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UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM

SCHOOL OF POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

AN OVERLOOK TO INTERNATIONAL ACTORS' HUMAN SECURITY NOTIONS: AFRICAN UNION,
EUROPEAN UNION, AND NATO'S PERSPECTIVES

Irem SOUKSU

20406087

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Supervisor: Dr Catherine GEGOUT

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I have read and understood the relevant information on plagiarism and the penalties that may be imposed where an academic offence is committed, as stated in the Postgraduate Handbook. Irem Souksu

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Abstract

Human security, as a holistic approach to putting human beings under the spotlight, has brought many debates since its establishment almost over three decades ago. The fact that the human security approach does not stand in a clear place by definition has caused everyone to adapt the part that suits them within a certain framework and criteria. For this study, the main focus is on international actors, specifically North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), African Union (AU) and European Union (EU) as their perspectives and definitions are affected by their jurisdictions and domains. The concern was whether it was possible to take a common stance despite increasing individual insecurity as a result of factors including climate change, epidemics, the migration crisis, and the food crisis. To be even more specific, economical, food, health, political, personal, environmental, and community respectively. Consequently, even though all three of them have different understandings including the scope, impacts and policies, there are still core points that have a chance to meet basic points.

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Glossary

NATO - North Atlantic Treaty Organization

AU - African Union

EU - European Union

EULEX - European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo

EUFOR DRC - European Union Military Operation in the Democratic Republic of Congo

UN - United Nations

UNDP - United Nations Development Programme

OAU - Organization of African Unity

NGO - Non-governmental Organisations

WHO – World Health Organization

UNHCR- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

IPCC- Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

FAO - Food and Agriculture Organization

WPS - Women, Peace, and Security

Chapter 1

1.1. Introduction

In today's world, are all under threat every single day. While the world is changing, the threats, expectations and solutions have changed too. The idea of human security is another way to deal with security that spotlights the individual and gives alternative options in contrast to the conventional state-centric view, which believes the state to be the just and extreme referent of safety. (Benedek, Kettemann and Möstl, 2011) When the United Nations first introduced Human Security as a holistic and sustained approach to international security, it attracted great attention, unaware of the controversy it would create, unlike the traditional concept of national security. In former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan's words:

Human security in its broadest sense embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and healthcare and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfil his or her own potential. (United Nations, 2000)

The human security approach is people-centric and mainly aims to ensure people's existence, well-being, and dignity in the face of current and forthcoming threats, which are widespread and cross-cutting. This approach is focused on how individuals continue their lives in societies, how unreservedly they practice their numerous decisions, the amount of access they possess socio-economically and whether they live in struggle or peace. (United Nations Development Programme, 1994; United Nations Development Programme 2022) Consequently, in its widest terms, human security is based on the protection of individuals rather than the protection of

institutions like territorial safety and state sovereignty and its goal is to identify the impactful risks that come with growth in the present. (Baba and Gönen,2016:14, Pathak 2021)

The fact that it has such a wide range in terms of concept and definition. However, it also lacks a clear definition and reduces the possibility of meeting on a common point by the human security practitioners. After the UNDP's concept has emerged in 1994, international organisations started to develop a notion of human security that has gained steam in multilateral organisations. It is evolving into a reference point for the significant international security trends of the twenty-first century. (Duță, 2009)

For this research, there are three main cores. Firstly, one of the main focuses is on North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Since its foundation in 1949, the Alliance still keep defending its territory and expanding with its 30 member states. NATO's longevity and success can be closely linked to its ability to adapt to shifting strategic circumstances. (NATO,2021) Even though has a scope on the military, it has also shifted its focus to human beings which led to tailoring a human security approach. Another focus is on European Union (EU). With its 27 member states, the EU is a political-economical union, with a supranational side while policymaking via its own institutions. The last focus is on the African Union (AU). It is a continental body composed of 55 member states that represent the African continent's countries, established in 2002 as the successor organization to the Organization of African Unity (OAU) (African Union, n.d.). All three are key actors in their territories and examining their understandings has a possible impact on seeing if there is a chance to build a common notion of human security. In that case, the question that I search for an answer to is: How do NATO, EU and AU understand human security?

In light of this, this study focuses on NATO, the AU and the EU's perspective criteria and the scopes that they have the human security who are a part of a network of various actors, along with the United Nations framework of insecurities as guidance. The first chapter examines the debates and points on both human security and these organizations, the theoretical mindset behind the question and the methodology of this dissertation. The second chapter contains the criteria – as called insecurities - that are gathered both UN and scholars' opinions. After explaining the topics that these organizations will be examined, all three's approaches, in general, are discussed in the third chapter.

