basic foodstuffs** to sustain a steady expansion of food consumption and to offset fluctuations in production and prices’ (UN 1975).
 - In 1983, FAO expanded its concept to include **securing access by vulnerable people to available supplies**, implying that attention should be balanced between the **demand and supply side of the food security** equation: ‘ensuring that all people at all times have both physical and economic access to the basic food that they need’ (FAO 1983).

8.13. Widening Food Security in mid 1990s

- to incorporate **food safety and also nutritional balance**, reflecting concerns about food composition and minor nutrient requirements for an active and healthy life.
- **Food preferences, socially or culturally determined, now became a consideration.** The potentially high degree of context specificity implies that the concept ... an intermediating set of actions that contribute to an active and healthy life.

UNDP's (1994) human security concept, food security one aspect.

World Food Summit (1996) adopted a more complex definition:

- Food security, at the individual, household, national, regional and global levels [is achieved] when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, *safe and nutritious* food to meet their dietary needs and *food preferences* for an active and healthy life (FAO 1996).

In 2001, FAO again refined this concept:

- Food security [is] a situation that exists when all people, at all times, have physical, *social* and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life.

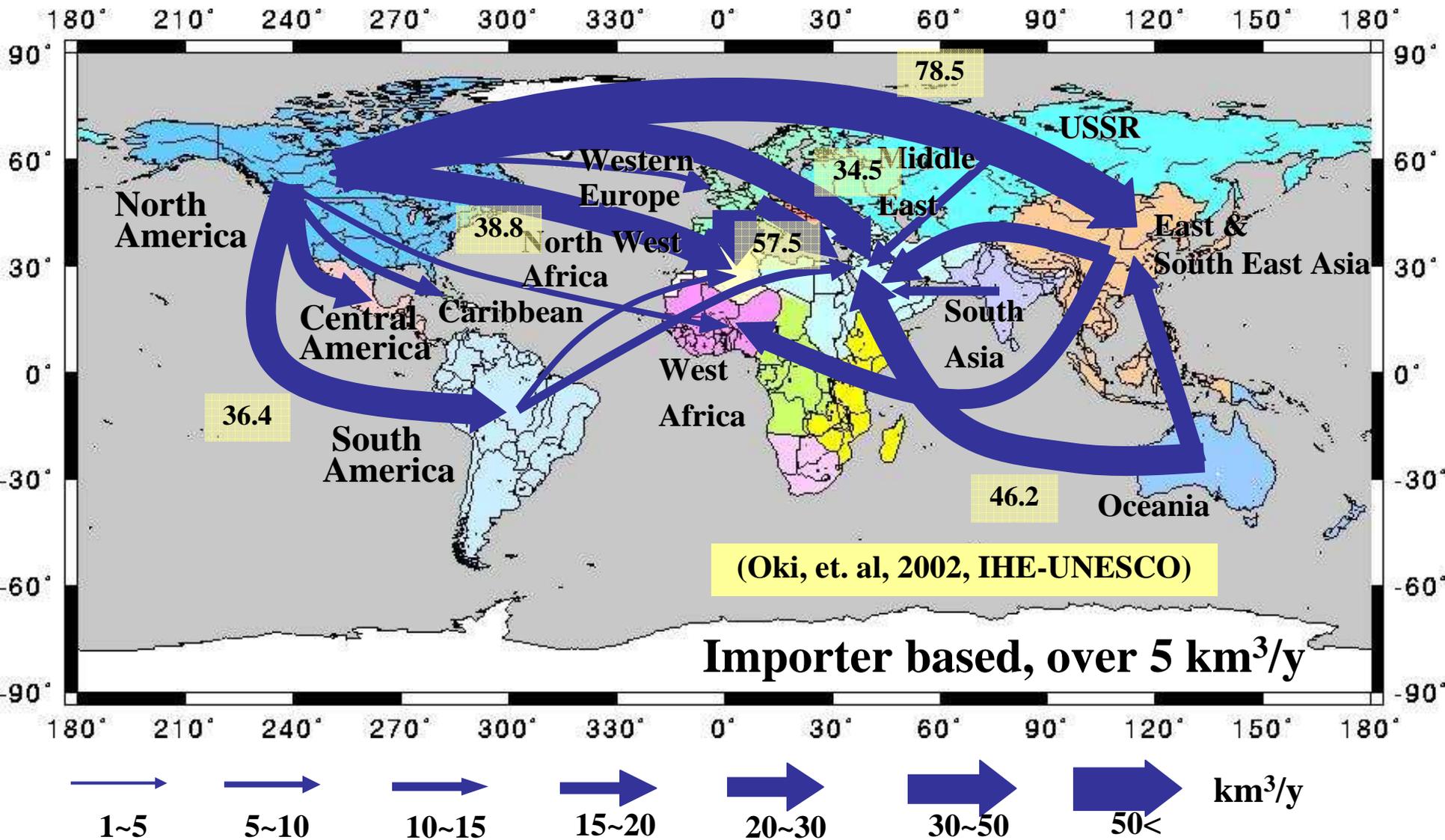
8.14. World Bank Definition (1986)

- Commoditization of inputs and food markets widened the existing social gap, giving support to large-scale industrial agriculture and expelling millions of peasants from their land.
- **World Bank (1986)** report distinguished between chronic food insecurity, associated with problems of continuing or structural poverty and low incomes, and transitory food insecurity, which involved periods of intensified pressure caused by natural disasters, economic collapse or conflict” (FAO 2003).
- The food security concept evolved to: “**access of all people at all times to *enough food for an active, healthy life***” (World Bank 1986: chap.2).

