AN
INTRODUCTION TO
NON-TRADITIONAL
SECURITY
STUDIES
A TRANSNATIONAL APPROACH
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UNDERSTANDING NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY

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CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

This chapter discusses the evolution of the non-traditional security concept and approach, focusing on:

- The contestations over what 'security' means after the end of the Cold War
- The development of non-traditional security and Human Security
- Non-traditional security in relation to Human Security and comprehensive security
- A framework for non-traditional security.

'SECURITY' AFTER THE END OF THE COLD WAR

Scholars of International Relations and Security Studies often refer to the end of the Cold War as a watershed event. The changes in the security landscape that followed – the reconfiguration of great power politics after the fall of the Soviet Union, and the emergence of latent intrastate conflicts and a host of societal and environmental problems that posed severe threats to the well-being of states and societies – led analysts and policymakers to question the very basis of what security meant.

Yet almost two decades since scholars began to rethink the meaning of security, there remains no consensus. There are however strands that have gained a firmer foothold within that contested space. Among them is non-traditional security. In the next sections, we trace the beginnings of non-traditional security, and its evolution both as a concept and an approach.

INSIGHT: Snapshots of Change

While the post-Cold War era saw a decline in the risks of major armed conflict and interstate wars (Human Security Centre, 2005), an entire gamut of other threats became more salient.

- From the disturbing images of burning villages in Europe's Bosnia-Herzegovina where multi-ethnic societies that had once coexisted peacefully were torn asunder by ethnic cleansing, to the visceral pictures of mutilated bodies as people in Rwanda, Africa, suffered the horrors of genocide, the world soon realized that the peace that prevailed during the Cold War era was fragile.
- The images of hundreds of thousands of people forcefully displaced by internal conflicts crammed in refugee camps across the globe, as well as the hundred others that move irregularly from one territory to the other, pushed out by extreme poverty and deprivation but only to fall prey to human traffickers and smugglers, underscore how porous state borders have become. The recognition that borders do not stop massive movements of people has led to societal unease and perceptions of threats to national sovereignty.
- Stark pictures of deserted farms and lands whose surfaces have cracked under severe climatic conditions caused by rising global temperatures; searing images of hungry and malnourished communities living in squalid conditions; patterns of polluted skies, rivers and waterways standing against empty taps; pictures of child soldiers brandishing small arms and light weapons and men waving flags symbolizing extremist and terrorist movements – all these and more reflect the turbulent and challenging security environment we find ourselves in today.

These challenges, seen in almost every part of the world, cannot but raise questions about what a secure world means in contemporary times for different people from different parts of the world.

CHALLENGING 'TRADITIONAL' SECURITY

To understand non-traditional security, we need to go back to the 'traditional' security concept, that is, the notions of security that dominated International Relations and Security Studies thinking during the Cold War. More will be said about this in Chapter 2 in the section on Neorealism, but at this point, it suffices to observe that the traditional security framing was state-centric and military-oriented.

The main argument against the traditional conception of security then is that its emphasis on state and territorial integrity to maintain order in an anarchical world ignores other drivers of 'disorder' emanating from conflicts – those that are not primarily caused by interstate wars but which derive from issues related to people's identities, histories and resources: the ethnic conflicts that haunted Bosnia-Herzegovina, the genocide in Rwanda, and the war in Darfur that can be traced to water conflicts are some examples. Also, with the key centres of the study of International Relations being located in Europe and the US, traditional conceptualizations of security have tended to reflect the worldview and interests of the West.

Such arguments found a lot of traction in the developing world, particularly in post-colonial Asia and Africa where civil wars, separatist movements, ethnic and communal tensions, political instability as well as economic disparities had been identified as main security concerns. This generated the so-called 'postcolonial' approach to security which, while challenging traditional notions of security, also aimed to counter the Eurocentrism of Security Studies (see Chapter 2, p. 31).

THE GROWTH OF NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY

What is 'non-traditional security'? At the broadest level, non-traditional conceptions of security could refer to a shift away from the state-centric, military focus of traditional security paradigms. This however spans much territory, as our survey of post-Cold War contributions to security thinking in Chapter 2 will show. In this chapter therefore, we discuss non-traditional security with reference to specific developments originating from an epistemic community in Asia.

The evolution of non-traditional security both as a concept and an approach to Security Studies owes much to the postcolonial approach and security thinking from the Third World. More importantly, its development is also driven by the desire of some scholars from the global South to make the language of security more relevant to and representative of the kind of contemporary challenges that seriously affect people's security in the developing world.