1.2. Methodology and Structure

This study's theoretical framework is social constructivism, which is epistemologically located between positivist and post-positivist axes. As a result, the analysis process can take one of two paths: quantitative or qualitative. However, because positivism appears to be more likely for facts based on quantitative data analysis, it was not appropriate for my research. Qualitative data analysis, as is well known, focuses on words and behaviours rather than instructions and norms. To elaborate, identifying topics within qualitative data analysis commonly includes determining the information. Due to the topic's nature, the data that was used is the ones that are publicly accessible. Primary and secondary sources are used to data collection. In addition to the journals, books, and videos, I worked on official texts as a primary resource, regulations, press releases, General Assembly reports, and annual reports that are accessible both online and printed.

1.3. Theoretical Framework

For this research, I will focus on building my studies on a social constructivist base. As Fierke explained, simply, constructing a thing is a demonstration that creates a subject or item that in any case would not exist. Once developed, every one of these articles has a specific significance and use inside a unique circumstance. (Fierke, 2021) In this research, I consider explaining the link between human security and how the differences between the organizations influence the approaches to their own policies of human security. While examining and explaining, I argue that a constructivist view offers a clearer vision by explaining this in three different concepts that lead to three different pathways.

Constructivism is a social theory that examines the nature of social change and life. It is primarily concerned with the concepts and viewpoints that influence actors on the international scene while also considering the mutual understanding they share. (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998; Jackson, Sørensen and Møller, 2019) Moreover, naturally, the way it shapes the life around individuals. Since human awareness and experiences in global life are its primary focus, it has an effect on the organizations and states that individuals have founded (Ruggie, 1998). Relatedly, it embodies the political discourse that societies have taken part to create, but it is also one that the outside world is now moulding and reshaping. (MGIMO, 2019)

In this research's context, the main purpose behind examining different lenses is to see how they are found in their member states, and even if there are joint members of some of them – in this case, especially for the intersection of EU and NATO member states - what are the differences or similarities between these organization's understandings of human security.

From a constructivist point of view, states or organizations do not inherit interests or identities; rather, they usually generate their own on the basis of lessons learned from previous experiences, observations of recent acts, and expectations. (Daddow, 2017) It is pertinent because it makes an effort to explain developing security concerns to the wider public. It is also highly pertinent since it is currently being attempted to comprehend and examine the various facets of human civilization's evolution in the context of the threat it poses. (Pathak, 2021)

The international system is composed of ideas rather than material forces because it merely exists as a collective knowledge or intersubjective consciousness amongst individuals. (Jackson, Sørensen and Møller, 2019) While trying to find an answer to a way of understanding particular actors in a specific case, there are things that should be examined about international organizations in general before starting the comparisons. Firstly, even though they are mostly defined as autonomous and beyond states' preferences' reflective tools, they cannot be completely utilized by their members. (Barnett and Finnemore, 1999) Regarding this, each member state's delegate brings their own background to the table naturally, even discussing a daily issue. Second, these organizations are even affected by their own divisions inside. Barnett and Finnemore explain this as:

Different segments of the organization may develop different ways of making sense of the world, experience different local environments, and receive different stimuli from outside; they may also be populated by different mixes of professions or shaped by different historical experiences. (Barnett and Finnemore, 1999 :724)

Third; international organizations are important parts of the norm life cycle, with that on hand, bringing different perspectives would normally bring different understandings and applications of policies. A norm is defined as ' a standard of appropriate behaviour for actors with a given identity '. (Finnemore and Sikkink,1998:891) Regarding that, in the international system, after the emergence of a norm, promotion is a key point to creating a permanent and effective norm. International organisations frequently act as conveyor belts for the dissemination of norms and models of "good" political behaviour since they have established rules and conventions and are eager to share the benefits of their expertise. (Barnett and Finnemore,1999)

The norm life cycle is a process to explain how norms occur from our social backgrounds to our lives. To explain, the UN, the norm entrepreneur for my cycle, which are defined as the actors that endeavour to persuade a minimum number of states to accept new standards. My focus also will be on the last step of the cycle, which is internalization. Internalization means that norms that emerged and cascaded are accepted by the actors (Finnemore and Sikkink,1998). In this study, the focus is on how an international actor adopts internalized the human security approach as a norm throughout its internal organization.

1.4. Literature Review

Human security is the glue that holds together a jumbled coalition of middle-power states, development agencies, and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), all of which seek to shift attention and resources away from traditional security issues and toward goals that have traditionally been classified as international development. (Paris,2001) It holds a people-

centric, multidisciplinary understanding of security involving several research fields including development studies, international relations, strategic studies, and human rights. However, due to its elastic nature, there is no common understanding and implementation of it according to the literature. In literature, scholars and decision-makers often fall into one of three categories: those who view human security as an appealing notion but one that lacks analytical rigour; those who accept the phrase but insist on defining it narrowly; and those who see a broad definition of the concept as a crucial instrument for comprehending current issues. (Tadjbakhsh, 2005) For instance, it has been criticized to be normally attractive and analytically weak, a contested concept with analytical and methodological problems, and also still an inscrutable concept. (Newman,2004; Paris,2004; Suhrke ,1999; Paris,2001) In addition, as one of the famous examples, Lakhdar Brahimi, former special representative to Afghanistan, Iraq, and Haiti, and chair of the UN Panel on Peacekeeping is noted as saying:

I don't use the term human security because I don't know exactly what I mean, and I worry that someone will come up and contradict me. (Brahimi, quoted in Martin and Owen,2010: 215-216)

Furthermore, researchers also criticized the vagueness of the definition itself as undermining its effectiveness. For instance, Tadjbakhsh criticizes that the lack of clarity in this field impacted the main importance of the idea. In her words:

What was supposed to be a simple, noble, and obvious idea soon became engulfed in a cacophony of political and academic debates centred on its definitions, their advantages and weak points, and on its theoretical and practical applicability. (Tadjbakhsh,2013)

In the literature, besides the criticisms about the ambiguity and effectiveness of the definition, there are also discussions about the scope of the understanding of human security. Mainly it is focused on the broadness and narrowness of the definition, there are two sides who accept its effectiveness of it but consider in the circle of traditional threats and others who scrutinizes it as the well-being of humankind. A broad approach to human security offers a range of analytical precision in favour of broad normative influence: it highlights the issues that jeopardise the lives of the greatest amount of people. The reality is that extreme poverty, avoidable illnesses, and the consequences of pollution seem to be the world's leading causes of mortality. According to this viewpoint, any notion of security that ignores this fact is conceptually, empirically, and ethically inadequate. (Newman,2010) Human security is often believed to mean placing more emphasis on the security of individuals, particularly their welfare, safety, and well-being than it does on the security of nations. (Federici,2017) The notion of 'human security' transitions security discussions away from the national or state level and toward human beings as possible victims; away from physical violence as the only appropriate danger; and away from physical harm as the only related damage. (Gasper, 2011) In this context, the UN's definition of human security stands on a broad range:

Human security is a child who did not die, a disease that did not spread, a job that was not cut, an ethnic tension that did not explode in violence, and a dissident who was not silenced. Human security is not a concern with weapons-it is a concern with human life and dignity. (UNDP,1994:22)

A narrow approach to human security is more focused on the human consequences of violent conflict and the threats posed to the civilian population by authoritarian regimes and situations of state failure. (Newman,2010) Many scholars who have acknowledged its validity

have nonetheless limited its applicability to events often associated with humanitarianism, such as wars, conflicts, genocides, extremely violent acts, persecution and flagrant abuses of human rights. (Tadjbakhsh,2014; MacFarlane and Khong,2006)

Lastly, there are scholars who think that this debate on the definition and conceptual vagueness is not as crucial as the relation between other security approaches or human-centred issues. (Duță, 2009) The concept of human security is controversial and poorly understood by practitioners. This is because the phrase has several conflicting and distinct definitions and uses, depending on contexts as diverse as a sustainable business, health research, and conflict resolution. (Martin and Kaldor,2010) Although they suggest that it may have conceptual integrity problems, Liotta and Owen (2006) also addressed that human security can still function in practice despite its theoretical shortcomings. Another opinion that is criticizing this debate argues that the concept, analytical value, and focus of human security remain unresolved, and there is little interest to resolve these revolving door debates. (Newman,2019)

On the other hand, the literature on NATO, AU and EU are more based on their policies. The essence of NATO's past, its legends, and its contemporary political reality: an alliance that, completely unique in history, has endured past the end of the threat it was originally intended to counter. (Howorth,2017) It is described as that as an organization has no better option. (Reflection Group Appointed by the NATO Secretary-General, 2020) Olsen (2020) argues that NATO is conducting the most significant collective defence reinforcement since the Cold War's end, with an intense focus on defence and security sector development and capacity-building in support of identified partner countries in the Middle East and North

Africa. NATO's political decisions are based on an inclusive process of security and defence consultations, ongoing engagement with all members, and, ultimately, consensus. It adheres to a democratic standard, supplying the Alliance with political legitimacy as well as military credibility. On the other hand, its political credibility is criticized because of its fragility. Societal divisions have emerged, and representative democracy is under attack. In such ways, the Alliance could be considered to be impressive in military strength; but it is far from invulnerable to such political turbulence. As important as NATO's military component, its political dimension addresses the deepening and concerning pattern of strategic variability and bilateral conflicts between its member states. In this case, it could easily undermine the Alliance's resilience and provide promising prospects for Russian exploitation. (Meral,2019; Reflection Group Appointed by the NATO Secretary-General, 2020)

On the EU's side, it is an indisputable fact that the EU has been one of the great powers lately. However, Brexit has been officially held in 2020, which has been in negotiations for a long time recently. This has had many positive and negative effects on both sides. But within the framework of this thesis, it should be mentioned that; Brexit has left the EU with shocking economic, financial, and social and policy damages. Due to that, the EU has faced with the possibility of losing its political cohesion.

