CHAPTER-III

CONCEPT OF HUMAN SECURITY: HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The idea of the origin of "Human Security" emerged to widen the security agenda as the traditional notion of security was only about the military and the state. With the end of the Cold war, the new idea of security has evolved. In 1994, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), through its report Human Development Report (HDR), has broaden the traditional concept of security, besides military and state, the new thinking has backed economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security. Therefore, the concept of human security has drawn a great attention among many scholars, academicians etc. since after its evolution or after the HDR published by UNDP. Second intervention on human security was that of Canadian government and other academicians of Canada (1996-2000), the Canadian focused on "freedom from fear" calling for safety of the individual from any violent threats. The Canadian approach has given an important and broadest definition of human security "a life of dignity" to freedom from want and freedom from fear. The third intervention was made by the Government of Japan and took initiatives for promoting humans security in global. Japan defines human security 'the preservation of the life and dignity of individual human beings, Japan holds a view, as many countries do, the human security can be ensured only when the individual is confident of a life free from fear and free from want". Whereas the major military power nation like United States have paid little attention into its discussion.

This chapter will examine historical and theoretical implications of the concept human security to identify the uses of concept. The first section will focus on the background of the traditional notion of security and accordingly, the whole chapter will identify the appearance of human security, characteristics, critical evolution of the theory and so on.

3.2. BACKGROUND ON 'TRADITIONAL' CONCEPT OF SECURITY

In most of its form, security is protection from all harms (Andersen-Rodgers & Crawford, 2018, p. 3) "*Security*" is not an old term in political sense. In the discipline of International relations the term denotes "national security" or the protection of state from external threats. The particular meaning has emerged from the notion of international politics after the First World War (Tsuchiyama, 1998, p. 2). The term security has general meanings including the safety of lives of the people from threats, violence and crimes. Therefore, in the political sense the word national has been added and this points to the security of the state, this is what referred as the traditional concept of security in international relations. National Security, therefore only focuses on the protection of particular individual state from internal and external harm or aggression or instability within the state or from outside (Andersen-Rodgers & Crawford, 2018, *op.cit*. p. 3).

The "traditional" concept of security may be examined in a historical context in three aspects of modern politics- democratization and constitutionalism; internationalization; and socialization. At *first,* constitutionalism and democratization in modern days have set governments a new responsibility for maintaining domestic order and security, which geared up for the modern political idea on security. As for example, in Britain soon after the Glorious Revolution, the protection and safeguard of the fundamental rights of its citizens and nationals by the control of king's power has constituted a pillar of constitutionalism. The Social Contract Theory has dictated the government that they should be responsible in protecting and safeguarding of individual's fundamental rights, due to the very reason only the theory was established. Further, the idea of state's responsible of security and protection of its citizens and nationals corresponds to the modern part in its system of constitutionalism government and also the outbreak of nationalistic and democratic movements after the French Revolution. *Secondly*, in democratization the responsibility of the state had been extended to socialization of security and protection of its nationals. The minimized state based on laissez faire economy has made capitalism advanced, but it has also nurtured mass movements on anti-capitalistic. The communist powers had been raised after their depression and accordingly the influence of liberal democracies was seriously cut. And

for which, the doctrine welfare-state was introduced to take care of economic and social lives of its nationals. Thus it is noticeable in the process of democratization and constitutionalism that, social and economic security has come to known as inalienable rights of the nationals. *Thirdly*, it is understood that the "traditional" notion of security was an effect of internationalization of politics in modern era. As in 18th and 19th centuries, the balance of power was the dominant theory of foreign policy. Thus, it was alleged to be most effective in stabilizing the international community where states pursue national interests without the authority of super-states. Beneath such circumstances, war becomes an inevitable organization to regulate the balance of power (Bull, 1977). The concept of security is contingent in the basis of the balance of power. The major or powerful states bargained for territorial gains whereas small states are simply a subject to be bargained in the framework of balance of power. It can also be said that the national security of each state was not an absolute goal at international society. The idea in 20th century of collective society has demonstrated a change in the normative structure of international society. This has founded the premise that every state has been responsible of every state's security. No doubt, that the idea had collapsed during the Second World War and the United Nations had remained ineffective since its inception, and at the time of Cold War, the two superpowers states are expected to be responsible for security of other states. Thus, in the twentieth century, the so-called bipolar system showed the two facts. Besides, there are no other states who can maintain their national security independently except the super-powers countries and rest of the states have to maintain their national security through alliances only. This is called internationalization in respect of national security (Shinoda, 2004, pp. 8-9).

The establishment of international agencies like, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), World Health Organisation, (WHO), United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and etc indicates that the world is concern about social and economic lives of the people globally. Bilateral or multilateral aids between the countries have been created and expanded the notion that the international agencies and industrial states are by some means responsible for social and economic security of the developing states (Shinoda, 2004, *op.cit.* p. 9). Thus the modern concept of security

evolved as human security in the post-cold war, which considers the security of the live of every individual in respect of international dimensions'. The discourse on human security has focused on individuals as relevant object of security rather the state. Here human security involves protections from range of threats to human safety and welfare including disease, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression and environmental hazards (UNDP, 1994). In this process, the aspects of security concept led to the emergence of human security discourses in the Post-Cold War World.

