# FU Berlin, OSI, WS 2004/2005, 15423 HS

# Reconceptualising Security in the 21st Century
Facing the Challenges of Global Environmental Change & Globalisation

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# Outline

## 1. Defining of Security:
- **Objective vs. subjective**
- **Three Traditions (Engl.):** Hobbes, Kant & Grotius
- **Conceptual quartet:** security, peace, environment, development

## 2. Reconceptualising Security: Dual Context
- **Political science context:** realism - constructivism
- **Political context:** Cold War and since 1990

## 3. Widening, Deepening and Sectorialisation
- **Horizontal:** 5 dimensions: political, military, economic, sociological, ecological
- **Vertical:** global, regional, national, societal, human
- **Sectoral:** energy, food, water, health

## 4. Global Environmental Change: Environment & Security Linkages: Environmental Security Conc.
- **3 phases of research:**
- **Towards a fourth phase:**

## 5. State-Centred vs. Human-Centred Security
- **freedom from want:** UNDP, CHS
- **freedom from fear:** Human Security Network
- **freedom from hazard impact:** GECHS, UNU-EHS

## 6. Spatial Context: global, regional, national sec.
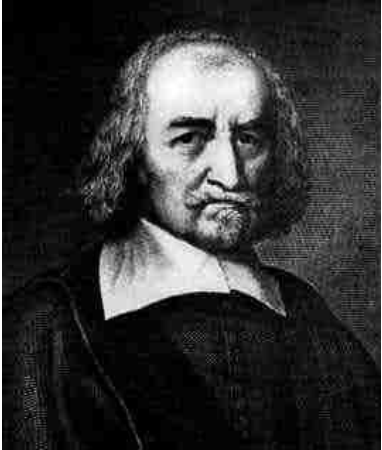
## 7. Institutional Security Concepts
- **European: OSCE, EU, NATO**
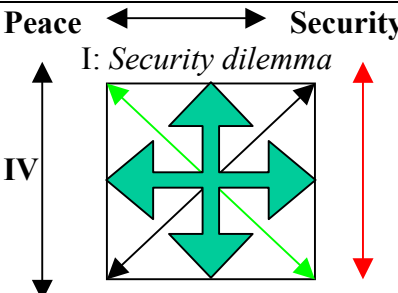- **UN: UN-SC, UNDP, UNESCO, UNU-EHS**

## 8. Goals and Structure of Seminar

# 2. Defining of Security:

➢ **Dictionaries:** Security (lat.: *securus* & *se cura*; it. *sicurezza*, fr.: *sécurité*, sp.: *seguridad*, p.: *segurança*, g: *Sicherheit*) was introduced by **Cicero & Lukrez** referring to status of mind
- Since the 1st century key political concept: '**Pax Romana**'.
- 'Security': refers to frameworks, dimensions, individuals, issue areas, societal conventions & changing historical conditions & circumstances.
- Individual or societal political value: no independent meaning and is always related to specific individual or societal value systems and their realisation (Brauch 2003: 52).

➢ **Scientific Concept: discipline & time**
- **Sociology: F.-X. Kaufmann:** Sicherheit  (1970):
- **Internat. Relations: D. Frei:** Sicherheit (1977)
- **Schwarz:** Sicherheitspolitik (1976)
- **Buzan:** People, States & Fear (1983)
- **Buzan/Waever/deWilde:** On Security (1998)

➢ **Objective vs. Subjective :**
- **Arnold Wolfer's** (1962) standard definition:
- 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**.**
- **Objective: absence of threats to acquired values**
- **Subjective: absence of fear** that values will be attacked

➢ **Björn Möller (2001, 2003): raised key questions**
- **Whose values might be threatened?**
- **Which are these values?**
- **Who might threaten them?**
- **By which means?**
- **Whose fears should count?**
- **"absence" of threats and/or fear: absolute or relative?**

➢ **Main goal of UN-Charter: Art. 1.1.,**
to **maintain international peace and security**, and to that end: to take **effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace**, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace.

