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Reconceptualising Security:

**Contribution to the fourth phase of
Research on Human and Environmental
Security and Peace (HESP)**



Reconceptualising Security:

Outline of the Talk

- **Research questions: why and for what purpose?**
- **Conceptual quartet: Security, peace, environment, development**
- **Concepts of peace with security, environment and development**
- **Conceptual pillars: a) security dilemma, b) survival dilemma, c) sustainable development, d) sustainable peace**
- **Six dyadic linkages among 4 key concepts of the quartet.**
 - L 1: Peace & security**
 - **L 2: Peace & development**
 - **L 3: Peace & environment**
 - **L 4: Development & security**
 - **L 5: Development & environment**
 - **L 6: Security & environment**
- **Model: Global Environmental Change, Stress & Fatal Outcomes**
- **Goals of 4th phase of research on human & environmental security and peace**



Reconceptualising Security:

1. Research questions: why, for what purpose?

- **4 Major changes of international order since 1789**
 - French Revolution and order of Vienna (1815-1914)
 - Versailles Peace Treaty: Wilsonian & Hobbesian Compromise
 - Order of Yalta & San Francisco: Collective Self-Defence
 - **9 September 1989: Fall of the Berlin Wall** – not **11 Sept. 2001**
- **1989: Global peaceful change: Reunification of Europe**
- **Since 1989:** collective self-defence vs. collective security
- **Concept of security:**
 - **Widening:** 5 dimensions: mil., political, econ., societal, envir.
 - **Shrinking:** to the narrow Hobbesian military security concept
 - **Deepening:** global, regional, national, societal, individual
 - **Changes in the referents of security:** state to the individual
 - **Sectorialisation of security:** energy, food, health, water

1.1. Classical definition of security

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.“

Buzan/Waever/de Wilde: On Security (1998): narrowers vs. wideners

Table: Dimensions (Sectors) & Levels of a Wide Security Concept

Security dimension ⇒ ↓ Level of interaction	Mili- tary	Political	Economic	Environ- mental ↓	Societal
Human individual ⇒				victim	
Societal/Community				↓↑	
National	Bush Admin. ?			↓↑	
Internat./Regional				↓↑	
Global/Planetary ⇒				GEC	



1.2. Manifold disputes on security concept: transatlantic and North-South

- **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!**

1.3. Robert Kagan*): Mars vs. Venus or United States vs. Europe (2003)

**On questions of power
American and European
perspectives are diverging.
Europe lives in a world of laws,
paradise of peace &
prosperity**

**Americans exercise power in
an anarchic Hobbesian world
where defence depends on
military might.**

**←Americans are from Mars
Europeans from Venus →**

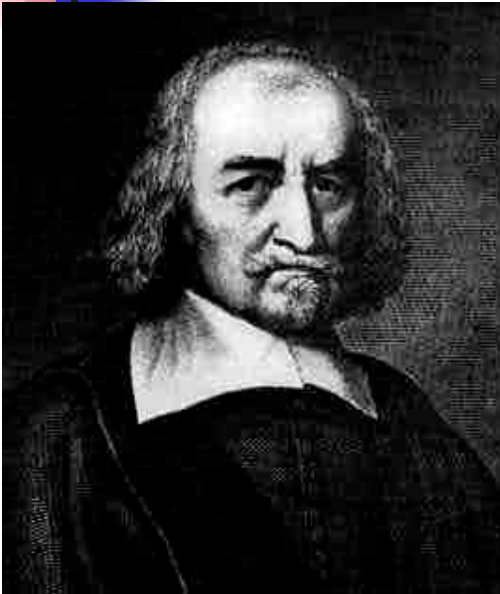
*** Of Paradise and Power
(New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003)**



Encyclopedia Mythica
<http://www.pantheon.org/>



1.4. 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

1.4. Hobbesian vs. Kantian Agenda



- **Hobbesian diagnosis:** New threats: „rogue states“, „axis of evil“ [Iraq, Iran, Libya, Syria, N. Korea] , weapons of mass destruction & terrorists
- **Recipe:** Military build-up, missile defence, use of military power & force to achieve aims, preemption!

