Hans Günter Brauch
P. H. Liotta
Antonio Marquina
Paul F. Rogers
Mohammad El-Sayed SelimSecurity
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Conceptualising Security and Environmental Conflicts

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Book Presentation hosted by the Stimson Center in Washington, DC 30 March 2004, 2-4 pm

© Hans Günter Brauch, **Free University Berlin & AFES-PRESS Security and Environment in the** Mediterranean Conceptualisation Security and **Environmental Conflicts**

Financial Support & Disclaimer

This presentation was made possible by a travel grant of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) and in the framework of a EU-Network of Excellence: Global Monitoring for Security and Stability (GMOSS) for funding a part of my time in preparing these slides.

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Overview

- Environmental Security Revisited
- Context, Themes, Authors and Content
- Security Perceptions: Hard military threats vs. soft environmental challenges
- Results of the book: trilateral dialogue across the Mediterranean and the Atlantic and between Arabs and Israelis
- Model of Global Environmental Change and Fatal Outcomes
- Environmental Challenges for the Mediter-ranean in the 21st Century: Survival Hexagon
- Towards a Fourth Phase of research on environmental security
- Next Project: Reconceptualising Security in the 21st Century
- Towards a New Transatlantic Debate on Security Concepts and Challenges

1. Environmental Security Revisited

- Environmental Security: a concept suggested by R.
 Ullman, 1983; J. Mathews, 1989, N. Myers, 1989
- 3 phases of research: 1983- present
 - First Phase: Impacts of wars on the environment (Westing)
 Conceptual debate on env. security as a national security issue
 - Second Phase: Canadian (Homer-Dixon) and Swiss Phase (Bächler): empirical case studies
 - Third Phase: methodological diversity
 - Fourth Phase: human and environmental security and peace
- Mediterr. space: highly vulnerable but no debate; goal:
 a) bring the debate to the Mediterranean region.
 - b) focus on environmental challenges in the MENA.

2. Context, Themes and Authors Canterbury, 8-10 September 2001



 4th Pan-European Conference on International Relations (1: Heidelberg, 2: Paris, 3: Vienna, 4: Canterbury, Kent, UK)

Themes:

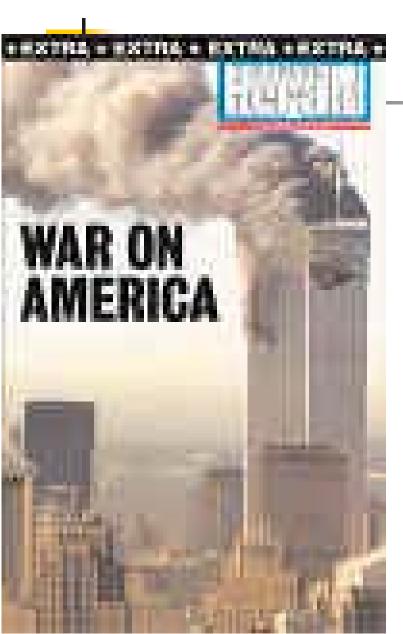
- Concepts, conflicts & prevention (I)
- NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue (II)
- Security concepts in North & South Maghreb, Mashreq, Israel, Turkey (III,IV)
- Soft security challenges (V)
- Environmental conflict (VI)
- War impact on environment (VII)
 - 6 challenges: survival hexagon (VIII-XI) Natural disasters (survey, fire), XII
 - Empirical & theoretical results & conceptual conclusions (XIII)

Authors of the Book Emerging from Canterbury, 8-10 September 2001

Forewords: Lord Robertson (NATO SG) Amre Moussa (SG of Arab League) **Prefaces:** Kamel Abu Jaber (Jordan) Dean, Sir Crispin Tickell, El Sayed Yassin Authors: 58 authors from 22 countries **Americans: Ellen Laipson, J. Dean, P.H.** Liotta, Lund, van Deveer, Kahl, Westing Europeans:UK,Germany,Italy,Spain,Netherlands, Denmark, Poland, France, Norway, Finland, Greece, Croatia **Africa: Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria** Asia: Israel, Turkey, Japan, China Latin America: H. Zlotnik (Mexico)



2.2. The Day After: 11 September 2001



End of a Century Begun © P.H. Liotta

One century ended, one century begun; nothing resolved, nothing ingrained. What will we learn? *What* have we done? The world is unchanged but the world is changed.

Nothing resolved, nothing ingrained. We entered this epoch through gates of fire: the world is unchanged. But the world is changed, the heart is burst upon the flaming pyre.

We entered this epoch through gates of fire, where fallen angels fall endlessly through space. The heart is burst upon the flaming pyre . . . as if no hope for the failing race.

Where fallen angels fall endlessly through space, somewhere in Iraq a chador-clad woman —as if no hope for the failing race kneels and prays before the Virgin.