## ➤ Three Traditions (English school: Wight, Bull):



| Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) | Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) | Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) |
|---|---|---|
| „Leviathan" 1650 | War and Peace 1622 | Eternal Peace (1795) |
| "pessimist" | "pragmatist" | "optimist" |
| *power* is key cat. (narrow concept) | *cooperation* is vital wide security concept) | *international law* & *hum. rights* crucial |

## ➤ Conceptual quartet: old concepts: security & peace
## New Concepts: development and environment

| Research programmes in internat. relations | Conceptual Quartet | Conceptual Linkages |
|---|---|---|
| ⚱ **Peace Research** ⚱ **Security Studies** ⚱ Development Studies ⚱ Environment Studies<br><br>**conceptual pillars** I: *Security dilemma* II: *Survival dilemma* III: *Sust. developm.* IV: *Sustain. Peace* | **Peace** ⟷ **Security** I: *Security dilemma*<br>**IV**<br><br>Development ⟷ **Environm.** III: *Sustainable development* | **L 1: Peace & security**<br>L 2: Peace & development<br>L 3: Peace & environment<br>L 4: Development & security<br>L 5: Development & environment<br>**L 6: Security & environment** |
| **Brauch: Sopron** | **Brauch: The Hague** | **Brauch: Montreal** |

at: **http://www.afes-press.de/html/download_gmoss.html**

# 2. Reconceptualising Security: Dual Context

➢ **Political context:** Cold War and since 1990

|  | **Cold War (1947-89)** | **Post Cold War (1990-)** |
|---|---|---|
| **concept** | **Narrow** | **Wide** (Europe, EU) |
|  |  | **Narrow** (USA, MENA) |
| **dimensions** | **military, political** | **+ economic, societal, environmental et al.** |
| **referent** | **nation state, alliance**(NATO,WP) | **individual to global** |
| **Threat (from)** | **Soviet (West), imperialist (East) colonialist (South)** | **USA:** WMD, terrorism **EU: wider spectrum, climate change** |
| **Challenge** | **military, ideological** | **5 dimensions of sec.** |
| **Vulnerability** | **military** | **5 dimensions of sec.** |
| **Risk** | **military** | **5 dimensions of sec.** |

➢ **What change is crucial and long-lasting:**
- **9 November 1989:**unification of Germany & **Europe:** triggered integration
- **11 September 2001:** vulnerability of US to terrorism **USA:** triggered revival of Cold War mindset, military build-up, and constraints on civil liberty: impact of laws on homeland security

➢ **Did the contextual change of 1989 trigger a global "reconceptualisation" of security?**

➢ **Did the impact of 11 September 2001 trigger two competing "re-conceptualisations" of security?**

➢ **Political science context:** realism – constructivism
➢ **Kuhn:** Scientific revolutions lead to paradigm shifts
➢ **Ideas matter**:  emergence of constructivist approaches, security is socially constructed (speech acts)
➢ **Threats matter:** evolution of the new worldview of the neo-conservative ideologues in the US & impact on IR

# 3. Widening, Deepening and Sectorialisation

- **Horizontal:** 5 dim.: polit., mil., econ., societal, ecol.
- **Vertical:** global, regional, national, societal, human
- **Sectoral:** energy, food, water, health

## Fig 1: Horizontal & Vertical Dimensions of Security

| dimension ⇒<br>Level of interaction ⇓ | Military | Political | Economic | Environmental ⬇ | Social |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Human ➔ | | | | energy, food , health, livelihood threats, challenges, & risks may pose a *survival dilemma* in areas with high vulnerability | |
| Societal/Community | | | | ⬇⬆ | |
| National | U.S. & MENA security dilemma of rival states | | | European focus (NATO, EU) For many developing countries energy, food , health security | |
| International/Regional | | | | ⬇⬆ | |
| Global/Planetary ➔ | | | | | |