8.15. Food Security & Reconceptualizing of Security

- **Food security is a sectoral security concept**
- **Food security & widening of security since 1990s**
 - **Political & military security:** food as a weapon
 - Economic security: bad harvests, hazards, burden of imports
 - Societal security: demand & supply aspects
 - Environmental security: overuse of water, soil, fertilizers
- **Food Security & deepening of security since 1994**
 - **National security:** protecting supply line & food chain
 - **Internat. security:** geostrategic & geoeconomic aspects
 - **Societal & community security:** food cultures
 - **Human security:** poverty, hazards, bad harvests, famine, hunger, hunger (bread) riots → domestic security (repression)

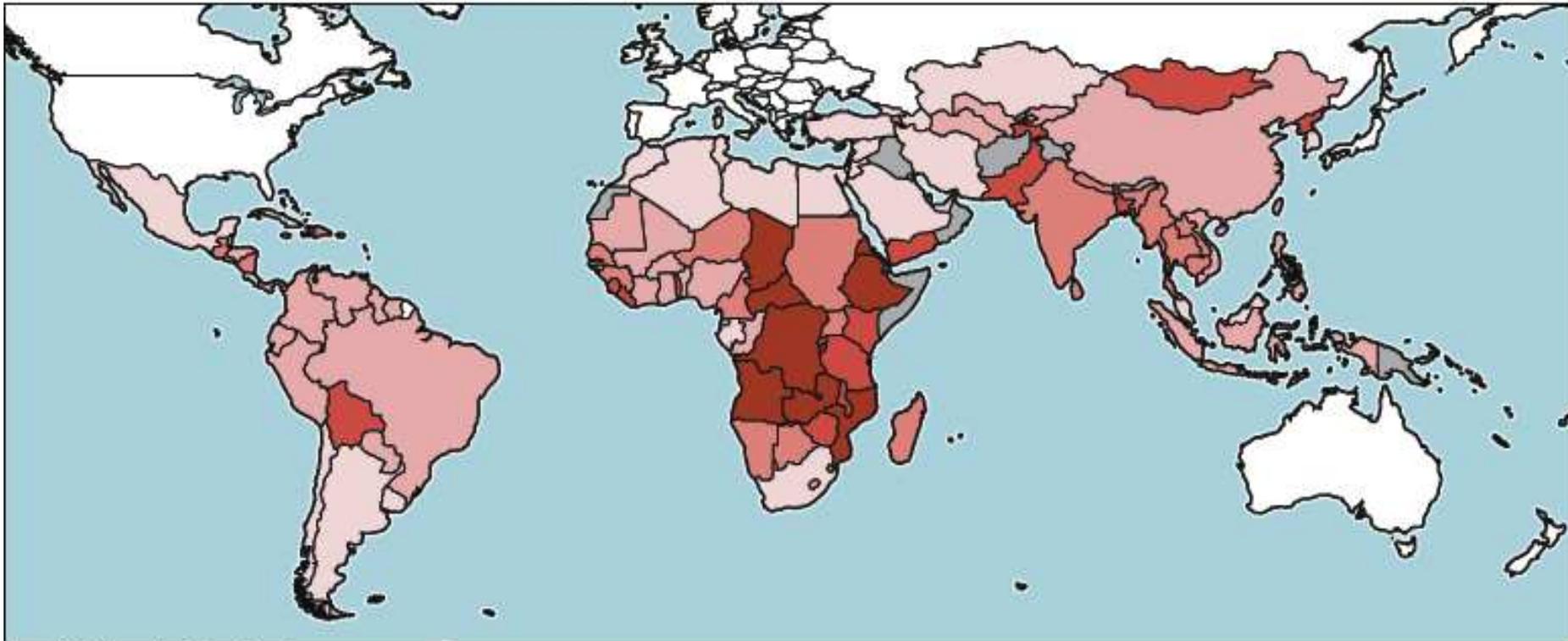
8.16. Food and virtual water in 2000 (grains)



(Based on Statistics from FAO etc., for 2000)

