
UNIT 13 MEASURING HUMAN SECURITY

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13.1 INTRODUCTION

Genuine security is achieved not just through the use or threat of force and physical restriction, but by winning hearts and minds and creating conditions for peace, justice and development. Its most effective form is a ‘soft’ or preventive one that tackles the root causes of political violence by helping the poor, alienated and marginalised to realise their human aspirations.

In the light of political trends following the Cold War, the incompleteness of the traditional notion of national security grew increasingly apparent. This traditional view on security relates to matters of external threats to the state which subsequent to the Cold War became insufficient to identify the diverse aspects contained in the term “security”. In this regard, it was in particular the ultimate lack of attention to security of the individual that initiated a revision of “security”.

Within this setting, human security has emerged as an alternate paradigm for understanding global vulnerabilities on the individual level. This paradigm hence shifted the focus from state security to the security of the people. The proponents of this concept began conceptualising security on an individual level, to address the wide-range of inter-connected human security issues in relation to people’s lives, rights and livelihood. This means ultimately that human security has come to comprise aspects including economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, education

security, community security, political security etc.

“Human security seeks to build upon and combine insights from other perspectives. Subsequently, in addition to examining the state security perspective, human security brings together the security, development and human rights agendas in an integrative, prioritized and strategic way. . . . As a result, human security advocates for inclusive policies that strengthen social cohesion and rejects exclusionary policies and practices that result in an unequal allocation of economic, political, and cultural rights among identity groups and that also, if left unattended, can lead to social exclusion, proliferation of networks of discontent, and possibly higher incidents of conflicts.” (UN Human Security Unit).

Aims and Objectives

After studying this Unit, you will be able to:

- identify the main elements of human security
- discuss the new global humanist perspectives
- explain the different goals set by United Nations
- analyse different variables implicated to human security
- recognise the different yardsticks of measuring human security

13.2 THE MILLENNIUM REPORT ON HUMAN SECURITY

The Secretary-General’s Millennium Report says that the world is progressing towards a new understanding of the concept of security. ‘Once synonymous with the defence of territory from external attack, the requirements of security today have come to embrace the protection of communities and individuals from internal violence.’ It adds, ‘the need for a more human-centred approach to security is reinforced by the continuing dangers that weapons of mass destruction, most notably nuclear weapons, pose to humanity: their very name reveals their scope and their intended objective, if they were ever used.’ In rethinking and reformulating the notion of security, a more comprehensive concept that is capable of addressing the different aspects that affect and influence the life and death of human beings needs to be built.

13.3 DIMENSIONS OF HUMAN SECURITY

The human security as a minimum is a number of interwoven dimensions centred on human dignity (Head, 1991):

- Personal and physical security: the right of individuals and communities to preserve their own life and health and to dwell in a safe and sustainable environment.
- Economic security: access to employment and to the resources necessary to maintain one’s existence, with adequate measures taken to reduce maldistribution and artificial scarcity and to permit improvements in the material quality of community life.
- Social security: providing protection from discrimination based on age, gender, ethnicity or social status, combined with access to safety nets, knowledge and information as well as freedom to associate.
- Political security: guaranteeing the right to representation, autonomy (freedom), participation and dissent, combined with empowerment to make choices and a reasonable probability of effecting change. This political dimension includes legal-judicial security: individual and collective access to justice and protection from abuse.

- Ethnic and cultural security: a social climate in which minority populations feel secure in expressing their cultural identity.

13.4 PRESENT SITUATION AT INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

Today there are increased opportunities for cooperation in the international system and in various geographic regions. The revolution in communications, the new wave of democracies around the world and globalisation itself has contributed to universalising the values and principles stipulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Promotion of, and respect for, this declaration requires increased partnerships and more cooperation. Approaching global politics from a human interest perspective, allows one to compare value matrices. This value distinction originates from different theoretical perspectives (Gurtov, 1999). The realist theory looks at international problems and stresses conflict, which means that cooperation between the different actors is not properly gauged. The transnational 'corporate-globalist' view stress economic aspects and the hegemony of a capitalist model of production and division of labour. Even though these 'rules of the game' establish overall preservation, they are seen to be a zero-sum game compared to other values. In the absence of any shared values, both realism and the corporate-globalist approach stress competitiveness as the basis for constant conflict and rivalry.

When one looks at the world with the new global humanist perspective, different values are stressed (Table 13. 1). The need for a more holistic approach means asking the core question: Who speaks for the planet? Based on this question, one looks for other approaches in international relations, which implies thinking about relations in the international system as a 'people issue'.

Table 13.1

Alternative Values in Main Theories

Realism	Corporate Globalism	Global Humanism
Negotiation	Access	Accountability
Influence	Hierarchy	Management
Mission	Influence	Equal opportunities
Control	Consumption	Decentralization
Systems of alliances	Capitalism	Basic needs
Hegemony	Global culture	Interdependence
National mission	Egalitarian	International regimes
Protectionism	Interdependence	'One world'
Intervention	Laissez-faire	International rights
Maintenance of system	Integration	Transformation of system
Power blocks	Maintenance of system	Global order
	Liberal order	Institutional
		Regulations
		Structure

Source: Mel Gurtov, *Global Politics in the Human Interest*, Boulder, Colorado, Lynne Rienner, 1999, pp. 25–26.

Conditions currently exist to form an international coalition of states and civil society organisations to support and promote projects aimed at establishing greater security for people and their development as the core of international security. The United Nations is encouraging this point of view by promoting international law that seeks to guarantee peace and governance and foster positive incentives. 'An innovative international approach will be needed to address the source of insecurity, remedy the symptoms and prevent the recurrence of threats which affect the daily lives of millions of people.' (Chairman's Summary, 1999).

13.5 A NEW GLOBAL ORDER

Human security visualizes a new global order founded on values and norms intended to develop global humanism. The core issue is to solve the population's basic needs within the framework of globalisation and interdependence. This delicate balance demands, on the one hand, a tendency to unify behavior, consumption and ideals centred on universal values and, on the other, the requirement to recognize and respect diversity and particular identities and cultures. We have seen, however, that globalisation also increases differences and does not—in and of it—meet any needs. It also has an adverse effect on cultural practices and national and local identities.

All of this is taking place in a context of economic and social polarization in various areas of the world. The result is local un-governability, which transfers instability to the global system and regional sub-systems. A 'zero-sum' security concept asserts that there is no absolute security and that the greater security of one actor must mean a greater degree of insecurity for another.

Throughout today's world, traditional measures for protecting national security are failing to prevent tragic violations of the most basic aspects of human security. Territorial sovereignty and military capacity become scarcely relevant when human security concerns such as ethnicity, religion, the environment, governance, the economy and human rights turn into flashpoints for violent conflict.

The failure of models based on the national security perspective points to the urgent need for a new model based squarely on human security. Such a model would permit the UN and national governments to act quickly on early warning signals. Rather than permit the levels of atrocities we have witnessed in places such as Bosnia and Rwanda, a human security framework could alert appropriate actors to uproot the seeds of conflict well before they take hold.

A preoccupation with state-centred security has long been at the heart of foreign policies both in developed and developing countries, and, consequently, has had high priority in policy formulation. It devours great quantities of scarce financial and human resources through spending on armed forces personnel, military hardware and weapons systems. Such misallocations affect the capacity of developing countries to invest resources in addressing human security problems. Paradoxically, then, excessive spending on conventional security measures can indirectly worsen the human security situation, thereby contributing to potential conflicts.

Recent efforts by the world donor community to move to some degree from a state-centred perspective to focus more on indicators of human development is a step towards enhancing the importance of human security.

13.6 GOALS SET BY UNITED NATIONS

The goals set by the United Nations for security is a world free from want and fear. Achieving this entails acknowledging a new set of international circumstances, where states advance the multiple threats that confront people. In the last few decades interstate conflicts have declined but there has been an increase in intrastate conflicts. The former Secretary-General Kofi Annan's Millennium Report, entitled 'We the Peoples', stressed that more than five million people died in this type of internal war in the 1990s. There were also mass migrations, refugee crises, destruction of infrastructure and environmental change. These events violate the basic human rights of millions of people and make it hard to create conditions for peace as the foundation for building a better world.

This analysis from the United Nations indicate that conflicts are more frequent in regions with poor countries, so the challenge of protecting more vulnerable populations is even greater. This poses a global and regional dilemma regarding the most suitable mechanisms for achieving stability, peace and fostering cooperation. Even though one cannot completely disallow intervention by other powers in the name of humanitarian intervention, it has shown that in most cases it is not the best option for settling conflicts. The same is true of the system of sanctions. In this framework, operations for maintaining and imposing peace must be reviewed.

In the type of conflict that emerges as the most common at the start of the twenty-first century, control of small arms is important as is the control of nuclear weapons. All of this marks a change in the perspective of the main international actors regarding situations of tension and conflict and regarding security concepts.

The international system has changed dramatically in less than a decade. Not only did the disappearance of the Soviet Union definitively mark this change, but there were also substantial changes that accumulated over time and are expressed with particular strength in the post-Cold War context. The number of state actors participating in the institutionalised international system has multiplied by at least four times since the United Nations was set up in 1945. We have seen the emergence of other actors with increasingly more influence on international relations—not just international agencies capable of changing their surroundings, but a series of transnational forces expressed with particular strength in multinational companies and non-governmental organisations. The communication explosion, technological advances and globalisation have further accelerated the changes. This has meant that the nature of state power has changed.

States have ceased to enjoy monopolistic control or to have the capacity to establish and promote actions in six basic areas.

- *Communications* are no longer controlled by the state. The Internet is the best example; radio and television are also good. However, states do have some regulatory control and authoritarian states still try and control communications.
- *Technological development* depends more on the private sector than on the state. This affects investment capabilities from genetic techniques and cloning to technological developments designed for war.
- *Financial transactions* flow around the world and generate regional and global crises with little capacity for intervention by the state.

- Although states reinsure *investments*, their ability to control decisions about where to invest and from where to get investments is minimal.
- *International migration* and the ability to control the movement of people have also diminished.
- *Trade* has increasingly opened up, and states have evident problems to establish controls and restrictions.

The above means that threat perceptions have been generated that are different than traditional ones and mechanisms of action to cope with them seem, and in many cases actually are, antiquated. At the same time states continue to control national security and internal security and in many cases the states' control over civilians through security mechanisms, surveillance and other means has actually increased. In other words, there has been a rearrangement in state power.

There is a greater flow of information in the world. The links between people are better. Political and social events in a country or region do impact others. Economic decisions made in one part of the world have direct consequences on economic growth and sustainability in other areas. This is the evidence for the substantial changes in the basic concept of sovereignty and demonstrates the reduced capabilities of nations to cope with their main problems (Bergalli, 1996). Hence, coordinating policies, establishing regulations and generating international regimes based on shared values are essential points in designing a new international system for the twenty-first century. Only the ability to act jointly will enable the states to recover their abilities to generate, together with other actors, a legitimate order capable of building a world free from threats and fear.

The basic concept that enables security to be understood in the post-Cold War period is the concept of cooperation. This concept emerges in all reports systematising progress and interpreting the changes in the world. It also plays an important role in divergent views, both for preventing and for promoting peace and international security. New problems that must be incorporated into the concept go beyond military aspects; hence, elements of cooperation are essential. The development of human security concepts are placed within this framework.

Before and during the Cold War, inter-state conflict was the main threat. A conceptual transition is taking place from a Cold War perspective that visualised an enemy expressed in strongly military actions carried out by a state, to a post-Cold War perspective in which threats are diffused, and the weight of military factors has diminished and many of the threats appear not to be linked to state actors, and even not to be linked to any particular territory.

