



Oili Alm and Tapio Juntunen (Eds.)

## Human Security – Perspectives and Practical Examples



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MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR

Oili Alm & Tapio Juntunen (Eds.)

Human Security  
– Perspectives and Practical Examples

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## Promotion of Human Security is also Good Fiscal Policy

In politics, one often faces the rhetoric of ‘necessities’ based either on highlighting economic, geographical, or process-related realities. These ‘necessities’ are often used to maintain rigid economic structures which slow down social change. For example, growing military budgets and the slowness of disarmament are often justified with argumentation that sees no alternatives.

The economic realities of security policy should be analysed much more profoundly than is done today. Security is costly, but it is possible to achieve more sustainable and inexpensive solutions than by continuously expanding military budgets.

Warfare is an expensive activity, not to mention the costs of rebuilding post-conflict societies, of environmental destruction, and of human suffering. If security was examined only from an economic perspective, it would be more realistic and cost-efficient to try to intervene at the first signs of the beginning of a violent conflict and to try to prevent it. In the long run, this would be cheaper than the cycle of military build-up, armed conflicts, and the breaking up of social structures.

A few years ago, the former chief economist of the World Bank, Nicholas Stern, published his well-known report about the effects of climate change on the world economy. The message was clear: the prevention of climate change will be considerably cheaper than repairing the consequences later. The same economic logic of prevention also

holds true to many other matters that destabilise human security, such as poverty and development problems, desertification, food crises, human rights abuses, or pandemics.

The promotion of human security through suitable political means is reasonable economic planning. A military solution must be seen as the last resort in crisis management because with military tools, we are not able to intervene at the root causes of the problems. It is best to intervene with well-planned development cooperation, civilian crisis management, and peace mediation.

The purpose of this publication is, not only to offer perspectives on the wide concept of human security, but also to offer concrete examples of how to build it. Big thanks to the editors and writers of this book!

Johanna Sumuvuori

Member of the Finnish Parliament, KATU chair



## Preface

For the Civil Society Conflict Prevention Network KATU, human security has become a priority issue. This book is an integral part of KATU's work in this area. First we printed a book in Finnish, for the Finnish civil society, now the texts are being printed in English for whoever is interested. KATU wanted to have a reader-friendly book that would, by using practical examples, describe what human security may concretely be.

The security policy discourse has not developed in Finland in an entirely "favourable manner". In the media, the concept of security has been understood narrowly as the security of the state, instead of human security. In practice, this means that the media is almost only interested in the military strategic approach when crises have broken out. This book could give the media some new thoughts and approaches.

Fortunately, the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 2010 set an official goal to make Finland the model country of peace mediation. The report of the Ministry states that peace mediation includes also conflict prevention and according to the Minister, the aim is particularly to promote human security.

At the same time, comprehensive crisis management has been a major topic for discussion in Finland and in the European Union. Many civil society actors have been frustrated about the fact that military actors and action have received a more and more significant status in crisis management in the name of comprehensiveness. Many people think that crisis management as a concept is dubious and refers to a static situation where "the developed" world rules "the undeveloped".

After more than 10 years, the UN Millennium Development Goals have not made much difference. In spite of the fact that international organizations, such as the World Bank, recognise that security requires development and development requires security, and that young men's inactivity in the poorest countries is the biggest security threat, inequality seems to grow. The human security report of the UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon, published in March 2010, states that the economic crisis threatens the achievement Millennium Goals and thus promotion of human security. On the other hand, the UN has implemented also significant human security projects, as is shown in this book.

The first part of this book presents the concept and the approach of human security. **Senja Korhonen** provides an overview to the history of human security as a concept. Korhonen analyses the human security approach on the basis of the work and the definitions of the UN. The whole book also leans on this basis. **Tarja Seppä** in turn presents an issue that closely relates to, but still differs from, human security approach: the principle of responsibility to protect. When dealing with responsibility to protect, Seppä brings out the current examples of Darfur and Libya.

Human security is often being related to the action of civil society and international institutions. However, Korhonen and Seppä emphasise in their articles that despite the change in security thinking after the Cold War, a state still has an important role in improving people's security. Thus, human security does not only question state-centric security approaches but also challenges us to rethink the roles of states.

**Madoka Futamura, Edward Newman and Shahrbanou Tadjbakhs** discuss the relevance of the human security approach for peacebuilding. They argue that the traditional, liberal, top-down model of development aid and peacebuilding might not be the best one to bring about a long lasting peace.

**Tapio Juntunen** concludes the first chapter by comparing the ways in which the human security approach has been tried to be applied

in more practical ways and politically useful patterns. Juntunen states, that to understand the meaning of human security and to operationalise it, we should learn the lessons given by practical examples of the successes and the failures made so far.

In the second chapter of this book, people representing different fields and approaches tell about their experiences about human security. The supporting themes of the chapter are statements, experiences and approaches describing what human security means in practice; how the security problems of people's every-day lives have appeared and how these problems have been able to be solved. The articles aim at being practical and easy to read and to approach. This way the book pursues to look into the future by providing inspiring stories for readers interested in the work of NGOs and critical approaches to security policy.

The articles give examples of all human security components defined by the UN Development Programme in 1994: economic, health, food, environment and personal, community and political security. Articles in this chapter also give examples of how the different components overlap often building complicated cause-effect relations. Even the simplest solutions that enhance security, have often severe structural problems in the background. In the book, human security is being approached from many different points of view: by focusing on a broader phenomenon or problem, by dealing with a specific problem through an example or by combining these two approaches. Thus, the result can also be a set of different interpretations of human security.

The second chapter begins with the article written by **Mehrnaz Mostafavi**. She introduces the action of the UN Human Security Unit and the UN Trust Fund for Human Security and the development of human security approach in the UN. The next two articles address the theme of community security. They tie the human security approach to practical conflict resolution and peacebuilding. **Terhi Nieminen-Mäkynen** and

**Kalle Sysikaski** tell about their experiences on the conflict prevention project arranged by KATU and on challenges in Timor-Leste. **Meenakshi Gopinath** and **Sumona DasGupta** in turn tell their story about Athwaas initiative organised in Kashmir. This initiative aims to activate local women, across religions, into peacebuilding work.

**Anne Rosenlew's** and **Outi Hakkarainen's** articles handle the themes of economic and food security. Rosenlew's example of Senegalese women's saving groups and Hakkarainen's experiences about Mexican women's cooperatives are practical examples of how human security can be composed of every-day issues and communal solutions. These articles also prove how important local ownership and empowerment is to human security.

After this, human insecurity is being handled in two articles relating to Malawi. **Prabhu Gounder's** article about Malawi's HIV culture and **Heli Kuusipalo's** article about Malawi's food security show how the different themes of security, such as health and food security, combine together with community security. The personal security of Malawi children often depends on village level voluntary solidarity.

**Oili Alm** deals in her article with the UN projects aiming at enhancing water security, and **Eva Biaudet's** article handles her experiences on connections between human trafficking and human rights, revealing that we live in hard times when it comes to promoting human rights.

**Antti Häikiö** states in his article that crisis management can terribly fail without the approach of human security. The end of this chapter returns to the general, conceptual level of human security. **Timo Kivimäki** declares in his article that Nobel Prize laureate Martti Ahtisaari represents the new era of human security. In Kivimäki's article, the meaning and the referent of security move from individuals and personal stories towards Western political structures, practices and institutions. **Kalle Liesinen** in turn tries with his polemic style to open "the eternity question" behind human security: how are the ideals of universal human rights relating to security compatible with cultural differences?

Liesinen and Kivimäki reveal that human security is adoptable to many definitions and uses. Human security can mean everything from promoting the needs and the conditions of local communities and individuals to justifying Western political and economic interests.

The third chapter examines the future. It is composed of interviews in which Finnish actors working on human security policy, research and NGOs give their opinions about the future and the mistakes and successes made so far. Interviewees represent their views on e.g. following themes: the challenges of Western peace mediation (**Pekka Haavisto**), the condition of Finnish crisis management (**Frank Johansson** and **Pirjo Jukarainen**), the principle of the responsibility to protect and the future of the UN (**Tarja Seppä**, Johansson and **Elisabeth Naclér**), human rights (Seppä and Johansson), women's security (**Elisabeth Rehn**) and several actual conflicts, such as Darfur and Somalia.

This book does not try to answer comprehensively to the question, what human security is. If the subject of the question is an individual, everyone can have their own answers. When life becomes insecure for some reason, one will recognise it.

In addition to the editors, the steering group of the book project included Outi Hakkarainen, Senja Korhonen and Laura Lodenius. Many more helped in the process and KATU is also grateful for the grants received from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of the Interior.



## **CHAPTER I**

### **The Concept of Human Security**

## A Change of Paradigm – Towards Human Security?

*In the final analysis, human security is a child who did not die, a disease that did not spread, a job that was not cut, an ethnic tension that did not explode in violence, a dissident who was not silenced.<sup>1</sup>*

The concept of human security is considered an idea which revolutionises the research of international security, renews national and international politics, and provides the basis for a new world view. This concept shakes up the discussion about security by examining it from the perspective of humans and communities. At the same time it expands understanding about the threats to security: they can arise for example from economic crises, environmental destruction, or epidemics which

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1 United Nations Development Programme. Human Development Report 1994: New dimensions of human security.  
[http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/hdr\\_1994\\_en\\_chap2.pdf](http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/hdr_1994_en_chap2.pdf)  
(accessed on 5.1.2011), p. 22.



endanger health. Therefore, security does not only refer to the securing of physical existence or survival, but also to promoting social and economic welfare as well as human dignity and human rights. The concept of human security binds together traditional concepts of security with human development and human rights better than previous concepts of security which concentrate on the lack of physical threat.

The concept of human security is not entirely new; references to it occurred already in speeches given at the founding meeting of the United Nations (UN). Then, among others, The Secretary of State of the United States, Edward R. Stettinius, stated that “the battle for peace has to be fought on two fronts,” the first concerns defending “freedom from fear” and the second, “freedom from want”.<sup>2</sup> However, human security remained in the shadow of state security during the Cold War. In his An Agenda for Peace -report from 1992, the then secretary general of the UN, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, brought the human perspective again to the forefront. In this report which dealt with preventative diplomacy, peace-making, peacekeeping, and the new concept of peacebuilding, Boutros-Ghali emphasised that each of these actions has a role in promoting human security. Factually, the concept of human security was born a couple of years later as a result of studies by development cooperation specialists and first appeared in the Human Development report of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 1994. Mahbub ul Haq, a Pakistani who was an adviser of the development programme at that time, is considered the father of the concept; he was also among those who created the concept of human development.

## Human security is people’s security

The concept of security is controversial and both the scientific community and states are not unanimous about the definition. The proponents of the concept of human security bring the newest definitions about the contents of security into the discussion. However, the number of those

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2 Stettinius, Edward R, 1945, *ibid* p. 24.

who define the concept is as great as there are definitions. In this article I present definitions developed within the UN, on which other articles of this book are also based. The practical research done in the UN has been groundbreaking in defining human security and has also provided the starting point for academic research. Furthermore, the definitions that have been created in the UN have reached a dominant position in practical political initiatives.

The traditional concept of security, originating from the 1648 Peace of Westphalia, also seen as the birth of the modern state, defines the state as the entity experiencing security. In the concept of human security, on the other hand, security is examined from the point of view of individuals and their communities. The primus motor of human security, the UNDP, remarked in its 1994 Human Development Report that “the concept of security has, for too long, been interpreted too narrowly.” The ideological conflict between states had overshadowed the people’s lack of security, which they were experiencing in their everyday life. UNDP deepened the concept of security to people and communities, emphasising at the same time that human security is a universal concept; it is the right of the people who live in poor as well as in rich countries.

Human security implies that people and their insecurities are equal regardless of gender, race, religion, ethnicity, citizenship, or other factors which define a human being. Human security is a progressive concept but at the same time problematic to put into practice since the feeling of security or lack of security is a subjective experience. This increases the significance of the individual in finding the tools which promote security. Furthermore, security or lack of security is connected to the surrounding community. For example, in the Democratic Republic of Congo, people living in the province of Kivu may have very different causes for fear than the people who live in the capital, Kinshasa, not to mention the differences between Congolese and Finnish experiences of insecurity. Still, it is possible to define objectively the types of insecurity which are common to all people: for example, epidemics and

environmental problems.<sup>3</sup>

## Multiple threats

The concept of security has “deepened and widened”, since the 1990s. The concept becomes “deeper” when one defines individuals and societies as the subjects of security. Widening the concept of security means that one admits that there are more threats to the security of the people than has been previously assumed. Those threats can be examined from either a narrow or broad perspective.<sup>4</sup> From a narrow perspective, only the threats to physical safety directly, such as armed conflict and torture, are accepted as the threats to people’s security. The narrow point of view is also referred to as “freedom from fear”.

A wide perspective, in turn, depicts the amount and variety of the threats which are directed to people’s security. Human security is “safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease and repression in addition to protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life”. The description given by the Human Development report of the UNDP provides the first exact definition of human security. In addition to the threats to physical safety, also economic, social and political threats, which are called “freedom from want”, are included. Some of the threats are long term, some sudden and short. The weakening

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3 More on human security. See e.g. Tadjbakhsh, Shahrbanou & Anuradha M. Chenoy, 2007. *Human Security: Concepts and implications*. Routledge, London/New York, pp. 39-71. Alkire, Sabina, 2003. *A Conceptual Framework for Human Security*. Working Paper 2, Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity (CRISE), Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford. <http://www.crise.ox.ac.uk/pubs/workingpaper2.pdf> (accessed on 5.1.2011).

4 More on the changing concept of security. See Krause, Keith & Williams, Michael, 1996. “Broadening the Agenda of Security Studies: Politics and Methods.” *Mershon International Studies Review*, 40:2, pp. 229-254. Also an article in this publication by Tapio Juntunen.

of human security can therefore be a short or a long process. It can be a consequence of a natural disaster or human actions (such as an economic crisis, violations of human rights) - or a combination of them. However, crucial to human security is that people are protected from all kinds of threats.<sup>5</sup>

Ten years later the definition of human security was developed further by the Commission of Human Security, convened by the secretary general Kofi Annan, which was led by the Nobel Prize winner of economics, Amartya Sen, and former head delegate of refugee matters in the UN, Sadako Ogata. A long academic research resulted to the birth of a more accurate and more limited definition of human security, which is also easier to apply in practice. According to the Commission's Human Security Now- report human security means "to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfilment".<sup>6</sup>

In the new definition, the target of protection becomes more precise: it is the people and vital core values of their lives. Those are for example the two earlier mentioned freedoms, and a third freedom which refers to human rights, "freedom to live in dignity". As in the previous definition this definition also takes into consideration the existence of different types of threats. Securing vital core values from different kinds of threats does not happen only by protecting but also by empowering people. Here the responsibility of people's safety partly transfers to people themselves.

Different parts of the definition are presented more accurately in the attached table.

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5 Especially UN-language speaks about "freedoms". Secretary-General Kofi Annan's report *In Larger Freedom* strengthened the use of the terms even more. See Annan, Kofi, 2005. In *Larger Freedom: Towards Security, Development and Human Rights for All*. <http://www.un.org/largerfreedom/> (accessed on 5.1.2011).

6 Final Report of the Commission on Human Security, 2003. <http://www.humansecurity-chs.org/finalreport/English/FinalReport.pdf> (accessed on 5.1.2011), p. 4.

Component	Description of the component
Human life	Human approach regardless of gender, race, religion, nationality or other defining character.
The vital core values of human life	The vital core values are restricted to the ones considered the most essential for human life. These are e.g. basic human needs or the above-mentioned three freedoms and statutory human rights. The ones deemed vital, depends on the context and also on the political decision-making on national, regional and in global level as well as on people's participation in it.
Safeguarding	Human beings need safeguarding against threats. On the other hand people should be empowered in order to respond to threats themselves. Safeguarding or protection, which is born through political, economic, social, cultural and environmental process, happens on people's terms. Best safeguarding is to prevent threats becoming critical and pervasive.
Critical and pervasive threats	Critical threats are those that directed towards the vital core values. These include e.g. economic crisis. Pervasive means on one hand large-scale geographical distribution and on the other hand its possibilities to recur. Threats can be direct (e.g. genocide) or indirect (e.g. increased military funding can decrease socio-economic input). Threats can be categorised for example in seven components as the UNDP has done.
Fulfillment of humane life	Safeguarding human life is a long-term process.

*Source: Applied from the article by Alkire, Sabine.2003, pp.2-5.*

## Seven elements of human security

Understanding of the serious and widespread threats facing human security can be deepened by placing them into seven different components, which UNDP defines in its 1994 Human Development Report.<sup>7</sup> The background of defining these components mostly lies in the changing nature of international politics after the end of the Cold War as well as in the knowledge of the rise of new global problems other than interstate armed conflicts. These problems, like epidemics, economic crises, environmental problems and intrastate conflicts, do not only concern states but most of all people. Most of the time threats are negatively interdependent and hence they should be viewed from as comprehensive a perspective as possible. This also means that human security and state-centred security are not opposite terms; instead they, if anything, complete one another. Threat to a state can also be considered to be a threat to human security and vice versa.

The first component is economic security. Economic threats can follow from a collapse of national economy, or getting into significant debt (e.g. Greece, Iceland, many Asian countries in 1997), unemployment and lack of economic opportunities such as problems related to administration and taxation when starting a business. Threats related to food security arise from for example famine and armed conflict which often results to the collapse of national food production system. Then the responsibility to distribute food and have food available rests with the international humanitarian and development agencies.

The third component consists of health related threats such as epidemics, contaminated or polluted food or drinking water as well as mental traumas. Threatening health security, HIV/AIDS is one of the most difficult diseases, which weaken extensively a number of societies. Environmental security on the other hand consists of problems linked with

7 United Nations Development Programme. Human Development Report 1994: New dimensions of human security.  
[http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/hdr\\_1994\\_en\\_chap2.pdf](http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/hdr_1994_en_chap2.pdf)  
(accessed on 5.1.2011).

climate change, decline of biodiversity and illegal exploitation of natural resources among others. Environmental problems are closely connected to health and food security. Cluster bombs left in nature after a war can be seen as an environmental problem, but they also have a significant effect on health: they can cause physical harm, or even kill. On the other hand they can also ruin the soil's cultivability decreasing food supply possibilities.

Direct or indirect, physical or mental violence caused by state, community or another person is considered to be a threat against personal security. Threats that are part of this component are for example armed conflict, genocide, state torture, human trafficking as well as suicides. Personal security threats are very often similar to threats directed to community security. However UNDP considered it to be important to separate these two components as entire communities can be targets of direct or structural violence.

Community security emerges from the community's shared values, customs and practices. Sometimes a community can be a threat to itself by being guilty of discrimination towards some members of the group, for example women or disabled people. A community can also face a threat coming from outside due to ethnicity, religion or sexual orientation. Most flagrant examples of this are the genocides in Rwanda and Bosnia. The inability of the international community to prevent Hutus' and Tutsis' as well as Muslim men's and boys' personal and community threats has awakened states to discuss the global responsibility to protect and the civilian protection, for example in a country or an area suffering from an armed conflict, and to adopt several resolutions at the UN.

The last component is political security, of which human rights violations consist a part. Perhaps the greatest threat to political security is that a state does not implement international human rights treaties. The democratic rights of people can be limited or they have restricted social, economic and cultural rights. Corruption in public administration and impunity of civil servants or politicians can have significant, negative effects on political security. In addition to states, non-governmental parties

Type of Security	Description
Economic Security	Economic Security means that people have the possibilities to work and earn their livelihood. People also have to have the possibility to have the society's support if for some reason they are not able to earn their living.
Food Security	Food Security refers to people having both physical (food is nearby) and economic opportunity to have food versatile enough for a good health.
Health Security	Health Security is having low exposure to different disease and high access to health services if needed.
Environmental Security	Environmental Security builds on actions which reduce the impact of natural and man-made environmental problems on human life.
Personal Security	Personal Security means freedom from physical or mental violence exercised by state, community or another individual.
Community Security	Community Security arrives from belonging to a small or large community whose identity and values a person can share. Community Security is strengthened if there is no inside or outside threat against it.
Political Security	Political Security means respecting human rights.

*Source: Adapted from text in UNDP Human Development Report 1994: New dimensions of human security, pp. 25-33.*



of an armed conflict can threaten political security by committing human rights violations.

The second table attached to this article shows the core idea of each seven components.

## States have the primary responsibility

The state is still the most important producer of human security. During the last twenty years the significance of other actors than states has started to become ever more emphasised in promoting human security. International organisations and different civil society actors have been people's sanctuary in situations where the state has been a threat to the people living in an area of an armed conflict, or due to an undemocratic political system. In addition other actors have been able to support people's empowerment in societies, where the state has collapsed or where it is too fragile to manage its duties, like has happened for example in Somalia.

According to the definition given by the Commission on Human Security, promoting human security happens in two ways: by protection and by empowerment. Human security can be said to mean "softening the downfall" created by threats. It materialises by preventing the spread of acknowledged security threats and by protecting people from these threats. The essential means of protection are development of national and international laws and making state institutions as well as international organisations stronger or renewing them with the intention that they are better equipped to respond to human security-threatening situations. It is important to enhance cooperation between different actors and sectors in the field in order to best prevent the negative effects of one's own action elsewhere, and strengthen mutual synergies. With empowerment, which is for example promoted by education and information sharing, people are encouraged to take responsibility in making

their own and their community's security stronger.<sup>8</sup>

Human security, as often its critics claim<sup>9</sup>, is not about “securitizing” the society militarily; instead it is making states and societies, communities and individuals more responsible politically, socially, economically, environmentally and culturally. Highlighting responsibility is an answer to the fears according to which human security promotes dependence between global north and south to the advantage of the former. Human security offers a new way to conceptualise security threats, responsibilities and modes for cooperation.

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8 More on security provided by states: International Commission in Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS), 2001. The Responsibility to Protect. Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. <http://www.iciss.ca/pdf/Commission-Report.pdf> (accessed on 5.1.2011)

9 More on critics towards human security see Sen, Amartya, 2000. Why Human Security? Text of presentation at the International Symposium on Human Security, Tokio, 28.7.2000.

## Responsibility to Protect – Human Security in Darfur?

This article discusses the principle of responsibility to protect – R2P<sup>1</sup>, its meaning, importance and problems. The responsibility to protect is a normative commitment that aims to reconcile international community's<sup>2</sup> responsibility for mass atrocities – genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity in sovereign states. The principle of responsibility to protect was accepted at the UN in September 2005. R2P is a principle which makes a strong case for the protection of human rights especially in the framework of human security. This article discusses also the responsibility to protect in relation to the Darfur conflict.

### Framework: people first

The principle of the responsibility to protect was first expressed in a report *The Responsibility to Protect*, published by the International

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- 1 R2P has received the ultimate United Nations accolade, a distinctive acronym, R2P or RtoP. Address of the Secretary-General, "Responsible sovereignty: International cooperation for a changed world", Berlin July 15, 2008, SG/SM/11701.
  - 2 The notion of international community refers here both to the UN and to a network of various actors: states, international and civil society organisations which do not always share the same goals and interests. See. Kaldor, Mary, 2008, *Responsible Intervention in Survival*, 50:4, p. 191-200.

Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) in 2001. The Commission on its part wanted to answer the question the UN Secretary General Kofi Annan<sup>3</sup> had posed: “(...) if humanitarian intervention is, indeed, an unacceptable assault on sovereignty, how should we respond a Rwanda and Srebrenica - to gross and systematic violations of human rights that affect every precept of our common humanity?”

The Commission wanted to change the terms of discussion in humanitarian intervention. As Kofi Annan stated in the Millennium Report: “We must put people at the centre of everything we do”.<sup>4</sup> This people-centred approach challenges the traditional conception of state sovereignty, the discourse of putting people first implies a sense of solidarity<sup>5</sup>.

With this new perspective R2P refers to protecting people from mass atrocities. It is about the right of all victims in a conflict to receive help and about the moral responsibility of the others to provide it. The perspective is victims’ perspective not that of the states’.<sup>6</sup> It should not be repeated what happened in Rwanda or in Kosovo. In Rwanda, the Security Council was unable to even consider a resolution on the serious and gross violations of human rights. In Kosovo, the Security Council failed to reach a decision.<sup>7</sup>

In September 2005 the UN World Summit endorsed<sup>8</sup> the principle of responsibility to protect:

- 3 UN Secretary General Report, 2000. We the peoples: the role of the United Nations in the twenty-first century. A/54/2000, para 217.
- 4 Un Secretary General Report, 2000, para 16.
- 5 Chandler, David, 2001. “The People-Centred Approach to Peace Operations: The New UN Agenda”, in *International Peacekeeping* 8:1, p. 2-4.
- 6 ICISS 2001, 2.28–2.29; Tanguy, Joelle, 2003. *Redefining Sovereignty and Intervention*, in *Ethics & International Affairs* 17:1, p. 142.
- 7 See Bellamy, Alex, 2006. “Whither the Responsibility to Protect? Humanitarian Intervention and the 2005 World Summit”, in *Ethics & International Affairs* 20:2, p. 143; ICISS 2001, 1.1.–1.9.
- 8 World Summit Outcome, 2005. UN Outcome Document A/60/L.1. Paragraphs 138–139. <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N05/487/60/PDF/N0548760.pdf?OpenElement> (accessed 25.1.2011)

138. Each individual State has the responsibility to protect its populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. This responsibility entails the prevention of such crimes, including their incitement, through appropriate and necessary means. We accept that responsibility and will act in accordance with it. The international community should, as appropriate, encourage and help States to exercise this responsibility and support the United Nations in establishing an early warning capability.

139. The international community, through the United Nations, also has the responsibility to use appropriate diplomatic, humanitarian and other peaceful means, in accordance with Chapters VI and VIII of the Charter, to help to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. In this context, we are prepared to take collective action, in a timely and decisive manner, through the Security Council, in accordance with the Charter, including Chapter VII, on a case-by-case basis and in cooperation with relevant regional organizations as appropriate, should peaceful means be inadequate and national authorities are manifestly failing to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. We stress the need for the General Assembly to continue consideration of the responsibility to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity and its implications, bearing in mind the principles of the Charter and international law. We also intend to commit ourselves, as necessary and appropriate, to helping States build capacity to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity and to assisting those which are under stress before crises and conflicts break out.

Paragraph 138 refers to the first pillar of the R2P: member states accept their responsibility to protect populations from mass atrocities. This is based on existing obligations under international law. The second pillar refers to the commitment of the international community to assist states in meeting these obligations. The third pillar is states' acceptance of their responsibility to respond in a timely and decisive manner, in accordance with the UN Charter, to help protect populations from mass

atrocities. This response could involve the whole range of UN tools – including pacific measures under Chapter VI, coercive ones under Chapter VII and collaboration with regional and sub-regional arrangements under Chapter VIII. As Ban Ki-Moon said - these are tailored to the specific needs of each situation.<sup>9</sup>

The World Summit outcome presented R2P under the rubric of human rights as well as human security. Welsh<sup>10</sup> suggests that this means that not all member states want to consider intervention for human protection purposes as part of the UN's framework of collective security and Chapter VII. Article 139 mentions Chapter VII explicitly. This reference would suggest that states would otherwise remain reluctant to assert that human right violations by a government against its own people would be a sufficient justification for the use of force by outsiders. The Security Council should decide that these violations represent a threat to international peace and security. The Security Council as a political body makes decisions, on a-case-by-case –basis. Humanitarian intervention or a military intervention with humanitarian purposes as described in the ICISS report *The Responsibility to Protect* is thus a legal, moral and political option.

Gareth Evans, Australia's ex-foreign minister and co-chair of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) has stated: "It has taken a desperately long time for the idea to take hold that mass atrocities are the world's business: that they cannot be universally ignored and the sovereignty is not a license to kill".<sup>11</sup>

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9 Address of the Secretary-General, "Responsible sovereignty: International cooperation for a changed world", Berlin July 15, 2008, SG/SM/11701; Luck, Edward C., (2008), *The United Nations and the Responsibility to protect*. The Stanley Foundation. Policy Analysis Brief. August.

10 Welsh, Jennifer M., 2007, *The Responsibility to Protect: Securing the Individual in International Society*, in Goold, Benjamin J.-Liora Lazarus (eds.), *Security and Human Rights*. Portland: Hart Publishing, p. 377, 379.

11 Evans, Gareth (2008), *The Responsibility to Protect. Ending Mass Atrocity Crimes Once and For All* Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, p. 11). Evans was until 2009 also the president of the International Crisis

The humankind is faced with the losses of innocent lives in genocides, forced displacement of populations, large scale sexual violence and humiliation and wanton destruction of civilian property. Efforts to protect civilians in peace and war have evolved during the past centuries and especially since the World War II. The principle of responsibility to protect now reflects the intention to solve the problem.<sup>12</sup> Protection of civilians has been on the Security Council's agenda as a thematic issue since 1999. The protection of civilians agenda is a framework for the UN's diplomatic, legal, humanitarian and human rights activities directed at the protection of populations during armed conflict.<sup>13</sup> The human protection activities in the 1990's were not a success story for the UN. The UN has defined civilian protection quite broadly. First, it's understood as in humanitarian thinking; second, it's perceived as in traditional military thinking and third, it's understood in relation to modern peace operations and military intervention. However, Victoria Holt and Tobias Berman<sup>14</sup> are asking an important question: "To what extent does the wealth of UN literature on civilian protection offer a concrete vision of the operational responsibilities of peacekeepers and other internationally mandated forces?" This discussion anticipated R2P as did The Secretary General's report *We the peoples: the role of the United Nations in the twenty-first century*<sup>15</sup>. Texts that can be seen to denote and construct the responsibility to protect principle are the Secretary General's high level panel report *A more secure world: Our shared responsibility*<sup>16</sup>, the background report to the World Summit In larger

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Group, a leading NGO dedicated to prevent and resolve deadly conflicts.

12 Ibid.

13 See Security Council Report, Protection of Civilians, No.2. October 2008.

14 Holt, V.K.-T.C.Berkman, 2006, *The Impossible Mandate? Military Preparedness, the Responsibility to Protect and Modern Peace Operations*. Washington: The Henry L. Stimson Center, p. 44.

15 Report by the UN Secretary General, 2000.

16 UN Report, 2004. Report of the High -Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change. *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*. United Nations.

freedom<sup>17</sup> and the Outcome Document<sup>18</sup> itself, of course. The Security Council first mentioned and endorsed the principle of the responsibility to protect in Resolution 1674(2006) and with Resolution 1706(2006), the Security Council related this principle to a specific conflict, the conflict in Darfur. Now it has happened for the second time, namely in the Libya case in resolutions 1970(2011) and 1973(2011)<sup>19</sup>. In his report Implementing the responsibility to protect<sup>20</sup> the Secretary General evaluates the state of this principle. In the summer 2009 the UN General Assembly reviewed responsibility to protect in an interactive thematic dialogue<sup>21</sup> and endorsed a resolution to continue the dialogue<sup>22</sup>.

The responsibility to protect is a contested and difficult concept, of which there is no consensus. There are many conceptions and misconceptions.<sup>23</sup> The main thing is, however, that the General Assembly did not disregard the concept in 2009 but decided to continue discussing the concept.

## Sovereignty as responsibility

R2P means a normative commitment, a new interpretation of the relationship between human rights and sovereignty. Traditionally human

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17 Report by the UN Secretary General, 2005. In larger Freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all. A/59/2005.

18 World Summit Outcome 2005. In a sense, all the above mentioned reports are part of UN reform process.

19 S/RES/1970(2011); S/RES/1973(2011), available [http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc\\_resolutions11.htm](http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc_resolutions11.htm).

20 Report by the UN Secretary General, 2009. Implementing the responsibility to protect. A/63/677.

21 Interactive Thematic Dialogue of the United Nations General Assembly on the Responsibility to Protect, 23 July, 2009. <http://www.un.org/ga/president/63/interactive/responsibilitytoprotect.shtml> (accessed on 25.1.2011).

22 UN GA Resolution A/RES/63/308. <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UN-DOC/GEN/N09/513/38/PDF/N0951338.pdf?OpenElement> (accessed 25.1.2011).