One of the more visible developments in the enterprise of reconceptualizing security is the work done by a number of scholars from research institutions across Asia who began to map out the different kinds of security challenges that were considered most relevant in their respective domains. The exercise of research-sharing and institutional networking among institutions in Asia was supported by grants from the Ford Foundation starting from the early to mid-2000s. This soon led to the development of a nucleus of a unique epistemic community in Asia dealing with what they considered as 'non-traditional security' issues.

This community called itself the Consortium of Non-Traditional Security Studies in Asia (NTS-Asia) comprising initially of 14 institutions across Asia and led by the Centre for Non-Traditional Security Studies at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) of Nanyang Technological University in Singapore. Officially founded in 2003, the main objectives of NTS-Asia were to promote the study of non-traditional security, consolidate existing research on related issues, as well as to mainstream and push ahead the field of non-traditional security in the discipline of International Relations and Security Studies (Caballero-Anthony et al., 2006).

Aside from promoting the study of non-traditional security issues, the epistemic community also set itself the task of operationalizing the notion of non-traditional security:

> Non-traditional security issues are challenges to the survival and well-being of peoples and states that arise primarily out of non-military sources, such as climate change, resource scarcity, infectious diseases, natural disasters, irregular migration, food shortages, people smuggling, drug trafficking and transnational crime. These dangers are often transnational in scope, defying unilateral remedies and requiring comprehensive – political, economic, social – responses, as well as humanitarian use of military force. (NTS-Asia, cited in Caballero-Anthony et al., 2006: 6)

CONCEPT: Characteristics of Non-traditional Security Threats

Non-traditional security focuses on non-military threats with these common characteristics:

- The threats are transnational in nature with regard to their origins, conceptions and effects.
- They do not stem from competition between states or shifts in the balance of power, but are often defined in political and socioeconomic terms.
- Non-traditional security issues such as resource scarcity and irregular migration cause societal and political instability and hence become threats to security.
- Other threats like climate change are often caused by human-induced disturbances to the fragile balance of nature with dire consequences to both states and societies which are often difficult to reverse or repair.
- National solutions are often inadequate and would thus essentially require regional and multilateral cooperation.
- The referent of security is no longer just the state (state sovereignty or territorial integrity), but also the people (survival, well-being, dignity) both at individual and societal levels.

Source: Caballero-Anthony et al. (2006)

Since scholarly work on non-traditional security began, the concept has found traction in Asia's policy community. This is reflected in the official deliberations of regional institutions such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the ASEAN Plus Three, the ASEAN Regional Forum and the East Asia Summit, as well as in non-official, track two networks like the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP) and the ASEAN Institutes of Strategic and International Studies (ASEAN-ISIS). Civil society groups across the region have also identified with and promoted non-traditional security issues in their advocacy work. More significantly, non-traditional security has now become part of the security lexicon not only within Asia but also beyond the region.

Thus, as non-traditional security scholarship matures, it is important to recognize that just like other theories and approaches, non-traditional security is a 'product of its time and place' in a rapidly changing global environment (in line with Cox's (1981) argument that the purpose of theory is to be able to address the *problematique* of the world within the context of its time and place).

HUMAN SECURITY

Among the several theoretical approaches that emerged which challenged the traditional state-centric paradigm of security, and has had a tremendous impact on the development of non-traditional security, is the notion of Human Security. It is useful to discuss here the evolution of Human Security and examine the salience of this concept to non-traditional security.

The 1994 Human Development Report

Human Security made its initial foray into the world of International Relations at around the same time as the discipline was going through its own crisis after the end of the Cold War. Most writings on Human Security traced this concept to the 1994 *Human Development Report* prepared by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The thrust of the report drew largely from a seminal paper by the late Mahbub ul Haq, a development economist from Pakistan, who framed the compelling question: *security for whom*?

CONCEPT: Human Security: Security for Whom?

Haq (1994: 1) argued for a new concept of security 'that is reflected in the lives of the people, not in the weapons of our country'. According to him, security should be interpreted as:

- 'security of people, not just security of territory'
- 'security of individuals, not just security of nations'

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- 'security through development, not security through arms'
- 'security of all the people everywhere – in their homes, in their jobs, in their streets, in their communities, in their environment'.

In its simplest form, Human Security is therefore about protecting individuals.

The UNDP Report which offered the first operationalization of the concept presented two main aspects of Human Security. First, Human Security means 'safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression', and second, it means 'protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life – whether in homes, in jobs or in communities' (UNDP, 1994: 23).

