



*Tobias Debiel/Sascha Werthes*  
(Eds.)

**Human Security**  
**on Foreign Policy Agendas**

Changes, Concepts and Cases

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University of Duisburg-Essen  
Universität Duisburg-Essen



## Abstract

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When the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) published its 1994 report, nobody expected that the human security concept outlined within it would attract so much attention from politicians and academics alike. This is all the more astonishing as the concept has provoked a lot of criticism ever since its first appearance due to its excoriated analytical ambiguity and its disputed political appropriateness.

One of the significant *changes* (see Debiel/Werthes) of human security concepts is that they put special emphasis on a horizontal and vertical extension. Thereby, new types of threats are taken into account with regard to a new referent object. Basically, all these *concepts* have in common that the object of security is not limited to the state but also includes the individual – no matter where he/she lives. Hence, these concepts implicitly emphasise that the various safety threats must be addressed through multilateral processes and by taking into account the patterns of interdependence that characterize the globalized world.

As if such an extraordinary extension would not be a big enough challenge for states and the international community as such, Debiel/Werthes and Werthes/Bosold (with regard to the members of the Human Security Network) point out how human security understood and accepted as a political leitmotif might have and might produce significant leverage on foreign policy agendas, as it might serve particular states and multilateral actors by fulfilling selected functions in the process of agenda-setting, decision-making and implementation. This might to a certain degree explain why different and ambiguous human security *concepts* despite criticism have gained so much attention especially in the political field.

The *case studies* by Atanassova-Cornelis, Gropas, and Liotta/Owen further exemplify these aforementioned ideas when illustrating human security on the Japanese foreign policy agenda, or when studying the link between human security and human rights, and even when comparing the European Human Security doctrine with the US National Security Strategy with regard to potentials and limits.

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## Foreword

The long awaited Human Security Report (October 2005), prepared under the leadership of Andrew Mack, or UN-Secretary-General Kofi Annan's Report "In larger Freedom: toward development, security and human rights for all" (March 2005) exemplify that human security is of great interest for foreign, security and development policy. Moreover, it has a great potential to offer for the scientific community.

It all began, more or less, with the 1994 Human Development Report. Over a decade ago, this UNDP Report basically encouraged international initiatives like the Human Security Network and the Commission on Human Security or the campaign leading to the 1997 Convention on Anti-Personnel Landmines that popularized 'human security'. Human security is now a term frequently used in speeches and common to find on web pages of various foreign policy departments (e.g. Canada, Japan, Norway, Switzerland) and research institutes. However, even though "'human security' has entered the lexicon of international politics, the concept nonetheless remains highly controversial" (Hampson 2002: v).

This report summarizes spirited debates on human security with regard to its impact on foreign policy agendas and its practical implications for activities in the policy fields of human development, human rights, and even humanitarian interventions which mainly took place at a panel at the *3<sup>rd</sup> European Consortium for Political Research Conference* in Budapest, September 2005. Originally initiated by the Standing Working Group on Human Security (AG Hum-Sec) at the University of Marburg, the panel "Human Security and/on Foreign Policy Agendas – Theoretical and Practical Implication" was jointly organised with the Institute for Development and Peace (INEF), which runs a project on "Human Security in Theory and Practice" (<http://inef.uni-duisburg.de/page/projekt.php?lang=en>).

The papers presented here hopefully offer the curious reader an interesting and challenging new way of looking at what constitute the main threats to peace and security and how different actors try to respond to it when emphasising 'human security'. Moreover, the papers explore the strength and weakness of human security as a political leitmotif when becoming an organizing principle for foreign policy departments. We were fortunate and privileged to be able to gather an interesting group of international experts: *Elena Atanassova-Cornelis* (University of Leuven), *David Bosold* (University of Marburg), *Ruby Gropas* (Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy, ELIAMEP), *P. H. Liotta* (Pell Center for International Relations and Public Policy, Newport), *Taylor Owen* (Oxford University).

Finally, we like to thank all the paper givers and various contributors in the discussions at the conference in Budapest, as well as the participants of the INEF research colloquiums and the members of the project group for their interesting and helpful feedback.