11 September 2001: A Personal Memory P.H. Liotta: pilot, poet, co-editor & friend





Somewhere in Iraq, a chador-clad woman (Kabul today, Tabriz tomorrow) kneels and prays before the Virgin This is the world we made from sorrow.

Kabul today . . . Tabriz tomorrow! Ten years before, in Tel Aviv, a man named Stern —this is the world we made from sorrow drew his bow across his studied violin.

Ten years before, in Tel Aviv, a man named Stern, before an audience of gas-masked faces, drew his bow across his studied violin. Love for love leaves certain traces.

Before an audience of gas-masked faces . overhead the bombs will arc and stream. Love for *love* leaves certain traces. It must mean more than what it means. Overhead the bombs will arc and stream here is the age that welcomes us, daughter. It *must* mean more than what it means Is there ever necessary slaughter?

Here is the age that welcomes us, daughter. We serve the nature of what it is we're worth. Is there *ever* necessary slaughter? Will we deserve the mutilated earth?

We serve the nature of what it is we're worth: What will we learn? What have we done? Will we deserve the mutilated earth? One century ended, one century begun.

11 September 2001



11 March 2003: 30 Months later: Terrorist Attack in Madrid

- Threat of Non-state terrorist actors: one of many new hard and soft security threats & challenges, high vulnerability of societies.
- High vulnerability of modern societies everywhere to rapid and unintended natural hazards and deliberate man-made disasters
- Need for a trilateral scientific & political dialogue on the nature of the threats, challenges, vulnerabilities and risks of modern societies face (e.g. NATO CCMS Study): joint North Atlantic context.
- This new book on the Mediterranean focuses on slow onset, environmental challenges that may lead to violent human disasters.
- Next book project (2004-2006): on Reconceptualising Security in the framework of EU NoE on Security: GMOSS
- Possible third book project (2006-2008): Redefining security threats, vulnerabilities, challenges & risks as well as security interests, institutitions & programmes.

3. Security Perceptions: Hard military threats vs. soft environmental challenges

- Arnold Wolfers (1962) distinguished objective vs. subjective security:
 - "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."
- Dual turn: in Europe: 9 Nov. 1989 (Berlin Wall), in US: 11 September 2001
- Different perceptions of security: across Mediterrranean & across the Atlantic. They are influenced by different mindsets and worldviews
- Mediterranean: 3 concepts of security impeded security dialogue pre-modern: parts of Southeastern Europe: state formation modern: MENA-Region: Arab countries, Israel, Turkey post-modern: Europe: globalisation & de-territorialisation Europe: a wide postmodern and in the MENA-Region: narrow modern concept
- **Transatlantic:** 30.1.2001: US: Basic shift in mindset & worldview (not caused by 11 September but countermeasures were legitimated by this event).
- Coexistence: US: a shrinking of security to military and political security with military means; in Europe: a continuation of a wide security perception.



Dimensions & Levels of a Wide Security Concept

Security dimension \Rightarrow \Downarrow Level of interaction	Mili- tary	Political	Economic	Environ- mental ↓	Societal
Human individual \Rightarrow				victim	
Societal/Community				↓ ↓	
National	MENA	region		↓ ↓	
International/Regio nal				↓ ↓	
Global/Planetary \Rightarrow				GEC	

3.2. Environmental & Human Security

Expanded Concepts of Security (© Møller, 2003)

Label	Reference object	Value at risk	Source(s) of threat
National security	The State	Territ. integrity	State, substate actors
Societal security	Societal groups	Nation. identity	Nations, migrants
Human security	Individ., mankind	Survival	Nature, state, global.
Environmental sec.	Ecosystem	Sustainability	Mankind

Environmental Security: Referent: Ecosystem; Value at risk is sustainability.

* Major challenges: global environmental change & humankind,

***** Focus: Interactions between ecosystem & humankind, impact of global environmental change on environmental degradation, of increasing demand on environmental scarcity & environmental stress.

Human security: Referent: individuals and humankind.

