

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS AND LIMITATIONS OF
THE ABERYSTWYTH SCHOOL AND THE COPENHAGEN SCHOOL
FOR THE ANALYSIS OF ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY

A Master's Thesis

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ABSTRACT

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The end of the Cold War created a contextual change in security studies along with a proliferation of scientific research revealing the pressing impacts of human activities on the environment since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. Since then environmental security has been increasingly studied in different ways: as a new field of analysis, as a referent object or a security threat. Recent initiatives like the 2015 UN Climate Conference COP 21 and more frequent and more powerful environmental disasters such as hurricanes, droughts and famines attracted even more scholarly attention for environmental security studies. This thesis specifically aims to assess the contributions and limitations of the Aberystwyth School and the Copenhagen School for the analysis of environmental security. As a result, the Aberystwyth School broadens the research agenda by allowing room for the analysis of different environmental problems experienced by various referents. The school offers bringing about progress and change in the meaning and making of security through politicization and emancipation. However, the cases fall short demonstrating how to reach emancipation at the global level. The Copenhagen School shows how securitization process works and reveals how this process attracts attention, measure,

policies and resources to environmental concerns. Given the School's fixed understanding of construction of security through urgency, speech acts and state elites, limits the analytical strength of the Copenhagen School for the environmental security analysis.

Keywords: Aberystwyth School, Copenhagen School, Critical Security Studies, Environment, Security.

ÖZET

ÇEVRE GÜVENLİĞİ ANALİZİNDE ABERYSTWYTH OKULU VE KOPENHAG OKULU KATKILARI VE KISITLAMALARININ BİR DEĞERLENDİRMESİ

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Soğuk Savaş'ın sonu güvenlik çalışmalarında içeriksel bir değişim oluşturmuştur, bunun ile birlikte çevre üzerine yapılan bilimsel araştırmalar Sanayi Devrimi'nden bu yana insan aktivitelerinin çevre üzerindeki önemli etkilerini ortaya çıkartmıştır. Bundan sonra çevre güvenliği artarak farklı yönlerden yeni bir analiz alanı olarak, referans nesnesi ya da güvenlik açısından bir tehlike olarak çalışılmaktadır. 2015 Birleşmiş Milletler İklim Konferansı COP 21 gibi uluslararası girişimler, kasırgalar, kuraklıklar ve kıtlıklar gibi daha sık ve daha güçlü çevre felaketleri çevre güvenliği çalışmalarına daha fazla akademik ilgi çekmiştir. Bu tez özellikle Aberystwyth Okulu ve Kopenhag Okuluun çevre güvenliği analizindeki katkılarını ve kısıtlamalarını incelemektedir. Sonuç olarak, Aberystwyth Okulu araştırma gündemini genişletip çeşitli referanslar tarafından karşılaşılan farklı çevre sorunlarının analizi için alan yaratmaktadır. Okul, politize etme ve özgürleştirme aracılığı ile güvenliğin anlamında ve yapımında ilerleme ve değişim önermektedir. Kopenhag Okulu güvenlikleştirme sürecinin nasıl çalıştığını ve bu sürecin çevresel endişeler konusunda nasıl ilgi, tedbir, siyaset ve kaynak çektiğini ortaya çıkarır. Okulun güvenliğin yapımı konusunda aciliyet, söz edimi ve devlet elitlerine sabit bir

anlayışı olması, Kopenhag Okulu'nun çevre güvenliđi analizindeki analitik kuvvetini sınırlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Aberystwyth Okulu, Çevre, Eleştirel Güvenlik Çalışmaları, Güvenlik, Kopenhag Okulu.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Human activities since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution have had extensive impacts on the environment. Over two hundreds of years of rapidly developing modes of production, socio-economic developments and innovation breakthroughs have led to vast population growth constantly increasing demands for more and wide ranging products at competitive prices. During this process of development Earth's natural resources have been consumed to a point where these developments have had severe impacts on environment and caused potentially inevitable changes the course of Earth's climate and more frequent problems. As the United Nations Environment Program's Millennium Ecosystem Assessment indicates, "over the past 50 years, humans have changed ecosystems more rapidly and extensively than in any comparable period of time in human history" (Millennium Ecosystem Assessment, 2005: 1).

The impacts of environmental problems are multifaceted and interconnected. Earth's environment has a delicate balance since all different sets of ecosystems and their organisms are connected through many cycles and chains such as carbon, nitrogen, phosphorus, water cycles and food chain. For this reason, environmental issues such

as air, soil, water pollution, biodiversity loss and extinction of species, sea level rise, deforestation, wildfires, more frequent and strong natural disasters like hurricanes, floods, heat waves and the climate change constitute a significant threat towards environment and its inhabitants to varying degrees.

The scope of the impacts of environmental problems has started to be understood not long ago scientifically. The reflections of this understanding resonated in international policy making world and brought scholarly attention. Majority of international organizations such as United Nations referred in their environmental outlooks and publications that these impacts have become one of the greatest concerns of humanity (Global Environmental Outlook, 2007). On the other hand, the academic front fostered a proliferation of research from different respects.

One of the initial global initiatives on the environment is the influential report the Limits to Growth report, published by three of founding members of a global think tank, the Club of Rome, marked the inception of concerns related to environment and politicized environment (Meadows et al. 1972). By the 1972 Declaration of the UN Conference on the Human Environment at the Stockholm Conference, which aimed “to defend and improve the human environment for present and future generations has become an imperative goal for mankind”, countries assembled for the first time to assess environment (Declaration of the UN Conference on the Human Environment, 1972:1). Additionally, Brundtland Report, which was prepared by the World Commission on Environment and Development in 1987, the term “sustainable development” was coined for the first time and environmental problems started to be considered having a global character (International Environmental Issues, n.d.).

Following 1972 Stockholm Conference and 1987 Brundtland Report, a number of international initiatives on environment took place. However, the UN Conference on Environment and Development in 1992 marked a significant progress in terms of adoption of principles and a comprehensive action plan through Agenda 21, Rio Declaration on Environment and Development and Statement on Forest Principles, the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change and Convention (UNFCCC) on Biological Diversity (International Environmental Issues, n.d.). The adaptation of the Kyoto Protocol in 1997 as the continuation of 1992 UNFCCC, marked another important step in taking an international action to reduce greenhouse gases emissions to combat the global climate change.

More recently, as a result of negotiations that took place for two weeks in Paris in UNFCCC's 21st Conference of Parties (COP 21), on the 12th of December 2015 195 countries adopted the Paris agreement on climate. Addressed as a “victory for the climate” and “one of the most important international agreements in history”, this agreement marked a significant promise to mitigate climate change (UNEP Annual Report, 2015:4). To mitigate the negative effects of the climate change, the agreement sets the target of keeping global temperatures rise below 1.5 degrees Celsius. The agreement will be correspondingly implemented with “the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities” and will include principles for climate change adaptation and creating resilient development (UNEP Annual Report, 2015:4).

In line with the global awakening about environment starting from the early 1970s

following the scientific research and global initiatives, environmental concerns also attracted scholarly attention. International Relations discipline has started to integrate environmental problems to various areas such as international political economy, international governance, theory as well as security. The Research specifically conducted on security in relation to environment has been thriving.

The academic literature on the security-environment research was initially geared towards conceptual debates about environment, which essentially discussed whether environment is a security issue or not. Later research in international security studies often conceptualized the environmental problems as an international security threat (Ullman, 1983; Myers, 1989; Tuchman Mathews, 1989) – with an increasing emphasis on causal relationship between environmental change and resource scarcity/abundance and acute conflicts (Homer-Dixon, 1991;1994; Kaplan, 1994; Le Billon, 2001). Some other works include research on the impact of globally embedded political economy structures (Selby and Hoffmann, 2014), critique on the North-centric literature (Barnett, 2000), alternate perspectives on peace and environmental change (Barnett, 2007) and focus on ecology (Pirages and DeGeest, 2004; Dalby, 2009).

The emergence of critical security studies under international security studies after the end of the Cold War opened a way for a new direction for research on environmental security. Additionally, 9/11 is another substantial point raising questions about the existing ways of studying security and leading to proliferation of critical literature. Especially the Aberystwyth School and the Copenhagen School of critical security studies witnessed a profusion of environmental research offering

different frameworks for analysis.

The developments in the field of security studies in International Relations with respect to environment as well as the number of international initiatives have led me to question: “Why has the humanity yet to find a solution to the one of the greatest challenges to the human biosphere despite many initiatives and research?”. As a student of International Relations, due to the Aberystwyth School’s politicization of issues and its transformative potential, the Copenhagen School’s analytical tools and my continuous interest in studying environment, I wanted to explore how environment is studied from these two perspectives and their analytical potentials.

In line with this, my thesis aims to answer the question of “What are the contributions and limitations of analysing environmental security from the Aberystwyth School and Copenhagen School perspectives?”. In this regard, the thesis aims to illustrate how environment is studied from the perspectives of the Aberystwyth and the Copenhagen School in comparison to traditional and other critical approaches to environmental security. Another aim of this thesis is to discuss advantages and possible limitations of analysing environmental security through these perspectives.

In order to analyse the indicated research question, Chapter 2 will examine the theoretical perspectives of the Aberystwyth School and the Copenhagen School and explore these two Schools’ key concepts and core arguments related to environmental security. Following this theoretical exploration, Chapter 3 will examine environmental security literature in general. To this aim, the chapter will

explore the previous categorization of environment and security research. Then, the chapter will classify the literature into the sections: Accounts referring environment as a security threat, those that refer environment as a referent object of security and accounts that suggest de-linking environment and security. In this respect the thesis reflects on various academic analyses conducted on different forms of environmental change. In Chapter 4, the thesis will analyse the environmental security works that have been studied specifically from the Aberystwyth School and the Copenhagen School perspectives. In this respect, the thesis will demonstrate how environment has been studied within the framework of these schools. Through case studies and examples utilized in these works, the thesis will explore in what manners these schools contribute to and limit the environmental security analysis in Chapter 5.

Conducting an analysis on the research question of this thesis and proceeding with the specified manner is contributory in a number of ways. Firstly, this thesis will firstly bring mainstream and critical environmental security perspectives together. Secondly, this thesis will demonstrate the importance of studying different aspects of environmental problems. Finally, it will bring together different analytical perspectives and will reveal their contributions and limitations. In this sense, this thesis will contribute to the literature by providing an introductory guide to the complexity of the research on environmental security.