Different worldviews: US & Europe: diagnosis, recipe!

- ❖ **Kantian [Wilsonian] diagnosis:** Human rights violations, nondemocr. regimes
- ❖ **Recipe:** Conditionalised economic aid, support for democratisation efforts & liberation [democracy imposed]

Hobbesian & Wilsonian symbiosis(neoc.)

Both recipes have problems with MENA [Middle East and North African region]



1.5. Grotian Perspective: Basis for a New Transatlantic Consensus



- **For Europeans** modern Westphalian internat. order was built on Grotian principles of international law.
- International law and multilateral cooperation in international institutions matter (EU: compromise).
- **Europeans** pointed to other challenges to survival of humankind, ignored by the Hobbesian mindset.
- **David King: PM Blair's science adviser:** „Climate change is the most severe problem we are facing today, more serious even than the threat of terrorism“ (Independent, 9.1.2004)
- **Karl Deutsch (1960s):** Power means not having to learn! **Kagan:** Europeans lack military power – Advantage: Europeans must learn!
- **Grotians:** Wider problem recognition, anticipatory learning, adaptation & mitigation, multilateral cooperation for solution!
- **Grotian view** may offer a basis for a new transatlantic consensus and for a conceptually oriented dialogue on security concepts.

1.6. Soft Security Challenges: Environmental and 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	Nation. identity	Nations, migrants
Human security	Individ., mankind	Survival	Nature, state, global.
Environmental sec.	Ecosystem	Sustainability	Mankind

Source: B. Møller: in Brauch et al. (2003): Sec. & Env. in Mediterranean, 277-288.

Env. Security: Referent: Ecosystem; Value at risk is *sustainability*.

❖ Major challenges: *global environmental change & humankind*,

❖ Focus: Interactions between ecosystem & humankind,

Human security: Referent: individuals and humankind.

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

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

1.7. Thesis: Increasing heterogeneity of security: mindsets, worldviews and referents



- **We have several parallel debates on security!**
- **Basic global change was 1989 and not 2001!**
- **But on 30.1.2001: Basic shift in mindset & worldview : Return of Cold War mindset & Hobbesian worldview: shrinking to a narrow national military, political concept**
- **Continuation of a widened security agenda in Europe and coexistence of three worldviews**
- **UN system: continuation of sectorialisation of security**
- **North-South (ruler vs. ruled): shift in referent: nation state to a „human-centred perspective“**
- **Debate within Western hemisphere: US vs. Canada**
- **P.H. Liotta: for merging of both referents! But is this possible?**



1.8. 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?**



2. Conceptual Quartet: Security, Peace, Environment and Development (SPED)

- **Four concepts stand for 4 IR Research areas: peace & security, environmental & developmental studies**
- **Each concept has a complex history, different affiliations in different cultures and religions**
- **Goal: Contribute to 4th phase of research on human & environmental security & peace (HESP) will be outlined.**
 - This requires conceptual clarity on four basic concepts
 - on linkages: peace with security, development & environment
 - on linkages: development with peace, security & environment
 - on linkages: security and environment with a brief survey of the first three phases of research on environmental security
 - from which prolegomena for a fourth phase of research on human and environmental security and peace (HESP).

3. Concepts of peace in relation with security, 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 diemma</i> ▪ II: <i>Survival dilemma</i> ▪ III: <i>Sust. developm.</i> ▪ IV: <i>Sustain. peace</i> 	<p>Peace ↔ Security <i>.I: Security dilemma</i></p> <p>Development ↔ Environm. <i>III: 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>

4.1. Established pillar: I. Security dilemma on classical peace – security linkage

Pillar I: Old Concept on Northern agenda: „Security dilemma“

Kant: Eternal Peace (1795): 3rd preliminary article:

„Standing armies (*miles perpetuus*) shall be gradually abolished: For they constantly threaten other nations with war by giving the appearance that they are prepared for it, which goads nations into competing with one another in the number of men under arms, and this practice knows no bounds.“