3.3. THE APPEARANCE OF HUMAN SECURITY

Some scholars led to the questioning of the traditional security framework and with this plea that such traditional concept of security studies need to be enlarged and include conflicts other than of inter-state wars (Ullman, 1983, pp. 129-153). And at which, the post-cold war period gave rise to the new issues after the inadequacy of traditional notion of security, the new issues of conflict based on ethnic identity and the issues of social, economic became unaffordable and the issues of human sufferings came into light.

The concept of human security was often mentioned before 1994 (Kaoruko, 1998, pp. 86-89) Therefore, it was only after the end of cold war the traditional concept of security was re-examined, however , the UNDP's Human Development Report, 1994 enlarged the concept of human security for advance discussion and made possible for systematic explanation of the concept. This led to advancing the discussion on 'capability' introduced by Amartya Sen and Human Development Report, 1993. Therefore, this concept shall be understood as a tool for discussing particular type of development.

As per the Human Development Report, 1994, human development is defined as "a process of widening the range of people's choices" and human security means "that people can exercise these choices safely and freely- and that they can be relatively confident that the opportunities they have today are not totally lost tomorrow (UNDP, 1994, *op.cit*. p. 23). In this way, the report explains that the concept of human security is advanced from development perspective as the human security is people oriented, universal concern and ensuring prevention (UNDP, 1994, *op.cit*. pp. 23-24).

The Human Development Report also identified two most important and direct definition on the concept of human security- first 'safety from the constant threats of hunger, diseases, crime and repression' second, 'protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily lives-whether in our homes, in jobs, in communities and in our environment' (UNDP, 1994, *op.cit*. p. 3). This definition had empowered the people to continue to meet their basic needs for today and for future.

Likewise, the definitions and reports have insisted on the issues of human security for being intensely debate and being highlighted by the United Nations and Third World nations. The concept of human security perspective is attributed to the UNDP's Human Development Report, 1994 mainly highlighted by famous economist of Pakistan Mahbub-Ul-Haque. The report urged that the concept of security must change in two ways (Ayoob, 1995) - 'an exclusive stress on territorial security to a much greater stress on people's security' and 'from security through armaments to security through sustainable human development' (UNDP, 1994, *op.cit*. p.24).

The HDR report therefore identifies seven main categories of Human Security: economic security (assured basic income), food security (physical and economic access to food), health security (access health care), environmental security (safe physical environment), personal security (security from physical violence from the state, gender violence, drugs and other means), community security (within family, race, ethno-religious community etc.) and political security (basic human and democratic rights) (UNDP, 1994, *op.cit*. pp. 24-25). Canada and the European middle power's are slightly different from the UNDP report and places greater emphasis on 'freedom from fear'. The Canadian approach family focuses on the protection of civilians during the time of war and the resolution of violent conflict (conflict prevention, resolution and post-conflict peace building) (Sabur, 2003, p. 40) Japan enlarged the security debate by emphasizing on the dual aspects of 'freedom from want' than 'freedom from fear' (Sabur, 2003, *op.cit*. p. 40). On the basis of security of all individual and people as prime concern and despite of huge debate by several analysts on human security, the human security concept came into being in order to broadened the traditional notion of security.

Thus, by this way, the security of the state had been shifted to the security of the people. The contemporary debates of human security has focused on the security of people's life only, whereas the security of state or national security mainly focuses on armaments, weaponization and thus rely on security forces for the establishment of peace at which endanger human rights and contributes human insecurity.

3.4. APPROACHES TO HUMAN SECURITY

The Human Security approach was introduced in the Human Development Report (HDR) in 1994 and the concept is primarily a gift of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). The Human Development Report are based on seven aspects of human security that includes economic security, food security, personal security, political security, community security, environmental security and health security (UNDP, 1994, *op.cit.*) The idea however as advocated by UNDP is a security of ordinary human beings and a step towards translating a development of security. Accordingly, several schools like UNDP, Canadian and Japanese school have come up on the issue of human security, while UNDP reveals universalities of human security and the two schools- Japanese and Canadian represents the respective government for policy initiatives.

3.4.1 THE UNDP APPROACHES

The UNDP approach towards human security is an effort to translate human development into security of the people in real life experiences. Therefore, it is necessary to highlight human development in order to understand the concept of human security. The human development has developed as a critique of obsession of the development economics with growth and also the nation's states' obsession with territorial security in 1970s. Particularly after the Great Depression, 1930 and the process of decolonization in 1940s, the economic growth was perceived with the development. The progress became associated with model of economic growth which is defined by kind of commodities that produced the number of social class of people and the number of people benefitted from developmental efforts. As a result, in 1950s and 1960s a new school of economic thought known as development economics emerged which suggested some economic measures like industrialization, investment to address

the problems in gross structural such as low income , low saving and investment, low literacy, appalling health, total dependency and so on confronted by the newly liberalized countries because of colonial legacy (Sen, 1988, pp. 10-24) Therefore, the basic concern of mainstream economics in order to measure the achievement and progress of a country, region or community should be measured in terms of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Accordingly, the nation-state was also concentrated on growth of economic and territorial unity and security. Coercive laws were enacted and huge investments have been made towards ensuring economic and territorial security. Integrity and territorial unity have been perceived as something very scared uncompromising that transcends the concerns all other forms of security. The UNDP, therefore has brought about a paradigm shift towards development and security in a more understanding and innovative way (Dutta, 2009, p. 17). Thus, it shows that the income and territorial security are not linked up with the greater issues of day-to-day security of the people.