CHAPTER 2

CRITICAL SECURITY STUDIES: THE ABERYSTWYTH AND THE COPENHAGEN SCHOOLS OF SECURITY

This chapter introduces the two distinct schools of Critical Security Studies, the Aberystwyth and Copenhagen Schools. The main objective of this chapter is to discuss key concepts and core arguments located within these two schools of security. To this end, this chapter proceeds in two major sections. The first section of Chapter 2 explores the Aberystwyth School of critical security studies with respect to its central concepts and arguments. In this regard, the chapter will first explore the Aberystwyth School's conceptualisation of security as a derivative concept. Secondly, the chapter will explore the two analytical moves of the School: deepening and broadening security. Lastly, the section will discuss the concept of emancipation and its connection to security. The second section of the chapter will similarly explore the Copenhagen School of security. Firstly, the section will explore the Copenhagen School's central concept of securitization. Then, the section will discuss the construction of security through speech acts in detail. The second section of Chapter 2 will elaborate broadening security with the introduction of sectoral

perspective. The section will finally discuss the Copenhagen School's answer to securitization: desecuritization.

2.1 The Aberystwyth School: Politicization of Security

Critical Security Studies has gained prominence within the field of International Relations and International Security Studies scholarship in early 1980s and 1990s. Political realism persisted to be the dominant approach in thinking and practicing security until the end of the Cold War. Bilgin, Booth and Wyn Jones state that status quo oriented political realism, which dominated Security Studies and Cold War had a symbiotic relationship (1998: 141). The end of the Cold War, led to a "crisis" in the field of security (Bilgin, Booth and Wyn Jones, 1998, 141). The year "1989" marked a turning point for the field of Security Studies, allowing room for non-mainstream approaches that had existed to flourish (Bilgin, Booth and Wyn Jones, 1998, 141). In this respect, Critical Security Studies challenged existing ways of 'thinking' about and making of security in the post-Cold War era (Bilgin, Booth and Wyn Jones, 1998: 151).

Out of the necessity to challenge the prevailing understanding of security, the Aberystwyth School of Critical Security Studies developed as a critique and a reorientation of the orthodox political realism. There are several flaws of political realism, which critical security studies derived its notion of "critical" by criticizing and bringing new positions to these flaws (Booth, 2005: 4-5). For instance, realism adopts a Western notion of interests and outlook while it fails to reflect on other parts of the world (Booth, 2005: 5-6). Additionally, political realism's agenda of world

politics is state centric; realism prioritizes some notions, such as military, over others and neglects some other concepts (Booth, 2005:7). With such critiques in mind, the Aberystwyth distinction questions such as: “Where are the poor? Where are the voiceless? Who benefits from those who are silenced?” (Booth, 2005:7).

This particular approach, which is also addressed as ‘Welsh School’, ‘Emancipatory Security Theory’ or ‘Emancipatory Realism’ criticizes pregiven orthodoxies of political realism and aims to understand the structure behind dominant understandings. The chapter will explore the Aberystwyth School way of rethinking security as a derivative concept, the school’s deepening and broadening analytical moves and the concept of emancipation and its relation with security below.

2.1.1 Security as a Derivative Concept

The Aberystwyth School stresses that security is a derivative concept. The School emphasizes on the limits of the postulations by traditional realist theory and specifically challenges the assumption of objective reality that exists “‘out there’ in what is thought to be the real world of international affairs” (Booth, 1997: 84). Instead, this approach transcends beyond pregiven, closed, static, state centric and power driven perspective of political realism and aims to comprehend the structure behind these prevailing understandings. In this respect, security is defined as a derivative concept within the framework of the Aberystwyth School.

Security as a derivative concept means that “one’s understanding of what ‘security’ is (or should be) derives from one’s political outlook and philosophical worldview”

(Bilgin 2013:94). Security outcomes such as policies or situations *derive* their sources from “different underlying understandings of the character and purpose of politics” (Booth, 2007: 109). Additionally, Ken Booth articulates this matter as follows:

How one conceives security is constructed out of the assumptions (however explicitly or inexplicitly articulated) that make up one’s theory of world politics (its units, structures, processes, and so on). Security policy, from this perspective, is an epiphenomenon of political theory (2007: 150).

In this sense, understanding security as a derivative concept locates the notion of security within the realm of politics. In other words, the process of producing different security perceptions “is political through and through” (Bilgin 2013: 95). According to this particular approach “security is an intrinsic value within politics” (Booth, 2007: 155).

The Aberystwyth School does not define security as a universal, objective concept as such a definition has rendered the world less secure (Bilgin, 2013: 94-95). As an alternative to a universal definition of security, the School suggests “deeper understandings of oppressive attitudes and behaviour” (Booth, 2007: 30). This particular security understanding challenges and suggests a change in security theory and practice. In this respect, the Aberystwyth School aims to reveal “one’s theory of world politics (its units, structures, processes, and so on)” behind the making of security (Booth, 2007: 150). It politicizes security by uncovering such political stances and ideas shaping security understandings and enables one to rethink security from the outlook of the ones “without power—those who have been traditionally silenced by prevailing structures” (Booth, 2005: 14).

2.1.2 Broadening and Deepening Security

According to the Aberystwyth School of critical security studies, rethinking security from bottom up perspective requires two analytical moves: first deepening move and second broadening move (Booth, 2005: 14). Ken Booth defines deepening move as “understanding security as an epiphenomenon, and so accepting the task of drilling down to explore its origins in ‘the most basic questions of political theory’” (Booth, 2007: 155). In other words, deepening helps in disclosing and investigating the implications of the idea that security agendas and policies are derivative of fundamental and disputed theories about the nature of the world politics (Booth, 2005: 14). Booth argues that “without deepening in the sense of drilling down to uncover the political theory from which security attitudes and behavior derive, security studies remains a largely technical matter, the military/strategic problem-solving dimension of realism” (Booth, 2007: 157). In this respect, deepening move opens a way for tracking down scholarly concepts, security agendas and policies back to their political roots and brings security studies back to the realm of politics (Booth, 2007: 157).

The deepening move has two uses for analysts: decentering states and considering other referent objects situated below and above the state level (Bilgin, 2013: 101-102). However, this move is not equivalent to a level-of-analysis move. Deepening enables the field to become “more willing to consider the security of individuals and groups” as opposed to solely concentrating on the threats directed to states (Booth, 2007: 157). Since security is a derivative concept, deepening security entails scrutinizing security practices and theories and revealing the political and philosophical assumptions behind them (Booth, 2005: 15). Given that this process of revealing what lies behind the making and doing of security and connecting it with

political theory, it uncovers the implications of security and it serves in identifying the referent objects of security (Booth, 2005: 15). In this respect, the process of bringing security to the realm of politics and studying referents means more than levels of analysis (Booth, 2005: 15).

The Aberystwyth School's second analytical move is broadening security. Broadening security agenda originates from the deepening move (Booth, 2005:14). This analytical move is necessary since it implies moving away from realist orthodoxies such as militarism and statism (Booth, 1991: 317). The Aberystwyth School intends to "broaden our understanding of security in order to consider a range of insecurities faced by an array of referent objects" (Bilgin, 2013: 102). The broadening of security is essential in the sense that traditional concept of security understanding is limited and it fails to articulate the multitude of security threats that are encountered by individuals and societies encounter.

According to Booth, the broadening move is often misunderstood (2007:149). Although the broadening move is often referred as merely involving issues other than military threats into security agenda, for the Aberystwyth School, it implies a much deeper understanding. For instance, broadening as introduced by Barry Buzan's *People, States and Fear* is accepted as a comprehensive analysis of broadening security by Ken Booth (1991: 317; 2007:189). Buzan identifies five sectors of security that broadens the security agenda (Booth, 2005: 14-15). However, Booth argues that Buzan's challenge to broaden security agenda with a sectoral approach broadens security from a neorealist perspective because broadening from Buzan's perspective "did not escape the deep structure of its state-centric assumptions"

(Booth, 2007: 162). The broadening move offers a deeper understanding than the inclusion of additional security issues experienced by various referents. Therefore, broadening security from the Aberystwyth School perspective should start from deepening, where security agendas should be examined to reveal underlying interests and assumptions shaping them (Booth, 2005: 15). This is the principal reason why the Aberystwyth School accepts the deepening move as its first analytical step and the basis of broadening move in rethinking security.

Although deepening and broadening moves are interconnected, the moves should not be treated as synonymous. Deepening move implies uncovering the political and philosophical roots of the making and practices of security (Booth, 2005: 15). On the other hand, the broadening move entails inclusion of different insecurities experienced by a variety of different actors. As Booth indicates, the deepening move enables one to explore different referents of security whilst discovering the interests and assumptions behind security (Booth, 2005: 15). In this regard, despite these two analytical moves are connected, they do not have the same function.

Broadening security from the Aberystwyth School perspective does not mean 'securitizing' issues, on the contrary, Aberystwyth School 'politicizes security' (Booth, 2005: 14). The Aberystwyth School attempts to put security issues in the realm of political theory as it is previously discussed in this section (Booth, 2005: 14). In this regard, the Aberystwyth School, which is an attempt to rethink and alter the doing of security, is opposed merely to replicating business-as-usual (Booth, 2007: 176).

Pınar Bilgin argues that there are three main reasons why the Aberystwyth School politicizes security (Bilgin, 2013: 102-103). The first argument is *strategic*. Politicization of security enables people to question, “how state elites use security and the merits of policies based on zero-sum, statist and militaristic understandings” (Bilgin, 2013: 103). The second reason is *ethico-political*. If actors other than states define security, then it would be possible to understand security within global and local practices with a consideration of future implications of current security thinking and practices (Bilgin, 2013: 103). In this respect, more room for further dialogue, debate and dissent will be created and the voices of the groups or individuals would be heard who otherwise will be unheard (Bilgin, 2013: 103). The third argument is *analytical*. It is necessary for security to be able to address concerns and answer them ‘empirically, historically and discursively’ (Bilgin, 2013: 103). Framing a certain problem as a security issue in different parts of the world can help to address its effects, however, in another place the same problem might be framed in an alarmist language. Because of these three reasons the Aberystwyth School aims to ‘politicize’ security and to reveal the power-knowledge relations reified into institutions and accepted as ‘reality’ or ‘natural’.

2.1.3 Security and Emancipation

In connection with deepening and broadening security and defining security as a derivative concept, the Aberystwyth School also introduces a normative concept of emancipation. Etymology of the word emancipation comes from Latin word “*ēmancipāre*”, which means “the action of setting free from slavery or tutelage” (Wyn Jones, 2005: 216). The word was used in association with “some of the great

progressive struggles in modern history” (Fierke, 2012: 187). The Aberystwyth School, however, adopts the concept of emancipation from the Frankfurt School tradition and emphasises on its inseparable relation with security.

The Aberystwyth School adopts the normative concept of emancipation and places this concept at the center of its critique of traditional security studies. Emancipation is, therefore, a significant, yet, constantly discussed topic in the Aberystwyth School. For instance, Ken Booth initially defines the concept of emancipation and its relation to security as follows:

Security means the absence of threats. Emancipation is the freeing of people (as individuals and groups) from those physical and human constraints which stop them carrying out what they freely choose to do. War and the threat of war is one of those constraints, together with poverty, poor education, political oppression and so on. Security and emancipation are two sides of the same coin. Emancipation, not power or order, produces true security (Booth, 1991: 319).