Lastly, the African Union is promoting coherence and focused on development and cooperation in Africa. It develops policies to ensure peace and cooperation on the continent. Aside from promoting peace and stability among member states, the AU aims to coordinate and strengthen cooperation among states for development, as well as protect its members' sovereignty and territorial integrity and promote international cooperation. (Adeniyi et al.,

quoted in Ali 2020) However, there is a long way to go for the AU on ensuring the policies are working as it planned. Although the AU has the ability and willingness to accomplish its objectives and missions, selfless efforts by different stakeholders are needed to overcome these difficulties. Some of the issues are bad governance, national sovereignty, the brutal penetration of globalization, and foreign rivals' rush for natural resources. (Buyoya, 2006)

Chapter 2

Insecurities

In this section, insecurity, which is defined as the components of human security, will be examined. Before the concept of insecurity, it should be explained what it means to be safe. Security is commonly referred to as the absence of physical violence and is classified as a political/military aspect, whereas development is classified as an economic/social aspect, and human rights are classified as a civil/legal aspect. (Human Security Study Group,2007)

Insecurities, in the first place, are the situations that are closely related to the crisis. While security is often viewed as the absence of physical violence, insecurities can be put under the terms of protection from possible threats. (Martin and Kaldor, 2010; Fontana,2022)

Insecurity also refers to being exposed to risks that can decrease life conditions or cause descending movement. (Ranci et al 2017)

But human security's nature is based on protecting and preventing an individual's security rather than a state. Thus, it is an elusive context regarding its variable nature. In the UN context, it is slightly easy to understand what insecurity is and what can be a threat to an individual's security. According to the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), feeling secure is a fundamental human right. As Article 25 defines:

Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age, or other loss of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control. (United Nations, 1948)

Moreover, UNDP’s Human Development Report divided human insecurities into seven sections as described in the following table: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political insecurity. In addition, starting from the first emergence of this concept, a lot of global security threats emerged such as cyber security issues and climate crises. Regarding the critics and the experiences, the UN set a broader yet more descriptive perspective with its brand new report for Anthropocene¹ (UNDP,2022). In light of this, this chapter will examine the criteria that are blended under this scope.

Table 1: Insecurity types and their possible root causes ²

TYPE OF INSECURITY	ROOT CAUSES
Economic insecurity	Persistent poverty, unemployment, lack of access to credit and other economic opportunities
Food insecurity	Hunger, famine, sudden rise in food prices
Health insecurity	Epidemics, malnutrition, poor sanitation, lack of access to basic health care
Environmental insecurity	Environmental degradation, resource depletion, natural disasters
Personal insecurity	Physical violence in all its forms, human trafficking, child labour
Community insecurity	Inter-ethnic, religious and other identity-based tensions, crime, terrorism
Political insecurity	Political repression, human rights violations, lack of rule of law and justice

¹ The word Anthropocene is Greek in origin and refers to the "recent age of man." (originally emphasized).It is an unofficial division of geologic time that makes up the third global division of the Quaternary Period, is known as the period when human actions collectively started to significantly modify the Earth's surface, atmosphere, oceans, and systems of the nutrient cycle. (Rafferty,2020).

² United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security (2016), Human Security Handbook, p.7

2.1. Economic Insecurity

Economic insecurity is the anxiety brought on by a lack of economic safety, such as the loss of income that workers and communities confront as a result of unforeseen social events. (Osberg,1998; Western et al, 2012). This type of insecurity necessitates a guaranteed basic income—usually from productive and remunerative employment, or, as a last resort, from a government-funded safety net (UNDP,1994). Access to the resources, finances and markets required to maintain satisfactory levels of social well-being and state economic power is referred to as economic security. (Buzan,2004)

Thus, economic insecurity has an impact on all human beings directly or indirectly, independent of their nationalities and their economic situations in general. (Osberg and Sharpe,2013) Even if it takes a significant part in the daily lives of ordinary people – which is the subject of the human security approach- just a small amount of the world's population may be economically secure in this sense at the moment. Especially after the pandemic and current regression with Russia, it has emerged and become a more significant issue. Loss of job security, upraising prices on energy supplies, and food and corruption in financial institutions have made people feel less secure and stable. Therefore, it triggers other insecurities linked to each other such as food insecurity, linked to health insecurity and it keeps going. By enabling the underprivileged to participate more fully in economic growth and get access to jobs, investing in human capital increases economic security and lessens the impact of shocks. (FAO and Human Security Unit,2016)

2.2. Food Insecurity

Food security is the condition in which all people, at all times, have physical, social, and economic access to an adequate supply of safe, nourishing foods that satisfy their dietary needs and food choices in order to lead active and healthy lives. Natural or human-caused disasters, as well as political instability, have led to a protracted crisis with increasing vulnerability and food insecurity for broad segments of the population. (FAO and Human Security Unit, 2016) Food security implies that all people have availability and access to essential food at all times. This generally requires far more than adequate nourishment to go around. Access to food is, therefore, a necessary but not precondition of security. Even when enough food is available, people can still go desperate for food, as has actually occurred during several famines. It requires that individuals have ready access to food—that they are entitled to have food, regardless of whether they grow it for themselves, buy it, or just use a public food distribution system. (UNDP,1994) It is not just about having enough food supply; it is also about having the ability to buy enough food for oneself or your household. That suggests that a home is deemed to be food-secure when none of its members experiences hunger or the threat of famine. (Gogoi,2020) Nowadays, crises reached their peak due to climate change's impacts (such as droughts and excessive floodings), conflicts and political instability around the world, especially the Russian invasion of Ukraine; food prices and inflation increased and became much more than an average person can tolerate, even for the high-income countries. (The World Bank,2022).