We can say in general, however, that the end of the Cold War has led to a reappraisal of the main theoretical matrices used to evaluate international problems (Snarr, 1998). This will enable progress to be made towards a new paradigm that, while recognising conflict and confrontation, places greater emphasis on working together. This change requires tremendous political will on the part of core actors and specific forms of coordination.

13.7 HUMAN SECURITY: AN EMERGING CONCEPT

New vulnerabilities demand holistic perspectives. The concept of security at the beginning of the century can be articulated based on relating the concepts of international security,

state security and human security. The way in which that relationship is established will simultaneously meet global needs and the needs of states and the people. To the extent that vulnerabilities and threats to international security increase, pressure will be put on states to take action in a context where individuals and communities are at risk from all kinds of internal threats. Hence, it is essential to foster cooperative multilateralism, or correspondent multilateralism. In turn, interstate crises and conflicts affect human security and international stability. So it is essential to achieve stability in interstate relations by demilitarising the links. Furthermore, human security demands are made on both the state and the international system. The influence of civil society organisations in promoting this level of security is essential. State security is classical security and involves aspects linked primarily to sovereignty and border issues. The weight of military forces and the balance of forces, as well as concepts associated with dissuasion and defence take place at this level.

Human security addresses more local dimensions, although they involve large masses of humanity. It also addresses global issues, such as environmental matters and pandemics. These types of issues are not traditionally approached at the other two levels of security. Building a holistic view requires emphasising that each level must produce specific answers in at least three areas: use of force, prevention of conflicts and international cooperation. Increases in security at one level do not replace nor eliminate demands at other levels. On the contrary, insecurity at one of the three levels affects the other levels. From that point of view, human security is an emerging issue, which can give greater cohesion to interaction between international security and state security.

This outlook, which is greater than the sum of its parts, does not mean expanding the concept of security. To expand would entail militarising different areas or ‘scrutinising’ everything that is important. Rather, new perspectives imply better coordination between levels.

Four substantial elements need to be emphasised in today’s security landscape:

- International security extends beyond its military components;
- International security is transnational, global and interdependent;
- International security is produced by a plurality of actors, the state is no longer the exclusive actor; and
- International security in the twenty-first century has enlarged its agenda and demands that actors work together.

Emphasis on which factor has primacy in the human security, state security and international security trio may vary depending on the scenario. In most, the weight of coordination will fall on state security, because the state continues to be the main international actor. Yet some geographical regions, such as Africa, international security and its main actors could be a larger centre of influence. For example, the response capability of the international system might predominate in the face of political crises in weak or disappearing states.

13.8 PREVENTIVE MEASURES

The capacity to generate preventive measures (Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1996) is, therefore, the central point of international action and of the governing agencies

of the international and regional systems (Muthiah, 1999). In this regard, the United Nations faces the urgent challenge and necessity to establish efficient strategies in preventing long and short-term conflicts. Moreover, the United Nations is interested in increasingly targeting preventive actions in the sphere of international security as a crucial element in progressing towards a world free from fear. 'As the United Nations has bitterly and repeatedly discovered over the last decade, no amount of good intentions can substitute for the fundamental ability to project credible force if complex peacekeeping, in particular, is to succeed'(United Nations, 2000).

13.8.1 Coercive Measures

Human security has been taken forward to imply protection through the use of humanitarian intervention when large numbers of people are threatened by the state itself. In such a case, it is argued, the international community can be involved and in the last resort use coercive measures, including sanctions and military forces, as in Bosnia and Kosovo. The legitimate delegation of authority by the United Nations for use of force is considered. The Report on the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) which was accepted by a United Nations sponsored Global Conference states, however that: 'force alone cannot create peace; it can only create the space in which peace may be built.' This assertion is the basic link that allows one to reconsider the relationship between peace, the use of force and political conditions. Political will, restrictions on the use of force in dispute settlement and the development of efficient measures of dissuasion will make more space possible for politics and for building peace.

13.8.2 Risk analysis

Risk analysis is another preventive measure incorporated into the design of development policies and projects. In the state-centred approach, the value of risk analysis lies in the ability to fully understand the context in which conflict might arise, and the factors that will perpetuate conflict.

A similar grid could be applied to analyse security risks from a human-centred perspective. Thus the context in which conflict may arise, and the factors that sustain it, will relate to threats to human dignity such as a lack of food, water, shelter, education, autonomy, or protection from abuse. The ultimate goal would not be the use of force to deter such threats. But understanding them could point to policies and programmes capable of preventing social deterioration and the escalation of conflict. Force then becomes a last resort when all other preventive efforts have failed.

A critical issue in a human-security centred approach lies in the ability to read accurately the indicators of a deteriorating social fabric. Clearly, such ability is vital to uncovering warning signs that might not be visible at first glance. As Prof. Jorge Nef of the University of Guelph states: The key issue of real economic development is not the size of the GNP or the GDP per capita, nor the rate of growth of such indicators, but the essential growth of impoverishment in real terms. Consider the following examples of such impoverishment:

- One-half to two-thirds of Africans live in a state of permanent and deep poverty.
- During the 1980s, the average per capita income fell by about three percent per year in Sub-Saharan Africa and by about 1.3 percent in the highly indebted countries of Latin America. The cumulative figures of economic decline for the 1980s indicate 25 percent for Africans and 10 percent for Latin Americans.

A better ability to read and interpret such socioeconomic indicators will significantly improve the possibility of anticipating and managing conflict before it escalates beyond control.

13.8.3 Vulnerabilities of Human Being

Human security is a wide-ranging concept that demonstrates the weaknesses and vulnerabilities of human beings, as well as their potential. Opportunities for growth and development are increasingly linked, yet can become sources of insecurity. Global interconnection acquires more significance and importance each day. Reducing risks implies greater coordination of national and global policies. The experiences of recent years show that it is essential to agree on the design and then on establishing and executing the international regimes that guarantee a consensual international order. It is the international regimes that can ensure protection for people. Vulnerabilities will be able to be overcome based on the action of international regimes. Coordinating policies inside international regimes will make it possible to increase opportunities for more equal development. Progress can only be made through collaboration. Cooperative global multilateralism and national democracies are the best guarantees to ensure development and protection for people.

13.8.4 Non-State Actors

In many cases, non-state actors like non-governmental organizations have proven to be extremely effective in advocating the security of people and are also important providers of assistance and protection to those in need of great security. In this way civil society organizations are seeking greater opportunity and greater responsibility in promoting human security.

13.8.5 Development Agencies

Development agencies are now engaged in promoting security sector reform, while security organisations have helped channel development assistance in the post-conflict countries.

13.8.6 Development of Theories about International Regimes

The Development of Theories about International Regimes (Krasener, 1991) and about forming global public goods (Kaul, 1999) has acquired greater significance and importance, as have also contributions to negotiation theories (Breslin, 1995) and practical instruments to relieve tension (Krepon, 1999). Theoretical exploration of the field will generate suitable knowledge to improve multilateral relations and the results arising from them; especially those results capable of changing relations in the international system, beginning with cooperative multilateralism (Hoffman, 1998).

13.9 VARIABLES IMPLICATED IN HUMAN SECURITY

Human security may be analysed and understood from different variables (Table 13.2). Professor Jorge Nef proposes at least five dimensions—ecology, economy, society, politics and culture. Each of these variables can be visualised at different levels. They are linked mainly to two crucial elements—globalisation and the use of force. Examining these variables enables us to target and structure policy recommendations based on a concept, such as human security, that is still being developed and discussed.

Globalization has universalized such values as human rights, democracy and the market (Held, 1997). This ‘universalization’ has a strongly western flavour. Associated technological and economic processes have generated greater global interdependence with both positive and negative aspects, such as increased trade, wider dissemination of scientific knowledge and more global information. There is also greater danger to the environment, terrorism has acquired a global dimension, organised crime is worldwide, and financial crises know no borders. Generating stability and global governance without proper institutions is hard. Significant deficiencies can be observed in this area. In turn, there is increasing differentiation and multiplication of international actors and that has a bearing on the degree of importance and means of power with which each one deals with the processes and seeks to influence future courses of action. A vision of the future is essential. In this framework within the international system’s current period, different global concepts in specific areas such as security have not been honed.

Political will, restrictions on the use of force in dispute settlement and the development of efficient measures of dissuasion will make more space possible for politics and for building peace. In the case of human security, we can assert that the vulnerabilities of one are manifested as vulnerabilities of all.

Table 13.2
Variables Implicated in Human Security

Variables	Culture (Knowledge)	Ecology (life)	Economy (wealth)	Society (support)	Politics (power)
Effects Globalization Use of Force	Cultural capital Wisdom Ignorance Identities Values Intolerance and religious wars Local identities clashing with national and global ones	Environmental capital Sustainability Disaster A world of associated effect, such as the ‘greenhouse effect’ Bio-terrorism	Economic capital Prosperity Poverty Dark side of globalization and competition, more inequality Financial crisis Cyberterrorism Money laundering	Social capital Equality Inequality Refugees Migrations Hyperurbanization Polarization Ungovernability Rebellion Citizen security	Political capital Peace Violence Governance Global regimes Cooperation/ Conflict Landmines Child soldiers Small arms Traditional disarmament

Source: Jorge Nef, *Human Security and Mutual Vulnerability*, Ottawa, IDRC, Ottawa, 1999.

13.10 SUMMARY

In the end, it is a sense of urgency and readiness for action by those actors required to intervene in situations of conflict that determines the success of any form of security analysis. A sense of urgency must also be cultivated as an essential component of the human-centred approach. This readiness for action could help reach the goal of developing preventive measures for conflict resolution, as advocated by UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali in his *Agenda for Peace*. The moral imperative used to justify a

nation's decision to resort to force is the preservation of state stability in other words maintaining the rule of law. In the case of human security, the moral imperative for action is the preservation of human dignity in all its dimensions. If these dimensions of human security took greater priority in the risk analyses of national and international actors, it could at the same time go some way toward meeting crucial objectives of both sustainable development and global security.

13.11 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the main elements of Human Security.
2. What are the different yardsticks of measuring Human Security?
3. Discuss the variables implicated in Human Security.
4. What are the different goals set by United Nations?

SUGGESTED READINGS

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UNIT 14 GLOBAL STATE OF HUMAN SECURITY

Structure

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- 14.2 Emerging Concept of Human Security
- 14.3 Essence of Human Security
- 14.4 The Praxis of Human Security
- 14.5 Traditional Security Vs Human Security
- 14.6 Theory for a Complex World
- 14.7 Human Security at Global Level
- 14.8 Civilians in Armed Conflict
- 14.9 Human Security Focus
- 14.10 Summary
- 14.11 Terminal Questions

Suggested Readings

14.1 INTRODUCTION

The United Nations was born into a world emerging from the shadows of war and hitherto unimagined destruction. The organisation was founded on the ideals of peace and justice, with an international system of law and procedures which would replace military aggression and war with negotiation and collective security. Although the UN was fundamentally constructed around the concept of national sovereignty, it could also be argued that, from the very start, the security of people was of equal importance. The UN Charter's first words state - in no uncertain terms - that: "We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind..." (**Charter of the United Nations**).

The dominant concept of security at the time was state-centric, privileging the instruments and agents of the state, carrying forward the principles of state sovereignty as first articulated in the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. The UN principles for security were initially focused on ways in which the structures and practices of the modern state might address threats to its sovereignty. These threats encompassed compromises to territorial integrity, issues surrounding political stability, military and defence arrangements, and economic and financial activities. The behaviour of states was understood 'rationally' as the pursuit of power. To that extent, the security calculus was based on a zero-sum outcome, with gains on one side coming only as a result of losses on the other. This 'Realist' approach to security was most sharply applied in relations between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics from the onset of the Cold War in the 1950s.