According to Booth, security and emancipation are "two sides of the same coin" which is not possible to separate. Without emancipation it is not possible to attain security and eliminate threats directed to oneself. Booth makes another similar definition of emancipation as follows:

As a discourse of politics, emancipation seeks the securing of people from those oppressions that stop them carrying out what they would freely choose to do, compatible with the freedom of others. It provides a three-fold framework for politics: a philosophical anchorage for knowledge, a theory of progress for society and a practice of resistance against oppression. Emancipation is the philosophy, theory and politics of inventing humanity (Booth, 2007: 112).

In these two definitions introduced by Booth, the first sentence placing human beings at the core is unchanged. In the latter definition, Booth indicates that emancipation provides ‘a three-fold framework for politics’ and serves three functions. For the *philosophical anchorage for knowledge* emancipation acts as a foundation that helps to distinguish ‘true’ and ‘serious’ (Booth, 2007: 112). Additionally, emancipation

serves as *a theory of progress* and it “offers an account of the actual world of world politics” that is dynamic and reversible (Booth, 2007: 112). As *a practice of resistance*, emancipation constitutes a “framework for attempting to actualize both nearer-term and longer-term emancipatory goals through strategic tactical political action based on immanent critique” (Booth, 2007: 112).

Richard Wyn Jones suggests a similar understanding of security-emancipation relation with Ken Booth. Wyn Jones argues that “security in the sense of absence of the threat of (involuntary) pain, fear, hunger, poverty is an essential element for emancipation” (1999: 126). With this definition, Wyn Jones elaborates specifically on constraints and threats causing insecurity and how security is connected with emancipation. Similar to Ken Booth’s definition, although he does not refer to ‘people’ directly, Wyn Jones indirectly puts humans at the center of emancipation.

According to Booth the concept of emancipation has three major roles (2005: 182). The first one is its role as a philosophical anchorage. Booth argues that the concept of emancipation functions “as a basis or test” to check “whether particular claims to knowledge should be taken seriously” (1999: 43; 2005:182). Secondly, emancipation serves as a strategic process: it is strategic in the sense that it has changing targets bringing about practical results; it is a process in the sense that it does not have an endpoint (Booth 2005: 182). Such process should have benign and reformist steps aspiring to make a better world (Booth, 1999: 43-44; 2007: 252). Finally, emancipation acts as a guide for tactical goal setting since employing immanent critique opens a way for emancipatory ideas to evolve into tactical action (Booth 2005: 182).

Emancipation should not be equated with security from a Western point of view. Pınar Bilgin (2003; 2005) indicates that although Ken Booth's definition of emancipation did not directly emphasize the major differences between the security needs of various types of states, emancipation is not a concept that only aims to emancipate the ones in Western states (Bilgin 2003: 209-210; 2005: 41-42). Furthermore, Bilgin indicates that emancipation is a process and a goal, which "is kept on the horizon during state building and the making of the security policy" (2003: 209-210). In other words, emancipation is a process, not an end point, it is a "direction rather than a destination" (Wyn Jones 2005: 230). Additionally, emancipation is not similar with "Western ways of thinking or behaving" (Booth 1999: 41). However, finding a way for addressing the security needs and interests of various referents at different levels constitutes a challenge for emancipation-oriented approaches (Bilgin, Booth and Wyn Jones 1998: 137-157).

2.2 The Copenhagen School: Securitization Theory

The second section of this chapter similarly explores the central concepts and processes of another critical security approach the Copenhagen School. The School, which is often referred as 'Securitization Theory', essentially defines security as a discursively constructed concept. The School focuses on the way security is constructed and how such a construction works in world politics. In this framework, this section will first explore the concept of securitization. Secondly, the section will demonstrate how securitization process occurs. Thirdly, the discussion will continue with the exploration of the sectors of security introduced by the Copenhagen School.

The section will finally investigate the School's response to securitization, namely the process of desecuritization.

2.2.1 Securitization

The core concept in the Copenhagen School is securitization. The concept of securitization can be defined as a move that relocates an issue from the realm of 'normal politics' to the realm of 'emergency politics' through its representation as an existential threat (Peoples and Vaughan-Williams 2010:76). Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde (1998) indicate that the concept of security is about survival:

“Security” is the move that takes politics beyond the established rules of the game and frames the issue either as a special kind of politics or as above politics. Securitization can thus be seen as a more extreme version of politicization (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde: 1998, 23).

In line with Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde's (1998) above mentioned argument, the concept of securitization is regarded as an “extreme version of politicization” where a security issue is treated as “special kind of politics” or “above politics”.

Since the process of securitization is about presenting an issue as a security issue (or threat), what can be considered as a security issue is important. On the matter of what should be considered as a security issue, Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde (1998) argue that security is essentially related with survival. More specifically, security issues are “developments that threaten the sovereignty or independence of a state in a particularly rapid or dramatic fashion, and deprive it of the capacity to manage by itself” (Wæver 1995: 54). The referent object of security is explained by Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde as: “that to which one can point and say, “It has to survive, therefore it is necessary to...”” (1998:36). However, according to the Copenhagen

School not every object can become a referent object of security. Wæver (1995: 54), for example, suggests to take the state as the referent object in line with his definition of security.

The Copenhagen School is interested in analysing the way how security is constructed. In other terms, how an issue transcends beyond the “normal politics” and is accepted as an existential threat and is treated as an extreme case of politicization is one of the central discussions in the Copenhagen School. According to this particular approach, securitization is an intersubjective process, which happens only when an agent or a securitizing actor attempts to bring an issue or an actor as an ‘existential threat’ for a specific group through ‘speech acts’ and when this securitization is accepted by the audience (Wæver, 1995: 54-57). In this sense, the construction of threats or securitization is made through ‘speech acts’, which are seen as a “securitizing moves”. However, an issue is securitized only if the audience accepts it (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde: 1998, 25). In short, not every act or actor can be securitized according to this particular approach.

2.2.2 Security as a Discursive Construction

Following the exploration on what securitization is from the Copenhagen School perspective, it is important to look at the process how issues are securitized. Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde suggest that all issues can be placed on a spectrum which ranges from:

...nonpoliticised (meaning the state does not deal with it is not in any other way made an issue of public debate and decision) through politicized (meaning the issue is part of public policy, requiring government decision and resource allocations or, more rarely, some other form of communal

governance) to securitized (meaning the issue is presented as an existential threat, requiring emergency measures and justifying actions outside the normal bounds of political procedure) (1998: 23-24).

In short, this spectrum starts with a nonpoliticised issue that previously does not exist in the realm of politics (1998: 23). Through politicised it opens up for a public policy debate and becomes securitized and considered as an existential threat and goes beyond the realm of normal politics (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998: 23).

Columba Peoples and Nick Vaughan-Williams (2010:77) adapt this securitization spectrum defined by Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde (1998) and schematize it as it can be seen in Figure 1.

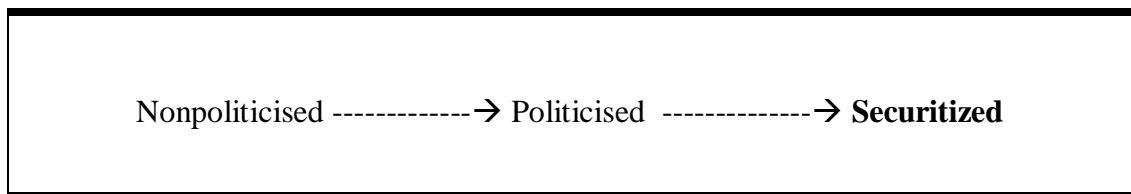


Figure 1. The Securitization Spectrum (Peoples and Vaughan-Williams, 2010:77)

According to the Copenhagen School, issues are transformed to the realm of emergency politics (become securitized) and become security issues (or threats) through language (Wæver, 1995: 55). Wæver explicitly explains speech act as follows:

...the utterance *itself* is the act. By saying it, something is done (as in betting, giving a promise, naming a ship). By uttering “security,” a state representative moves a particular development into a specific area, and thereby claims a special right to use whatever means are necessary to block it (1995: 55).

In other words, Wæver identifies security as a ‘speech act’ or a discursive construction, which is constructed by political actors through uttering security.

According to the Copenhagen School, not anyone can perform such a discursive action and declare an issue as an existential threat or a security issue. This specific process of “naming a ship” or ‘speech act’ has to be made by “someone in authority, in the right context and according to certain pre-established rituals or conventions” (Wæver, 1995: 55). According to Wæver (1995:54), “something is a security issue when elites declare it be so”. In other words, the speech act must be performed by important state representatives; hence, the securitizing actors are restricted to the state elites.

Speech acts performed by agents of security is not a sufficient ground for a particular issue to be acknowledged to have become securitized. The process of securitization is not solely about addressing an issue as an objective existential threat, but also “constructing a shared understanding of what is to be considered and collectively responded as threat” (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998: 26). This reveals the essentially intersubjective nature of securitization process by emphasizing the role of acceptance of the audience, when a speech act is initiated. In this regard, in the process of securitization, speech act requires acceptance from audience otherwise the securitization move becomes unfinished (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998: 25).

Wæver (2000) argues that successful speech act of securitization requires three conditions. The first condition is the representation of an issue as an existential threat that needs to be treated with extraordinary measures. Secondly, securitizing actor needs to be “in a position of authority” having “enough social and political capital to convince an audience” that an issue constitutes an existential threat (Peoples and

Vaughan-Williams 2010: 79). As stated earlier, not every actor can speak of security. Lastly, referring to an issue through “historical connotations of threat, danger and harm, or where a history of hostile sentiments exists” makes it easier to present the issue as an existential threat (Peoples and Vaughan-Williams 2010: 79).

2.2.3 Sectors of Security

The Copenhagen School identifies five sectors of security and opens up for analysis in these sectors. In 1991 edition of *People, States and Fear*, Barry Buzan suggested four non-military sectors for the analysis of security. In this respect, other than solely military, this approach adopts five main security sectors (fields of activity or arenas), which are military, political, economic, societal and ecological. However, the broadening of security to five main sectors of analysis does not imply opening up in terms of referent objects. Additionally, Barry Buzan refers individuals are “irreducible base units” for security because it provides a basis for “discussions about security” (Smith, 2005: 32). Individuals cannot be referent objects for the Copenhagen School, the main referent object is the state as it is in the case of political realism. Given that Copenhagen School has the assumption that the state is the primary actor in the international system, which deals with the “substate, national and international” levels of security problems and is the major actor that mitigates security, states are accepted as the main referent objects (Smith, 2005: 32).

The military sector, where traditional understanding of security prevails, national security is the main security focus (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998: 49). The issues directed to state, territory or military capacity can be considered as existential threats. The idea of sovereignty is the key for states which gives the right to states for

governance in a certain territory and to a population (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998: 49). Since traditionally sovereignty has been related to defense against threats from within and without, the agenda of military security is focused largely around states (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998: 50).

