Opening Session, 4 October 2013

Reconceptualization of security and the evolution of the human security debate: policy and science

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Reading Texts


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1. What is security? What does it mean?

- What is security?
  - In common understanding
  - In politics, in scientific analysis & discourse

- What does it mean for me?
  - In my country, language, culture, religion?
  - Do these differences matter?

- Security for whom?

- Security from what?

- Security threats, challenges, vulnerabilities, risks?

- Security for what?
1.1 Security: Term, Concept, Theory

- **Security** is an **ambiguous & highly contested** political & scientific concept.
- **Security** is a **value, a goal and a legitimizer of policies**
- **Term:** securitas, security & Seguridad, national, cultural 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 recent reconceptualization?**
- **Thesis:** Since 1994 a major shift has occurred from state-centred to people-centred human security concepts!
1.2. 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
2. Security concept in different contexts

• Security concept in different national, regional, cultural, religious contexts
  – Occidental tradition: Greek & Roman roots, European vs. American traditions (Arends)
  – Oriental traditions:
    • Indian tradition: Hinduism & Buddhism (Dadhich, Brück)
    • Chinese tradition: Confucianism (Radtke)
    • Japanese tradition: Buddhist influence (Okamoto)
    • Korean tradition: Buddhist & Confucian influences (Radtke)
    • South-East Asian traditions:
      – Thai, Laos, Myanmar,
      – Philippine
2.1. Defining security: as a term, concept, value, goal and means?

occidental: Security (lat.: securus & se cura; fr.: sécurité, sp.: seguridad, p.: segurança,
• 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

Oriental traditions: Thai, Chinese, Japanese, Hindi, Philippines?

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.
2.2 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) Wolfer’s 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?
2.3 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.

- 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 ima-ges, 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)

- Pillars & linkage concepts within the quartet

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IR research programs</th>
<th>Conceptual Quartet</th>
<th>Conceptual Linkages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peace Research</td>
<td>Peace</td>
<td>Policy use of concepts &amp; Theoretical debates on six dyadic linkages</td>
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<tr>
<td>Security Studies</td>
<td>Security</td>
<td>• L1: Peace &amp; security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development Studies</td>
<td></td>
<td>• L 2: Peace &amp; development</td>
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<tr>
<td>Environment Studies</td>
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<td>• L 3: Peace &amp; environment</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 conceptual pillars</td>
<td></td>
<td>• L 4: Devel. &amp; security</td>
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<tr>
<td>I: Security dilemma</td>
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<td>• L 5: Devel. &amp; environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II: Survival dilemma</td>
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<td>• L 6: Security &amp; environm.</td>
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<tr>
<td>III: Sust. developm.</td>
<td></td>
<td>[six chapters reviewing &amp; assessing the debates]</td>
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<tr>
<td>IV: Sustain. peace</td>
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- 4 conceptual pillars:
  - I: Security dilemma
  - II: Survival dilemma
  - III: Sustainable development
  - IV: Sustain. peace

- Conceptual Quartet:
  - Security
  - Development
  - Environment
  - Peace

- Conceptual Linkages:
  - L1: Peace & security
  - L2: Peace & development
  - L3: Peace & environment
  - L4: Devel. & security
  - L5: Devel. & environment
4. Why was there a reconceptualization of 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
4.1. 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?

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
4.3. 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 bipolairy (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!

→ Is this turn relevant for South-East Asia?
4.4. 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**
4.5. 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, veto power of permanent members UNSC

Regional System of Collective Security (chapter VIII)
- Arab League (established in 1945)
- Organization of African Union (OAU) now African Union (AU)
- CSCE and since 1994: OSCE (headquarter in Vienna)

National and International Collective Self-defence (Art. 51): bipolar structure of international order: NATO vs. WP
- Political goal: Containment, Domino theory, Rollback
- SE Asian war: Vietnam, Camofia, Laos
- NATO (1949): Lord Ismay: Keep the Americans in, the Russians out and the Germans down (fear of German revisionism)
- Bagdad Pact (dissolved)
- SEATO (dissolved)

After 1990. Reunification of SE Asia, expansion of ASEAN
4.5. 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
- Second Cold War (1980-1985)
- Gorbachev’s Modernization & Global Transformation (1985-89): Arms Control III
4.6. Which Contextual Change?

  - **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
4.7. 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?
4.8. 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: ???
4.9. 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:

- **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

Global Environmental Change

Ecosphere

- Atmosphere
  - Climate Change
- Hydrosphere
- Biosphere
- Lithosphere
  - Pedosphere

Anthroposphere

- Societal Organisation
- Economy
- Transportation
- Population
- Science & Technology
- Psychosocial Sphere

GEC poses a threat, challenge, vulnerabilities and risks for human security and survival.
4.11. From the Holocene (12,000 years b.p.) to the Anthropocene

In Geology/geography: Holocene era of earth history since end of glacial period (10,000-12,000 years ago, Anthropocene, since industrial revolution (1784, J.Watt’s invention of steam engine: anthropogenic climate change: burning of coal, oil, gas → GHG increase

