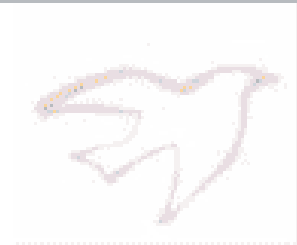


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23rd IPRA Conference Sydney,
Ecology and Peace Commission, 8 July 2010, 11.00-12.30

Human Security: Policy Debates

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Introduction: Question & Thesis

- Security is an ambiguous and highly contested political and scientific concept.
- Security is a value, goal & legitimizer of policies
- Referent object: activities of states & people (humans)
- Levels of analysis: policy-maker, people, analyst
- Has the concept of security changed in history? What are the reasons for the global reconceptualization?
- **Thesis: Since 1994 a shift has occurred from state-centred to human security concepts.**

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 **analyst:** interprets dangers & concerns
- **Three modes of analysis of security:**
 - **Objective (dangers); subjective (concerns)**
 - **Intersubjective: What policy-makers make of it**

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 & other continents
- What are the conceptual innovations?
 - What are new theories for analysing observed changes
- What processes have occurred and can be mapped?
 - Widening, deepening and a sectorialization

Which Contextual Changes?

■ 1989-1991: End of the Cold War (East-West-Conflict)

- **Widening:** from 2 to 5 security dimensions

- **Deepening:** from national to human security

- **Sectorialization:** energy, food, health, water, soil security

■ 11 September 2001: Increased Vulnerability of U.S.

- **G.W. Bush: Shrinking:** weapons of mass destruction, terrorists

- **Transatlantic dispute on goals: Terrorism vs. Climate Change**

- **B. Obama: Widening:** multilateralism, soft security issues

■ Since 2008: Econ. crises: economic & social vulnerability

- **Globalization, Crises:** high economic & social vulnerability

- **Economic & financial insecurity:** increase in food insecurity, poverty: food price protests, hunger riots

- **Structural terrorism** resulting in structural violence: Victims

Conceptual Innovations: Social Constructivism & Securitization Theory

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.

- 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.

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),

Focus: Environmental Dimension of Human Security

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	

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, mankind	Survival	Nature, state, global.
Environmental security	Ecosystem	Sustainability	Humankind
Gender security (Oswald Spring)	Gender relations, indigenous people, minorities	Equality, identity, solidarity	Patriarchy, totalitarian institutions (governments, churches, elites) intolerance

What is 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**.

Which studies spurred the change?

1. **United Nations Development Programme (1994)**
2. **UNESCO: Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World**
3. **Commission on Human Security: Human Security Now Kofi Annan's Report: In Larger Freedom (March 2005)**
4. **UN, GA, *World Summit Outcome*, 24 October 2005:**

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**.

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 Report (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**.
- **Japan-Mexico: coordinators of Friends of Human Security**

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)

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
- protection and funds for post-conflict situations
- strengthening the rule of law
- developing norms and institutions to address insecurities

Empowerment:

- achieve UN Millenium Development Goals, poverty eradication encouraging fair trade, markets
- sustainable development
- universal access to basic health care
- universal education

in larger freedom

TOWARDS SECURITY, DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN RIGHTS FOR ALL

Report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations
for decision by Heads of State and Government in September 2005

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

- **In Larger freedom: development, security and human rights:** In Millennium Report, Annan drew on UN Charter preamble “We the peoples” (A/54/2000).
- Framers of Charter understood that this could not be narrowly based. They created UN to ensure respect for fundamental human rights, establish conditions for justice & rule of law, “promote social progress, better standards of life in larger freedom”.
- **Development, security & human rights** reinforce each other. **Poverty & denial of human rights** may not “cause” civil war, **terrorism or organized crime**, all greatly increase the risk of instability and violence.
- **No development without security, no security without development**, we will not enjoy either **without respect for human rights**.
- In **Millennium Declaration**, Member States stated to promote democracy, rule of law, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. They recognized that freedom from want and fear are essential but not enough.
- **All human beings have the right to be treated with dignity and respect.**
- Promotion of universal values of rule of law, human rights & democracy are ends in themselves, essential for a world of justice, opportunity & stability. No security agenda & drive for development will be successful unless based on human dignity.

Fourth Pillar of Human Security: Freedom From Hazard Impacts

■ **UNU-EHS:** Bogardi/Brauch (2005), Brauch (2005)

■ **Goal:** reduce vulnerabilities & enhance the capacity building & coping capabilities of societies faced with natural & human 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 and vulnerability mapping to apply to operational realm by 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

■ **Begin or continue to find sustainable ways of development**

Human Security Network Members

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

The Network has an interre-gional & 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.

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 and 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 most vulnerable: they must protect themselves & children.
- 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.
- In developing countries, with few adequate warning systems or strategies to limit risk factors, children will be affected by natural disasters & extreme weather events.
- 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.
- Climate change induced migration may be one response, although climate change alone is unlikely to be the sole, or even the most important “push” factor to migrate.
- Large-scale movements of people may increase the risk of conflicts in host communities.