Another sector identified with regard to the Copenhagen School is the environment. The environmental sector is complicated by a large variety of referent objects such as “the survival of individual species (tigers, whales, humankind) or types of habitat (rainforests, lakes)”, preservation of the Earth’s climate and biosphere (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998: 23). For Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, it is crucial for environmental security to be scientifically taken into account by states, major economic actors and local communities (1998:91). Otherwise successful securitization does not occur.

Economic sector of security is occupied with existential threats such as financial collapse or economic crisis directed to national or global markets (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998: 22). Societal sector, however, focuses on existential threats to collective identity of a group, language or culture (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998: 22-23). According to Wæver, similar to state security’s taking sovereignty at its center, societal sector takes identity as a matter of survival (Wæver, 1995: 65).

Lastly, the political sector of security concentrates on “relationships of authority, governing status and recognition” (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde 1998: 7). The referent object that is threatened is the political unit whereas the non-military

sovereignty of a state, or stability are considered as existential threats (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde 1998: 7).

2.2.4 Desecuritization

Though the main objective of the Copenhagen School is to observe how issues are transformed into security issues, security itself is a “conservative approach” having negative meaning (Wæver, 1995: 56). Wæver (1995, 75) argues that “security is a specific move that entails consequences which involve risking oneself”. For instance, national security prepares a ground for those in power to “silence opposition” or “exploiting threats or domestic purposes” in order to enable themselves to handle matters with non-democratic, restrictive manners (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998: 29). Therefore, Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde argue that less security is better (1998: 29). As a result of such negative understanding of security, the Copenhagen School developed the concept of desecuritization as a response to securitization.

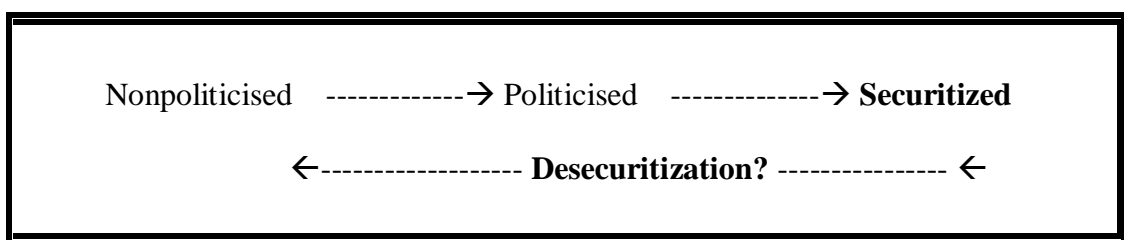


Figure 2. Desecuritization? (Peoples and Vaughan-Williams 2010: 83)

As it is shown in Figure 2, desecuritization is a move, which refers to the movement of securitized issues from the realm of emergency back to realm of normal politics (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde 1998: 4). Desecuritization is perceived as an optimal long term option as the move simply “means not to have issues issues phrased as

‘threat against we have countermeasures’ but to move them out of this threat-defense sequence and into the ordinary public sphere” (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde 1998: 29). Even if in some cases such as “environmental security” or “war on crime” securitization is preferable to evoke urgency in order to attract attention and mobilization or for “tactical reasons”, the School discusses that issues can be treated in ordinary politics, fields outside security (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde 1998: 29). According to the School, securitizing an issue or accepting an issue’s securitization is a political preference (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde 1998: 29).

The Copenhagen School is similar to political realism because of its emphasis on state as the main referent object for analysing security. However, its response to securitization, desecuritization, adds a normative component to the School (McDonald 2013: 74). As defined above, desecuritization is a policy and a process by which an issue or an actor is brought from the realm of security back to the normal politics (McDonald 2013: 73-74). As securitization happens, normal politics is suspended until a particular security issue is alleviated and solved (McDonald 2013: 74). Nevertheless, ‘securitization’ and ‘desecuritization’ issues are administered by a small group of actors, such as state elites, through utterances (Wæver, 1995: 56). Therefore, the school does not offer a broad spectrum of agents or securitizing actors as it is the case for the referent objects of security.

The objective of this chapter was to explore the tools and the central concepts of the Aberystwyth School and the Copenhagen School of Critical Security Studies. In this regard, the chapter aimed to demonstrate in what sense the Aberystwyth School and the Copenhagen School bring difference to traditional security studies. Such an

analysis is important from a theoretical basis for assessing the contributions and limitations of these Schools for the analysis of environmental security.

The Aberystwyth School aims to rethink security from a bottom up perspective and offers a holistic understanding of security. As opposed to political realism, the Aberystwyth School deepens and broadens the concept of security by introducing referent objects above and below the level of state (as well as the state). Additionally, it fosters a broader research agenda, which includes different topics and different referent objects. The School calls for the politicization of issues. Ultimately, the Aberystwyth School emphasizes that the concept of emancipation and security are two concepts that are inseparable and that security cannot be attained without the freeing of human beings from their physical and human constraints which prevent them to do what they freely choose to do.

The Copenhagen School, on the other hand, introduces the concept of securitization as a new framework analysis to assess how issues are transformed from the realm of ordinary politics to the realm of emergency politics. The Copenhagen School argues that such transformation happens through language. Therefore speech acts performed by state elites is the key process of securitization. Additionally, the Copenhagen School identifies five sectors of security: the military sector, the political sector, the economic sector, the societal and the environmental sectors. Finally, with the idea of negative drawbacks of putting a particular issue to the realm of emergency politics, Copenhagen School introduces the concept of desecuritization. Desecuritization aims to put back the issues from the realm of emergency politics into the realm of normal politics.

CHAPTER 3

ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter aims to explore various mainstream approaches to environmental security approaches. It starts with revisiting previous attempts of classifying environmental security by Marc Levy and Carsten F. Rønnfeldt. The more recent literature is divided into three categories: (1) environment as a security threat, (2) environment as a referent object and (3) delinking environment and security.

The first section of this chapter reviews environmental security approaches, which consider environment as a security threat. Majority of the literature on environmental security is dispersed under this category since this category includes many different perspectives. Earlier accounts, which are also covered by Levy (1995) and Rønnfeldt (1997), which suggest redefinition of security with environmental threats in mind, will be reviewed. Additionally, the section reviews works that locate environmental scarcity/abundance and conflict in center. This section also includes research that

focuses on human security. The works on human security that perceive environmental change as a major threat to security will be reviewed in this section.

Following the discussion on environment as a security threat, the chapter will also review the other side of the spectrum, the works assessing environment as a referent of security and works delinking environment and security. Firstly, the chapter will explore approaches that perceive environment as a referent object. Then it will explain how these works locate human impacts on ecological processes and the Earth's environment as a security issue. Finally, the chapter will analyse the literature that suggest delinking environment and security.

3.1 Levy and Rønnfeldt's Reviews of the Literature

Marc Levy (1995) and Carsten F. Rønnfeldt (1997) are much-cited scholars of the categorization of environment and security research. Levy and Rønnfeldt propose division of environmental security literature to three generations or waves (Levy, 1995; Rønnfeldt, 1997). These three categories are summarized in Table 1.

According to this categorization, three generations of environment and security research differ in their scholarly approaches, field of analysis as well as their levels of analysis. The first generation's main concern was to integrate environment in to the security concept. The second generation rather focused on establishing causal links between environmental scarcity and violent conflicts. The third generation emerged as a critique of the previous works by suggesting a firmer methodological backdrop and broadening its context (Rønnfeldt 1997: 480).

Table 1. Three generations of Environment and Security Research (Rønnfeldt, 1997: 474).

	First generation	Second generation	Third generation
Starting	Early 1980s	Early 1990s	Mid-1990s
Scholarly approach	Conceptual debate	Process tracing	A broad range of social science methodologies
Field of analysis	Environment and security	Renewable resources and conflict	Environment and security
Level of analysis	Global/State/Individual	State/Sub-state	Global/ Regional/State/ Sub-state

In “Time for a Third Wave of Environment and Security Scholarship?” Marc E. Levy analyses and classifies the literature on environment and security that emerged starting from 1980s onward. Levy assesses the earliest works on environment and security as “purple prose and bland bromides” that are needlessly exaggerated (Levy, 1995: 44). Furthermore, the works were quite rhetorical which almost offered no new definitions of security (Levy, 1995: 44). The main problem with the research made in the first generation was that it stayed too unspecific failing to generate any suggestions or policy advices, argues Levy.

Characteristics of the research conducted in the second wave of environmental security, according to Levy, were essentially different from the research conveyed in the first generation. Levy indicates that the second wave of the environment and security literature was more successful in the sense that it was methodologically more sophisticated and was more focused on the causal relations between environment and possible violent conflicts. However, Levy argues that the results of

the research conducted by the second generation were also disappointing given that they were “identical to the conventional wisdom” that succeeded before the research were carried out (Levy, 1995: 45). In this respect, he points out that the policy advices’ usefulness is questionable. He specifically criticizes the research program led by Homer-Dixon and his friends, which will be analyzed in the forthcoming section, since they purposefully chose cases where environmental problems had led to acute conflicts. Levy suggests that this central flaw could have been corrected if different countries with similar environmental problems but different levels of violent conflicts are compared. In this sense, there would be some precision in the identification of conditions under which conflicts occur or do not occur, and this would help with the formulation of convenient policy advices. Given that environmental problems are serious, Levy stresses that successful policy advices should be developed. Therefore, Levy asserts that using misguided methods like the second generation, do not contribute to the development of such policy advices. In this respect, a rethinking in the method is required. Consequently, Levy also indicates that if the flaws of the second generation are corrected, there will be a new generation of environment and security, which would generate the third wave (Levy, 1995: 45-46).

Carsten F. Rønnfeldt similarly offered a broad literature review on the relationship between environment and security. Rønnfeldt utilizes the generations defined by Levy, hence, correspondingly he classifies and analyzes environment and security literature within three generations. Rønnfeldt classified environment and security into generations whereas Levy used the term “wave” for classification (Levy, 1995; Rønnfeldt, 1997).

Rønnfeldt identifies the first generation according to the general idea represented in early works in the literature that stresses on the necessity to include environmental issues in the realm of security. Initially, Rønnfeldt cites the works of Osborn (1953), Brown (1977) and Galtung (1982) as the main works that helped to establish a link between environment and security. Ullman's 1983 work, to which Rønnfeldt refers as the "benchmark for the first generation", argues that the national security understanding is narrow (Rønnfeldt, 1997: 473). Ullman rather suggests a broader national security definition, which includes threats directed to "the quality of life for the inhabitants of a state" as well as threats diminishing policy choices of a wide range of actors including governments, corporations and people (Rønnfeldt, 1997: 474). Additionally, by referring to Porter, Rønnfeldt stresses that the first generation included different dimensions, such as political, military, and environmental, at international, state and individual levels (Rønnfeldt, 1997: 474). Security issues acknowledged by Porter also includes the protection of humans from the consequences of environmental problems (Rønnfeldt, 1997: 474). Rønnfeldt also stresses that international figures and international organizations adopted the larger understanding of security that is brought by the first generation.