23 Evans 2008, p. 56–71.



rights have been regarded as states' internal affairs. From this point of view, the emergence of human rights norms especially after the Second World War was seen as a constraint on states' freedom of action signaling a weakening of sovereignty as the main organizing principle in international relations.<sup>24</sup> With the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) began the construction of the global human rights regime thus setting a standard that applied to all governments in the treatment of their citizens. According to the ICISS report<sup>25</sup>, sovereignty means that the state itself has the primary responsibility to protect its citizens. If, due to an armed conflict and/or state failure, the state is unwilling or unable to protect its people, the principle of non-intervention – UN Charter article 2(7) – becomes secondary in relation to the international community's responsibility to protect. Human rights issues belong to the international community as well. Sovereignty is not a license to kill<sup>26</sup>, but a responsibility to protect. R2P means that the people also have the right to ask to be protected against their own state – if it is unwilling or unable to protect them.<sup>27</sup>

Sovereignty as responsibility is backed by human rights norms and human security. Re-conceptualizing sovereignty as responsibility has a threefold significance: First, it implies that the state authorities are responsible for the functions of protecting the safety and lives of citizens and promoting their welfare. Second, it suggests that the national political authorities are responsible to the citizens internally and to the

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24 Barkin, Samuel J., 1998, *The Evolution of the Constitution of Sovereignty and the Emergence of Human Rights Norms*, *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 27(2), p. 229; Reus-Smit, Christian, 2001, *Human rights and the social construction of sovereignty*, *Review of International Studies*, 27, p. 519.

25 ICISS 2001, xii; 2.7-2.13.

26 Evans, 2008, p. 11.

27 Feinstein, Lee, 2007. *Darfur and Beyond. What Is Needed to Prevent Mass Atrocities*. Council on Foreign Relations. p. 10. <http://www.CFR.org> (accessed 26.1.2011).

international community through the UN. Third, it means that the agents of state are responsible for their actions, that they are accountable for their acts of commission and omission. But if a state is not acting according to its obligations, it is for the international community to act as it is mentioned in the second pillar principle of R2P.<sup>28</sup>

The idea of sovereignty as responsibility is already present in the UN Charter as it could be seen in international human rights covenants.<sup>29</sup> The UN Special Representative Frances Deng<sup>30</sup> reintroduced the idea when assessing and investigating the situation of internally displaced people in the 1990's. Deng tried to reconcile the idea of humanitarian intervention with state sovereignty. Statehood is usually understood of having three dimensions: territory, population and government. Deng added a fourth criteria: respect for human rights. The strength of this approach is in that it emphasizes the responsibility of the state both towards its population and the international community. A state cannot claim its sovereignty unless it meets its responsibilities for respecting international human rights and humanitarian law.<sup>31</sup>

The ICISS report does not dismiss sovereignty but rather underlines its importance. Sovereignty is understood to be an organizing principle in international community interpreted having dual responsibility: externally to respect the sovereignty of other states and internally, to respect the dignity and basic rights of all the people within a state.<sup>32</sup> The principle of R2P expresses solidarity and liability which should also be present in connection with mass atrocities.

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28 ICISS 2001, 2.14-2.15.

29 Ramesh Thakur-Thomas Weiss, 2009, "R2P: From Idea to Norm – and Action?" in *Global Responsibility to Protect*, 1, p. 26-28.

30 Deng, Francis, 1995. "Frontiers of Sovereignty. A Framework of Protection, Assistance and Development for the Internally Displaced", *Leiden Journal of International Law*, 8:2. P.: 249–286; Francis M. Deng-S.Kimaro-T.Lyons-D.Rothchild-I.W.Zartman, 1996, *Sovereignty as Responsibility. Conflict Management in Africa*. Washington: The Brookings Institution.

31 Weiss, Thomas G., 2000. "The Politics of Humanitarian Ideas", *Security Dialogue*, 31:1, p. 16.

32 Thakur-Weiss 2009, p. 26.

## Protection of civilians from mass atrocities

The concept of R2P embraces three specific responsibilities as is stated in the ICISS report:

A. The responsibility to prevent: to address both the root causes and direct causes of internal conflict and other man-made crises putting populations at risk.

B. The responsibility to react: to respond to situations of compelling human need with appropriate measures, which may include coercive measures like sanctions and international prosecution, and in extreme cases military intervention

C. The responsibility to rebuild: to provide, particularly after a military intervention, full assistance with recovery, reconstruction and reconciliation, addressing the causes of the harm the intervention was designed to halt or avert.”<sup>33</sup>

The most important task of R2P is said to be the responsibility to prevent.<sup>34</sup> If conflicts could be prevented, it would be the best thing to do. Conflict prevention is one of the main tasks of the UN and has been clearly stated in the UN Charter in Chapter VI, Article 33:

“The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.”

However, it was only in 1990’s preventive measures started to interest UN member states. During his term from 1997 to 2006 SG Kofi Annan aspired to institutionalise preventive methods. As the ICISS report tells us, Annan proposed that it was time to move from the “culture of reaction” to the “culture of prevention”.<sup>35</sup> Conflict prevention mechanisms

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33 ICISS 2001, p. xii.

34 Ibid.

35 ICISS 2001, 3.42.

were developed also among other international organisations (OSCE, EU). However, there was a gap between the rhetorical support for prevention and the proper actions. This gave a reason for the ICISS commission to particularly emphasize this responsibility.<sup>36</sup>

Conflict prevention presupposes that there is enough detailed knowledge available about states and regions at risk, the policymakers should be aware of all instruments available to them for prevention of the outbreak and continuation of conflict. Furthermore, conflict prevention to be successful, it requires the possibility to deliver the appropriate responses and political will.<sup>37</sup> Emphasizing conflict prevention emphasizes at the same time human rights and their protection.

David Chandler has wanted to unravel the paradoxes of the responsibility to protect. He has paid attention to the idea that R2P should be especially about prevention, but also and at the same time its application should be atrocity situations. He states that “mass atrocities do not arise *de novo*, but in a context of inequalities and conflict.”<sup>38</sup> He states further that it is not conceptually possible to consider R2P in terms of prevention, but the focus should be shifted from prevention to international consensus on coercive action.<sup>39</sup>

If conflict prevention fails, and when a state is unwilling or unable to take care of the situation, R2P means a responsibility to react when there is a compelling need for human protection. The coercive measures by the international community may include political, economic or juridical measures and in extreme cases also military action.<sup>40</sup>

There is conceptual confusion related to responsibility to react and to R2P in general. Gareth Evans refers to an understanding of R2P

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36 Bellamy, Alex, 2008. “Conflict Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect”, *Global Governance*, 14:2. p. 136–137.

37 Evans 2008, p. 81; Bellamy 2008, p. 142.

38 Chandler, David, 2009, “Unravelling the Paradox of ‘Responsibility to Protect’”, *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, 20(2009), p. 33.

39 Chandler 2009, p. 33-34.

40 ICISS 2001, 4.1.

to exist “only in the minds of western imperialists”.<sup>41</sup> This understanding of R2P interprets it only in terms of humanitarian intervention and the use of military power. In this case R2P is understood as a synonym of humanitarian intervention reflecting the state’s own national interests. However, this interpretation is not right according to Evans since the use of military power is an ultimate option, a last resort to mass atrocities.<sup>42</sup>

Evans also wants to reject another misconception: that in extreme cases R2P always means using military force.<sup>43</sup> Each situation requires political assessment and decisions are made case by case.<sup>44</sup> Perhaps the interpretation of R2P as a synonym to humanitarian intervention has been the main reason for hard criticism towards R2P. The motivation behind humanitarian intervention in this interpretation is understood to be states’ national interests, not the idea of “saving the strangers”.<sup>45</sup>

The conflict in Darfur is a good example of the problematic of R2P. What should the international community do in situations like the Darfur conflict – in a situation for which the concept was originally developed? Are imperialism and indifference<sup>46</sup> the only options? It would be good to avoid extreme interpretations, from which you can only draw the extreme conclusions either to do nothing or to apply military force.<sup>47</sup> Darfur is an example of the international community having applied political, diplomatic, economic and judicial measures. The international

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41 Evans, Gareth, 2007. Delivering on the Responsibility to Protect: Four Misunderstandings, Three Challenges and How To Overcome Them. Address by Gareth Evans. Bonn, 30 November 2007. <http://www.gevans.org/speeches/speech243.html> (accessed on 26.1.2011).

42 Evans 2008, p. 56–59.

43 Ibid. p. 59–61.

44 World Summit Outcome 2005.

45 Bellamy, Alex, 2009b. “Realizing the Responsibility to Protect”, *International Studies Perspective*, 10:2, p. 125.

46 Koskeniemi, Martti, 2001. “Human Rights, Politics and Love”, *Mennesker & Rettigheter* 33:4, p. 39.

47 Feinstein 2007, p. 48.

community has not wanted to use extreme measures, military force although the Darfur case would have filled any criteria. It may be concluded that Darfur and its people have not been a top priority for the international community. Another way of looking at this is that the conflict is a very complicated political conflict that cannot be resolved with military force.<sup>48</sup>

Peacebuilding is the third dimension of R2P. If there has been military intervention, there should also be a commitment “to helping to build a durable peace and promoting good governance and sustainable development”<sup>49</sup> after the crises. In the World Summit in 2005<sup>50</sup> the UN member states concluded that the international community did not have enough knowledge of peace building. A decision was taken to set up a Peace-Building Commission as an advisory body.

Post-conflict peacebuilding does not mean an end to the conflict resolving process but rather a start to prevent a new conflict. This is a complicated, time consuming and most often an extremely expensive operation that requires commitment from many different parties. The reconstruction of a society that has experienced a war or gross human rights violations consists of four dimensions: achieving security, good governance, justice and reconciliation and economic and social development. In the long run the international actors hope to “become useless” and to secure the viability of the local government.<sup>51</sup>

These three practical responsibilities of R2P are directly related to human security.<sup>52</sup> The human security approach also puts people and

48 de Waal, Alex, 2006., Explaining the Darfur Peace Agreement.<http://www.justiceafricasudan.org/publishing/sudan/-papers/>

49 ICISS 2001, 5.1.

50 World Summit Outcome 2005.

51 Evans 2008, pp. 148–149; ICISS 2001, 5.1.–5.31.; UN News 16.4.2010, UN News Centre. <http://www.un.org/news/>; UN Security Council, 2010. Peacebuilding. Security Council Report, April, No.1.

52 Kerr, Pauline, 2010, Human Security and diplomacy, Dunn Cavelty, M.-V. Mauer, The Routledge Handbook of Security Studies, London: Routledge, p. 118.

their needs at the centre of analysis and actions.<sup>53</sup> The concept of human security is, however, wider than the concept of the responsibility to protect since it covers hunger, diseases, inequality, violence, natural disasters and poverty; it's freedom from want. This is also called the wider school of human security. The narrow school is focused on organised political violence inside states; it's freedom from fear. There is clear intellectual and empirical connection between R2P and human security, especially as for the narrow definition.<sup>54</sup>

If the responsibility to protect would cover also diseases, climate change and natural disasters this might entail losing the meaning and purpose of the concept. So there is also a (mis)conception according to which R2P refers to all kinds of situations that need human protection, protection of everyone from everything. This is not the case.<sup>55</sup>

The ICISS report defines human security as the security of the people – their physical security, their economic and social wellbeing, the respect of their dignity and protection of human rights and respect of their basic rights.<sup>56</sup> The basis of the concept of the responsibility to protect lies in the concept of security which reflects solidarity.<sup>57</sup> Human security is normative. Newman argues that “there is an ethical responsibility to re-orient security around the individual in line with internationally recognized standards of human rights and governance”.<sup>58</sup>

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53 Commission on Human Security, 2003. *Human Security Now*. New York.

54 Kerr 2010, p. 115.

55 See Niemelä, Pekka, 2008. *The Politics of Responsibility to Protect: Problems and Prospects*. The Erik Castrén Research Reports 25/2008, p. 119; Evans 2008, p. 64–65.

56 ICISS 2001, 2.21.

57 Pace, William R. – Nicole Deller, 2005. “Preventing Future Genocides: An International Responsibility to Protect”, *World Order*, 36:4, p. 20.

58 Newman, Edward, 2010, *Critical human security studies*, *Review of International Studies*, 36(1), p. 78.

## Darfur conflict and responsibility to protect

Conflict in Darfur can be discussed in terms of human security and R2P. According to Okolo Ben Simon<sup>59</sup>, human security and R2P have not, however, offered much hope to the people in Darfur. Still, conflict in Darfur is a classical case of a situation where a government is quite clearly unable or unwilling to protect its people; Darfur is a typical “R2P-case”.

Darfur is an area in Western Sudan, the size of France or Texas. According to UN statistics, almost 300 000 citizens of the total population of six million have lost their lives in the conflict since 2003. The conflict has affected in various ways the lives of more than four million people and almost 2,5 million live internally displaced. Almost 300 000 have fled to the neighbouring countries Chad and Central African Republic.

The Darfur conflict is due to a long political, economic and social marginalisation of the area by the central government of Sudan. Ethnic imbalance is also reflected in the conflict. A long lasting draught, lack of water and pasture together with the population growth – the number of people has doubled during the past 20 years – have transformed traditional tribal conflicts into political and ethnic confrontations. Both the rebels in Darfur and the Sudanese government have ruthlessly exploited ethnic and tribal conflicts and poverty.<sup>60</sup> The conflict is also due to climate change, an ecological crisis.<sup>61</sup> All the facts mentioned describe the

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59 Simon, Okolo Ben, 2008, Human Security and the Responsibility to Protect Approach. A Solution to Civilian Insecurity in Darfur, Human Security Journal, 7 (Summer), p. 47.

60 See e.g. Flint, Julie – Alex de Waal, 2008. Darfur. A New History of A Long War. Revised and updated edition. London: Zed Books; Prunier, Gerard, 2007. Darfur. The Ambiguous Genocide. Revised and updated edition. Ithaca: Cornell University Press; Vehnämäki, Mika, 2006. “Darfur Scorched: Looming Genocide in Western Sudan”, Journal of Genocide Research, 8:1. p. 51–82; Reporters Without Borders, 2007. Darfur: An investigation into a tragedy’s forgotten actors. April, 10.11.

61 Ki-Moon, Ban, 2007. “A Climate Culprint in Darfur”, Washington Post,



multifaceted and complicated nature of the conflict.

There are many stories told about the conflict that reflect extreme cruelty and which have political purposes. The Darfur conflict has caused serious violations of human rights. Stories told by the refugees about attacks that have been orchestrated by the Janjaweed and backed by the government, have been consistent. The Janjaweed arrive on horseback or on camels and use burnt land tactics which is supported by government attacks from the air or on land. Survivors have told how the Janjaweed indiscriminately killed, flogged and raped villagers. After looting, the villages were burnt down and the crops were destroyed. This tactic has led to whole areas becoming deserted.<sup>62</sup>

The government and Janjaweed troops have destroyed the living conditions of the Darfuris. According to several reports there is a clear, systematic and widespread structure of violence which entails sporadic strikes to civilian targets, rape and other forms of sexual violence, destruction of property, robbery, deportation of populations, disappearances, persecution and discrimination.<sup>63</sup> Most Darfuris are dependent on humanitarian aid.

The Darfur conflict has already lasted for more than seven years. Darfur Peace Agreement DPA was reached in May 2006. The DPA has been estimated to have caused more trouble than good and has increased violence between the parties.<sup>64</sup> The situation in Darfur is better than it was in the early stages of the conflict even though the people are still divided into factions and violence still breaks out. The humanitarian

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16.1.2007; UNEP, 2007. Sudan. Post-Conflict Environmental Assessment. <http://www.unep.org/sudan/>

62 International Crises Group, 2004. Darfur Rising: Sudan's New Crises. Africa Report No. 76. March 25, p. 1.

63 UN Economic and Social Council, 2004. Report of the United Nations High Commissioner and Follow-up to the World Conference on Human Rights. Situation of human rights in the Darfur region of the Sudan. E/CN.4/2005/3, p. 9–12; Human Rights Watch, 2007.), Darfur 2007: Chaos by Design. Peacekeeping Challenges for AMIS and UNAMID. September. Vol. 19, No. 15(A).

64 See e.g. de Waal 2006.

situation continues to be bad.<sup>65</sup> The parties to the conflict have tried to negotiate several times during the past years without success. However, in March 2011, UN-backed mediation team has reported progress on peace draft between the Sudanese Government and two of its opponents, the Liberation and Justice Movement (LJM) and Justice and Equality Movement (JEM). Concrete progress has been made between the parties towards achieving a comprehensive peace agreement for Darfur. The African Union-United Nations mediation team will call an all-Darfur stakeholder conference in April 2011 in Doha to achieve final and comprehensive peace agreement.<sup>66</sup>

## What has the international community done?

The World Summit Outcome document was accepted unanimously. This means that also Sudan has adopted this principle and is thus committed to implement it. It has also signed and ratified many other humanitarian and human rights agreements. The Darfur Peace Agreement (2006) as well as the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (2005) which was to end the 25 year-long civil war has specific articles concerning human rights protection. The situation is critical and challenging if the right to life, security and proper legal system is to be fulfilled.<sup>67</sup>

If a state is unable or unwilling to protect its population the international community should take responsibility through the UN. Sudan cannot be said to have fulfilled its obligations.<sup>68</sup> However, no military

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65 SG/SM/12761; SC/9869; Sudan Tribune, 2010. "Sudan considering peace talks with JEM rebels", 8.3.2010 <http://sudantribune.com/spip.php?article34566>; UN News 19.4.2010.

66 UN News, "Darfur: UN-backed mediation team reports progress on peace draft", March 21, 2011. UN News Centre, Available <http://www.un.org/news/>

67 UN Human Rights Council, 2009. Report of the special rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Sudan. A/HRC/11/14.

68 UN Report 2007, Report of High-Level Mission on the situation of hu-

action or humanitarian intervention, have been undertaken in Darfur. There have been voices saying that Darfur conflict is a political conflict and military action is not an answer to this conflict.<sup>69</sup> Also it has been stated that the use of military force would further deteriorate the situation, if that is possible.<sup>70</sup> According to Nsongurua J. Udombana, the neutrality which the international community wishes to express helps the oppressors – that is the Sudanese government – not the victims in Darfur. He suggests that there are situations in which there is no ground for neutrality and that the Darfur conflict is such a situation.<sup>71</sup>

UN actions in Darfur are not a success story. When thinking of Darfur, it is very clear that the international community has failed very badly.<sup>72</sup> Many instruments have been used to help Darfuris – political, economic, diplomatic efforts, arms embargoes, travel bans, economic sanctions, peace-keeping operations, many special envoys and mediators have been used through the UN or through the AU. The International Criminal Court (ICC) has issued arrest warrants for President Bashir and some other government members for genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity. However, these actions have been too late, timing has been bad or wrong and most of them have mainly been reactive rather than proactive. Warning signs of atrocities in Darfur were overlooked at the early stages of the conflict in 2003 in an attempt to

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man rights in Darfur pursuant to Human Rights Council decision S-4/101. A/HRC/4/80, p. 12–19.

69 de Waal 2006.

70 Evans 2008, p. 145.

71 Udombana, N.J., 2005. “When Neutrality is a Sin: The Darfur Crises and the Crises of Humanitarian Intervention in Sudan”, *Human Rights Quarterly*, 27:4, p. 1149–1199.

72 See e.g. Belloni, Roberto, 2006, “The Tragedy of Darfur and the Limits of the ‘Responsibility to Protect’”, *Ethnopolitics*, 5:4, p. 327–346; De Waal, Alex, 2007, “Darfur and the failure of the responsibility to protect”, *International Affairs*, 83:6, p. 1039–1054; Badescu, C.G.-L. Bergholm, “The Responsibility to Protect and the Conflict in Darfur: The Big Let-Down”, *Security Dialogue* 40:3, p. 287–309.

secure an end to civil war in Sudan between North and South.<sup>73</sup> The international community, the UN has not succeeded to protect the people in Darfur.

Perhaps humanitarian intervention would have helped the people in Darfur if the timing would have been right. The situation is different now with Libya. The Security Council has referred in its resolutions 1970(2011) and 1973 (2011)<sup>74</sup> to the responsibility of the Libyan authorities to protect the Libyan population and reminded “that parties to armed conflicts bear the primary responsibility to take all feasible steps to ensure the protection civilians”. In resolution 1973(2011) The Security Council is determining that the situation in Libya continues to constitute a threat to international peace and security. It is acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations and authorizing Member States to take all necessary measures to protect civilian populated areas under threat of attack.

Are there double standards concerning the cases of Darfur and Libya? The Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty gave an answer: “the reality that interventions may not be able to be mounted in every case where there is justification for doing so, is no reason for them not to be mounted in any case.”<sup>75</sup>

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73 Traub, James, 2010, *Unwilling and Unable: The Failed Response to the Atrocities in Darfur*; Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect. Occasional Paper Series; Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, Sudan: Fulfilling the Responsibility to Protect. Policy Brief, October 6, 2010.

74 S/RES/1970(2011); S/RES/1973(2011).

75 ICISS 2001, 4.42.

## Towards a Human Security Approach to Peacebuilding

What is the record, effectiveness and legacy of liberal approaches to peacebuilding in conflict-prone and post-conflict societies? Aside from promoting stability and containing conflict, why does international peacebuilding have a mixed—or even poor—record in promoting welfare, equitable human development and inclusive democratic politics? Have these shortcomings jeopardized overall peacebuilding objectives and contributed to questions about its legitimacy? How might alternative approaches to peacebuilding, based upon welfare and public service delivery, promote a more sustainable and inclusive form of peace?

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These questions allude to a core concern regarding international peacebuilding: the limitations of existing approaches and the need for greater emphasis upon welfare economics, human development and local engagement. Peacebuilding in conflict-prone and post-conflict countries—aimed at preventing the resumption or escalation of violent conflict and establishing a durable and self-sustaining peace—has generated a range of academic and policy debates, and controversies. A key element of these debates relates to the nature and impact of liberal peacebuilding: the top-down, institutionalist promotion of democracy, market-based economic reforms and a range of other institutions associated with “modern” states as a driving force for building “peace”.<sup>2</sup>

Despite notable successes in promoting stability and containing conflicts, the record in terms of promoting durable peace—based on sustainable economic growth, service delivery, self-sustaining institutions, inclusive democratic practices, personal security, and the rule of law—has been questionable. The reasons for such shortcomings, insofar as the role of the international peacebuilding and development donor community is concerned, may be sought in two areas. One is the rationale behind the peacebuilding agenda, which has increasingly conflated the need for stability in fragile states as an international security imperative. The other is the problems related to the liberal institutionalist models that guide peacebuilding and development programmes, and the implementation of these models in post-conflict settings.

Despite noble intentions, peacebuilding by international actors has often resulted in a heavy reliance on top-down approaches and—according to some observers—a lack of sensitivity towards local needs and desires. More importantly, although the importance of local ownership has been increasingly emphasized, there is still very limited knowledge of and research conducted on local opinions, perceptions and experiences that shape or react to externally-led peacebuilding processes.

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2 Edward Newman, Roland Paris and Oliver P. Richmond, *New Perspectives on Liberal Peacebuilding* (Tokyo: UNU Press, 2009).

## Peacebuilding as international “securitization”

The first challenge to successful durable peacebuilding concerns the motivations behind interventions in the first place. There is a wide—although not uncontested—consensus that unstable and conflict-prone societies pose a threat to international security and stability. Many analysts—especially after 9/11—now consider these situations as the primary security challenge of the contemporary era. In recent years, international peacebuilding activities in conflict-prone and postconflict countries have increased not only in number and complexity, but also in scope. Peacebuilding has been increasingly conflated with statebuilding, based upon the assumption that effective—preferably liberal—states form the greatest prospect for a stable international order. Peacebuilding, and by extension state-building, has therefore increasingly become integral to the security agenda.

Viewing intrastate conflict, weak statehood and underdevelopment as threats to international security has brought much-needed resources, aid and capacity-building to conflict-prone countries in the form of international assistance. This has contributed to a reduction in the absolute numbers of civil wars and the consolidation of peace in many countries. However, “peacebuilding as securitization” has also raised a number of critical challenges. When stability becomes a priority, international peacebuilding tends to rely on top-down mediation amongst power brokers and on building state institutions, rather than bottom-up, community-driven peacebuilding or the resolution of the underlying sources of conflict. The peacebuilding agenda itself often becomes an externally (often donor) driven exercise, without a genuine understanding of local political culture, desires or needs. As a result, this approach can be insensitive towards local traditions and institutions, if not intrusive. When reduced to a technical exercise, the implication is that peacebuilding assistance is essentially value-free and does not represent important choices and interests. Yet the apolitical model of peacebuilding can miss the reality on the ground and fail to create

conditions conducive to durable stability. In some cases, the process of identifying and addressing the rootcauses of conflict can itself become politicized and manipulated. The mixed record of peacebuilding, therefore, owes a lot to its prevailing rationale to promote strong states and contain conflict as a matter of international security, rather than to resolve conflicts through meeting the everyday needs of citizens in local contexts.

### The liberal institutionalist approach to peacebuilding

The second challenge is the implementation of a liberal institutionalist model in post-conflict situations, disregarding local contexts, experiences and institutional legacies. The liberal institutionalist approach to peacebuilding and development in fragile states is driven by the belief that the principal “problem” with conflictprone and post-conflict states is the absence of effective state institutions. With this rationale, (re)building viable institutions — often based on generic, Western models — becomes a priority and an end in itself. The institutionalist view assumes that state institutions are enough to generate material objectives of peacebuilding and concentrates on institutional benchmarks, such as sequences and capacity. This approach often neglects the idea that peacebuilding is fundamentally about social relations, and in particular, trust.

In practice, a wide range of different case studies have illustrated the shortcomings of the liberal institutionalist approach to peacebuilding and development. Externally led state-building based on institutionalist models may undermine traditional indigenous authority structures, raising questions of legitimacy in addition to efficiency. Selfsustaining public institutions often fail to take root. When economic growth is largely unregulated and concentrated amongst the elite, large sections of the population depend upon the informal economic sector to survive — and in turn fail to pay taxes and shun public



institutions. Where institutions are not organic and thus not durable in the absence of external support, local ownership is jeopardized. In these circumstances citizens continue to support sectarian political forces which prolong the polarization of society and in the worst cases threaten violence and insecurity. The efforts — and resources — of donor agencies do not fully achieve their goals, aid is wasted, and the society may be prone to the danger of falling again into cycles of conflict.

The liberal peacebuilding agenda emphasizes constrained public expenditure, deregulation and privatization. There is thus an internal contradiction: peacebuilding implies the strengthening (or (re)construction) of the state, yet the liberal economic/social policies that are promoted arguably undermine the state. Furthermore, there is ample evidence that marketization is unhelpful in volatile conflict-prone societies, which have been characterized by inequality and social grievances. Contrary to a liberal economic approach, the evidence suggests that the emphasis should be upon poverty alleviation and employment generation.

## Problems and challenges

While aiming to contain instability and build generic state institutions based upon “external” models, liberal institutionalist peacebuilding often neglects the welfare needs of local populations and fails to engage with indigenous traditional institutions. This approach also fails to grasp the underlying motivations that may be the root-causes of conflict in the first place: social, economic and political exclusion and grievances. If the state-building efforts embodied in the peacebuilding agenda fail to take root in local societies, not only can instability and conflict ensue, but dependency on international sponsorship can become the norm. The result of institutionalist statebuilding has been the alienation of significant sections of the populations, who not only fail to embrace the core objectives of peacebuilding, but engage in reactionary practices, such as shunning state institutions or turning to extremist forms of politics, which directly endanger not only peace, but also the

peacebuilding agenda itself.

These patterns are demonstrated in the cases of Kosovo, Timor-Leste, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Bosnia, amongst many others. In such situations, huge investments by international actors may have led to the cessation of conflicts — what can be called “negative peace” — but danger signs are present: the peace dividend is not equitably spread, disillusionment and social exclusion are widespread, reconciliation is obstructed and volatility persists. The literature on peacebuilding, in addressing the challenges to liberal approaches, has relied on two different responses. One set of scholars emphasize the necessity of having institutions in place before political and economic liberalization are undertaken.<sup>3</sup> However, this problem-solving response is still premised upon the idea of topdown generic institutions as the primary goal of peacebuilding, assuming that development, growth and stability will automatically follow. The second response is provided by more “critical” analysts who are sceptical of the role of markets and formal institutions of democracy in post-conflict situations.<sup>4</sup>

Some critical scholars go as far as denouncing the entire international peacebuilding agenda as a hegemonic exercise undertaken at the behest of powerful states, aimed at controlling or exploiting developing countries.<sup>5</sup> The problem-solving approach, which prescribes institutions

- 3 Roland Paris, *At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
- 4 Shahrbanou Tadjbakhsh “Human Security and the Legitimization of Peacebuilding”, in Oliver P. Richmond (ed.), *Palgrave Advances in Peacebuilding: Critical Developments and Approaches* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Michael Pugh, Neil Cooper and Mandy Turner (eds.), *Whose Peace? Critical Perspectives on the Political Economy of Peacebuilding* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Omar G. Encarnacion, “The Follies of Democratic Imperialism”, *World Policy Journal* 22, no. 1 (2005): 47–60
- 5 Mark Duffield, “Development, Territories, and People: Consolidating the External Sovereign Frontier”, *Alternatives* 32, no. 2 (2007): 225–246; Tim Jacoby, “Hegemony, Modernisation and Post-war Reconstruction”, *Global Society* 21, no. 4 (2007): 521–537; David Chandler, *Empire in Denial. The Politics of State-building* (London: Pluto Press, 2006).

to attempt to make liberalism fit the local context and mitigate against its fundamental shortcomings, neglects the needs of wartorn societies. The critical response, whilst intellectually stimulating, often fails to offer a way forward, beyond problematizing and deconstructing liberal peacebuilding.

## Human security: an alternative approach to peacebuilding?

A human security approach to peacebuilding can offer some solutions to these problems. Human security suggests that public policy must be directed above all at enhancing the personal security, welfare and dignity of individuals and communities. This suggests ways to strengthen the legitimacy of peacebuilding activities, make them more oriented around local needs and conditions, and therefore strengthen local buy-in and support while restoring dignity to post-crisis societies. A number of implications arise from the human security concept.

First, the human security approach is not only centred on people as objects of interventions, including of peacebuilding or development. It provides an “agency” to individuals as subjects, as referents of security and, ultimately, as providers of security. The normative objective is therefore to take into consideration the needs of the populations, their capacities and, fundamentally, their judgement. Change is brought about not because it has been imposed from the outside, or is required to adhere to cosmopolitan values of liberalism, but because communities perceive the benefits of change and assess the trade-offs in terms of local meanings at the everyday level. In practice, it means not just “doing” peacebuilding for others, or even engaging local populations in a set of formulaic interventions, but allowing for conditions so that responsibility is brought directly to local actors.

Second, the approach recognises the root-causes of conflicts in terms of social and political exclusion, horizontal inequality or structural violence, in addition to power politics and spoiler activities.

This recognition therefore requires root-cause analysis, preventive action, early warning indicators, and strategic planning, taking the exercise of peacebuilding beyond a quick impact project with short-term goals. It will also create space for the pursuit of so-called “transitional justice”, which seeks to address and redress human rights abuses and war crimes conducted during conflicts. A sense of injustice and unfairness amongst victims is a source of distrust to new governments and even a source of instability. A number of cases show that societies and people after conflict are heavily traumatized, and are willing to address their past sufferings in a range of forms.<sup>6</sup>

Third, the human security approach does not rely on preconceived institutional benchmarks — such as establishments of state, democracy or the market — as the end goals, but rather as means for protecting and providing for citizens. This is a marked departure from the liberal institutionalist approach which takes externally-driven visions of security, the market and the state as its benchmark. From a human security perspective, a weak state is one which cannot exercise its primary function of social protection and therefore fails in its duty to protect, care for and empower its citizens.<sup>7</sup> A “failed state” therefore is one that is weak in the eyes of its own citizens primarily and cannot provide for their survival, livelihoods and dignity, as opposed to being seen as a “dangerous” menace to international security. The legitimacy of state institutions comes therefore not merely from its existence, capacity or leadership, but the extent to which populations perceive its capacity and will to distribute justice, basic human needs, public goods and space for participation.

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6 For the potential and limitations of transitional justice in peacebuilding, see for example: Madoka Futamura “Transitional Justice in the Afghan Peacebuilding Process: The Potential and Limitations”, in Yuji Uesugi (ed.), *Toward Bringing Stability in Afghanistan: A Review of the Peacebuilding Strategy*, IPSHU English Research Report Series No. 24 (2009): 101–118.

7 Shahrbanou Tadjbakhsh and Anuradha M. Chenoy, *Human Security: Concepts and Implications* (London: Routledge, 2007).

## Human security and the everyday needs of citizens in post-conflict settings

The human security approach therefore provides a number of critical answers for addressing the legitimacy problems of peacebuilding. The more populations and their perceptions of the common good are included, the more difficult it would be to simply impose particular ideals, values or models deemed universally applicable but proven problematic in local contexts. However, this does not mean a mere adherence to the principles of participation or local ownership to improve the success of reforms or to prevent inertia or a hostile local response. Perceptions count because those who are directly suffering in crisis situations have a moral right to freedom from that suffering. This approach to peacebuilding builds upon and is sensitive to — without “romanticizing”—indigenous institutions, and is locally driven.