— *Dr. Tobias Debiel* and *Sascha Werthes*

Duisburg, February 2006



# Human Security on Foreign Policy Agendas: Introduction to Changes, Concepts and Cases

*Sascha Werthes/Tobias Debiel*

Human Security is increasingly shaping foreign policy agendas. The International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) and the Ottawa Treaty as well as the establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC) cannot be understood without referring to the orientation, co-ordination and mobilization enabled by this new “political leitmotif”. Meanwhile, Japan’s development policy and Canada’s foreign policy (see also Switzerland’s Political Affairs Department IV) have incorporated Human Security as one of their core principles and facilitated a more people-centred, bottom-up approach in the field of international assistance and international security policy. Furthermore, the current debate on state sovereignty and intervention strongly leans on the idea that states bear a responsibility to protect the security of their citizens and – if they fail to do so – have to face serious responses from the international community. Last but not least, Javier Solana triggered a controversial debate on a Human Security Doctrine for the EU.

The above-mentioned developments so far do not by themselves indicate a substantive shift in International Relations towards norm-based performance. Especially when taking into account the most recent developments such as the Iraq War (since 2003), U.S. opposition to the ICC, evidence on extra-legal detainments in the “war on terror” etc., even the con-

trary might be true. However, one can nevertheless argue that the discourse on foreign policy goals has changed significantly over the last decade. New international regimes, a more pro-active role of the UN Security Council as well as the setting up of new international institutions prove that this new discourse on a more ‘ethical’ foreign policy has an impact – be it significant or marginal, be it desirable from the observer’s point of view or not.

When the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) published its 1994 report, nobody expected that the human security concept outlined within it would attract so much attention from politicians and academics alike. This is all the more astonishing as the concept has provoked a lot of criticism ever since its first appearance due to its analytical ambiguity and its disputed political appropriateness. However, extending the analytical and contextual focus of *security* as such is not so extraordinary as one might think. Different security concepts such as common, extended, and comprehensive security already broadened the political agendas. What is new and challenging is on the one hand the changing/deepening of the perspective: the individual is to be taken into account as an object of reference in addition to the state. In practical terms this means, as advocates of the human security approach point out, that on



the other hand today's political approaches to security have to more strongly integrate elements of foreign and development policy. This shift might be linked to the rising awareness that if security policy in an interdependent and globalized world is desired to be successful, it has to address more seriously the root causes of insecurity for states, and, equally or even more importantly, for people.

In our introductory article, we briefly sketch how in general the security agenda has been changed in the

last two decades by the horizontal and vertical extension of issues and reference objects. Secondly, we argue that human security provides a powerful "political leitmotif" for particular states and multilateral actors by fulfilling selected functions in the process of agenda-setting, decision-making and implementation. Finally, we introduce the selected case studies dealt with in this report, which nicely illustrate the implications human security as a "political leitmotif" might have.

## 1. Changes: The Extension of the Security Agenda

Far into the 1980s international security politics tended to focus on military threats emanating from other states (Debiel/Werthes 2005: 8, Werthes/Debiel 2006/2007). Most classical definitions (see e.g. Lippman 1943: 51) are based on a state-centred security perspective highlighting the importance of territorial integrity, political independence, survivability, and the capability to protect its own citizens. They assume that most threats are of external origin and, even more importantly, military in nature (Ayooob 1995: 5). Therefore the convincing ability to respond with (overwhelming) military means was regarded as sufficient.

One can easily contest the applicability of this security concept in regard to *today's* world. For example, the wilful neglect of states' sensitivity to situations in neighbour-ring states and strategically important regions is highly problematic in traditional se-

curity concepts. Nye (1974) already pointed out, when analysing the oil crisis (1970s), that in the age of interdependence the security of states can also be endangered by non-military developments (Nye 1974). Furthermore, the adherence to an increasingly outmoded perspective that violent conflicts are still primarily conflicts between states, or inter-state conflicts, neglects the fact that most of the threats to security, especially in the crisis regions of the south, in the Caucasus, and in central Asia, coincide with internal processes of state transformation and consolidation (Ayooob 1995, Paris 2004, Hippler 2005). Finally, the capability of a country to protect its own citizens, which was previously emphasised, clearly asked too much of these classical security concepts, as the new threats which endangered citizens could apparently not be dealt with by military means.



These limits induced the horizontal broadening of the international security agenda. With proponents of the *Strategic Studies* (in the 1980s) and subsequently furthered by *multilateralists* (in the 1990s) step by step new security concepts emerged, mainly referred to as *extended* or *comprehensive* security concepts. These concepts not only incorporated an economic and environmental dimension, they also took into account a broad spectrum of additional threats to the security of states (e.g. cross-border refugee migration, the spread of epidemics, gross violations of human rights). Nevertheless, they did not undermine the Realist logic of conventional Security Studies and remained mainly state-centred in that they still focused on the security of the state and its integrity and not so much on the capability to protect its citizens.