8.17. World Hunger Map (2010)

Prevalence of undernourishment in developing countries

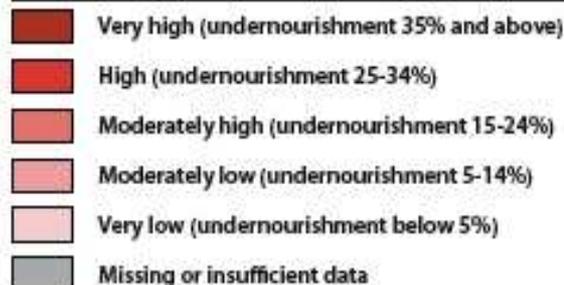


Source: FAOSTAT 2010 (www.fao.org/hunger)

Note: The map shows the prevalence of undernourishment in the total population of developing countries as of 2005-7 – the most recent period for which complete data are available. Undernourishment exists when caloric intake is below the minimum dietary energy requirement (MDER). The MDER is the amount of energy needed for light activity and a minimum acceptable weight for attained height, and it varies by country and from year to year depending on the gender and age structure of the population.

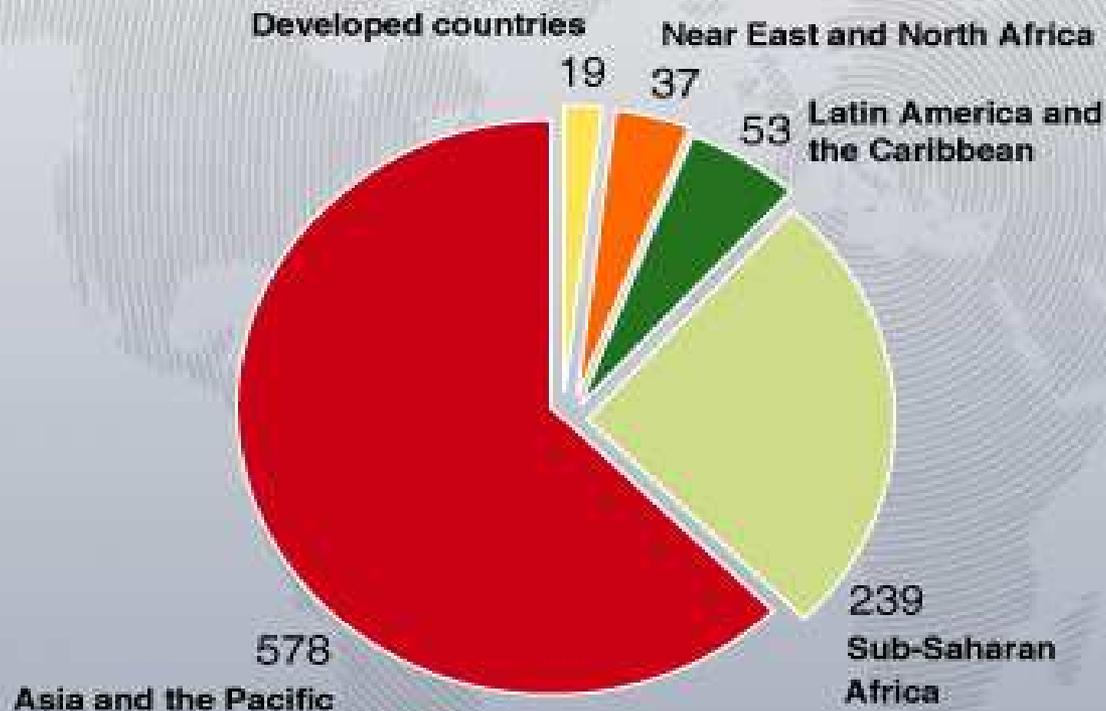
The designations employed and the presentation of material in the map do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of FAO concerning the legal or constitutional status of any country, territory or sea area, or concerning the delimitation of frontiers.

Prevalence of undernourishment in developing countries (2005-07)



8.18. World Hunger (2010)

**Global hunger declining,
but still unacceptably high**



Millions of people (as of 2010)



FAO estimates that globally 925 million people are undernourished in 2010. While this figure marks an improvement compared to 2009, it remains unacceptably high.