Such critical assessments of peacebuilding, from the human security point of view, have a number of problemsolving, practical approaches. When individuals and communities, instead of institutions, are put at the centre of analysis, there are implications for the assessment, planning, implementation and evaluation of peacebuilding initiatives. All these require in-depth knowledge of the situation and context-specific solutions, instead of adherence to external models.

Providing for security and stability may remain as a priority. However, the human security approach also recognizes that meeting welfare goals — ranging from immediate basic needs and public service delivery to job security through employment creation and poverty alleviation—as well as addressing grievances is absolutely essential. A failure to do so, and the alienation and exclusion that results from this, threatens both the legitimacy and efficiency of peacebuilding efforts. The question of sequencing and prioritization, therefore, is not whether security comes first, but how security is provided and what the expanded notion of security really means in people’s everyday lives.

Similarly, it also suggests that peacebuilding must go beyond material factors — such as economic growth — and address social relations, in particular restoring or building trust within a broader context of inclusive development and social integration. Because conflicts erode trust, the need to support reconciliation and coexistence cannot be ignored. A human security approach to peacebuilding implies a process of “trust-building”, that is, trust and confidence in peaceful community relations and in the national project. The human security approach to peacebuilding also offers something to the eternal problem of coordination among various actors and sectors involved in post-conflict situations. Ever since the publication of the Brahimi Report on peace operations, there has been emphasis on integration in order to achieve increased efficiency: to avoid duplication and incoherence and to capitalize on potential complementarities with a more efficient division of tasks. However, too often coordination is emphasized among international actors which still tend to focus on individual mandates instead of integration based on coherence and the needs of specific situations.

The essence of the human security approach is to recognize the interconnectedness of threats and insecurities which are linked in a domino effect. For instance, the coordination of economic development and the security sector is crucial. In the case of Afghanistan for example, security itself depends on a wide range of factors that cannot be addressed on the basis of military strategies alone. Food aid, for instance, must be coordinated with rural economic recovery and not carried out in vacuum. Economic strategies for the agricultural sector must, in turn, match with mine clearance. The opening up of markets may provide new opportunities for the private sector, but if the political system does not have effective accounting or auditing mechanisms in place, or if there is an inequitable social system in which one group benefits from economic gains at the cost of the rest of the society, market opening could potentially reignite competition and tension between parties in conflict. The human security approach requires peacebuilders to think about these types of interactions and feedback effects, and to analyze

how actions in one sector may impact upon actions in other sectors and have unintended outcomes, a process that seems to have been lacking or deficient in past and current peacebuilding operations. This requires applying an inter-sectorality or externalities framework in the planning, implementation and evaluation of peacebuilding interventions.

## Concluding remarks

In conclusion, this alternative approach, by suggesting the articulation of local ideas, norms, culture, needs and perceptions in peacebuilding — in contrast to institutional, state-centric frameworks — contributes to improved peacebuilding in theory and practice. It proposes for the politics of peacebuilding to spring organically from the agency of the people involved. A failure to achieve this results in citizens remaining disillusioned, marginalized, susceptible to manipulation by extremist political elites and spoilers, and unlikely to support efforts towards “reconciliation”.

Is a human security approach to peacebuilding realistic? Clearly, it is ambitious and rests upon an optimistic assumption of donor motivations and local good will. However, it may be the alternative path to addressing current gaps in peacebuilding that make them unsustainable and exclusive, neither wholly effective nor legitimate.

Tapio Juntunen

## Operationalising Human Security: Grand Theory or Practical Policy?

The human security approach has influenced profoundly the way in which global politics has been understood since the Cold War and how politics have been conducted. Despite its 'revolutionary' impact and enormous potential the approach became a target for growing criticism at the turn of the millennium. Increasingly, it was seen important to find ways to operationalise this all-encompassing and theoretical approach to be able to refine it further with more specified principles and practices, endorsing every day policy and research.

This has become a challenge for the supporters of human security – for civilian society actors, policy makers as well as academics: how to define human security more precisely and still not lose its original ideals of holism and humanity? During this century the challenge has been answered by several researchers by producing attempts to operationalise the human security paradigm. In this article I will take a look at these attempts by comparing them.



## Why operationalise?

The policy of human security became increasingly popular in the 1990s particularly among UN organisations. In addition, as Canada, Norway and Japan adopted human security principles into their foreign policies the appeal of the theory increased even more. As the popularity grew, criticism towards it grew also both from outside and from within its supporters. In 2001, Roland Paris summarised the criticism by asking whether human security really is a turning point in security practices or just ‘hot air’ without any real content and orientation.<sup>1</sup>

Paris traced the problems of the concept into two main factors. First he claimed that the definitions of human security were too wide and vague. They did not provide tools for the decision makers for choosing between alternatives nor did they give researchers a clear picture of what in fact they should be concentrating on. Secondly, Paris claimed that the advocates of human security intentionally promoted the wide and vague understanding of the concept. This made possible that wide ranges of institutions – from CSOs to states and representatives of global institutions could sign goals within this umbrella concept without having to argue about prioritising politics or the scarce resources available to implementing the goals of the policies.<sup>2</sup>

Also global politics underwent a change at the turn of the century. 1990s had been more favourable for the rise of human security thinking than the world we found ourselves after September 2001. Since then foreign policy returned to hard politics and militaristic values which the proponents of human security again had to overcome.

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- 1 Paris, Ronald, 2001. “Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air”, *International Security*, 26:2. pp. 87-102.
  - 2 Ibid, p 88. At the same time similar critic was given by Foong Khong, Yuen, 2001. “Human Security: A Shotgun Approach to Alleviating Human Misery”, *Global Governance*, 7:3. pp. 231-236; King, Gary and Christopher J. L. Murray, 2001. “Rethinking Human Security”, *Political Science Quarterly*, 116:4. pp. 585-610.

## Human security and academic research

Human Security became an attractive topic within academic research at the beginning of 21st century.<sup>3</sup> Some of the researchers saw that human security should be “operationalised” by linking it with a measurable definition. This way it would be safe from the critics that were based on the old military power based understanding of security. King and Murray presented in 2001 that human security should be measured according to “the expected number of years of life spent outside the state of generalized poverty.” This would be calculated based on a combination of levels of income, education, health and democracy.<sup>4</sup>

According to David Roberts, King’s and Murray’s approach is too narrow as it regards poverty as the only determinant of human security.<sup>5</sup> Roberts on the other hand has suggested that academic community should move on from defining human security to measuring human insecurity. Roberts proposes that the rate of under five mortality should be the measure used in this process.<sup>6</sup> However this would still limit human security to traditional development policy questions, and personal, political and community security questions (for example human rights violations and equality questions) would be a lot harder to interpret extensively with these measuring instruments Roberts proposes.

Not all experiences of human insecurity and their causes are measurable with objective measures free from cultural changes and differences in personal viewpoints. What people consider to be unbearable and inhuman varies depending on time and place. By prioritising certain human security components (e.g. poverty and health) may lead to a situation where a person is feeling personal suffering despite of the

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3 See for example human security related papers in the following academic publications: *Security Dialogue*, 35:3 (2004); *International Social Science Journal*, 59:1 (2008).

4 King and Murray 2001, 597-610.

5 Roberts, David, 2008. “Empowering the Human Security Debate”, *International Journal on World Peace*, 12:4. pp. 3-16.

6 Roberts, David, 2008. “Intellectual Preils of Broad Human Security: Deepening the Critique of International Relations”, *Politics*, 28:2. pp. 124-127.

researchers “methodologies” that are giving the green light. Sometimes the vast differences in the experiences of insecurity within a state or a region are also not revealed by the methodologies that are used within national contexts as aspects of human security reach far beyond and across the statistics.<sup>7</sup>

Proponents of comprehensive approach highlight, that different components of experiencing human security- for example UNDP’s seven components of human security<sup>8</sup> – are ineradicably intertwined and therefore they should not be separated.<sup>9</sup> In which case, the potential of human security is not in defining it exactly but in its revolutionary impact in relation with more profound ways of thinking about security. Furthermore, the relationship between causes and effects of insecurity should be evaluated as a complex phenomenon. For example poverty and economic inequality can by the same token be both causes and effects of a conflict. In addition it is time that our understanding should cross the limitations set by state-centric approaches to security. The attention must be directed towards regions, communities and ultimately on the individual.

## Human security as practical world politics

In world politics human security has been applied in a broad spectrum. Human security has been used in defining foreign policies of individual states (like Canada and Japan), as a foreign policy doctrine of regional organisations (e.g. EU, ASEAN, and African Union), and as definitions of supranational institutions (UN) and civil society level actors.

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7 See for example Owen, Taylor, 2003. “Human Security Mapping: A New Methodology”, Human Security Bulletin, 2:3. [http://www.prio.no/sp-trans/1122703263/file44641\\_human\\_security\\_mapping.pdf](http://www.prio.no/sp-trans/1122703263/file44641_human_security_mapping.pdf) (accessed on 7.1.2011)

8 Economic, health, food, environmental, personal, community and political security. See Senja Korhonen’s article in this publication for more information.

9 See for example Tadjbakhsh, Shahrbanou, 2005. Human Security: Concepts and Implications. Les Études du CERI, No. 117-118.

This has produced a wide-range of understandings of human security goals and of the methods that should be utilized in order to reach them. Each actor's political goals and organisational culture influences the contents of these definitions.

Canada and Japan were the first countries in the 1990s that based their foreign policy openly on human security. The result was two different interpretations of the concept. Here too, as was seen in the academic context above, the differences stem from whether human security is understood from a broad or a narrow perspective.

Canada's interpretation aimed to narrow down the original UNDP's concept to directly concern questions about physical violence and conflict (freedom from fear). Canada's definition of human security meant "freedom from pervasive threats to people's rights, their safety, or even their lives". Canada's means to succeed were the development of international laws and norms, and strengthening possibilities for implementation.<sup>10</sup> Despite the attempt to narrow down the definition Canada's viewpoint was still seen too broad and general according to the critics.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand the Ottawa Treaty, which bans the use of anti-personal mines, and Canada's input in the campaign to establish the International Criminal Court are undisputable practical examples of the policy Canada has adopted.

Japan started its own human security policy concurrently with Canada. Its policy was based on the broader definition by the UNDP and it was not bolstered with new conceptual definitions.<sup>12</sup> Japan's viewpoint knowingly concentrated on Asian premises. Due to historical reasons the principle of sovereignty was still hard to bypass in Asia which left for example questions about military intervention outside Japan's "softer"

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10 Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 1999. Human Security: Safety for People in a Changing World. Ottawa.  
<http://www.summit-americas.org/Canada/HumanSecurity-english.htm>  
(accessed on 11.1.2011).

11 See for example Paris, 2001, pp. 90-91.

12 <http://www.jcie.or.jp/thinknet/tomorrow/> (accessed on 11.1.2011).

policy.<sup>13</sup> Instead of responsibility to protect- principle and universal human rights Japan started to emphasise the economic and social aspects of human security.<sup>14</sup>

The financial crisis in Asia during the end of 1990s also influenced Japan's approach. Due to the financial crisis the human security theme spread also to the political agenda of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). In addition, the 2004 Tsunami and SARS-epidemic a year before caused politicians like the former Thai foreign minister Surin Pitsuwan and later the president of the Philippines Gloria Macapagal-Arroyon to stress the importance of human security thinking to Asia's future. Pitsuwan reminded that however the causes of the crises in Asia were elsewhere they have all had effects on human security.<sup>15</sup> From Pitsuwan's initiative ASEAN started to emphasise the significance of social security networks to the future of Asians.<sup>16</sup>

Japan invested in human security policy outside its own neighbouring area as well by supporting the founding of both the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security and the Commission on Human Security. The leaders of the Commission were the Nobel Prize winner in economic sciences Amartya Sen and Sadako Ogata. The Commission's goals were to promote human security and to develop the concept as a practical operational tool as well as to propose a plan to implement them. Commission's work came together in Human Security Now- report in 2003, which defines human security even broader sense; freedom from want and fear was now accompanied with the principle of freedom to live in dignity.<sup>17</sup>

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13 Ho, Satomi, 2008. "Japan's Human Security Policy: A Critical Review of its Limits and Failures", *Japanese Studies*, 28:1. pp: 101-112. See also Nishikawa, Yukiko, 2009. "Human Security in Southeast Asia: Viable Solution or Empty Slogan?", *Security Dialogue*, 40:2. pp: 213-236, especially pages 217-218.

14 Ho, 2008, 103.

15 Nishikawa, 2009, p. 218.

16 Tadjbakhsh 2005, pp. 17-18.

17 Commission on Human Security, 2003. *Human Security Now*, especially pages iv and 4. <http://www.humansecurity-chs.org/finalreport/English/FinalReport.pdf> (accessed on 11.1.2011).

However, the report did not prove to be a practical guidebook desired by politicians and actors in the field. On the other hand it presents that human security policies should protect the “vital core” of human life.<sup>18</sup> In practice this meant that actors should define certain core values among all the potential values existing. From the human security point of view security threats are not equal depending on circumstances and time, but they need to be placed in order so as to make a long-term policy which strengthens peoples’ abilities to contribute human empowerment.

African Union and Organization of American States (OAS) have also highlighted human security in their declarations and treaties. In its declaration regarding safety of American states in 2003 the OAS underlined that “the basis and purpose of security is the protection of human beings. Security is strengthened when we deepen its human dimension.”<sup>19</sup>

African Union received human security themes as a legacy from the Pan-African Movement and the Organisation of African Unity dating back to 1990s. For example in the African Union Non-Aggression and Common Defence Pact human security was defined as guaranteeing individual’s cultural, social, economic, political and environmental basic needs. In addition member states were to commit themselves to promote human rights and good-governance.<sup>20</sup> The approach has also met resistance in Africa. Part of the African political elite is afraid that human security principle endangers their power. On the other hand the approach is seen to represent the interests of western industrial states, not the African premises.<sup>21</sup>

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18 Ibid, 4.

19 OAS, 2003. Declaration on Security in the Americas. CES/DEC. 1/03 rev.1, 28. October, 2003. [http://www.oas.org/documents/eng/DeclaracionSecurity\\_102803.asp](http://www.oas.org/documents/eng/DeclaracionSecurity_102803.asp) (accessed on 11.1.2011).

20 AU, 2005. African Union Non-Aggression and Common Defence Pact. <http://www.africa-union.org/root/AU/Documents/Treaties/text/Non%20Aggression%20Common%20Defence%20Pact.pdf> (accessed on 11.1.2010)

21 Tieku, Thomas Kwasi, 2007. “African Union Promotion of Human Security

## Two examples of operationalisation

The main objectives of human security became clearer over the years – especially in relation with traditional state-centred and military power-based approaches – but the need for an action-guided and goal-prioritising practical blueprint was still evident. Insofar as human security is the goal and purpose of action, its set principles should guarantee that practical policy initiatives and their tools and implementation reflect the values and character of the principle that guides the operation.

During the 2000s a number of human security working groups were established. For example Human Security Study Group, lead by Professor Mary Kaldor, has aimed to operationalise human security policy as the base of European Union's foreign policies. Kaldor's team published its first proposals in 2003 in so called Barcelona Report.<sup>22</sup> In 2007 Madrid Report<sup>23</sup> further presented an agenda based the previous proposals. What follows is the summarisation of the Report's six principles of a human security approach:

1. The primacy of respecting human rights: it is always more important according to human security practice to respect the safety, dignity and wellbeing of individuals and their communities than for example defeating an enemy.
2. Establishing a legitimate political authority: Every outside intervention should aim to establish a reliable state-based, supranational or regional authority.

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in Africa", *African Security Review*, 16:2. pp. 26-37.

- 22 The Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities, 2003. A Human Security Doctrine for Europe. The Barcelona Report of the Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities. <http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/global/Publications/HumanSecurityDoctrine.pdf> (accessed on 11.1.2011).
- 23 Human Security Study Group, 2007. A European Way of Security. The Madrid Report of the Human Security Study Group comprising a Proposal and Background Report. Especially pp 9-10. <http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/global/PDFs/Madrid%20Report%20Final%20for%20distribution.pdf> (accessed on 11.1.2011).

3. A bottom-up approach: local communities should be supported so they are able to create sufficient conditions for durable and stable peace.
4. Effective multilateralism: Human security operations should be implemented as a wide international cooperation based on international law and in which takes part states, regional organisations as well as non-state actors. Effectiveness means improved division of labour between different actors and tasks.
5. An integrated regional approach: Crisis should be viewed regionally as insecurity often spreads out in a crisis area over the state borders. Regional dialogue and cross-boarder operations should also be supported.
6. Clear and transparent strategy: Interventions by European Union must have a clear legitimate support, a transparent authorisation and a coherent overall strategy. In addition to this operations should be led by civilians.<sup>24</sup>

“The Human Security Doctrine” proposed by the report should be supported by creating a human security training programme and an evaluation system for those taking part in EU’s operations regarding human security.<sup>25</sup> The premises of the report evidently reflect the values, needs and principles of a certain political entity, the European Union. This has both positive and negative sides. One can presume that when implemented within certain political structures human security policy has preconditions to produce practical policy proposals. (It is completely a different matter whether European Union’s changing structures of administration of foreign affairs really are ready to implement these principles.)

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24 The Barcelona Report had seven principles. The one regarding the use of legitimate and military means was left out in the new report as they were seen to be represented through the other principles. Instead clear and transparent strategy was presented as a new principle in Madrid Report. (Ibid, p. 9).

25 Ibid, p. 7.



In this case, then, one has to be flexible with some of the central premises of human security. There is a contradiction between situation-bound and human-centred policy as well as between operations run from top to bottom and a policy that is based on creating a political authority. If the operation is to be based on clear, predetermined policy goals (establishing political authority and overall strategy for action) what prerequisites the operation has to be flexible enough to take into consideration the changing and individual needs of human insecurity? In addition, the principles of the Madrid Report can be seen to concentrate on solutions for acute crisis which threaten people's physical safety – a fact that is also admitted in the Report<sup>26</sup>. It would appear that the Madrid Report prioritises the guiding principles of operational planning and efficiency before e.g. the multi-dimensional nature of security threats and conflict prevention. This tension is evident when we compare the Madrid Report with the principles set up in Shahrbanou Tajdikhsh's team in the Centre for Peace and Human Security (CPHS) which were developed for the purposes of the UN Trust Fund's (UNTFHS) projects<sup>27</sup>.

Mary Kaldor's study group places operationalisation within the framework of a certain political culture. Tajdikhsh, however, takes the content of the concept of Human Security as the starting point from which to deduct guiding principles for practical policy making. Her study group combines the core values of security with UNDP's seven security categories. Sabina Alkire has crystallised this definition: "The objective of human security is to safeguard the vital core of all human lives from critical pervasive threats, in a way that is consistent with long term human fulfillment"<sup>28</sup>.

26 Ibid, pp. 10-11.

27 Human Security Unit, 2009. Human Security in Theory and Practice. Application of the Human Security Concept and the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security. See especially pp. 12–15. <http://ochaonline.un.org/OchaLinkClick.aspx?link=ocha&docId=1117675> (accessed 11.4.2010). See also Mostafavi's article in this book.

28 Alkire, Sabine, 2003. A Conceptual Framework for Human Security. CRISE Working Paper 2. pp. 2–5. <http://www.research4development.info/PDF/Outputs/Inequality/wp2.pdf> (accessed on 11.4.2010).

The operational principles of Tajdbakhsh's study group can be summarized as:

1. Human-centeredness: The policy of human security must always concentrate on people – as individuals and as members of their community. Policy implementations also have to be evaluated in relation to the empowerment of the individuals.
2. Comprehensiveness and multi-dimensionality: Insecurities must be met with comprehensive and multi-dimensional solutions. Strategies must be based on an analysis that understands insecurity as a multi-dimensional experience which can vary greatly according to individuals and actors.
3. Inter-sectorality: Human security is always an outcome of a positive and indispensable connection between security, development and human rights. Human security needs to be enhanced in multi-layer projects which try to maximise positive and minimise negative impacts and increase coherence in different actors' goals and operations.
4. Context-specificity: Human security must always have the local context and local communities' needs as a starting point. This calls for an in-depth context-specific analysis which in addition to local needs, considers also national and supranational factors.
5. Protection, empowerment and prevention-oriented: In the last resort, human security must help to prevent threats by concentrating on the root causes of insecurity and developing preventive measures.

These principles should be suitable for the use of both CSOs and international organizations. For instance the Finnish Crisis Management Centre CMCFinland has adopted them in a training manual<sup>29</sup>.

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29 Crisis Management Centre, 2009. Training Manual. Human Security in Peacebuilding. Senja Korhonen (toim.), CMC, Kuopio. Especially pages 31–33.

Comprehensiveness and inter-sectorality will increase flexibility which is needed in practical policy making by the various organizations and actors on the field. A wide understanding of security helps an in-depth analysis of the context and causal relationships. In an ideal situation, context-specificity and human-centeredness guarantee that the policy adopted and the practical humanitarian work respond to the real needs of the most vulnerable people.

## Future operationalisation?

A cynic might well point out that all these definitions, specifications and operationalisations do not very much console those millions of people who live in the middle of human suffering today. The achievements of human security will in the end be measured in practice and not by the number of academic publications or lists of principles in study group reports. Apart from practical skills we need political will to pay attention to the human dimensions of security thinking.

Practice is, however, always preceded by beliefs and ways in which people perceive their worlds. One important asset of human security is its potential to influence in the changing of the whole approach to security: it's easier to cook a delicate dinner with a delicate recipe. And what about differences of tastes – to succeed is to pick the right recipe for the right occasion.

The most important challenge of the human security approach is to maintain its potential for comprehensiveness especially when we try to operationalise it. The most pessimistic critics have pointed out that a narrow interpretation concentrating solely on physical security has dampened human security. Thus defined it has been used as a term to morally justify military and economic interventions – even neocolonialism –

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[http://www.cmcfinland.fi/pelastus/cmc/images.nsf/files/123267531F06CC69C22576F2003487F0/\\$file/CMC\\_HumanSecurity\\_2009C.pdf](http://www.cmcfinland.fi/pelastus/cmc/images.nsf/files/123267531F06CC69C22576F2003487F0/$file/CMC_HumanSecurity_2009C.pdf) (accessed on 11.4.2010).

by the well-to-do states<sup>30</sup>. In other words, operationalisation should not take place at the expense of comprehensiveness and the ethical quality of the politics.

As Marlies Glasius, also a member of Mary Kaldor's study group, points out, the policy of human security must also in the future keep on building a bridge between the politics of security and development. In well-to-do states, comprehensive human security policy should encompass the policies of immigration and trade, even the financing of international organizations.<sup>31</sup> At the same time we should remember to behave well at home; traditionally the states that offer human security as an exported ideology should respond to the internal needs of human security, as well.

To operationalise the comprehensive concept, Glasius suggests a training programme for human security workers. She has a vision of a super worker with a combination of the best qualities of a soldier, police, humanitarian worker, intelligence officer and a bureaucrat. To this we should add a "holistic and human-centered" ethos, specialization skills and an understanding of the political heritage in different cultures and regions.<sup>32</sup>

Although the idea of a human security super-worker sounds radical, it does point to the many questions and problems that development workers and other actors face in their work filled with insecurities.

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30 E.g. Galtung, Johan, 2004. "Human Needs, Humanitarian Intervention, Human Security and the War in Iraq ", Keynote speech, Sophia University/ICU, Tokyo, 14/12/2003 and Regional Studies Association, Tokyo, 10/01/2004. [http://www.transnational.org/SAJT/forum/meet/2004/Galtung\\_HumanNeeds.html](http://www.transnational.org/SAJT/forum/meet/2004/Galtung_HumanNeeds.html) (accessed on 11.4.2010); Booth, Ken, 2007. *Theory of World Security*. pp. 323–326. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

31 Glasius, Marlies, 2008. "Human Security from Paradigm Shift to Operationalization: Job Description for a Human Security Worker", *Security Dialogue*, 39:1. pp. 31–54.

32 *Ibid*, pp. 45–51.

Analysing practical examples from the field teaches how to fail or to succeed. They also help us understand what human security could mean and how to operationalise these meanings in the future.



## **CHAPTER II**

### **Promoting Human Security – Practical Examples**

## United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security

In March 1999, the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security (UNTFHS) was launched at the United Nations. Shortly thereafter, in 2000, in response to the call by the UN Secretary-General to advance the twin goals of “freedom from want” and “freedom from fear” at the United Nations Millennium Summit, an independent Commission on Human Security (CHS) was established. After two years of deliberation, the Commission in May 2003 submitted its final report, entitled *Human Security Now: Protecting and Empowering People*. Based on the recommendations of the CHS, an Advisory Board on Human Security (ABHS) was created to promote human security and advise the UN Secretary-General on the management of the UNTFHS.

The ABHS held its first meeting on 16 September 2003 and agreed on new priorities for the UNTFHS which included: producing concrete and sustainable benefits to specific target populations; using the “protection and empowerment” framework; addressing multi-sectoral demands of people and communities; integrating responses by the international community; working together with civil society organizations; and avoiding duplication with existing initiatives.

In 2004, at the recommendation of the ABHS, the Human Security Unit (HSU) was established in the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA). The overall objective of the HSU is to integrate human security in all UN activities by combining the management of the UNTFHS with dissemination and promotion activities on human security. As such, the HSU plays a pivotal role in translating the concept of human security into concrete activities and highlighting the added value of the human security approach as proposed by the ABHS.

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1 I would like to thank my colleagues for their support.



## Key developments

Prior to the completion of the report of the CHS and the revision of the UNTFHS Guidelines in November 2003, no conceptual framework that clearly differentiated human security from other approaches was available. Subsequently, during this initial period from 1999 to 2003, the majority of funding was directed towards developmental concerns. Furthermore, little attention was given to integrated responses that addressed the multi-sectoral needs of people in situations of insecurity. As a result, all projects were implemented by single organizations of the United Nations system focusing on a specific issue according to their mandates.

With the establishment of the HSU and the revision of the Guidelines, the HSU since 2004 has committed itself to developing the UNTFHS into a major vehicle for the application and the advancement of the human security concept within and outside of the Organization.

In this context, efforts were stepped up to raise awareness on the human security concept, its application and its added value through various activities including operational level workshops on the revised Guidelines and the application procedures of the UNTFHS; further rationalization of the review and approval process of the Fund; proactive project formulations with UN organizations; expansion of the resource base of the UNTFHS and co-funding of projects; and the promotion of best practices through the launch of the Human Security website, the Human Security Booklet and Handbook, the Human Security Newsletters, as well as Human Security Regional Workshops.

Furthermore, in line with the recommendations of the ABHS, most projects approved during this period addressed the multi-dimensional impacts of critical and pervasive threats to peoples and communities. As a result, projects focused increasingly on rebuilding war-torn societies; preventing, mitigating and responding to natural disasters; strengthening economic and food security; improving access to health care in times of crises; addressing gender-based violence and human trafficking; and empowering communities through participatory

processes that strengthen state-society relations, enhance local leadership and improve existing capacities.

Overall, proposals provided a range of inputs across sectors and organizations that resulted in effective multi-organization projects and provided concrete and sustainable benefits to people and communities threatened in their survival, livelihood and dignity. Through tangible results that directly and positively impact people's lives, HSU has developed a pool of good-practice projects that highlight the added value of the human security approach.

## Definition and core principles

As defined by the CHS, human security means:

"... to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhances human freedoms and human fulfillment. Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms – freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people's strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity." (CHS:2003:4)

To elaborate on the Commission's definition, what distinguishes human security from other concepts are the following characteristics which constitute the core elements of the human security concept:

First, human security is a people-centered approach that looks at insecurities from the vantage point of people and communities. As such, it draws attention to a multitude of threats that cut across different aspects of human life and address the full range of factors that affect people's survival, livelihood and dignity.

Second, human security calls for an expanded understanding of security where the protection and empowerment of people form the basis and the purpose of security. This not only makes people more se-

cure, but it also enhances national security and international stability.

Third, in recognizing today's multiple, complex and highly inter-related threats, the human security concept takes into account the possible inter-linkages between lack of security, development, and human rights and provides a framework that looks at the root causes of threats in ways that are comprehensive and context-specific.

Fourth, by acknowledging that insecurities are multi-dimensional and vary across different settings, the human security concept aims to more accurately and strategically target the needed policies and responses so as to mitigate the impact of crises when they occur and help prevent their reoccurrence in the future.

Fifth, the human security concept cultivates genuine possibilities for partnerships that capitalize on the expertise and resources of a diverse network of stakeholders. This not only ensures coherence on the goals, responsibilities and the allocation of resources, but it also advances time-bound targeted responses that are developed based on the actual needs, vulnerabilities and capacities of the affected communities. Tangible improvements in human security help strengthen peace and long-term development.

## Examples of projects funded by the UNTFHS

In line with the human security concept, projects under the UNTFHS are selected based on whether they:

- provide concrete and sustainable benefits to people and communities threatened in their survival, livelihood and dignity;
- implement the “protection and empowerment” framework by comprehensively including both top-down protection and bottom-up empowerment measures;
- promote partnerships with civil society, NGOs, and other local entities and encourage implementation by these entities;
- advance integrated approaches that address the broad range of interconnected issues that take into account the multi-sectoral demands of human security; and

- concentrate on those areas of human security that are currently neglected and avoid duplication with existing programmes and activities.

The following are some examples of projects funded by the UNTFHS:

Twenty years of protracted conflict in neighboring countries such as Burundi, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo, had severely affected the livelihood and well-being of refugees, internally displaced persons and the host community in Northwestern Tanzania. While international assistance existed in the region prior to support by the UNTFHS, most funding however focused either on humanitarian emergency relief or long-term development assistance. In line with the core principles of the human security concept, the project, which was completed in 2008, addressed the gap between post-crisis recovery and development assistance by focusing on multiple entry points that sought to break the cycle between conflict, poverty, loss of education, infectious diseases and environmental degradation. Among the interventions included were capacity building of local government; reduction of small arms and light weapons; enhancement of education and enrollment of out of school youth; strengthening of agricultural production; and advancement of life-saving skills and knowledge on HIV/AIDS and malaria.

Meanwhile in the Southern Andes region of Peru where the recurrence of natural disasters including landslides, earthquakes, floods, and droughts have generated a permanent situation of poverty, malnutrition and ill-health, the UNTFHS is taking into account the multi-sectoral demands of the affected communities. As a result, several UN agencies in collaboration with community networks, non-governmental organizations, as well as regional, local and national authorities are working together to, among others, implement community-driven early warning and monitoring systems; improve environmental management as well as local agricultural and livestock practices; and strengthen community awareness and knowledge of natural disaster prevention, mitigation and adaptation.

Lastly, for generations, poppy production has been the main source of income for large segments of inhabitants in the highlands of Shan State in Myanmar. While recent efforts on opium eradication have produced considerable progress, however, in the absence of alternative income opportunities for former poppy farmers, incomes have declined in the affected communities. This has triggered concerns over the possible resumption of tensions between competing ethnic groups in the area. With funds from the UNTFHS, several UN organizations, in partnership with local and international NGOs, are working together to enhance the requisite health, education, nutrition, infrastructure, and capacity building needs of former poppy farmers and poor vulnerable families in the region. By improving livelihoods and strengthening food security, the project provides tangible alternatives to communities facing difficulties in freeing themselves from their dependency on poppy production and enhances the conditions for the eradication of poppy production in Myanmar.

## Conclusion

In all these cases, the added value of the human security concept has been its focus on the various threats that affect people's survival, livelihood and dignity and its emphasis on advancing responses that are people-centered, comprehensive, context-specific and preventive. Such an approach reduces the likelihood of conflict; helps overcome the obstacles to development; and promotes human freedoms for all. Today, human insecurities pose grave threats not only to the immediate victims but also to the collective security of the international community. In this regard, the human security concept is an essential tool in responding to current and emerging crises and its growing acceptance by the international community is both timely and an important development which requires the continued support and attention of all including citizens, Governments, the public and private sectors, as well as regional and international organizations.

Terhi Nieminen-Mäkynen and Kalle Sysikaski

## Lack of Human Security in East Timor

The first international conflict prevention program by The Conflict Prevention Network (KATU) in Africa 2000 – 2003, was followed by a project in East Timor 2006 – 2009, entitled Support to the Civil Society Conflict Prevention Platform in East Timor (SCCP). The project was carried out with support from Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs development funds. Its purpose was to create an East Timorese conflict prevention network between nongovernmental organisations and villages chosen in four provinces. East Timor was chosen as a subject especially because of the domestic insecurity and the risk of new conflict arising. Prior to this, there had been long cooperation with East Timor through a membership organisation of KATU, The Committee of One Hundred. This experience offered a stable cooperation base for the project.