## Fig. 2: Expanded Concepts of Security (Møller 2003; Oswald 2001, 2004)

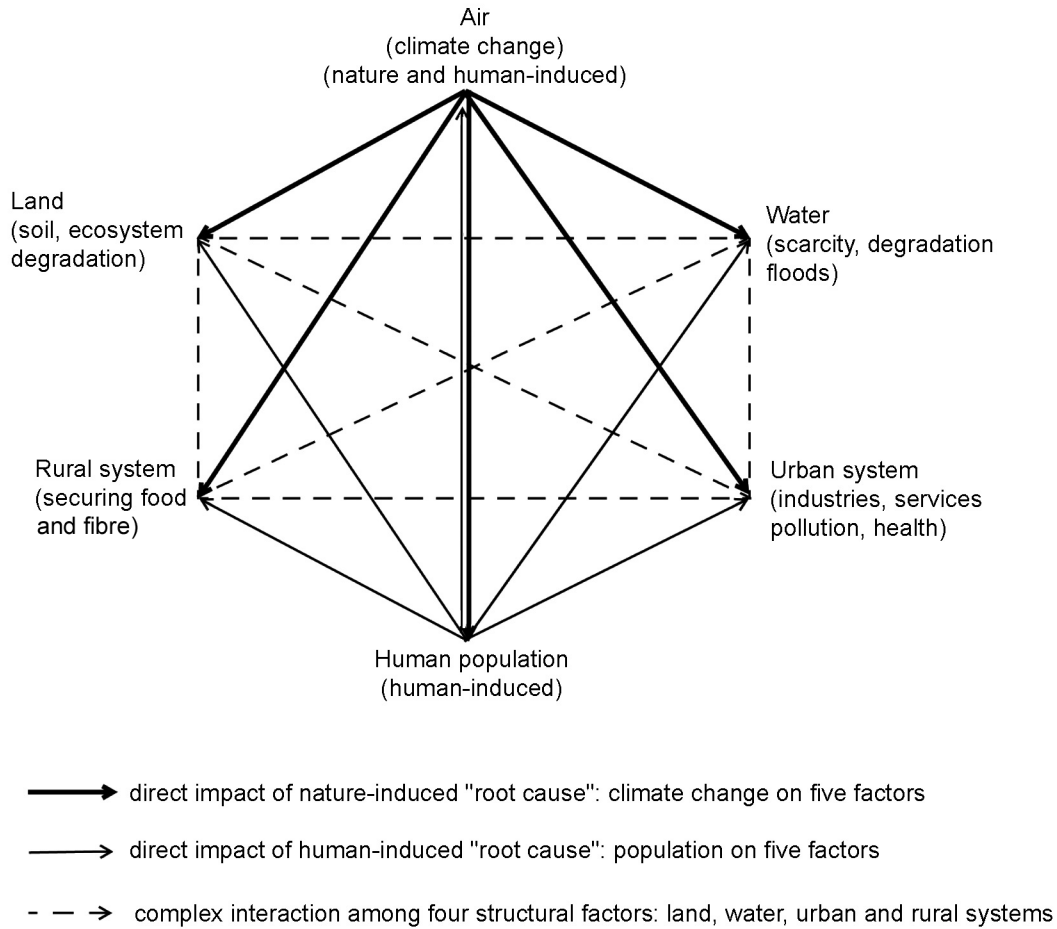| | Reference object (sec. of whom?) | Value at risk (security of what?) | Source(s) of threat (sec. from whom/ what?) |
|---|---|---|---|
| **National Security** [political, military] | The State | Sovereignty, territorial integrity | Other states (Sub state actors) |
| Societal security | Nations, societal groups | National unity Identity | (States) Nations, migrants, alien culture |
| **Human security** | **Individuals humankind** | Survival Quality of life | **State, globalisat., nature, terrorism** |
| **Environmental security** | **Ecosystem** | Sustainability | **Humankind** |
| Gender security | Gender relations, Indigenous people, minorities | Equality, identity. solidarity | Patriarchy, totalit. institutions (governments, churches, elites), intolerance |

# 4. Global Environmental Change: Environment & Security Linkages: Environmental Security Conc.
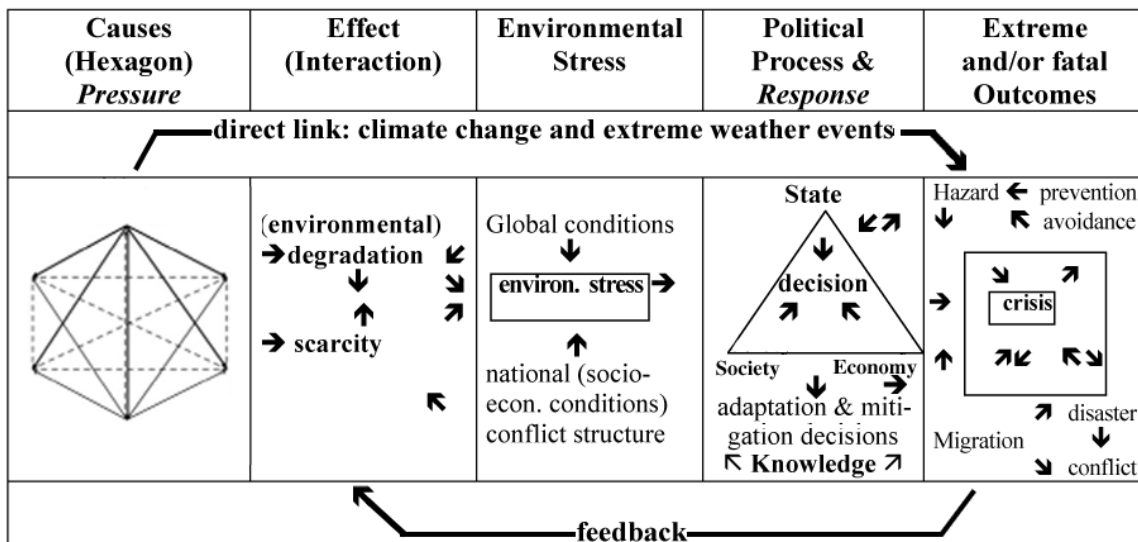
➢ **Global Environmental Change:**