L.F. Richardson (1930s): insecur. feeling, action-reaction principle of arms races

Butterfield (1950): „Hobbesian fear“, „Hobbesian dilemma“

John Herz (1950, 1959, 1966: 231): „‘security dilemma‘ as a social constellation in which units of power (such as states or nations in international relations) find themselves whenever they exist side by side without higher authority that might impose standards of behaviour upon them and thus protect them from attacking each other. In such a condition, a feeling of insecurity, deriving from mutual suspicion and mutual fear, compels these units to compete for ever more power in order to find more security, an effort which proves self-defeating because complete security remains ultimately unobtainable.“

Reconceptualisations: Jervis, Alan Collins (1995), Jason Ralph (2001)



4.2. Established pillar: IV. Sustainable development

Pillar IV: Concept on North-South agenda for devel. & env. linkages: „sustainable development“

- **Brundtland Report of 1987**: defined sustainability “to ensure that it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”.
- **Sustainable development** was understood as “a process of change in which the exploitation of resources, the direction of investments, the orientation of tech-no-logical development, and institutional change are made consistent with future as well as present needs” (1987: 9). The notion sustainable development contains two key concepts:
 - · The **concept of needs**, in particular the essential needs of the world’s poor, to which overriding priority should be given; and
 - · The **idea of limitation** imposed by the state of technology and social organization on the environment’s ability to meet present and future needs.



4.3. New pillar: „survival dilemma“

Pillar II: New on Southern agenda: „Survival dilemma“

- ❖ New concept for **security & environment linkages** caused by human & nature induced factors of global environmental change (GEC as cause of insecurity)
- ❖ Grotian concept on **disappearance of bipolarity** and overcoming of the Hobbesian fear with the end of the Cold War and widening security concept with the **increase of non-military soft security challenges, vulnerability and risks** that require primarily non-military, economic, societal and environmental mitigation strategies.
- ❖ I argued that root causes of GEC could become “severe challenges for the survival of governments”, and stated that **environmental conditions** for human life may be fundamentally challenged as a result of a complex process of incremental change caused by **soil erosion and desertification** leading to more frequent and intensive **droughts and water scarcity** and lack of food (**famine**) that will **force people to migrate** what sometimes may lead to **violent conflicts**.
- ❖ The severe droughts in the Sahel zone in the 1960’s and 1980’s put the **survivability of this region** at risk and have contributed to several failed states (e.g. Somalia). **A complex interaction among environmental, societal and political factors occurred that resulted in several Sahel countries in violent conflicts.**



4.3. New pillar: „sustainable peace“

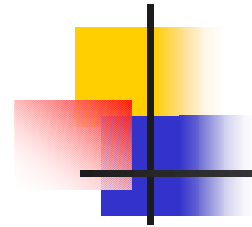
- **Pillar III: New on UN agenda: „sustainable peace“**
- ***Sustainable peace*** that has been used as a semantic construct in UN context & by action-oriented researchers **combining peace & sustainable development**
- Goals of a *sustainable peace* rely on sustainable development strategies based on **freedom from poverty and fear** as well as **equity** are crucial
- Second focus is on contributing to disaster risk reduction and management strategies to **reduce exposure to hazards and to cope with disasters.**
- The **Environment, Development and Sustainable Peace Initiative (EDSP)** is an international effort to bridge the gap between Northern and Southern perspectives on **environment, development, population, poverty, conflict, and peace linkages**. Current efforts to translate the environment, population, and conflict debates into a **positive, practical policy framework for environmental co-operation and sustainable peace** have not been successful. More importantly, these efforts have failed to engage a broad community of stakeholders, particularly in the global South. **Fostering new efforts to bridge both the knowledge and policy gaps between South and North is a critical step in the path to a sustaining environment and sustaining peace.** [http://www.sustainable-peace.org/content/fr_ini.html]