Thus, food security can also be a tool for conflict prevention and mitigation, the interaction between human security and food security holds true for the preventive-oriented approach as well. (FAO and Human Security Unit,2016) For instance, the agreement that aims to create

a corridor for exporting grain that grew in Ukraine shows that even still in conflict, Russia, Ukraine and Türkiye sat down at a table and create a solution initiatively. Although it is not considered critically as political or personal insecurity, it has a major impact on creating a secure environment. While malnutrition or famine affects people's well-being mentally and physically, it is more important than it seems since it is an event that is valued while making economic insecurity and political choices. With human security, individual capacity building is emphasized to people in insecure conditions to overcome the problems of food insecurity. (Gogoi,2020)

2.3. Health Insecurity

The purpose of global health security is defined as the activities required, both proactive and reactive, to minimize the danger and impact of acute public health events that endanger people's health across geographical regions and international boundaries to provide a more secure future for all people. (WHO, n.d.) This also encompasses the inability to afford quality healthcare today and the possibility of doing so in the future, as well as rising healthcare costs. (Gama,2015) The threats to health security are more substantial for poor rural residents, particularly women and children, and people on the move, who may be more vulnerable to illness. (UNDP,1994) In 1946, the Constitution of the World Health Organization (WHO) claimed that the 'health of all peoples is fundamental to the attainment of peace and security'. (WHO,1948) The number of health emergencies affecting people, including epidemics, violent conflict, natural disasters, chemical or radioactive incidents, and food poisoning, is on the rise, as the recent issues are ongoing due to COVID-19 and the migration crisis. All these ongoing and upcoming threats made the concept of health security widespread and that led to an acceptance in policymaking. (Nunes,2014) As WHO defines:

Pandemics, health emergencies and weak health systems not only cost lives but pose some of the greatest risks to the global economy and security faced today. (World Health Organization, n.d.)

The COVID-19 treatment led to a prolonged disruption of crucial health services, which was caused by the redirection of health system resources. Those affected by the pandemic include refugees and internally displaced people, the elderly, people experiencing homelessness or who depend on the informal sector for survival, and high-risk communities exposed to additional threats such as natural disasters and the effects of climate change. The pandemic has hit communities in circumstances of fragility, conflict, violence, and other vulnerabilities particularly tough. Increased access obstacles to vital health services and an absence of socioeconomic safety nets mostly account for the negative impacts. The substantial influence of countermeasures on people's lives and livelihoods as well as on obstacles to utilizing health services has exacerbated the complex social, political, and security environments and made disease prevention, continuity of health service delivery, food security, and management access into an even greater challenge. Health systems in these fragile populations were already unable to meet basic health needs even before the pandemic. People's ability to utilize necessary services whenever they require to, particularly in emergencies, without experiencing financial difficulties is one of two complementary health objectives that should be addressed. (WHO,2021) A global governance architecture with numerous actors interacting, including international institutions, commercial and corporate actors, civil society and non-governmental organizations, is necessary to create a secure environment for all people, at least throughout the implementation phase. (Aginam,2006)

2.4. Environmental Insecurity

Environmental security focuses on preserving local ecosystems and the planet's biosphere, which are crucial support systems for all other human endeavours. (Buzan, 2004). Humans rely on a better and healthier physical environment, erroneously assuming that whatever destruction they impose on the earth will eventually be fixed. This is absolutely not the case, because intensive industrial growth and population explosion have put the planet under unsustainable strain. The environmental challenges that countries face are a mixture of local biodiversity loss and global system degradation. Water shortages, global warming and climate change are one of the most severe environmental threats to the people. (UNDP,1994) Ecological damage and global warming are noted as impending threats to global stability. (Boutros-Ghali,1992; Solana Madariaga, 2008). In thirty years, it has proven to be the right prediction, and it still gets worse with ongoing natural disasters such as the recent flood in August 2022 in Pakistan and the current drought happening in Africa, specifically the Horn of Africa region. Environmental dangers have been identified as potential threats to human welfare in human security constructions; for example, 'water security and food security' mark out regions of practical implementation for international humanitarian and development organisations. The climate crisis is a human crisis. It is driving displacement and makes life harder for those already forced to flee. (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2018)