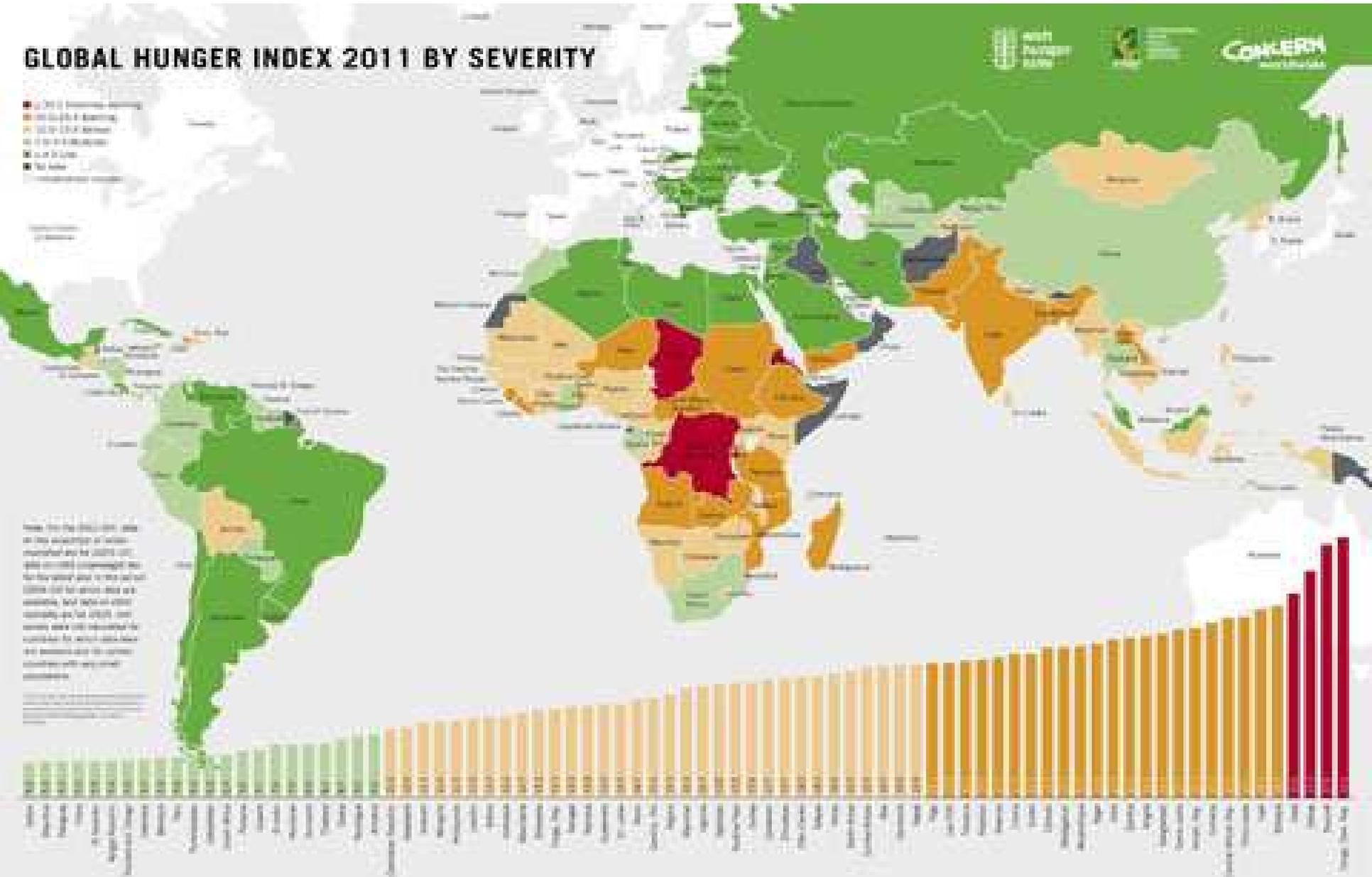
Most of the world's hungry live in developing countries, where they account for 16 percent of the population. The region with most undernourished people continues to be Asia and the Pacific. The proportion of undernourished people remains highest in sub-Saharan Africa, at 30 percent in 2010.

The chart on the left shows where the world's hungry people live.