The lack of, or the weakness of, almost all seven human security standards has maintained fear among East Timorese of a new flare up of the conflict. The aim of KATU's project was to reduce fear, or even better, to eliminate it. Supporting East Timorese in building up their own culture to solve problems peacefully was crucial for the project. The 2006

riots, which started from a quarrel between soldiers in the defence forces who were against the government and which grew into a fight between the soldiers and police who supported the government, illustrated that conflict prevention did not yet function in the country.

## A violent birth of independence

In August 1999, after the overthrow of the Indonesian dictator Suharto, the administration of the new president, B. J. Habibis, agreed to a referendum organised by the UN in which East Timorese were able to decide between autonomy and independence. Of the voting populace, 78,5 percent supported independence. However, the election results turned the defeated parties, who were loyal to Indonesia, to violence. The violence was led by the soldiers of Indonesia's army dressed as civilians. Under the soldiers' lead, people had been frightened and murdered even before the voting. During two weeks time approximately 3000 people were killed and 250 000 East Timorese fled to the West Timor side. Most of the refugees were taken by force to Western Timor, transported by Indonesia's army. There, camps controlled by the army were waiting for the refugees. The government of Indonesia downplayed the situation.

Finally, with the decision of the UN, an international group INTERFET led by Australia, arrived in East Timor on September 20, 1999, to return order as Indonesia's army withdrew from the country. By this time, 70 percent of the infrastructure had been destroyed and towns were burned almost to the ground. Half a million people had escaped from their homes. Communication networks, power plants, bridges, government buildings, shops, and houses had been almost entirely destroyed. In October 1999, before final independence, the UN's temporary administration, UNTAET, was established to take care of administration and to secure safety with the help of the peacekeepers and of the UN police. East Timor became independent on May 20, 2002. The UN has been supporting the new country even after independence.

The expectations regarding independence were high. People anticipated quick results to improve their living standard. However, the Timorese didn't have experience with democratic administration, not to mention a stable constitutional state. During the Indonesian occupation, the central political actors were accustomed to hierarchically organised resistance, not to democratic dialogue nor certain limits of their power. For example many of the leaders of the main party, Fretilin, spent their time as a diaspora in Mozambique, where they learned from the local ruling party a very authoritarian way of doing politics. Also, resources for the creation of a country that respects human rights were very scant in East Timor. There were only a handful of trained people to work in administration and justice and very quickly tensions started to appear between the police, army, and inactive former guerrillas.

In addition, the young people who had spent their childhood in traumatic, unpredictable, and violent conditions, began to form themselves into groups who sought out violent confrontations. The hobby of combat sports spread around the country like wildfire. Traditions of authoritarian rule and the effects of the Catholic church can be seen in East Timor, for instance in women's minor representation in the different levels of power.

Political tensions and their causes had been developing in East Timor during independence before the quarrels between the army and the police in the spring of 2006, the youth violence that followed, and the burning down of houses. In addition to the occupation time, the tensions of the short civil war in 1975 live on in East Timor and are reflected, for example, in the confusion over land ownership.

## Year of violence, 2006

East Timor is not a failed state, but concurrent with the violence of the spring of 2006, the institutions of the country lost their



legitimacy and their functions were paralysed. After much arm-wrestling, Mari Alkatiri's government was replaced in the summer of 2006 by a government led by Jose Ramos-Hortan, in which central ministerial positions, excluding the Prime Minister's post, were controlled by the ruling party Fretilin. It was claimed that ministers had been participating in the distribution of illegal weapons and the minister of the Interior, Rogerio Tiago Lobato, was caught and forced out. A former UN envoy, Jose Luis Guterres, who represented a more moderate wing of Fretilin, became the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Practically the only institution that retained its legitimacy was the president's, Xanana Gusmao, though with little legal power. However, taking the future into consideration, it was important that all the significant political groups wanted to call the peace keepers of Australia and the UN to the country to bring back order.

The internal tensions between the army and the police contributed to the fact that they became increasingly independent actors inside the nation state. Many central political actors used their power secretly, contrary to the legal state principles defined by the constitution. Furthermore, reasons for the situation in East Timor can also be found from important political decisions that increased marginalization in the society. These sorts of decisions were, for example, the acceptance of the dollar as the currency of the country and the acceptance of Portugese as an official language used in the administration which expanded the gulf between the majority of the people and the political elite.

At the end of 2005, the Prime Minister of East Timor, Mari Alkatiri, invited a specialist group to investigate the transparency and reliability of the administration and to give instructions for future measures. The experts were from the UN, the World Bank, the UNDP, Transparency International, and, as an independent expert, Terhi Nieminen-Mäkynen from Finland. According to its assignment, the group worked and gave its report in January 2006. Based on their investigations and on interviews,

the group gave the government of East Timor 138 recommendations about measures that the government should start as soon as possible.

However, there was not the will nor the time to even start the recommended measures. The unrest of May 2006 was not even curbed by the promises given by the Human Development report. According to it, the poverty of the country could be reduced by a third before the year 2015, if the anticipated oil and natural gas royalties are used for the development of farming and education. After the parliamentary elections in July 2007, the relative peace guaranteed by the international police forces and by the peacekeeping operation prevailed in the country until February 2008. Also, many non-governmental organisations, supported by Finland among others, are trying to guarantee to more people a way to participate peacefully.

Jose Ramos-Horta, at that time chosen to be president, and Xanana Gusmao, who had become the Prime Minister, were attacked by rebels. President Ramos-Horta was seriously wounded but recovered from his injuries. After the event, a state of emergency was declared.

## KATU's conflict prevention program

The UN police that came to the country to calm down the national violence of 2006 will probably stay in East Timor until the year 2012 when the next parliamentary elections are held. The East Timorese army and police who participated in the violence are being retrained. Particularly at the NGO level, it is assumed that the year 2012 is not a long enough time for the police and soldiers to adopt the principles of respect for a constitutional state and human rights. The nongovernmental organisations hope for, in addition to the UN police, international input to civilian crisis management and education for the people.

The goal of KATU's project was, indeed, to strengthen peace and human security, emphasising the role of the civil society in East Timor. The project tried to increase the citizens' own ability to build peace.

As the targets of the project, four provinces with the highest rates of violence were chosen. In these provinces, seminars and workshops were held in which arbitrators were trained and there was discussion about how to approach conflicts and how to solve or prevent them. East Timorese were encouraged to participate in local events where the focus was to strengthen peace. In the discussions, participants tried to understand why, for example, violence erupted in connection with voting. Participants in the meetings included ordinary citizens, youth groups, members of political parties, local authorities, religious leaders, national police, UN police, and representatives of the East Timorese army. In the discussions, the sources of conflicts were contemplated profoundly.

An alternative model of dispute resolution was recommended to the local groups as a concrete method to solve disputes. Alternative Dispute Resolution, ADR, is based on the usual methods to solve conflicts. These solution models do not try to adopt the role of an official legal system but instead try to facilitate solidarity and a trusting atmosphere.

## Key problems

The violence of 2006 first erupted in the Dili area, and later spread to neighbouring areas. It was difficult for many locals to understand why violence increased suddenly and people started to treat each other poorly. They especially wondered why this happened in Dili, which had been a quite homogenous area for a long time.

Through the project's seminars and workshops it has been possible to define a few reasons for the conflicts and violence: the authorities are weak, the army is splintered, there are old hostilities between East and West Timor, different problems have been left unsolved, the legal system does not operate well, the radicalism of some political parties is violent, and there are many illegal weapons. Furthermore there are many-sided local problems which can consist of the internal quarrels of the political party, conflicts between different martial arts

groups who practise battle skills, the problems of individuals or families, or land ownership disputes.

In the solution of conflicts it is required that all parties are willing to work for a common goal. By so doing, different parties gain appreciation from others. Reconciliation negotiations are held in a public place and the opposite parties proceed according to a traditional protocol.

The ritual ceremony of conciliations is the last stage of ADR. This is preceded by numerous negotiations in which the desired goals have been jointly striven for. It is important to create a consensus, a sufficient mutual understanding. The reconciliations that have been spread around East Timor, have contributed to fairness, peace, and solidarity. In some villages an attempt has been made to adapt Freire's pedagogics in order to empower the poor.

## Towards human security

Sometimes the difficulty of problems creates the potential for the birth of violent conflicts. Social, political, economical, and judicial approaches should be applied to prevent and to minimise factors that create conflicts. KATU's project ended up emphasising the significance of education in building a steady and civilized society. Above all, the young East Timorese should be taught the duties and rights of a citizen, a positive attitude towards others, responsible behaviour, and participation in the development work of the country. This is a necessary process in bringing people up from the atmosphere of conflict towards social solidarity and peace.

One central reason for earlier conflicts has been the weak skills of the political leaders and civil servants. East Timor is a young country and just building itself, so there is a great need for strong authorities in order to reach common objectives. Skilled leaders create organization, which is a precondition for development that goes in one direction. It is also important that political leaders learn to see the criticism of other

political groups and citizens as a resource in the building work of the country.

The citizens' education and the organising of the leadership are not necessarily the only methods in the prevention of conflicts. They can be used to contribute to the knowledge about social relationships, peaceful coexistence, and to enable citizens to feel that they belong to their own independent society, i.e. country.

## Challenges in the near future for East Timor

The violent conflicts of East Timor are the sum of many factors. RENETIL, one of East Timor's leading youth organisations, has brought about with the help of KATU's project, a significant development in bringing safety to East Timor. As cooperation partners, RENETIL has had NGOs started by its earlier activists that defend environmental laws, gender issues, and human rights in general. The current government has also given appreciation to the project that has improved the situation of the country by securing the everyday life of its citizens. Even though the project has brought about the preconditions for safety, there is still a large amount of work ahead.

In order to prevent and minimise violent conflicts, one needs laws and resources for executing them. East Timorese emphasise the role of parents, teachers, and other institutions in the prevention of violence, with the help of education and role models. In these tasks they need further international support and cooperation.

The example of East Timor indicates how difficult the promotion of human security is when there are no functional mechanisms of a constitutional state and only a small part of the citizens are aware of their constitutional rights and the opportunities that come with them. Unstable social conditions like poverty, mass unemployment, weak health care, and high illiteracy increase insecurity and the possibilities of social restlessness. In addition to the country's own efforts, international

support and help are still needed in East Timor for a long time to come.

Jose Ramos-Horta, who has been the president since 2007, sees the following as the big problems of the future: population growth of a catholic country, the lack of clean water, and land ownership disputes, which are all interconnected. According to Ramos-Horta, population growth and poverty must be reduced because, as resource problems grow, they may lead to civil war within 20 years.



*Photo: Terhi Nieminen-Mäkynen*

## **Recent history of East Timor**

For a long time the island of Timor was divided into Holland's western part and Portugal's eastern part. Indonesia, which had become independent from Holland in 1949, took over East Timor in 1975 after Portugal had withdrawn from the island after the Carnation Revolution. East Timor was declared an Indonesian province in 1976. During the occupation, approximately 100 000 people died of illnesses and famine and tens of thousands died because of violence. Altogether, over 200 000 East Timorese perished during the occupation. In the early 1980's, Xanana Gusmao, who had become the leader of the resistance movement, reformed East Timorese resistance basing it on diplomacy and civil disobedience. At the same time, East Timor started to gain international sympathy. The strengthened international solidarity movement spread information about conditions in the country. In 1996, Bishop Carlos Belos and speaker Jose Ramos-Horta (later the prime minister and the president of East Timor) got the Nobel Peace Prize for their work for a just and peaceful solution of the crisis in East Timor.

## **East Timor in statistics and numbers**

The degree of human security in East Timor is low. In 2007 Human Development Index East Timor was 162nd. The portion of the population living in poverty (under \$1.25 per day) is 52,9%. The mortality rate for children under five years is about 10% and for mothers about 3,8%. More than 45% of East Timor's 1 134 000 citizens are under 17 years old. East Timor's ranking in the corruption index in 2009 was 146, and in the press freedom index, 72, and in the democracy index, 47. The gross national income in 2008 was \$2 460 per capita, of which the share of official development aid in 2006 was 21,8%.

Even though the situation of the state economy has improved thanks to oil income, it has not been reflected in the private sector. East Timor has hardly any genuine economic life outside the capital city of Dili. The country lives primarily in a subsistence economy and practically all consumer goods are imported. The unemployment in the urban areas of East Timor is around 50%. The infrastructure investments have barely started to grow.

Sumona DasGupta and Meenakshi Gopinath<sup>1</sup>

## Woman Breaking the Silence

### The Atwaas Initiative in Kashmir

*In Jammu and Kashmir, a women's peace organization has been engaged in a bold experiment to break through the barriers of pain, mistrust, and fear that prevail in a region that has been plagued by a tragic conflict for many years. It comprises a group of Muslim, Hindu and Sikh women who work to expand constituencies of peace through a range of activities that include active listening, counseling, articulation of the concerns of women to policy makers and government interlocutors, and initiation of programs that facilitate democratic participation and just peace.*

The group Women in Security, Conflict Management, and Peace (WIS-COMP) is itself a project of the Foundation for Universal Responsibility of His Holiness the Dalai Lama, and their initiative is called Athwaas, a Kashmiri word implying a warm handshake. The members of the Athwaas group accept that they have different political convictions—yet as women they continue to “search for common ground”. In an atmosphere marked by mistrust and suspicion, Athwaas strives to create safe spaces for self-expression and reconciliation through sustained dialogue.

Once famed for its beauty and tranquility, life in the Indian-administered valley of Kashmir was completely shattered by the outbreak of armed conflict in 1989. Since then, thousands of lives have been lost

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in this “paradise on earth”. Caught between the bullets of the militants and the Indian security forces, innocent people have been the victims of a mindless saga of violence. The vocabulary that now permeates the valley includes terms such as “crackdowns,” “cordon and search operations,” “area sanitation,” “road-opening patrols”, and “soft targets”, and in normal life citizens are confronted with the daily horrors of ambushes, grenade attacks, bomb blasts, and landmines. Satellite television has over the years captured the language and the images of violence emanating from the valley—lingering images of armed militants and security forces, bombs, and bullets. The voices of the women of Kashmir have been conspicuously absent.

## Transforming the nature of the conflict

Deeply cognizant of the fact that the women of Kashmir must find a context in which their voices could be heard, WISCOMP organized a roundtable in December 2000 titled “Breaking the Silence: Women and Kashmir”. This was the first substantive step taken by WISCOMP to explore the idea of an inclusive effort to transform the nature of the conflict in the Kashmir Valley. The roundtable provided a platform for Kashmiri women—and men as well—belonging to different faiths, age groups, social backgrounds, professions, and ideologies to express their viewpoints. It was apparent that the violent conflict in Kashmir had brought in its wake not only the loss of loved ones and disintegration of social structures and support systems, but also an increasing emotional distance between communities that had earlier coexisted (Basu 2004).<sup>2</sup>

The events that followed the roundtable were unanticipated. A group of women from Kashmir expressed their desire to carry forward the process of dialogue and to explore possibilities of working across the political and ethnic divide to understand each other’s realities, acknowledge each other’s pain, and work together to build

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2 For an account of the proceedings of this Roundtable see DasGupta, *Breaking the Silence*.

constituencies of peace. The group, consisting of Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs, expressed an interest in identifying and strengthening values of coexistence and trust that had historically been a part of Kashmiri society. Following a brainstorming meeting in Srinagar, they decided to visit each other's realities, record women's voices, and build bridges of trust. WISCOMP was asked to facilitate this process.<sup>3</sup>

In November 2001, in the course of the first field trip, Athwaas traveled to remote villages in North and South Kashmir to meet women (of whom the overwhelming majority were from the Muslim community) who had learned how to negotiate violence in everyday life even as they had lost their men folk to the bullets of either the militants or the Indian security forces. Then in March 2002, Athwaas visited the migrant camps in Jammu, home to the displaced Hindu community of the valley, where the residents lived in the exiled seclusion of one-room tenements.

The women of Kashmir—Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs—shared with Athwaas their testimonies of horror, custodial deaths, torture, flight, escape, exile, and exploitation. The fractured reality and complex layers of the conflict began to emerge in their starkest forms. Each member of the Athwaas delegation maintained a diary and recorded her observations. One excerpt is revealing of the intensity of the experience: “Women feel oppressed from both the militants and the security forces who have guns. Fear lurks everywhere”. Another diary entry captured the sense of fear felt by women in a remote village in North Kashmir: “It is almost as if the women keep looking over their shoulders to ask: Who is he? Where is he? Who is with him? Whose side is he on? Can I trust the person I am talking to? My father is dead. Who killed him? Who is on my side?”<sup>4</sup>

The Athwaas group also visited Dardpora, the “village of widows,” nestled in the foothills of the mountains that separate India and Pakistan, about 125 kilometers from Srinagar. Approaching Dardpora, the

3 For an account on the birth of Athwaas and its guiding principles, see Bhatia (2001).

4 Ashima Kaul Bhatia, Personal Diary, unpublished, 2001.

Athwaas members had to travel under security cover and were stopped by the Indian security forces at several points. The village is home to about 100 to 150 widows and “half widows”. Their husbands have been killed either in fratricidal wars by the different militant groups or in encounters with the Indian security forces, or have simply “disappeared” in the course of the conflict. Eight years after the deaths or disappearances of their husbands, these women had reentered the public space. They would go to the relief office, negotiate for assistance, interact with local authorities, collect wood in the jungle, grow maize, and work as laborers. Though they were no longer grieving wives and mothers, the aftermath of the grieving period was perhaps more painful for them than the period of grief itself. They feared for their future, and the society would not permit them any identity other than that of “widow”.

The Athwaas members were taken aback by the anger and bitterness of these women, and their deep suspicions about the intentions of Athwaas. It took a Sikh member of Athwaas who knew the local dialect to convince the women that Athwaas was not out to exploit them but had a different mission—to share their grief, listen to their hopes, and possibly communicate their problems to concerned authorities.

Once the walls of mistrust and skepticism were breached, the women shared their life experiences with the group. In Dardpora and in other villages to which the group traveled, they met with several women who had lost their husbands as a result of deception, or in police custody. They shared stories of their struggles to bring up their children alone. They also told of being forced to marry militants, who then abandoned them. They now lived in terror of both the security forces and militants. One poignant narrative was that of a woman in Chandoosa village, in a desolate part of the Baramulla district. In 2001, “unidentified gunmen” killed her husband, a militant who had surrendered to the authorities. She was living in an isolated house on a hillock surrounded by Indian security personnel. Sharing her anguish about being “caged inside her own home,” this young widow was struggling to educate her two children.<sup>5</sup>

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5 Personal observations of the Athwaas group.

In March 2003 the Athwaas team visited two camps in Jammu where they listened to the narratives of displaced women who had lost their homes. They heard of the agony of exile, the longing to return to their homes in the valley, the anguish of living in shrunken spaces in unfamiliar terrain, and of trying to hold on to a distinct identity in the midst of a different cultural ethos. In the course of these visits, Athwaas members listened to the stories and recorded their personal reactions. Where possible they showed the women how to get in touch with the authorities, who to contact, and how to register a self-help group. The idea was to enable the women to make the mental shift from thinking of themselves as victims to that of survivors.

## Not one truth

The physical and emotional journey of Athwaas along a road less traveled was difficult, even traumatic. The group itself was reflective of the diversity of the valley, with members from different communities whose experiences of conflict, ideological convictions, and perceptions on the causes of the conflict differed. The realities they encountered and the firsthand testimonies they heard shook some of these beliefs and perceptions to the core. The roundtable in December 2000 had provided an early indication that there was no “one truth” that superseded other truths in Kashmir. Yet it was not until this composite group traveled across the valley and the camps of Jammu that they could appreciate the extent of this fractured reality. Pain, loss, and suffering interspersed with profiles of courage and determination in the face of adversity were the common thread that united women across diverse communities. The Athwaas members were able to understand firsthand how women negotiate the space between victimhood and agency and how in many cases the boundaries between the two categories get blurred.

The Athwaas members needed time to come to terms with what they were seeing and experiencing and to strategize on the nature of the interventions they wanted to initiate. The WISCOMP team

in New Delhi worked closely with Athwaas at every stage along the way, organizing workshops to reflect on their experiences, reviewing the lessons learned from the trips, and strategizing on how to move ahead. WISCOMP facilitated training modules to create a repertoire of tools that could be used in the field, including observation, active listening, interviewing, and basic counseling skills for dealing with individuals under stress. In the field, they used role-playing activities to assess people's needs, or organized simple exercises such as map drawing, which they discovered could reveal volumes about the residents' fears, insecurities, and priorities. Creative ways of eliciting responses became an integral part of the methodology used by the group.<sup>6</sup>

At an intensely personal level, a process of both turmoil and transformation was taking place in the hearts and minds of the Athwaas group. The people of Kashmir had experienced more than a decade of violence. The members of Athwaas were (and are) spatially located in this theater of violent conflict. At the beginning of the journey, the attitude of the Athwaas group to acts of violence had been ambivalent and such acts had been selectively criticized depending on the identity of the perpetrator. A process of inner transformation set in when they actually met those women who had been victimized by violence. Gradually there emerged a consensus among Athwaas members rejecting violence irrespective of whether the horrors had been perpetrated by militants fighting for the "cause" or by members of the Indian security forces.

Another process of emotional turmoil and transformation occurred when the Athwaas group visited the camps of Jammu after their travels in North and South Kashmir. The realization that the pain of one community does not cancel out the pain of the other—that Kashmiri Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs had all suffered, though in qualitatively different ways, was poignantly driven home when they actually transcended the emotional and geographical divide to visit each other's realities.

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6 The WISCOMP team has documented the proceedings of each of the workshops in a series titled *Stakeholders in Dialogue* (WISCOMP 2004).

## An inclusive network of Kashmiri women

In recent months the Athwaas journey has taken a new turn with the setting up of Samanbal Centres in North and South Kashmir and in a migrant camp in Jammu. “Samanbal” is a Kashmiri term used to describe a place where women can meet to share their hopes, joys, and sorrows. This milestone in the journey of Athwaas came about when individual members volunteered to take responsibility for local initiatives that would provide a physical space and a tangible context for women to come together to rebuild trust and reopen spaces for reconciliation. Each center does have a primary activity such as computer training, embroidering and tailoring, or sharing of counseling skills—but this merely provides the context for women to come together to share their joys and pain and to think in terms of collective action. It has not always been an easy process, but slowly and surely mutual trust and greater understanding have grown among the Athwaas participants—and ultimately, bonds have been forged that would not have been possible previously. Those touched are reaching out to others, so that the “space” is constantly expanding. As WISCOMP and Athwaas forge ahead to identify and create more constituencies of peace, there is a firm belief that the processes set in place will be able to be sustained. This is because the initiative in Kashmir was shaped by the notion that no outside agency can impose a solution—the solution would have to come from within and the women of Kashmir must have a voice in deciding the nature and the pace of movement along the road whose destination is transformation of the conflict. Because of this Athwaas was formed as an inclusive network of Kashmiri women, its composition representing the rich cultural diversity that is so much a part of its historical legacy.

Because one of the objectives of Athwaas is for women to transcend the cultural, experiential, and spiritual differences that have long served as barriers, it is difficult to point to tangible evidence of its impact. Attitudes have softened, women have reached across the divide, they are prepared, sometimes for the first

time, to listen to the “other,” and a thirst for vengeance has been supplanted by an urge to reconcile.

Perhaps the most unique aspect of the initiative has been its exploratory nature. There were no rigid notions about which strategies would or would not work. For WISCOMP, working with political uncertainties and an ever-changing environment of violence has meant continuous assessment of the possibilities, and adapting to changing circumstances. WISCOMP has continued to encourage the Athwaas initiative to strive toward the ideal that women must ultimately rely on their own strength and reserves to rebuild their lives in a zone of conflict. The personal transformation of many members, the establishment of the Samanbals, and the opportunity it has presented WISCOMP to build on this unique exercise are testimonies to the realization of the vision called Athwaas.<sup>7</sup>

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7 Basu, Soumita. 2004. *Building Constituencies of Peace: A Women’s Initiative in Kashmir: Documenting the Process* (New Delhi: WISCOMP, Foundation for Universal Responsibility).

Anne Rosenlew<sup>1</sup>

## Women's Money Saving Groups Improve Everyday Life in Senegal

*Anne Rosenlew tells about a communal way of arranging the economy in Senegal and explains that, without the help of women's groups and saving circles, the livelihood of many Senegalese women would be at stake.*

After becoming independent from France's colonial power in 1960, Senegal has urbanised quickly. Nowadays more than half of the 12 million inhabitants of Senegal live in cities, most of them in Dakar or in its surrounding areas.

Urbanisation has altered women's cooperation, but it is still an essential part of everyday life. Women's groups are spontaneously born in the suburbs, districts, and city quarters. Women help each other in arranging weddings, name giving ceremonies, and funerals which sequence the social life of the society.

Women's common activity and mutual assistance descends partly from agrarian society, where the women's and men's work are

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traditionally determined very clearly. Contribution of sufficient labour is vital to agricultural life and by helping each other women can manage their own work as well.

Nowadays the Senegalese women help each other economically by forming unofficial saving circles. They have been an important part of the local economy for a long time before micro credit programs directed towards women arrived in West Africa.

Since ordinary commercial banks have been out of reach for poor women, these informal groups are, for many, the only way to get the seed money for small-scale businesses or for building one's own house.

## Saving circles and reputation

Usually one participates in a saving circle by regularly giving a certain sum of money. In turn, each member gets to use the money gathered by the group.

This communal saving is based on trust. The women are not only in debt to each other, but are also responsible for maintaining the reputation of their family and their clan. The names of these women's groups indeed refer to honourableness, diligence, or communality. Typically names are "Our Common Honour", "Together", or "Let's Get to Work".

However, most important to the members of women's groups is the feeling of belonging and confidence which is created from taking care of common matters. This is especially clear in a society where the former structures and bonds are disintegrating due to internal migration in the country and to global change.

In economic development discussions, the women's saving circles have usually been bypassed as a bad example of the old structures which are putting the brakes on progress. Indeed it is true that the organisation of the women's groups is based on hierarchical structures and on a sexual division – but that is exactly why they work.

## Micro credits from outside

Reimbursements of micro credits to outsiders, such as development organisations and financial institutions, are also based on the idea of communality. Nevertheless it is only a result of a group pressure dictated from outside. For example, the model of the Nobel-awarded Bangladeshi Grameen bank, in which poor women answer as a group for each other's loans, has also been adapted diligently in Africa.

It remains to be seen if the micro credits are only a beginning of the disappearance of traditional women's groups and a path to a more individual way of life in Senegal. For the present, the traditional women's groups are still an important part of women's lives and their significance has increased with the long-lasting economic crisis.

However, the contributions of the micro credit institutions, co-operatives, banks, and organisations for the facilitation of poor women's everyday life in developing countries are considerable, and the credits offered by them are vital to many.

## From devaluation to saving circles

In Africa, women's contribution to society has always been extremely important. The significance of women's saving circles has been underlined in a society which is in the middle of a large social and structural change.

As a concrete example of the operation of the women's saving group and its advantages is "And group", operating in the Merina district of Rufisque, Senegal. "And" means "together" in the main language, wolofi. The group was founded about 15 years ago by Coumba Gningue, a well-known middle aged woman. She lives with her husband and children in a house which belongs to her husband's family and where her husband's brothers' families are also living. The adult women of the house all belong to the group, but there are also members from the neighbouring houses.

The need for establishing women's saving circles was born in 1994, when the west African currency used in Senegal, the cfa franc, was devalued by 50 percent and it was no longer possible to survive everyday life with the previous income. Earlier, the women had always helped each other in arranging the social rituals and ceremonies, and met each other for tea drinking and dance. Only the establishment of a saving circle gave them identity and a name.

The group meets regularly at Coumba's house. In each meeting, about 30 members give a sum worth a few euros to the common pot which one member gets at a time. In Senegal, 60 euros is already enough for starting a small business, for example fish selling.

Many of the women, indeed, are fish sellers and get their living from it. Some of the women of the group have started a fish smokery on the shore, which is financed with money from the saving circle "pots" - with that money, fish, salt, and surplus paper for smoking is bought. There is demand for Rufisque's smoked fish in the whole of West Africa and lorries all the way from Burkina Faso are coming to get it.

## Fines from delays

The women of the And group have not resorted to micro credits that are available, but trust their own saving circle. They know that one has to pay fines to the group if the weekly payment is late. However, the penalty money will go to the common closed cash desk, from which Coumba can give credit if some member of the group has an acute need, for example due to a sickness in the family.

Whereas for the micro credits, an interest would have to be paid and sanctions are hard if reimbursement is delayed. The micro credit papers are often signed in the police station and there is no flexibility in their reimbursements. "The poor always pay back," is the unofficial slogan for the organisations and institutions that give the micro credits. "Because they have no alternatives," is the less often expressed

lengthening of the phrase. This way of thinking reflects the economists' way of examining the poor from the outside as a part of the global economy, in which even the poor do their part.

## Money, crisis, and communality

The operational structures of the saving circles, such as the And group, take shape from the poor women's own needs and set of values. They attempt to solve payment problems together and a variety of problems often arise. However, the problems are solved according to the rules of the community and nobody has to be excluded because of her payment problems.

Large amounts of micro credits from outside, and the value structures that come with them, are offered to the women in Africa. However, it is important to understand that informal saving has already been used by the poor for decades.

Instead of trying – once again – to teach the women in Africa something, we should learn something from them. For example, about the frequently-mentioned communality.

Outi Hakkarainen

## Economic Safety Strengthens Women's Communal Position

### Success of Women's Co-operatives in the Mexican Municipality of Cuquío

*"My dreams are big. I dream that the women in the co-operative get what they want: that they are respected and they can defend their rights. I dream that organically grown and delicious animal feed, for which there is sufficient demand, is produced in each community and that young women join co-operatives and learn matters which they teach to their own daughters. I hope that the women of co-operatives raise their own money so that they will not be economically dependent on their men."*

The charismatic chairman of Cuquío co-operative told about her dreams in December 2004, when I was evaluating the project financed by Siemenpui Foundation, which a Mexican CSO, Centro de Apoyo al Movimiento Popular del Occidente (CAMPO), carried out in cooperation with a women farmers' co-operative in the state of Jalisco, Western Mexico.

Years have passed since the evaluation, but the story is still topical. I was impressed with how the women I met had, through their co-operative work, succeeded in improving their living conditions significantly and had broken the traditional gender and power roles. The effects of that operation were not restricted to the women and their relatives, but

were also seen more widely in their communities and, possibly in the future, in municipal planning and the agricultural policy of the entire state.

The changes in the women's lives cover all seven dimensions of human security as defined by the UN: their economic status has strengthened; food security has improved; their health situation, and that of their families, has improved; their ecological methods have strengthened the environment of the area; the strengthening of their communal status has signified better personal and political safety; and all the activities of the women have, for their part, strengthened the safety of their communities.

### CAMPO supports the rural women

CAMPO, established in 1989, works especially among women farmers in the state of Jalisco. At the end of 2004, it provided education, assistance, and information to sixty women's groups in 11 municipalities. CAMPO was at that time, and possibly still is, the only organisation in the whole state which works especially with the rural women. The aim of CAMPO's work is to permanently improve women farmer's quality of life in an ecologically and socially sustainable way. In addition to improving their economic position, the organisation's actions also concentrate on strengthening the women's communal status. CAMPO supports the women's leadership, so that they believe in themselves as a dynamic force.

CAMPO offers the women's groups many kinds of help, but the basic principle is to operate at the request of the women themselves and on their terms. Sometimes negotiations are needed since CAMPO tries to avoid risky projects that could lead to economic difficulties for the women's groups. One example of a project that required negotiations was when the women in the municipality of Cuquío enthusiastically wanted to acquire a tractor. CAMPO agreed only after long consideration, and the women proved that they were worthy of the trust.



CAMPO tries to strengthen the position of women's groups so that in the near future they can operate on their own without external help. Some of the services it offers are, for example, the microcredit program,

support for the cultivation of new plants, building of compost bins, teaching how to make organic fertiliser, and getting minerals for making animal feed. CAMPO also supports women in inventing different products that they can make and sell, even outside their own community. In 2004, these activities were only in their initial stages.