There are numerous environmental issues that must be addressed in the present. It includes various forms of air and water pollution, habitat loss, deforestation, droughts, biodiversity loss and the extinction of existing species, depletion of the ozone layer, and the

destabilization and deterioration of a variety of terrestrial and marine ecosystems. (Elliott,2015) Without urgent, effective, and equitable mitigation actions, climate change increasingly threatens the health and livelihoods of people around the globe, ecosystem health and biodiversity. (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change,2022) Most frequently, when discussing climate change as an issue of environmental security, it is portrayed as a threat multiplier that will overwhelm societies' capacities for adaptation and cause or aggravate political instability through civil disorder, inter-communal violence, political radicalization, and perhaps even state failure. Protecting or guaranteeing those values that are connected to statehood, such as political independence, territorial integrity, and internal order remains at the center of the environmental security dilemma. (Elliott,2015)

One of the biggest security challenges that people face is climate migration in terms of environmental security. Climate change will, however, create new forms of vulnerability, distress migration and immobility. Climate change has the potential to disrupt migration flows in a non-linear manner, increasing the accelerated rate of urbanization worldwide. (Adger et al., 2020) Drought, floods, or extreme weather conditions force people to leave their hometowns and move to places to more livable places. However, this brings security issues also in the traditional way as the movement's sphere may be internal or cross-border, which has the potential of trigger spreading diseases, issues rooted due to adjustment problems between migrants and locals, and violent conflicts, mostly based on ethnic roots.

2.5. Personal Insecurity

Personal security threats, should be recognized as not limited to criminal violence but encompassing an individual's state of apprehension which includes crucial psychological aspects. Threats can also emanate from the state (state use of torture), from invasion by other states, from International or cross-border terrorism, from menaces emanating from ethnic or religious groups or from gangs (street violence), domestic violence, violence against children (abuse, prostitution, labour) or even violence against one's self (suicide or drug abuse). This dimension of human security is generally associated with "freedom from fear" (Tadjbakhsh 2005; Gasper and Gomez,2015) Humans are severely threatened by spontaneous, unforeseen violence in rich and poor countries. Threats can come from the state (as in extreme torture), numerous different insurgent groups or states (as in war), or other groups of people or opposition groups based on their vulnerability. (Organized crime, human trafficking, rape, domestic violence, and child abuse.) Domestic violence, unorganized crime, physical damage from environmental events or accidents, and many other matters are all often greater threats than intentional, organized, or political violence. (Gasper and Gomez,2015)

At least three categories of threats to personal security were listed in the 1994 HDR: (1) Threats internal to the polity, excluding armed conflict, including various types of criminality, whether committed by the state or others; (2) Threats from either external or internal, regular, or irregular (armed) conflict; (3) Self-threats involving drug use and suicide (UNDP,1994 p. 30).

2.6. Community insecurity

Most people find security in belonging to a community, such as a family, a community, an organization, or a racial or ethnic group, which can provide identity and culture and a reassuring set of values. Such groups also provide practical assistance. The extended family system, for example, protects its weaker members, and many tribal societies operate on the premise that heads of households are entitled to enough land to support their family—and thus land is distributed accordingly. Individual communities suffer, or believe they suffer, as a result of the struggle for these kinds of opportunities. Nowadays, terrorism and organized crime rates increase due to conflicts that are happening globally. This situation strengthens community insecurities as people start to live in fear. Community security on the other hand covers the conservation of traditions and cultures, languages and commonly held values. It also includes the abolishment of ethnic discrimination, prevention of ethnic conflicts, and protection of indigenous people. (UNDP,1994) The maintenance of long-standing linguistic, cultural, religious, and customary patterns is necessary for society's security. (Buzan,2004).

2.7. Political Insecurity

This type of insecurity is mostly related to the freedom from fear dimension of human security. It is concerned with the institutions of governments, their systems of governance, and the ideologies that support them. (Buzan,2004) Political threats, unstable institutions that led to inadequate governance, corruption in civil service and public officials. (Tadjbakhsh,2005) Additionally, one of the most important components of human security is the ability to live in a society that respects fundamental human rights. Human rights violations are much more common during times of political unrest. The priority given by the government

to military strength is among the most useful indicators of political insecurity in a country because governments sometimes use armies to repress their people. (UNDP,1994) It also includes safeguards against state repression, such as press freedom, free speech, and the right to vote. Political security also includes the abolition of political detention, punishment, systematic ill-treatment, and disappearance. When the state fails, communalist ideologies, usually based on religion or ethnicity, are mobilised; and while this primarily leads to a spiral of violence within areas of conflict, terrorist networks also thrive and recruit from such circumstances, with the consequences being felt once more. (Glasius and Kaldor,2005)

With these criteria and organizations' general policies explained, I am aiming to examine the aspects of the three organizations' understandings of human security. While most scholars put basically political, community and personal insecurity in the narrow scale of human security, I argue that with the current crises going on around the world, environmental insecurity should be considered as the narrow segment because climate change affects many people, forces them to move and creates conflicts between states. Moreover, some types of insecurities are not in all three agendas such as food insecurity and economic insecurity, they are mostly interlinked, and one affects another and cannot be thought of separately.