5.1. Dyadic linkages in policy & science:

L1: Peace & security

- **Peace & security: peace research & security studies;**
- **Focus: UN Charter and „security dilemma“**
- **What has changed with the end of the Cold War bipolarity?**
- **Did end of the conflict result in disarmament and realisation of the classic UN Concept of collective security?**
- **Did it result in peace or more violent wars & domestic conflicts?**
- **Why was there no return to collective security (Ch. VII & VIII)?**
- **Impact of the „global turn“ on changes on Art. 2.4 (non-use of force) and Art. 2.6 (non-intervention principle): UN specialists in international relations & internat. law**
- **Humanitarian intervention and legitimation of pre-emptive attacks.**
- **How were these changes in the objective (threats, challenges, vulnerabilities, risks) and subjective aspects of security perception interpreted by the three schools influenced by the worldviews of Hobbes, Grotius & Kant?**
- **How have IR scholars and international lawyers conceptualised these changes in the relationship between peace & security?**

5.2. Dyadic linkages in policy & science: L2: Peace & Development



Peace and development (studies):

- Did the end of the Cold War lead to a peace dividend and to increases or a decline in development assistance of major OECD countries?
- Did wars contribute to or undermine economic development since 1990?
- Different priorities: Peace with development? Development with peace?
- In 1970s & 1980s, conceptual debate on peace and development issues, where modernisation theories who often used realist assumptions where challenged by a critical peace researchers who were influenced rather by Kantian ideas and critical Third World approaches to development.
- What conceptual linkages evolved in social sciences, and in IR between both concepts, and how has the global turn impacted on both?
- While in IR in general and on issues of peace and security three basic ideal type perspectives can be distinguished of Hobbes, Grotius & Kant, on development issues three theoretical schools can be identified: a) modernisation theorists, b) critical theorists c) a third perspective on environm. issues, intergenerational justice (*sustainable development*).

5.3. Dyadic linkages in policy & science: L3: Peace & environment

Peace and environment (studies):

- 3 approaches to peace (Hobbes, Grotius, Kant), Galtung: negative & positive peace.
- Gleditsch (2003) 2 approaches on environment: *Neo-Malthusian* vs. *Cornucopian* view. Third perspective of an equity oriented distributionist.
- 9 ideal type linkages can be distinguished; 3 combined concepts: a) **the pessimist Neo-Malthusian Hobbesian perspective**, b) pragmatic equity-oriented distributionist view and c) optimist & neo-liberal Conucopian and Kantian view.
- **Neo-Malthusian perspective**: war loss of life of soldiers & affected civilians & environment. Peace as absence of war shifts the environmental impact of human behaviour to consumption & unequal distribution & use of resource. Neo-Malthusian authors stressed linkage between environm. scarcity & violent conflict.
- From a **Cornucopian view** Lomborg did not touch war & peace but he fundamentally challenged the Neo-Malthusian pessimism that global warming would decrease food production, and increase extreme weather events. But he acknowledged the high cost of global warming (US\$ 5 trillion) and that it would hit the developing countries hardest because they are poor and have less adaptive capacity.
- **Equity-oriented Distributionist** a status of peace (no war or with justice) improves the prospects & resources for policies to counter environmental degradation & pollution. Resource scarcity: result of unequal domestic distribution & of a lack of equity in the international division of labour.

5.4. Dyadic linkages in policy & science: Development & security, dev. & environment

L 4: Development & security (studies)

- **3 theories: a) modernisation, b) critical theories. c) theories on sustainable development**
- **3 perspectives on peace & security (Hobbes, Grotius, Kant)**
- **3 combined ideal type perspectives:**
 - ❖ **Sec.: Hobbesian view & Dev: modernisation theory**
 - ❖ **Sec.: Grotian view & Dev.: critical theory**
 - ❖ **Sec.: Kantian view & Dev.; sustainable development perspective**

L 5: Development & environment (studies)

- **Linkages: peace with development & environment evolved as policy goals and areas of policy making after 1945 and since the 1970s.**
- **Controversy between 2 perspectives in 1950s & 1970s was not on env. but controversies since 1980s between sustain. Developm. with proponents of revived modernisation theory & topical critical theories on devel.**