## Cuquío is a politically interesting municipality

The municipality of Cuquío has approximately 17 000 inhabitants and is located in the northern part of Jalisco, 64 kilometres to the northeast of the capital, Guadalajara. The climate is medium-dry and most of the land area is cultivated every season, depending on the rains. The main crops are corn and tomatoes, but chillies, beans, agave cactuses, and sugar sorghum are also popular. The land is mostly under private ownership. About 23 percent of the economically active inhabitants of the municipality are women, and they are the head of the family in every fifth household.

Politically, Cuquío is an interesting municipality since the left coalition party that was established in 1989, PRD (Partido de la Revolución Democrática), came into power there soon after its establishment. PRD began to carry out changes which the inhabitants of the municipality

had been hoping for from the local government for a long time. Cuquío at that time was considered an exceptionally democratic municipality in the context of corrupt Mexican politics. But still, the inhabitants voted for change in 2003, and PRD lost its position in power to a conservative entrepreneurial and catholic-orientated party, Partido de Acción Nacional (PAN), which has kept its power in the municipality ever since.

### Desire to do something different gives birth to women's co-operative

The women farmers of Cuquío already began to get organised years before the cooperation with CAMPO. From the year 1984 to the year 1986, they were active in local religious groups (Comunidades Eclesiales de Base, CEB) and some of them were also founding members of farmer's groups which had problems with local village chiefs (caciques). These groups joined at the federal level to the CNPA network (la Coordinación Nacional de Plan de Ayala) and travelled to the capital to negotiate about agricultural policies. Large community meetings were held and there were rather radical groups operating in the countryside. An independent farmers' organisation, Organización Campesina Independiente de Jalisco (OCIJ), was established in 1987 in Jalisco, but the women's and men's interests did not meet. The women left and established their own co-operative in 1995, La Sociedad Cooperativa de Mujeres Campesinas en Acción. Since then, 125 women have joined the organisation from eleven communities of Cuquío; in each community, a local group operates. The number of active members has varied throughout the years, according to women's life situation.

The chairman of the co-operative says: *"We started to be active in CEB groups in order to fight for a better life, we did not only want to sit at home or in the church with our hands crossed. We wanted to get organised. The men as well as the women were excited to found a new OCIJ organisation. We women worked hard but the men did not respect us the way we were. We founded a women's co-operative. We also or-*



*ganised in a new way, we did not merely start a new organisation."*

The co-operative has both self-generated business and leadership, and activities that strengthen citizenship. Its members develop collective production projects such as, tending fish ponds, raising hens, cultivating "nopal" cactus, agriculture machine services, animal care, cultivating vegetables, and tortilla bakeries. Some of the groups also offer to the inhabitants of the municipality, mechanised agriculture services, cultivation of the soil so that it is suitable for organic farming, and organic fertilisers. Furthermore, the women govern a small-scale local bank which can help cover the internal financing of the loan programme maintained by CAMPO.

## Exceptional tractor services

The acquisition of agricultural machinery has been one of the most successful projects carried out by the local groups. The co-ordination of this kind of economically significant project gave the women much self-confidence and appreciation in their communities.

The project started when the women's group of Ocotic was wondering why the authorities of the state offered support for the acquisition of tractors only to men's groups. The group asked help from CAMPO, but the organisation was not immediately enthusiastic. The request was not very ecological and such an expensive acquisition could bring about problems between the members of the co-operative.

One of CAMPO's worker says: *"The women themselves thought that they could work with the agricultural machines as well as the men, but we in CAMPO were hesitating. We did not, at all, have experience with this level of production projects. However, after having examined the advantages and drawbacks we concluded that it would work. In the ministry they were surprised. It was completely new that the 'vulnerable' women would start to acquire agricultural machinery. The role of our organisation was to act as the mediator, to speak for the project. The women proceeded quickly with the project and after 5-6 months*

*they got their machines. Their arrival to the town was a significant event, since such a tractor from Holland had not been seen before."*

With the help of CAMPO, the Ocotic group got a loan without interest and fees from the Ministry of Rural Development with which it bought a tractor in 1997 with a separate sowing device, a traditional seeding machine, hammer mill, irrigator, and a machine to peel corn. Altogether, the expenses were 17 000 USD. Soon the Aguacate group also wanted to have their own tractor and its members marched into the capital of the state. There they



heard that the loan programme had been cancelled. The women succeeded, however, in getting a loan but they had to pay a part of the total sum themselves. Part of the sum was lent to them by CAMPO and the rest was gathered from far-away relatives and even friends living in the USA. They bought a tractor and a small and big seeding machine.

The tractors made both groups satisfied but the first problem was waiting for them immediately. Who drives the tractor? Some women did not want to employ their husbands or their relatives, but that had to be the solution since alternatives were scarce: workers outside the family circle proved to be unsuitable because they handled machines poorly and managed their work unevenly. There was a shortage of labour in almost the whole area because the young men left for work in the United States. The dream of the women was to be able to offer enough work year round so that at least some young people would have a future in their home area.

The next problem was a lack of customers. The women offered

good services at a good price and arranged demonstrations of skill, but people did not get enthusiastic. The first year went poorly, but the situation changed when word about good quality service spread in the municipality. During the second year with the tractor, they were not able to respond to all the orders.

The women were able to make payments to the state so consistently that the Ocotic group had totally repaid their loan at the beginning of the year 2003. They immediately took a new loan of 48 700 dollars and bought a 90 horse power tractor and a few other agricultural machines.

The authorities of the state have been surprised. During the four-year support programme, only the women's group has succeeded in repaying its debt. CAMPO declared to the authorities, that if you want to have good results in your programmes, finance women's groups. However, the problem of the state or federally run programs is that they vary from one moment to another and the policy is decided mainly at the federal level.

## Natural fertiliser: efficient and cheap

The use of natural fertilisers originated at the beginning of the millennium from CAMPO's initiative. The fertiliser is a combination of different natural materials of vegetable and animal origin, such as manure and leaves. Its instructions can be freely copied from the Internet and it is easy to make at home. The Ocotic group started the production and sale of it and soon, other local groups followed.

The costs are so low that it even caused problems. People thought that a good material cannot be so cheap. The chemical fertilisers cost, at that time, about 80 Mexican pesos per litre, but the natural fertiliser cost only 15 pesos. Also in this case, word spread around gradually and people's confidence strengthened. The results have been encouraging, especially with the tomatoes and beans.

The women make the fertiliser independently but CAMPO gets



them the necessary minerals since buying them is controlled by the authorities because of the frequency of misuses. They are, for example, used for increasing animals' muscles.

The women use partly natural and partly chemical fertilisers.

They use the natural one particularly on tomatoes, beans, soybeans and also courgettes.

One of the women says: *"I have very good experiences with natural fertilisers, and it can be also used for sweet corn. I sell it a lot since the people mostly want to buy it ready-made. Fertiliser has not given the products any extra tastes."*

### Local feed challenges multinational production

The care of animals has, for a long time, been an important economic activity for the women farmers of Cuquío, but they have had problems getting animal feed. In the surrounding areas they have not had enough nutritious and versatile nourishment available for animals.

The women started to buy balanced animal food on the market, which is expensive for them. This reduced the profits from the other activities, and some had to take loans. The majority of the companies that produce feed are multinational and thus their raw materials usually come from abroad, especially from the United States, and are often of bad quality. *"The feed trade is like the wild west, the quality of the products is not controlled in any way"*, one of the women stated.

The solution was found from starting production of their own

feed. The establishment of the feed centre required much work, patience, and even luck. It took from five to six years for the women to find solutions to all of the problems they faced. A machine was needed to mix the different nutritive substances. A building was needed where the machine could be used. A piece of land was needed where the building could be built.

The project formed gradually with the help of many different quarters: the municipality of Cuquío, for example, gave the materials to build the house, and Ocotic gave the land where the building could be built. Furthermore, a separate transformer had to be acquired because the production needed lots of electricity, and for the production, plastic sacks were made on which the name of the co-operative was printed. Also, a machine was acquired to sew the mouths of the sacks after filling. However, the final result was worth all the trouble: there is more than sufficient demand and the women themselves know what their animals eat.

In the co-operative's centre, a different mix of food is made for each animal. The goal is to produce savoury, organic, healthy, and nutritious food for each animal, so the animals feel happy and also the people remain healthier. Cows, for example, like sweet feed, and thus they are given suitable proportions of molasses, ground sweet corn, soybeans, and minerals. Furthermore, by grinding the ingredients, it is possible to use the raw materials as a whole, at an advantage; for example in nature, animals eat only a small part from the sweet corn because it is so difficult to eat.

## Spectrum of effects: from women's lives to state agricultural policy

The co-operative established by the women has achieved a lot. The women have significantly succeeded in changing their role in their communities and in their families, but the process has not been easy for them or their spouses. Jokes have been made about the women

and their men have been teased, for example, for driving their "wife's tractor". Some of the men who have done work for the co-operative have asked their wives not to pay a salary to them in front of other men.

In the words of one of the women in the co-operative: *"We have strengthened our minds. Before I did not dare to talk, but now I don't feel shy, even if the audience is 150 people. My husband looks a bit annoyed when I leave for the meeting, but nowadays he doesn't say anything, he lets me go. My oldest children try to get me out from these things, they want to give me money. But I don't want to quit, I enjoy this work so much. I have also learned to know my rights as a woman."*

Ownership and cows are important in the area of Cuquío. When CAMPO started to work in the area, not a single woman in the co-operative owned a cow, and only about 20 percent of their men had one. At the end of 2004, 80 percent of the women had at least one cow and more than half had three to four cows. The following comment tells about a difficult starting point: *"I have seven children and we didn't have milk to give to them. I bought one litre, from which I gave milk to the smallest ones, for the bigger ones I gave coffee and cinnamon. Now I have five cows and a lot of milk!"*

However, the challenge for ownership is still the fact that women don't usually own land, even though it would be possible legally. Only 10 percent of the women who are cooperating with CAMPO own land, mainly widows and the ones to whom their fathers have donated a small piece of land (1 - 2 hectare). One of the women says, *"Usually the property is always under the name of the man, even though one says it belongs to both. It felt good when the cow was put under my name. For the first time I was an owner."*

The co-operative work has strengthened the women's position in their community. They have, for example, gotten into politics and four of them have been members of the municipal council representing the left-wing PRD party. The shift of power that was described in the beginning of this article was not a good thing for women's co-operatives, since many of them are openly perredists, supporters of the PRD party. The

co-operative is therefore not seen as an independent whole but, rather, as part of PRD.

When PRD was in power, a democratic advisory committee (Consejo Democrático de Cuquío, CODEMUC) was founded in the municipality, where the citizens of the town had the possibility to influence the use of municipality funds. The president of the co-operative says, *"At that time, men and women were working together wonderfully in the municipality. Yet the PAN party ended the advisory committee. PAN doesn't listen to the citizens. There are two women in the town council, but they don't promote women's matters."*

One of CAMPO's workers, in turn, clarified that PRD was not as good as the women perhaps want to remember during the end of its time in power. PRD started to lean towards agribusiness and its solutions began to be worrying from the point of view of environmental sustainability. In CAMPO, they hope that the women in the co-operative will realise how important it is to strengthen their own organisation and work through it. The women have a lot of valuable experience from organic farming methods. They could take initiatives to the municipality as a part of the civic society, without political ties. They still have a lot to give, even to the state's agricultural policy.

## The Culture of HIV in Malawi

Optimistically, Malawi is well positioned to confront this epidemic because it is politically stable and has a government with a proven commitment to eventually providing anti-retroviral medications to everyone who needs it. The US\$ 273 million in donor commitments to Malawi symbolize international confidence in Malawi's efforts. At present, however, Malawi does not have the health care infrastructure necessary to meet its goal. Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF) is just one of many NGOs assisting the Ministry of Health to develop this capacity. MSF first launched its HIV/AIDS program in the Chiradzulu district of southern Malawi in 1996 by offering voluntary counseling and testing and treatment of opportunistic infections. In June 2000, MSF started providing free anti-retroviral drugs and now follows over 5,000 patients. Our primary objective at this time is to increase access to our program by decentralizing care from the district hospital to the surrounding community health centers and scaling up new inclusions.

I came to Malawi as a volunteer field doctor with MSF. I soon realized that a model for tackling HIV centered on doctors will never be

1 This article was originally published in Human Security Journal, Issue No. 1, April 2006, Sciences Po, Paris.



practical for a country with a critical shortage of physicians. Therefore, in addition to providing patient consultations, I am involved in training nurses and other healthcare personnel on treating HIV infected patients. Every now and then, though, I take time away from my clinic and administrative duties to follow Esnat, a local HIV activist hired by MSF to trace patients lost to follow-up – the defaulters. While I have nothing to contribute to this process, I look forward to the experience because it gives me a window into the personal lives of my patients and the cultural aspects of HIV in Malawi.

Esnat is a short, stout lady with a gregarious personality that belies her stern demeanor. She became an outspoken advocate for HIV patients in Malawi after being diagnosed with HIV herself. She helped set-up support groups that allow other persons living with HIV/AIDS (PWLA) to take care of each other. She was an actress in a theater group that disseminated facts about HIV to a public that still carries many misconceptions. Through the course of her work, she came to know people in many of the villages that MSF works in and developed an extraordinary understanding of the stigma associated with HIV in Malawi. When MSF needed someone with links to the community and the cultural expertise necessary to do the detective work involved in tracing defaulters, Esnat came as a natural choice.

I remember my first time going on a tracing with Esnat. We began the day by getting a list of 11 defaulters from the data entry clerks. With our list in hand and our driver, Tom, we set off to the health center in Nguludi to begin our investigation. The day always starts at the health center because the counselors who provide pre- and post-HIV test counseling often know about the status of our patients. On this day, the counselor's register showed that 4 of the 11 patients on our list had passed away. Depressingly, death is the most common cause of defaulting and not, as my experience from the United States would lead me to expect, non-compliance. In light of that, the search for the remaining patients on our list felt like a morbid exercise in confirming our suspicion.

From the health center, we headed southwest to the village of Tapala in search of the next patient on our list, Montfort.<sup>2</sup> Upon arriving at the village market, Esnat approached a lady selling bananas to find out where Montfort lives. Esnat greeted the vendor like a long lost friend, inquired about her maize and empathized with her about the lack of rain before presenting herself as a friend of Montfort passing through town. While Esnat was genuinely interested in her new friend, such small talk is also necessary to avoid the appearance of someone on serious business such as a creditor or the police. The vendor did not know Montfort but she was able to direct us towards his family's house.

At Montfort's house, we found a young lady resting under a mango tree who introduced herself as Alinafe. She was Montfort's sister-in-law. She did not know Montfort well, but her recollection was that he died over a year ago. Our records, however, showed that we saw him in clinic four months ago. Alinafe invited us to take a seat on a reed mat in her two room, thatch roof hut while she went to find her husband, Denneck, to clarify the confusion. Denneck seemed glad to take a break from working in the sweltering heat of his farm. He sat against the mud-plastered wall across from us and asked Alinafe to bring us water to drink. After exchanging the usual pleasantries, we explained to Denneck the nature of our business. He confirmed that his brother had passed away over a year ago, but he suggested that Montfort's son, Biswick, may have been seeking treatment under that alias. Unfortunately, no one in the family had heard from Biswick in some time and our investigation hit a dead end.

In our district, people not uncommonly fabricate their demographic information when seeking treatment for HIV. Some, as in the case of Montfort, take up a pseudonym for fear of getting ostracized by their friends and family. Others may give a false address in order to receive treatment from MSF which currently only offers anti-retrovirals to residents of the district. I cannot fault people's motivations for making up information in order to access life-saving treatment while avoiding

2 Names of all patients, their family members and villages are changed in order to protect their privacy.

the stigma. But I am surprised by the fact that such a strong stigma still exists. Surely, I thought, with the tremendous investment in community outreach and education that people would stop getting blamed for their disease. In a district where an estimated 15-20% of adults have HIV, everyone probably knows and can empathize with someone who has HIV. But the fact that the stigma still exists and hinders access to care while possibly contributing to the spread of HIV suggests a continued need for more public education.

Hoping for a better outcome with Evelyn, the next patient on our list, we piled into our Toyota Landcruiser and headed for the neighboring village of Chibwana. Through a similar process of asking around the village, we eventually located Evelyn's house where her mother, Mercy, a weary appearing elderly lady, was tending to the farm. She told us, with the typical Malawian stoic demeanor, that her daughter died two months ago at the district hospital where she was admitted with tuberculosis. Evelyn's husband was in jail. Mercy, who is also a widow, now has to take care of her four grandchildren, but she has no one to take care of her. I knew generally about HIV creating a generation of orphans, the lost economic output from adults dying prematurely and the transfer of that burden to family members who, in western societies, would be enjoying retirement. But meeting Mercy, a lady who has suffered and now seemed to accept her inability to curb the tide, revealed to me a personal side of a catastrophe that is overwhelming her country.

We stopped briefly for a late afternoon lunch before continuing our search. Mike was the last patient we had time to trace that day. The last known address we had for Mike was in Nkonga – a small hamlet tucked away at the edge of our district. We arrived at Mike's house after a 30-minute jarring drive through the maize fields. Children, thrilled to see a car, chased us to the house and observed from their perch on a tree across the street. Mzuzu, a relative of Mike, brought out chairs and invited us to sit under the shade. After again discussing the rain situation and the potential impact on crops, we inquired about what

happened to Mike. Mzuzu animatedly related a long story, which I will paraphrase.

About two months prior, a practitioner of African traditional medicine made a house call to offer *chambe*, a widely touted cure for HIV. *Chambe* supposedly has adverse interactions with anti-retrovirals that necessitate the discontinuation of anti-retrovirals. Mike had started to feel better on our program and declined the offer. The practitioner then prophesied that one person in the family would die every month for the next six months. Roughly a month after that visit, Mike went to the hospital with what everyone thought was a common cold. Within 24 hours of admission, he passed away. When Mzuzu saw him, Mike had dried blood coming out of every orifice of his body. Mzuzu was convinced that this was the result of magic – most likely a curse placed by the traditional practitioner. Now, Mzuzu and his family live in fear of who may be next.

I knew from my experience that many of the villagers in our district ardently believe in magic. For example, billboards in the countryside admonish “AIDS is not witchcraft – use a condom”. Even in my consultations, people occasionally cite magic as the cause of death of family members. Until that day, I have allowed people to maintain their beliefs. However, beliefs are also the basis of action and when those beliefs can lead to harm (such as a traditional practitioner advising against using anti-retrovirals and claiming to cure HIV) I feel obligated to speak out against them. Certainly, many are not happy when I challenge deeply held convictions. But it does not make sense to throw expensive drugs at a disease without doing the simple things like clarifying misconceptions that promote the spread of it in the first place.

Before leaving the village, Esnat wanted to check up on a patient by the name of Chrissie who is a rare tracing “success”. Chrissie had defaulted when, after walking an hour to the district hospital and waiting all day in various lines to be seen, a nurse demanded 100 kwachas (roughly \$0.75) to dispense drugs that were supposed to be free. Like many in Malawi who live on less than a dollar-a-day and constantly struggle to

have enough food to eat, Chrissie could not afford that exorbitant sum. She became discouraged by the amount of effort required to access treatment and stopped following-up until Esnat convinced her to restart.

Esnat sincerely believes that every patient like Chrissie that she is able to catch and restart on treatment is a life she has saved. They are her motivation for diligently tracing every patient in the face of the disheartening number of patients who have died. Chrissie is also the main reason MSF traces patients – to better understand and address the reasons people default. For me, tracing patients provides a unique opportunity to better understand the people I work with.



*On the window of the van that a young man is driving is a text saying that condoms protect from AIDS. Picture: UN Photo/Louise Gubb*

## Lasting Food Security for Malawi

The maternity and child health clinic project started by the Mannerheim League for Child Welfare (MLL) in 1992, has expanded to a research operation between the University of Tampere's and Malawi's medical faculty, and a medical training centre in the area of Lungwena.

There are 30 000 people living in the Lungwena area, which is located in Mangochi province between Malawi lake and Mozambique. The majority of the people are members of the Yao tribe and the majority religion in the area is Islam which, however, has transformed in the course of time to suit the local natural religions. The Yao culture is matrilineal and a family can be monogamous or polygamous.

The majority of the 12 million inhabitants of Malawi live in the countryside. There are many fishermen in the Lungwena area, and all families also cultivate the land. The young men will often go to the towns to search for work, but regularly visit their families in their home villages. In villages one sees mostly children, women, and old people.

## Health centre work the Malawian way

In the countryside, one gets health services from the health centres or from car clinics. The inhabitants of the Lungwena area have one health centre for which there is a director and three nurses. For expecting mothers, children's health care has been arranged, and the babies that are born are moved under the umbrella of children's health care.

From the most distant villages, there is a 17-kilometre trip to the health centre. The staff of the health centre also make regular visits for consultations in the most faraway villages.

About 100 patients visit the health centre every day. The maternity and child health clinic's activities are participated in fairly regularly. According to a national survey, Malawian mothers visited a maternity clinic at least once during their pregnancy. Different organisations which have regional projects also take care of health education in Malawi.

Literacy rates varies in different parts of the country. Lungwena is average compared to the rest of the country; about 40% of the men and 14% of the women are literate. Because of poverty, it is not possible for everybody to go to school. Families must cultivate their own food since there is not enough money for shopping. However, the most undernourished in Malawi's countryside are the farmers whose only way to make money is to sell their products, of which there is not even enough for their own family.

## Small children are generally undernourished

The health situation of children is typical for Sub-Saharan Africa. Of Malawian children, 30 - 50% are undernourished between 1 1/2 to five years of age. Illnesses caused by, or worsened by, malnutrition often lead to death.

It has been estimated that half of the deaths of children under five-years old in the world are caused by malnutrition, either directly or indirectly. The vicious circle starts when young expecting mothers have uncared-for infections and give birth prematurely to small children whose power of resistance is not able to develop because of infections and malnutrition.

According to the recommendations of the WHO, all children, including those in developing countries, should in the ideal situation get only mother's milk as nourishment during their first six months. In the studies of Lungwena it has been noticed that children's growth begins to weaken already at the age of three months which highlights the inadequacy of the mothers' milk and the meagre additional feeding that has been begun too early. It is clear that the child who cries, even in impoverished circumstances, is given what is available.

The adequacy of additional food does not only depend on the nutritional content of the food, but also on the way people use it. Inadequate breast milk, the wrong kinds of additional foods, and too small portions of food cause not only physical, but also permanent, disturbances of mental development. Today, a baby born in Finland is estimated to live to 80-years-old, whereas in Malawi, to barely half of this. How is this possible!?

We know how to solve the technological problems in the world - but there are still millions of hungry children too many. Perhaps attempts have been made using "too big a ladle to scoop up solutions", for example, by reacting too late when you cannot do anything but to organise massive food relief to the worst areas?

## Solutions to the problems are in cooperation

Giving only food aid to disaster areas does not solve the problem. The disease burden of the world is biggest in the poor countries of the southern hemisphere, but the solutions are in the north.



Promoting health and achieving food security in the poorest countries succeeds with the help of financing from industrial countries and from long-range cooperation that begins in the south. For example, the use of local traditional foods could be increased and small kitchen gardens could be established, in addition to fields faraway. Enormous fields containing one plant, such as hybrid corn, are vulnerable to dryness or too much rain. It is possible that the last savings of the farmer have gone to the corn seed from which a crop is not obtained at all. Agroforestry, which favours traditional weatherproof plants, brings a more abundant assortment of edible plants and is more sustainable in the long run. The small farmers of the countryside have to get their products to the town markets at a profitable price.



*Malawian Pemphero activists in their cooperative field. Picture: Jenni Lento*

Improving living conditions in a Malawian village requires an understanding of many matters. The health situation is well known, but local food security has not materialized. Research in Malawi has shown that even with a small amount of additional food, growth is normal for babies under one year of age.

### Traditional food knowledge should be utilised

The old villagers still remember foods which have been used in the old times. They have been made, for example, from plants and seeds whose nutritional value is not necessarily known. What is needed now, is collectors of the traditions, investigation of nutritional contents, and the creativity to develop suitable products for the present diet from these traditional foods.

For example in Zambia, an "African spinach", beans, seeds, and mushrooms produced by small women's projects of the countryside have appeared in the supermarkets of the capital. To get to this point, environmental and agricultural knowledge is needed in order to reclaim land areas troubled by erosion and return them to farming. Interviews, systematic study, adapting information to the practice and, above all, cooperation between the people of the south and north are needed.

There have been calls for increasing Finland's development aid funds to the level of UN recommendations. There should also be more discussion about the use of Finnish aid funds. Multidisciplinary study and international cooperation to improve education and research promote concretely all the development targets of Finland and the EU. Improving food security by developing the living conditions of the people in the countryside promotes health, as well as self-sufficiency.

Without intervention in the sources of poverty and squalor, the solutions are not permanent. By training researchers here and sending them to work in the south, permanent solutions can be developed to

improve food security in changing environmental conditions. In all fields there are examples of projects that, in accordance with the model of industrialised countries, only remain in action as long they get financing from the rich countries. What we need now is the ability to adapt to new challenges, and solutions in accordance with sustainable development.

## Pemphero is established by local activists

An organisation called Pemphero that works in Lungwena is a good example of the effectiveness of activity and cooperation of people. The local people established Pemphero when there started to be considerably many households whose bread-winner was dead. In Malawi, relatives take care of orphans, and since the Lungwena area is the poorest in the country many families get in a tight situation economically. The workers of the local health centre made an initiative of cultivating common land, establishing afternoon schools, and jointly offering afternoon meals. In Malawi, the schools and school uniforms cost money, so not all families can afford to send additional children to school.

In Malawi, the state doesn't finance the operation of non-governmental organisations directly, and the organisations themselves don't think it's realistic that state support would increase during the next few years. The work is appreciated and it gets political "good will" - for example from the social services of the province - but there are no other resources. The economic resources required for the work must be acquired from external sources or must be self-earned.

Of all the areas that the organisation covers, the food management advice, nutrition advice, and hygiene advice goes in a traditional "women's area" since women typically do the housework and also much of the work related to farming. The men get money by fishing and by growing cash crops, such as nuts. These funds can be used, for example, to pay school expenses.



The events organised by Pemphero are open to all villagers, and both men and women participate in them. As an organisation, Pemphero has been registered at the social welfare office of the province. Active members of the organisation include two advisers from each village totalling 26, members of the advisory committee, and the members of the board. When established in 2003, approximately 50 people registered themselves to the organisation. More than half of the population of the village participates in village events.

Pemphero has supporters both nationally and from abroad: for example, scouts from the capital city collected bicycles for the volunteer workers of the organisation and a school class has arranged funds for the acquisition of blankets and school uniforms. Recently, a Finnish citizen organised an organic farming course for the members of Pemphero.

A popular local drama group, formed by young members of Pemphero, serves as an activator of discussion and influences attitudes. The subjects of the dramas, which are presented in the villages, are,



for example, domestic violence prevention, autonomy, equality, and sexual health. Activities that are started by the small deeds of the members of Pemphero benefit, in particular, those who are in the weakest position. The operation of Pemphero also illustrates how research results and theories can be put into practice, which is necessary in promoting human security and, in the case of Pemphero, also improving food security for the local people.

*Pictures by Jenni Lento*

## The Meaning of Water in Security Policy

On March 22 in 2010 the Secretary of State Hillary Clinton gave a speech in Washington, as it was the World Water Day. She quoted experts who had predicted that in 15 years water will be a major problem for almost two thirds of the countries on the planet. According to Clinton “[a]ccess to reliable supplies of clean water is a matter of human security. It’s also a matter of national security. And that’s why President Obama and I recognize that water issues are integral to the success of many of our major foreign policy initiatives”<sup>1</sup>.

Clinton also reminded that many sources of freshwater will be under additional strain from climate change and population growth: “2.4 billion people will face absolute water scarcity – the point at which a lack of water threatens social and economic development...Water – it kind of goes without saying – certainly deserves the attention it’s receiving today. Because in many ways, it does define our blue planet. It’s critical to almost every aspect of human endeavor, from agriculture, to industry, to energy. Like the air we breathe, it is vital to the health of individuals and communities. And both literally and figuratively, water represents the wellspring of life on earth.”

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1 <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2010/03/138737.htm>  
(accessed on 5.1.2011)



Availability of clean water is essential especially for the wellbeing of small children, and often, particularly in the poor countries, it is women who have to provide it. The UN Millennium Development Goals state that by 2015 we should half the number of people who do not have access to healthy drinking water. In Oceania and in the Sub-Saharan areas people are still very far from this goal. It is estimated that there are 2,6 billion people living in communities with insufficient sanitation and hygiene, therefore having their health severely endangered by this.

The United Nations' development programme UNDP regards decision-making systems one of the main factors affecting the availability of clean water: decision making must be broadened, made more transparent and accountable. UNDP has clean water and sanitation projects in over 60 countries. Cap-Net is a network providing technical advice and Water Governance Facility information on best practices in decision-making, planning and implementation.

In Zukupuri in Ghana UNDP trained 10 young men and women to drill wells and to test the pumps and water quality. They were also given training in questions related to local governance. It did not take long before they already recruited helpers, nominated maintenance personnel and committees to make sure that the wells functioned properly.

Before this the village women and children had to use three hours a day to fetch drinking water from the Black Volta River four kilometres away. As access to drinking water had been so difficult, people had fallen ill from contaminated water because according to the local belief systems water was not supposed to be boiled.

After the wells had been constructed children were able to attend school more actively than before. The participation percentage rose from 25 to 95 and also the local women were able to work more efficiently. Today 30 young persons are employed by the local government to construct wells and provide 26 000 people in 16 communities with clean water.<sup>2</sup>

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2 <http://content.undp.org/go/newsroom/2010/march/world-water-day/ghana--new-wells-boost-school-attendance-and-improve-public-health.en> (accessed on 5.1.2011)



*Internally displaced people queue to a well in Sudan.*  
*UN Photo/Tim McKulka*

## Water and irrigation from renewable energy

Lake Victoria is situated in Northern Tanzania. There is enough water for watering local crops but the local community does not have enough money or technology to make use of it. This is why they depend on rain water. However, it rains seldom and the crops remain insufficient. As a result people suffer from food shortage and low income.

On the Southeast corner of the lake, the situation is even worse because of climate change. This is why UNDP started a project in cooperation with the local community and government to build a system with solar panels to produce water both for drinking and irrigation. Local people are trained to use and to maintain the system. The costs are covered by a fund that was set up in the course of the project.

This project has also had some more surprising effects: the number of women attacked by crocodiles has fallen considerably since



they no longer have to fetch water from the lake. Food security has become better and there has been an increase in income as the crops have become better. Diseases due to contaminated water have fallen by 75 per cent.<sup>3</sup>

## Tree roots can do the trick

On the Kalpitiya Peninsula, located on Sri Lanka's western coast, relatively large scale irrigated monoculture agriculture is practiced. The associated heavy use of fertilizers has led to the contamination of farm and domestic wells with nitrates.

Building on successful bioremediation of wells through the removal of contaminants from water by plant roots and soil microorganisms, significant improvement in water quality has been achieved. UNDP's Community Water Initiative has extended the technology to 39 public and 13 private wells serving more than 10,000 people, including church, hospital and school wells.

In the course of four years, water quality testing showed significant reductions in levels of nitrate, nitrites, and chloride. The improved land management techniques demonstrated around wells and in home gardens increased soil fertility, leading to increased harvests and better household nutrition. The project's methodology has also been applied in other regions, such as the tsunami-affected Kalmunai on the eastern coast of Sri Lanka, leading to the purifying of 1,000 wells.<sup>4</sup>

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3 <http://www.unhabitat.org/categories.asp?catid=462>

4 <http://content.undp.org/go/newsroom/2010/march/world-water-day/sri-lanka-tree-roots-planted-to-decontaminate-hundreds-of-wells.en>

## War on water in Palestine

In October 2009, Amnesty International published a report called Troubled Waters. Palestinians denied fair access to water stating that Israel is violating the basic rights of Palestinians living in the occupied territories.<sup>5</sup> Amnesty condemns Israel's policy to be discriminatory: during the occupation which has lasted more than 40 years, Palestinians have not been able to develop an efficient water infrastructure and accordingly have not been able to live a normal life.

As an example Amnesty mentions the fact that Israel, in 2008, destroyed nine rain water tanks – an integral part of an EU funded agriculture project – on the West Bank. There are some 450 000 Israelis and 2,3 million Palestinians living on the West Bank. The Israelis, however, use four time more water in a day than the Palestinians. According to the report Israel uses more than 80 per cent of the water from the Mountain Aquifer, the main source of underground water in Israel and the occupied territories, while restricting Palestinian access to a mere 20 per cent.