Amartya Sen in *Development as Freedom* has highlighted individual freedom as a social commitment which builds on entitlements that enhances the people's capabilities and quality of life. Freedom is not merely the primary of development, but also the constitutive means of bringing it about (Sen, 2000 pp. 1-13). Thus, the works of Sen on capabilities and function have put forward strong conceptual foundations into a new paradigm. According to Sen, the purpose of development extends the range of things in which the person could be or do. However, this also tries to expand the freedom of functioning and capabilities to function to have a quality of life which means highest means of living in healthy, well nourished and be knowledgeable to participate in the community life. Thus, the concept has come out to rethink the purpose and ways of development in order to emphasize on how individuals paly this functional roles as subjects and objects (Tadjbakhsh & Chenoy, 2007, p. 104). Therefore, this has conceived as a substitute to merely economic development by emphasizing the diversities of human needs. And this places the well being of people's as the ultimate goal and anticipated that development is not mean increasing of capital but for advancing the people's choices to give them freedom at highest extent (Sen, 2000, *op.cit.* pp. 1-13). Accordingly, the human development argues that the economic growth concentrate only on income while a development approach must have other

choices for greater accessible to people on better heath, livelihood security, security against physical violence, political and cultural freedom, community security and ultimately the dignity and self respect. Thus, the Sen's *Development as freedom* is the expansion of people's dignity, self respect and participation and not only the needs of people's material.

Mahbub Ul Haque, played a important role for bringing human development approach through its publication of annual report UNDP Reports, which brings a conceptual clarity to the notions of human development. Haque finds some broad agreement on the following aspects of human development.

1. Development must put people at the centre of its concern.
2. The purpose of development is not just income but to enlarge all human choices.
3. The paradigm human development is concerned both in building human capabilities (through investment in people) and with using those human capabilities fully (through an enabling framework for growth and employment).
4. Human development has four essential pillars – equality, sustainability, productivity and empowerment. It regards economic as an essential but emphasizes the need to pay attention to its quality and distribution, analyses at length its link with human lives and questions its long term sustainability (Haque, 2003, pp. 17-34).

The notion of human security had evolved as the essential and core objectives for the continuation of the process of human development and to practice the same in day-to-day life (Dutta, 2009, *op.cit*. p. 20). Mahbub Ul Haque in the UNDP report defines human security as the legitimate concern of the ordinary people in their daily lives, for whom security symbolizes 'protection from the threat of disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression and environmental hazards' (UNDP, 1994, *op.cit*.) Thus, according to UNDP, 'human security is a child who did not die, a disease that did not spread, a job that as not cut, an ethnic tension that did not explode in violence, a dissident who was not silenced. Human Security is not a concern with weapon-it is a concern with human life and dignity (UNDP, 1994, *op.cit*.) The UNDP defines human development as a process of widening the range of people's choices, and human security as people's capacity

to exercise these choices safely and freely (UNDP, 1994, *op.cit.*) Thus, the concept human security can be understood inevitable to achieve the goal of human security. In the Human Development Report 1994 published by UNDP, the threats to human security were synthesized under seven broad categories.

I. Economic Security (assured basic income).

II. Food Security (physical and economic access to food).

III. Health Security (access to health care, safe environment, etc.)

IV. Environmental Security (safe physical environment).

V. Personal Security (security from physical violence from the state, other states, groups of people with different identity, criminals , gender violence, drugs and other threats).

VI. Community Security (within family, race, ethno-religious community and so on), and

VII. Political Security (basic human and democratic rights) (UNDP, 1994, op.cit. pp. 24-35).

3.4.2 THE CANADIAN APPROACHES

The Human Security on Canadian perspective has evolved as the foreign policy initiatives. The foreign minister of Canada from 1996 to 2000 Lloyd Axworthy, recognized the need of human security approach for its foreign policy initiatives of the nation to address the war problems of post cold war. Developed by the government while initially criticizing the UNDP definition of human security, Later, the government of Canada defines, the concern of the Canadian School on human security has been 'freedom from pervasive threats to people's rights, safety or lives…'(Dutta, 2009, *op.cit*. p. 22). In 2001, the Canadian Government has adopted human security policy based on five foreign policy priorities.

1. Public safety, concerned with building international expertise with capacity to counter the growing cross-border threats posed by organized crime –terrorism, drug trafficking and crime.

2. Protection of civilians, concerned with establishment of legal procedures, reduction of human costs of armed conflicts.

3. Peace support operations, concerned with building UN capacities to undertake peace missions, providing policy and deployment of skilled personnel for missions.

4. Conflict prevention, with strengthening the international community capacity to prevent or resolve conflicts, and building local capacity to manage conflict without violence.