The Report goes further to outline the seven elements of Human Security, namely: economic security, food security, health security, environment security, personal security, community security and political security. Given the breadth of the UNDP's operation, the truncated definition of Human Security became that of **freedom from fear** and **freedom from want**.

Conceptual Challenges

While Human Security gained wide acceptance from development economists, on a parallel track was also the robust discourse that took place among security specialists who had argued for a similar revisionist thinking on security (see Chapter 2). At that time, the general sentiments can be summed up in two arguments:

- Shift the security referent from the state to the individual
- Expand the meaning of security beyond the state-centric, military-focused security.

Despite the keen interest that Human Security generated among those scholars, the excitement soon dissipated when there was no consensus on the definitional parameters of Human Security. Security specialists argued that the range of concerns addressed by Human Security was too extensive, and would overload the security agenda, consequently rendering the concept too ambiguous to use. Buzan (2001: 583), for instance, noted that 'Human Security is a problematic concept, particularly when taken to be part of the analysis of international security, as opposed to various other meanings of security mostly active within a domestic context'.

To address concerns that the scope of Human Security was too wide, covering issues from freedom from fear to freedom from want, scholars like Suhrke (1999) argued that Human Security should focus only on 'vulnerability' as its defining feature, which in this instance referred to three categories of victims: those of war and internal conflict; those living at or below subsistence levels; and those who are victims of natural disasters. Others, however, preferred that the focus be even more limited, and confined to freedom from

fear of man-made physical violence, referred to as direct, personal violence. Lodgaard (2001) was among many writers who argued for a narrower definition of Human Security confined to 'vulnerability to physical violence during conflict'.

Soon, many scholars pushed for a more focused definition of Human Security to enhance the analytical value of the concept. Mack (2004: 367) argued that broadening the conception of Human Security to include almost all forms of harm to individuals, from affronts to personal dignity to genocide, may have some advocacy value but comes at a real analytic cost: '[a] concept that aspires to explain almost everything in reality explains nothing'. Krause (2004) argued that Human Security should be properly delimited. According to him, a broad vision of Human Security would make the concept nothing more than a shopping list of a wide range of issues that have no necessary link; without clear parameters, the concept would be useless to both policymakers and analysts. Hence, Human Security should focus solely on freedom from fear – from the threat or use of violence – so as to link it to a powerful and coherent practical and intellectual agenda (Krause, 2004).

Other scholars, however, preferred a more flexible interpretation of the concept. One definition sought to view the 'bases of [human] security as a comprehensive and integrated matrix of needs and rights, from which all individual and social values can flourish and be optimized' (van Ginkel and Newman, 2000: 60). Another defines Human Security as 'the absence of threat to … core values, including the most basic human value, the physical safety of the individual'; other core values mentioned are the protection of basic liberties, economic needs and interests (Hampson et al., 2002: 4).

Freedom from Fear and/or Freedom from Want?

As Human Security advocates push their case for either narrowing or widening the definition, finding a delicate balance between freedom from fear and freedom from want was soon at the centre of the debates.

Table 1.1 Human Security's Freedoms

	Freedom from Fear	**Freedom from Want**
Threats Addressed	Threats that could lead to loss of life and physical harm	Threats that hinder the ability to achieve basic material needs and human dignity
Issues Covered	Situations of conflict (violence, genocide, organized crimes, among others)	Adequate access to basic necessities (such as food, clothing, housing and medical care) and community security, among others
Responses	Responses as with freedom from want but may also include humanitarian intervention	Encouraging development, good governance, human rights promotion, democracy

In an attempt to craft a middle ground, Alkire (2004) asserts that the key struggle for Human Security is to identify priority issues without the concept itself being dissipated. Thus, the ultimate aim in advancing Human Security is to create an alternative security framework that addresses security issues beyond state sovereignty while remaining narrowly focused on severe and pervasive threats to human freedoms and human fulfilment.

Similarly, Paris (2001) notes that while the definitional expansiveness and ambiguity of Human Security prevent it from being a useful tool of analysis and offers little practical guidance to scholars who might be interested in applying it and to policymakers who must prioritize among competing policy agenda, the concept's strength nonetheless lies in its holism and inclusiveness, in encompassing a range of non-military threats, and more significantly, in examining primarily the security of individuals, groups and societies rather than focusing on external threats to states (Paris, 2001). As such, Human Security can be established as a distinct branch of security studies that explores the particular conditions of individuals, groups and societies and the security threats to their survival that are not covered by state-centric traditional security studies. Thus, Paris suggests that Human Security may serve as a research category that can broaden and deepen Security Studies.