*Common* and *comprehensive* security concepts, on the contrary, imply a slight change in the perception of the world, as the perspective no longer focuses solely on the international system of states, but conceives the world as an international society of states. Basically, the comprehension of the world as an international system of states seduces the analyst to focus primarily on “power politics amongst states, and puts the structure and process of international anarchy at the centre of IR theory” (Buzan 2004a: 7), whereas the perspective of the international society of states “is about the institutionalisation of shared interest and identity amongst states, and puts the creation and maintenance of shared norms, rules and institutions at the centre of IR theory” (Buzan 2004a: 7). Common and comprehensive security thus not only accentuate power, but also emphasise the chances of (inter-national) law to enhance security (of states) or

in other words to address security threats.

When in the 1990s the so-called “Copenhagen School” (CS) emerged, another shift took place. This approach not only broadened (taking in some non-military issues to the range of threats to states), but also emphasized that non-military issues can be considered matters of security even if they are not threatening states (Buzan et al. 1998). It emphasises that threats and vulnerabilities in different areas, military and non-military, have to meet strictly defined criteria “that distinguish them from the normal run of the merely political”, to count as a security issue. “They have to be staged as existential threats to a referent object by a securitizing actor who thereby generates endorsement of emergency measures beyond rules that would otherwise bind” (Buzan et al. 1998: 5). Their framework of analysis is nevertheless criticised for being state-centred even though more subtly (Hough 2004: 9). While accepting “the idea that non-military issues can be securitized and that the referent object of this can be something other than a state”, e.g. societies, the CS still sticks to the idea that it is mainly states which can be the securitizing actor (Hough 2004: 9) and the act of securing threatened people is still left to the state (Hough 2004: 17).

Beside the Copenhagen School approach other security concepts emerged at the end of the 1980s up to the middle of the 1990s, which not only broadened and widened the international security agenda but also deepened<sup>1</sup> it. Maybe the most well-

<sup>1</sup> The perspective we take here is more simplistic than the one taken by the Critical Security Studies approach. When speaking about deepening we simply refer to the level of analysis. On the different notions of deepening see Booth 2005: 14, 15.



known approach of this generation is *human security*. The human security approach attempts to conceptualize the changing nature of security in two ways: 1) by complementing state security; 2) by emphasising and addressing the root causes for (human) insecurity when enhancing human rights and strengthening human development (Glasius/Kaldor 2005: 66; Commission on Human Security 2003: 2). Security threats should not only be dealt with by security policy and military means, but comprehensively also by foreign and development policy and their respective policy tools.

The human security approach stressed and accepted that e.g. extreme economic and social distress, epidemics, the flow of refugees and trans-border migration, transnational terrorism, discrimination and violent repression by neo-patrimonial (authoritarian) elites, the illegal trade of drugs and weapons are all a result or a root cause of insecurity for people in an interdependent world and that therefore a security approach which mainly focuses on state security might not be sufficient enough anymore. However, even more important was the evolving consciousness that situations far away demanded a policy response, as they also produced significant effects in other states and among people living there.