Greek Presidency: „HS requires freedom from fear, freedom from want, and, we should add, freedom from hazard impact due to anthropogenic reasons.“

Human Security Network: 11th Ministerial Conference Dublin (2009)

- 11th Ministerial Meeting: focus was on violence against women,
- On future activities, members agreed that the mechanism of joint positions should be preserved at various international forums, particularly in the UN, on current issues: protection of children affected by armed conflicts, human rights education, small arms, light weapons control, climate change effects on vulnerable groups, combating AIDS, trafficking in human beings, poverty.
- Prior Conference on the role of women in peace-making.
 - Protection of women in armed conflict, implementation of UN Security Council resolutions 1325 and 1820 on women, peace and security.
 - **Resolution 1325 is first Security Council resolution (31 October 2000)** to address on women in armed conflict from the human rights point of view. Women and girls are often considered as strategic targets, since violence against civilians, rape and sexual abuse are perceived as an effective means of combat in ethnic cleansing and other types of violence.
 - **Resolution 1820 (20 June 2008) on women, peace & security defines sexual violence against civilians as a war crime..** The participants underlined the need for the comprehensive & effective implementation of both resolutions, highlighting the responsibility of all UN member states to implement these resolutions.
- **Next HSN chairmanship (2009-2010) was taken over by Costa Rica.**

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

Friends of Human Security (FHS): Co-chairs: Japan & Mexico (2009)

6th Meeting: 4 June 2009 at UN Headquarters in New York: co-chairs: Amb. Yukio Takasu (Japan), Amb. Claude Heller (Mexico), with OCHA Repres.: 96 UN Member States, 20 UN organizations.

- (i) Financial and economic crisis and impact on the MDGs: Representatives of Tanzania & Thailand: developing and least developed countries most vulnerable
- (ii) Health (new influenza): human influenza A (H1N1): Repr. of Mexico & Vietnam: placing health issues as a priority on the international agenda, need to ensure principles of transparency, solidarity and international cooperation when faced with health related threats to human security. cooperation with WHO
- (iii) Peacebuilding; Repr. of Chile and Timor-Leste, from a peacebuilding perspective, human security forms the conceptual framework that provides the cornerstone in the transition from conflict to sustainable peace
- (iv) Violence against women: sexual violence is used as a weapon of war. This is particularly relevant for HS and its emphasis on protection & empowerment of individuals.
- (v) Climate change: Repr. of Nauru and Barbados: adverse impacts of climate change on livelihood & survival of the Pacific Small Island Developing States, UNGA resolution on “Climate change and its possible security implications.”

Debate on Human Security in UN General Assembly

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.

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 the politically marginalized,

- Acharya (2004): a response to globalizing of international policy,

- response to genocide & limits of sovereignty justifying humanitarian intervention

■ Source: H.G. Brauch: chap. 75: Facing Global Environmental Change

Summary and Conclusions

- Since 1989 a major reconceptualization of security has taken place globally due to a contextual change.
- One of several theoretical innovation was used for the global mapping of security theory of securitization.
- Thesis: Since 1994 a major shift has occurred from state-centred to human security concepts: from *state-centred* concepts of national and international security to a *people-centred* concept of human security.
- The human security concept is both a new analytical and a political concept that is widely used in policy declarations in the UN system.
- Within Latin America, Mexico, Chile and Mexico have been major promoters of the human security concept.
- Social scientists mut analyse whether the adoption of these concepts has been implemented and resulted in changes in policy activities.