HUMAN SECURITY'S IMPACT ON POLICY

The Human Security Network

In spite of the unsettled debates on the analytical value of the Human Security concept, these discourses had nonetheless created enough momentum to generate critical policy support for its broad objectives from a growing constituency of countries and civil society groups. One important constituency has been the Human Security Network established in 1999 by Norway in partnership with the Canadian and Swiss governments. The network comprises Austria, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Greece, Ireland, Jordan, Mali, the Netherlands, Norway, Slovenia, South Africa (observer), Switzerland and Thailand.

The Human Security Network (1999) identified 10 important issues for the Human Security agenda, namely, anti-personnel landmines, small arms, children in armed conflict, international humanitarian and human rights law, international criminal proceedings, exploitation of children, safety of humanitarian personnel, conflict prevention, transnational organized crime, and resources for development.

Beyond building networks, governments like Canada and Japan also made Human Security a key feature in their foreign policy. But even as some governments made significant efforts to advance the practice of Human Security, finding the delicate balance between freedom from fear and freedom from want became problematic. The policies taken by Canada and Japan to promote Human Security reflected this conundrum.

Sovereignty as Responsibility

Canada's focus was on freedom from fear, and this led its government to sponsor a report by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) published in 2001. The report introduced the concept of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P).

R2P advanced the idea of 'sovereignty as responsibility' as a norm for states to observe in order to promote Human Security. The central propositions of the report were two-fold:

- State sovereignty implies responsibility and the primary responsibility for the protection of its people lies with the state itself.
- Where a population is suffering serious harm, as a result of internal war, insurgency, repression or state failure, and the state in question is unwilling or unable to halt or avert it, the principle of non-intervention yields to the international responsibility to protect.

The bold, yet innovative, semantic crafting of 'sovereignty as responsibility' drew a mixed response from the international community. Many states, particularly those in Asia, were sceptical of R2P, with some perceiving the notion as a Trojan horse for stronger states to intervene in the affairs of weaker states. Nevertheless the idea that a state can be held responsible for its failure to protect its own citizens from human rights atrocities was a dramatic departure from the sacrosanct principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of states.

Freedom to Live in Dignity

Japan, on the other hand, espoused a more comprehensive approach to Human Security. To promote this approach, it sponsored the establishment of the Commission on Human Security in 2001. Co-chaired by Sadako Ogata of Japan and Amartya Sen, a Nobel Laureate in Economics, the Commission aimed to promote a greater understanding of the concept given the concerns at that time about the implications for state sovereignty and the principle of non-interference. The Commission's report in 2003, *Human Security Now*, described Human Security as encompassing both freedom from want and freedom from fear, as well as freedom to live in dignity. The inclusion of 'freedom to live in dignity' was significant, as it stressed the facet of empowerment, which enables individuals and communities to protect themselves against the range of Human Security threats that they face.

From the above narrative on the development of Human Security (for a more recent review, see Pitsuwan and Caballero-Anthony, 2014), two observations can be made. First, the initial attempt to socialize the concept of Human Security in the international community generated more division than convergence on the objectives of Human Security. Aside from the criticism that Human Security was too broad and unnecessarily vague, there was also the split between those preferring a narrower definition of Human Security – i.e. freedom from fear – and those that were more comfortable with a more development-oriented notion of Human Security that emphasized the impact of poverty, food and health insecurity, among others, particularly on the most vulnerable sections of society (the poor, women, children, the elderly). Underpinning this division is the question of whether Human Security should include the possibility of the use of force through **humanitarian intervention** to protect individuals from threats of physical violence. As noted earlier, the introduction of R2P only heightened this concern.

Second, despite the divisions, efforts to promote Human Security continued. These efforts can be seen along two tracks – academic and policy. On one side, scholars continued to work on refining the concept and trying to bridge the gap in the understanding

and application of the concept (Hubert, 2004; Krause, 2004; Newman, 2004; Thakur, 2004; Martin and Owen, 2010).

On the other side, efforts were also made to advance Human Security as a useful policy framework in defining areas for multilateral cooperation at various levels in the international arena. Japan, together with Slovenia and Thailand, has been leading this effort through the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security. Among the areas that have been identified are developmental assistance and humanitarian projects.