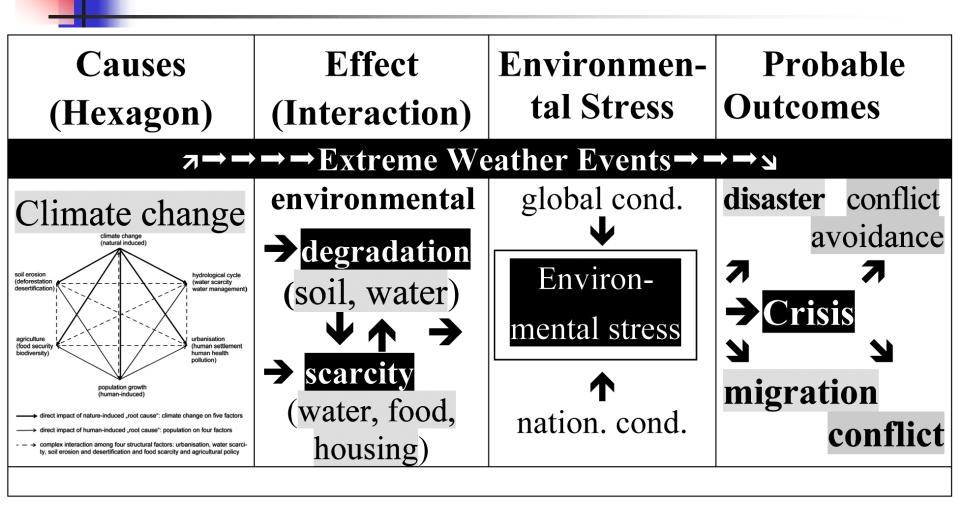
***Values at risk: survival of human beings and their quality of life.**

***Major source of threat:** nature (*global environm. change*), globalisation, nation state with its ability to cope with dual challenge.

4. Results of the book: Trilateral Dialogues across the Mediterranean & Atlantic and between Arabs & Israelis

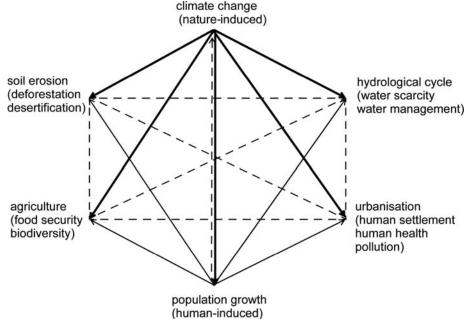
- Book reflects three-lateral dialogue: US, Europe, MENA concluding chapter: Brauch, Selim & Liotta (ch. 52)
- Different concepts: Buzan/Waever, de Wilde (1998): narrowers (US & MENA) vs. wideners (Europe, Ca & US)
- Different concepts imply different agendas: North & South (narrow, pol.-mil.: Turkey, Arab countries, Israel)
- Security challenges: WMD, terrorism, org.crime, migration
- Primary focus: Environmental security dimension
- Six environmental soft security challenges (20th century): 2 root causes: population growth & climate change; desertification, water, food & urbanisation

5. Model: Global Environmental Change, Environmental Stress & Fatal Outcomes



6. Environmental Challenges for the Mediterranean in the 21st Century: Survival Hexagon

Survival Hexagon: 6 factors



------> direct impact of nature-induced "root cause": climate change on five factors

-----> direct impact of human-induced "root cause": population on four factors

 - → complex interaction among four structural factors: urbanisation, water scarcity, soil erosion and desertification and food scarcity and agricultural policy

Environmental security in Mediterran. is affected by Nature & human-induced

- **Air:** Global climate change
- Soil degrad., desertificat.
- Water scarcity, hydrological cycle

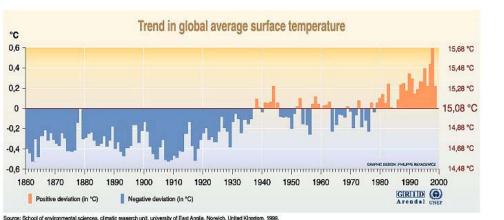
Human-induced factors

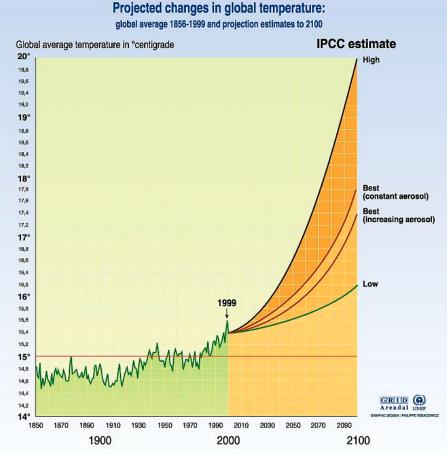
- Population growth
- Urbanisation
- Food & Agriculture