In May 2010 UNDP published the Human Development Report on occupied territories considering in it all seven sub dimensions of human security.<sup>6</sup> In the part considering environmental security the report concentrates on water. According to this report the Israelis living on the West Bank consume water nine times more than the Palestinians. Of the Palestinians on the West Bank one third have no access to running water or sewage network. Insufficient sanitation and purification also cause wider problems for the Mediterranean because of regional fluctuations of the sea. Apart from the sea, sewage contaminates farming lands.

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5 Amnesty press release: <http://www.amnesty.org/en/news-and-updates/report/israel-rations-palestinians-trickle-water-20091027>. The report: <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/MDE15/027/2009/en/e9892ce4-7fba-469b-96b9-c1e1084c620c/mde150272009en.pdf>

6 <http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/national/arabstates/palestine/name,14112,en.html>

The UNDP report states that clean water is essential both for development and for national, regional and global security. Already in 1995, the vice president of the World Bank Ismail Serageldin prophesized that so much as the then wars were waged over oil, the next century's wars would be waged over water. On the other hand it has also been stated that there has been no one war that has been waged solely over water.

It seems clear that the globe needs big changes in order to avoid water shortage in the future and many alternatives have been sought by way of technology. Human security presupposes radical changes in decision making: a political will to cooperate in order to construct a common human future appears to be very far from the present way of looking at cultural differences and paying tribute to masculine, state centric realism.

- It is estimated that 5 to 10 million people die every year due to insufficient sanitation or water related diseases.
- Half the world's population lacks access to sanitation, basic hygiene and sewage processing.
- In poor countries, 80 per cent of diseases are due to exposure to contaminated water.
- The need for clean water has tripled during the past 50 years.

## Defending Human Rights Requires Working against Criminals

*The author questions how useful it is to make a division between human right abuses done by a nation state, violations done by non-governmental actors, and conflict between armed groups, when human security has already been endangered and the violence is directed mainly towards the civilians.*

The inseparable connection between human security and national security and development doesn't feel far apart for Finnish people. As the basis of Finnish welfare, there is not only technological know-how, but also good social development in which confidence in the society and its protective institutions is common.

When I was the OSCE Special Representative on Combating Trafficking in Human Beings, it was often possible for me to meet representatives who work with human rights for international organisations and, on the basis of that, I can state that the idea of troubled times is common. In reality, there is a lack of interest in working for people's rights in everyday life, not to mention in bringing to the political agenda new factors that threaten human security. Fortunately, we have international institutions like OSCE and our long-standing commitments to remind us that human security and human rights must be implemented again and again, precisely for today's people and the threats against them.

The idea that a country can't be safe if the people are not living safely has existed for a long time in UN reports about global development, for example: the concept of sustainable development in Brundtland's report; the UNDP human development report from 1994;

millennium goals and the report by the Commission on Human Security to Kofi Annan in 2003; recently, the so-called Barcelona report by Mary Kaldor's working group to Javier Solana; the report of ILO's World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization in 2004; the Helsinki Process and the working group on human security; the UN Global Forum on Migration and Development; and, of course, the three baskets in the safety outline of the OSCE from Helsinki in 1975, in which economics, environment, and the human dimension was brought next to military and political safety.

## Humans at the centre

When measuring the state of human security, the situation of the people in the weakest position must be examined in every society. The concentration on the human being is primary, as Sadako Ogata points out when she discusses: "securing and expansion of the central freedoms of the people." Human security does not try to replace national security but tries to supplement it, and nation states have the responsibility for carrying it out. Even at the moment we have several examples of this from the so-called collapsed countries like Iraq, Afghanistan, and Palestine. The countries are not safe when the people are not safe, and the people are not safe if there is no strong government that respects democracy. When people are desperate in regard to their future, the situation is favourable to human trafficking.

When suggesting a new security strategy to the EU, the Barcelona report to Solana analyses threatening factors to Europe and concludes that none of the threats are purely military and, thus, they can't be prevented merely with military methods. The report lists the threats, in addition to terrorism, as failed states and international crime which are connected. One of the writers of the report, Mary Kaldor, specifies that the question is about protection of the individual against fundamental insecurity. She lists torture, inhumane and degrading treatment, disappearance of people, and slavery as examples of unbearable

conditions of insecurity that compromise human security. The report suggests that the EU should contribute to the protection of every human being and take human security as its strategy: first of all for moral reasons, because the question is about our common humanity; secondly, because of legal reasons, referring to the charter of the UN and the Treaties of the European Union; and thirdly, because of enlightened selfishness, since security is undivided.

From the collapsing of countries, and from the so-called new wars that followed from them in Africa, the Balkans, Central Asia, and the Caucasus, once can ask with good reason how the division between human rights abuses done by the state, by non-governmental actors, and the conflict between armed groups, is useful. In any case, the violence is directed mostly towards the civilians and the differences between external and internal becomes dimmer. It is clear that these countries can become safe only when the armed conflicts end, and only when human security increases can they invest in the realization of people's human rights and democracy. Human insecurity has a tendency of expanding outside national borders for good reasons, such as when the people search for possibilities from elsewhere, or for bad reasons, such as when displacement and insecurity discharge as hatred or violence towards other people or nationalities.

Indeed, it is interesting that all of us perceive the threat of terrorism and battle against terrorism as real, and this has mobilised world politics; but at the same time we avoid seeing the connection to human insecurity and to the displacement of young people, which serve as a substratum to any given extreme and criminal powers who take advantage of the situation.

### Individuals compelled to adopt a fundamentalist identity

I sincerely recommend a book called, *Identity and Violence* by Amartya Sen; a wise man's thoughts to every politician or private citizen. Reading

it surely changes the reader. Sen analyses our habit of putting people into different groups, often religious, which leads to a withering of the real interaction between people and to a standstill of development, and, at its worst, emphasises hostile stereotypes and drives people in fundamentalist directions.

It is interesting that, not only are the opponents of multiculturalism guilty of this collective thinking and operation but, also, the defenders of multiculturalism are guilty through their thoughtlessness. The book shows with numerous examples, how identity is always multi-storied: I'm a mother, a Finn, a Swedish-speaking Finn, a feminist, a right-winger, a supporter of Halonen, a left-winger in the Swedish People's Party of Finland, international, Viennese, a politician, and an international professional woman, etc. It is pivotal that the individual always chooses, perhaps according to the situation, the parts of his/her identity. The common dialogue between cultures which OSCE has also thought increases human security and tolerance can, as its worst, dispel an individual's ability to choose his or her identity and give a stereotypical picture of the world view of people of different religions. Forcefully grouping people, for example to an immigrant identity, by someone else, usually a religious leader and often an older man, can actually compel an individual to become a fundamentalist and isolate him or her from all development and dialogue. One is forced to choose his or her side between only two possibilities. Can one be expected to differ from the road that has been defined for him or her from the outside, chosen by the leader? Amartya Sen focuses especially on the British, in spite of their good history of integration politics, and criticises Tony Blair's integration discussions, particularly about the fact that they bypass the democratically chosen and give religious leaders the right to represent their group collectively.

According to some researchers, there are up to eight million immigrants without official identity cards living in the EU, most of them having made a courageous decision to look for better opportunities for their life. It is estimated that in Russia there are more than 12 million,

in the United States more than 11 million, and in England about half a million immigrants without official papers. In Austria, the amount of so-called illegal immigrants is estimated to be about 300 000. ILO estimates that usually 10 - 20% of them live in slave-like conditions.

As mentioned in the previous investigation by the Finnish government, human insecurity has spread outside the failed states and poor countries. Human trafficking, including the trafficking of women and children for the sex industry, human trafficking for forced labour, and keeping girls, boys, women, and men in slave-like conditions, is also a reality in our part of the world, even in Finland. The studies show that casualties of human trafficking are found in the most vulnerable groups of people: those in poverty, those from discriminated groups, foreigners, and primarily women, girls, and boys, but also men.

## Human Security for Everybody

In the world, there are the people “upstairs” and the people “downstairs”. The upper level, i.e. the government and the laws, does not protect those of the lower level from violations of human rights, and schooling and public health services are not available for children of the lower level. Also, in the rich countries in Europe, human rights are part of everyday life only for some of the people. As a strategy, human security should not remain only as a part of foreign policy, but must be universal and a reality in everyone’s life.

In order to be credible and strict about democracy and human rights in rogue countries, we must demand resolute measures for carrying out human rights in our own countries and in the EU. It is an impossible thought that the responsibility of the government for protection of the human rights of an individual who possibly has been in the society for years would cease because of lack of official papers. Everyone deserves human rights. Every child must have the right to go to school. In my opinion, it is reasonable to ask how the government of Finland has secured the right to go to school for children with temporary residence



permits. How refugee children who have arrived without a caregiver can be protected from criminal human traffickers, requires detailed research on what is best for the child.

It would surely be easier to control the movement of people if there were more legal possibilities and alternatives. From the point of view of human security, legalising options would bring a considerable advantage and would reduce the vulnerability of migrants against all kinds of abuse, both in the sex trade and in forced labour, and would give them a greater opportunity to make a bigger contribution to the development of their resident country. According to economists, countries that need more and more labour would benefit from this most. Difficult conditions will always drive people to search for a better life, and every government has the responsibility for building viable and safe societies. Reports about the future indicate new threats and reasons for the movement of people: as environmental catastrophes and climate change radically alter the possibilities of living, the situation will continue to escalate. Admitting the facts, we must consider more strongly how, in these conditions, human security is secured, rather than merely how to stop people at our borders, and also how people have to expose themselves to criminal human traffickers and violence.

## Crisis Management and Human Security: Like Pencil and Paper

Comprehensive crisis management and human security go together like pencil and paper if they are used together correctly. If crisis management is the EU's, OSCE's, or the UN's blue pencil, or NATO's green or camouflage pencil - then human security is the paper.

The analogy is an everyday one from many perspectives, not least of all because in human security one is closest to people's everyday life in crisis areas. The second aspect comes from the argument that without the "paper" of human security, the "pencil" of crisis management is useless.

### From theory to action

Finland has done its reporting well: behind the comprehensive security policy reports we have drawn up a Comprehensive Crisis Management Strategy, a strategy for Civilian Crisis Management, the concepts of military crisis management, an outline for security and development, a National Action Plan for implementing UN Resolution 1325, and, most recently, guidelines for Finnish peace mediation.

Furthermore, Finland has succeeded in establishing the Crisis Management Centre closely following the models of Sweden and Germany, doubled its participation in civil crisis management in a few years, tripled participation of women in civil crisis management, and is one of

the biggest countries participating in several demanding operations.

The advisory board of civil crisis management and its division of non-governmental organisations make it possible for the issues to be discussed and considered with NGO input - as we promised and promoted during Finland's EU chairmanship. The research work is done by dedicated academics.

At the governmental level and the non-governmental level, in Kuopio, Tampere, Turku, Tuusula, Satakunta, and Säkylä, many are working diligently on the thoughts, initiatives, and in the different disciplines of crisis management.

## Ali, Aida, Bujar, and Boban

However, the discussions, meetings, writing, reading, researching, and the conceptual-, strategic-, reporting-, and other work done at home is not yet crisis management.

Crisis and conflicts have been, and will remain, for a long time a part of every day life and death for Ali in Afghanistan, Aida in the Middle East, and Bujar and Boban in the Balkans. They also watch how the numerous actors of the international community hustle around trying to solve the challenges of their country.

Many of the challenges are indeed big for the international community, and far away from the problems of their home country and from the different cultures of decision-making, administration, and control. In a crisis environment, the international community's own amazement and political and cultural disagreements may have a higher priority on their meeting lists than Ali's, Aida's, Bujar's, and Boban's problems - and yet again, they watch the movement of white, black, green, and blue cars and convoys from the headquarters of one operation to another.

This can take years. Eighteen years has gone by since my first operation and still that beautiful country solves its war crimes, rebuilds damages especially outside its capital and tourist attractions, and moves

forward with re-migration and the standards appointed by the international community.

## Homework assignments

In my most recent mission, I was allowed to work for nearly three years in the planning group of the biggest civil crisis management operation of the EU; and later, when the operation had switched from planning to realisation, I was head of best practices and training, in charge of training and evaluation.

Many asked – and for a reason – what is meant by best practices and what on earth do I do: what do I try to achieve, promote, and reach with them. I answered then and I answer now, that instead of best practices we should still talk only about practices, even about bad practices.

From the perspective of intergovernmental crisis management operators in the international community, the EU is still a first grader, or 7-year-old. The UN, OSCE, and NATO have done a similar kind of work for decades longer.

Notes, homework, and assignments should be diligently collected to the students' workbook, and they should understand the homework and better practices before these world travellers and pupils of the "crisis management school" go for new journeys.

Even though the EU is at a first grade level compared to other actors, it has its advantages. Its pockets and boxes are full of different objects and tools, which can be used – together or separately – to influence different problems. It also has its eyes and ears open, it sees and hears everything and learns new matters fast. Here lies the opportunity for EU crisis management.

## From the flag-waving culture to successful action

The organisations in the operation area want to be seen and also want to use their image as influence - at the same time, visibility is also sought

after in their home countries, in the direction of its citizens and taxpayers. The expensive operations must be justified.

Ali, Aida, Bujar, and Boban have seen many different flags, logos, and road signs: the logos of organisations are visible on hundreds of cars, thousands of shirt sleeves, on headquarters' gateposts, flagpoles, walls, and roofs.

Flag-waving alone is not enough for justifying the presence and actions of the operation; the justice operation has to develop workable courts and the police operation has to catch criminals. The hundreds or thousands of millions of Euros that are used disappear too often in statistics, structures, and projects.

The development of the organisation is also measured by how soon it moves from the creation of political accountability to operative, more durable credibility earned through the results of its work and its operation, which has practical influence in the life of the inhabitants of the crisis area.

## Success of the operation

The success of the operations depends more and more on skills. Knowledge in two critical areas is especially important:

1. Transition know-how - i.e. the ability to accelerate development in order to improve the situation of a country or area after conflict, first, with one's own best practices, and then, by transferring the responsibility to the local actors before stepping aside and going home.
2. Transformation know-how - i.e. the ability to move the knowledge and skills of one's own organisation and operation so that it becomes local know-how and to support the transition development with human resources.

The effect of European standards and best practices is the key to success, especially in countries waiting for EU membership who are anyway, trying to develop their governance according to European models. It is largely the result of expansion politics of the EU and of its actions that Bujar and Boban not only look angrily at each other, but also together, towards Brussels.

The success of crisis management and development work in Africa and Asia is a more important question than EU enlargement to Ali and Aida; as a response, Ali either becomes a police officer or moves to the mountains to become a guerrilla, and Aida goes to school and studies, or remains home giving birth to more small boys and girls, who wonder in the following years about the green-shirted and blue-shirted foreigners in their home village.

## Ahtisaari's Nobel Peace Prize Starts a New Era for Human Security

The UN Security Council did not legitimize NATO's military intervention in Kosovo in reaction to the violence perpetrated by Serbia, and therefore Serbia felt that political involvement by Europe and the West in Kosovo was illegal. But that policy was necessary from the point of view of human security.

In spite of Kosovo's growing economic difficulties, corruption, crime, the inability to administer its own area, and growing impatience of the EU and the UN, the region earned its independence since it was not possible to consider Serbia entitled to govern a region whose people it systematically killed. Therefore, President Martti Ahtisaari, working as the UN mediator, did not have any other alternative than to go around the formal legalities and build a future for humane politics in Kosovo.

Indonesia's legal right to the autonomous province of Aceh is not denied in international discussions, nor can the difficulties in Aceh's and Indonesia's central administration be seen legally in any way as an international question. In spite of that, the systematic violence of the country towards the civilian population required a humane solution. Because of the violence, Indonesia's rights to the administration of Aceh were

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1 The article is based on the earlier text by Kivimäki, "The Period of Human Security", published in Global.Finland.fi January 5, 2009: <http://global.finland.fi/Public/default.aspx?contentId=153879>

restricted with internationally monitored arrangements, which guaranteed wider autonomy to the area. Therefore Ahtisaari was again needed as a midwife for a humane solution.

The conflict of Aceh was the first East Asian war in which the state voluntarily permitted the internationalising of a peace solution in spite of the fact that legally it was Indonesia's internal concern. For the Indonesian state, the human security interest required the violence to be solved in a way which was regarded as the most efficient.

## The old norms are not enough

It would seem that the peace processes in which President Ahtisaari has played a crucial role as a mediator, have been of the type in which applying existing codified norms is not enough. In Ahtisaari's most significant peace solutions, human security has become the guideline instead of the security of the legal sovereign state and the rationality of the politics of force.

So does Ahtisaari's Nobel signify some kind of victory for the ideal of human security over the old concept of national security? In my opinion, it means exactly that. Human security is becoming the precondition to political justification. Ahtisaari's recent work has been based on the same principles, the rise of which is affirmed by the new principles of the UN concerning the duty of countries to protect citizens and principles about the justification for military intervention in domestic matters to prevent genocide.

Directing violence toward ordinary, innocent citizens is gradually becoming forbidden, regardless of the circumstances. During the Second World War, the decision of the British air force to move to the strategy of area bombings in 1943 was based on the following logic: the target of the bombings was innocent German civilians but, by directing the bombing at them, the intent was to break the backbone of soldiers on the front lines. During the new time of more humane security, these



tactics are called terrorism.

The intentional killing of civilians even in a time of war has become totally reprehensible and, with regards to civilian casualties, careless bombing of military targets causes political problems. In the Arab world, the United States is often called a terrorist state referring to the many missed targets and operations in Iraq in which civilians have become secondary targets. From the humane point of view, killing civilians even in the situation of war is not justifiable, even as unintentional casualties of military hits.

## The concept spreads

The concept of human security is not only a product of the imagination of European Union nations. The fact that the Arab world is calling the United States under George W. Bush a terrorist state, tells about the commitment of the Arab world to the concept of human security. Military power and the cold realities of national security do not justify power politics, even in the Middle East.

Even Russia, in its military intervention in Georgia, appealed to the principle of human security by taking the responsibility to protect civilians. Despite Russia's unwillingness to admit to the European ideas on the decreasing importance of national borders and the relativity of state sovereignty, both Prime Minister Vladimir Putin and President Dimitri Medvedev repeated their argument about the prevention of genocide. The argumentation did not refer to the classic rationales of state security, but appealed to the guilt of Georgia for killing two thousand Ossetian civilians.

The fact that the argument is based on human security and the condemnation of civilian casualties is revealed in the way the Russian political elite underlined that 700 of these casualties were children. The arbitrariness and bad administration of Georgia was highlighted with claims that Georgian soldiers were on drugs when they attacked South

Ossetian civilians. The Russian media repeatedly reported on the inhumanity of Georgia towards civilians which was used as a justification for the conclusion that Georgia no longer deserved the permission to rule over South Ossetia.

The attitude changes in global politics evolve with little notice but cause big shifts in the realities of international relations. Even though, at the turning point, the attitude changes cause interpretation differences, the change towards more humane security provides opportunity for less violent world politics. In my opinion this is happening. Otherwise the targeting of civilians would not be considered terrorism and independence would not be insisted upon for Kosovo and South Ossetia, nor large-scale autonomy for Aceh. Otherwise Ahtisaari would not have received the Nobel prize for the heroic deeds he did for human security.

## Human Security and the Gap between Cultures

Two people locked in the same place together will probably find a human being and a friend in each other, as did Robinson Crusoe and Mr Friday, or Genly Ain and minister Estraven. They all came from different cultures, yet a connection was created in spite of suspicions at the beginning. Actually, envoy Genly Ain and Therem Harth rem ir Estraven are characters in Ursula K. Le Guin's breakthrough work, *The Left Hand of Darkness*, and only one of them is a human being - the other is a two-footed hermaphrodite who lives on a planet called Winter; we want to believe deeply in the possibility of safe relationship between two people, or even two species, and such stories please us.

For some reason, however, our feeling of human security begins to weaken when the direct connection between people disappears. Instead of basic human beings, we become representatives of our cultures and end up on a path full of traps. How do the reflections of cultures affect our human security and how can we escape from xenophobia, retaining at the same time our own values and judgement?

### Our assimilated culture

Culture is a complex network of interdependencies, assumptions, and meanings. All of us are prisoners of our own culture and we look at the world through eyes coloured by it. We may be able to describe local

events, within a limited time and place, with reasonable correctness. Even so, we cannot avoid the effects of our own culture on our interpretation; we have been conditioned to our group's or our organisation's values, interpretations, and behavioural models.<sup>1</sup>

The cultural layers that are built into our minds extend from the national level to the subcultures of our own reference group. Inside our own national culture we are also affected by ethnic, linguistic, and religious factors. The differences between the sexes and the generations, as well as social class, change our approaches. Our political view tends to distort the interpretation in the direction of our beliefs. Our good intentions may blind us so that we don't accept reality when it does not correspond to our expectations.

Experimental, behavioural scientific studies have shown that the researcher's cultural background is a critical factor in his or hers cross-cultural observation. Cultural differences seem to have an especially strong effect in performance evaluations inside organisations and in cross-cultural management.<sup>2</sup> Results that have been obtained from within the sphere of anthropology, psychology, and sociology, confirm the knowledge conceived of in multinational circles: our way of observing communities and social situations is coloured by our own cultural background and it dictates what we sense, what we perceive, how we interpret, and how we communicate our observations. Cultural background also affects the interpretation of human security and the experience of safety.

In my home country of Finland, the people often jest about how

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- 1 How to define the concept of culture, see Kroeber, Alfred and Kluckhohn, Clyde, 1952. *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*. Cambridge: Harvard University. About the effects of culture on strategies and organisations, see Schneider, Susan, 1989. "Strategy Formulation, The Impact of National Culture," *Organization Studies*, 10:2, p: 149-168, Department of Organisational Behaviour, INSEAD, Fontainebleau, France.
  - 2 Li, Ji and Karakowsky, Leonard, 2001. "Do we see eye-to-eye? Implications of cultural differences for cross-cultural management research and practice", *The Journal of Psychology*, 135:5. P: 501-517.

interested we are in the perceptions of others about Finland and Finns. We easily interpret this as uncertainty or shyness, which in reality are not especially typical features of the Finnish culture. On a global scale, Finns are found at the edges, a peculiar and exceptionally solid group. Finns are prosperous, emphasise welfare, and are unable to understand structural corruption or extreme appearances of wealth and poverty. For Finns, it is difficult to understand communities which are based on family, relatives, and tribe, and not on the power of the individual and of the state. In the spring of 2010, Finns had to ponder if grandparents belong to the nuclear family when a question raised by immigration uncovered flaws in the Finnish welfare society.<sup>3</sup>

Especially in Russia, but also elsewhere, we Finns are considered to be honest, simple, and reliable. Often our quite rough communication skills only strengthen this impression. It is relatively easy to believe that Finnish actions are based on morals and ethics and not on the direct pursuit of one's own interest. Also, the romantic self-portrait of Finland, based on the nation's "Runebergian growth years", accepts the idea of the straightforward and blue-eyed Finn, but at the same time is connected to the fear of being deceived and mocked, and the difficulty in processing problems openly.<sup>4</sup>

Interest regarding what others think about us is a positive phenomenon, even if there might be some suspicious undercurrents. We can perceive our own cultural blind spots and avoid unnecessary

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- 3 Egyptian Eveline Fadayel and Russian Irina Antonova's deportation, that was later stopped, led to a discussion in the spring of 2010 about grandparents' position in the family. The fact that an older person in institutional care is still not allowed to move closer to his or her relatives, even inside the country, was also brought up. This problem, highlighted thanks to immigrants, may affect the whole culture of human security in Finland.
  - 4 The chairman of the Somali League in Finland, Said Aden, considers the tolerance campaigns of the 90's as a mistake of Finnish immigration policy because they required toleration, but the problems were not dealt with through an open discussion. (Keskinen, Rastas, & Tuori, 2009. *En ole rassisti mutta...* p: 27, Vastapaino & Nuorisotutkimusverkosto, Tampere.

collisions when we find our own place on the cultural map of the world. For example, understanding the mechanisms of our over-emphasised sense of justice (envy) and, at the same time, having knowledge about our built-in fear of being cheated would cool down the overheating immigration discussion.

### From human to human

In cultures foreign to us, such as in the case of an immigrant in Finland or a Finn abroad, we can get into situations which shake up our ideas and we might perceive from the environment messages that are unrecognisable to us. At worst, the messages we receive seem familiar but the meaning is different than what we think. I believe that all of the readers of this article would do their best to understand a strange culture. However, it is not enough; first the observer has to understand his or her own culture and its position in relation to other cultures.

Landing in the middle of a foreign culture challenges a normal person's understanding about the basics of life. My personal enlightenment took place in Iran's Kurdistan, where I was a UN military observer at the end of the 1980's. During the long winter months, there was time to become closely acquainted to the young soldiers who were officially protecting us, but who were in reality supervising guarding us. They had fought against Iraq for eight years, since the time they had been small boys, under the strict rules of Khomeini, an imam. I once happened to complain about the habit of "the water pitcher and left hand" procedure in the local lavatories. Bringing up the matter brought out an Iranian point of view. The 20-year-old soldiers revealed that they had been contemplating long and hard why rich westerners use scraps of paper to smear their butt with their excrement and do not wash themselves as all civilised people do. There were no possibilities for my wish for toilet paper to be heard.

This example may be trivial, but it shows how differently things can be seen and how difficult it is to decide what is right and what is

wrong. The feelings of human security and negative preconceptions can be based on small things, and opening these up to closer examination uncovers a completely new point of view.

The multitude and diversity of cultures can cause us to build a map of cultures from false stereotypes, groundless generalisations, and the perspective of only our own culture. Book stores around the world offer simplified guide books to facilitate getting around in different countries. They are a first, although short, step in the right direction. In the globalising world, neutral behaviour which reaches across cultural boundaries is a part of social skills.

Business people, diplomats, and NGO staff working in international assignments form an “upper culture” communicating between cultures. However, it is only one cultural circle among others, and belonging to it does not guarantee at all the understanding of other cultures. And so, especially the frantic business world and the world of translators have produced, almost endlessly, articles with practical advice about recommended behaviour. Also, educational material that has been made for different purposes can be found both in books and on the Internet.<sup>5</sup> All this kind of information is useful, or at least entertaining - if one can put it into the right frame of reference.

Studying might make it easier to become familiar with another culture but still the culture opens only from within. One does not need to be afraid of a strange culture since foreigners are usually allowed to behave ignorantly as long as they show respect and the desire to learn. Whereas a stranger’s eagerness to get involved, direct and show their superiority, causes rejection. Good manners help in the beginning and are a part of common knowledge. Neutral internationalism is useful but remains superficial. Truly fruitful contact and a firm foundation for

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5 An example of an advice site: <http://www.kwinessential.co.uk/cultural-services/articles.html> (read 7.4.2010). An example of educational material: <http://www.professionalchaplains.org/uploadedFiles/pdf/learning-cultural-sensitivity.pdf> (7.4.2010).

human safety are created from a deeper understanding, rather than from carefully-scripted lines.

The difference between individuals within a culture helps us to find like-minded people inside other cultures. With them, even well-learned skills about transcending cultural obstacles remain secondary and cultural understanding is based on trust between people and a sense of safety. In the same way, difficult circumstances, by forcing us to the basic steps of Maslow's hierarchy of needs, uncover common denominators between living creatures. The flight of Le Guin's characters from the barrenness of Winter planet is a great socio-psychological description about kindred spirits, who – by necessity – break through their cultural boundaries, even between species.

### Adaptation or profound understanding?

In the competitive 80's, the thought grew stronger that people could develop multi-cultural skills through adaptation and study. The term cultural competence refers to people's ability to work effectively in a multicultural environment with people from another culture or ethnic group. In personal evaluations, a person's knowledge of their own culture can be examined, an open-minded attitude towards other cultures can be favoured, information about different cultural practices and world views can be appreciated, and multicultural skills can be measured. It is thought that the culturally-skilled person can develop a sensitive and understanding attitude towards other ethnic groups and, at the same time, can adopt new attitudes and values. The properties that are sought after are openness and flexibility towards others, qualities that are respected everywhere in the interaction between people.<sup>6</sup>

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6 In the United States, the integration of different cultures is part of the national story and multicultural skills are a part of the development of human security. See, for example: [http://cecp.air.org/cultural/Q\\_research.htm](http://cecp.air.org/cultural/Q_research.htm) (7.4.2010).



In this decade, there has been a lot of talk about cultural sensitivity. In crisis management discussions, this term has been used especially when there has been a desire to calm the enthusiasm for changing other cultures and planting western practices in them. Warnings have also been heard from the circles of development co-operation field-workers and from people exposed to cultural relativism for long periods of time. According to them, experience shows that people's beliefs and actions can be understood only against a cultural background. This kind of thinking is sometimes called the frustration of development workers and considered dangerous, especially when there has been a conceptual mixing of cultural relativism and moral relativism, in which the truth itself is relative and depends on the culture.<sup>7</sup>

Experiences from development co-operation have shown that the risk of failure increases if projects designed by outsiders are put into action without adapting them to the recipient's social and cultural reality. Outsiders do not know what operates best in a given community and in a given situation. Experiences and best practices cannot necessarily be moved from one culture and organisation to another culture and organisation. Forcing your help on others leads to the underestimation of the recipient's genuine needs, requirements, and hopes. Accusations of international arrogance increase if local communities are not able to have influence on personal matters or on their relations with foreigners.

Western thinking is strongly goal-oriented. Multicultural skills don't help if their purpose is only to advocate more effectively the aspirations of our own culture. The compulsion to be right can prevent us from seeing the real possibilities of another culture to embrace something new. Technically speaking, a direct jump from the Stone Age to

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7 See here for a discussion concerning cultural relativism: Laitinen, Arto, 2003. *Strong Evaluation Without Sources*. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä; and <http://www.cultural-relativism.com/> (read 7.4.2010) and <http://www.gotquestions.org/cultural-relativism.html> (7.4.2010).

the digital era is certainly possible, but not without the development of all aspects of life.<sup>8</sup> This point may cause disappointment to aid workers, since there are hardly ever enough resources to do everything that is needed. It is also difficult to understand the cross-generational time<sup>9</sup> that change requires.

Human action in all cultures is bound to power and survival structures which, in turn, are linked to earning mechanisms. These kinds of structures inside cultures are not always open and transparent. Knowing a culture well also requires information about its internal arrangements. Human security inside a culture can be fragile due to innumerable mannerisms, dependencies, and economical mechanisms. Fixing one thing might do more harm than good if we do not profoundly understand what we are doing.

## Culture and war

French professor Dominique Moïsi has summarised the cultural circles of the world into three zones: cultures of hope, cultures of humiliation, and cultures of fear. In addition to them, some special areas, such as North Korea, form their own local exceptions. Economically-developing Asia is mostly made up of cultures of hope. The zone of fear is composed of western cultures and the zone of humiliation, of the Islamic world,

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- 8 Sometimes functional short cuts can be found: the cell phone has spread even to the poorest countries quickly. Industrial communication innovation does not explain the spreading, but the earning mechanism which is based on prepaid cards does. Without it, the spreading of mobile phones would have had to wait for population registers, established post and banking systems, and a culture adjusted for billing and bill paying.
  - 9 Women's voting rights offers an example of the time perspective necessary for change. Finland was the first European country to give voting rights to women, in 1906, and Liechtenstein the last, in 1984. Thus, it took 78 years in Europe to assimilate the issue and, even then, some cantons in Switzerland hesitated to put the voting right into action.

which experience that the bright future is already behind them.<sup>10</sup>

Professor Samuel P. Huntington predicted that, with Europe's appetite for war being over, other cultures will turn against arrogant western civilisation which uses the world's wealth. Huntington's thoughts are simplified to the idea that we have stepped into the age of "Muslim wars."<sup>11</sup> These perspectives help structure a world-view, but also attract extremist elements on the edges of religious and cultural groups and accelerate the spiral of prejudices. Xenophobia and populism feed the idea of the confrontation of religions as some kind of categorical imperative. In reality, the fundamentalist problem of Islamic countries is more internal than external and its solutions will also be found from inside these countries.

The biggest threat to international peace and security is the despair caused by bad governance, corruption, and lack of vision. It leads to organised crime, regional conflicts, collapsing states, and also gives birth to terrorism and promotes the spreading of weapons of mass destruction. The international community has the duty to protect, when necessary. Also humanitarian intervention is accepted quite generally. These terms however embellish sometimes wars, sometimes crisis management operations – or both, as in the case of Afghanistan.

The targets of humanitarian interventions consider intervention as a plot of Western and developed nations. Behind the obvious reason for these interventions they see ulterior objectives which raise cultural resistance. From the Western viewpoint, the thoughts that represent the highest good are, in addition to the promotion of democracy, the removal of impunity, the improvement of women's position, and the

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10 Moïsi, Dominique, 2009. *The Geopolitics of Emotion: How Cultures of Fear, Humiliation, and Hope are Reshaping the World*, Doubleday, New York, USA.