In the years that followed, attempts to mediate between the USA and the former USSR probably presented the most difficult test for the UN and its mandate. Operating in a world perilously close to a devastating nuclear confrontation forced the organisation to develop innovative and creative solutions to seemingly intractable problems such as limiting the threats posed by the nuclear arsenals stockpiled by each super-power. The UN's role in disarmament led to the establishment of standards such as the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (1968), the Anti-Ballistic-Missiles Treaty (1972), the Biological Weapons Convention (1972) and the Chemical Weapons Convention (1993). Since the principal target of these weapons were communities and, by extension, individuals, it could be argued that although states had the principal responsibilities for action, individuals and communities were ultimately the main beneficiaries of these UN-led initiatives (Krause, 1997).

With the end of the Cold War and the demise of the Soviet Union over 1989-1991, the strategy of dealing with conflict by the UN shifted from containment to prevention. In 1992, the UN Secretary General issued 'An Agenda for Peace, Peacemaking, and Peacekeeping' (Boutros-Ghali, 1992). Early optimism for a more peaceful world was however dashed by a rising number of conflicts in developing countries. These were overwhelmingly internal conflicts, though sometimes national groups received external support. Most of these conflicts were outside the inter-state mould espoused by Realists. The causes of these conflicts were seen to be linked to non-state and non-traditional factors such as internal socio-political conditions, rapidly deteriorating economic conditions, environmental threats, identity politics, and powerful organised crime rings (Buzan, 2001).

In an attempt to address these transformations, the UN system once more engaged with alternative views of security, articulating the concept in terms of a re-framed emphasis on empowerment of individuals by addressing systemic-level policies and practices that contributed to insecurity. Despite having embodied the concept of collective security since its inception and witnessed the transformation of the concept beyond its original parameters during the Cold War competition of super-power interests, the UN increasingly championed alternative approaches to development and security.

Aims and Objectives

After studying this Unit, you will be able to:

- analyse the Global State of Human Security
- distinguish between Traditional Security and Human Security
- explain the Theory of complex World

14.2 EMERGING CONCEPT OF HUMAN SECURITY

The idea of human security is as old and derives from many idealist and moral thinkers but the modern concept of human security emerged as part of the holistic paradigm of human development cultivated in the UNDP by Mahbub ul Haq, with strong support from Amartya Sen (Sen, 1999). The UNDP's 1994 Human Development Report (HDR-94) was the first major international document to articulate human security in conceptual terms with proposals for policy and action.

Though this marked the most high profile launching of the concept and approach, Mahbub ul Haq and several others involved in 1994 had in fact explored the topic at a North

South Roundtable on the “Economics of Peace”, held in Costa Rica in January 1990. The Roundtable produced a clear statement that the post-Cold War world needed “a new concept of global security”, with the “orientation of defence and foreign policy objectives changed from an almost exclusive concern with military security...to a broader concern for overall security of individuals from social violence, economic distress and environmental degradation.” The new concept of global security would require “attention to causes of individual insecurity and obstacles to realisation of the full potential of individuals.” The report placed these challenges in the context of the post-Cold War world along with an emphasis on reducing military spending and creating a peace dividend - to ensure greater human development, and ease economic and environmental imbalances (North-South Roundtable, 1990).

The HDR-94 argued that the concept of security has “for too long been interpreted narrowly: as security of territory from external aggression, or as protection of national interests in foreign policy or as global security from a nuclear holocaust. It has been related more to nation states than to people”. This narrow approach was categorically widened to include the safety (of individuals and groups) from such threats as hunger, disease, and political instability; and protection from “sudden and hurtful disruptions in patterns of daily life” (Ibid., p.23). The report went on to further identify seven core elements which – when addressed together – reflect the basic needs of human security: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security.

The evolution of human security also had the support of Oscar Arias, former President of Costa Rica and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, who linked human security with proposals for a “Global Demilitarisation Fund”. Designed to provide support for disarming and demobilising armed forces, re-integrating military personnel into society and other measures to promote arms control and civic education for democracy, this effort would become an integral element for increasing human security in many countries.

14.3 ESSENCE OF HUMAN SECURITY

Human security represents an effort to re-conceptualise security in a fundamental manner. It is primarily an analytical tool which focuses on ensuring security for the individual, not the state. Exploring options aimed at mitigating threats to the insecurity of individuals thus becomes a central goal of policy recommendations and actions. In line with the expanded definition of human security, the causes of insecurity are subsequently broadened to include threats to socio-economic and political conditions, food, health, environmental, community and personal safety. Policy initiatives generated through the application of the human security framework have incorporated considerations far beyond the traditional focus on military force, greatly reducing the emphasis on armies, if not replacing them altogether.

Human security is therefore:

- people centred
- multi-dimensional
- inter-connected
- universal

In principle, human security reflects the aggregate gains as a result of the mitigation of each and every factor that contributes to insecurity. Now there is a need to focus on a

core of insecurities within each specific context. A country by country approach, as with the NHDRs, helps to do this. For example, realising human security in Afghanistan can and should involve policies which address democratic governance, trans-national crime, human rights, poverty and basic needs. The human security needs of the people of Mozambique could and likely would include protection from external regional conflicts, socio-economic exploitation, civil unrest stemming from ethnic identities, poverty, and public health issues such as HIV/AIDS and Tuberculosis. Each of these country cases therefore represents sub-sets of human security, linked together by the common condition of insecurity – which manifests itself in decidedly different terms of reference for both Afghanistan and Mozambique. In each case, the drive to eliminate insecurity is informed by considerations of human development and human rights, and not strategic calculations of power and military gains/advantages. Through this framework, it would therefore be possible to develop a collection of policies which successfully address the specific insecurities in each country, while ensuring that the primary beneficiaries of these policies are individuals, not the state. As a result, State security becomes a direct reflection of the perception of security of its citizens.

It is important to recognise *when* the human security framework is most useful in its analysis. For instance, attempting to locate human security within the super-power rivalry of the Cold War world order does not demonstrate the theoretical strengths of this framework. As such, in cases where security threats to the state are addressed through actions aimed at external state-based actors, traditional security studies appears better situated to undertake effective analysis. For example, the overthrow of Saddam Hussein's Iraqi regime by the US-led coalition is far better understood through a traditional security lens. The resultant impacts of US Army actions on the population of Iraq are however much better understood through the human security framework.

14.4 THE PRAXIS OF HUMAN SECURITY

Human Security can be regarded as a paradigm shift from traditional national security approaches. A common criticism of the concept of Human Security is that it is too idealistic and much too broad. But it can be argued that this paradigm shift is already under way and, moreover, is more realistic than traditional national security approaches since it represents the only possible approach to the kinds of insecurities that human beings face in the contemporary global era. How we develop the concept of Human Security and imbue it with relevant meaning is, in fact, part of the process of implementing a paradigm shift.

14.5 TRADITIONAL SECURITY VS HUMAN SECURITY

The Traditional Security paradigm refers to a realist construct of security in which the referent object of security is the state. The prevalence of this theorem reached a peak during the Cold War. For almost half a century, major world powers entrusted the security of their nation to a balance of power among states. In this sense international stability relied on the premise that if state security is maintained, then the security of citizens will necessarily follow (Bajpai, K, 2000). Traditional security relied on the anarchistic balance of power, a military build-up between the US and the Soviet Union (the two superpowers), and on the absolute sovereignty of the nation-state Owen, T, 2004). States were deemed to be rational entities, national interests and policy driven by the desire for absolute power (Ibid.). Security was seen as protection from invasion, executed during proxy conflicts using technical and military capabilities.

As Cold War tensions receded, it became clear that the security of citizens was threatened by hardships arising from internal state activities as well as external aggressors. Civil wars were increasingly common and compounded existing poverty, disease, hunger, violence and human rights abuses. Traditional security policies had effectively masked these underlying basic human needs in the face of state security. Through neglect of its constituents, nation states had failed in their primary objective (Baylis, 1997).

More recently, the traditional state centric notion of security has been challenged by more holistic approaches to security. Among the approaches which seek to acknowledge and address these basic threats to human safety include cooperative, comprehensive, collective measures, aimed at ensuring security for the individual and, as a result, for the state.

To enhance international security and potential threats caused by terrorism and organised crime increased co-operation within police forces internationally has been applied. The international police Interpol shares information across international borders and this co-operation has been greatly enhanced by the arrival of the internet and the ability to transfer documents, films and photographs worldwide instantly.

Human Security is an emerging school of thought about the practice of international security. Human security offers a critique of, and advocates for an alternative to, the traditional state-based conception of security. Essentially, it argues that the proper referent for security is the individual and that state practices should reflect this rather than primarily focusing on securing borders through unilateral military action. The justification for the human security approach is said to be that the traditional conception of security is no longer appropriate or effective in the highly interconnected and interdependent modern world in which global threats such as poverty, environmental degradation, and terrorism supersede the traditional security threats of interstate attack and warfare. Further, state-interest-based arguments for human security propose that the international system is too interconnected for the state to maintain an isolationist international policy. Therefore, it argues that a state can best maintain its security and the security of its citizens by ensuring the security of others.

Traditional vs Human Security			
Type of Security	Referent	Responsibility	Threats
Traditional	The state	Integrity of the State	Interstate war, Nuclear proliferation, Revolution, Civil conflict
Human	The individual	Integrity of the individual	Disease, Poverty, Natural disaster, Violence, Landmines, Human rights abuses

Source: Owen, T, 2004

14.6 THEORY FOR A COMPLEX WORLD

There is much disagreement among rival schools of thought on the essential nature of world politics today. In particular, the three major schools of thought – realists, liberals and neo-Marxists – differ strongly on the nature of world politics and the role of the state in it. For realists, the world is characterised primarily by conflicts of power and interest among states in an anarchic system, i.e., a system in which there is no legitimate authority

above states to regulate their behaviour. In their view, the process of globalisation, which has made the world more and more integrated, has not changed this fundamental reality very much. The state remains the central provider of security – seen primarily in military and secondarily in economic terms – for its citizens.

Liberals perceive the world by looking at institutions and individual rights. Some, who adhere to a state-centric conception of world politics, stress the growth of inter-state cooperation in an evolving society of states. Others, who regard the world as multi-centric, emphasise the growth of interdependence among states, firms, nongovernment and inter-government organisations, and other entities. Both observe a process of global integration and collaboration that contrasts starkly with the realists' worldview. The former group of liberals tends to see the state as the key to security within the framework of inter-state cooperation, while the latter stress the autonomous role of supra-state institutions and non-state entities in a world where the capacities of states to deliver security are declining.

Finally, neo-Marxians hold that the world is a unified capitalist system of unequal exchange between periphery, semi-periphery and centre. Globalisation is altering the geography of inequality: the three categories permeate all societies, though some societies, notably in Africa, are largely excluded from the process. In this world, real security can only be realised by energising popular movements in a struggle to overturn the exploitative capitalist system.

The position here is synthetic. Human security is determined both by states and by non-state forces. Though the state is in many respects a weakened entity, it still retains significant capacities to shape its multi-faceted environment with regard to the security of its citizens (Burchill, 2001). In other words, ordinary people still depend primarily, though not exclusively, on the state for their security. They depend on the state to

- secure them from foreign military threats by means of defence preparedness, if necessary with external assistance;
- carry out appropriate economic policies that maximise their material well-being by shaping the domestic economy and by regulating the interaction between the domestic and the global economies;
- manage the environment by means of domestic and inter-state regulation;
- protect and promote their cultural identity by regulating the linkages between the national community and the rest of the world; and
- conserve and advance their political identity and freedoms by creating a firmly-founded democratic political community that guarantees human rights.