5 5. Dyadic linkages in policy & science: L6: Security & Environment

- **Previous book:** *Security & Environment in the Mediterranean. Conceptualising Security & Environmental Conflict*
- **New book:** Review regional conceptual debates on security & environment linkages in OECD countries, in Arab world, Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa & Latin America
- **Facing 2 challenges:** a) global environmental change (GEC) and b) globalisation processes
- **Referents:** GEC & Ecosystem and individual human beings (cause and victims of environmental behaviour)
- **Basic equity issue:** Global warming: highest consumption still in OECD countries & most severe impact in poor countries (G 77) where impact of hydro-meteorological hazards is most severe.
- **Focus:** Securitisation of GEC (survival hexagon) and of fatal outcomes: hazards, environmentally induced or triggered migration, environmental crises & conflicts & efforts

6. Model: Global Environmental Change, Environmental Stress and Fatal Outcomes



Causes (Hexagon)	Effect (Interaction)	Environmental Stress	Probable Outcomes
↗ → → → → Extreme Weather Events → → → ↘			
<p>Climate change</p> <p> → 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 </p>	<p>environmental</p> <p>→ degradation (soil, water)</p> <p>↓ ↑ →</p> <p>→ scarcity (water, food, housing)</p>	<p>global cond.</p> <p>↓</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> Environmental stress </div> <p>↑</p> <p>nation. cond.</p>	<p>disaster conflict</p> <p style="text-align: center;">avoidance</p> <p>↗ ↘</p> <p>→ Crisis</p> <p>↙ ↘</p> <p>migration</p> <p style="text-align: right;">conflict</p>

7. 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 occurring, to contribute to regional environmental good governance.

7.1. Normative Context: Essentials for a 4th Phase of Research on HESP

A 4th phase of research on human and environmental security and peace (HESP) may aim at ten conceptual and policy goals:

- **Orientation:** Analyst is influenced by worldviews & eco-logical standpoints. An *equity-oriented pragmatic Grotian* perspective may be best suited to support multilateral environmental efforts in framework of international organisations & regimes with the goal to avoid harmful and conflictual outcomes.
- **Causes:** Research should broaden scope & include both environmental degradation & scarcity and their impact on environmental stress. This requires a close interaction between social & natural sciences & a multi- & interdisciplinary approach.
- **Policy Process:** Case studies should include respective policy processes, how the state & society have responded to challenges & outcomes, they should emphasise the role the knowledge factor (learning, capacity building) has played in developing adaptive & mitigation strategies to reduce vulnerability & strengthen resilience.
- **Outcomes:** The research should focus not only on environmental conflict but it should include disasters, distress migration and environmental refugees and the complex interactions among these outcomes.



7.1. Normative Context: Essentials for a 4th Phase of Research on HESP

- **Regional Orientation:** A regional perspective both on causes, policy process & on outcomes is needed. This requires a regional resolution for natural science models & comparative social science case studies on the policy processes within the region.
- **Spatial Approach.** The analysis of environmental security issues on a regional level requires a spatial approach. As neither the approaches of *globalisation* & *geopolitics* have included environmental factors & problems of environmental security, a new approach of a **political geo-ecology** has been suggested.
- **Human Security Focus.** Referent for research & policy should be human beings, individual victims & communities of distress migration, disasters, crises & conflicts.
- **Policy Goals on individual level:** Environmental security studies should aim at contributing to strategies for reducing the *impact* of outcomes of environmental stress, decreasing *vulnerability* & strengthening the coping capacities and *resilience*.
- **Policy Goals on national & international level:** Strategies for coping with national & regional outcomes of env. stress by improving disaster response & integrating disaster reduction into national & local development planning. Resolution, prevention & avoidance of violent outcomes from env. stress should become a major policy goal.
- **Sustainable Development & Sustainable Peace:** A human security perspective to analysis of environmental security issues may aim at “sustainable peace.