- Since 1970s, 1980s global environmental change (GEC) focused on "human-induced perturbations in the envir." that encompass "a full range of globally significant issues relating to both natural and human-induced changes in the Earth's environment, & their socio-economic drivers"

- **IGBP** or International Geosphere-Biosphere Programme; **IHDP** or International Human Dimensions Programme; World Climate Research Program (**WCRP**), **DIVERSITAS**

- **IHDP:** contribution & adaptation of societies to changes, questions for social, cultural, economic, ethical, spiritual issues, our role & responsibility for the environment.

- GEC deals with changes in nature & society that affect humankind as a whole and human beings who are both a cause and often a victim, however where those who have caused it and those who are most vulnerable to and affected by it are often not identical.

- GEC affects & combines ecosphere & anthroposphere. *Ecosphere*: *atmosphere* (climate system), *hydrosphere* (water), *lithosphere* (earth crust, fossil fuels), *pedosphere* (soil), *biosphere* (life). *Anthroposphere*: populations, social organisations, knowledge, culture, economy & transport

- Steffen (2004:1) a global perspective on interactions between environmental change & human societies has evolved. Awareness of 2 aspects of Earth System functioning:
  - that the Earth is a single system within which the biosphere is an active, essential component;
  - that human activities are now so pervasive and profound in their consequences that they affect the Earth at a global scale in complex, interactive & apparently accelerating ways; that humans now have the capacity to alter the Earth System in ways that threaten the very processes and components, both biotic and abiotic, upon which the human species depends"

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

# Figure 1: Survival Hexagon of Six Resource & Social Factors

Air
(climate change)
(nature and human-induced)

Land
(soil, ecosystem
degradation)

Water
(scarcity, degradation
floods)

Rural system
(securing food
and fibre)

Urban system
(industries, services
pollution, health)

Human population
(human-induced)

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

⟶ direct impact of human-induced "root cause": population on five factors

- — → complex interaction among four structural factors: land, water, urban and rural systems

# Figure 2: Causes and Outcomes of Environmental Stress

| Causes (Hexagon) *Pressure* | Effect (Interaction) | Environmental Stress | Political Process & *Response* | Extreme and/or fatal Outcomes |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| direct link: climate change and extreme weather events | | | | |
| | (environmental) →degradation ↙ ↓ ↘ ↑ ↗ → scarcity ↖ | Global conditions ↓ environ. stress → ↑ national (socio-econ. conditions) conflict structure | State ↙↗ ↓ decision ↗ ↖ Society Economy ↓ → adaptation & mitigation decisions ↖ Knowledge ↗ | Hazard ← prevention ↓ ↖ avoidance → ↘ ↗ crisis ↑ ↗↙ ↖↘ ↗ disaster Migration ↓ ↘ conflict |
| feedback | | | | |

> ## 3 phases of research on environment & security:
>   - 1st phase: agenda setting: ES as topic of US NS
>   - 2nd phase: empirical: Homer-Dixon and Bächler
>   - 3rd phase: much diversity – little synthesis
>   - Towards a fourth phase: conceptual task of 2 books