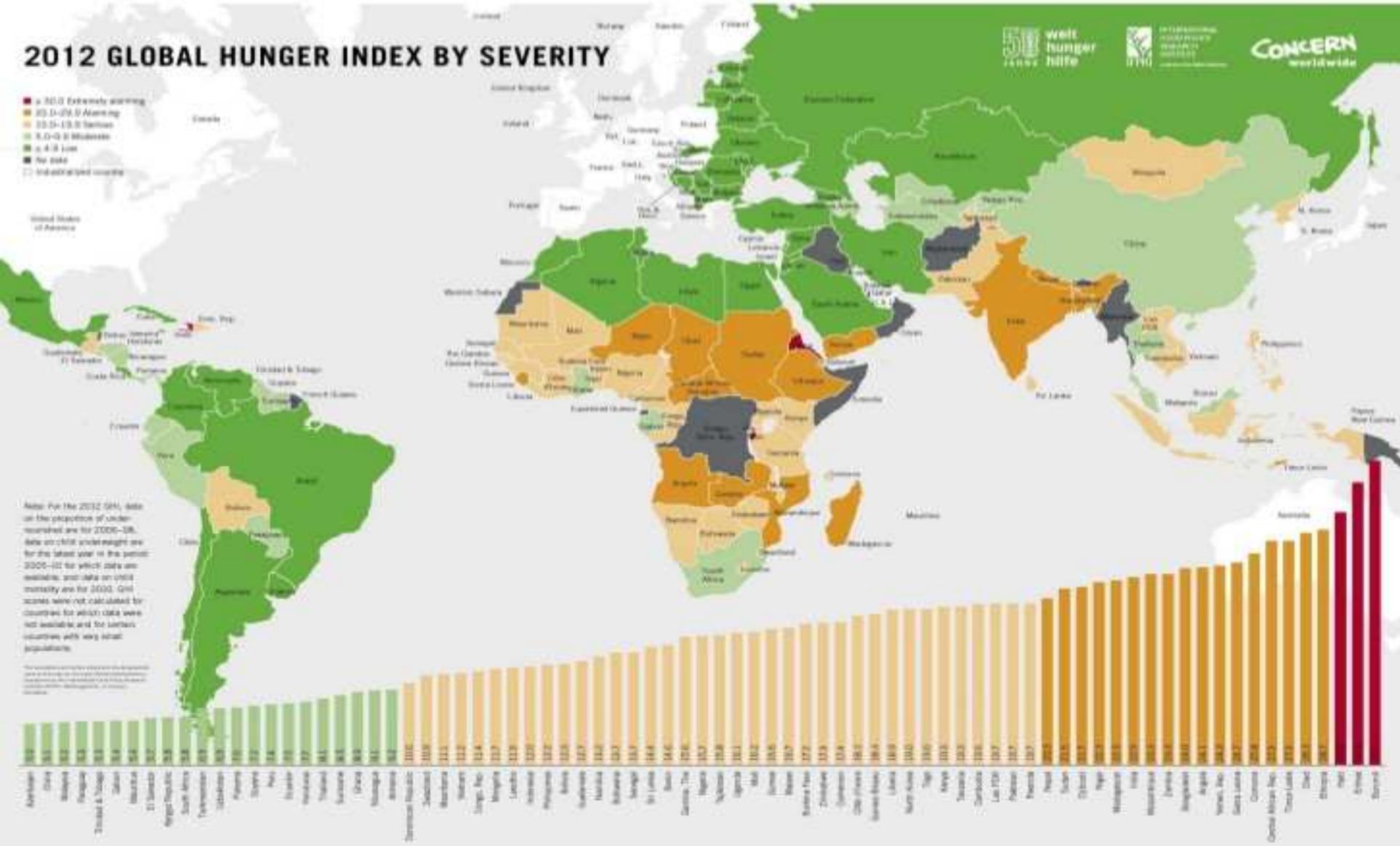
► [Policy brief](#)

► [More graphs](#)