5. Governance and accountability, concerned with the improvement of public and private sector institutions accountability in terms of establishing democratic norms and human rights (Dutta, 2009, *op.cit*. p. 22).

The Canadian human security is therefore continued to recognize broad formulation that includes good quality of life, safety from physical violence and threats, accountability, sustainable development, democratic values, guaranteed human rights and social equality. Thus Canadian conception on human security emphasized on the protection of people from all kinds of violent conflicts.

3.4.3 THE JAPANESE APPROACHES

The Japan Government on 1999 took initiatives for promoting human security in global level giving much stress on 'freedom from want and freedom from fear' (Takasu, 2000). The Prime Minister of Japan Keizo Obuchi on December 1998, in the context of "Intellectual Dialogue on Building Asia's Tommorrow" launched Japanese programme on human security, citing it as foreign policy basis on comprehensively seizing all the menaces that threaten the survival, daily life, and dignity of human and strengthening efforts to confront threats (Japan, 1999). Japan defines human security as ' the preservation and protection of the life and dignity of individual human beings, Japan holds the view as many other countries, the human security can be ensured only when the individual is confident of a life free from fear and free from want (Takasu, 2000, *op.cit*.)

Thus Japan emphasizes human security from the perspective of strengthening efforts to cope with threats to human lives, livelihood and dignity poverty, environmental degradation, illicit drugs, transnational organized crimes, infectious disease such as HIV/AIDS, the outflow of refugees and anti-personnel, and has taken

various initiatives in this context. To ensure human freedom an issues are in need to be addressed from the perspective of human security focusing on individual, requiring cooperation among the various actors in international community, including governments, international organizations and civil society (Government of Japan, 1999, *op.cit*.)

In Japan's view, human security is a broader concept. It does not intend to view human security only as freedom from fear. In this sense, Japan sets its agenda similar to the UNDP approach distinct to the Canadian approach (Tadjbakhsh & Chenoy, 2007, op.cit. 29-30). Thus, it is noteworthy that the security values, security threats and means are almost the similar with the United Nations Development Programme's definition.

3.5 CHARACTERISTICS OF HUMAN SECURITY

Human Security as a concept is a gift of the United Nations Development Programme through the publication of Human Development Report, 1994. After its analysis of various approaches of human security concept, the importance of its own prevails, and accordingly the concept may be more reflective if one goes through its characteristics. The characteristics can be summarized as follows:

i) Human Security is *people centered*. Human Security are concerned with how people live and breathe in a society, how freely they exercise their various choices, how much access they have to market and social opportunities-and whether they live in conflict or in peace.

ii) Human Security is a *universal* concern. Human Security are relevant to people everywhere, in rich and poor nations. There are various threats which are common to all people- like crime, unemployment, drugs, pollution, and human rights violations. Their intensity may differ from one part of the world to another, but all these threats to human security are real and growing.

iii) The components of human security are *interdependent*. When the security of people is endangered anywhere in the world, all nations are likely to get involved. Famine, disease, pollution, drug trafficking, terrorism, ethnic disputes and social disintegration are no longer isolated

events, confined within national borders. Their consequences travel the globe.

iv) Human Security is *easier to ensure through early prevention* than later intervention. It is less costly to meet these threats upstream. For example, the direct and indirect cost of HIV/AIDS (human immunodeficiency virus/acquired immune deficiency syndrome) was roughly 240$ billion during the 1980s. Even a few billion dollars invested in primary health care and family planning education could help contain the spread of this deadly disease. (UNDP, 1994, *op.cit*. pp. 22-23).

3.6 CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF HUMAN SECURITY

The concept of human security has attracted criticism on several grounds. Debates on human security are over the policy framework and debate over the scope of the concept. For critics, the concept human security is too broad for meaningful analysis and for policy making. Ronald Paris stated that "Existing definition of human security tend to be extraordinary expansive and vague, encompassing everything from physical security to psychological well-being, which provides policymakers with little guidance in the prioritization of competing policy goals and academics little sense of what, exactly, is to be studied' (Paris, 2001, p. 87). Khong argued that "Speaking loudly about human security but carrying Band-Aid only gives false hopes to both the victims of oppression and the international community" (Foong-Khong, 2001, p. 3). Tow and Trood argued that the definition of "human security is seen to be too moralistic compared to the traditional understanding of security, and hence unattainable and unrealistic." (W.T.Tow & Trood, 2000, p. 14).

The neo-realists said that the entire concept of human security becomes and thus it is meaningless. Stephen M. Watt while criticizing the broadening of security agenda, he gives strongest statement on security. He viewed that 'security studies about phenomenon of war and that it can be defined as the study of the threat, use, and control of military force" (Walt, 1991, pp. 212-213). He further argued that if anyone tries to expand the concept of security agenda outside the military domain, he stated that "run the risk of expanding 'security studies' excessively to destroy its intellectual coherence and make it more difficult to devise solutions to any of these problems (Walt, 1991,

op.cit. pp.212-213). Therefore, the concept of human security becomes so scattered that it has failed to meet its objectives, from the perspective of policy framers also the concept has also been objected.