11 Professor Samuel Phillips Huntington worked as an advisor for Presidents Lyndon Johnson and Jimmy Carter. His theory about the clash of civilisations has been described in a book: Huntington, S. P., 1996. *The Clash of Civilizations and Remaking of World Order*. New York: Touchstone.

creation of various civil liberties. Looked at, for instance, from Iran's perspective, these matters may seem like international arrogance and the continuation of the Religious Crusades which constricts attitudes. Attitudes have also tightened in Finland.<sup>12</sup>

The demands for intensifying the fight against impunity have especially grown stronger. Due to UN resolution 1325, the demand to end impunity has spanned from genocide to sexual and other violence directed towards women and girls.<sup>13</sup> Also, culturally different interpretations of the need for victims to get legal rights is connected to the human security question, since some opinions on the rights of victims incline towards revenge and the continuation of the cycle of violence.

In principle, the idea of bringing instigators of war and war criminals to justice is correct but might, if taken all the way, force a war to the last man because people who have been labelled as war criminals do not usually negotiate or surrender. Especially problematic is when the question of war and peace is decided by a person who is being sought after for crimes against humanity and who, in addition to peace, would have to choose his own downfall. This would have been the case of Sudan's president, Omar Hasan Ahmad al Bashir, in the year 2010, if the policy of Western developed countries had been accepted globally.<sup>14</sup>

- 12 The Western and prevailing idea of human rights is based on the UN's Declaration of Human Rights: <http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/> (read 7.4.2010). Its counterbalance is the Islamic declaration of human rights based on Sharia law: <http://www.religlaw.org/interdocs/docs/cairo-hrislam1990.htm> (7.4.2010).
- 13 Finland's National Action Plan for implementing the UN's resolution on Women, Peace and Security: <http://formin.finland.fi/public/default.aspx?contentId=137328&notelId=32278> (7.4.2010) has stronger wording than the original UN resolution [http://www.un.org/events/res\\_1325e.pdf](http://www.un.org/events/res_1325e.pdf) (7.4.2010).
- 14 The International Court of Justice in Hague issued an arrest warrant for President al Bashir on March 4th, 2009. So far, the warrant has been condemned by the Arab League, the African Union, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), and by China and Russia which, together, represent

Strict policy lines and tightening stances regarding human rights, the removal of impunity, women's position in society, and the adopting of western operation models frighten traditional communities and the people who cherish these cultures. Unfortunately this situation, which has also been called a gulf between the north and the south, is also seen in the setting of goals. During the last two decades, the EU has had to witness its former African allies and several Islamic countries separating from the European mainstream and leaning on China's and Russia's loose interpretations, both in the UN, as well as in other international organisations.<sup>15</sup>

This is a worrying trend that compels us to examine human security as a whole and to consider the possibility of cultures to develop and to adopt new ideas. The friction between cultures is reflected in human security and we make it worse through aggressive Western practices, values, and demands for short term effectiveness. The situation requires our moral consideration and this phenomenon is also deeply bound to culture and puts us face to face with our own cultural interpretations. The least we can do is to clarify our objectives to ourselves, understand the mechanisms on which and with which we have effect, and consider the consequences of our actions in cultures which are foreign to us. Globalisation unavoidably brings cultures closer together and mixes them. The tragedy of human security in that process is the pressure of cultures which often overwhelms the powers of the individual. Doris Lessing has described this, in her gentle way, in her book, *The Marriages Between Zones Three, Four, and Five*. In it, Queen Al-Ith and King Ben Ata find each other over the zones, but still they are set adrift by the unavoidable currents of their own, and of their neighbouring, culture. Lessing's immense allegory may, at first, seem pessimistic but it also includes an intimation of a better future.

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the majority of the world population and of the UN member states.

- 15 Ahtisaari, Martti, 2009. *Can the International Community Meet the Challenges Ahead of Us?* Special Edition, Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Uppsala, Sweden, p: 14-15.

From the point of view of human security, the slowness of cultural processes is nerve-racking. However, justice should not be ushered in by violence, if that can be avoided, but by allowing enough time for a constitutional state and rule of law to be established. Cultural changes cannot be made by giving orders but by learning, teaching, and becoming acquainted with one another. There is no other option than to accept that changes that are too big and sudden unavoidably cause a strong counter-reaction. Intervention and peace by force can be made quickly, but lasting peace can take generations to achieve and it has to be built from human being to human being.



## **CHAPTER III**

### **The Future of Human Security?**



# The Many Practitioners of Security



*In peace mediation, western countries have difficulties dealing with diversity, says **Pekka Haavisto**, a Member of Parliament and the Finnish Special Envoy for Horn of Africa and Sudan for the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.*

“In Mogadishu, in the middle of a trouble spot I became acquainted with a network of women entrepreneurs. I did not even know that there were active women entrepreneurs in Mogadishu. It appeared that the group bought Kalashnikovs off young boys for 250 dollars and offered to help them get education if they gave up their weapons. The women went from roadblock to roadblock collecting weapons. It was quite an impressive story. They showed me pictures and told me about the education the boys had received. The women asked whether we in the West also consider disarming a good deed. The women had never been given any funding and they did this with their own money.”

Pekka Haavisto tells a less known example from Somalia, a country which has been in the middle of a humanitarian crisis for nearly 20 years. The women entrepreneur’s network Hanad brings security to the capital with their own method, concrete disarmament. “This is a prime example of human security: The people in the middle of a conflict do

exactly what we in the West would like to do – but without support. These efforts have not combined yet because the connecting network is missing.”

However, in Haavisto’s opinion, during the last few years Finnish non-governmental organizations have actively increased cooperation with local organizations in Africa concentrating on human rights and the status of women. Even traditional organizations are starting to take on the task of bringing security to people. As an example, Haavisto mentions Finn Church Aid, which also does peace mediation in trouble spots and works on bringing the different parties of a conflict together.

“In addition to local cooperation, organizations mediating for peace can bring information to Finland and even propose solutions to conflicts. Also other organizations doing practical work on site can do a lot. This increases flexibility in Finnish peace mediation activities”, Haavisto says.

## New conflicts, new foreign policy

The changing focuses in security matters have also been taken into account in the definition of African foreign policy published in February by Finland’s Ministry for Foreign Affairs. It emphasizes comprehensiveness, peace, and security. Security and development are also seen to be in tight connection with each other.

“In the future, development cooperation, political development, human development, and human security will not be handled as separate units any more. The coherence here is still a challenge”, says Haavisto, the special representative of the crises of Africa. However, human security is not specifically mentioned in the Finnish security doctrine definition.

Haavisto gives credit to NGOs in solving new conflicts. “The new conflicts are asymmetric. There are new threats such as terrorism, guerilla movements, internal crises within countries, separatist groups, and religiously motivated movements. In dealing with these new conflicts,

the non-governmental organizations will be more useful than ever because the negotiations will not be between two countries with a third serving as a mediator but they will be, for example, on the level of a village, a town, or a clan. My view is that the significance of non-governmental organizations has increased”, Haavisto says. “In the operation of our non-governmental organizations, there is the positive, egalitarian thinking that non-governmental organizations of developing countries are equally as good and as functional”, Haavisto adds.

The definition of policy by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs also emphasizes the local actors in Africa. “The strategy has a healthy starting point because it aims to support the African Union with its attempts relating to peace and security. The African Union has developed surprisingly fast in these areas and also with human rights. The style it has adopted is promising”, Haavisto sums up.

However, in terms of development cooperation in Africa there seems to be a certain tiredness towards Europe and the West according to Haavisto. In many countries, the experience is that after the investments during the Cold War, the West has rejected Africa. China and other rising Asian countries from which the investments have continued to come have taken their place. In the west, the growing effect of Asia is perceived above all as a challenge for human rights and democracy. However, according to Haavisto, new ideas for increasing the security of everyday life in Africa might also come from Asia. “One might ask if examples of solutions for providing public health care or education effectively and inexpensively for large masses could come from China or India. These would be very useful for Africa.”

## A crisis cannot be solved by dividing people

Pekka Haavisto has a lot of experience working with peace mediation beginning in Sudan and Darfur, and now also in Somalia. According to him there are three levels in the complex crisis in Somalia – the clan level, the political level, and the religious level. All the levels need

to be handled and taken into consideration in peace negotiations. In a state-centred view of safety, a like-minded group is often looked for. However for instance in Somalia the only possibility is to see the conflict in all its varieties, Haavisto states.

“We are bad at dealing with diversity. The mistake of the West has been declaring itself to be the supporter of a certain group. The worst case is when communication with the second or third group is totally discontinued because they are seen as insignificant or just harmful. For example the most secular group may be chosen as a favourite instead of a religious because we oppose radicalism. This way the division of people is carried on. Constructing a genuine future for a splintered group of people would require the accumulation of a critical mass to find a common note for the separate groups.”

Haavisto gives an example from the negotiations in Darfur: “The Darfur peace negotiations in Abuja during 2005-2006 were extremely difficult. There are several military groups in Darfur. One of these groups is the Justice and Equality Movement, JEM, a group considered to be Islamic. Nobody wanted to talk with its leader Khalil Ibrahim as he was considered to be a difficult person because of his religiousness. I had many profound conversations with Khalil but I seemed to be the only international negotiator doing so. Then everything changed. It was JEM who started to get support from Chad and eventually attacked Omdurman, a suburb of Khartoum. Suddenly JEM was at the very center of negotiations and still is within the peace talks in Doha, Qatar. It would have been much easier to negotiate with JEM while it was still weak and forgotten in Abuja. Now it has taken advantage of the power it knows it has.”

Haavisto criticizes the simple explanatory models that are applied to different conflicts. “For example in Somalia’s conflict, the clan explanation does not work anymore. There is no such place left in the world where one could try to appeal to the lower clans of regional clans and again to their sub clans which do not tolerate each other. For example in Tanzania they have knowingly stopped dividing people into tribes and people are now getting married across tribal boundaries.”

In the midst of conflict solution, the non-governmental organizations could afford to expand their contact network. “It is a weakness that the local actors in trouble spots are not known, seen, or heard. They remain unseen by us. I myself told Finland’s Nairobi delegation and the UN about Hanad and asked if they knew about the women’s organization which collects weapons from young boys. Nobody seems to be familiar with their work”, Haavisto says. “Mogadishu is such a difficult place. For an organization like Hanad, it would be the biggest moral encouragement to get some recognition for its work”, Haavisto states.

*Interview by Oili Alm and Lauri Alaviitala*



*The Darfur peace negotiations in Abuja in 2005-2006 were very hard, according to Pekka Haavisto, because there were many military groups in action. Picture: Pekka Haavisto’s archives.*

# The Muscular Liberalism of Crisis Management is not Convincing



*The concept of human security does not work as a part of the Western alliance's crisis management intervention, says **Frank Johansson**, executive director of Amnesty International's Finnish section. In his opinion, Finland also has adopted militarized crisis management as their national ideology.*

"When I first became acquainted with the concept of human security my thoughts of it were quite positive. We are now talking about the end of the 1990's and beginning of the 2000's, when a positive idea still existed that Western liberal democratic society could actually contribute to advancing good things in the world. I was lobbying for human security to become the common thread for the way Finnish authorities operate, especially in the way it was formulated by the two papers written by Mary Kaldor's working groups."

However, later, Frank Johansson's opinion changed. "Looking

at the world we are now living in, I no longer believe in this kind of muscular liberalism. I no longer believe that the Western world is capable of exporting a well-functioning society and outside of its own borders just like that. That is why I have been more pessimistic toward the concept during the last couple of years. The one year sabbatical I spent at university, where I read lots of academic literature related to the topic, also affected my opinion.”

## The operation of the western alliance is questionable

“If you look at all the examples of the real attempts to try and change a society through external intervention – i.e. if you look at the human security concept from another perspective than as a political manifesto meant for Western countries – these interventions are not very encouraging. Looking at the United States’ policies from the events of Kosovo during the year 1999, which have continued with interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan, as ongoing political processes, they have been gloomy. Kosovo, East Timor, and the various operations in Africa are not convincing.”

“The set of principles called ‘Responsibility to Protect’ are also connected to this. If you go back to where it began – genocide in Rwanda – and how a new world order was being outlined at that time then I probably reacted more positively to the thought, but at the moment I feel more sceptical”, Johansson says. “In a way, with the responsibility to protect one tries to break the sovereignty of nation-states: it is said that there are certain factors that supersede it. The unselfishness behind it is not real and the goals behind it are unrealistic. The principle could work only if there was a universal sovereign body which would guarantee its function. But now there are only governments which are moving their own sovereignty elsewhere. There is an intervention in Afghanistan done in the name of human rights: it is said that it is done in order to protect the Afghan people. What is happening is that the responsibility of carrying out their rights is transferred from the government of

Afghanistan to the government of the United States. And in my opinion, they are no better at it.”

“If we lived in a world where the UN had its own army and its own world government, it could work. Nowadays it does not work, but only leads to a certain type of Empire Lite instead of improving human rights”, Johansson says.

## An authorization by the present UN is not very believable

“The whole human rights system is built on states ultimately controlling their own and each other’s doings. As long as there is no higher power over them, there probably will not be such a cosmopolitan system where the responsibility to protect or human security could properly function”, Johansson says. “Every agreement on human rights is ultimately a compromise negotiated between states. Costas Douzinas, one of my favourites at the moment, writes about this in his book *Human Rights and Empire: The Political Philosophy of Cosmopolitanism*. Giving states responsibility of controlling themselves within the UN is like setting a fox to keep the geese.

“In reality, an authorization by the UN is nowadays an authorization by the Security Council. Of the permanent member countries of the Security Council, the United States, China, and Russia are not in any way exemplary countries in defending their own citizens’ human rights. When the system is based on these countries acknowledging and guaranteeing with good will that everything is working out in Kosovo and East Timor – I am not entirely sure that within the current UN it could work.”

However, Frank Johansson still believes in the UN in principle. “On the other hand, I am quite a fan of the UN because it is our only possibility. It is an organization which, in theory, has a certain potential to govern and plan in a better way.”



## National ideology of civilian crisis management

“During the 20 years I have been working with human rights at Amnesty there have not been many days when I have not been frustrated in some way. At the moment I am pessimistic in regard to where the world is going and I do not like this enthusiasm with crisis management interventions which seem to have become very popular in Finland in the last couple of years,” says Johansson.

In his opinion, it has also become a national ideology. “If you think of the concept of civilian crisis management in general, it’s paradoxical how the liberals, social democrats and the greens were sincerely trying to create a better world when they first brought up the topic in Finland. I must count myself into that group which enthusiastically talked about it and tried to sell it to the government.”

“Now that whole process is quite thoroughly militarized: it is examined according to a certain logic of military effectiveness and a logic of systems thinking. The questions become non-political, like an economic-technical problem that needs to be solved. When talking about comprehensive crisis management what we mean is just that different authorities are working together in a more seamless way. The ideological foundation or actual starting point is not given any thought at all.”

“In Kosovo, or somewhere else where this is actually carried out, the main focus is always on effectiveness and the systems in use. The systems are entirely brought from the outside. As I see it the possibility for locals to affect them and to get their voices heard does not come true anywhere even though the “bottom up” principle is clearly a cornerstone for human security.”

“It would be only a slight provocation to say that, to some extent, the fact that Finland’s soldiers, police, and different experts participate in these operations, strengthens Finland’s position as a participant in a European-American world control system, to which everything outside it is frightening and dangerous. This is also making us feel like we have

a solution to every problem, as if everyone else would be totally helpless,” describes Johansson.

“To put it very strongly, we want to help people but, at the same time, we look down on them because they are not able to arrange their matters by themselves. And, at the same time, we are painting beasts akin to Saddam Hussein and Slobodan Milosevic. Still, in the past they have also been elected through some kind of process to their jobs. I will surely never like what they do but the way we steamroll over them raises more questions than positive feelings in me.”

## War crimes in Kosovo?

According to Johansson, trying to speculate with hindsight on how the global order has changed since the bombings of Serbia because of the crisis in Kosovo, is difficult. “If you only think about what could have been done differently you start to drift into a post-factual writing of history. At the time everything was probably done in good faith. If, in 1999, I had been asked about what the problem in Kosovo was, I would probably have blamed the fact that in 1995, when writing the Dayton Peace Agreement, the people guilty of war crimes in Bosnia had not been promptly arrested. And even the fact that Ahtisaari was not tougher during his negotiations. Looking at it from today’s point of view I am not so sure of what the situation actually was. There was quite a brutal war going on that someone should have intervened in. Again, the war in Bosnia should have been intervened in some other way but could the military intervention have been different? If you make a judgement on something do you always have to have another alternative for it? I am not in a position where I would need to have one”, Johansson states.

“But Amnesty has stated very clearly that the NATO bombings in Kosovo were probably war crimes and that they should be examined. If they had been examined, as well as what the Serbs or the Albanians did, the process would have been less like winners’ justice than it now has been”, says Johansson. “I have a very conflicting relationship towards

hese courts of human rights especially because of their selectivity. Amnesty speaks up for them all the time but if you look at how the International Criminal Court has mainly prosecuted African military officers and nobody has taken Russia to court for its war crimes in Chechnya; nobody has taken the US to court for its possibly serious violations of human rights, captures, tortures, or illegal arrests; nobody in Europe is interested in discussing the responsibility of the member states of the EU for their participation in the glaring violations of human rights in the war against terrorism, then the credibility of these International Criminal Court processes fades away quite rapidly. They are so selectively on the winners' side", Frank Johansson sums up.

*Interview by Lauri Alaviitala*

# Who Owns the Principle of the Responsibility to Protect?



***Tarja Seppä**, a lecturer in international relations and peace research at the Department of Political Science and International Relations at the University of Tampere, emphasizes that when dealing with the principle of the Responsibility to Protect, the international community is discussing big ethical questions.*

Who should have the power to decide how and when the principle of the Responsibility to Protect is used?

“The responsibility to prevent resides with the General Assembly and the Human Rights Council of the UN. The responsibility to react is the territory of the Security Council and the International Criminal Court (ICC). The task of the ICC is to conduct supplementary studies, to try and sentence people accused for mass atrocity crimes. The responsibility to rebuild lies with the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) of the UN. At the moment each of these institutions is participating in carrying out the principle of Responsibility to Protect within its own domain. The United Nations Secretary-General naturally has his own important role in implementing the Responsibility to Protect. The UN

has also named a special adviser for the Responsibility to Protect, Mr. Edward Luck, and the Deputy Secretary-General as the special adviser for the prevention of genocide and mass atrocities, Mr. Francis Deng.”

The Security Council can authorize humanitarian intervention. However, the Security Council may be unable to make decisions when interests of its permanent members clash. In 1950, during the Korean War the General Assembly, because of the lack of unanimity of the permanent members of the Security Council, established the “Uniting for peace” procedures in order to maintain international peace and security.

“On the other hand, in my opinion the Security Council authorization is the only possible way to carry out humanitarian intervention at the moment. When there is no better system, through the decisions of the Security Council, the actions will be both legal and legitimate. Applying the ‘Uniting for peace’ resolution is possible but unlikely.”

## Can the civil society have an effect?

What possibilities can non-governmental organizations or even individual citizens have to promote the principle of the Responsibility to Protect?

“It is possible for non-governmental organizations to have an effect even at the moment. Especially regarding the responsibility to prevent the input of non-governmental organizations – why not even active individual citizens – can be very significant. NGOs have good possibilities to bring up problems in which the international community should pre-emptively intervene. NGOs can have a significant role in influencing their governments and activating citizens who can, for their part, actualize the responsibility to react. They can also play a significant role in rebuilding peace. Non-governmental organizations can also help by clearing up misunderstandings which are still associated with the Responsibility to Protect. They can operate actively, critically, and robustly with the matter.”

The Responsibility to Protect can easily seem like an elitist project of the more fortunate part of the world. Trying to save “helpless strangers” and teach them human rights. Do universal human rights actually exist and how should we react when our ideas conflict with the traditions of local cultures?

“The professor of International Relations at the university of Aberystwyth, Ken Booth, has stated aptly that even if we can never reach an agreement about the contents of human rights, we can still be united on when human rights have been violated, he speaks of ‘human wrongs’. The violations of human rights, especially the mass atrocity crimes – genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and ethnic cleansing – are universal.”

So you don’t have to tolerate everything just because it is a part of local culture?

“This is a well known, extremely difficult, and disputed question. Human rights come true through political processes and political decisions. However, evidently decisions that are unjust do not have to be accepted. The universality of human rights is achieved through discussions between cultures.”

## The role of companies in the violations of human rights

What if a non-state organization, such as a multinational company commits serious violations of human rights within its line of business? Is it possible in that case for the international community to make an intervention according to the Responsibility to Protect?

“Often the interests of multinational companies and governments can also converge. A company may produce jobs and commodities which justifies its presence in the area. However, companies may also cause violations of human rights with their operations. Economic factors should pass human rights.” However, according to Tarja Seppä, one must remember that humanitarian intervention in the framework

of the responsibility to protect, as a last resort, relates to mass atrocity crimes like genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, or ethnic cleansing. Big multinational companies can, of course, contribute to these but perhaps not however be responsible for them alone.

In 2005, the General Assembly of the UN concluded that the international community and the Security Council have to make their decisions “case by case”. So could we imagine that it could be possible to intervene in the activities of a non-governmental actor, particularly if the local government is unwilling or unable to protect human rights?

“A collective action by the international community against a multinational company is not perhaps probable. Big multinational companies are economically and politically strong. The oil company Shell was blamed for human rights’ violations in the 1990’s in Nigeria. The case was being tried in the United States but a decision was reached outside the court. The company denied being guilty but paid compensation to the victim’s relatives as a gesture of reconciliation. Perhaps these conflicts are solved in this way rather than through interventions. Big multinational companies have their commitments to human rights and ethical standards but these issues are complex and difficult.”

## Darfur and human security

The first presidential and parliamentary elections in Sudan were held in April 2010. A referendum, as part of the final phase in the implementation of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) will be arranged in January 2011 when people in Southern Sudan have the possibility to vote whether they will secede from the rest of the country. However, you mention in your article in the first chapter of this book that, despite the elections in April and recent peace negotiations, the humanitarian situation in Darfur is not good, on the contrary it’s getting worse. What will be the best possible way to promote human security in Darfur in the future?

## Who Owns the Principle of the Responsibility to Protect?

“There is an active citizens’ network in Darfur called ‘To Save Darfur’. In my opinion, the right approach would be to avoid creating such an image that the people of Darfur are somehow helpless and need to be saved by others. This approach further creates a picture of the Western aid as ‘a white man’s burden’, a project created by Westerners to westerners. We should concentrate and develop cooperation on equal basis and create such conditions where the people of Darfur could be able to help themselves and turn their society into a healthy one again.”

*Interview by Tapio Juntunen*



*Tens of thousands wait for Kofi Annan to arrive to examine the humanitarian situation in Nyala, Sudan in 2005. UN Photo/Evan Schneider*



## Lack of Security for Women is an Enormous Problem

*During her long career in human rights, **Elisabeth Rehn** has seen a lot of insecurity in the lives of women and girls. In many countries women lack civil rights. Especially, women's voices should be heard in peace negotiations because in conflict areas they are the most important re-builders.*



“Women and girls in the middle of wars and conflicts are my specialty. When I think of human security, I think of women’s security – or rather insecurity. Among the women and girls of today’s world human insecurity is extremely widespread”, Elisabeth Rehn states.

In Finland, Elisabeth Rehn has worked both as a minister and an MP. She has also been an MEP. In the 1990s she was the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the situation of Human Rights in the Republic of Croatia, Former Republic of Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Since March 2010, she is Chair of the Board of Directors of the Trust Fund for Victims at the International Criminal Court. The Trust Fund finances, among other things, physical and psychological rehabilitation for victims of sexual violence and former child soldiers. So far, the fund has projects in the Democratic Republic of Congo and in Uganda.

Ms Rehn recently turned 75, but work for human rights continues to be at her heart: “Yes, I believe in mediation work. Otherwise, at my age, I would not be working at this rate.”

## Women lack fundamental civil rights

“In many countries it is not only a question of physical insecurity or sexual violence. Fundamental insecurity – which I experienced when I visited the Northern Region of Uganda to examine the destruction Joseph Kony’s Lord’s Resistance Army had inflicted on the area - is not only a consequence of conflicts. Also, insecurity can have been built into the legislation: for example women may not have the same rights of possession and inheritance as men”, Rehn says.

Rehn tells about the so-called bushwives she met in Northern Uganda, young girls who have been abducted when they were little to work as slaves for soldiers. “There is no home for the girls to return to in their native villages. They have absolutely no rights and are discriminated against, especially if they have had to give birth to the enemy’s children”, Rehn says. However, despite the lack of rights, women are still in a key position in overcoming conflicts. “Women lose the most in wars and are often left alone to take care of the family. Men have perhaps been killed or imprisoned somewhere. The responsibility of rebuilding peace is on the women’s shoulders. At that time it is important that they get their living in another way than by selling their own bodies. But especially for the young bushwives, prostitution is the only option when the village has rejected them.”

## Towards independence through loans

According to Rehn, women’s independence is the goal of improving safety: they must be able to make decisions on their own, such as accepting loans. However, many kinds of methods are needed, loans are not enough. “In addition to maintaining a family, women also have a key role in climate change: choosing what is farmed and how energy and water is used. This should be understood and invested in a lot more”, she explains.

Elisabeth Rehn is involved in Women’s Bank, an operation of Finn Church Aid, which gives out loans to women of developing countries.

“It is important that women have their own economy, their own money to manage with. Because of this, small entrepreneurship has been very important to me. As many others do, I asked my friends not to bring me presents to my birthday, but to donate instead to the Finn Church Aid for the Women’s Bank. The amount of the donations was almost 60 000 euro. With this we can do wonders – give out so many loans!” Rehn says excitedly. “And it is important that they truly are loans because when the money has to be repaid, the projects will be carried out in the right way.”

## The significance of women in peace negotiations

“In conflicted areas, the very first thing to do is to include women into peace negotiations and peace treaties”, Rehn states. “I have many times been asked what the special know-how that women have for peace negotiations is – as if like they needed to have some kind of additional value. I have almost lost my temper but answered – in a low voice – ‘expertise’. It is not just a woman’s point of view but having the experience of handling the everyday life of families and children, on all levels, including the technical questions. And then there is the fact that women can bring the real needs of the civilian population to the peace negotiations.”

According to Rehn, this is still a demand not understood properly. In her opinion, it is the responsibility of all the parties involved to promote the matter. The regional actors, such as the African Union, have a big significance. “The OSCE and the EU could play an important part as role models. Even so, the EU appointed the first female special representative to conflict areas only last fall, under Baroness Ashton. This gives an extremely bad image of how women should be taken into account in negotiations,” says Rehn.

She is afraid that women in leading positions do not dare to promote women’s rights forcefully. “There were splendid women in the previous commission of the EU: Margot Wallström who now

has the position of Special Representative of the UNSC for preventing sexual violence during wars, Benita Ferrero-Waldner who spoke about the status of women, and many others. But there have been only few results in practise. In the present commission the women's voice not been especially strong so far", Rehn bursts out. "Baroness Ashton has a very heavy responsibility now. In UN, EU, OSCE and AU, the men in power, 'the big guys', are surrounded by like-minded advisers who discuss the matters among themselves. It is difficult to make this group truly understand how important it is to appoint women for the high-ranking positions and be present at the negotiating tables of peace."

## Travelling to the trouble spots of the world

During her career Rehn has traveled – and still travels – to the trouble spots of the world. The conversation turns to Afghanistan. "Afghanistan's situation is so sad because when the Russians were playing around there, the United States and the Saudis together were building the network which is now hitting against them. They delivered the military equipment. On the other hand China and Russia take care that the weapons go to other countries which need anything but weapons", Rehn sighs. "Weapons are something so horrible" – says the former Minister of Defence, and quite a long-term one since she served for five years. "Your attitude changes a little when you see the weapons in action."

"I was in Bosnia again a few weeks ago. They are accusing the rest of the world of totally forgetting about them. Bosnia is no longer interesting and the peace building has not been completed." Other countries of former Yugoslavia have been able to move on and have got support from other countries but Bosnia and Herzegovina has been very much left alone, says Rehn. For example, the country did not get the EU countries' visa exemption, unlike the other countries of the Western Balkans. "The decision was naive of the EU. It is the good, ordinary people who suffer from this. The criminals will always get over the borders, no visas or controls can prevent it." Fortunately this mistake has now been corrected.

Still, there is positive development in women's peace work, even in Bosnia. Rehn praises the Regional women's lobby project that UNIFEM has started in the area of the former Yugoslavia. The countries of former Yugoslavia are also creating Regional action plans for the Resolution 1325 of the UN. "At the moment, I have a lot of faith in these Regional action plans to get states who were earlier fighting against each other to agree on common objectives. It has started to work in Africa in the areas of Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Burundi," says Rehn. She hopes that the new decisions at the 10 year anniversary of the Resolution 1325 will create binding contracts.

## Thanks from ordinary people

"In Sierra Leone I met a large group of former bushwives living together. They had the exact same dreams as my own granddaughters. Attending school always comes first, and then career – not the present one for which they get paid a dollar, half of which is still taken for the rent of a bed. Second on the wish list is a handsome husband and an own home with beautiful children. But they know that there is no way they can get such a life. They have been condemned to live this way and to die of AIDS. It is horrible to listen to", tells Rehn.

"But as they talked about their fates, they were even then all hugging and thanking me, saying that such an important person takes the time out to come to see us, that perhaps we can manage again from now on. The gratitude shown by ordinary people is the biggest thanks. If you get the feeling that it is time to stop and that this isn't leading to anything, the gratitude of ordinary people is powerful."

"I remember walking near my apartment in Sarajevo in the mornings, waiting for the car to take me to my office. There was one of these 'ad hoc' graveyards. There were many, many graveyards in Sarajevo from the time when the town was besieged. I often walked from my own narrow street to a bigger street that one of the graveyards was on.

## Lack of Security for Women is an Enormous Problem

I was looking at the graves: how children and old people had died within the same days. Once a gentleman came to talk to me – we could speak a mixture of German and Bosnian languages, and thus understood each other. He thanked me. He said he knew that I had a family at home which I loved. That he had heard and read of me. He said: ‘Thank you for being here and helping us, we need it.’ In such situations, you get a feeling that this work is needed.”

“It is not a question of wrecking cultures or religions but a question of the fact that human rights are universal. This world will never become a good one if they – if not the uniqueness of individuals is respected”, Rehn states.

*Interview by Oili Alm and Lauri Alaviitala*



KNW, the Kosova Women's Network, has protested against the advert by the KFOR force working under a NATO mandate: a masculine weightlifter does not reflect security in the opinion of women and girls.

# The Future of Human Security in Politics and Research

***Pirjo Jukarainen** works as a senior researcher for Tampere Peace Research Institute. She has a unique point of view of the relationship between research and politics and of the gendered nature of the Finnish national defence culture.*



In Jukarainen's opinion, human security is a concept to be used by a global humanitarian or perhaps even an idealist; a view that looks for the recognition of the dignity of every individual. "On a practical level, human security focuses on securing human rights, equality of treatment within different democratic bodies and institutions, and securing basic human needs. Thus it is closely connected to development policy questions."

The human security approach makes promises of quite a big ethical change. Pirjo Jukarainen hopes that human security will be adopted as a central principle for the common foreign policy of the European Union: "On the other hand, the recommendations given in Mary Kaldor's team's report have yet to be properly put into practice. On a general level, human security is still left in the shadows of nation-state centric thinking. However, the Treaty of Lisbon might offer the conditions in which human security could break through at the level of the EU as well. Furthermore, at the EU level it could create a foundation from which politics on a national level could take new start. Still, it is hard for me to predict the real future of human security because I am not a part of the core group who shape policy in reality."

## Comprehensive or human?

In the Finnish government's latest report on security and defence policy, a new idea of "comprehensive security" was presented. Does this comprehensive approach conflict with the way of thinking in terms of human security?

"The concepts are not necessarily fundamentally contradictory. But at least at the moment the comprehensive approach presented in the report does not promote human security. The situation is that the nation-state centric security thinking still strongly competes with the human security way of thinking, also in Finland. Furthermore, the preparation of these reports in Finland concentrates around traditional defence policy interests."

"In practice, the conflict appears when acting in multinational operations in which the national objectives are still essentially displayed. For example the ISAF operation in Afghanistan mirrors very different national objectives to different countries: for Finland it can, roughly, mean national defence training for military reserves in real conditions,



whereas for Norway it means gathering merits as a conflict resolver capable of transatlantic cooperation. More than ever before, crisis management is a way for countries to practice their foreign policy.”