Precisely, to address the results

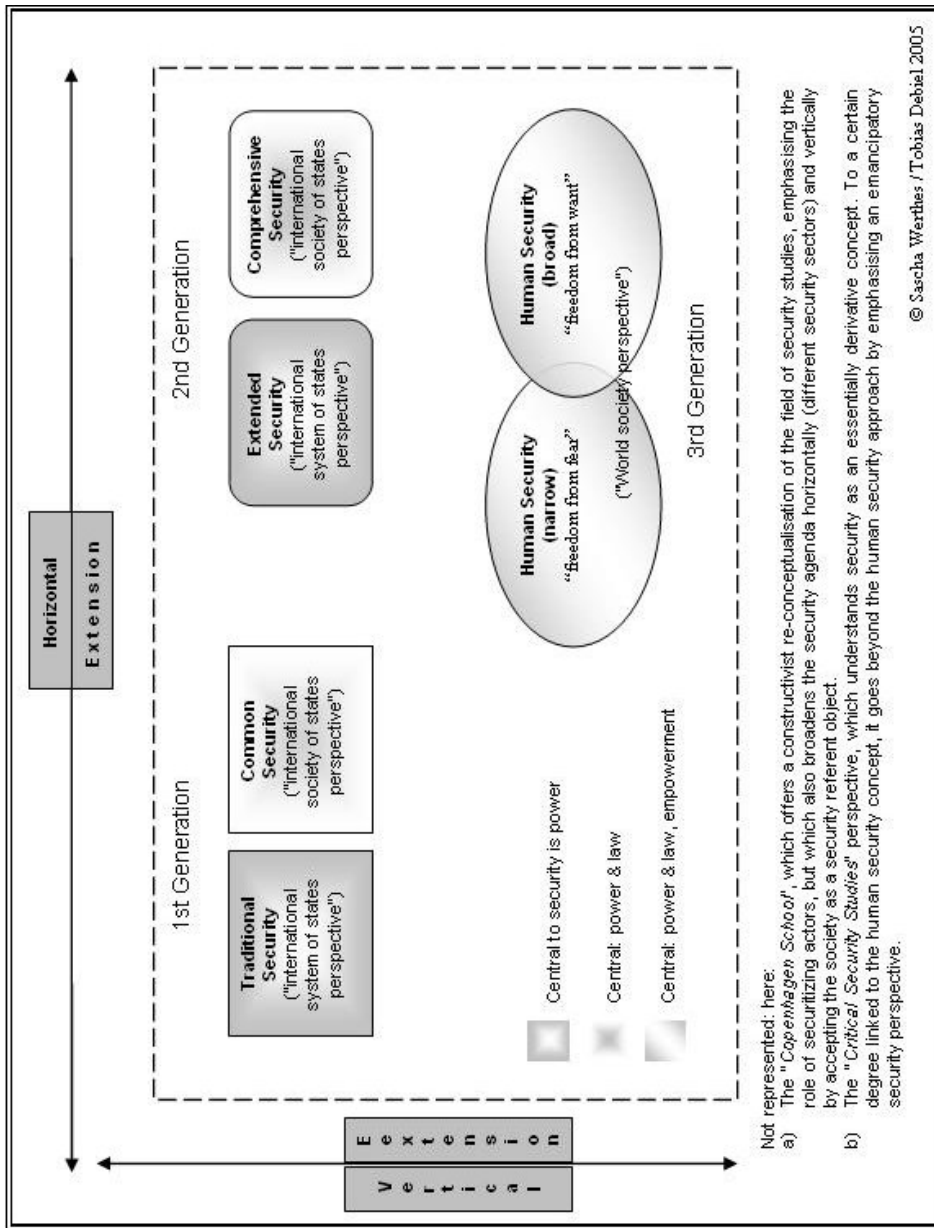
*but more importantly* the root causes of insecurity in today's world, the UNDP (1994) postulated a comprehensive conception of human security. One might argue that the UNDP was at the forefront of postulating the human security approach, as they experienced firsthand the need to acknowledge that human security, either as a prerequisite for or as a necessary accompaniment to human development, is fundamentally pressing. Especially when working in post-conflict situations, the link between (human) security and (human) development becomes obvious. This also might explain why its concept ranges from a narrow *Freedom from Fear* perspective, which addresses threats to the physical and psychological integrity of people, to a broad *Freedom from Want* perspective, which addresses threats to the socio-economic well-being of people.

Despite the astonishing attention in the academic and political sphere human security has gained, for now, a general accepted definition seems not to be on the horizon.<sup>2</sup> Instead of proposing our own "working definition" of human security we try to demonstrate how an understanding of human security as political leitmotif might serve as a reasonable interim solution helping to analyse the significance of human security on foreign policy agendas.

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<sup>2</sup> Maybe one of the most well-known definitions is the one proclaimed by the ICISS (2001: 15): "Human security means the security of people – their physical safety, their economic and social well-being, respect for their dignity and worth as human beings, and the protection of their human rights and fundamental freedoms" (on different descriptions of human security see Alkire 2003).

Figure 1: The Horizontal and Vertical Security Agenda Extension



## 2. Concepts: Human Security as Political Leitmotif

In this report the concept of human security as a political leitmotif (guiding vision) shines through all the various contributions (most clearly in

Werthes/Bosold). But what exactly is meant when speaking of something as a political leitmotif? Political leitmotifs do not image reality – nevertheless they might have analytical value.



In their contribution to this report Werthes and Bosold describe political leitmotifs as “a conceptional theme, to a certain degree clearly defined so as to retain its core identity if modified on subsequent appearances”. Even more importantly, they can be described as a more or less coherent idea which shapes the attitude and performance of actors. They are despite a certain flexibility – or critically ambiguity – coherent patterns of thought. Thus, they help to formulate political agendas or to guide decisions. When implementing policies they provide a relevant referential framework or an important benchmark. With regard to the aforementioned, political leitmotifs, as they contain to a great extent intuition and knowledge based on experience about what is and what should be possible, provide the basis for communication between political and administrative policy-makers, policy-orientated researchers and an interested public.