One of the most powerful criticisms and echoed by several scholars especially realist, which states that human security has neglected the role of state as a provider of security as argued by Buzan that the states are a "necessary condition for individual security because without the state it is not clear what other agency is to act on behalf of individual", further he argued that "human security proliferates the concept without adding analytical value. It also drives towards a reductionist understanding of international security and reinforces a mistaken tendency to idealize security as the desired end goal" (Buzan, 2004, p. 370).

Andrew Mack argued on human security that, "the state cannot be regarded as the sole source of protection for the individuals…measures such as a bar on landmines, using women and children in armed conflict, child soldiers, child labour, and small arms proliferation, the formation of an International Criminal Court, and promulgating human rights and international humanitarian law" (Mack, 2004, p. 367).

The policy makers in attempting to use human security definition into practical are facing various problems and puzzled. As Ronald Paris maintains that, "not only because of the broad sweep and definitional elasticity of most formulations of human security but also-and perhaps even more problematically – because the proponents of human security are typically reluctant to priorities the jumble of goals and principles that make up the concept" (Paris, 2001, *op.cit*. p. 92).

In fierce criticism, Ronald Paris pointed that "the actors have in effect pursued a political strategy of appropriating the term security which conveys urgency, demands public attention, and commands governmental resources. While maintaining certain level of ambiguity in the notion of human security, moreover, the members of this coalition are able to minimize their individual differences, thereby accommodating as wide a variety of members and interest in their network as possible. The term, in short, appears to be slippery by design. The cultivated ambiguity renders human security an

effective campaign slogan, but it also diminishes the concept's usefulness as an operational objective" (Paris, 2001, *op.cit*. p. 95).

The way humanitarian military intervention has taken place in recent years has raised the hackles. Humanitarian military intervention refers to the external military intervention in a state without the approval of its authorities, to prevent widespread suffering or death among its inhabitants. From the perspective of human security, humanitarian military intervention is regarded as one of the effective means to achieve the goals of human security. Unlike state security, however, proponents of human security view that to procure cosmopolitan goals in terms of human security, force is secondary instrument. Instead, according to need and circumstances diplomatic means coupled with coercive measures are primary (Bajpai, 2003, p. 212). The coercive measures can be followed in two ways: one is by imposition of various kinds of sanctions such as political; economic; and military, and the second is military intervention. But the second measure has taken now new course in the changing context (Bajpai, 2003, *op.cit*. p. 212). In present times it has become an incisive weapon at the hand of powerful states to exploit the vulnerabilities of developing states (Upadhyay, 2004, pp. 71-91).

The critics of human security concept has questioned the lack of recognition of group dynamics and interests as a mediating factor between the state and the individual, calling for stronger focus on process of policy formulation, decision making and policy implementation. Scholars have also questioned the assumed role of the individual as end user, benefactor or subject of state welfare provision, and the state as a unitary actor situated at the 'top end' of the process chain. In developing countries like India, critics tended to understand human security as a western concept that ultimately poses a threat to state sovereignty in the developing world by highlighting the contradictions between the security needs of the state and those of the individual (Kolas & Miklian, 2014, p. 5).

3.7   SUPPORTS ON HUMAN SECURITY

The concept of human security despite its criticism on various grounds, many have regarded its considerable importance as the concept refers to the security of the individual and considering it as the ultimate end of security. Bajpai argued as:

Its concerns are both deontological and consequentiality. Human securities concern with personal safety and freedom are consequentiality in that regards interstate war as frequently the end product of direct and indirect violence against the individual. It acknowledges that interstate violence may arise from international anarchy, but it regards threat to individual life and liberty as equally a cause of international violence. Human security's concern with personal safety and freedom is deontological because it affirms that individual life and liberty are values that require protection not so much because of the consequences that may flow from their non-protection, but rather these are morally worthy values that must be upheld for their own sake (Bajpai, 2003, *op.cit.* p.226).

Edward Newman has viewed, "human security as .... an integrated matrix of all the tenets of life that give meaning to, and support, human existence" (Newman, 2000, p. 7).

Amitav Acharya while opposing the idea of human security's proximity with a particular ideology argues that "human security challenges the academic community to transcend the so-called inter-paradigm debate. Human security is in itself a holistic paradigm; at least, it offers opportunities for creative synthesis and theoretical eclecticism" (Acharya, 2004, p. 355). Acharya emphasises as: *Realism can tell us much about the material conditions at the national and systemic level that encourage or inhibit the diffusion of human security ideas and practices. It can address questions related to the impact of hegemonic power on human security, as well as the relationship between national security tools and the resources needed to promote human security. The liberalism and liberal institutionalism helps in understanding of how human security can be promoted through interdependence, democratic transformation, and international institutions. Critical theories have already enriched our understanding both of how states can threaten the security of the individual and of the role of global civil society in the promotion of human security. Constructivist insights are important in understanding how human security ideas are promoted by global norm entrepreneurs and how shifts in the global ideational structure can help or hinder prospects for human security"* (Acharya, 2004, *op.cit.* p. 356).

Robert Owen, in an examination of the concept, he provides definition from the Commission on Human Security (CHS): "human security is the protection of the vital core of all human lives from critical and pervasive threats that emanate from both direct as well as structural violence" (Owen, 2004, p. 20). Anne Hammerstad defines human security as "attaining the social, environmental and economic conditions conducive to a life in freedom and dignity for the individual" (Hammerstad, 2000, p. 395).