Paul Crutzen, Nobel Laureate for Chemistry (1995)
4.12. Anthropogenic Climate Change in the Anthropocene Era (1750 to present)

- GHG concentration in the atmosphere
  - 2011: 393 ppm
  - 1/3: 1750-1958: 279 to 315 ppm
  - 2/3: 1958-2014: 315 to 400 ppm
4.13 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 -> Waever (theory of securitization)

- **Ulrich Beck‘s (international) Risk Society**

- **Structural (contextual) change & conceptual innovation**: permanent interaction

• 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.
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’.
5. Security Reconceptualization: 3 Processes

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

### Dimensions & Levels of a Wide Security Concept

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Security dimension ⇒ ↓ Level of interaction</th>
<th>Military</th>
<th>Political</th>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>Environmental ↓</th>
<th>Societal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Human individual ⇒</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cause &amp; Victim</td>
<td>Food sec. Health sec.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Societal/Community</td>
<td>shrinking</td>
<td></td>
<td>Energy security</td>
<td>↓↑</td>
<td>Food &amp; health security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>shrinking</td>
<td>Energy security</td>
<td>↓↑</td>
<td>Food &amp; health security</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Regional</td>
<td></td>
<td>Water security</td>
<td>↓↑</td>
<td>Water security</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global/Planetary ⇒</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>GEC</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
## 5.1. Environmental & Human Security

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

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 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)
- **2010, 2012**: Secretary General Report on 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.


- 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

- 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”.


  
  – 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'. 

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, biodiversity)
- 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 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 Secretary General
    • Kofi Annan: In larger Freedom (2005)
    • Ban Ki-Moon (2010 and 2012)
7. Four Pillars of Human Security


- “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.
7.1. 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

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
7.3. 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 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.
7.4. 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 trafficking

• **Ogata/Sen:** 2 Approaches: Protection & Empowernment

  **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

  **Empowernment:**
  – achieve UN Millenium Devel. Goals, poverty eradication encouraging fair trade, markets
  – sustainable development
  – universal access to basic health care and universal education

• **Protection & Empowernment are Mutually Reinforcing!**

- **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**

- 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”
7.7. 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**
8. 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 Environment. Change
8.1. 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
8.2. 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 & jome 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
8.3. 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 surpass a threshold of severity [and] would be labelled threats to human security” (Owen 2004).
8.4. 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.
8.5. 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.
9. 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: Sadago Ogata, Amartya Sen (India, Bangladesh)
- Japanese Initiatives: idealist foreign policy (Takasu)
  - Human Security Unit in UN Secretariat (funding of small projects primarily in developing countries)
- UNU: Using the Concept for framing during the period of Hans van Ginkel as Rector

- 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
9.2. Human Security Network Members

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

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


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

HSN was chaired by countries:

- Chile, 2001/2002, 4th ministerial meeting, Santiago, 2–3 July 2002;
- Austria, 2002/2003, 5th ministerial meeting, Graz, 8–10 May 2003;
- Thailand, 2005/2006, 8th ministerial meeting, Bangkok, 1–2 June 2006;
- Costa Rica, 2009/2010
- Switzerland, 2010/2011
- NN, 2011/2012: no more information
- NN, 2012/2013: no more information

Website of HSN discontinued
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.
9.5. 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.

- **Human Security Debates in the Security Council**

- **Human Security Debates in General Assembly**
  - GA Outcome Document (2005)
  - Debate in 2007
  - Debate in 2010
  - Informal Debate in 2011
  - Debate in 2012

  - Kofi Annan (2005): In Larger Freedom: 3 pillars doctrine
  - Ban Ki-Moon (2010, 2012)
10.1 Human Security Debates in the Security Council: Agenda-setting

• Canadian Presidency (1999)
  – 1999-2000: Canadian UNSC presidency Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy proposed “Pro-tection 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
10.2. 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.

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.
10.4. 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 17th 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.

- 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.
10.6. 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

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
10.8. First Discourse: Securitization of GEC: Climate Change & Security

- Not they but „we are the threat“ of global warming
- Intersubjective approach: Security: what actors make of it
  - 2007 was the turning point for the securitization of climate change
    - February: IPCC Fourth Assessment Report
    - April: UN Security Council debate
    - June: WBGU-Report: impact on EU debate
    - October: Nobel peace prize for IPCC and al Gore
- 3 fold debate & discourse on climate change:
  - International Security:
    - Goal: Strategies of conflict prevention by a proactive environmental, economic and development policy
  - National Security:
    - GECHS Project of IHDP: Social Vulnerability of poor & marginalized population groups
10.9. UN Debates on Climate Change & Intern. Security


3 June 2009: UN General Assembly Resolution:

1. *Invites* the relevant organs of the United Nations, as appropriate and within their respective mandates, to intensify their efforts in *considering and addressing* climate change, including its possible security implications;

2. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit a *comprehensive report* to the General Assembly at its sixty-fourth session on the *possible security implications of climate change*, based on the views of the Member States and relevant regional and international organizations.

August-September 2009: submission by states (31 replies)


11 September 2009: Report by Ban-Ki Moon