6.1. Global Climate Change: Temperature Increases & Sea Level Rise

2 Climate Change Impacts: Temperature & Sea Level Rise

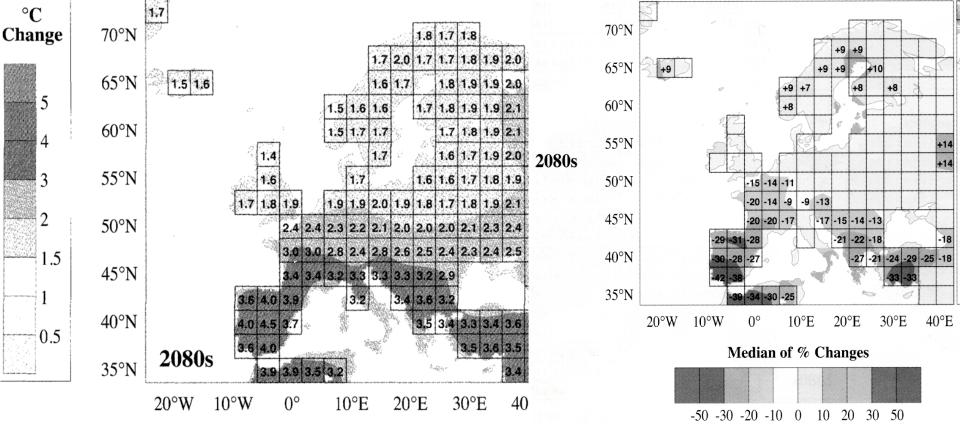
- Global average temperature
 rise in 20th century: + 0.6°C
- Proj. temperature rise: 1990-2100: +1.4 - 5. 8°C
 Sources: IPCC 1990, 1995, 2001





Source : Temperatures 1856 - 1999: Climatic Research Unit, University at East Anglia, Norwich UK. Projections: IPCC report 95.

6.2. Climate Change Impacts in Mediterranean



↑ Mean Temperature Change for Summer in 2080s (WG II, p. 651)
 Mean Precipitation Change for Summer in 2080s (WG II, p. 652) ↑
 Source: IPCC: Climate Change 2001, WG II: Impacts (p. 651-652)
 No specific climate change models for South. & East. Mediterranean

6.3. Effects of Climate Change for Egypt & Nile Delta

Population: 3 800 000 Cropland (Km²): 1 800



Population: 6 100 000 Cropland (Km²): 4 500



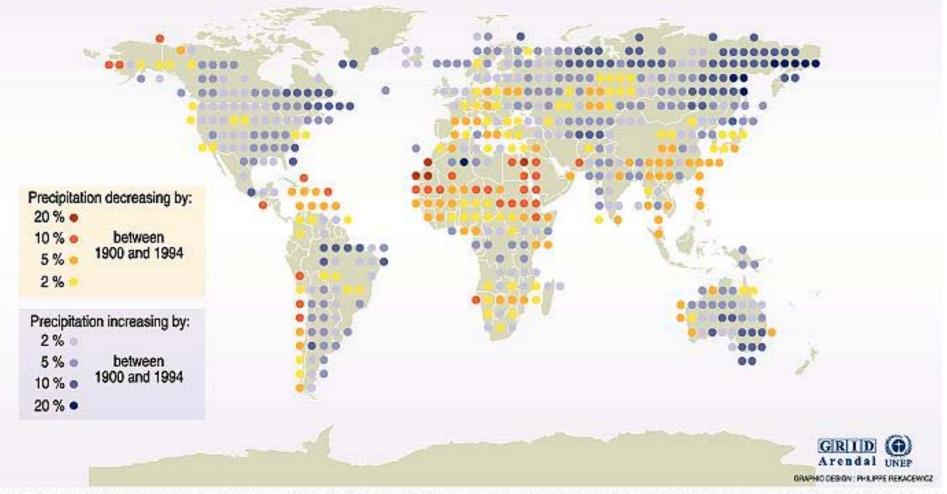
Global Climate Change: Sea level rise: 1860-2100 IPCC, TAR, WG 2 (2001) Sea level rise 1860-2000: 0.1 – 0.2 m; Sea level rise: 1990-2100:0.09-0,88 m

Climate Change Impacts: Egypt:

- Nil Delta: 50cm, 2 mio. persons, 214.000 jobs
- Temperature Cairo to 2060: + 4°C
- SSR(cereals): 1990-2060: 60→10%
- Yield decline for wheat:2050: -18%