Furthermore, if human security supports the humanitarian military intervention, the very idea behind it is to protect the humanity wherever it is in risk by whatever way it is jeopardized and by whomsoever it is threatened. In fact, through humanitarian intervention it is intended to ensure that the inability of a state to provide the safety of its people must not paralyze the humanitarian cause. It is the responsibility of international community to provide assistance to get rid of the problems that endanger the people's survival and their well-being. Whatsoever it can be stated that despite of criticism, the human security concept has been defended and supported by many academician and regarded considerable importance.

## 3.8   POSSIBLE THREATS AND MEANS TO ACHIEVE HUMAN SECURITY

In the process of evolving a theoretical perspective of human security six questions have been the focus of scholarly attention: Security for whom? Security of what values? Security from whom? Security from what threats? Security by whom? Security by which means? (Sabur A. A., 2003, p. 38) Thus these questions may give the answer of the essence of human security and accordingly it will separate from the traditional notion of security.

In Human Development Report, the threats to human security have been classified under seven categories: Economic security, Food security, Health security, Environmental security, Personal security, Political security and Community security. Threats with respect to the above seven categories are the following:

i.   Threats to economic security emanate from the lack of productive and remunerative employment; precarious employment; and economic safety nets.

ii.   Threats to food security arise due to the absence of access to food. This, in turn, results from various other reasons such as: inability to produce food grains; lack of public distribution system; and absence of access to assets, work and assured income.

iii.   Threats to health security stem from infectious and parasitic diseases, diseases of the circulatory system, and lack of access to the health care.

iv.   Threats to environmental security come out of deforestation; declining water availability ; declining arable land; various kinds of pollution; and natural disasters.

v.   Threats to personal security arise from violent crime; drug trafficking; and violence and abuse of children and women.

vi.   Threats to community security emanate from collapse of culture; ethnic discrimination and strife; and genocide and ethnic cleansing.

vii.   Threats to political security come out of government repression; systemic human rights violation; and militarization (UNDP, 1994, *op.cit*. pp. 25-35).

Figure: 3.1: Showing possible types of threats on human security.
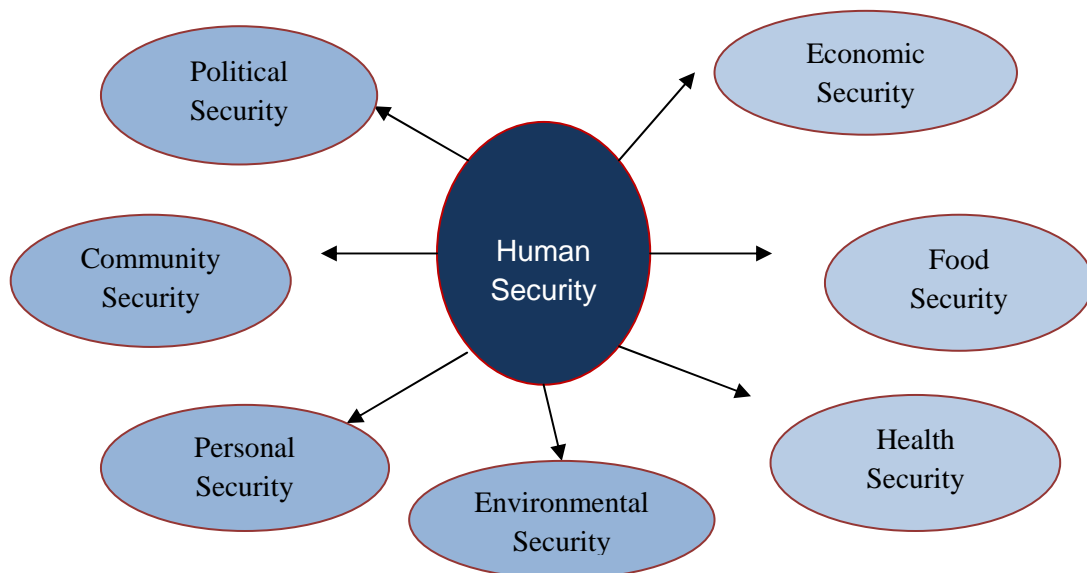
Source: Field Study

The report further warns that when human security is under threat anywhere, it can affect people everywhere. Famines, ethnic conflicts, social disintegration, terrorism, pollution and drug trafficking can be no longer confined within national borders. And

no nation can isolate its life from the rest of the world. For instance, environmental threats: land degradation, deforestation, and the emission of greenhouse gases affect climatic conditions around the globe thus affect people living in any corner of the world (Bajpai, 2003, *op.cit*. p. 204)

In order to achieve secure and ensure safety of the individual and the people, a useful instrument have to frame on human security as Commission on Human Security maintains , "There is a need to establish interdisciplinary approaches; strengthening of large coalitions working to further human security, at the multilateral and national levels, and in particular at local level involving all actors of society; strengthening institutions, norms (legal) both at state and international level and more importantly bolstering international capacity to undertake peace support operations" (CHS, 2003). The following table presents some of the measures and means to achieve human security in accordance with the classification of threats.