The state may have lost much of its autonomous capabilities, but it still remains the main provider of security, whether autonomously or in concert with other states. No other agency possesses comparable capability, though many (for instance, firms and nongovernment organisations) affect the provision of security to a significant degree. Hence, the conception of security, even in the widest sense of "human security," must remain state-centric even as the state is treated as instrumental.

14.7 HUMAN SECURITY AT GLOBAL LEVEL

After 1994, the concept of human security became a central theme of a number of governments through their foreign and defence policies. In particular, the Canadian, Japanese and Norwegian governments led the way in institutionalising human security concerns into their respective foreign policies.

According to Foreign Affairs Canada, “human security means safety for people from both violent and non-violent threats. It is a condition or state of being characterized by freedom from pervasive threats to people’s rights, their safety, or even their lives”. (Human Security Programme, Government of Canada, 2005, p. 52). Canada, Norway and other ‘middle-power’ countries have also supported the Human Security concept, and developed the concept, emphasising the desire for ‘freedom from fear, freedom from want’ first used at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference of 1944. In 1997, Lloyd Axworthy, the then Foreign Minister, called for an extension of the security framework, to increase the peacebuilding capacity of his country, and address issues such as anti-personnel mines, and child soldiers (Axworthy, 1997).

A Human Security Network was set up in 1997, with countries such as Japan and Norway, as well as NGOs. The intention of this was to develop a new form of diplomacy which could encourage stable democracies to develop on a sound basis of Human Security. The assumption was that this would create a more stable and secure world. The emphasis of the Canadian school of thought was on a ‘responsibility to protect’ before, during and after conflict.

Canada has gained influence on the global stage through active participation – not by withdrawing. International institutions are not perfect, but Canada has been at the forefront in seeking reforms at the United Nations and other organisations. Such changes can only come about through active engagement.

Canada’s outward-looking stance, until recently, enjoyed support from all Canada’s major political parties since the founding of the United Nations almost 55 years ago. Isolationism has long been an unfortunate undercurrent in American politics, but it has not taken root in Canada. That is why some of the recent dialogue on Canada’s foreign policy has been particularly disturbing.

Canada has used its seat on the Security Council to advance, among other goals, a broader interpretation of the Security Council’s mandate to include human security issues along with traditional security issues and drew attention to the protection of civilians in armed conflict.

14.8 CIVILIANS IN ARMED CONFLICT

Conflicts from Kosovo to Sierra Leone to Sudan show that “civilianization” of armed conflict has become one of the most common and disturbing features of modern war. More than ever, non-combatants, especially the most vulnerable, are not merely caught in the crossfire, but are themselves principal targets. In the past decade, casualties from armed conflict have doubled to about one million a year. In the First World War, in contrast, civilian casualties accounted for only five per cent of all casualties. Today, in modern conflicts, closer to 80 per cent of the casualties are civilians.

The forced exodus, the appalling brutality, the state-sponsored murders and disappearances perpetrated against thousands of innocent people – all of this underscores the fact that in our world, civilians suffer the most from violent conflict. They bear the brunt of the new practices of war – for example, the deplorable use of child soldiers or savage paramilitaries. And they suffer most from the inexpensive – yet all-too-readily-available – tools of modern combat, such as landmines, small arms and other weapons.

The nature of war has changed in other ways. Most conflicts today occur inside rather than between states. Wars from within can be just as brutal and ugly as conflicts between states. While the number of armed conflicts between states has declined over the last 25 years, the number of intra-state conflicts has increased dramatically. Among the 103 wars fought since the end of the Cold War, around 97 were fought within rather than between states. The crises in the Great Lakes region of Africa, in Bosnia and Kosovo, and East Timor are only some of the best-known examples in a series of conflicts with tragic implications for affected populations.

Brutalisation and exploitation of civilians, involving gross violations of humanitarian law, have led to massive refugee flows. Such situations cannot simply be seen as internal matters but as matters that affect us all.

14.9 HUMAN SECURITY FOCUS

“Human security” then – putting people and not only states as the focus of security analysis – is a cornerstone of Canadian foreign policy in the United Nations and elsewhere. Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy has brought this dialogue to the world stage on numerous occasions. A hallmark of the changing nature of violent conflict and the “new generation” of transnational human security threats is that they increasingly put people at the centre of world affairs.

Understanding this concept of human security involves seeing the world through a different lens from that used in the decades of the Cold War. The end of the Cold War was hailed as the beginning of an era of peace and prosperity. There was a widespread optimism that with the easing of the grip of the ideological divide, the world community would be freer than at any time in the past to turn its attention to global problems such as underdevelopment, poverty and the environment.

The reality of the past decade has been more sobering: we have seen a wide range of new security threats emerge. Globalisation clearly has a dangerous underside. Instantaneous communications, rapid transportation, increasingly porous borders, and rising business, cultural and academic ties have for better or worse unalterably merged all our lives into a common destiny in this world. The security or insecurity of others has become very much our own security or insecurity. As a result, we have both a responsibility and an interest to act when the safety of others is imperilled. Canada’s human security agenda is an effort to respond to these new realities.

In a stirring speech to both houses of our Parliament, Czech President Vaclav Havel noted the declining role of the state and the notion that what takes place within a country’s borders is nobody else’s business. “I believe,” he said, “that in the coming century most states will begin to transform from cult-like objects, which are charged with emotional contents, into much simpler and more civil administrative units, which will be less powerful and, especially, more rational and will constitute merely one of the levels in

a complex and stratified planetary societal self-organization. This change, among other things, should gradually antiquate the idea of non-intervention, that is, the concept of saying that what happens in another state, or the measure of respect for human rights there, is none of our business.”

Havel observed that the responsibilities of the state can go in only two directions: down or up, downwards to the organs and structures of civil society, or upwards to various regional, transnational or global communities or organisations. This transfer, he said, has already begun. He went on to note the obvious implication of this phenomenon: the United Nations must undergo substantial reform if it is to perform the tasks it faces in the new century. It can no longer maintain conditions from the period when it was formed; it must become less bureaucratic and more effective, and must belong to all inhabitants of the globe. In other words, it must not simply be a club of governments in which one state, through its Security Council veto, can override the will of the rest of the world.

The Canadian government shares much of Havel’s vision, in particular on the need to reform the UN to bring it in line with a changing environment and taken a strong stand against the abuse of the veto or the threat of its use that the five permanent members hold and aim on making the Security Council’s work more transparent and reasserting the primacy of the Council in peace and security issues.

Developments in European foreign and security policy have helped catalyse an emerging European discourse, but the lexicon of terms used – ranging from crisis management to conflict prevention and civil–military cooperation – is a muddled affair that obscures rather than clarifies the nature of European foreign policy.

Human Security is part of human development and human rights, but it is at the sharp end of both. It is also about feeling safe on the streets or being able to influence political decision-making. Human Security policies are concerned with crisis management, but they go beyond crisis management since they offer a perspective on crises. Human Security is about how we respond to an urgent physical or material threat to individuals and communities. From a Human Security perspective, the aim is not just political stability; it also encompasses notions of justice and sustainability. Stability tends to entail the absence of overt conflict or, in economic terms, halting a downward spiral of GDP or the value of a currency. In recent years, the international community seems to have learned how to stabilise conflicts; how to reach and sustain peace agreements and how to stabilise economies (Final Report of the Commission on Human Security, 2007). But it has not yet learned how to address the security of individuals and communities and deal with crime, human rights violations and joblessness. The parlance of crisis management, especially on the civil side, within the European Union does, of course, emphasise some of these ‘vulnerabilities’ – for example, the critical focus on strengthening the ‘rule of law’. The language of Human Security would further entrench this kind of thinking and would help to underline the need to address these ‘vulnerabilities’ so as to reduce the risk of renewed crisis.

Human Security capabilities, such as crisis management, require civil–military coordination. But it is more than just a matter of coordination – or of ‘integration’ or ‘synergies’ to borrow from current parlance. Human Security is about *how* and *why* civil and military capabilities are combined, rather than a reflex action to use them as part of a standard conflict toolkit. In a Human Security operation, the job of the military is to protect and preserve rather than to fight an enemy. Thus Human Security is not just about developing

a culture of civil–military cooperation; it is about an entirely new way of functioning in crises that is best described by the new language of Human Security.

In Arab countries, a widespread lack of human security undermines human development. Human security is a prerequisite for human development, and that the widespread absence of human security in Arab countries undermines people's options. Human security refers not only to questions of survival, but also basic needs such as access to clean water and quality of life concerns. Human security in the Arab countries is often threatened by unjust political, social, and economic structures; by competition for power and resources among fragmented social groups; and, in some cases, by the impacts of external military intervention (Arab Human Development Report, 2009). "The tendency is to think of security only in military or state security terms," said Amat Al Alim Alsoswa, Director of the UNDP Regional Bureau for Arab States and UN Assistant Secretary-General. "But the security of people themselves is threatened not just by conflict and civil unrest, but also by environmental degradation, discrimination, unemployment, poverty, and hunger. Only if these sources of insecurity are addressed in a holistic manner will the people of the Arab region be able to make progress in human development."

The concept of human security offers a way to reorient development policy in the Arab region towards areas that will have the greatest impact on human well-being. In effect, to focus on human security is to focus on a broader development agenda that determines whether people are able to live secure lives and achieve their potential. The report makes it clear that piecemeal policy approaches will not suffice. Employment generation programmes, for example, will not reach their full potential if people do not have proper nutrition and healthcare.

14.10 SUMMARY

Human Security, as a term, can be understood to encompass the concepts of conflict prevention, crisis management and civil–military coordination, but it takes them further. It draws on the debates generated by these concepts, as well as other terms used more broadly in current global discourse, such as 'responsibility to protect', 'effective multilateralism' and 'human development'. Insecurity is closely related to crisis. Human Security can be treated as the crisis end of terms such as human rights and human development. It has to do with human need at moments of extreme vulnerability, not only in wars but in the face of natural and technological disasters as well. Security is often viewed as the absence of physical violence, while development is viewed as material development, improved living standards. These distinctions pervade much of the literature about Human Security as a policy concept, but they are misleading. Many conceptual boundaries, such as those between political, civil, economic or military, have to be redrawn in an era of globalisation because they are defined largely in terms of a nation-state frame. Human insecurity, even in conflict, is not just about the impact of military violence; it is also about the consequences of human rights violations and violent crime, and also the material consequences of conflict. The conceptual framework of the Report is rooted in the UNDP 1994 Global Human Development Report, *New Dimensions of Human Security*. It identified seven interdependent threats to human security and argued that human security can only be a reality if all threats are taken seriously and acted on without hierarchy.