The second generation emerged as a criticism of the first generation because of the first generation's lack of empirical evidence (Rønnfeldt, 1997: 475). According to Rønnfeldt, the scholarship produced in this generation narrowed down the scope of their research and concentrated on the links between the scarcities of renewable resources leading to violent conflicts. Rønnfeldt specifically refers to Homer-Dixon's 1999 and 1994 works since these works represent general methodological

understanding of this second generation. Additionally, the author underlines that through case studies conducted by the second generation ten main points can be derived from the works of the second generation. For instance, one of these points is that “under certain circumstances, scarcities of renewable resources, such as cropland, forests and water produce conflict and instability” (Rønnfeldt, 1997: 475). However, the reason of the scarcity is often indistinct (Rønnfeldt, 1997: 475). Furthermore, environmental scarcity mainly generates social effects such as “poverty and migration that analyst often interpret as conflict’s immediate causes” (Rønnfeldt, 1997: 475-476).

As indicated by both Levy (1995) and Rønnfeldt (1997), the third generation criticized the second generation’s research agenda that only focused on scarcity of resources. The third generation basically reflects the improved understanding of the environmental security that included levels of analysis other than state, supported by both quantitative studies and qualitative studies. Additionally, Rønnfeldt stresses that the third generation is building the research on environment and security on a stronger methodological ground and makes contributions for the prevention of the conflicts that are caused by environmental scarcity (Rønnfeldt, 1997: 480).

Since Levy and Rønnfeldt’s studies are published in the mid-90s, their categorizations do not include latest accounts of environmental security. The latest accounts of environmental security literature include research on conflict induced by resource scarcity and resource abundance that are posterior to the second generation/wave research. Additionally, research on human security and environmental change, climate security, ecological security and so forth, have been

conducted. Although the mainstream environmental security approaches tend to differ among themselves, in this chapter approaches will be addressed as environment as a security threat, environment as a referent object and delinking environment and security.

3.2 Environment as a security threat

A significant amount of environmental security literature identifies environmental change or environmental scarcity as a threat directed to security. This section aims to review the literature that identify environment as a major source of insecurity. I will start with covering similar ground with Levy (1995) and Rønnfeldt (1997). In this respect, early accounts of environmental security, which Levy and Rønnfeldt refer as the first and second generation/wave of environmental security, will be reviewed. Additionally, I will review the works later works on environmental scarcity/abundance-conflict research as well as accounts that put environmental impacts on human security.

Works of Richard H. Ullman (1983), Norman Myers (1989) and Jessica Tuchman Mathews (1989) redefined security with non-military, environmental change-induced, threats in mind. These authors emphasise the necessity to include these problems in the security agenda and argue that policymakers should develop sensible policies, as treaties need to be improved. Finally, they suggest that with the leadership of major powers future arrangements and provisions in international law should be made.

The works of Ullman, Myers and Mathews offer a broad demarcation of referent objects, which is threatened and issues that need to be securitized. The scholars of the first generation/wave including Ullman, Myers and Mathews stress that “individuals, groups, societies, states, natural ecosystems and the international system” are threatened by environmental degradation (Dabelko, 1996: 2). These scholars indicated that states, national and international security institutions are the agents that should address these security threats. However, these agents are “currently failing to redress” the threats (Dabelko, 1996: 2).

Later accounts of environment and security research sought to contextualize a causal relationship between environmental problems and violent conflicts. The second generation is generally associated with a research project on *Environmental Change and Acute Conflict* co-directed by Thomas Homer-Dixon at the University of Toronto (Homer-Dixon, 1991: 76). The research conducted under this project shows resemblances to the realist security analysis since they mainly deal with “organized violence and the territorial preservation of the state” (McDonald, 2012: 2).

Thomas Homer-Dixon’s 1991 article focuses on environmental change and its effects on acute national and international conflict. Homer- Dixon investigates four types of social changes that may lead to conflicts and what sort of conflict can those be. By analysing the capacity of developing countries to respond environmental changes, Homer-Dixon aims to prove that developing countries are more prone to environmental changes than rich countries (Homer-Dixon, 1991: 88). Homer-Dixon stresses that environmental changes cause four social effects: agricultural production, economic decline, population displacement and disrupted institutions and social

relations (Homer-Dixon, 1991:91-99). These social effects may lead to conflicts especially in developing countries (Homer-Dixon, 1991: 109).

Homer-Dixon's 1994 article rather emphasises on scarcities of forests, fish stocks, water and cropland and their impacts on violent conflicts. Homer-Dixon gives examples from cases like the West Bank and the Golan Heights, Senegal, Mali, the Philippines, Egypt, Ethiopia and offer causal links between scarcities and violence. However, as Levy, Rønnfeldt and later Homer-Dixon himself indicate, these cases are chosen on purpose to prove the existence of a causal link between environment and violence (Levy, 1995; Rønnfeldt, 1997; Homer-Dixon and Percival, 1996). Hence, this article seems to be methodologically ineffectual to reflect and prove such a relation.

Robert Kaplan (1994) adopts a similar account to Homer-Dixon and suggests that a relation exists between environmental problems and conflicts. Kaplan studies the cases of Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast and the West of Africa and suggests the premonition of the world politics in the 21st century (Kaplan, 1994:47). Kaplan refers to the environment as a hostile power having the capacity to awaken the public and "unite interests left over from the Cold War" (Kaplan, 1994:53). According to Kaplan, environment is a national security issue in the early 21st century since environmental problems such as desertification, deforestation, and scarcity of resources cause mass migrations that incite group conflicts and leading the public to react and unite interests (Kaplan, 1994:53). In this sense, Kaplan suggests a bleak future for the world politics by suggesting a causal relation that would lead anarchy especially in the developing countries.

The works of Homer-Dixon (1991; 1994) and Kaplan (1994) share some significant commonalities. Both accounts refer to environmental problems and scarcities as security threats directed against states. In this sense, states are identified as the main referent objects of security. Additionally, since environmental problems are addressed in the realm of national security in both accounts, states are referred to as agents of security.

Philippe Le Billon (2001) is another scholar who had been influential in natural resource- conflict research scholarship. Unlike other environment-conflict scholars focusing on factors such as scarcity or abundance of natural resources leading violent conflicts, Le Billon rather focuses on the role of resources by their material, geographically and socio-economic effects in his 2001 work. Le Billon criticises the lack of politics in political ecology literature. Le Billon, therefore, prefers to adopt a political ecological perspective, addressing natural resource induced conflicts as “historical processes of dialectic transformation of nature and social groups” (Le Billon, 2001:563). In this regard, he argues that such violent conflicts stem from history such as “mercantilism, colonial capitalism and state kleptocracy” (Le Billon, 2001:563). Hence, the nature itself is not the reason why there are conflicts, but “people's needs (or greed)” as well as “practices shaping the political economy of” resources are indicators of conflicts (Le Billon, 2001:563). Moreover, Le Billon indicates that the value of natural resources is economic and discursive constructions; hence, abundance and scarcity of them are also relative social constructions (Le Billon, 2001:565). In this regard, research on abundance or scarcity of natural resources is not sufficient to explain conflicts, since it fails to take these

social constructions into consideration (Le Billon, 2001:565). Le Billon rather suggests that armed conflicts are influenced by the materiality, geography and political economy of natural resources that are affected by historical processes (Le Billon, 2001:566).

Le Billon suggests several connections between natural resources, political economy and violent conflicts. Admittedly, the type of natural resource, its geographical place and quantity or mode of production are some of the many factors determining the likelihood of various types of conflicts (Le Billon, 2001:572-73). Additionally, factors such as markets and commodity chains, social construction of 'desirable' natural resources designate the level of dependency for these resources as well as social actors utilizing opportunities provided by environmental conditions (Le Billon, 2001:576). Depending on the factors identified above, it is likely for states to experience violent conflicts such as coup d'état, secession, violent state control or warlordism (Le Billon, 2001:572-575).

Le Billon's analysis proposes variety of actors from groups to individuals such as domestic elites in the relation between natural resources and violent conflicts. States are the major actors that are threatened by conflicts such as coup d'états, secessions as a result of 'glocal' economic processes combined with various other factors. However, in some cases state (or its political leaders) is the main source of threat through violent state control or warlordism. The violent conflicts might create economic and political benefits that otherwise cannot be achieved through peace or even victory (Le Billon, 2001:578). In this respect, states might become either the source of threat or an actor being threatened by violent conflicts. Since Le Billon is

interested in exploring the process in which natural resources act as a catalyst for conflicts and revealing some actors' reluctance to make peace given their political and commercial benefits from conflicts, agents of security are somewhat unclear. However, Le Billon indicates that civil society can ask for transparency and accountability whereas governments and intergovernmental organisations (such as the UN Security Council) can impose 'smart sanctions' against the factors impeding peace (Le Billon, 2001:579). In this respect, actors like governments and intergovernmental organizations are referred as agents addressing security.

Jan Selby and Clemens Hoffmann criticise previous research on environment and conflict and propose a new framework both theoretically and empirically (Selby and Hoffmann, 2014). Selby and Hoffmann analyse three possible linkages between water and scarcity through the cases of water scarcity in Sudan and South Sudan. Firstly, links between scarcity and competition on the transboundary waters of the Nile are discussed (Selby and Hoffmann, 2014:4-5). Secondly, linkages between internal resource scarcity and civil conflicts are discussed (Selby and Hoffmann 2014: 5-7). Thirdly, linkages between water abundance, economic development and conflict are analysed (Selby and Hoffmann, 2014: 7-8). As a result of their qualitative research on the Sudans, Selby and Hoffman unveil several significant findings for the environment and conflict scholarship. Their first finding is, in Sudan and South Sudan conflicts are associated with local environmental abundance than with scarcity (Selby and Hoffmann, 2014: 8). The second finding focuses on the relativity of scarcity-abundance relationship. In this regard, Selby and Hoffmann argue that the existing literature is profoundly mistaken given that one of the variables, either scarcity or abundance, is not treated in isolation in resource induced

conflicts (Selby and Hoffmann 2014: 8). In this respect, the authors discuss, water should not be treated different from diamonds or oil, since scarcity or abundance simply exists relative to scarcities or abundances elsewhere (Selby and Hoffmann, 2014: 8). The forth point the authors raise is an argument, which is related to the contemporary global capitalism. They argue, water induced conflicts should not be over-stated since “water is not a source of significant rents, or in turn a significant part of the armoury of state and elite power” unlike oil, which has been the major reason of confrontations in the Sudans (Selby and Hoffmann, 2014: 8). The argument is related to political economy. Selby and Hoffmann suggest that water induced conflicts in the Sudans are generally determined by political economic dynamics other than changes in the availability of resources (Selby and Hoffmann, 2014: 8-9). In this respect, the authors indicate that although the problems in Sudan and South Sudan are local, “globally-embedded political economic processes”, which are “simultaneously processes of development and state building”, are essential to comprehend “environment and conflict relations in peripheral states like the Sudans” (Selby and Hoffmann, 2014: 9).