6.4. Climate Change Impacts on Precipitation

Precipitation changes: trend over land from 1900 to 1994

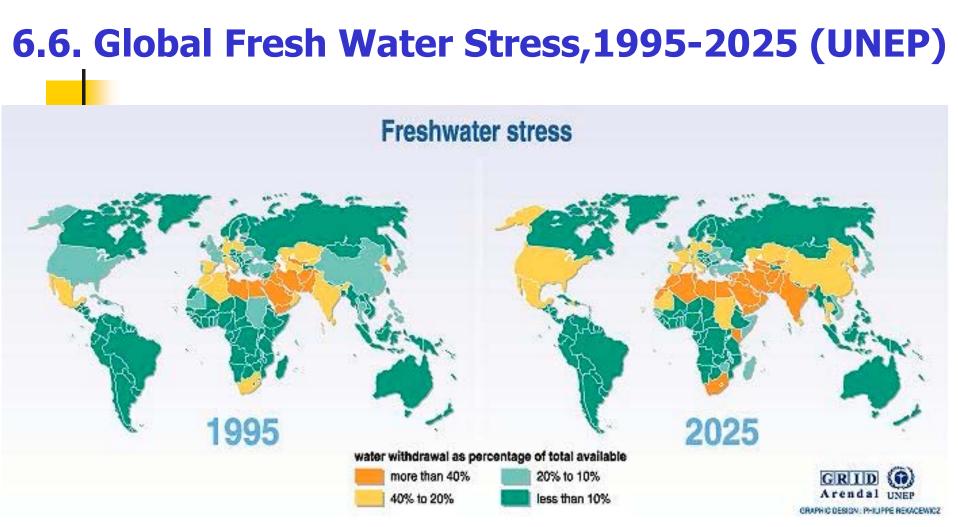


Sources: Climate change 1995, The science of climate change, contribution of working group 1 to the second assessment report of the intergovernmental panel on climate change, UNEP and WMO, Cambridge press university, 1996; Hulme et al., 1991 and 1994; Global Historical Climate Network (GHCN), Vose et al., 1995 and Eischeid et al., 1995)

Soil degradation



Very degraded soil
Degraded soil
Stable soil
Without vegetation



Source: Global environment outlook 2000 (GEO), UNEP, Earthscan, London, 1999.

 The MENA Region has been and will remain the region with the highest water stress that will become even more severe due to population growth and climate change (temperature rise).

6.7. Mediterranean Population Trends

						-					
		Rea	al popu	lation	Proj. med. var.		Changes				
	1850	1900	1950	1980	2000	2025	2050	1950- 2050	2000- 2050		
S. Europe F,G,I, S,P	83.0	103.5	132.9	167.3	177.3	172.5	154.1	21.2	-23.2		
EU Cand.	0.28	0.42	0.81	0.94	1.17	1.32	1.31	0.50	0.136		
Balkans Yug.&Alb.	7.75	10.3	17.6		26.34	26.32	23.99	6.43	-2.35		
North Africa	13.1	22.3	44.1	91.4	142.8	199.8	239.4	195.3	96,6		
Eastern Mediterr.	12.45	16.05	29.3	62.6	89.5	142.9	173.8	144.5	84.3		
10 + Libya	25.55	38.35	73.4	154.	232.3	342.7	413.2	339.9	180.9		
Decline in	Decline in Southern Europe, major population increase in MENA										

6.8. Urbanisation in Eastern Mediterranean

Table: World Urbanization Prospects (Rev. 2001),%

Source: UN Populations Division: World Population Prospects (2002)

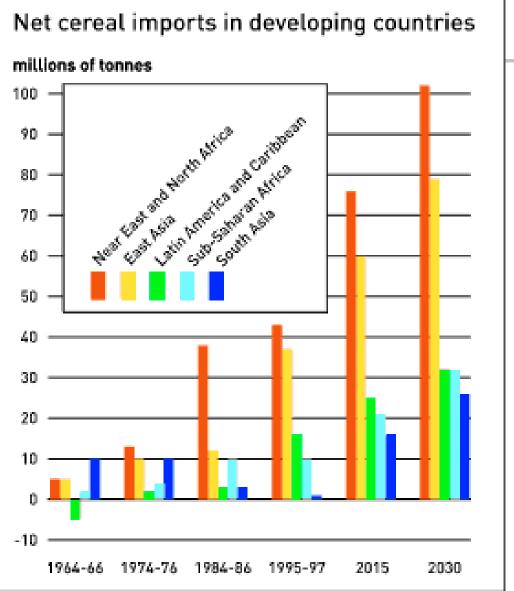
	1950	1960	1980	2000	2010	2020	2030
Jordan	35.9	50.9	60.2	78.7	80.1	82.2	84.4
Israel	64.6	77.0	88.6	91.6	93.0	93.9	94.6
Palestine	37.3	44.0	61.1	66.8	70.0	73.5	76.9
Lebanon	22.7	39.6	73.7	89.7	92.1	93.1	93.9
Syria	30.6	36.8	46.7	51.4	55.4	60.6	65.6
Turkey	21.3	29.7	43.8	65.8	69.9	73.7	77.0
West Asia	26.7	35.0	51.7	64.7	67.2	69.8	72.4
Asia	17.4	20.8	26.9	37.5	43.0	48.7	54.1

6.9. Food Security in the MENA Region

Table:Cereal balance for the MENA, all cereals (1964-2030).