Human Security received a further boost when former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan made it the centrepiece of a report in 2005 titled *In Larger Freedom*. Stressing the importance of Human Security as an effective framework for addressing many of the security challenges confronting the international community at large, he remarked that:

> When the UN Charter speaks of 'larger freedom,' it includes the basic political freedoms to which all human beings are entitled. But it also goes beyond them, encompassing what President Franklin Roosevelt called 'freedom from want' and 'freedom from fear.' Both our security and our principles have long demanded that we push forward all these frontiers of freedom, conscious that progress on one depends on and reinforces progress on the others. In the last 60 years, rapid technological advances, increasing economic interdependence, globalization, and dramatic geopolitical change have made this imperative only more urgent. (Annan, 2005)

In sum, while the controversy over Human Security may have divided the global community between those advocating for the more narrow freedom from fear (a position associated with the Western governments that promoted the concept) and those preferring a more balanced approach that also recognized the development elements of Human Security (typically those from the East) (Acharya, 2001), the seeds of Human Security thinking had nonetheless been planted. This has opened up pathways for the development of approaches that drew their inspiration from the concept of Human Security.

COMPREHENSIVE SECURITY

The controversies and criticisms that Human Security had engendered provided more impetus for greater scholarship and policy discourses on security in the developing world, particularly in Asia. If the post-Cold War era and the restructuring of global politics were the landmark events that influenced the growth of Human Security, to the developing world it was the impact of the 1997 Asian financial crisis and the political transitions that occurred in some Asian states that triggered widespread interest among scholars to actively engage in contemporary security discourses. While joining the debates on the problems and prospects of Human Security (Tow et al., 2000; Acharya, 2001; Caballero-Anthony, 2004), these scholars also found the exercise useful in bringing to life some of the concepts of security originating from the region.

Some scholars in Asia observe that while Human Security is a novel concept, many of its elements are actually complementary to the region's own notion of comprehensive security (Acharya, 2001; Caballero-Anthony, 2004). Comprehensive security defines security

as '[going] beyond but does not exclude the military threats to embrace the political, economic and socio-cultural dimensions' (Alagappa, 1988). As one security analyst points out, the region has always regarded security as multidimensional and comprehensive in nature (Hassan, 1995: 137–45). Comprehensive security, in fact, has been an organizing concept of security in many countries in Southeast Asia (including Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand) as well as in Japan. Human Security is thus not necessarily an alien concept to the region, especially when measured against comprehensive security (Acharya and Acharya, 2000).

Yet, while comprehensive security offers a broader conceptualization of security, the referent of security is still the state, whereas Human Security privileges individuals and communities. In fact, several studies on security in Asia had shown that comprehensive security was for a long time associated with the notion of the security of regimes from all possible threats (for example, Alagappa, 1998). The privileging of state security also meant that issues of human rights and Human Security were secondary to concerns about regime security. This was particularly the case for authoritarian regimes in Southeast Asia (Acharya, 2001; Sukma, 2001; Caballero-Anthony, 2004).

Thus, when discourses on Human Security filtered through to the region, many officials claimed its lack of relevance, particularly when the idea of R2P emerged. It took the impact of the 1997 Asian financial crisis for Human Security to find some traction – at least in the policy discourses in the region. Asia's experience during the crisis revealed how, in an interconnected world, a financial crisis could easily spiral into a contagious, transnational crisis of magnified proportions resulting in rapid deterioration of economies of the region, and sparking societal tensions, racial riots and political instability within a very short period (JCIE and ISEAS, 1998; World Bank, 1998).

The aftermath of the Asian financial crisis challenged the notion of comprehensive security as increasingly the plight of vulnerable groups and societies that had suffered as a consequence of the economic crisis was exposed. The impact of the crisis opened the door for scholars to promote Human Security as an alternative to comprehensive security (for Asian debates on Human Security, see Tow et al., 2000; Thiparat, 2001; Caballero-Anthony, 2004). Essentially, advocates of the Human Security framework have called for a rethinking of security by expanding the security referent beyond the state to include the chronic and complex insecurities commonly faced by individuals and societies.

However, unlike earlier writings on Human Security that clearly advocated replacing the security referent (i.e. for humans to be the main security referent, and not the state), the arguments about who the security referent is was more nuanced. There was a push to deepen the discourse to include the insecurities faced by individuals and communities as a key requirement in dealing with international order and to revisit the role of the state as the only provider of security. Against this background, where would one then fit in the concept of non-traditional security?