# 5. State-Centred vs. Human-Centred Security

➢ Security key concept of two competing schools of:
  - *war, military, strategic, security studies* (Hobbesian persp.),
  - *peace & conflict research* (Grotian or Kantian view)
  - After Cold War distance between schools narrowed.
➢ New methodolog. approaches & debates on security:
  - *traditional* methodol. approaches (geopolitics);
  - *critical security studies*;
  - *constructivist* and *deconstructivist* approaches.
➢ Traditional approach, 4 cooperative security concepts: a) *common security*; b) *mutual security*; c) *cooperative security*; and d) *security partnership*.
➢ Security concepts coexist: a **narrow** Hobbesian **state-centred** political & military security concept & a wider Grotian security concept that includes among others economic, societal and environmental dimensions and that focus on **individuals & humankind** as referents
➢ *Human security* has been referred to as a
  1) level of analysis,
  2) human-centred based on: poverty erad., freedom, equity
  3) an encompassing concept (UNDP 1994).
  For first approach, *individual human beings* affected by environmental stress & outcomes (disaster, migration, conflicts) are referent objects; for the 2$^{nd}$ a *normative orientation* is essential while the 3$^{rd}$ is a combination of 5 dimensions & levels
➢ **Three approaches to human security since 1994:**
  - **freedom from want:** developm. agenda: UNDP, CHS
    comprehensive UNDP (1994) concept: 7 dimensions
    Commission on Human Security: Ogata/Sen: Human Security Now
  - **freedom from fear:** hum. agenda: Human Sec. Netw.
    human rights and humanitarian issues like landmines, child soldiers, proliferation and misuse of small arms, security sector reform and good governance in the security sector
  - **freedom from hazard impact:** GECHS, UNU-EHS
    - **IHDP Project:** GECHS Science Plan (1999)
    - **UNU-EHS** (Institute for the Environment and Human Security) in Bonn: focus on flood and drought impacts on human security

# 6. Spatial Context: global,regional,national sec.

## ➢ Global or International Security:

- **International security: concept in UN Charter**
  - UN-Sec. Counc.: International collective security (chapter VI,VII)
  - Regional collective security (chapter VIII)
  - National & collective self-defence: Art. 51 (alliances, NATO)
- **Global security concepts/threats: Steinbruner, Kaldor,**
  - Organised crime
  - Human trafficking
  - HIV/AIDS

## ➢ Regional Security: OSCE, AU, OAS (Chap. VIII)

- **OSCE:** human (rights) & environmental security (Kiev process)
- **NATO:** military, political, environmental, energy security

## ➢ European Security

- EU no state and no federation but a "Staatenverbund", thus national security concepts do not apply
- EU has no citizens of its own, thus a EU concept of security for the citizen does not apply (excludes non-citizens living in EU)
- CFSP & ESDP: $2^{nd}$ pillar: Council
- Commission competence in a few areas: e.g. arms control, disarmament, humanitarian aid, development, climate policy etc.

## ➢ National Security

- Concept evolved as a new doctrine in the US during WW II and was used since 1945 to legitimate defence needs
- National Security Act of 1947: created new integrated institutions, e.g. U.S. Department of Defense, CIA, NSC Criticism of the National Security State (or military-industrial complex), as recipient of resources, agenda-setter
- National security of EU member states, e.g. of Germany: based on an extended security concept (BAKS)

# 7. Institutional Security Concepts: Reassessed

## ➢ UN: UN-SC, UNDP, UNESCO, UNU-EHS

UN Sec. General's High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change (report due 30 November 2004)

## ➢ European Security Architecture: OSCE, EU, NATO

- **Early 1990s:** intensive debate on the relationship between NATO, OSCE and EU (division of labour, competition)
- **EU:** Petersberg tasks & Berlin Plus: new security functions

# 8. Goals and Structure of Seminar

## Research- and policy oriented

➢ **EU Network of Excellence for Security & Stability (GMOSS): AFES-PRESS task: Reconceptualising Security: Results will be several reference books**

➢ **Member of the College of Associated Scientists and Advisers (CASA) of UNU-EHS** (focus conceptualising environmental dimension of human security

➢ **Question:** whether and how the conceptualisation of security has changed since the fall of the Berlin Wall on 7 November 1989 and since 11 September 2001?

➢ **Two parallel processes**: a **securitisation from top** (national security) **and from bottom** (human security).

➢ **The following topics will be covered in the seminar and in the subsequent GMOSS books:**

I. Theoretical Contexts: Conceptual Quartet of Peace, Security, Development and Environment & Reconceptualisations since 1990

II. Cultural & Religious Contexts for a Reconceptual.of Security

III. Spatial Context and Referents of Security Concepts

IV. Reconceptual. of Security in Scientific Disciplines since 1990

V. Dimensions of Security (scientific & political debates s. 1990)

VI. Security Conceptualisation of Causes of Global Environmental Change and of Extreme & Fatal Effects

VII. Institutional Security Concepts Revisited for the 21st Century (UN, UNDP, UNESCO, OSCE, NATO, EU)

VIII. Sectoral Security Concepts Revisited for the 21st Century

IX. Global and Regional Environmental Security Revisited

X. Global & Regional Human Security Approaches and Debates Revisited

XI. Reconceptualising Security for the 21st Century: Conceptual and Methodological Challenges and Tasks

XII. Conclusions: Reconceptual. Security for the 21st Century in an Era of Globalisation & Global Environmental Change