Jon Barnett is another scholar exploring connections between environment and violent conflicts (Barnett, 2000). Barnett examines the literature on resource wars, water wars and population, environment and conflict and assesses the project on environment, population and security led by Homer-Dixon at the University of Toronto. For the literature on resource wars, he argues that the literature is ethnocentric since it assumes that people in global South would become violent in times of resource scarcity (Barnett, 2000: 274). This ethnocentric perception in the literature prescribes the people in the South as violent and barbaric whereas it

emphasises the one in the North as civilised (Barnett, 2000: 274). Barnett argues that there may be a certain degree of resilience in developed countries hindering large scale environmentally induced violence (Barnett, 2000: 274). In this respect, assessing the degree of resilience of countries suggests a meaningful research agenda for environmental security research (Barnett, 2000: 274). He argues that the literature on population, the environment and conflict portrays population growth as a threat to the interests of industrialised countries, which should be managed by these countries (Barnett, 2000: 280). However, Barnett argues that the main issue regarding environmental problems is not a function of the number of people; instead, it is how these people utilize natural resources and generate waste (Barnett, 2000: 280). Lifestyle, in this respect, is considered as a significant factor (Barnett, 2000: 280). Moreover, Barnett indicates that the literature focusing on population growth as a threat undermines “the social and biological aspects of birth” and ignores the positive aspects of population growth (Barnett, 2000: 280).

Finally, Barnett discusses the Project on Environment, Population and Security, the project led by Homer-Dixon and his colleagues, which had previously been referred as 'the second generation/ wave' in this chapter. Barnett appreciates the project since it brings the focus from global to local, adopts a more engaging research agenda compared to the other literature that had been reviewed by Barnett and gives policy advices (Barnett, 2000: 281-283). However, different from Homer-Dixon, Barnett argues that environmental insecurities are perceived as issues regarding insufficient development (Barnett, 2000: 283). According to Barnett, environmental issues are meaningful only when security is understood in human terms (Barnett, 2000: 284).

According to Barnett's analysis, the literature on environment-conflict, in general, is North centric, lacks historical perspective underlining negative cases whilst neglecting the positive ones (Barnett, 2000: 284-285). Moreover, the literature bolsters “a dualistic understanding of the relationship between” humans and nature by portraying either nature or humans as a threat for the other (Barnett, 2000: 285). Environmental security, hence, is understood in terms of conflict other than human health and welfare in the literature (Barnett, 2000: 286). Another criticism raised by Barnett is the focus on direct violence, which is generally equated with conflict. Barnett discusses that conflicts might be in forms of structural violence and injustices, which are being ignored by the current environment-conflict scholarship, and the outcomes of such conflicts varies depending on one's perspective (Barnett, 2000: 286). Furthermore, Barnett postulates that the existing literature on environment and conflict reify violent conflicts as self-fulfilling prophecies and prepares the world for such conflicts, which are justifying Northern interests (Barnett, 2000: 287). Barnett, additionally, argues that environmental security perspectives are constructed through a prescription of threats that originates outside of the state by constructing “Us” and “Other” perceptions (Barnett, 2000: 287). What Barnett offers is a more holistic understanding of environmental “insecurity”, which appreciate changes that are brought by global political and economic processes, history, culture and nature (Barnett, 2000: 287). Barnett also shifts the referent object from states to the people of the “underdeveloped South” who need to be protected from environmental change related threats like floods, droughts and storms (Barnett, 2000: 287).

Jon Barnett and W. Neil Adger's (2007) research focuses on the climate change, human security and violent conflict, other than criticising the literature. Barnett and Adger argue that the climate change and its direct and indirect impacts on human security may increase the violent conflicts in some parts of the world depending on social, economic and political factors. For instance, in countries where people depend on agriculture as the major source of income, it is more likely to see direct harmful effects on climate change on the human security by threatening people's livelihoods (Barnett and Adger, 2007: 641). The negative effects on changing climate are not limited to human security as it is argued. Impacts of climate change, such as the sea level rise, may become a national security issue (Barnett and Adger, 2007: 642). However, such a "risk to national security may be cause and consequence of human insecurity" (Barnett and Adger, 2007: 642). In a similar manner, violent conflict and human insecurities are interconnected, which are stimulated by social factors (Barnett and Adger, 2007: 643-646).

Unlike scholars who emphasise on links between environmental security, scarcity and conflict, Jon Barnett focuses on the environmental security and peace connection (Barnett, 2007). Barnett argues that revealing such connections is significant for environmental security research given that the existing works within the field of security studies focuses on the concept of war, and peace is understudied (Barnett, 2007: 5). In this respect, Barnett borrows Galtung's conceptualisation of peace defined as the absence of direct and structural violence (Galtung, 1969 as cited in Barnett 2007:6). Additionally, he incorporates Sen's structural violence definition with Galtung's peace definition (Sen, 1999 as cited in Barnett, 2007: 6). In this respect, Barnett indicates that structural violence emanates from factors such as:

“inequitable distribution of economic opportunities, political freedoms, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, and protective security” (Barnett, 2007: 6). With these definitions of peace and structural violence in mind, Barnett proposes four major connections between environmental security and peace. In this respect, for the part that is relevant for the absence of direct violence, Barnett first explores the connection between environmental change and violent conflict. As a result, like many scholars that are referred to above, Barnett argues that though environmental change is unlikely to cause wars among countries, it is likely to surge direct violence in resource dependent or ‘weak’ states where governmental systems are not strong (Barnett, 2007: 6-7). Hence, in order to prevent direct violence, environmental change should be evaded or “people’s abilities to adapt to” the change should be improved (Barnett, 2007: 7). Additionally, Barnett offers another connection between the environmental change and structural violence. Barnett argues that environmental change exacerbates structural violence (Barnett, 2007: 5; 7-8). As the global capitalist system put pressures on environment and creates social inequalities, changes in environment can exacerbate structural violence like poverty directly or indirectly (Barnett, 2007: 8). States play a crucial role in preventing the effects of environmental change on structural violence by providing freedoms and opportunities for securing people’s lives (Barnett, 2007: 8). Thirdly, Barnett argues that direct violence generates environmental insecurity in various ways. Direct violence in forms of warfare and military activities through use of land, water, natural resources and creating nuclear wastes (Barnett, 2007: 9-10). Direct violence also leads to structural violence by impairing social structures such as labour force and infrastructure, eventually making people vulnerable to environmental change (Barnett, 2007: 9-10). The fourth connection Barnett proposes is the one between

structural violence and environmental insecurity. Barnett indicates that the current trends like consumerism widen inequalities between developed countries and developing countries and environmental degradation stemming from these trends lead to structural violence, which causes environmental insecurity in developing countries (Barnett, 2007: 11-12).

The way Barnett studies environmental security is not similar to the previous research conducted on environmental security in the sense that Barnett rather studies peace and its components, namely, direct violence and structural violence. However, Barnett offers causal relations similar to the majority of previous works.

Barnett and Adger argue the climate change might pose a threat to human security. Individuals are central to the argument, given that their livelihoods are threatened by climate change. In this respect, individuals are referent objects. However, since the authors raise a second argument in which individuals and groups cause violent conflicts, individuals are also regarded as a security threat. Furthermore, Barnett and Adger indicate that human security cannot be detached from the states since states provide measures to protect individuals (Barnett and Adger, 2007: 646). In this sense, the securitizing actors are states. However, since the second argument suggests that human insecurities might lead to violent conflicts, states are also referent objects. Though Barnett and Adger emphasize on human security, or insecurity as they also refer to in the article, they do not use it in critical human security terms. Rather, they conceptualize human security in a similar way to the definition by UNDP, which defines human security as:

... 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. Human security is not a concern with weapons –it is a concern with human life and dignity (UNPD, 1994: 22).

UNDP's definition of human security challenges state-centric conceptualization of security and identifies individuals as the main referents of security. However, UNDP does not refer human security in critical terms as it does not suggest politicization of security or reconstructing security through emancipation.

This section explored environmental security approaches that refer to the environment in terms of security threat. Some of these approaches focused on the necessity to include environment within the realm of security while others focused on environment-conflict relationship or human security. With non-military threats like environmental change in mind, the earlier works in this section focused on the redefinition of security. The environment-conflict research pointed to a more specific environmental problem, scarcity/abundance of resources. These works aimed to establish a causal link between scarcity/abundance and conflicts backing their research with empirical cases. On the other hand, human security research focused on the impacts of environmental change on human (in)security. Using a human security definition similar to the one suggested by UNDP in 1994, this branch of research assessed the significance of putting individuals in the center and states' function in protecting the individuals.

3.3 Environment as a Referent Object

This section reviews environmental security literature that considers environment as an entity that needs to be secured from human activity. This particular approach to environmental security is sometimes referred as ecological security or climate

security, as it focuses on the impacts of humans on Earth's climate and ecosystems (As "ecological security" defined by Barnett, 2012: 195; "climate security" defined by Dalby, 2013: 315). This section covers Dennis Clark Pirages and Theresa Manley DeGeest's 2004 book and Simon Dalby's works. How these works connect environment and ecology with security and what these works offer in this matter will be discussed.

Dennis Clark Pirages and Theresa Manley DeGeest (2004) explain ecological security with a complex relationship between biophysical evolution and sociocultural evolution filtered through technology. In this sense, they establish an interdependent and multifaceted relationship between ecosystems and humans. Thus, Pirages and DeGeest, argue that any detriment to ecosystems might rebound to humans (Pirages & DeGeest, 2004: 22). Pirages and DeGeest indicate that ecology is the main referent object, however, humans are not directly secured. Humans are a part of security only because they are a part of the ecology. What Pirages and DeGeest offer is a holistic understanding of the impacts of globalization on the ecological processes that eventually leads to a radical change in Earth's climate.

Simon Dalby takes such arguments on ecological security one step further by suggesting rethinking of environmental change in the realms of security, economy and ecology in his book entitled *Security and Environmental Change* (Dalby, 2009). In this sense, Dalby's work has an interdisciplinary perspective. According to Dalby, there exists a non-negligible awakening in terms of collective environmental awareness. Additionally, Dalby introduces the concept "Anthropocene", which is the technical name of current geological era where humans have strong impact on the

environment. *Security and Environmental Change* demonstrates that humans are not external to the environment that they are living in by elucidating the complexity of current social, political, economic and environmental practices (Dalby, 2009). In this sense, Simon Dalby implies that environmental change is a security issue. What Dalby brings different to the literature is the concept of “Anthropocene Security”. Anthropocene security is a term that reflects on the complexity of the economic, political, environmental and social practices of humans that have negative impact on the environment.