SITUATING NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY

Is non-traditional security a new concept that replaces Human Security and comprehensive security? Non-traditional security does not replace both concepts but instead shares their conceptual spaces. While comprehensive security is the expanded notion of

security beyond military security, non-traditional security could be viewed as a subset of comprehensive security that characteristically requires non-military responses to address a number of emerging security threats. However, while these threats or challenges may be non-military, non-traditional security recognizes that they could lead to conflict or even war (e.g. war over scarce resources such as oil and water).

At the same time, non-traditional security can also be considered the broader 'umbrella' that covers and overlaps with Human Security issues such as economic security, health security, environment security, and personal and community security. Like Human Security, non-traditional security argues that the conceptualization of security in terms of national sovereignty and territorial integrity is insufficient given the urgency of the global fight against hunger and poverty, environmental degradation and transnational crime.

However, while Human Security puts people, and not the state, at the centre, Non-traditional Security recognizes both the state and the individual as objects of security. Both referents need to feel secure, since a state that is insecure will not be able to guarantee the safety and well-being of its people. Thus, non-traditional security does not diminish nor negate the role of states in delivering and providing security. And, given that most Non-traditional Security threats are transnational in nature and may affect both individuals and states, it is important to recognize the role that states play in getting other states to cooperate in dealing with transborder threats. At the same time, Non-traditional Security does not ignore the fact that states can be sources of human and societal insecurities, absent in the rule of law and governance.

Like Human Security, non-traditional security helps broaden and deepen the understanding of security, where **non-state actors**, civil society organizations, political entities, and the people and communities who are at risk themselves play a greater role in providing or ensuring their own security (Caballero-Anthony, 2008, 2009). It emphasizes the importance of the contribution of non-state actors and international institutions to improving global governance for Human Security.

As an approach, non-traditional security assesses a number of security issues from a comprehensive, needs- and rights-based perspective rather than from a purely statist and military understanding. It frames issues such as pandemics as potential threats to human and state security, mindful of the interconnectedness of this threat to other issues such as climate change, irregular migration, water and food security.

Non-traditional security highlights the importance of analysing issues across different levels of analysis where states as political entities not only interact among themselves but also with different actors – non-state actors, civil society groups, individuals and communities – in addressing non-traditional security challenges. It underscores the fact that security is also about legitimacy, and that sovereignty rests not only on territorial control, but also on a nation's service, support and fulfilment of the basic rights of its citizens.

The non-traditional security approach emphasizes the critical role and observance of international norms such as human rights in protecting the rights of vulnerable communities if human and state security were to be ensured. At the same time, it recognizes the importance of protection and empowerment to allow communities to be part of achieving security.

Non-traditional security also aims to offer perspectives that break the artificial binary between issues that fall within the basket of 'traditional' and 'non-traditional' issues.

Rather it seeks to explore new spaces for engagement by asking whether there can be non-traditional approaches to the study of even traditional issues of security, and whether there can be non-traditional (non-military) tools to traditional (military-related) issues (Gopinath and DasGupta, 2006). By doing so, these different formulations will enable a more holistic perspective on security.

Last but not least, from a theoretical standpoint, a non-traditional security framework fills an important gap in the understanding of security by not privileging one security referent over the other. On that level it has helped broaden the notion and discourse on security.

The value of non-traditional security however goes beyond just the theoretical and academic dimensions. Arguably, it has practical, real-life value as well. As new challenges and issues on the domestic level or with transboundary significance emerge in different regions of the world, whether in the form of internal conflicts leading to large-scale displacement, tensions over shared resources like freshwater, or epidemics of diseases not seen in a particular geographic region before, the non-traditional security framework helps analyse these issues and highlight the potential risks involved.

The framing of these issues (that are outside the traditional conception of security) as a threat to the survival and security of states and societies helps bring more attention to them and can compel governments and communities to reprioritize their agenda and encourage different stakeholders to work together in addressing these challenges. Non-traditional security paves the way for this kind of approach, and it does so without engendering the distrust and suspicion that we have seen with the Human Security framing. In this regard non-traditional security helps push for a more proactive stance on current, emerging and potential risks and threats to societies and communities.

CONCEPT: Non-traditional Security in Brief

- While not rejecting the state as a security referent, it argues for the inclusion of other referents, most notably, individuals and communities.
- It recognizes that threats such as climate change, pandemics and financial crises are transnational in nature and require non-military responses.
- Given that threats have transborder implications, international multilateral cooperation is critical.
- Non-state actors and international institutions are seen as having important roles in the global governance of emerging threats.