Chapter 3

Perspectives

This chapter will aim to examine the notional mechanism behind human security policies at the intergovernmental level. By this means, as most scholars that been exemplified in previous chapters, due to human security's conceptual vagueness and limitation problems; it is normal that every actor at this level reflects this approach from a different perspective, even if each has a slight difference. In the light of the definitions that I have explained in Chapter 2 as my criteria for this chapter, I aim to compare the human security approaches of NATO, EU and AU with this period and see the frameworks of their fields.

3.1. A Security Alliance Perspective: North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)

NATO's three core tasks are collective defence, crisis management, and cooperative security. (NATO,2021) Besides the traditional security understanding which is mainly on inter-state conflicts and violations; NATO has expanded its security notions in light of the emerging developments globally yet still in the frame of a military perspective. As a security organization, NATO defines its human security approach from its perspective as follows:

For NATO, the term human security relates to risks and threats to populations where NATO has operations, missions, or activities, and how to mitigate and respond to them. (NATO 2022a)

If we evaluate it on the basis of the criteria I defined in the previous section; first of all, I argue that NATO's understanding of human security is the narrowest of all three and more specific to a region which is understandable due to its territorial influence. To begin, I examined how

NATO elaborated this definition. Defeating human trafficking, protecting children in armed conflict, preventing, and reacting to sexual assault associated with armed conflict, protecting civilians, and protecting cultural property are all aspects of human security. (NATO,2022a) Naturally, the alliance leans more on personal and community security as its military nature.

As the main focus, protecting civilians is a crucial component of warfare and a moral and strategic requirement in all forms of conflict, from counterinsurgency to hybrid warfare to large-scale military operations where the enemy may employ strategies intended to harm civilians. In Afghanistan and the Middle East, nearly two decades of military operations and security force assistance have only served to reinforce the notion that minimizing civilian harm is a prerequisite for the success of both military operations and security partnerships. If ignored or unaddressed, civilian harm has a tendency to reinforce mistrust of the armed forces, pose problems for force protection, and encourage radicalization. (MacLachlan,2022)

After the migration crisis and the recent events in Ukraine, the importance of combating human trafficking in Europe has also increased even more. In NATO Policy on Combating Trafficking in Human Beings, human trafficking is the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring, or receipt of persons through the threat of using force or other forms of coercion, abduction, deception, abuse of power or vulnerability, or the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to obtain the consent of an individual having full control over another person for the purpose of exploitation. At a minimum, exploitation shall include the exploitation of others' prostitution or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery, or practices similar to slavery, servitude, or organ removal. It has an impact on countries of origin, transit, and destination. This modern-day slave trade enables corruption and organized

crime to flourish, which may potentially trigger instability in the Euro-Atlantic area. (NATO,2022b)

In addition to protecting people under conflict or under threats of conflict-related issues and instability declared on the agenda; there is one point that I find quite interesting and attractive. The protection of cultural heritage is also an important component of NATO's concept of human security. It has rooted back in the Washington Treaty as 'protection of common heritage '. (NATO,1949) In this sense, the protection of the cultural property is considered a critical indicator of community security, cooperation, and identity in the military environment. The destruction of cultural symbols can have important political consequences and become a method used to weaken affected communities as in the conflicts in the Balkans in the 1990s. In all of its areas of operations, NATO applies its responsibility to safeguard and endorse cultural and religious sites within its forces. (NATO,2022a)

Another security that I also suggest shifting towards human security is climate security. In NATO's sense, it is examined in detail separately due to its possible impact on human security and climate change, which will shape the future security environment and have the potential to significantly affect NATO's planning and operations that Alliance operates. (Reflection Group Appointed by the NATO Secretary-General, 2020; Üzümcü, İldem and Ceylan, 2021) Furthermore, NATO has worked to integrate the Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) agenda into its operations and counter-terrorism tasks, as an integral part of its doctrines and planning since the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in 2000 and subsequent resolutions. Because of the reason that WPS includes both awareness in operations and the

idea of increasing women's participation within its own organizational structure study, I do not prefer to evaluate gender equality in the context of NATO human security for this study.