The people defending traditional, state-centric, and military-based security concepts have criticised human security way of thinking. Human security has been criticized of being too vague a starting point on which to prioritize practical security objectives. On the other hand, the way of thinking has been blamed for translating everything possible into a political security question.

Jukarainen does not accept the sceptics’ criticism, but says that the glass is half full - human security is a possibility, not a burden.

“Unlike state-centric security, human security gives us tools to bring forth the security needs of different groups of people and individuals. There is a wide gap of knowledge of these needs in the field of research, in my opinion. We need research information on the differing meanings of human security that people have in different conditions, locations, and cultures.”

“Human security calls attention to prevention, unlike the state-centric security thinking which is based on more reactive politics. With prevention, the focus is on people’s situations in life, their living environments, and their problems. Human security gives us a tool to connect these development policy measures with military and civilian crisis management operations”, Jukarainen estimates, continuing by saying that a second important sector on which we need more information is how we can combine the diverse views and goals of different actors in, for example, crisis management operations.

“Human security could serve as a connecting factor, a kind of a bridge-builder, based on which one can be more comprehensive and target-oriented when dealing with practical crises. Concentrating on either military peacekeeping or the development policy separately is no longer enough. We need both.”

## The concept of country changes

Jukarainen thinks that the state-centric security concept and human security could be combined. States are the reality in world politics at this moment and one has to be able to live with them. However, an attempt must be made to change our idea of a state; it can be a threat and the source of the problem as well as a solution to these problems – it is a fact that the bulk of present conflicts are internal affairs of states.

“With research, human security as a way of thinking has helped us to understand that there are many universal needs and problems above the state level. The studying of security should be more persistent. We have a world full of prolonged conflicts. It is possible to get an idea of the fundamental reasons behind conflicts and of the effects they have on human security only through in-depth research in which the situation of the conflict areas is also estimated after the actual violent conflict has calmed down.”

In the opinion of Jukarainen, human security provides us with an opportunity to withdraw from a gender-blind way of thinking. “In Finland, equality has been taken for granted. We have grown blind to the fact that a part of our security culture is still very gendered. Big structural questions and problems are avoided. Roughly said, our present political security tradition simply tries to manage diversity instead of really intervening with the big structural problems that perpetuate inequality. Our liberal attitude is quite apparent at the moment.”

To change the situation, Jukarainen proposes that all rights and responsibilities should be defined equally for everyone. Furthermore, we should detach ourselves from “thinking by quota”.

“One person representing a group of people who differ from the masses does not yet make our institutions or our practices equal. It is no longer enough that we have a quota of one or two women per

a hundred men but the ratio has to be distinctly higher. Still, it should apply the other way round as well - men should also have more freedom to choose their own role. Eventually a situation where individuals could represent themselves as experts at the level of security thinking and security policy should be sought. Not just a gender quota which supports a certain structure.”

Jukarainen further adds that the change should have effect at the level of the planning of research and politics. The thought was also central in the recent work by Jukarainen and Sirkku Terävä about the equality between genders in Finnish national defence and crisis management. “If an attempt is made to carry out politics on a practical level from a human perspective and in a situation-based way, a change in the way of thinking must also take place in the planning of politics and the research supporting it. Research and politics are entangled with each other in this way. If research is conducted only from traditional, state-centric perspective, this will also be reflected into practice.”

*Interview: Tapio Juntunen*

## One Must be Exact in Defining Concepts



***Elisabeth Naulé** has worked with human security questions for the UN in former Yugoslavia. Today she is a Member of Parliament in Finland. She states that the concept of human security is still looking for its form.*

“As a phrase, human security is good, but its contents are not clear. One can talk, for example, about military safety and civilian security but I do not know what ‘human security’ is in Swedish. It is unclear what belongs to the concept. For me, it is more than the safety of civilians. It has to do, at least, with a just society and democracy. I believe that the concept is going to be developed and used in the future, but as of yet it has not found its form,” Naulé says.

“There are also parts of the concept which I am critical to. Even in many European countries terrorist legislation is created and justified by security threats. It is important to carefully define the concept of human

security so that it does not become a tool with which it is possible to harass minorities, opposition, or dissidents”, Naoclér adds.

“Human security is familiar to me from my foreign-policy work. I am not sure that all Members of Parliament could define what human security is. Even I don’t know very well myself, though I have read a lot about it. It is one thing to know what the whole concept means, and another, to work among these questions.”

## The position of the UN has changed

The UN has advocated the concept of human security but, according to Elisabeth Naoclér, the UN’s position has changed, especially in crisis management. “As a former UN officer, I can say that the UN is an extremely important actor. It is the only body in which all of the countries in the world are represented. It is often said that if the UN had not been created, it would have to be created. However, the reality is that the UN does not have the same significance anymore that it used to have. The UN is not anything itself, its operation is formed by the member countries.”

Especially the UN’s position as an actor in crisis management has, according to Naoclér, suffered. “Many countries which have traditionally participated in UN military crisis management – for example France, England, Canada – would never send their troops to the field nowadays under the command of the UN, even though they participate in operations which are done under UN mandate. But no one is saying that directly. The whole subject is avoided and other solutions are sought out. Either they go under NATO’s flag or they state that regional actors is more important, for example the African Union. But no one says directly that the UN military crisis management troops should be reduced or that one should invest in them.”

“It seems that the countries in question have lost their confidence in the UN’s military crisis management operations, i.e. peace-keeping operations, and therefore do not want to put themselves under

the command of the UN. Since many countries have lost their trust in UN military peacekeeping operations, one could ask if, and how, the UN's peacekeeping operations should be developed or changed."

"Finland has only about twenty peacekeepers under the UN flag at the moment around the world. The situation is unheard-of. Even though it is very difficult to reform old structures, there is no discussion about the whole matter", Nautiler considers.

## Military and civilian actors

Also, the significance of NATO has changed along the way, according to Nautiler. "The threat which NATO was originally created for does not exist anymore. Or, of course, the question can be discussed: does the threat still exist and, if not, why does the whole defensive alliance exist? In any case, NATO has resources and soldiers. I believe that development is moving in the direction where NATO will become less and less a military actor and more a crisis management actor. For us, the question is, are we going to participate in this kind of the operation."

Nautiler sees problems in the cooperation between military and civilian crisis management. "The boundaries between civilian crisis management and military crisis management are fading. In Iraq, the functions were 'embedded', or in other words, merged. Nowadays, features and tasks have been added to military crisis management that belong to civil crisis management, which means that military crisis management also does civil crisis management which used to belong purely to the civilian actors. This is an undesirable development."

"Both types of crisis management are needed because they carry out different tasks, but it is important that the civil crisis management remains civilian and does not mix with military crisis management. I do not believe in military defence alliances in the first place, so this kind of development is bad in my opinion. I see a big danger in this, but I believe development will go in this direction anyway."

“It is difficult to criticise the military actors if they do their work well, but all the civilian organisations see the danger in the fact that their own civilian role is not clear any more”, Naoclér points out.

Naoclér reacts critically to the operation in Afghanistan. “Like most people who are discussing these matters in Finland, I think that this crisis cannot be solved militarily, but the solution should be achieved by investing in the civilian side. But that is extremely difficult. It is easy to say that from here. From my experiences in the former Yugoslavia, I know the difficulty: How to cooperate with the opposition, how to go directly to them, to understand their culture and their ways of operating, and to start discussing what they should change? But with a military solution, the conflict will be long-term and while it continues it often turns against the whole western community.”

The question is also about focusing resources. “For example, well-trained and equipped Finnish peacekeepers in Afghanistan can build walls around girls’ schools and you cannot criticise them for that. But one can ask if resources could not be used in some other way, for example to train journalists, as is already being done with women journalists on a small scale with Finnish support?” Naoclér asks.

*Interview: Oili Alm and Lauri Alaviitala*

## Unnecessary Weapons off the Streets!



*The deputy mayor of the city of Helsinki, **Pekka Sauri**, has taken a strong stand in favour of forbidding semi-automatic hand weapons. Behind his argument are statistical facts. Perhaps in the background you can also find a little of the Finnish disposition?*

Weapons are considered to be a problem mainly in conflict areas and developing countries. In peaceful Finland, however, the mass shootings that have happened during the past few years have been committed with semi-automatic hand weapons. A rather favourable culture for weapons exists in Finland. At the beginning of 2009, there were, altogether, more than 1,5 million firearms in the weapon register of the police. The weapons of the authorities and defence forces have not been included here. So that means that these one and a half million firearms are in civilian use - in practice, for purposes of either hunting or sport shooting. There are about a quarter of a million hand weapons and, of these, approximately 200 000 are self-loading, in other words semi-automatic hand weapons.



Proportional to the population, Finland belongs to the top five countries in the world with regards to gun ownership. There are different historical reasons for this, but the numbers speak for themselves.

Pekka Sauri, chairman of the Finnish Central Association for Mental Health and also chairman of the investigation board for the school deaths in Kauhajoki, has stated that it is up to the discretion of the government and parliament to determine if there are sufficient grounds for civilians to carry hand weapons.

The assignment of the Kauhajoki board included presenting measures to prevent tragedies, such as the recent school shootings, as effectively as possible.

## Legal weapons - for what?

The school deaths in both Jokela and Kauhajoki were committed with a self-loading or semi-automatic weapon, and both perpetrators had acquired them legally and from the same weapon store. The killer in Jokela was given the permission for the weapon without meeting the authority who grants permission.

In the case of Kauhajoki, the procedure had changed so that the police interviewed the perpetrator when permission was granted for the weapon. In both cases, the perpetrator was considered suitable to own a weapon. Also, in the killings in Leppävaara shopping centre which took place last New Year's eve, the killer operated a semi-automatic hand weapon which, however, according to the press reports, was illegal.

"From the point of view of preventing school shootings, it would be a natural measure to forbid and confiscate such hand weapons with which one can quickly shoot off many rounds", Pekka Sauri states.

The Kauhajoki board gave nine recommendations: two of which applied to the availability of weapons; three, to mental health work; and the remaining four, to safety planning of educational institutions, management of multi-authority situations, authority coordination in prevention, and co-ordination of psychosocial support.

The discussion about the recommendations of the board has almost entirely been about the recommendations concerning the availability of weapons and, especially, about the first one in which it states that, “the Ministry of the Interior should make sure that all hand guns with which it is possible to shoot many shots in a short time are confiscated, for example, with reimbursement, and that new licences for these weapons are not granted. The incentives for turning in unlicensed weapons should be increased.”

### Protection of life or of property?

Pekka Sauri was surprised by the reaction to the recommendations. There was a lot of feedback via e-mail and text messages. There was a lively debate on Internet discussion boards about the idea of forbidding weapons. The recommendation to restrict the availability of certain weapons was called naive and unrealistic and there were accusations that it would infringe upon property protection ensured by the constitution and would end many shooting sports, even the type that brought Finland success in the Olympics.

“If you put on one side of a scale the preservation of certain shooting sports, and on the other side, the 25 people that have been killed with a semi-automatic weapon (including the case of Leppävaara), each one of us can come to our own conclusions. I am convinced that the human species is able to invent new forms of sports quickly if a certain type of weapon is taken out of usage”, Sauri comments on the discussion.

Opponents have the opinion that, using the same argument, one should forbid knives and take away cars since a majority of homicides are done by knives and around 400 Finnish people die in traffic accidents annually. The massacres during the last few years have, however, been committed with a semi-automatic hand weapon. It is practically impossible to kill so many people with a knife at one incident.

A different type of objection is that reimbursement for two hundred thousand hand weapons would cost too much. In the opinion of Sauri, this logic is equally faulty and begs the question that the more hand weapons there are, then the more impossible it becomes to the forbid or to confiscate them.

According to the third objection the confiscation of legal hand weapons is going to increase the number of illegal hand weapons. However, both school shootings were made with a legal and permissible weapon. Illegal weapons have probably, originally, been legal. The fewer permissible weapons there are, then the fewer there are to enter into illegal usage.

Realization of the Kauhajoki school shooting investigation board's recommendations is now ultimately in the hands of the government and, finally, in the hands of the parliament. The fundamental question, in the opinion of Sauri, is simple and worth a serious discussion: are there sufficient grounds for the civilians to have hand weapons after the mass shootings of Jokela and Kauhajoki?

*Interview: Laura Lodenius*

# Mixing Development Co-operation with Crisis Management is a Security Threat



*There is a big struggle over the subordination of development policy to foreign and security policy, says **Timo Lappalainen**, executive director of the Service Centre for Development Cooperation (Kepa).*

Even though the Service Centre for Development Cooperation's (Kepa) work is not consciously done to promote human security, contextually, it is about that. "The big agenda of Kepa is to bring about political change in the unjust structures which cause poverty in the world. When these structures are broken and people have the possibility to build their world on their own conditions in which human rights are realised, then surely we will live in a very safe world", says executive director Timo Lappalainen.

The challenges mentioned in Kepa's own strategies relate to the mixing of roles of the development aid actors. "In the future, there are threats that development aid, peacekeeping, and conflict prevention will all go into the same bin. What is going to happen to us then? We, of course, think that we are those good, development aid types. And then there will be the helmet types there, which means that there are going to be hard times for us also", Lappalainen describes.

Kepa is active mostly in the more stabilised areas. On the axis of the development continuum, conflict prevention - reconstruction - development, Kepa is placed in the end: "Our work in empowering NGOs, so that they are then able to challenge their parliament and other decision-makers, requires a fairly stable social order. We follow the conflict discussion more through our membership organisations which operate in the conflict areas. Nowadays, these phases of development, however, overlap more than they did before. As an umbrella organisation, Kepa must know more about the conflicts and reconstruction so that its own role becomes clearer."

## Quality indicators for development aid?

There have been several attempts to develop many kinds of indicators and follow-up principles for development co-operation during the last few years. According to Lappalainen, it is difficult to draw up normative indicators. "I don't quite believe that one could define universal follow-up mechanisms which tell about the same matter in different contexts." However, according to Lappalainen, it is understandable that one wants to measure the profitability of development co-operation work since the investments are big and development happens very slowly.

"In 2005, the aid community began a discussion in connection with the proclamation of Paris and its principles: how can one produce the maximum benefit of development financing. Rather than focusing on money, NGOs have gradually begun to focus on how their own operations in the south could be as successful as possible."

The principle of ownership, according to which organisations in the south should themselves have the power to influence the directions and needs of a development project, has also been a central principle in state-run operations. "When educating our member organisations, we emphasise analysis of the local context so that there will not be standardised projects which can cause more damage than good", Lappalainen

says. In its Bangkok office, Kepa also provides grass-root-level project advice in connection to this.

However, ownership is not a well defined concept: it has been seen, above all, from the state's perspective. However, the governments of the receiving countries can be corrupt and not care about whether the money is used for the benefit of the people. According to Lappalainen, NGOs should talk about democratic ownership.

## The normative indicators do not function

To get uncritically involved in the discussion of development aid indicators is, in the opinion of Lappalainen, dubious. "According to the critics, NGOs are ending up in Moloch's throat. Logframes, standards, and indicators are concepts which have emerged from the arena of state-run development aid. With these, the civil society which operates with a different logic, is falling into the same discourse in which development is seen as a product."

"However, NGOs have pressure to be part of the same mode", Lappalainen says. The organisations must be able to describe to outsiders what they are trying to achieve through their actions. Also, those in Kepa have confessed that this is a legitimate demand. "We are involved in the civil society's own profitability process, which has participants from development aid umbrella organisations and from more than a hundred countries. By November 2011, our aim is to draw a specific plan of action in which democracy, the principle of ownership, transparency, and human rights are all considered. But one does not want to make this horribly normative. Human rights are an illustrative example. The Nordic countries see the emphasising of human rights as self-evident, but our NGO colleagues in the Middle East say that this is a big problem for them. Hence it is most likely that some preconditions, with regards to cultural and regional liabilities, must be included."

## Struggle over the EU's development policy

In Timo Lappalainen's opinion, there is a danger that the profitability models developed by NGOs are adopted as norms when governments distribute financial support. "The state has an unspoken attitude that the NGO's own programmes could lead to a more normative tool which the aid-giving countries could edit, with the help of the organisations, into search criteria. It has been asked if we are building a golden cage out of this for ourselves. This threat is real."

According to Lappalainen, there is a desire to utilise the criteria for the financing of development aid more creatively, for example within the sphere of refugee expenses and climate financing. The phenomenon is not restricted to Finland, but has influence in the whole EU. "The EU's foreign affairs administration is under reconstruction and there is a big struggle within the area of control and monitoring of development policy: there is a will to subjugate development policy as a tool of foreign- and security policy interests. This is a trend in member countries", Lappalainen says. However, there are two sides to the coin. "On the other hand, it is important to see that the political weight of development policy is quite different than 10 years ago. When one can see the connections to security- and foreign policy, they can be used to achieve a lot."

*Interview: Lauri Alaviitala*

# Security of Development Workers Endangered

*In conflict areas, the UN is the only actor who has preconditions for neutrality, says **Johanna Liukkonen**, of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) office in Helsinki.*



The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) presented its own definition of human security as early as 1994. “In it, the people as members of their own community are raised as the most central actors of security and insecurity because they directly experience that insecurity”, Johanna Liukkonen says. “Human security means people have freedom from deprivation, poverty, and oppression and also freedom from the fear of violence, including violence that the country may carry out towards its citizens.” According to Liukkonen, security is also closely connected to economic growth and eliminating poverty. “The UN has a human development fund which began its operation in 2005. Globally, there are 120 different projects financed with the fund which are managed by different UN organisations.”



## Haiti has hope for the future

Haiti, as it recovers from the earthquake, is a big assistance target of the UNDP at the moment. There have been plenty of challenges because the operation of the UN and the UNDP was paralysed for a couple of days after the earthquake, since all the country directors had died in the earthquake. One of the projects of the UNDP is a cash-for-work programme in which the local people do reconstruction work for their country. Participation of Haitians in the reconstruction promotes human security, Liukkonen says. At the moment, the project employs more than 100 000 Haitians and, with new donations, the intention is to increase participation in the programme to 300 000. "It is also psychologically important that people can go into the disaster area in the daytime to work and are not only wandering around inactive."

According to Liukkonen, there has been restlessness in Haiti, but the country is not in chaos. "Haiti has hope in the fact that the reconstruction is beginning. In the refugee camps security, certainly, must be maintained." With the donations that have been collected for the catastrophe, many projects can be started. Johanna Liukkonen describes a visit by the Finnish association for business promotion, Finpro, in Haiti: "In the earthquake area, everything must be rebuilt. Finpro sends the representatives of Finnish construction firms to Haiti. They can construct structurally-sound buildings in Haiti since in the future a new earthquake will probably take place."

## Nepal is an example of the necessity of the UN

Liukkonen has just returned from a work trip in Nepal. "In Nepal, it is really restless at the moment. The nation is moving from crisis to democracy and an attempt is being made to produce a new constitution. There is rioting and there has already been violence. However, the people surely want peace for the country."

Since 2007, the UN has had a mission in Nepal, UNMIN, which supports the peace process. The mandate to Nepal's mission was to expire in the middle of May. The presence of the UN is still needed in Nepal, according to Liukkonen. "In countries in which there are still conflicts and the government parties are fighting, the UN is the only actor who is somehow able to operate neutrally. It is the only one who is trusted. The bilateral help of countries is more concrete - for example Finland has an important water project in Nepal - but the individual countries cannot get tangled in the constitutional process. The UN promotes disarmament in Nepal, the discharging of soldiers, the constitutional process, and the whole peace process." Without the UN mission, the UNDP's operation would also become more difficult, Liukkonen says. "Of course the UNDP would continue its operation without the mission of the UN, but all development co-operation becomes more difficult if human security is endangered."

In addition to the political situation in Nepal, there are also threats caused by nature since a large earthquake could happen any day, Liukkonen says. In the situation of Nepal, it is difficult to get aid there because the mountainous country is totally in the interior and the road network is sparse. An earthquake could have even worse consequences than in Haiti. "In rich countries, evacuation readiness exists but in poor countries there are fewer plans", Liukkonen states.

### Aid workers' security in the field is in danger

During the last few years development aid workers have lost their inviolability in the field. "The worry of the UN and of other organisations is that, nowadays, many guerrillas in crisis areas don't have any problem in attacking development workers. They are being imprisoned, kidnapped, and killed. It is not possible for them to defend themselves and they are not allowed to carry weapons in conflict areas", Liukkonen says. "If a person has been a guerrilla from childhood and does not have any sense of right and wrong, then re-education cannot necessarily help."

When defending themselves from attackers, the mixing of military actors and civilian actors would, however, be a security risk. “Also soldiers do development co-operation, but because of this, civilian development workers are often attacked. In these situations, it doesn’t matter who is a soldier and who not”, Liukkonen says. In Nepal, the UN and the NGOs function as their own units since it’s a post conflict situation. In these situations the division of roles is clear.

“The broad questions are connected to the fact of whether the countries develop and how they are developed, who does development co-operation, and are the workers in danger. However, the safety of the individual is most important”, Liukkonen sums up. It is also clear whose security is in the weakest position in the crisis situation. “Children are the most vulnerable part of society. In Haiti, we have seen three kinds of cases: abuse, forced adoptions, and organ trade. These crimes are also facilitated by chaos and insecurity.”

Furthermore, for example in the African countries, there is the rise of a generation of hundreds of millions of adolescents whose future looks uncertain. “If they are not employed, there will be quite a conflict coming. It is easy to enlist young unemployed men for war. But all would prefer to be at work than at war”, Johanna Liukkonen emphasises.

*Interview: Oili Alm and Lauri Alaviitala*

## What's Wrong with Soldiers?



*When criticising the role of the military in crisis management, executive director of the Peace Union of Finland, Laura Lodenius, thinks that she is often misunderstood.*

In the discussion about crisis management, NGOs often emphasise that civilian work and humanitarian aid should be kept separate from military actions. The peace movement requires more civilian crisis management but reacts

coldly to military crisis management. On the other hand, Finland and the EU justify the need for military crisis management, very often precisely from the perspective of securing civilian aid. So what is wrong with soldiers, especially if they build roads and schools and also help the local population in other ways?

“When we question the role of soldiers and armies as the solvers of crises, as peacemakers, and as promoters of human security, the reaction, particularly in Finland, is often one of offence. As if the question would be about criticising an individual soldier’s - or any national army’s – morals or capabilities, per se”, Laura Lodenius estimates.

We are being told that Finnish soldiers enlisted for international crisis management are multi-skilled and, in addition to army training, most have had good civilian education and such practical, professional know-how that is useful even outside of the military. In addition to military operations, Finnish soldiers' operation mandate has included helping civilians in the quite concrete rebuilding of basic infrastructure. One may ask, wouldn't a smart soldier, especially if he or she has economic resources behind him or her to support good projects, be better than a civilian worker with good will but with the limited resources?

Laura Lodenius points out that sending soldiers to other countries should always be very exceptional. "Sending soldiers in military uniforms to work in military assignments in foreign countries is always, from the perspective of international justice, a completely separate matter than to be working as a nurse, a well-construction worker, a missionary, a development adviser, or diplomat. This seems to be forgotten nowadays when military crisis management is considered quite an ordinary form of international discourse, which, however, it is not."

"Military assignment and mandate is, after all, quite a different thing than a civilian assignment, even if it were called a civil-military co-operation, and even if a soldier, participating in a civilian operation, did not carry a weapon but was in uniform as part of a military organisation. Military actions and assignments are always connected to the usage of power and the threat of armed force, even if the objective is peace and the person in the uniform does not carry a weapon openly, or the rules of the use of force are restrictive and there would not be open violence in the situation", clarifies Lodenius.

Lodenius admits that, for example, the Finnish soldiers that have been in crisis management assignments have been able to have constructive interaction with the local population, especially historically,

when Finland was able to define more clearly and independently the rules of engagement: "I, myself, have not questioned whether the Finnish peacekeepers in the old days and the crisis managers nowadays have done, or at least wanted to do, a lot of good in many countries. But if the objective of the assignment or operation is not primarily seen as military which can be won through suppressing the enemy, why send soldiers? Why, in the first place, send soldiers if the purpose is, as is often stated, to build roads, to communicate about democracy or the right electoral system with civilians, or to distribute food and clean water?"

"We always return to the fundamental question: is it possible to force peace and democracy on a society? What type of model do we give of democracy and a free society if we export our model to other countries militarily?"

Nowadays it is argued that the soldiers can be in a double role, in other words, can build the society, can promote equality, and can protect people – and at the same time promote Finland's and the West's strategic and security political interests through the use of power, or at least the show of power; that human security can be promoted, and sometimes must be promoted, militarily.

"I am very sceptical about this. In fact, the more I look at crises where there has been an attempt to solve them militarily, the more critical I am. I do think that the principle, Responsibility to Protect, is justified. If the country or its chosen government is not able to protect its citizens and a horrible catastrophe, genocide, or ethnic cleansing is about to occur, it will be correct to intervene in the situation, even momentarily, militarily. But this applies only to extremely exceptional cases in which the soldiers are needed to protect civilian actors and intervene in the worst situations. But such an operation cannot last for years, we cannot search for a more durable peace and stability with soldiers."

Laura Lodenius thinks it is clear that the international intervention should start from the local need so that it would produce results.

We have seen too much 'crisis management' where even the ones who are being helped yearn for the 'bad dictatorship' and our 'assistance' to end. Then we are really lost. Too often we also hear from the humanitarian organisations how catastrophic the consequences are when the civilian and military operations are not distinguished from each other and civilian aid workers become the targets of military action.

"In addition to this, there is still the question of finance. Conflict prevention and civilian crisis management are much cheaper ways of interfering than military intervention when the crisis has escalated to open violence or war. And in the world of limited resources, it is quite a reasonable argument."

*Interview: Oili Alm*

## Introduction of the Writers

**Oili Alm** is a long-time expert in peace and human rights issues. She works as the substitute for the secretary general of The Civil Society Conflict Prevention Network (KATU), since KATU's secretary general, Anne Palm, is working for the EU's monitoring mission in Georgia.

**Eva Biaudet** worked from 2006–2009 as a Special Representative on Combating Trafficking in Human Beings for The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, OSCE. In May 2010, she was appointed as the The Ombudsman for Minorities in Finland.

**Sumona DasGupta** is still working as a consultant in WISCOMP and has continued her studies about gender questions in the conflict in Kashmir. In addition, Dr. DasGupta's research interests are in security, democracy, and international relations.

**Madoka Futamura** is an Academic Programme Officer at the United Nations University's Institute for Sustainability and Peace.

**Meenakshi Gopinath** started the WISCOMP initiative in 1999 and still acts as its honorary chairman. Dr. Gopinath is the first woman member of India's National Security Advisory Board. In addition to WISCOMP, Dr. Gopinath has participated in numerous peace initiatives which are related to the conflict of Kashmir and has published several works about peace and conflict research and books about conflicts. At the moment, Dr. Gopinath serves as the Principal of Lady Shri Ram College for Women in the University of Delhi, where she also teaches in the Department of Politics.



**Prabhu Gounder** qualified as a doctor in Los Angeles in 2002. In 2005–2006 he was a field doctor for Médecins Sans Frontières in Malawi, where he led a mobile health clinic which offered HIV care in local villages. In July 2010, Dr. Gounder began his new post at New York City Department of Public Health.

**Outi Hakkarainen** is an activist in democracy and development questions and a researcher of Mexico. She works as a programme designer for KEPA.

**Antti Häikiö** serves as national co-ordinator of civil crisis management training, research, and evaluation, in Finland's Ministry of the Interior. Since 1993, he has worked for the UN, the EU, OSCE, and NATO, in assignments in the fields of civil crisis management, peacekeeping, and educational development work.

**Tapio Juntunen** has a Masters in Social Sciences and he works at The Civil Society Conflict Prevention Network (KATU's) as the project co-ordinator for the human security campaign. In his research work, Mr. Juntunen has concentrated on security studies and Finland's foreign and security policy traditions.

**Timo Kivimäki** is a professor of international politics at the University of Copenhagen. Dr. Kivimäki's research concentrates on peace and conflicts in East Asia. He has assisted as an expert in CMI's and Martti Ahtisaari Rapid Reaction Facility's peace initiatives, and functions as an expert and educational advisor in the office of Indonesia's vice-president in some of Indonesia's peace initiatives.

**Senja Korhonen** has a Masters in Social Sciences and works in the Civil Crisis Management Centre of Finland where she is responsible for the training programme on human security and related research. She is (as a private citizen) a member of the steering group of KATU.

**Heli Kuusipalo**, Masters in Food Science, researcher and journalist, has worked in Malawi from 1989–1991 and 2002–2003: first in a programme for the UN, developing a vitamin-enriched porridge product suitable for use in refugee camps; and later, in a research project of the University of Tampere which was connected to the improvement of women's and children's health and nutritional state. Kuusipalo has also worked in Indonesia from 1994–1996, and researched primary health care work and the nutritional state of women and children in the village of Kalimantan.

**Kalle Liesinen** is an expert on crisis management and an active writer. From 2007 to 2009, he worked as the executive director of the Crisis Management Initiative (CMI), led by Martti Ahtisaari. Ret. Colonel Liesinen has extensive experience in the fields of both military and civil crisis management. Before joining CMI, he worked in the unit of civil crisis management in the Ministry of the Interior. Previously, he has served as Deputy Head of Mission and as the Chief of Decommissioning in the Aceh Monitoring Mission for the European Union in Indonesia. As part of other civil crisis management and peacekeeping operations, he has been in Sri Lanka, the Balkans, Iran, and the Middle East. Ret. Colonel Liesinen is a founding member and chairman of the Association of Finnish Military Sociology, an expert to the board of the Finnish Forum for Mediation, and a member of the board for the Association of Societal Security.

**Mehrnaz Mostafavi** is a Programme Officer in the Human Security Unit of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, OCHA. Ms. Mostafavi is responsible for the promotion and adaptation of the concept of human security in operations for the UN's Trust Fund for Human Security.

**Edward Newman** is a senior lecturer in the Department of Political Science and International Studies, University of Birmingham.

**Terhi Nieminen-Mäkynen** has a Masters in Social Sciences and serves as co-chairperson of The Civil Society Conflict Prevention Network (KATU).

**Anne Rosenlew** is working on a doctoral thesis in development studies at the University of Helsinki's Department of Political and Economic Studies, about the economic and social significance of women's groups in Senegal.

**Tarja Seppä** is a lecturer on international politics and peace research in the University of Tampere's Department of Political Science and International Relations.

**Kalle Sysikaski** is a civil activist who is a teacher, a freelance journalist, and a representative of underage asylum-seekers.

**Shahrbanou Tadjbakhsh** is co-director of the Human Security Programme in the Master's of Public Affairs, Sciences Po, Paris, and an Associate Researcher at the Peace Research Institute (PRIO), Oslo.

# Useful Links

## International organizations:

- Commission on Human Security:  
<http://www.humansecurity-chs.org/>
- United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security:  
<http://ochaonline.un.org/Home/tabid/2097/language/en-US/Default.aspx>
- United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research:  
[http://www.unidir.org/html/en/human\\_security.html](http://www.unidir.org/html/en/human_security.html)
- United Nations Development Programme:  
<http://www.undp.org/>

## Academic institutions:

- Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity:  
<http://www.crise.ox.ac.uk/>
- Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect:  
<http://globalr2p.org/>
- Ford Institute for Human Security:  
<http://www.fordinstitute.pitt.edu/>
- London School of Economics and Political Science, Global Governance  
<http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/global/researchhumansecurity.htm>
- RMIT University, Global Cities Research Institute:  
<http://www.global-cities.info/humansecurity>
- Sciences Po  
<http://www.peacecenter.sciences-po.fr/>
- Simon Fraser University, School for International Studies:
  - Human Security Report Project:  
<http://www.hsrgroup.org/>
  - Human Security Gateway:  
<http://www.humansecuritygateway.com/>

- Tufts University, The Fletcher School, Institute for Human Security:  
<http://fletcher.tufts.edu/humansecurity/>

### Non-Governmental Organizations:

- Human Security Alliance:  
<http://www.hsa-int.net/>
- International Coalition for the Responsibility to Protect:  
<http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/>



This book was first printed in Finnish for the simple reason that no literature existed before about human security in Finnish. But later, we wanted to share these articles with a wider readership to be able to further promote the approach.

The UN Millennium Development Goals are already more than ten years old. Very little has been achieved in poverty reduction, ending of inequalities, let alone ending of violent conflicts.

Yet, as these texts will prove, there are some positive examples and projects that are taking us towards a world having more human security. Sometimes it takes very little to make a change.



Civil Society Conflict  
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