Simon Dalby in “Climate Change and Environmental Security” explains how the climate change phenomenon becomes a major issue in world politics (Dalby, 2013). Dalby considers environmental changes as matters of security since they have the potential to force masses to flee because of floods, droughts and starvation. Unlike Thomas Homer-Dixon (1991, 1994) Dalby argues that fight over scarce resources rarely lead to armed conflicts. Dalby rather suggests that the examples of armed conflict over resources stem from impoverished and badly governed areas rather than scarcities. The author stresses that environmental problems are not likely to cause wars and military is not an institution that is equipped or trained for addressing climate change phenomenon. However, according to Dalby, military institutions can work in the area of identifying challenges that environmental change will bring to societies. In this sense, military can affect the decision-makers’ priorities.

The main aim of this section was to look at the literature that identified environment as a referent object of security. It focused on the works of Pirages and DeGeest and Dalby representing the research that have been conducted in the literature. The

central argument of these works is their focus on environmental security with respect to human impact on the environment. In this respect, economic globalization as a result of human activity, social and political processes brought by such activities are the major source of threat on the Earth's environment. Earth's ecosystems and ecological cycles are threatened by human activity. Dalby takes this discussion a step further by the discussion on 'Anthropocene security'. This perspective of security constitutes a critique of the works that are reviewed under 'environment as a security threat' section calling for policy responses to overcome the problem of human impacts on drastically changing biosphere.

3.4 Delinking Environment and Security

As opposed to the literature that locates environment within the realm of security as a referent object or a threat as discussed in previous sections, this section reviews the works aiming to delink environment and security. In this respect, much-cited works of Daniel Deudney, Lothar Brock and Julian L. Simon will be reviewed in this section. The main aim is to study the different reasons why these accounts suggest moving away from using the term environmental security. Although the literature on delinking environment and security are not limited to these works, these works represent the main argument in the literature in this matter.

Unlike previous approaches addressing environmental change as a national security issue, Daniel Deudney's work aims to delink environmental problems and national security (Deudney 1990). Deudney argues that military activities such as war and preparation for wars create environmental problems and such activities "consume

resources that could be used to ameliorate environmental degradation” (Deudney, 1990: 462). Given that such an understanding of traditional national security contribute to the deterioration of environmental problems, the solution, Deudney offers, should be found outside of this domain. In this regard, Deudney argues that it is deceptive to think of environmental degradation as a national security threat in analytical sense since traditional national security understanding and environmental issues and their solutions has little in common (Deudney, 1990: 461-463). Another point Deudney raises is about the use of nationalism as a tool to mobilize people to take action about environmental problems. Deudney argues such an effort to utilize an emotive power like nationalism eventually weakens “globalist political sensibility” hence it is detrimental (Deudney, 1990: 461). As a final point, through the analysis of four scenarios regarding environmental problems and interstate wars, Deudney indicates that it is not likely for environmental degradation to be the cause of interstate wars.

Lothar Brock similarly suggests moving away from using the term environmental security (1991). Brock argues that traditional security policies, which are fundamentally status quo oriented, and ecological thinking are contradictory (1991: 418). Brock explicates his stance on this matter using these words:

...the term 'environmental security' would become a contradiction in itself, because ecological thinking is dynamic and global, whereas security thinking is static and particularistic. The one stresses adaptation, the other enforcement and control. This contradiction can be overcome by redefining security to make it conducive to ecological thinking as stated above. But why need we stick to the term security at all, why not refer to sustainable development, a term which would much better signify what is now being labeled as 'environmental security'? (Brock, 1991: 418).

Despite that Brock (1991) makes it clear that he understands the main rationale in linking environmental and security, he suggests putting environment in the realm of

high politics. However, he thinks that using security as a term for environmental concerns “may go off in the wrong direction” (Brock, 1991: 418). In other words, securitizing environment might lead to the “militarization of environment than demilitarization of security politics” (Brock, 1991: 421).

Julian L. Simon is sceptical of environmental degradation and global warming. Simon addresses environmental security advocates as ‘the doomsters’ indicating the foundation of environmental security debate is false. Simon, by providing data about natural resources, population and environment, indicates that the scarcity of natural resources is decreasing (1994: 24). Simon argues that people’s ingenuity and technological developments can overcome the problems in this matter. Having such economic perspective to the main concerns of the environment security debate, Simon asserts that “all resources are limited in the short run”, but in the long run “there is no convincing economic reason why these trends toward a better life should not continue indefinitely” (Simon, 1994: 29). In this sense, Simon thinks that humankind will “end up better off than if the original shortage problem had never arisen” in the long run (1994: 29).

This section of this chapter reviewed the accounts that suggested delinking environment and security. Some of these accounts proposed that security is a term for military issues such as war and preparation of war consuming resources that might lead to environmental degradation. In this sense, traditional security understanding might lead to environmental problems. Hence, using the term security for environmental problems should be refrained. Some other accounts similarly suggest not using the term environmental security because of the nature of traditional

security and ecological thinking. According to this perspective traditional security is status quo oriented whereas ecological thinking is progressive. Hence, using the term environmental security would be contradictory. This section also reviewed a work having a sceptical stance toward environmental change. Having an economic perspective, this work suggested looking at the developments in the long run. In this regard, this work indicated that humanity would be better off in the long run in terms of resources.

The central objective of this chapter was to review the literature on environment and security relationship. This chapter initially referred to the previous accounts by Levy (1995) and Rønnfeldt (1997) reviewing and categorizing the literature on environmental security. These reviews and classifications, albeit useful to reflect the works prior to the third generation (or wave), offer a broad third category that fail to demonstrate the variety of research conducted in the current literature. This chapter, in this respect, divides the literature into three general categories for the purposes of the chapter, which aims to demonstrate various manners in which environment has been studied as a security threat, referent of security or not as a subject or object of security for the sake of simplicity.

Firstly, this chapter reviewed accounts that considered environment as a security threat. A large proportion of environmental security literature is concentrated under this category because there are many different types of research that categorize environmental issues as a threat directed to security. Some of these works emphasized on the necessity to refer environment in terms security given that environmental problems constitute a non-military threat and have effects on national

and international security. Some other works focused on causal links between environmental scarcity/abundance and conflicts. These works indicated that environmental scarcity/abundance is a factor contributing to violent conflicts. This section also reviewed works that referred environment as a threat to human security. In this respect, the first categorization that identified environment as a security threat, fostered different perspectives varying from conflict research to human security research.

This chapter also looked at the works that considered environment as a referent object. These works argued that human impacts are the main reason behind the change in Earth's climate and ecological processes. Given that humans are the part of ecological cycle that they are harming, Earth's climate system and ecological structure should be protected. The works under this category, hence, are often referred as climate security, ecological security or anthropocene security. The literature considering environment as a referent object is not limited to the works that were reviewed in this section. However, the chosen works represent the dominant idea that the ecology-security research has in the literature.

Additionally, the chapter reviewed the research conducted against the consideration of environment as a security threat. The works that were reviewed suggested delinking environment and security for many reasons. One of these reasons is related to the repercussions of war and preparation for war, which are traditionally linked to security. Some argue that war and preparation for war might consume resources and cause environmental degradation. In this respect, environment should be kept out of the domain of security. Another argument is associated with the nature of security

and ecological thinking. Some accounts in the literature argued that security is status quo oriented and ecological thinking is progressive by nature. Therefore these two concepts are contradictory. Lastly, some accounts suggested looking at the long run developments indicating that there is no resource scarcity, at least none that technological achievements cannot overcome, in the long run.

CHAPTER 4

CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY

The main objective of Chapter 4 is to explore the ways environmental security is studied from the perspective of Critical Security Studies. This chapter has a specific focus on environmental security from the Aberystwyth and the Copenhagen Schools' perspectives. The first section of Chapter 4 focuses on works from the Aberystwyth School perspective. The second section of Chapter 4 looks at the accounts that study environmental security from Copenhagen School's perspective.

4.1 The Aberystwyth School Perspective on Environmental Security

This section of Chapter 3 explores the environmental security approaches from the perspective of the Aberystwyth School. The Aberystwyth School defines security as a derivative concept, meaning that security outcomes are *derived* from “different underlying understandings of the character and purpose of politics” (Booth, 2007: 109). The Aberystwyth School offers to politicize security in order to reveal embedded power-knowledge structures in security. Additionally, the Aberystwyth

School equates security with the concept of emancipation, which is a process that offers alternatives to individuals or groups in order to remove the obstacles or abuses that hinder their freedoms (Booth, 1991).

In order to see how environmental security is studied from the perspective of the Aberystwyth School, this chapter will first look at Ken Booth's remarks on environment. Following Ken Booth's work, this section will proceed with the work of Matthew A. Schnurr and Larry A. Swatuk. Additionally, this section will explore Matt McDonald's work on environmental security and emancipation. Finally, this section will assess Nicole Detraz's perspective bringing environment, gender and emancipation together.

In *Theory of World Security*, one of the pioneer works establishing theoretical background of the Aberystwyth School, Ken Booth shows how Aberystwyth School might engage with "the state of nature", namely the environment (Booth, 2007: 327). Ken Booth critiques the prevalent aspects of business-as-usual and reveals how power is structured in the environmental context (Booth, 2007: 327). Booth argues that environment is one of the areas that "questions of power are more multifaceted" (Booth, 2007: 327).

In the analysis of how the Aberystwyth School might engage with the environment, Booth addresses environmental problems as one of "the greatest collective challenges ever" (Booth, 2007: 328). Governments tend to acknowledge the extent of this challenge. However, according to Booth "words are often cheap and cheapened" what matters in this respect is to "take the actions necessary to have

positive effects before it is too late” (Booth, 2007: 328). More specifically, Booth argues that “political and corporate leaders sometimes use the proper pro-environmental rhetoric” but they have yet to acquire the “unusual political will” that will fundamentally challenge environmental change (Booth, 2007: 332).

The implications of environmental change are various and well known, but there are obstacles to accomplish sustainable world (Booth, 2007: 329). Yet, “nobody has a magical formula” to tackle this problem according to Booth (2007: 329).

Governments are reluctant to act collectively, environment is being engaged only partially because the effects of the degradation are not obvious immediately (Booth, 2007: 330; 332). What is needed is a global level sustainability involving corporations, organizations and decision-making bodies. Unless there is a change in the business-as-usual in this manner, then threats to environment will keep growing (Booth, 2007: 329).

In order to tackle the problem of environmental destruction, Ken Booth argues that nature needs to be understood as a whole, which governments find difficult to do (Booth, 2007: 332). In other words, it should be understood that everybody on earth and the nature “share the same community of fate” (Booth, 2007: 333). To this end, “leaders at every level of society” should work “to build up a community of hope locally and globally” (Booth, 2007, 333). What is aimed here, is a progressive global civil society, committed to environmental sustainability and emancipatory politics (Booth, 2007: 334).