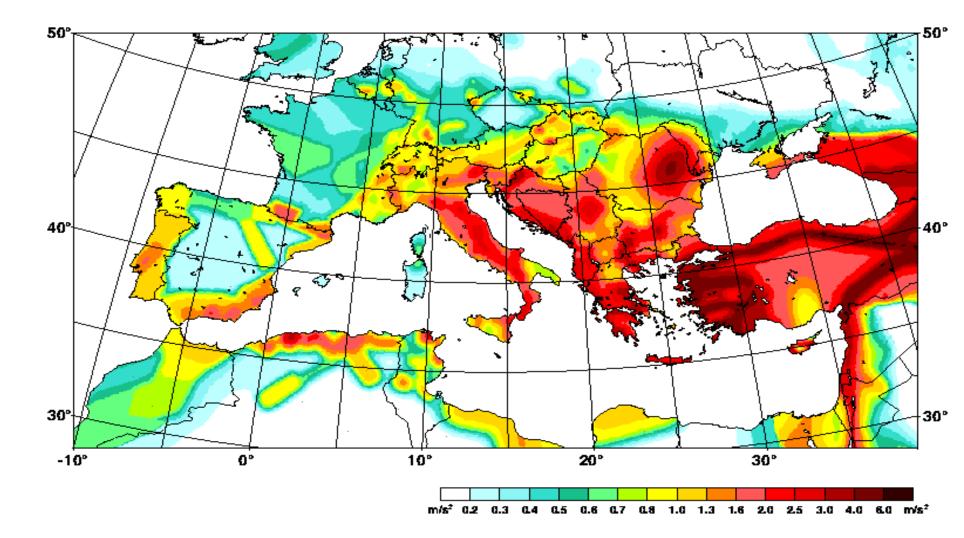
	Demand									Selfs Growth rates, % p.a			
	Per c (k	aput g)		otal .tons)	duc- tion	tra- de	uf- fic.	Time	Dem and	Pro- duc-	Po- pula		
19	food	All uses	food	All uses			rate %	19 /20	tic	tion	tion		
64/6 6	174	292	28	47	40	- 5	86	67-97	3.6	2.4	2.7		
74/7 6	190	307	40	64	55	- 13	85	77-97	3.1	2.7	2.7		
84/8 6	203	365	56	100	65	-38	65	87-97	2.1	2.0	2.4		
95/9 7	208	357	75	129	84	-43	65	'95- 15	2.0	1.4	1.9		
2015	209	359	108	186	110	-85	56	· 15- 30	1.5	1.2	1.4		
2030	205	367	130	232	131	-116	54	·95-·30	1.8	1.3	1.7		

6.10. FAO (2000) Increase in Cereal Imports



- FAO: 4 March 2003, Rome World's population will be better fed by 2030, but hundreds of millions of people in developing countries will remain chronically hungry.
- Parts of South Asia may be in a difficult position and much of sub-Saharan Africa will not be significantly better off than at present in the absence of concerted action by all concerned.
- Number of hungry people is expected to decline from 800 million today to 440 million in 2030.
- The target of the World Food Summit (1996) to reduce the number of hungry by half by 2015, will not be met by 2030.

6.11. Fatal Outcomes: Earthquakes in the Medit.



6.12. Fatalities of Disasters in Eastern Med.

Table: Fatalities of Natural Disasters (1975-2001)

	Total			Drought		Earthquakes		Floods		Storms	
	Ev	Killed	Affect	Kil	Aff.	Killed	Affect	Kill.	Aff.	Kil	Aff.
			(000)	Т.	000		(000)		000		
Israel	11	31	2,029	-	-	-	-	11	1	3	410
Jordan	11	47	349,0	-	330	-	-	17	18,0	11	200
Leban.	4	45	105,6	-	-	-	-	-	1,5	25	104,
OPT	1	-	943	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Syria	5	115	662,2	I	658	-	I	27	172	-	-
Turkey	63	27,375	2,580	-	-	26,087	2,377	450	92,2	31	3
East M.	95	27,613	3,700	0	988	26,087	2,377	505	112,9	70	104,
Total M.	485	43,728	22,15	0	10 m	35,74	35,74	4374	2,153	608	3,697
					10		•				

6.13. Vulnerability of Cities to Earthquakes

City	1950	1960	1975	1990	2000	2010	2015
Athens	1.8	2.2	2.7	3.0	3.1	3.1	3.1
Istanbul	1.08	1.74	3.60	6.54	9.45	11.84	12.49
Ankara	0.54	0.87	1.71	2.54	3.20	3.85	4.08
Izmir	0.48	0.66	1.05	1.74	2.41	3.01	3.20
Cairo	2.41	3.71	6.08	8.57	10.55	12.66	13.75
Alexandria	1.04	1.50	2.24	3.21	4.11	5.05	5.53
Tel-Aviv	0.42	0.74	1.21	1.80	2.18	2.52	2.63
Amman	0.09	0.22	0.50	0.96	1.43	1.97	2.21
Beirut	0.34	0.56	1.06	1.58	2.06	2.37	2.47
Damascus	0.37	0.58	1.12	1.80	2.34	3.07	3.50
Aleppo	0.32	0.48	0.88	1.54	2.17	2.92	3.31

6.14. Migration Trends in the Mediterranean

Table: Net migration rates in the Med. (Zlotnik, 2003:599)