A FRAMEWORK FOR NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY

To analyse the growing list of non-traditional security challenges, a methodology for investigating acts of securitization and desecuritization was constructed by scholars at RSIS, led by Amitav Acharya. The version presented here is a modified version adopted from Caballero-Anthony et al. (2006).

Taking off from the Copenhagen School and its securitization model (see Chapter 2), the framework combines theoretical and empirical analysis. It involves asking the why and how questions of securitization and desecuritization and identifies the catalysts and motivations that drive such processes. One of the objectives of this approach is to move away from the Eurocentric orientation of the Copenhagen School and examine its application in Asia.

This model identifies the following steps to evaluate the securitization process:

- **Issue Area**: Beyond identifying the existential threat, we examine whether there is consensus among various actors, such as governments and civil society groups, on the nature of the threat. By doing so, we explore the dynamics in the process of securitization and highlight the problems encountered by securitizing actors in convincing a specific audience that a referent object is existentially threatened.
- **Securitizing Actors**: We identify who the securitizing actors are and whose interest they represent: government (which agency?), civil society, epistemic communities or international institutions. This involves addressing the following questions: Is the state the main actor in the act of securitization? What about the other sectors of society? Are the voices of the marginalized represented in the act of securitization? What are the motivations for securitizing the issue?
- **Security Concept** (whose security?): States usually securitize by invoking national security. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) may securitize by invoking Human Security, while international institutions may securitize by invoking international or global security as opposed to national security. Depending on the security concept invoked, the referent objects of security can vary (states, individuals, ethnic groups, women, communities, multinational corporations or the international community). Relevant questions to be addressed include: What is the interaction between these actors? Does contestation take place between and among these actors?
- **Process**: The use of speech acts to declare that an issue is an existential threat is critical to an act of securitization (see Chapter 2, p.29). Speech acts of international and non-state actors may be as important as those of domestic elites. We examine the politics of threat identification and ask whether the speech act creates the threat or whether the threat creates the speech act. We also explore whether there are cases of 'grafting', i.e. an attempt to define a new threat by linking it with a prior recognized threat. In this regard, we raise relevant questions such as: Is the focus on speech acts adequate? Or should we include persuasion and other such means?
- **Outcome I – Degree of Securitization**: We analyse whether and to what extent securitization has taken place by looking at possible indicators. These include resource allocation trends, military involvement, legislation and institutionalization. Here, we also discuss possible resistance to securitization. Relevant questions to be addressed are: What is the timeframe within which the success or failure of the act of securitization is to be measured? How can one provide an overall sense of success, failure, uncertain outcomes (unintended consequences) or mixed outcomes?
- **Outcome II – Impact on the Threat**: We also seek to explore the impact of securitization on the handling of a problem or existential threat. Rising or declining levels of threat should be taken into consideration such as the spread of the infectious disease or statistics on forms of transnational crime. We seek to provide both qualitative and quantitative (if available) assessments. Some of the relevant questions are: What is the timeframe within which success or failure in reducing threat levels is to be measured? How can one provide an overall sense of success, failure, uncertain outcomes (unintended consequences) or mixed outcomes?

- **Conditions Affecting Securitization**: We anticipate that several factors will influence and have an impact on the acts of securitization and desecuritization. These are:

    o *Interplay of different concepts of security*: This involves examining the concepts of national/state security, comprehensive security and Human Security and their linkages to the securitization and desecuritization process.
    o *Linkages between security issues:* This requires analysing how securitizing actors may have the ability to link an emerging problem that has not yet been securitized with an issue already recognized as a security threat.
    o *Role of powerful actors*: This important factor highlights the role of state and non-state actors in advancing or hindering the cause of non-traditional security. It is important to examine whether pressure from powerful actors (be it domestically or internationally) is more likely to lead to an act of securitization.
    o *Domestic political systems*: The role of domestic politics in securitizing non-traditional security threats and the extent to which differing political systems influence the success or failure of securitization is another important consideration. A pertinent question here is whether securitization will more likely succeed in authoritarian states where the military traditionally plays an important role in domestic politics.
    o *International norms*: This explores the impact of international norms in promoting a broader conception of security threats. An important question is whether the strength of new international norms can lead to the securitization of issues previously left out of the security realm. These norms include ideas of human rights protection, Human Security and humanitarian intervention which have prompted NGOs and international institutions to securitize poverty, economic underdevelopment and other issues.

CONCLUSION

While non-traditional security has made progress as a research agenda and a branch of Security Studies, it is important to situate the concept within the broader theoretical approaches in understanding security. These approaches are discussed in the next chapter.