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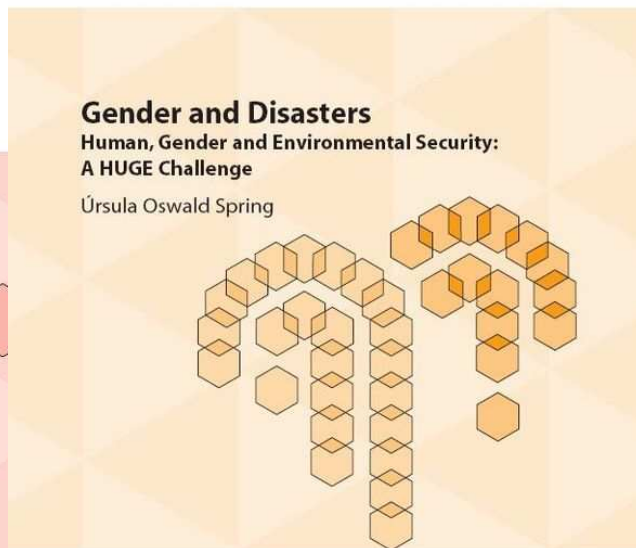
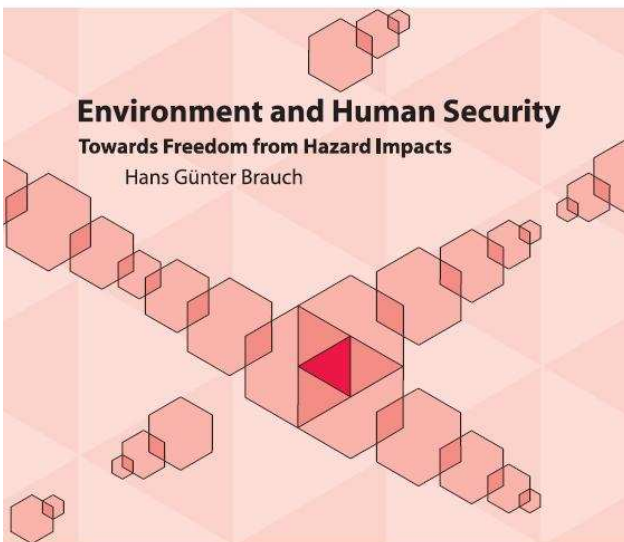
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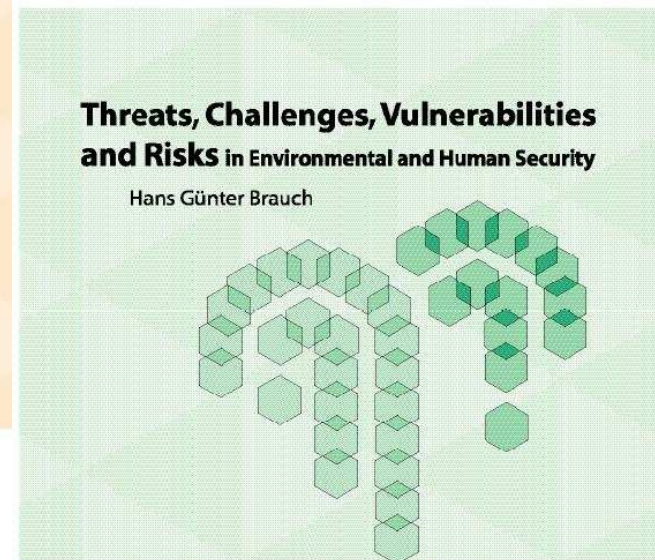
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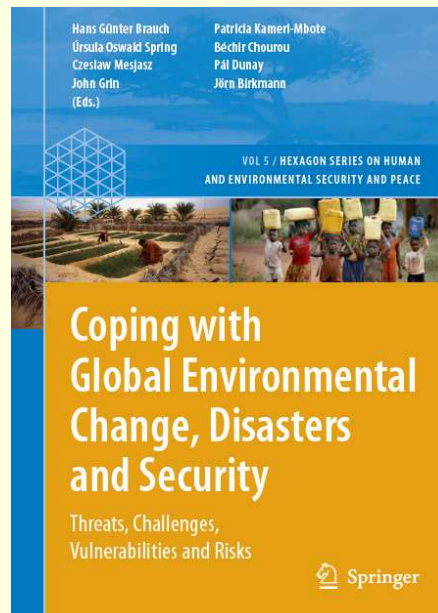
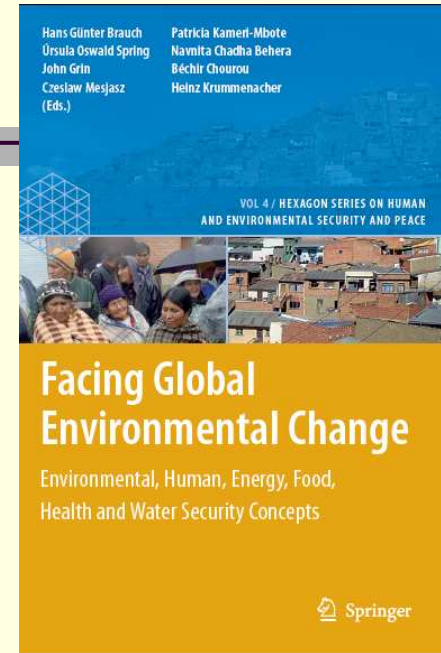
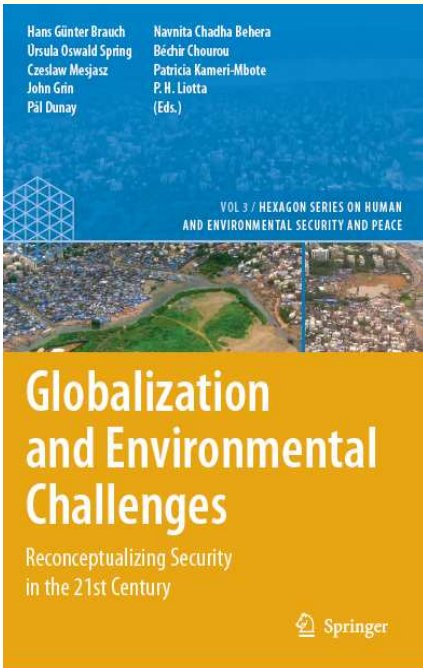
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