Region	1950-60	1960-70	<i>1970-80</i>	1980-90	1990- 2000						
	Net number of migrants per year (thousands)										
Mediterran.	-2,765	-4,097	-2,127	-839	369						
NW Mediter.	-1,521	-761	1,079	337	2,124						
NE Mediter.	-823	-1,162	-71	-162	-888						
East. Medit.	576	-406	-1,295	-506	921						
South. Medit.	-997	-1,769	-1,840	-508	-1,788						
		N	et migration	rate							
Mediterran.	-1.1	-1.4	-0.6	-0.2	0.1						
NW Mediter.	-1.2	-0.5	0.7	0.2	1.3						
NE Mediter.	-2.4	-3.1	-0.2	-0.4	-2.0						
East. Medit.	1.7	-0.9	-2.3	-0.7	1.0						
	2.0	2.0	2.2								

6.15. Increase in Human Disasters and Conflicts Impacting on the Mediterranean

- Will these fatal outcomes of global environmental change and climate change lead to conflicts?
 Hypotheses
- Thesis 1: Population growth, urbanisation & persistent high poverty will increase the societal vulnerability to hazards and disasters.
- Thesis 2: Extreme weather events will very likely increase an increase in hydro-meteorological hazards (droughts, flash floods and storms).
- Thesis 3: Environmental stress and hazards may trigger distress migration and low level conflict potentials within societies and among states.

6.16. Climate Change and Conflicts?

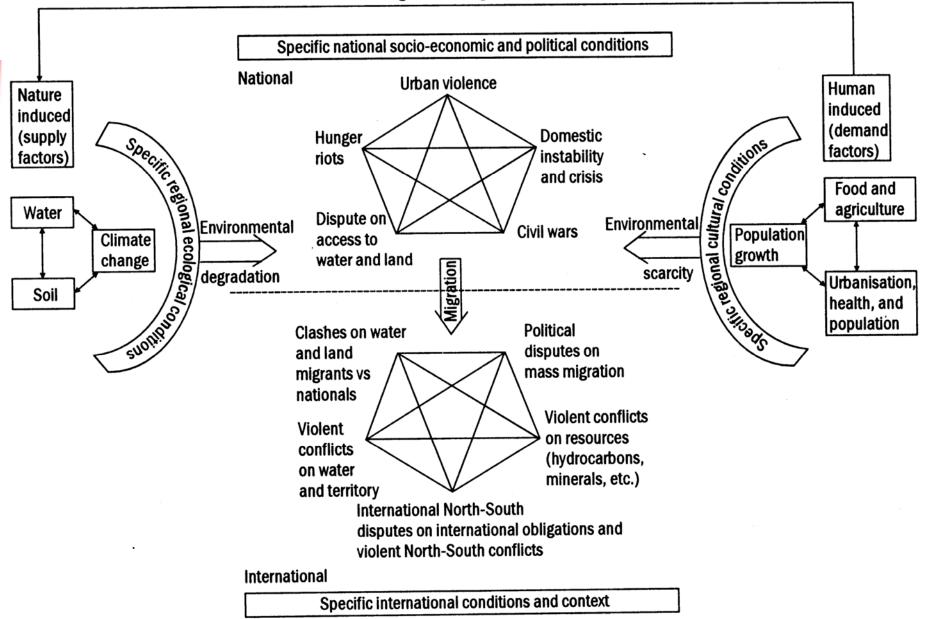
Hobbesian: <u>http://halfgeek.net/weblog/special/gwreport/Pentagon.html</u> Grotian: http://www.bmu.de/files/climges.pdf

- Hobbesian diagnosis: P.Schwartz Doug Randall: An Abrupt Climate Change Scenario and Its Implications for US National Sccurity, Oct 2003, for DoD, NA (worst case)
- EU: 2015: Conflicts within EU over food & water supply, 2025: EU nears collapse, 2ß27: increa-sing migration to Med. countr.: Algeria, Morocco, Egypt, Israel, 30% of Europeans on the move
- US: European migration to US, 2020: DoD manages vorders and refugees from Caribbean and Europe; 2025: Chinese –US naval forces in the Gulf on control of oil resources

- Grotian Diagnosis: H.G. Brauch: Climate Change, Environ-mental Stress and Conflicts, for Fed. Min. of Environment (Nov. 2002)
- Focus: Interaction between Global Environmental Change and Fatal Outcomes, case studies: Mexico, Bangladesh, Egypt, Mediterranean
- Distress migration: from Nile Basin, across the Mediterran., major human disasters, increase in hydro-meteorological hazards in the Mediterranean: storms, droughts, flashfloods