   Noteworthy though is that while it is useful to establish a solid conceptual ground for non-traditional security, the concept also informs a preferred approach to address the types of security challenges that fall within this category. Thus issues such as food and health security, because of their complexity, compel a non-traditional security approach, which, unlike the more traditional security approach which is state-centric and can be militaristic, would use a multidisciplinary lens that lends itself to more innovative policies. A non-traditional security approach to security issues would also be inclusive and one that aims to engage a wider range of actors beyond the state. The different thematic chapters in this volume reflect the need for a non-traditional security framework.

   Finally, adopting a non-traditional security approach for addressing emerging security threats involves practical challenges; but in a highly interconnected environment, these challenges warrant further examination. A case in point is how to deal with complex health crises brought on by pandemics such as severe acute respiratory syndrome (SARS) or Ebola. Containing the spread of these viruses requires more than medical responses such as quarantine, provision of the right vaccines and adequate medical personnel. Given

that these viruses can easily spread across borders, a multisectoral, multi-institutional approach involving agencies like the customs and immigration departments, and regional and international organizations, development agencies and NGOs, is necessary. Hence, as we see more of these types of non-traditional security threats emerging, finding innovative approaches that take into account the intersections of security, development, democracy and good governance is a challenge that the international community must address together. Against a constantly and rapidly changing global environment, understanding non-traditional security helps to craft new pathways for effective international collaboration and cooperation on addressing twenty-first century threats to humanity.

Discussion Questions

1 Discuss how the field of non-traditional security studies has evolved and its contribution to understanding security.
2 Explain how the concept of Human Security has had a strong influence on the evolution of the concept of non-traditional security.
3 Summarize some of the debates and controversies surrounding the concept of Human Security.
4 What is your definition of a non-traditional security approach to a security problem?
5 From a non-traditional security perspective, explain the advantages and disadvantages of using the securitization approach in addressing a security issue.
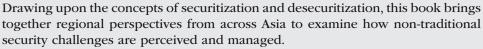
Recommended Readings

- Alagappa, M. (ed.) (1998) *Asian Security Practice: Material and Ideational Influences*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
  The volume critically reviews and appraises how Asian states conceive of their security from an ethnographic, country-by-country perspective.
- Alkire, S. (2003) *A Conceptual Framework for Human Security*, Working Paper 2. Oxford: Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity (CRISE). This paper reviews definitions of Human Security and offers a working definition of Human Security that can form the basis for operational responses by relevant institutions.
- Annan, K. (2005) 'In larger freedom: Decision time at the UN', *Foreign Affairs*, May/June.
  This article outlines the UN's contribution to the promotion and protection of Human Security.
- Caballero-Anthony, M., Emmers, R. and Acharya, A. (eds) (2006) *Non-Traditional Security in Asia: Dilemmas in Securitisation*. London: Ashgate.

Drawing upon the concepts of securitization and desecuritization, this book brings together regional perspectives from across Asia to examine how non-traditional security challenges are perceived and managed.

- Newman, E. (2004) 'A normatively attractive but analytically weak concept', *Security Dialogue*, 35(3): 358–9.
  The author argues that Human Security is an analytically weak concept as it tends to encompass and securitize every single issue that is not under the purview of traditional security.

Recommended Resources

- Human Security Centre (2005) *Human Security Report 2005: War and Peace in the 21st Century*. New York: Oxford University Press.
  This report tracks the extraordinary changes in global security since the end of World War II.
- UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) (1994) *Human Development Report 1994*. New York: Oxford University Press.
  This is the first publication to discuss the concept of Human Security in a multidimensional and holistic manner. It describes the seven components of Human Security.
- Hampson, F.O., Daudelin, J., Hay, J.B., Martin, T. and Reid, H. (2002) *Madness in the Multitude: Human Security and World Disorder*. Ottawa: Oxford University Press.
  This book explores how the conceptions of Human Security have evolved in the latter half of the twentieth century.
- Mathews, J.T. (1989) 'Redefining security', *Foreign Affairs*, 68(2): 162–77.
  The author argues that global developments call for the need for a broader definition of national security that includes resource, environmental and demographic issues.
- Caballero-Anthony, M. and Cook, A. (eds) (2013) *Non-traditional Security in Asia: Issues, Challenges and Framework for Action*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
  The edited volume examines the critical, non-traditional security challenges faced by states and societies in Asia including health, food, water, natural disasters, internal conflict, forced migration, energy, transnational crime and cyber security.