Political leitmotifs might get ahead and be especially helpful for managing situations of uncertainty and openness when they provide an opportunity for orientation; people can refer to these in cooperation and communication processes either by agreeing or by disagreeing (Dierkes et al. 1995: 12; Dierkes/Marz 1998: 16).<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore, whether they enjoy success depends on their ability to meet certain demands with regard to new or outstanding challenges. Following the sociological research on guiding visions one can postulate that political leitmotifs have to fulfil at least three functions (see Dierkes et al. 1995: 12-17):

1. Explanation and Orientation
2. Coordination and action-related decision guidance
3. Motivation and mobilisation

Elaborating on these functions we try to show how human security conceived as a political leitmotif describes ways to meet demands with regard to new and outstanding security challenges.

*Explanation and Orientation:* After the end of the East-West conflict peace and security policy debates concentrated on the often violent transition of development and transformation societies. Moreover, it became apparent that the world is becoming increasingly interconnected and interdependent. Events in far-away places could have a significant impact somewhere else. The “world” at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was “willing” to deal more than ever with phenomena like transnational terrorism, internal conflicts, failing and failed states – to name only a few – and in addition has to deal with an evidently rising unilateralism of the last remaining superpower, the USA.

Old guiding visions like realism and traditional multilateralism seemed to be insufficient in giving answers and directives on how to understand, respond to or deal with these challenges. They seemed not to fit to the perceived complexity and interdependent interrelatedness which these challenges posed to the world as such. On the one hand guiding visions or political leitmotifs have to be appropriate to these complexities without on the other hand being too restricted in terms of a necessary openness to abstractness and ambiguous complexity. “Human security”, “world risk society” (Beck 1999), and “global neighbourhood” (Commission on Global Governance 1995) have

<sup>3</sup> In the following we adapt and modify ideas by Dierkes et al. 1995, which were originally developed for a social scientific engineering research context.



to prove that they perform better as accurate guiding visions.

For now, one can argue that “human security” manages quite well to smartly integrate various trends and threats or the above-mentioned diffuse interrelated complexities. Be it the promising developments which evolve from the rapid and dynamic spread of human rights and democracy, or the dynamic and barely assessable developments in world economy, or – last but not least – the new security risks and threats originating in the transnationalising of organised crime and terrorism, or the increasing threat with regard to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, global epidemics like HIV/AIDS, or global environmental problems, or massive migration processes, these conflict-laden processes associated with so-called globalisation and its “stepbrother” fragmentation can all be discussed with regard to their implications for “human security”.

Particularly the UNDP, in its 1994 report, illustrates how human security might serve the function of explanation and orientation when it concludes that the main factors and root causes of violence and disrupted development processes can only be dealt with by a people-centred approach focussing on seven security dimensions: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political security. And by naming these dimensions of human security they make them valid benchmarks for a human security framework.

*Coordination and action-related decision guidance:* The above explained explanation/orientation function of political leitmotifs would be of limited use if they did not likewise help to coordinate policy conduct and serve as action-related decision guidance. In

addition to a ability to recognize, systemise and interpret changes and challenges in the world they should facilitate and coordinate goal-oriented action by establishing valid check marks.

Human security clearly leans on a conception of an international norms-oriented effective multilateralism. When guiding the analysis of multidimensional new security threats and the formulation of policies concerning these matters, it obviously supports the engagement of various state, non-state, and multilateral actors.

A prominent example of how human security as political leitmotif functions well as a valid benchmark and policy framework for collective action-oriented peace and security policies might be the Human Security Network (HSN)<sup>4</sup>. For now, one can carefully agree with the self-ascribed description that the “Network plays a catalytic role by bringing international attention to new and emerging issues”. Furthermore, it is stated that this is made possible by “applying a human security perspective to international problems”, where “the Network aims to energize political processes aimed at preventing or solving conflicts and promoting peace and development”

4 “The Network’s current efforts to achieve greater human security include issues such as the universalization of the Ottawa Convention on Anti-personnel Landmines, the establishment of the International Criminal Court, the protection of children in armed conflict, the control of small arms and light weapons, the fight against trans-national organized crime, human development and human security, human rights education, the struggle against HIV/AIDS, addressing implementation gaps of international humanitarian and human rights law, and conflict prevention” (<http://www.humansecuritynetwork.org/network-e.php>).



(<http://www.humansecuritynetwork.org/network-e.php>). Under the guiding vision of human security the network pursues security policies that focus on the protection and security requirement of the individual and society by promoting freedom from fear and freedom from want. This means, in concrete terms, protecting and promoting human rights, the rule of law, democratic governance and democratic structures, a culture of peace and the peaceful resolution of conflicts.