8.19. Global Hunger Index 1990-2011

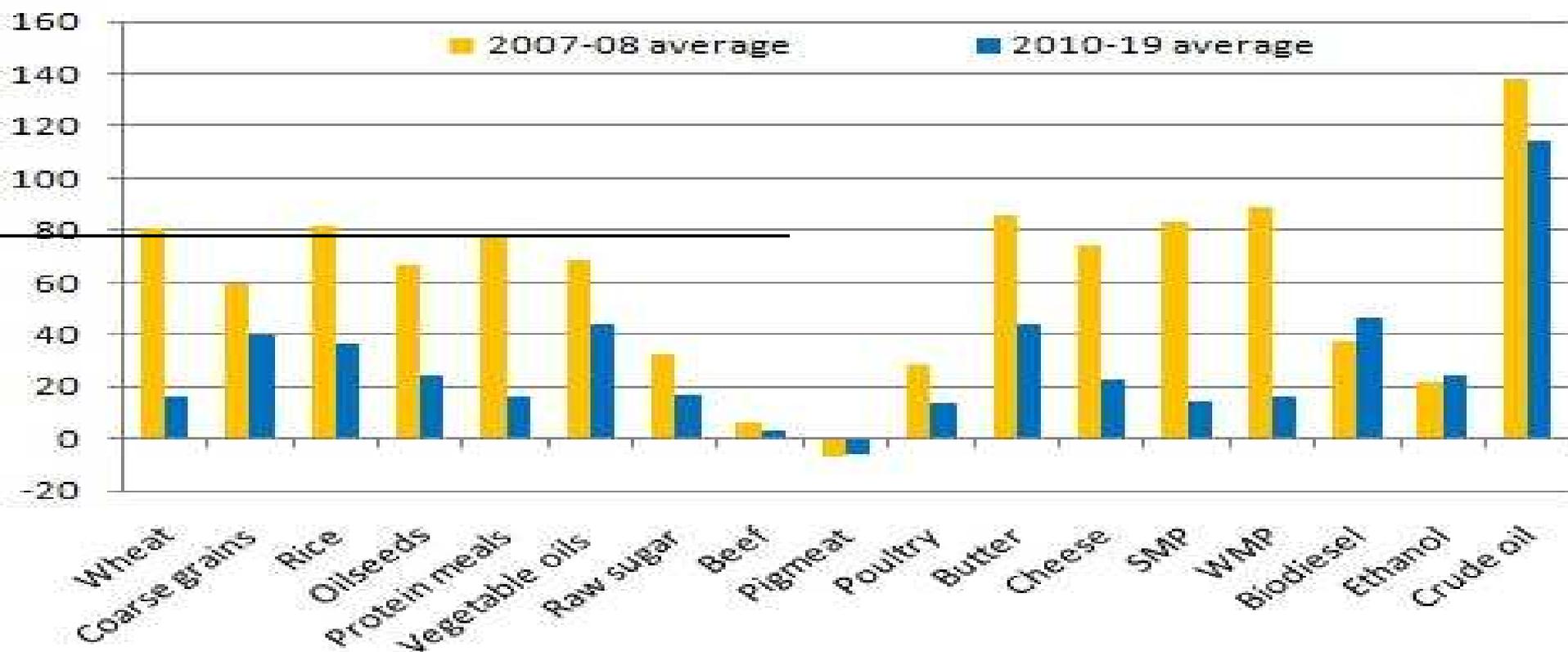


8.20. Global Hunger Index 1990-2012



8.21. OECD-FAO Agricultural Outlook 2010-19

Global agricultural production is anticipated to grow more slowly in the next decade but remains on track to satisfy estimated long term demand.



A period of higher commodity prices: International commodity prices are anticipated to average higher in the next decade compared to the decade before the price spike of 2007-08. This forecast is based on the resumption of economic growth, above all, in developing countries, increased demand due to rising biofuel production, and anticipated higher costs of energy related inputs.

8.22. Food Insecurity Scenario

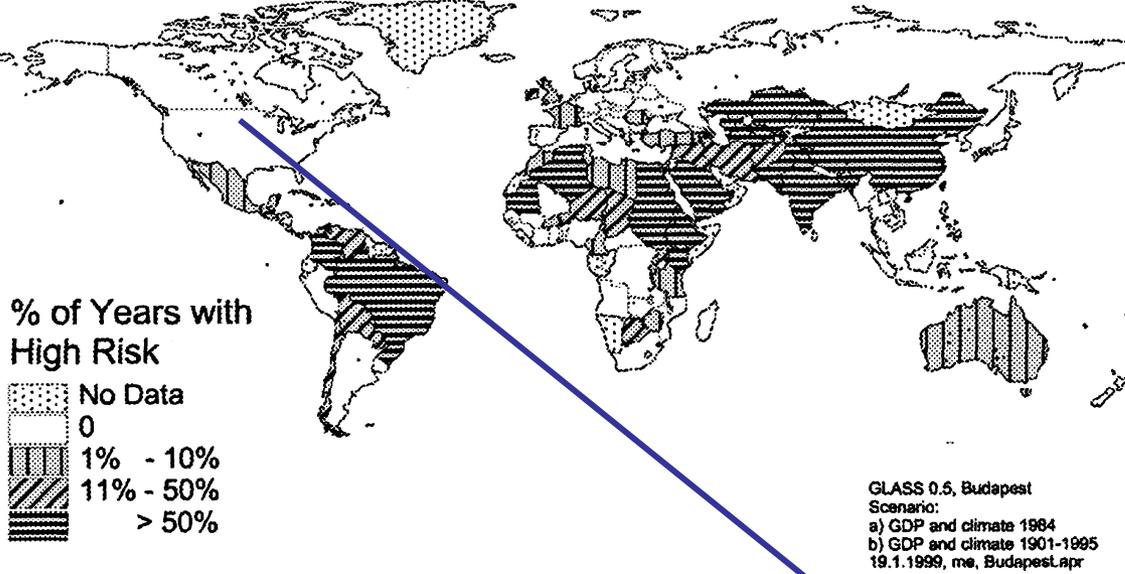
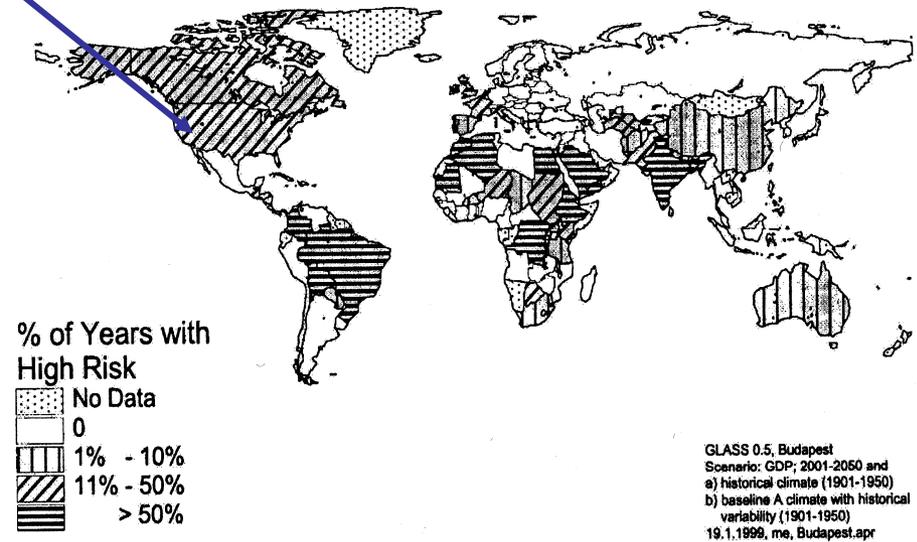


Figure 4. High Potential for Food Crisis 1901-1995.