6.17: Types of conflicts

Increase in greenhouse gas emissions



7. Towards a Fourth Phase of Research on Environmental Security

1. Conceptual Phase: Concept Environmental Security

- * Inclusion of environmental factors in US national security agenda
- VIIman (1983), Myers (1989), Mathews (1989)
- Brundtland-Commission (1987), Gorbachev (1987), NATO (1996-)
- **2. Empirical Phase: Case studies: Scarcity Conflict**
- > Toronto: Tad Homer-Dixon: since 1991: 3 Projects
- > Zürich/Bern: G. Bächler, K.Spillmann (3 volumes 1996,1997)
- 3. Phase: Manifold Research without Integration (1995-)
- > Resource scarcity or abundance as a cause of conflict
- 4. Phase: Human & Environm. Security & Peace (HESP)
- My proposal: focus on linkages between global environm. change and fatal outcomes (hazards, migration, crises and conflicts).
- ✓ Brauch, ch. 2 & 51 of: *Security & Environment in the Mediterran.*

7.1. Goals of a fourth phase of research on human & environmental security & peace

4th phase of research on environmental security aim at:

- 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 occur-ring, to contribute to regional environmental good governance.

8. Next Project: Reconceptualiising Security in the 21st Century

Reconceptualisation of Security in 21st Century (2004-06)

- Major reference book in Hexagon Series (Springer-Verlag): Coeditors: Brauch – Grin – Mesjasz (AFES-PRESS) – Chourou (Mediter. partner), Liotta (US partner) & from Asia and Latin America
- AFES-PRESS contribution to EU-sponsored network of excellence on security: GMOSS: Global Monitoring for Stability & Security in the context of the 6th EU Research Framework Programme
- **AFES-PRESS: is one of 24 GMOSS partners.**

Redefining Security Interests (2006-2008)

Possibly second major reference book in the Hexagon Series to be discussed & developed with GMOSS partners.

8.1. Questions for Reconceptualising Security: Facing Global Env. Change and Globalisation

- Our goal: Time to assess & take stock of divergent reconceptualisations of security that have occurred since 1989.
- What does security mean in different cultures & religions and has the understanding changed since 1989?
- What is the spatial context: is security de-spatialised or de-territorialised (OECD perspective) or re-spatialised?
- What are the referents of security in different concepts?
- How have scientific disciplines reconceptualised security?
- Have there been reconceptualisations of security dimensions?
- How has global environmental change and its often fatal outcomes been conceptualised in terms of security concepts?
- How has the sectoral reconceptualisation evolved since 1989?
- How have environmental and human security been (re)conceptualised in different world regions: convergence or divergence?

8.2. Reconceptualisation of Security in 21st Century

Facing the Challenges of Global Enviroonm. Change & Globalisation

- I. Theoretical Contexts: Conceptual Quartet of Peace, Security, Development & Environment & Reconceptualisations
- II. Cultural & Religious Contexts for Reconceptualis. of Security
- III. Spatial Context and Referents of Security Concepts
- **IV.** Reconceptualisation of Security in Scientific Disciplines
- V. Reconceptualising Dimensions of Security
- VI. Security Conceptual. of Global Envir. Change & Fatal Effects
- VII. Sectoral Security Concepts Revisited for the 21st Century
- VIII. Global and Regional Environmental Security Revisited
- IX. Global & Reg. Human Security Approaches & Debates Revisited
- X. Conclusions: Reconceptualising Security for the 21st Century

9. Towards a New Transatlantic Debate on Security Concepts and Challenges

- Transatlantic debate on objective & subjective security: on weapons of mass destruction & perception thereof
- Differences in mindsets & worldviews on perception of security threats, challenges, vulnerabilities and risks
- Different securitisation efforts, legitimation strategies
 & policy agendas by different policy & IR communities
 - Hard security agenda: weapons of mass destructions, rogue states and non-state actors: terrorists and criminal networks
 - Soft security agenda: environmental & human security debate
- Møller's questions: Security of whom, of what, from whom? Security from what? Sec. by whom? Security by which means?
- Time to reassess the security concepts used since 1989!

Sources:

http://www.afespress.de/html/download hgb.html

Hans Günter Brauch P. H. Liotta Antonio Marquina Paul F. Rogers Mohammad El-Sayed Selim Environment in the Mediterranean

Conceptualising Security and Environmental Conflicts

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Srauch: Climate Change and Conflics (Berlin: BMU 2002) (<u>http://www.bmu.de/en/800/js/</u> <u>download/b_climges/</u>)

- Brauch-Liotta-Marquina-Rogers-Selim (Eds.): Security and Environment in the Mediterranean (Berlin – New York – Paris – London -Milan: Springer 2003) (<u>http://www.afes-press.de/ html/ bk</u> book_of_year.html)
- Next workshop: The Hague,9-11 Sept. 2004: Reconceptualising Security in an Era of Globalisation (5th Paneuro-pean Conference on Int. Relations)

(http://www.afes-press.de/html/the_hague.html)