*Motivation and mobilisation:* Nevertheless, political leitmotifs would stay politically inoperative if they did not – in addition to explanation/orientation and coordination/action-oriented guidance – help to significantly fulfil a third function. This is to motivate and mobilise concerned actors. And with regard to sociological and social-psychological findings, that is best guaranteed when leitmotifs stimulate not only the cognitive potentials of humans but also their emotional and affective personality as such (Dierkes et al. 1995: 15-16). This explains to a certain degree why discourses about leitmotifs and existing alternatives are sometimes – due to the fact that they are closely interrelated with norms, values and ideals – conducted in such a vehement manner (Dierkes et al. 1995: 17).

Security policy oriented leitmotifs most notably perform this motivation and mobilising function when they either serve as a positive and open integrative or a negative-segregative identification model. Nevertheless, in both ways facilitating and stimulating the coordination of collectives.

“Negative” Leitmotifs which produce concepts of “the other” stimulate social-psychological mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion, of

in-group and out-group formation. Certain negative aspects of behaviour shape the concept of the enemy (Feindbild - foe image/bogeyman image). Other aspects or even change in behaviour or attitude, which might be associated with a willingness to cooperate or as confidence-building measures, will then be ignored, devaluated, or interpreted as cheap tricks.

In contrast, multilateralists tend towards leitmotifs which create positive integrative possibilities for identification. Both the guiding vision of a “global neighbourhood” of the Commission on Global Governance (1995) and the UNDP-proclaimed leitmotif of “human security” take accurate aim at reducing the spatial and emotional distance when appealing to (international) solidarity and compassion. The evolving comprehension of complex patterns, relationships, and interdependencies in wars/internal conflicts or situations of underdevelopment is evoked by reasoning with analogies: the well-known action-oriented contexts of e.g. every individual’s own neighbourhood or everyday life experience with regard to similar needs, worries, and fears is designed to foster empathy and understanding. And this, together with the underlined notion and comprehension of proximity and transnational interrelatedness of situations here and there, motivates and mobilises.

Whether leitmotifs like these are able to motivate and mobilise not only a critical public but also political decision-makers remains an open question. Nevertheless, the UNDP has surely proven that human security inside the UN system and with regard to world conferences already has a certain motivating and mobilising impact. Furthermore, when looking at

middle powers like Canada and Japan, or at the members of the HSN, or latterly at the EU, one can observe that the leitmotif of human security

has the potential to motivate and mobilize collective reflections and perhaps also collective action in the world of states.



### 3. Cases: Human Security on Selected Foreign Policy Agendas

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Human security concepts vary widely, as the various case studies in this report illustrate. For example, the Canadian and Norwegian government and to a certain degree the HSN focus on a narrow conception of human security, mainly addressing 'Freedom from fear' aspects, that is physical violence, especially in violent conflicts. Accordingly, under certain well-defined circumstances interventions in the internal affairs of a sovereign state can be legitimised. Put differently, it is argued that in cases of imminent direct threats to the survival of people, as in Rwanda in 1994, the international community has to fulfil its responsibility to protect and act respectively. Furthermore, the narrow approach focuses for example on the banning of anti-personnel landmines, the establishment of the International Criminal Court, and the stopping of the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in conflict zones.

*Sascha Werthes* and *David Bosold* refer to the goal of the HSN to stop the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in conflict zones in their case study. By juxtaposing rhetorical claims/pretension and actual political action with regard to policy dynamics, they critically assess the potential and limits of political leitmo-

tifs in general and of human security in concrete terms. They argue that an analysis which emphasises the role of language is well-suited to yield additional insights in order to come to grips with the fluidity of political leitmotifs such as e.g. human security. Moreover, they illustrate that political leitmotifs can successfully include ethical dimensions. The advantage of human security as a political leitmotif is, then, that the ethical/normative dimensions do not refer to the state but rather focus on the individual, thereby allowing a broader variety of actors to commit themselves to this specific goal. Furthermore, because the leitmotif is so flexible and multifaceted it represents a window of opportunity for like-minded countries and actors to work on at least certain issues of human security by contributing resources and expertise in fields of paramount importance to them. Therefore, overemphasizing the shortcomings of leitmotifs means to underestimate their potential, which exactly relies on its ambiguity/ flexibility (similar but more critically with regard to the ambiguity aspect Paris 2001).