TABLE 3.1: HUMAN SECURITY THREATS AND POSSIBLE MEASURES

Human Security Threats	Possible measures /methods/responses	Concerned Actors
Economic security	Development policy measures, creation of employment and conditions for self employment, empowering people, and poverty alleviation schemes.	State, private enterprise, UN, developmental NGO's, international developmental agencies,
Food security	Increasing production of food materials, improving distribution mechanisms, poverty alleviation, and income generation from vulnerable groups.	State, peasantry, NGO's, UN, private institution, international organizations
Personal security	Legal and physical protection of people in war zones, peacekeeping, conflict prevention, post-conflict peace building, arms control, legal and judicial protection of vulnerable	State, UN, civil society, NGO's, international and multilateral organizations

	groups- women, children, minorities and different sections of societies, people empowerment.	
Health security	Basic health care, protection against pandemic disease, establishing surveillance system at global level.	State, UN, health institutions, NGO's, international and multilateral organizations
Environmental security	Dealing with the cause and consequences, sustainable environmental management devising and implementing policy option, disaster prevention management and capacity building.	State, UN, civil society, NGO's, international and multilateral organizations
Political security	Ensuring representative form of government and democratic governance, constitutional, legal and judicial protection of human rights	State, UN, civil society, NGO's, international and regional multilateral organizations
Community security	Constitutional, legal and judicial protection, minority rights articulation, normative and attitudinal change	State, UN, civil society, NGO's, international and multilateral organizations

Source: Adopted from various sources.

The two aspects of human security, 'freedom from fear' and 'freedom from want' are equally important for ensuring the security of the individual and people (Sabur, 2003, *op.cit*. p. 44). It is also crucial for ensuring the national security that the Realist/Neo-realist school of security thinking is so obsessed with. 'Freedom from fear' would be meaningless if 'freedom from want' is not ensured. More importantly, persistence of under development, poverty, inequality and large –scale human deprivation is certain to generate socio-political turmoil leading to violent intra-state conflict with cross-border implications. On the other hand, 'freedom from want' is impossible to achieve or sustain without achieving 'freedom from fear' (Sabur, 2003, *op.cit*. p. 44) However, what is even more important is cooperation between nation-states, non-states/sub-state actors and multilateral and international organizations.

3.9 HUMAN SECURITY ISSUES IN SOUTH ASIA AND IN THE STATE OF INDIA AND NORTH EAST INDIA

The concept of human security in the region of South Asia is very relevant as the situation in South Asia is one of the worst in the world with high degree of want and fear. The persistence of threats to the safety and security of the individual and the people generated by violent intra-state conflicts, non-democratic rule, violation of democratic and human rights, misgovernance, corruption, crime, terrorism, gender violence, trafficking of women and children and the like are enormous, and remain a constant range of fear (Khosla, 2003, pp. 47-48). The South Asia therefore is the prone region of poverty, hunger, illiteracy, inequality, over population etc. and is underdevelopment. Therefore, the urgent need in South Asia is to reconstruct their national security policies to recognize the needs of people, apart from recognizing those of the state.

India is a home to the world's richest people; it is also home to the worlds poorest. This huge economic disparity will determine the status of human and national security in India in 2025. Many policies in India continue to be driven by state-centric frameworks, while reforms are underway to make the government more accountable, transparent and responsive to the needs of the people, the implementation of these reforms is undermined by high levels of corruption, the criminalization of politics, and weak institutions. There is a lack of clear understanding about the elements of human insecurity that are manifest in India. Chronic misgovernance and total administrative apathy for the developmental needs of marginalized communities have resulted in pockets of acute human security deficit. The rise in regional radicalization and the growing influence of left extremism, such as Naxalite movement, are only symtoms of emerging disaffection with the government (Joseph, 2011). India, as a nation-state, was born of ethnic violence. The bloodshed that followed partition claimed as many as 1 million lives (Mashru, 2013). Politics of communalism based on cultural identity, caste-based are being played by many politicians for their benefit and further results in violence. Therefore, communal violence is one of the key problems in India. The economic hardship, poverty challenges, violence against women, children and minority

groups, illiteracy, health problems, ethnic violence and etc are the issues of human insecurity in India i.e on the largest democratic country in the world.

Accordingly many governments have introduced schemes to address various concerns for the people. The Government of India has introduced some programmes in social sectors and health sectors like National Rural Health Mission (NRHM), Mahatma Gandhi Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MNREGA) and mid day meal scheme and so on but these is just a partial fulfillment of human security. Besides, several schemes, laws have been enacted inorder to eliminate all kinds of hurdles, but the loopholes in implementation might be the reason behind the scene.

North East India is a region marked by gross human insecurity (Dutta, 2009, *op.cit*. p. 26). The insecurity has been caused by multiple factors. But the core of this insecurity lies in the Indian State's obsession with 'territorial security' in the region and also in its development paradigm. Human insecurity in northeast has been caused by multiple factors (Dutta, 2009, *op.cit*. p. 26) some of them are following.