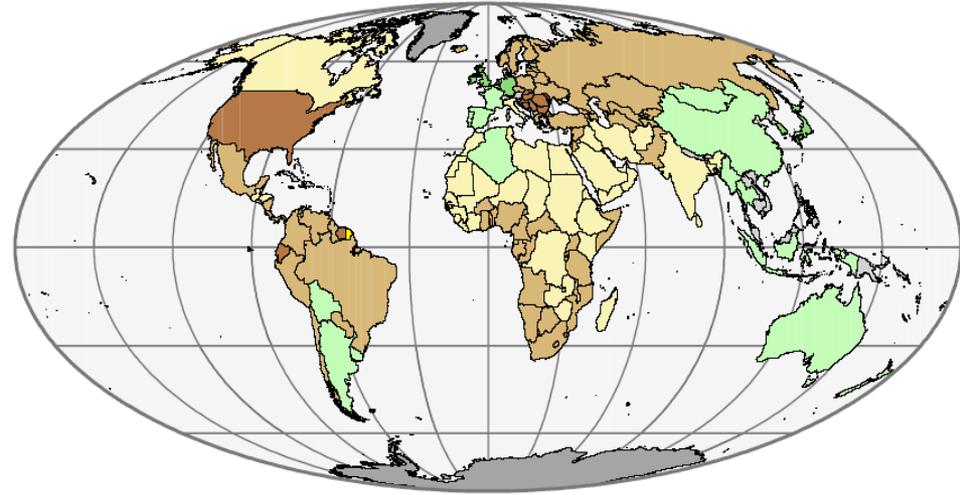


Source: Alcamo, 2002

Figure 6. High Potential for Food Crisis 2001-2050
– with GDP Increase and Climate Change.

8.23. Food Scenarios: 2020, 2050, 2090

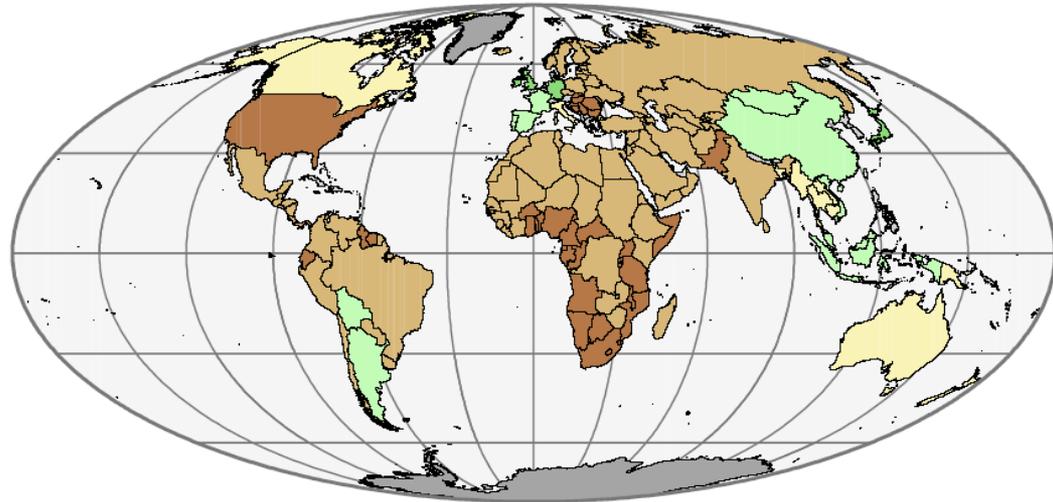
Food security 2040 - 2069 (HADCM3 GGA1)



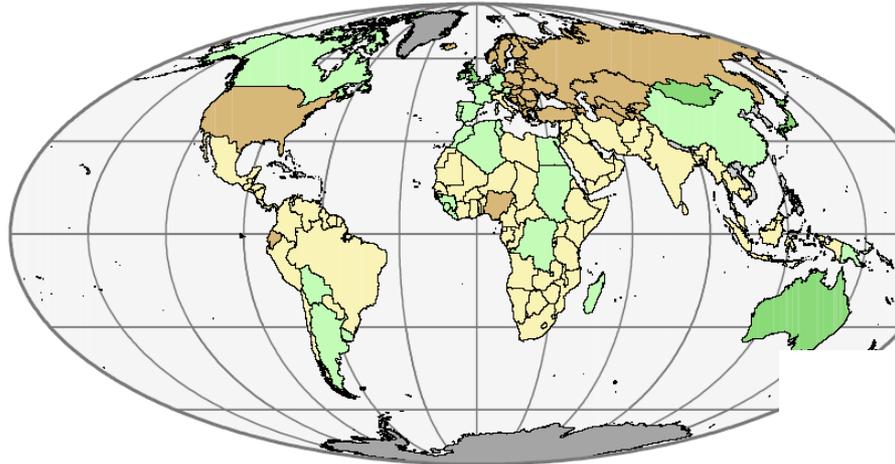
potential yield change [%]