As pointed out, the broad conception of human security emphasises that the security *and* well-being of individuals has an effect on the security



and well-being of other individuals. For example, extreme poverty might lead to crime or migration, or more drastically to trans-border criminal networks engaging in human, arms, and drug trafficking. The incapability of one state to deal with the spread of HIV/AIDS, SARS, or Dengue fever might lead in a globalized world to an increased spread of the epidemic in the whole world, threatening the survival and well-being of individuals everywhere. This broad approach, emphasised e.g. by UNDP and the Japanese government, no longer allows for a clear-cut juxtaposition of (human) security and (human) development policies, as it not only addresses threats to the survival but also to the well-being of the people. It therefore demands a policy of protection and empowerment (Commission on Human Security 2003).

Japan stands as the perfect example for having this broad conception of human security on the foreign policy agenda. *Elena Atanassova-Cornelis* therefore analyses Japan's path to human security, the introduction and definition of the leitmotif in the Japanese context, and Japan's concrete initiatives for its implementation. The paper demonstrates that both the conceptualisation and the practical implementation of this notion by Japan reflect the Japanese historical and normative background, and the country's particular preference for non-military and human-centred foreign policy. Thus, this paper argues that instead of trying to make human security a coherent concept, scholars should accept its multifaceted nature. Hence, it should be analysed from the perspective of different actors, whose approaches to the 'leitmotif' may be an expression of actors' specific backgrounds and policy preferences. A deeper understand-

ing of why human security is attractive to different actors and why they emphasise different variants or priorities, might allow scholars to point out where the chances for joint policy projects are highest. Moreover, this gives preliminary answers to the question why certain political leitmotifs gain more attention or are more attractive than others.

*Atanassova-Cornelis* illustrates in great detail how human security has become for Japan an instrument for foreign policy actions in line with the country's historical context and international behaviour after World War II. Explicitly accentuating the changing nature of security, the Japanese approach places particular emphasis on human needs and human development, which is materialised in practice through its ODA policy. Human security, in the Japanese case, reflects the values of its society as it is dedicated to peace and permeated by anti-militarism, and strongly opposed to coercive means, such as the use of force. Yet the Japanese approach also stresses the need to prevent conflicts and to deal with their consequences for humans. Against this background, human security is a rather natural extension of Japan's non-military security agenda, as well as a possibility for Japanese policy-makers to increase the country's role in international peace and security.

The extent to which human security as a political leitmotif can be incorporated in the European conceptualisation of security, as well as the extent to which it is increasingly becoming a point of reference, and fulfils a function of orientation, is explored by *Ruby Gropas*. Her twofold approach on the one hand exemplifies (in a similar manner to *Atanassova-Cornelis*) how human security is



linked to Europe's historical and normative background with regard to the special emphasis human rights have in Europe. And on the other hand, she suggests that EU institutions can have an instrumental role in enabling Member States to adopt common positions that pro-mote the respect of human rights by providing narratives of mutual identification of what constitutes a threat to their security and of the means through which to address current challenges.

Gropas convincingly argues that should human security become an orientation for a "European" foreign policy, it has to be in line with the EU's understanding of human rights and it should adhere to the EU's tradition of fostering projects of multilateralism and of promoting a rule-based international order. She argues that the further underpinning of the European Security Strategy with the proposed Human Security Doctrine would widen the scope for cultivating the respect and the protection of fundamental human rights and freedoms while addressing global and regional security challenges.

*P. H. Liotta and Taylor Owen* go one step further when analysing the manner in which the publication of the 'European Security Strategy' in 2003 and 'A Human Security Doctrine for Europe' in 2004 has proposed a shift in the focus of EU's security mandate from the sovereign rights of

nation-states to the protection of individual citizens. They show how the European security strategy stands in notable contrast to the September 17, 2002 'National Security Strategy of the United States of America'. Their analysis gives first insights on the possible strategy in which the EU will use human security as a political leit-motif to coordinate its foreign and security policy action and how it functions as action-related guidance for decisions. They conclude that while it is only a preliminary and still problematic strategy, the EU has taken a significant first step towards conceptualizing the matching of its force capability with the reality of contemporary human insecurity.

Liotta/Owen point out where the limits and pitfalls of these new developments lie. For now it remains unclear, for example, how the EU will truly broaden its capabilities to respond with an overarching human security policy – other than simply addressing the necessity to act. For there is still a long way to go for the EU to be ready to intervene when necessary, and to have the organization and structure to do it. Equally challenging is the complexity of finding decisions for organizing the common budget with regard to long-term investment and planning. Nevertheless, Liotta/Owen emphasise and illustrate that at least a constructive and interesting dialogue has begun.