14.11 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. Distinguish between traditional security and human security.
 2. Give an overview of Global State of Human Security.
 3. Write short notes on:
 - (a) Human Security and Development
 - (b) Civilians in Armed Conflicts
-

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UNIT 15 HUMAN SECURITY IN SOUTH ASIA

Structure

15.1 Introduction

Aims and Objectives

15.2 Genesis of the Concept of Human Security

15.3 Human Security and South Asia

15.4 Fighting Insurgency: The Indian Context

15.5 Human Trafficking, Gender and Environmental Issues

15.6 Summary

15.7 Terminal Questions

Suggested Readings

15.1 INTRODUCTION

The end of the Cold War was celebrated among many circles as an end to the conflict determined pattern of global relations which would ensure greater cooperation and peace. People were soon mistaken. While the number of inter-state conflicts certainly came down in the post Cold War years, the externally induced factors, as well as the rising incidence of collapsing internal institutions, witnessed the rise of intra-state conflicts of various types. One is perhaps forced to acknowledge at least partial validity of the prophecy made by John J. Mearsheimer who had argued in 1990 in a different context that we will soon be missing the order of the Cold War years as we leap into “untamed anarchy.” In cases of such internal conflicts, the most alarming fact has been the increasing incidence of state failures in terms of ensuring supply of public goods to their citizens. The most critical failure, in this connection, arguably has been the relative failure of the states in ensuring security for the citizens. As one analyst argues:

“There is a hierarchy of political goods. None is as critical as the supply of security, especially human security. Individuals alone, almost exclusively in special or particular circumstances, can attempt to secure themselves. Or groups of individuals can band together to organize and purchase goods or services that maximise their sense of security. Traditionally, and usually, however, individuals and groups cannot easily or effectively substitute private security for the full spectrum of public security. The state’s prime function is to provide that political good of security-to prevent cross-border invasions, and infiltrations, and any loss of territory; to eliminate domestic threats to or attacks upon the national order and social structure; to prevent crime and any related dangers to domestic human security; and to enable citizens to resolve their disputes with the state and with their fellow inhabitants without recourse to arms or other forms of physical coercion.”

Thus, the classical concept of security centering on the state and its use of force to manage threats to its territorial integrity, autonomy and domestic political order from other powerful states, was criticised by International Relations scholars on three grounds. First, the classical formulation was seen as too unilateralist in its emphasis on *force*, in a world

where interdependence is pushing nations together, there is a need for a more *cooperative* security for the world. Second, the classical formulation erred in restricting the scope of security only to military threats from other states. Besides, rival states may deploy other non-traditional kinds of threat against territorial integrity and domestic political order; these may include environmental, economic and cultural threats; here the threat may be reckoned not only from other states but also from various non-state actors. Such a broadened security aspect is termed as comprehensive security. A third and more fundamental critique of security goes even further to suggest that security cannot be restricted to the well-being of the state only. It is held that what should be central in security aspect is not the state but the protection and welfare of the citizens or human beings, a conception of security that is centered above all on the security of the common people, termed under human security.

Aims and Objectives

This Unit would enable you to:

- explain the theoretical perspectives of human security
- identify the human security problems of South Asia
- analyse the related problems like terrorism, insurgency, gender and environmental issues.

15.2 GENESIS OF THE CONCEPT OF HUMAN SECURITY

The most important forerunners of the idea of human security were the reports of a series of multinational, independent commission of prominent leaders, intellectuals and academicians. Beginning in the 1970s, the Club of Rome group produced a series of volume on the “world problematique,” which were premised on a ‘complex of problems troubling men of all nations: poverty, unemployment, inflation and other monetary and economic disruption. In the 1980s, two other independent commissions contributed to the changing thinking on development and security: a) The Independent Commission on International Development issues chaired by Willy-Brandt which issued the “North-South” report; b) The Independent Commission chaired by Olofe Palme, who chaired the famous “common security” report which drew attention to alternative ways of thinking about peace and security. It acknowledged that third world security was additionally threatened by poverty and deprivation, vis-à-vis economic inequality.

In 1991, the ***Stockholm Initiative*** on Global Security and Governance, issued a call for “common responsibilities in the 1990s,” which referred to “challenges to security other than political rivalry and armaments, and wider concepts of security which dealt with threats from failure in development, environmental degradation”. The ***Global Neighborhood*** report of 1994 echoed the Stockholm Initiative words on security: “The concept of global security must be broadened from the traditional focus on the security of states to include the security of people and the security of the planet”. But, the breakthrough came with ***UNDP’s Human Development Report of 1994***. The Report put at the centre of its formulation the notion that development thinking and policies must take as their focus the welfare of individuals rather than macro-economic analysis.

In this report, Mahbub-ul-Haq raised the question of “security for whom” which went to say: human security is not about states and nations, but about individuals and people. He

essayed a brief illustrative litany of threats: drugs, disease, terrorism and poverty. Under the section, “Redefining Security: The Human Dimension,” the UNDP Report cited the founding document of the United Nations and its original delineation of security as “freedom from fear” as also “freedom from want” and “the equal weight to territories and to people.”

“Human security is not a concern with weapons—it is a concern with human life and dignity. It is concerned with how people live and breathe in a society, how freely they exercises their many choices, how much access they have to market and social opportunities—and whether they live in comfort and in peace.”

The Report listed 7 components of human security: a) economic security, b) food security, c) health security d) environmental security, e) personal security, f) community security and political security. It further distinguished between localized/ global and international threats—endorsing changes in national and international policy focused on basic needs, productive and remunerative employment and human rights, preventive diplomacy and the reform of global institutions.

Overlapping the UNDP Report, two other schools of thought contributed their perception on human security: a) The Canadian-led middle powers approach to human security (1997), and b) The Norway organized middle power conference in Lysoen (1999). While the Canadian school cited among others, the income gap between rich and poor countries, religious and ethnic discord, state repression, the widespread use of anti-personnel landmines and an unstable, protectionist international trading system; the 1999 paper refers to the danger posed by civil conflicts, large-scale atrocities and genocide. Both, the UNDP and Canadian School concentrated on the individual as the referent of security. They agreed that post-1991, individual or human security is the central concern of security; traditional national security concerns are secondary; the little places where they differed are shown in the table given below:

	UNDP School	Canadian School
Security for whom	Primarily the individual	Individual + State
Security of what value	Personal safety/well-being and individual freedom	Personal safety/well-being and individual freedom
Security from what threats	Direct and indirect violence; greater emphasis on indirect violence	Direct and indirect violence; greater emphasis on direct violence
Security by what means	Promoting human development; basic needs plus equity, sustainability and participation at all levels of global security	Promoting political development; global norms and institutions, plus collective use of force as well as sanctions if and when necessary.

On issues of direct and indirect threats, human security proponents significantly differ from neo-realist conception. For the realist, the basic threat to security comprises direct organised violence from other states. In the human security conception, threats emanate from direct, indirect and identifiable sources, such as other states and non-state actors of

various kinds, as also from structural sources, that is, from relations of power at various levels—from the family upwards to the global economy.

The direct and indirect threats to Human Security

Direct Violence	Indirect Violence
Violent Death/Disablement	Deprivation
Dehumanisation	Disease
Drugs	Natural & Man-made disasters
International disputes	Underdevelopment
Most Destructive weapons	Population Displacement/Environmental Degradation

Thus Human Security is different from National Security in the following manner:

	National Security	Human Security
Security for whom	The State	The individual
Security from what threats	Direct threats from other states	Direct threats from states and non-state actors, as well as indirect threats
Security by what means	Force as the primary instrument of security to be used unilaterally by a state: - Balance of power - Norms and institutions are of limited value, particularly in the security/military sphere	Force as the secondary means of security to be used by a state: - Balance of power is of limited utility - Soft power is important Cooperation between states, INGOs and NGOs can be effective and sustained. Norms and institutions matter, democratisation enhances security.

“Tomorrow’s world,” said Peter Chalk, “will be a Grey Area Phenomena (GAP) world—GAP being loosely defined as threats to the stability of sovereign states by non-state actors and non-governmental processes and organizations. While violent GAP threats are associated with activities of non-state actors including international crime syndicates, drug trafficking and terrorist groups, non-violent GAP threats are related to the problems posed by non-governmental processes and influences, including uncontrolled/illegal immigration, famine and transnational spread of diseases like HIV and cholera. GAP issues, whether violent or not, represent a direct threat to the underlying stability, cohesion and fabric of the modern sovereign state. They generally blur the clear dividing line between domestic and international spheres of security. Issues of terrorism and environmental degradation

may emanate from within states; however their effects are truly transnational in nature. “In many cases,” say Chalk, “the impact of one GAP issue will have consequences for another. Hence we see political extremists moving into organized international criminal activity for revenue purposes; global warming encouraging the spread of diseases; and environmental degradation stimulating mass unregulated population flows. There’s nothing new about GAP problems, as threats of terrorism, money laundering and gun running have all existed for many years. What’s new about these threats is the complex geo-strategic environment, the frequency and psyche that has facilitated the growth and occurrence of them”.

In South and Southeast Asia, GAP challenges have become more prominent because:

(1) Many of these challenges thrive in areas that lack strong state structures in terms of both national cohesiveness and established systems of civil and legal justice. The region contains a number of ethno-religious minorities that are experiencing erosion of their traditional authority owing to the process of modernisation that has been imposed on them by the ‘majority’ to consolidate its dominance over the state. The resulting sense of insecurity and alienation has drawn many groups towards radical militancy.

(2) Second, most of the South and Southeast Asian countries exhibit strong resistance towards intrusive and interventionist law enforcement mechanisms. The norm of non-interference in internal affairs, within the 1976 Treaty of Amity and Cooperation, remains extremely strong in the mindset of the member-countries of ASEAN; while the principle of unanimity in the decision-making process of SAARC has virtually kept bilateral problems outside the ambit of the organisation (despite the fact that most of South Asia’s problems today are bilateral rather than multilateral).

15.3 HUMAN SECURITY AND SOUTH ASIA

The South Asian region, inhabited by more than one-fifth of global population, is afflicted by a number of social, political and economic problems compounded by political mistrust and suspicion. The region is plagued by inter-state conflicts over boundaries. Besides, intra-state conflicts in recent decades have spilled over into neighbour’s territories. There is hardly a single state in South Asia, which has not been affected by trans-border spilling of ethno-nationalist, communal and militant activity. In addition, the region has witnessed a sharp increase in unemployment, poverty, epidemics, drug trafficking and environmental degradation. All these issues pose a far more serious and immediate challenge to the security of the society. People have suffered more from internal conflicts within countries than in wars between countries in the past two decades. A pressing need has been felt to address these problems with immediate effect.

South Asia’s Tryst with Terrorism

Terrorism in South Asia is part sponsored, part home-grown and part induced by decades of alienation created due to historical and economic reasons. It is no doubt that terror attacks here are more extensive and gory than they are in Southeast Asia. This stems in large part from closer geographical proximity to West Asia, strengthened by the presence of al-Qaeda bases in Afghanistan and Pakistan. It is also a function of long term conflict in Afghanistan and Kashmir. The extremist Taliban regime gave sanctuary to al-Qaeda operatives working in these conflict zones. With the result that remnant al-Qaeda forces have linked up with other extremist groups in South Asia including the Lashkar-

e-Taiba (LeT), Jaish-e-Mohammad, and Lashkar-i-Jhangvi to achieve their ultimate goal of setting up an *ummah*. The array of schools—*madrassas* training professional fanatics has exported these ‘corporate Jihadi’ armageddon to strike at the heart of city centres in South Asia. The unabated flow of illegal weapons in Chittagong’s Cox Bazaar area of Bangladesh, the fact that millions of young Bangladeshis are influenced by fanatics and evidences that the intelligence wings of those states that sponsor terrorism have a stronghold within Dhaka, leaves the possibilities of Bangladesh turning into ‘Next Afghanistan,’ substantially high and the onus on the present government to chalk a ‘balancing’ act to keep the extremist forces as well as the moderate voices quietly under control.

The 26/11 attack on Mumbai is one such instance of a well-exported state-sponsored terrorism across the borders. Vis-à-vis religious terrorism, South Asia is also witness to another kind of insurgency/armed conflict; this arising out of economic deprivation of the periphery and ethnic dissention. It is quite unlike ‘religious terrorism’ that has a distinct objective, a structured terror system that keeps the system going. India’s North-East (presently parts of Eastern India as well), for instance, has over 100 insurgent groups demanding separate statehood from the centre owing to decades of economic deprivation and lack of governance in those areas. In Sri Lanka, the systematic exclusion of the Tamil-speaking minorities by the government for over a decade—following a dual-faced approach of preaching peaceful settlement of disputes between the two communities, while allowing the military to operate in a ham-fisted fashion to crack down on the Tamil minorities, resulted in the birth of the full-blown terrorist organisation—the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE), whose terror tactics and gruesome suicide attacks are emulated by terrorist groups around the world till date.