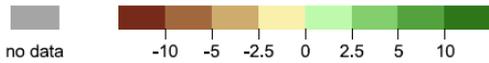
Food security 2070 - 2099 (HADCM3 GGA1)



potential yield change [%]



potential yield change [%]



8.24. Health Security (HS) & Reconceptualization of Security

- **Sectoral ‘health security’ concept is linked with 5 security dimensions: econ., societal, environm., political & military.**
 - ***Environmental* dimension** of security (ecological security) it is closely linked with ‘water security’
 - In ***societal and economic* dimension** of security HS refers to different discourses in the North (health reform) and in the South (bring basic health services to poor & most vulnerable to both diseases & water related hazards).
 - ***Political* dimension**, due to use of economic sanctions (health of children in Iraq), prevention of scientific assessments of the impact of enriched uranium projectiles during war in 1991.
 - ***military* dimension** with regard to the impacts of wars but also on the health of combatants and the civilian population and more recently primarily of the fear that terrorists may use biological and chemical weapons indiscriminately thus threatening the survival of whole civilian populations in the urban centres of the economically developed world.
- In the conceptualization of health security differences exist within UN system with regard to the referent object. While many have used the state (national security) as the major referent of health security, UNDP (1994) referred to the individual human being, the people or to humankind (human security) as the key referent object.

8.25. WHO Definition: Rodier/Kindhauser

- **UNDP (1994) health security as one of seven dimensions of its human security concept.**
- ***Health security concept*, at WHO Colloquium on Women's Health Security in Beijing (1995) as :**
 - all aspects of the basic human right to health. **Health security means the guarantee of accessible and affordable health care to all - men, women and children. Its three cornerstones are equity, choice and partnership.** In case of women, this translates into provision and access to information and education; adequate nutrition; freedom from violence; the right to work in safe environments; and access to appropriate health care services. ... Freedom from all forms of violence against women is an essential component of health security. ... WHO calls for governments and health planners to improve their response to the threat to women's physical and mental well-being by regarding violence as an important health issue. ... WHO believes that only through health security, can women have access to quality health care services, and be sure that their health needs will be met from birth to old age.

8.26. Definition of Health Security: WHO

- Critics: various and incompatible **definitions**, incomplete elaboration of the concept of health security in public health operational terms, and insufficient reconciliation of the health security concept with community-based primary health care.
- Policymakers in industrialized countries **emphasize protection of their populations** especially against external threats, for example **terrorism and pandemics**
- **Health** workers and policymakers in developing countries and within the United Nations system understand the term in a broader public **health** context. Some developing countries: doubt that internationally **shared health surveillance data** is used in their best interests.
- UN agencies e.g. World **Health** Organization's restrictive use of the term '**global health security**'.
- Divergent understandings of '**health security**' by WHO's member states, coupled with **fears** of hidden national **security** agendas, are leading to a breakdown of mechanisms for global cooperation such as the International Health Regulations (**William Aldis, 2008**) .

8.27. Leaning: Health & Human Security

- The overarching framework of human security is advanced as encompassing within it the more specific health and health system elements of what the medical and public health community usually consider to be 'health security'.
- It is further argued that the newly introduced term of health security, focused on response to international threats of bioterrorism and pandemic disease, is the international enhancement of the traditional concept of 'national security', in that the resources of the state (now the international community of states) are marshalled to protect its (their) citizens against external threats. A strategy aimed solely at these dangers, however, does not suffice.

8.28. J. Leaning: Health & Human Security

- Health security is a subset of human security and an essential attribute of each of its three elements of home, community, and positive sense of the future. The concept of health is an attribute of an individual, described as a state of physical and mental well-being.
- The WHO definition as “a complete state of physical, mental, and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity” (WHO 1948) has struck many engaged in the provision of health care as so visionary as to be elusive as a policy goal. Attaining even an absence of disease or infirmity is far out of reach for millions of people today and may well become even more difficult to attain in the years ahead. Concept of health, as a state of well-being, is also seen to be derivative of many different inputs and processes, all depending upon choices and resources available at the level of individual, family, community and nation. Increasingly, as the global trends described above begin to impinge at the regional level, these factors will also prove pivotal to human health.

Health security must be conceptualized within **human security**.

9. Conclusion: What do we learn from these many security concepts?

- **Security matters, but which security: for whom to achieve which goals with which means?**
 - Security of, for and by states
 - Security of, for and by human beings
- **Proliferation of security concepts:**
 - **Deepening: human security perspective**
 - **Widening: environmental dimension**
 - **Sectoralization: water, soil, food and health**
- **Security and Securitization theory (why?)**
 - **Issue of utmost importance, extraordinary measures**
 - **Legitimation of funding**
 - (in US in terms of national security, since 1947, 1950s GOP for small government, opposed to militarization of foreign policy)
 - In EU /UN in terms of international or human security