## 4. Conclusion

The security landscape has changed and, as we have pointed out and the papers will in more detail, the

old security concepts are no longer adequate for coping with the "new" security threats in an interdependent



world. In contrast, the concept of human security is increasingly shaping foreign policy agendas.

Human security helps – however vaguely – with the conceptualisation of the broad range of currently perceived threats. More-over, it offers a normative reference point for evaluating and orientating policies and political instruments: the security and protection of the individual. It thereby demands creativity and flexibility when deciding on policy strategies and policy instruments.

Especially with regard to policy strategies and policy instruments, the “flexibility” of human security allows the various actors on the one hand to give the approach their own flavour and on the other hand to offer the chance for concerted policy projects. Japan, as is pointed out by Atanassova-Cornelis, addresses human security from a human needs oriented perspective, which makes it not always easy to differentiate this from a human development policy, but which is therefore coherent and compatible with Japanese’ post-World War II foreign policy tradition. In line with her, Gropas argues that the strength of human security lies in its capability to be linked with a specific country’s (or actor’s) tradition, perception of the world, or simply with certain policy priorities. With regard to the EU, she points out the linkages between human security and human rights therefore, arguing convincingly that a European human security concept, in contrast to a Japanese one, should be focussed on human rights. Liotta/Owen likewise take a close

look at the EU, but while also seeing a shift in the focus of EU’s security concept from the sovereign rights of nation-states to the protection of individual citizens, they remain to a certain degree sceptical about the velocity with which the EU can live up to its own ideas which are being developed at the present. This is exactly what Werthes and Bosold do in their case study. After having explicated how comprehending human security as a political leitmotif might help to understand why in the case of the Human Security Network various states work together, they look into how far their claims really produce substantive results.

In sum, Canada and Japan have proven already that human security, despite its current definitional ambiguity, can serve as a political leitmotif, and helps to formulate policy agendas leading to substantial results (e.g. the Ottawa Process and the establishment of the ICC). In the case of the EU, the papers show that despite being an element in an orientation process of the EU’s foreign and security policy, it remains an open question whether human security as a political leitmotif will also serve the other functions. The flexibility and fluidity of the human security leitmotif, sure enough, allow different (international) actors to focus on and prioritise different aspects of today’s and tomorrow’s insecurities. This additionally and advantageously might permit collaborative efforts of various inter-national actors, as long as political inventiveness is maintained (Bosold/Werthes 2005: 101).



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## NOTES ON THE EDITORS AND AUTHORS

**Elena Atanassova-Cornelis**, M.A. (Japanese Studies), Doctoral candidate at the Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium.

E-Mail: elena.atanassova@arts.kuleuven.be

**David Bosold**, Dipl.-Pol., Speaker of the Working Group on Human Security at the University Marburg, AG HumSec, PhD candidate at the University of Marburg.

E-Mail: david.bosold@humansecurity.de

**Tobias Debiel**, Dr. sc. pol., Executive Director of the Institute for Development and Peace (Institut für Entwicklung und Frieden, INEF), University of Duisburg-Essen.

E-Mail: tobias.debiel@inef.uni-duisburg.de

**Ruby Gropas**, PhD, Research Fellow, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP).

E-Mail: ruby@eliamep.gr

**P. H. Liotta**, MFA, PhD, Professor of Humanities at Salve Regina University and Executive Director of the Pell Center for International Relations and Public Policy in Newport, Rhode Island, USA.

E-Mail: peter.liotta@salve.edu

**Taylor Owen**, M.A., Doctoral candidate at Jesus College, Oxford University and Canadian Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council Doctoral Scholar.

E-Mail: taylor.owen@jesus.ox.ac.uk

**Sascha Werthes**, Dipl.-Soz.-Wiss., Assistant Researcher at the INEF. Coordinator of the AG HumSec, PhD candidate at the Center for Conflict Studies, University Marburg.

E-Mail: sascha.werthes@humansecurity.de

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Geibelstraße 41 D - 47057 Duisburg

Phone +49 (203) 379 4420 Fax +49 (203) 379 4425

E-Mail: [inef@uni-duisburg.de](mailto:inef@uni-duisburg.de),

Homepage: <http://www.inef.de>

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**Institute for Development and Peace**  
Geibelstraße 41 D - 47057 Duisburg  
Phone +49 (203) 379 4420 Fax +49 (203) 379 4425  
E-Mail: [inef@uni-duisburg.de](mailto:inef@uni-duisburg.de)  
Homepage: <http://www.inef.de>

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