While dissimilarities overshadow the similarities in the trends of evolutionary terrorism in South and Southeast Asia—the most striking similarities between these two regions are the fact that both have porous borders with lax immigration law and other administrative loopholes (corruption, nepotism); both are mostly democracies with secular forces and both are encircled by weak to medium powers; the most striking dissimilarity between the two regions exist in the presence of a much weaker South Asian organisation- SAARC, vis-à-vis a much happening Southeast Asian one—the ASEAN. While SAARC seems to be enmeshed in too many bilateral disputes—the Indo-Pak dispute looming high on all of them—its principle of unanimity in the decision-making process has deterred the smooth functioning of the organisation substantially, with special emphasis on the human (in)security issues of direct, in-direct and asymmetrical threats.

Table 2: Regional Similarities and Budding Grounds of Terrorism

South Asia	Southeast Asia
Weak government, porous border, lax immigration law, corruption, nepotism	Weak government, porous border, lax immigration law, corruption, nepotism
Democracies with secular forces	Democracies with secular forces
Middle to small powers	Middle to small powers

Author's own interpretation**Table: 3: Regional Dissimilarities as Budding Grounds of Terrorism**

South Asia	Southeast Asia
Exported 'foreign terrorism'– Mostly not home grown	Basically 'home– grown'. The concrete enemies are not in Afghanistan or Iraq, but at home
Religious fanatics– professional terrorism	Economic injustice, ethno-religious factors– Moderate groups prominent.
Geographical proximity to Osama	Geographically distanced from the headquarters

15.4 FIGHTING INSURGENCY: THE INDIAN CONTEXT

Like terrorism, insurgency against the state has been a familiar problem in the region of South Asia and nearly all nation-states belonging to the region continue to face it. It is, however, generally accepted that within the region, India has been able to tackle the insurgency question in a far more satisfactory manner than the other countries. Insurgency has been a festering problem since the emergence of India as a separate state in 1947. Apart from ethno-religion based separated movements like in the north-eastern parts of India, the Punjab, or in the state of Jammu and Kashmir, India also continues to experience insurgencies based on radical political/ideological based movements like the Naxalite movements. The general principle of the Indian state has been to use force against the groups advocating or practising violent methods in order to realise their objectives. The post-Cold War developments have had their impact in the South Asian region also, making the task of dealing with insurgency, more difficult. Such new trends have been considered important enough for the Indian army, for instance, to come out with its own Manual on Sub conventional warfare in 2006. The Manual brought out by the Indian Army, defines sub conventional warfare as a generic term encompassing all armed conflicts that are above the level of peaceful coexistence amongst states and below the threshold of war. It includes militancy, insurgency, proxy war and terrorism that may be employed as a means in an insurrectionist movement or undertaken independently. Border skirmishes also fall within this category. The Manual defines the counter insurgency operation thus: "It is the use of all measures of Government activity to combat insurgency, including operations by the military, Central Para-Military Forces, economic development, political reforms and perception management aimed at winning 'Hearts and Minds' of people".

The main aim of such operations is conflict resolution through the process of winning the hearts and minds of the people. Naturally, such efforts cannot be achieved through military operations alone but involve greater inter-agency coordination and minimum emphasis on violence. As the Manual itself states:

"The end state sought by a national counter insurgency campaign is always 'conflict resolution', which generally succeeds 'conflict termination'. This entails demilitarisation of

the conflict zone and shaping the environment, wherein the remaining differences can be pursued without violence. The requisite shaping of the environment is affected through a concurrent application of all elements of national power. This involves addressing the root causes of the problem in right earnest...”

The Indian army's counter-insurgency operations, thus, has been argued:

“...(E)mployed both political measures and military force. Though each iteration of these combinations of efforts looks messy and sui generis, there is a common underlying grand strategy. On the other hand, it is difficult to say whether this is a conscious strategy or whether it has evolved out of the deep background of Indian strategic culture. The essence of this strategy is the willingness to compromise with rebellious sub-nationalities on all issues with one exception: secession is taboo. In order to permit such compromises, it was essential that military force be kept carefully limited—though force was used, and frequently. This grand strategy was evident in all the major counter-insurgency campaigns, and it has been effective in avoiding defeat, a major objective in guerrilla wars.”

In another recent work, analyst Rajesh Rajagopalan had spoken about the five basic elements of the Indian army's counterinsurgency doctrine, which, according to him, explains the relatively high success rates of the Indian army to contain insurgency. These are: (1) the limitation on force; (2) isolation of insurgents from the general population; (3) achieving domination over the affected area; (4) maintenance of large forces in combat zones; and, (5) firm belief that there is no permanent military solution. In contrast, one could point to the dismal ongoing counter-insurgency operations currently being conducted in the insurgency hit areas of Pakistan, by the Pakistan army. According to one assessment, for instance:

With a dismal track record in counterinsurgency and a traditional outlook focused solely on fighting a conventional war against India, the Pakistani army seems to have adopted an ad hoc strategy. The self-proclaimed invincibility of the armed forces initially prompted it to use a firepower-intensive approach, demonstrated by the frequent use of weapons like helicopter gunships and artillery. The use of brute force instead of low-intensity strikes is a classic flaw in counterinsurgency campaigns: its military effectiveness is suspect, and it invariably embitters the local population. But when these heavy-handed operations fail—as they are bound to—the army has been clueless about alternatives and pulls back completely in favour of political and economic “peace agreements” with insurgents.

Overt use of heavy force has also been a major tactic employed by the Sri Lanka army against the LTTE, which significantly has not been very useful in solving the problem. Nor has the Royal Nepalese Army been very successful in militarily defeating the Maoists in Nepal.

It is evident that low-key, continuous involvement and engagement of state security forces particularly the army and the paramilitary forces in such internal conflict zones can project the image of the state security forces as an ‘occupatory force,’ a tag that any national army would like to avoid. Several members of Indian army brass have, in this connection, time and again, warned against the dangerous implications involved in the continuous presence of the army in internal conflict situations. The tendency on the part of the ruling elite in the nation-states in South Asia, has, however, been to project insurgency primarily as a law and order problem. Attempts to seek a solution, only through the application of force, often leads to an overt securitisation of the problem.

15.5 HUMAN TRAFFICKING, GENDER AND ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES

Vis-à-vis insurgency, terrorism, South Asia is also fast emerging as an area with lukewarm gender sensitivity which finds expression in female infanticide, female malnutrition, denial of basic healthcare and education to the girl child and increasing rate of violence against women. A recent study on education and girl child in South Asia, gives a very detailed picture of the kind deprivation and victimisation they face. The factors that are responsible are not only of social or religious character but are also found in extreme economic conditions of abject poverty and political situations like wars and conflicts. Human trafficking and flesh trade in South Asia are almost beyond control and are related to a wide array of factors starting from mainly - social traditional role demarcation to situations related to the problems of Internally Displaced Persons (IDP), refugees and migrants. Often forced prostitution is accompanied by kidnapping and violence. However, violence against women is an act occurring at random. A presentation on the various aspects of such violence relates to a plethora of acts ranging from child infanticide to forced prostitution, marital rapes, honour killings, declining state of women's health, particularly, vulnerability to the dreaded HIV and denial of medical attention.

It is needless to say that there is a non-dissociable relation between population explosion, health hazards and a host of other problems. A large section of the South Asian population comprises of children and women who are victims of various health problems. It is reflective of the failure of the governments to achieve the much required population control. However, what is of serious concern to the South Asian countries are the rising threats of epidemic health hazards ranging from post-natural disaster epidemics to tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS. A World Bank Report adequately analyses the fallout of health problems, particularly epidemic attacks that are certainly applicable to South Asia, "In many developing countries, injuries, HIV/AIDS, and TB could shave several points off the GDP growth rate by winnowing the number of prime age adults. Together with increased outlays on those suffering from chronic psychiatric ailments, these diseases could also substantially raise expenditures on health care." The states are further challenged by the inability to control the movement of infected persons across the region as IDPs and illegal migrants.

The success of a democratic welfare polity depends much on the responsible role of the society and the government as well. Education, which is an indispensable ingredient in the making of a conscious and capable society, is able to contribute to the positive functioning of the kind of socio-political system that we see in South Asia. Unfortunately, the region features a rather sad record of successful literacy. It is interesting to learn that the children who have been enrolled in some kind of school are above 80 percent for most of South Asia. However, it is disheartening to learn that the fraction of children who are able to continue up to fifth grade (completing primary education) is rather low. In fact, in India, the percentage of children that continue with their education is less than 60 percent. Pakistan is known as a nation of dropouts and the literacy rate is less than 50 percent. Other nations are not doing much better. Poor and inadequate education leads to further social complications like stagnation in economic performance, unemployment, social disharmony, rise in socio-economic crimes and the overall failure of a democratic system to achieve stability and progress. Moreover, young generations without proper education fall prey to cheap unskilled labour making the issue of child and forced labour a serious issue all over South Asia. Around the turn of the century a report by the World Bank

Group sees that even after a conservative estimate, some 20-30 million child labour forces live in the five large South Asian countries. The picture is likely to look bleaker as in 2000 it was reported that for the year 2000, the ILO projected 601,000 economically active children in Afghanistan, 269,000 girls and 332,000 boys between the ages of 10-14, representing 24.2% of this age group. Forced child labour is also associated with other kinds of insecurity problems such as forced recruitment in terrorist outfits. In Afghanistan, children were pulled out of school to join various armed groups and in Sri Lanka, LTTE is known for its recruitment of children as fighters. Therefore, states are feared to face the challenge of dissident movements so long as the forces take advantage of the uneducated younger generation of South Asia.

Even environmental issues are gaining increased attention as they have begun to challenge the concept of good governance. In South Asia, the issue of environmental problems must be seen in close association with the concept of development which is fundamental to the success of democracy welfarism in South Asian systems. However, the delicate balance between environmental security and the need for economic development has been seriously disturbed by the chronic problem of poverty. Therefore, the idea of sustainable development can deliver desired goods when poverty is a lesser challenge. As long as poverty dominates the development trajectory, threats of resource depletion increase, and so do conflicts over them. Over-exploitation of resources will exacerbate the pauperisation of those denied of resources. Therefore there continues to be a relentless process of bickering and conflicts (more often than not accompanied by violence) over land masses, forest areas, and water bodies. Poverty and environmental degradation appears not only to be mutually reinforcing, but also creating a vicious circle which has engulfed a large section of the masses of South Asia. The challenge of environmental insecurity for the states of the region is not likely to be quelled in the near future because of the institutional drawbacks within the latter.

15.6 SUMMARY

Viewed from the above perspective, South Asia provides a grim portrayal of the social, economic, political facets of development and nerve-cracking threats to security. The emerging security order reveals a multitude of fault lines: political, economic, social, environmental, cultural, scientific and technological. These faults overlap partially and often shift in direction. They sometimes reinforce each other and at other times work at cross purposes. The overall picture they present is one of turbulence and uncertainty, in which a variety of contradictory processes unlock a wide range of both opportunities and threats defying the established security order. Integration and exclusion coexist apprehensively side by side in all domains and aspects of the security order. This is an order that is regional but not integrated, that puts all in contact with one another while simultaneously maintaining wide gaps between nations and between peoples within countries, thus benefiting only a small percentage of region's population.