3.2. A Supranational Organization's Perspective: European Union

The European Union brings a different perspective to human security, as it has a different structure with its supranational feature. Unlike other case studies, it does not consider human security as avoiding specific threats or avoiding potential threats directly. Especially after 9/11, the security understanding of the EU is based on the idea that there is no individual that is no longer safe even in their own home countries. Moreover, it is argued that serious threats to people will now come in other forms, rather than from soldiers of other states. (Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities, 2004) In the Barcelona Report of the Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities, (in another name A Human Security Doctrine for Europe) (2004), which is one of the main resources of the EU in this field, human security is defined as refers to freedom for individuals from basic insecurities caused by gross human rights violations. Unlike the other evaluations, principles are given as a roadmap for operations in the report. These principles are (1) the primacy of human rights, (2) clear political autonomy, (3) multilateralism, (4) a bottom-up approach, (5) regional focus, (6) the use of legal instruments, and (7) the appropriate use of force. (Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities, 2004:14-20)

Another point of view that the EU has, which complies with the criteria in Chapter 2, shows that it has not clearly classified the insecurities in a similar way to the UN classification. The Barcelona and Madrid Reports, both of which ignore the preference between broad and narrow, argue for a combination approach based on what they call crisis scenarios. (Owen

and Martin,2010) However, there are directives reminding this dimension. In the Barcelona Report (2004) on both internal and external operations. Furthermore, in the Madrid Report (2007), human security was identified as an operational concept for use by the EU's external missions. The Barcelona Report states:

"...Tasks should be identified and implemented in a holistic way... Lack of food and water can be a source of violence. Involving women's groups, ensuring fair and accurate reporting, or creating jobs are all related tasks that critical for public security." (Europe's Security Capabilities Working Group, 2004: 21)

Human security refers to the EU's assistance in meeting human needs during times of crisis when people struggle not only from wars but also from natural and man-made disasters such as starvation, floods, and storms. (Human Security Study Group,2007) Human security is about how the EU describes its way of making the world a safer place, which was the goal of the original European Security Strategy. It can also serve as the framework for a shared narrative on which to establish a common security ethos and identity. (Martin and Kaldor,2012) Nevertheless, these key policy reports missions contain statements such as the above, which are mostly placed between political insecurity and operational guidelines. In addition, the EU's both internal and external operations. Despite their successes or failures, previous examples like the European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo (EULEX) by adopting the rule of law and the European Union Military Operation in the Democratic Republic of Congo (EUFOR DRC) support this sphere. (Martin and Kaldor,2012; Martin,2007) For this reason, it is understood that it is perceived as broader and shows a more holistic approach compared to NATO.

3.3. African Union's Perspective

Human security is defined by AU as 'The security of the individual in terms of satisfaction of his/her basic needs.' It also includes the establishment of social, economic, political, environmental, and cultural conditions required for an individual's livelihood and dignity, the protection and respect of individual rights, good governance, and the provision of opportunities and choices for every individual's full development. (Takasu,Y., quoted in African Union (2020)

When the understanding of human security of the African Union is examined, it is seen that it evaluates it more broadly than the other two organizations and is even structurally similar to the UN. One of the main benefits of the human security approach to African countries is the way it integrates foreign and domestic policies in protecting individuals' lives and securing the lives of groups and communities. It prioritizes not only the right, but as well as the right to a decent life, and in doing so, it requires life to adhere to certain minimum standards in its interactions with its citizens. (Abutudu,2005) The impact of the holistic human security perspective is precisely reflected in the AU's legal, organizational, and governance formation, and the AU Commission effectively distributes this approach to Africa's political institutions. Therefore, the African people expect democracy to provide them with access to basic necessities such as food, water, shelter, and education. (Poku, Renwick and Porto, 2007)

Today, the African Union aims to take human security to a more central position within the scope of Agenda 2063 plans and to meet with its countries on a common denominator in this regard. Agenda 2063 is a clear demonstration of the continent's strategic framework that

seeks to achieve its goal of inclusive and sustainable development. (African Union,2013) The African Human Security Index attempts to provide a detailed examination of human security through seven dimensions: (1) economic security, (2) food security, (3) health security, (4) environmental security, (5) personal security, (6) community security, and (7) political security. (Rudvidzo, T., quoted in African Union (2020) African Union collaborated with the UN to create the Africa Human Security Index within this plan, even though this process is still ongoing and lacks a handbook like the other two examined previously. I think that the African Union's understanding of human security will combine its unique features within the framework of the UN. For this reason, I argue that the perception with the broadest perspective among these three organizations belongs to the AU.

Conclusion

To conclude, the fact that the human security approach does not stand in a clear place by definition has caused everyone to adapt the part that suits them to their agenda within a certain framework and criteria. Although it is not possible to examine it in detail due to the limitation of the work I have done, I wanted to evaluate the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), African Union (AU) and European Union (EU) that have adopted this approach themselves. Moreover, I looked closer into whether they really diverged from each other as a concept. The reason for this was to examine that if it is possible to take a common stance despite the increasing insecurity of individuals due to reasons such as climate change, epidemics, the migration crisis, and the food crisis. I evaluated how they applied the terms of human security to their policies, which is possible to see closely in the field. As a result of the study, I concluded that the narrowest approach is to NATO due to its political-military features. Then, the broadest approach belongs to AU - at least for now - . due to its current

work and releases with the UN. Lastly, according to the research, the EU is between NATO and AU. Finally, it should not be forgotten that the balances may change with the rapid change of the world, wider studies to be carried out in the future or the changes in the practices, scopes, and policies of the actors.



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