1. Geo-Political setting of the region and Indian State's obsession with 'territorial integrity' in the region.

2. Insurgency and fake insurgency

3. Illegal Migration.

4. Growing fragmentation of the ethnic/identity movements and increasing tendencies of self-obsession among different ethnic groups.

The Indian State has imposed many coercive laws like AFSPA, TADA, and NSA etc. inorder to ensure state security whereas the imposed laws have been terrorized and has violated the human rights. As per the study on *Mapping Human Security in Conflict Zones: The Case of North East India* states that the presence of military camps has brought insecurity in different ways. In Manipur and Nagaland 58.2% and 53.4% of the people living around the military camps respectively have reported that their normal movements at day and night have been affected by the presence of the military camps and little higher percentage from these two states (62.2% in Manipur and 71.7 % in Nagaland) have reported that their movement after dark has been such a presence. High

percentage of population (54.7% in Manipur and 53.2% in Nagaland also reported that they have experienced continuous frisking, harassment and foul languages from military (Mahanta & Dutta, 2008).

Insurgency in the region has also impacted several lives of the people; however the people live in fear, anxiety and suspicion. In case of Manipur and Nagaland, 87.8% and 79.8% have been forced to live in a state of fear, anxiety and suspicion as study on *Mapping Human Security in Conflict Zones: the Case of North East India* (Mahanta & Dutta, 2008*, op.cit.)*. In this situation the day to day activities are put into danger with great fear.

Ethnic movements in NE India have taken a new turn in the recent past. These movements have challenged the monolithic discourse on development and democracy (Dutta, 2009, *op.cit*. p. 31). In North East India, ethnic clashes can be found such as instances: Nagas and Kukis, Bodo and Muslims, Bodo and Santhals, these types of clashes bring insecurity in the region. The issues of illegal migration in the region especially in the state of Assam is been the challenges of human insecurity in the region for the indigenous people. The movements of illegal arms, drugs, narcotics are also causing human insecurity in the region. Thus, the northeast region is also one of the regions which have marked with human insecurity.

3.9   EVOLVING THE FRAMEWORK FOR HUMAN SECURITY IN BTAD, ASSAM

It would be interesting to evaluate and examine the threats how they are connected from local to national, regional and global domain. In view of this, an attempt has been made to develop human security indicators that are applicable to the Bodoland Territorial Area District (BTAD) region of Assam, North East India. In evolving the framework of human security in BTAD region, multi-dimensional approaches and strategies have to be undertaken as the nature of conflict and insecurity in the region are complex. The assessment of human security in the region can be done on the basis of seven dimensions of UNDP's human security. Further, the study shall devote within the domain of Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and some of the Indian

Constitutional provisions that reflects human rights in order to overlook certain violation of the rights.

BTAD region has never been free from security threats to the individual and communities say whether it is women or children. Nani G. Mahanta analysts that 'there are also intra-tribal clashes which lead to violence in the region, The Nagas, for example, fight not only with the Indian government, but also among themselves for dominance and power, The Bodos have significant intra-ethnic differences that led to the killing of many Bodos in 1996-2000' (Mahanta N. G., 2011). Hira Moni Das observation is that "due to series of ethnic violence, the human security of people is threatened in BTAD; a government most fundamental responsibility is to ensure the safety of its citizens and when it is violated" (Das, 2015, pp. 80-84). Therefore in terms of human security, BTAD region is one of the insecure regions in Assam, Northeast India, several ethnic clashes have been witnessed, where maximum children and women are the victims and many remain homeless. The human security threats like - poverty, limited access of food and health, unemployment, illiteracy, minimum standard of living etc. are prime concern of the region and thus remains big challenges. Therefore, these are the challenges of human security in the BTAD region.

The framework of human security in the context of BTAD needs empirical foundations, as the nature of conflict in the region is multi-dimensional and multi-layered. On the basis of the UNDP's seven dimensions of threats, the political, personal, health, economic, community, environment and food security, will be assessed on the basis of UNDP approach of human security and will measure the threats of this human security by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights approach and the Indian Constitutional provisions reflecting human rights. The attempt therefore will make to measure the people's fear and insecurity of the region by adopting both qualitative and quantitative method. The field survey with questionnaire will also undertake to understand the ground reality of means of violence and the prevention of violence of the region. It is important to index the status of human security in order to deal with the threats of human insecurities. The study will be based on the UNDP's seven dimensions of security threats, which will form composite index of human insecurity. Chapter 4 and 5 will offer actual threats of human security of the region with different problems and

challenges; accordingly chapter 6 will offer the details how to prevent the human insecurities of the region with suggestions and recommendations.

3.10   CONCLUSION

This chapter therefore enhanced to understand the theoretical perspectives of human security. The emergence of human security from traditional security has brought a new height in understanding and promoting the concern issues or insecurities at the global. Unlike ethnic conflict, issues of health, poverty, unemployment, environmental issues are some of the sufferings of humans which therefore become concern after the emergence of human security. The UNDP's Human Development Report, 1994 identifies seven components of human security keeping the people at centre. Some scholars while in debate, the concept of human security faced criticism, despite that the concept has also been appreciated by many scholars. Many countries at present are addressing and promoting the concept of human security at various levels. This has also led the policymaker's very concern promoting this concept.

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