However, it will be erroneous to conclude that there cannot be a strategic premeditated concord in South Asia. The shifting gamut also provides an opportunity to build a cohesive South Asia. Thus, analogous to the security problems of South Asia, the solutions also appear to be intrinsically interrelated. The challenge now is to develop the security architecture of South Asia and afford political and economic energies to the processes of problem-solving, to accelerate wide-ranging regional security cooperation. Today, Security demands expanding economic cooperation wherever possible and making sustained efforts to resolve political disputes. The focus of the security discourse in South

Asia must be shifted from national security to people's security - from security through armaments to security through human development, from territorial security to food, employment and environmental security. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity. There are strong imperatives to work together despite differences in the security perceptions, but it appears that South Asian regional policy experts currently do not recognise these. Given the geographic proximity, political, socio-cultural and economic complementarities, this region could become the greatest powerhouse.

15.7 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. Trace the evolution of the concept of human security. What are basic differences between human security and national security issues?
2. Examine some of the human security problems of South Asia?
3. Discuss the future of terrorism with special emphasis on its hindering effect on human development.
4. Write short notes on:
 - a. Human Security and poverty eradication
 - b. Environmental Security
 - c. India's Tryst with Insurgency

SUGGESTED READINGS

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UNIT 16 HUMAN SECURITY IN INDIA

Structure

16.1 Introduction

Aims and Objectives

16.2 Human Security: Indian Scenario

16.3 Human Development and Human Security

16.4 Interventions: Problems and Prospects

16.5 Summary

16.6 Terminal Questions

Suggested Readings

16.1 INTRODUCTION

The concept, meaning, nature and scope of the human security have been dealt with extensively in the previous Units of this course. The preceding Unit, Human Security in South Asia, has dealt with its various dimensions. This Unit examines the situation of human security in India. India presents a curious case because of many factors. Firstly, when we look into the history, we would know that India has attracted people of all cultures, faiths and beliefs. It has been ruled by various kingdoms and has absorbed all with equanimity, be it through love or through conquest. It presents a perfect platform for different cultures and has always remained a land of diversity. Though unity of all has been an underlying factor for its survival, it has done so under trials and tribulations too. Even to this day, India remains multicultural and accommodative despite of all odds. Nevertheless, as we have already studied in the previous units, various factors operate in society that disturbs its equanimity. Violence is an inherent trait in all human beings and has taken its toll in different forms. India too has experienced it all and continues to do so. This Unit deals with many of these factors in detail.

Aims and Objectives

This Unit would enable you to:

- identify the dimensions of human security in India
- describe the measures taken to ensure human security
- explain the future course of action that needs to be taken up for a peaceful and inclusive society.

16.2 HUMAN SECURITY: INDIAN SCENARIO

‘There is little doubt that many of the security threats facing the world in the 21st century revolve around issues such as poverty, underdevelopment, inequality, environmental degradation, climate change, pandemics, illegal migration, people smuggling, drug trafficking and conflicts arising from poor governance leading to state failure. While these threats are

not new, in an era of advancing globalization, they are increasingly transnational and interlinked in nature. Moreover, these threats directly and deeply affect the safety and well-being of people, even when the system of states that comprise the contemporary international order may remain superficially stable. The international community therefore needs to rethink the concept of what security means and how best to realize it. A comprehensive people-centric understanding of security is warranted, as a more appropriate framework of reference and action for today's world than the traditional notion of national security' (Amitav Acharya, 2011, p.xii). Human security has thus assumed a completely different dimension as opposed to the traditional concept or pattern of security that is in vogue in various nations.

As has already been mentioned, India is a diverse state characterised by different ethnic groups. India is unique case where, different communities live and have been consistently managing to retain their identity. Many a time, this has given scope for inequalities to great extent; there are divisions in society based on caste, creed, class, religion, community, and so on. Time and again, some groups feel marginalised and perceive themselves as being at the receiving end of the society. Though it has been a fact that such discrimination exists even today, it is also notable that these groups too have become assertive in voicing their protests and sending elected representatives to present their cases at the highest legislative bodies. Similarly, on the economic front, various welfare schemes are being implemented to mete out economic and social justice to the downtrodden and deprived in the society. There is now an increasing awareness among various groups about their legitimate rights and claims that make it easier to demand the provision of human security. Simultaneously, the state is also cautious in giving the citizens their due share through the implementation of various policies and programmes. It is now engaged in the task of taking care of its citizens on all fronts.

The human security dimensions, though not exhaustive, cover the following areas: political, economic, social, cultural, communitarian and environmental security. These will be dealt with in precise manner so as to appraise the learner regarding these dimensions.

Political Security: The state is primarily responsible for ensuring the security and make sure that the apparatus is well equipped to deal with any kind of eventuality. India's territorial integrity has been closely guarded ever since its independence. The strategic position of India has made it vulnerable to threats from many quarters. The challenges of keeping the nation integrated have been numerous and have been put to test from time to time. India's northern side and north-eastern side have been particularly vulnerable and the insurgent and militant groups have been consistently making attempts to destabilise the nation. The challenges are many in this task: The state's capacity to cope up with untoward incidents often breaks down; Government officials infrequently perform their duties; Law and order enforcing agencies often face hurdles in the remote areas from where the insurgent/ militant groups operate; parallel governments are run especially in the Naxalite (Maoists) violence prone areas; further there are challenges relating to the preventing the proliferation of small arms, drugs and trafficking. Many experts propound human development as a prerequisite for human security as the inequalities tend to take a downward turn due to enhanced development levels and the availability of basic needs. The availability induces a security factor that prevents crime rates from soaring. It is, therefore, necessary that the policy makers keep in mind those measures that ensure welfare of all.

Economic Security: While the economic disparities continue to exist, the measures undertaken to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor have been rather inadequate. Poverty is one of the problems that have been stalling the growth of India. With the introduction of economic liberalisation, it has been expected that the impending economic problems would be resolved. But India's liberalisation policy and its consequent measures have left the nation in further widening the gap between the rich and the poor. In fact economic disparities and discrimination have led to the spread of Left-wing radical ideology and subsequently to violence. These have assumed unlimited proportions as the state failed to control this menace. The root cause of this violence is basically economic in nature and is likely to further increase in frequency and range. Economic empowerment is a major factor that contributes to economic security. Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy state that 'progress in economic development and especially in human development (growth with equity) reduces the risk of conflict situations and the temptation to wage war for greed. When a population is empowered and has opportunities for its own personal and human development, then reasons to go to war can no longer play on the greed or economics model, this applying especially within states, and being particularly relevant in times where conflicts are mostly intra-state and no longer opposing states' (Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy, 2007, p.113). Wars place further stress on the economy of the nation thereby multiplying the losses and decreasing the gains.

Food Security: Food security is one of the most crucial aspects related to human survival. The absence of this has disastrous consequences for those who are deprived of the basic need in the society. Poverty, hunger and food security are closely interrelated. The deprivation of food leads to starvation and subsequently to ill-health. It also leads to the impairment of one's ability to work and career. Malnutrition reduces one's immunity to diseases and affects one's health negatively the whole lifetime. It adds up to hunger, poverty and disease and makes people frail and unproductive. The provision of food constitutes an important element of human development and the deprivation of the same means a stunted human growth. The denial of this makes the concept of development meaningless because food is a basic necessity for human survival and when the very question of survival is at peril, the plans for meaningful development take a retreat. It also questions the very capability of the state wherein it fails to provide basic necessities to its citizens. Food security is of great importance in a society. Attempts are being made to bring in legislation that ensures this basic right for all but we need to remember that this is a gigantic task and needs immense determination to make it possible. India is home to millions of malnourished and undernourished population. Therefore, the task becomes all the more important because of the high levels of targets to mitigate hunger and poverty.

Health Security: Health is an important component of human development and survival. It needs the assurance from the state as well as local communities so that the health of all members of society is taken care of. In India, there are primary health centres in most of the villages but they are least equipped to tackle even minor health problems. The public access to health in many places is rather dismal and the situation in rural areas is all the more pathetic. The urban areas also suffer as most of the people living in slums and unhygienic conditions cannot afford adequate health facilities. The private sector is more commercial in nature and does not cater to the health needs of the poor. Though there is a provision of the private hospitals extending health care to the poor, the implementation of this scheme is rather tardy. The general trend that has been in vogue includes lack of awareness among the rural population regarding popular measures like

immunisation of mother and child, maternal health care, and infant mortality rates. This sector needs reforms that would ensure health for one and all.

Environmental Security: Environmental security has been gaining importance because of the very evident degradation of the environment, climate change, depletion of ozone layers, and massive industrial pollution. There has been an increasing awareness regarding the impact of developmental policies on the natural environment. With more and more industrial, mining, and developmental projects getting clearance from the governmental authorities for industrial/ commercial purposes, it has now assumed significance at the local, national, regional and global levels. The undue exploitation of the natural resources has led many nations to come together on a global platform and undertake measures to reduce environmental degradation. Various International Conventions have been brought into policy frameworks so as to enable the nations to adhere to these conventions. This is an important dimension of human security for it enables one to live in pollution-free environment and also sustain our natural resources for our future generations. Some of the important conventions like the one related to climate change need to be addressed and discussed thoroughly so that the future generations are safe from increasing climatic variations and their negative effects. There should be a binding commitment on the part of all nations to implement it sincerely. India too has its share of legislation on environment and the most telling feature is its judicial activism in the arena of environmental protection. Since India is one of the fastest growing economies in the world, its development efforts are likely to disturb its ecological balance. It needs to work harder on this aspect keeping in view its traditional knowledge and wisdom that depended more on fine balance of nature-man relationship.

Individual and Community Security: It is widely accepted by one and all that human security and its prime goal is the protection of the individual. This means protection from any form of violence that threatens the security of the individual. This not only means protection from any kind of violence that erupts in situations like terrorist attacks or wars but also from other non-traditional security threats like hunger, poverty, displacement and so on. The concept of human security, as has been mentioned in the previous Units, is closely related to the concepts of human rights and human development. It also deals with community security apart from individual security. It is the communities that collectively face the threats in most of the situations. These threats emanate from day-to-day events, threatening the safety of daily life and dignity of individuals/ communities.

In India, the list of susceptible groups is broadly classified into minorities and specifically, all the more deprived people from different sections of society. These include caste and tribal groups, women and children. While the issues relating to women, children and minorities (be it religious or linguistic) is more universal in nature, the issues pertaining to the tribals and people from lower strata of society is more India-centric. These groups are part of the system and are prone to structural violence. Further, when it comes to poverty and hunger, it afflicts all the poor and makes them the most vulnerable in society, fighting against their own systems that have created imbalances at various stages. Further, there is a major delineation and is manifested mostly in rural areas. The backward communities often face social differentiation and inequality and are the most deprived sections in the society. These groups do not have access to essential social and economic goods and the discrimination towards them is mostly due to the imbalanced stratification of society that is based on caste, class and religion. Their isolation from the mainstream for ages has made them vulnerable to the core.

Violence against women is a common feature in all societies; it is a transnational issue. The crimes against women take place in both rural and urban areas and these are the most vulnerable groups in society. In any kind of violent situation, it is the women who suffer the most. Children too have become the most vulnerable section as they are often forced into domestic work, as labour and are also the victims of human trafficking. In India, the condition of women presents a contrasting picture: on one hand, we have women progressing towards betterment as professional executives, political leaders, environmental activists, social workers and pioneering reformers and business leaders. On the other hand, the condition of women in rural India is not very promising, primarily owing to lack of education and awareness regarding their rights and duties. Though laws are being enacted to improve their lot, the efforts are yet to take off. Children too have been at the receiving end with massive levels of low education, employment as child labour in industries, hotels and so on. The Right to Education law aims at providing them equal rights to education and working towards their betterment. The domestic helpers too come under the category of people who do not have access to right education, employment and security. These are the pertinent issues that need to be redressed and resolved thereof.

16.3 HUMAN DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN SECURITY

In one of the previous Units, you have learnt about the interdependence between human rights, human development and human security. It is to be noted that the violation of one of these automatically leads to the violation of the other. Finally, human insecurity becomes a dominant feature. Therefore, what are the measures that are to be taken if we have to ensure human security?

Human development is a crucial factor in this context. It is important to cite what Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy observe in this regard: 'Human development or lack thereof, is critical to sustain certain levels of human security, downturns in development and extreme poverty almost systematically triggering conflict, whether open through warfare, or through growing social unrest, tension and stress. Progress in human development will enhance the chances of progress in human security, while failure in human development will increase the risk of failure in human security. From a practical standpoint as well, most aspects of the maximalist definitions of human security simply cannot be delivered without a certain level of pre-existing development. Indeed, definitions that emphasize the need within human security, for instance, for 'social safety nets' to mitigate downturns, must acknowledge that setting up such institutions needs an already relatively significant level of development and state stability to finance such social security and economic security schemes. Only progress in the developmental field can bring the capacities to then make sure, through human security, that no steps are made backwards, and no one lags behind' (Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy, 2007, p.114). They also observe that human security also could be made a pre-condition for human development. Minimum guarantee of human security should be ensured before one moves forward to greater levels of development. One must be assured of protection from calamities, wars, poverty, hunger or displacement to name a few. Development would take place only when there is an ambience of peace and security. For example, many civil wars or disturbances lead to little or no development and vice versa, wherein the absence of development is likely to trigger a conflict. Symptoms like political instability, economic deprivation, social unrest, eroding of cultural factors, displacement and weakened state institutions do lead to massive human insecurity conditions. These afflict all states alike, be it developed or developing, rich or poor.

The quality of human development and human security are dependent on the promotion of peace and harmony in society that is sustainable in nature. These are more of intersecting points define the security in a society. 'Human development and human security thus appear as two parallel processes that go hand in hand. Progress in one enhances the chances of progress in the other, when failure in one enhances the chances of failure in the other. Human security and human development are therefore overall sister-concepts with mutually beneficial cross-contributions. Narrow human security is the pre-condition for development, the initial impetus of development then helping to widen human security concerns, while human security is also a way to prioritize efforts, which is sometimes lacking in strict development thinking' (Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy, 2007, p.116).

It is worth noting that while human rights could be enforced through consistent advocacy and human development could be achieved through systematic targets, human security can neither be enforced nor can be achieved within a limited time frame. It is dependent more on the willingness of the state and other actors who could contribute to achieving this. As Gandhi pointed out, the seven social sins could contribute to imbalance in society. These are:

1. Politics without principles
2. Wealth without work
3. Knowledge without character
4. Pleasure without conscience
5. Commerce without morality
6. Science without humanity
7. Worship without sacrifice.

It is, therefore, necessary that these factors be balanced if there has to be human security in society.

16.4 INTERVENTIONS: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

In the previous Units, much information has already been provided as to what constitutes human security and how it could be ensured from time to time through various measures. This section deals more with the implications of positive and negative externalities of intervention that often takes place for ensuring human security. Human security could be guaranteed under certain favourable conditions. These include political stability, peace and harmony, flourishing of multiculturalism, economic empowerment of people, liberal atmosphere, liberal education, gender equality, positive transformative development and promotion of interdependence and sustainable development. There is no place for greed or unjust reasons to go to war only for economic gains. Further, the grievances should be addressed so as to ensure fair or just system. There also needs to be an atmosphere where conflicts could be prevented or resolved for the good of the humanity; effective political institutions and prevalence of democratic norms and space. To a great extent, international aid and cooperation also play an active and important role in contributing to enhanced human security. Most of the nations around the world have some time or other come under interventions of external powers/ agencies. But the increased dependence on international factors is likely to lead to the latter's dominance in the domestic/ national

affairs which, in turn is again a matter of insecurity. Therefore, a fine balance needs to be maintained between various contributing factors like collective responsibility and commitment to uphold positive values, freedom, rights and dignity of the humanity. At the same time, there are many risks along with the positive factors that accompany the nature of intervention from outside. These have been enlisted exclusively in the paragraphs below:

Positive and Negative externalities of human security interventions

Economic Security

Threats stem from poverty, unemployment, indebtedness, lack of income, etc.

Possible interventions and assistance by international donors

- Relief aid and public aid
- Micro-credit projects (self-employment)
- Poverty eradication strategies
- Safety nets and social welfare programmes
- FDI and long term investments.
- Trade facilitation
- Debt relief: low interest rate or cancellation of loans

Possible positive externalities in other domains

- Increase in income (linked to food security)
- Social inclusion (linked to personal security)
- Empowerment of women (community security)
- Boosting the private sector (political security)
- Reducing inequality (community and personal security)

Possible negative externalities in other domains

- The state can become more dependent on foreign donors and is no longer accountable to the population (political insecurity)
- If solely targeting women or IDPs or other vulnerable groups, there are risks of marginalization in the community (link to community insecurity)
- Conditionality and politicization of aid could affect the political system (political insecurity)
- Unregulated private sector can increase gap between rich and poor (linked to personal and community security)
- Increase competition between groups (community insecurity, political, and personal insecurity)
- Quick fix projects can harm the environment (linked to environmental insecurity)

- Relief aid can have negative long-term consequences for sustainability (linked to food insecurity).

Food Security

Threats stem from hunger, famines, and the lack of physical and economic access to basic food

Possible interventions and assistance by international donors

- Public food distribution system
- Crop distribution and improved farming techniques
- Midday meals in schools
- Food-for-work programmes.

Possible positive externalities in other domains

- Hunger relief (responding to immediate need)
- Increased and improved agriculture (linked to economic and environment security)

Possible negative externalities in other domains

- Discourage local agriculture (decreased livelihoods and job security for farmers)
- Affect the population metabolism by changing what they eat (linked to health insecurity)
- Crops might not meet the soil condition (linked to environmental insecurity)
- Food distribution may be inequitable (linked to community insecurity).

Health Security

Threats include inadequate health care, new and recurrent diseases including epidemics and pandemics, unsafe environment and, unsafe lifestyles)

Possible interventions and assistance by international donors

- (Re) building the public health care system
- Technical cooperation
- Health education programmes
- Safe and affordable family planning
- Primary care
- Prevention strategies
- Regulating private health care.

Possible positive externalities in other domains

- Balance (re) attained in mortality/ fertility rates (linked to personal and community security)

- Equal access to health care (personal, community security)
- Gender empowerment (personal, community security)
- Healthy environment (linked to environment security)
- Healthy labour force (linked to economic security)
- Nutritional programmes that are sustainable (linked to food security).

Possible negative externalities in other domains

- Replacement of the state's responsibility in providing healthcare (lack of trust in institutions, political insecurity)
- Family planning may go against local cultures (community insecurity)
- Stigmatization of disease and isolation of patients (community, economic and personal insecurity).

Environmental security

Threats from environmental degradation, natural disasters, pollution and resource depletion

Possible interventions and assistance by international donors

- Installing environmental sound management practices
- Environmental awareness programmes
- Implementing strict environment laws
- Cleaning community water resources.

Possible positive externalities in other domains

- Recovering waste and polluted renewable resources (linked to economic and health security)
- Introducing environment-friendly technologies (linked to economic, food and health security)
- Mitigating the negative impact of man-made disasters (community, economic and personal security)
- Poverty eradication (economic security)
- Improved water (health security).

Possible negative externalities in other domains

- Ignoring agricultural traditions (linked to community insecurity)
- Exacerbating land disputes (linked to community, economic and political insecurity).

Personal Security

Threats include crime and violence

They include threats from the state (through physical torture inflicted by the military or

police), from other states (such as wars, cross-border terrorism, etc.), from other groups of people (such as ethnic or religious conflicts, street violence, etc). They can be directed against women (such as domestic violence, abuse or rape), or against children (such as child abuse, neglect, child labour, or child prostitution).

Possible interventions and assistance by international donors

- Law and order
- Peace negotiations
- Crime prevention
- Demobilization of soldiers
- Curbing domestic violence through education, gender just laws, etc.

Possible positive externalities in other domains

- Freedom from fear, want and indignity (with impacts on all human security concerns)
- Domain development resource (economic security)
- Law and order (which has positive externalities for all security types)
- Strengthening human rights monitoring (tied to economic, community and political security)
- Demilitarization (community and political security)
- Employment (economic security)
- Gender empowerment (community security).

Possible negative externalities in other domains

- Replacing the state (linked to political insecurity)
- Militarization and increasing of policing (tied to political and community insecurity)
- Privatization of security (linked to community, political and economic insecurities)
- Creating stereotypes of ethnic/ religious communities (linked to community security).

Community security

Threats from discrimination and abuse of various groups (including ethnic, gender, language, racial, religious, etc.), from group armed conflicts, from oppression by traditional practices. They also include threats to the integrity of cultural diversity.

Possible interventions and assistance by international donors

- Gender empowerment
- Human rights interventions
- Good migration policies
- Quotas and affirmative action policies within donor projects for most vulnerable groups

- Secular education

Possible positive externalities in other domains

- Social harmony (leading to security of all components)
- Culture of non-discrimination (economic, political, personal security)

Possible negative externalities in other domains

- Exacerbating tensions between communities
- Cultural interference (linked to political, personal security)
- Exclusion if targeting specific groups such as women, refugees, etc. (linked to personal, economic and political insecurities)
- Racist policies (with consequences on economic, personal and political insecurities).

Political Security

Threats can come from political or state repression, including torture, disappearances, human rights violations, detention and imprisonment. They can also stem from mistrust in the capacity of the state to provide and protect.

Possible interventions and assistance by international donors

- Support for transition to democratic practices.
- Reduction of corruption policies.
- Promoting democratic culture.

Possible positive externalities in other domains

- Reduction of political exclusion (linked to community and economic security)
- Reducing corruption and implementing good governance (linked to community, economic and personal security)
- Impact on a democratic evolution of political institutions (economic, political, personal security)
- Respect for human rights (impact on all securities)
- Improving the functioning of markets (economic security).

Possible negative externalities in other domains

- Imposing a particular type of governance system (linked to potential community and economic insecurities)
- Risk of creating new inequalities in distribution of power (linked to economic, political, personal insecurities)
- Lobbying and financial pressure by some groups (linked to community insecurities).

Source: Tadjbakhsh and Chenoy, 2007, pp.221-226.

16.5 SUMMARY

This Unit dealt with the human security conditions in India in a comprehensive manner so as to enable the learner know the intricacies of what constitutes human security, its link with human development and the implications of intervention by external forces. Human rights and human development are often subjected to interventions by external forces or agencies like major powers or international human rights bodies/agencies or development institutions. Regarding food security (during the 1960s) and economic security (with the beginning of the liberalisation of the economy), India has been affected by international compulsions. Often the human rights issues are pointed out by both internal and external groups regarding their violations. In this increasingly interdependent world, no nation is exempted from some form of monitoring or scrutiny. It is therefore necessary that human security is guaranteed rather ambitiously so that the targets are met effectively. It needs to be incorporated on the policy agenda and implemented successfully so that the security of the humankind is ensured.

16.6 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. What do you understand by human security? How is it related to human development?
2. How do you assess the level of human security in India? Are there any effective measures?
3. What are the positive and negative implications of external interventions with regard to the environmental, food and economic security?

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