In short, Booth argues that despite that some aspects of environmental problems are experienced locally the problem is global and it should be understood from a holistic perspective. Booth adopts a positive stance as he argues that the problems are soluble (Booth, 2007: 411). There have been positive developments in environmental thinking and what is necessary for the long term is to rethink “our ‘core values’ (in a ‘low-impact’ direction)” (Booth, 2007: 412). Booth argues that we have still a “chance to learn from the mistakes of others” but it is necessary to act quickly (Booth, 2007: 412).

Matthew A. Schnurr and Larry A. Swatuk similarly suggest a shift from the old practice and analysis of environmental security towards a critical environmental security (2012:1). Unlike it is in the old world order, which questions the environmental change and violent conflict relationship with state as a referent object of security, the new world order introduced the concept of human security, by which referent object has been individual (Schnurr and Swatuk, 2012: 4). In this regard, the authors argue that “true security” can be attained only if security understanding “moves beyond the state-centric threats and national defence” (Schnurr and Swatuk, 2012: 4). Though human security has been criticised by some Critical Security Studies scholars due to its commitment to political realism indicating that “its proponents shy away from the emancipatory possibilities” with the “fear of losing touch with the policy world”, the authors seek to achieve a perspective which is both critical and policy relevant by de-essentialising and deconstructing predominant environmental security perspectives (Schnurr and Swatuk, 2012: 4-5). Thus, the authors aspire to introduce a holistic outlook to environmental (in)security since they aim to deal with Ken Booth’s challenge of ‘rethinking security from bottom-up’

perspective (Schnurr and Swatuk, 2012: 4). In this respect, the authors introduce a critical environmental security perspective by raising questions such as “whose security is being secured? Who defines conditions of security? How do changing degrees of control and access over the environment contribute to insecurity? How can we transform the conversation over environmental security into one of environmental justice?” which have often been left out by the traditional environmental security approaches (Schnurr and Swatuk, 2012: 5-6).

Schnurr and Swatuk indicate that answers to such questions can be found through empirical case studies (2012: 6). For instance, with the case of Namibia and its marine resources that have been challenged by the environmental change, the authors demonstrate that security perceptions vary depending on the “filter” that is used to view and interpret environmental happenings (Schnurr and Swatuk, 2012: 7).

Namibia’s active participation in global initiatives as well as its policies to protect its environment stem from Namibian state’s perception of environmental problems as a threat to state sovereignty. However, as a result, small fisheries were driven out of the sector and migrated to urban areas whereas large companies benefited from this situation (Schnurr and Swatuk, 2012: 7). In this respect, the authors argue, the security of a particular actor might well be another’s insecurity (Schnurr and Swatuk, 2012: 8). Broadening the understanding of security and asking the questions addressed above, enables one to discern the “uneven implications of securitization” as well as the benefiter and losers of a particular framing of environmental security.

Matt McDonald (2012) similarly adopts the Aberystwyth School perspective in his work on security and environment. McDonald defines security as a field of

contestation in which various actors enunciate distinctive perceptions of who and what needs to be secured, what constitutes threat and by what means (2012: 3). In other terms, what security means and how it is understood changes “from different political communities at different times” (McDonald, 2012: 3). The definition of security reflects on the derivative nature of the meaning of security from the Aberystwyth School and its deepening move. In this specific work, security is defined and shaped in accordance with the core values of dominant groups and underlying interests and values in security are disclosed and investigated.

Another aspect of the Aberystwyth School that McDonald adopts in his work is the concept of emancipation. McDonald addresses defining security as in the terms of emancipation of the vulnerable people from possible structural oppressions (McDonald, 2012: 4). Through the cases of deforestation in Brazilian Amazon Rainforest and global climate change in Australia, McDonald operationalizes how emancipatory security visions are applied. Assessing security as emancipation enables one to address environmental problems and the ones who are vulnerable to the global environmental change (McDonald, 2012: 4). In this sense, McDonald’s focus on emancipation offers “contestation and negotiation over the meaning of security” and possibility for political transformation (McDonald, 2012: 8).

Apart from broadening security that is derivatively defined, and the work’s commitment to the notion of emancipation, the work focuses on an array of actors. The work gives an extensive place to actors such as civil society organizations, marginalized actors, such as the Indians living in the Brazilian Amazon rainforest and so forth. As discussed in Chapter 3, not every work on environmental security

with multiple referents (including humans) utilizes the Aberystwyth School perspective. The broadening move needs to start from the deepening move as discussed in Chapter 2. In this sense, McDonald's work does not only broaden the context of security it also deepens by questioning the interests and values behind the making of security.

Nicole Detraz, on the other hand, aims to integrate gender as a tool into the theoretical framework of studying security and environment by defining gender as “a set of socially constructed expectations about what men and women ought to be” (Detraz, 2012: 5). Detraz argues that a gendered perspective is missing in traditional security and environment scholarship as well as the discourse of security in general (Detraz, 2012: 173). Environmental security is discussed at different levels in the literature; however, “human needs and insecurities” are generally not central to these security and environment discussions (Detraz, 2012: 187). A gendered lens to environmental security might help in overcoming such problem of underrepresentation of humans and their concerns within the discussion of environmental security (Detraz, 2012: 187).

According to Detraz and some other “scholars associated with the Global Environmental Change and Human Security (GECHS)”, adopting a gendered lens for looking at issues has several benefits for study of environmental security (Detraz, 2012: 173). Firstly, introducing a gendered perspective to the study of environmental security “can reveal particular gender-differentiated impacts, responses and contributions to environmental degradation” (Detraz, 2012: 173). Additionally, a gendered lens focus attention to “the gendered assumptions in society” in the way

environmental issues are inferred (Detraz, 2012: 173). Gender lenses also enable one to problematize “experiences of environmental insecurity” and “the proposed causes of environmental conflict and environmental insecurity” by proposing alternative manners to refer to environmental security (Detraz, 2012: 174).

Since gendered security is closely related to the security of humans and the environment, Detraz seeks an “alternative conceptualization” of security through “emancipatory potential of gendered lenses” (Detraz, 2012: 16-17). Detraz borrows Ken Booth’s (2007) conceptualization of emancipation that was used in Chapter 2. Through this broadened analysis of environmental security with theoretical tools of gender and emancipation, sources of environmental insecurity and how environmental insecurity is experienced are explored.

Detraz suggests many close connections between emancipation and environment as environmental problems have the potential to limit freedoms of the ones who live in “marginalized environments” (Detraz, 2012: 196). Detraz exemplifies this with a report by United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP), which suggests that environmental change affects women in many aspects (Detraz, 2012: 196). The report includes changes in daily lives such as “increased workloads for women, including having to walk farther and farther from home to collect water or fuelwood” leading to “increased frequency of parents or guardians taking girls out of school in order to carry out these tasks” (Detraz, 2012: 196). Environmental change may also force man and women seeking to secure food and to migrate in order to escape natural disasters (Detraz, 2012: 196). <The process of emancipation can be advanced through identification and removal of such vulnerabilities (Detraz, 2012: 197). Using

the lenses of gender and emancipation together would be beneficial for both in scholarship and policy making (Detraz, 2012: 17-18).

This section of Chapter 4 explored critical accounts that focused on environmental security from the Aberystwyth School's perspective. This section first revisited Ken Booth's *Theory of World Security* and explored how the Aberystwyth School might engage environmental problems in general. Following Ken Booth's discussion, this chapter visited case studies. This chapter analyzed the works of Schnurr and Swatuk, McDonald and Detraz. The work of Schnurr and Swatuk considered rethinking of security from bottom-up perspective. They used the case of Namibia's marine resources to illustrate how this perspective works and what aspects it reveals. Additionally, the work of Matt McDonald emphasizes on the dynamics between values of groups, changing security definitions and the construction of security in these dynamics. McDonald's work used the cases of deforestation of Amazon in Brazil and climate change in Australia. McDonald uses these cases to show whether there is shift towards emancipatory progress from security discourses that marginalize some people and their security. Detraz, on the other hand, suggest that environmental security is gendered, and through emancipation, it is possible to reveal the gendered vulnerabilities people face from environmental change.

Exploration of different environmental security accounts from the Aberystwyth School's perspective reveals some important aspects of studying environment from this perspective. Firstly, these works address a rich array of environmental issues regardless of their scale (local or global). For instance, some works focus on local issues, such as depletion of marine resources or deforestation in Brazil, and some

others point to more global concerns such as the climate change. This shows that the Aberystwyth School of security enables researchers to focus different concerns at different levels by revealing different aspects of security. These studies also reveal different referents, different definitions of threats and different considerations in the making of security. Another important aspect here is that these works do not only define an assortment of different issues and referents. These works also question, reveal the dynamics behind the making of security, politicize them and offer alternatives through emancipation.

4.2 The Copenhagen School Perspective on Environmental Security

This section of Chapter 4 aims to explore research on environmental security from the Copenhagen School perspective. According to the Copenhagen School, security is a discursive construct that is constructed through speech acts by actors such as political leaders. The central concept in the Copenhagen School, securitization, is the process where an issue is addressed as an existential threat in order to bring about hasty action for a problem that otherwise cannot be handled within the realm of normal politics. Given that securitization evokes extreme levels of “enmity and urgency”, the Copenhagen School offers to desecuritize issues (Wæver, 1995). Through desecuritization, issues are taken out of the realm of the security and dealt with normal politics.

This section first revisits Ole Wæver’s pioneer work “Securitization and Desecuritization” constructing theoretical framework for the Copenhagen School. Among the four different security agendas, which Wæver discusses in terms of the

process of securitization and desecuritization, this chapter will only focus on environmental security case. Following Wæver's work, this section will explore "The Environmental Sector" chapter from Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde's book *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. The exploration of environmental security from the Copenhagen School perspective will be followed by the works of Aradau, Trombetta and Floyd.

In "Securitization and Desecuritization" Ole Wæver lists four observations in order to lay out the logic of the Copenhagen School in terms of environment. Wæver borrows the first observation from Barry Buzan. Buzan addresses that environmental threats are generally unintentional (Buzan, 1992:15 as cited in Wæver 1995).

Although this does not make environmental problems any less serious, it takes them out of the realm of will (Wæver, 1995: 63). According to Copenhagen School security is constituted around relationships on will. Security has been "about the efforts of one will to (allegedly) override the sovereignty of another, forcing or tempting the latter not to assert its will in defense of its sovereignty" (Wæver, 1995: 63). Having a security framework where the intentions of strategic actors and the intentions come into play, Copenhagen School takes the security out of the everyday meaning word, and puts it in where considerations of certain traditions matter (Wæver, 1995: 63).

Wæver borrows the second observation from Richard Moss (Wæver, 1995: 63). According to this observation, security is a concept that entails defense by the state and its organizations that are related to security (Wæver, 1995: 63-64). In this regard, using the term environmental security for global environmental threats is

inappropriate and inefficient given that the term security calls for centralized state response (Wæver, 1995: 63-64). Addressing environmental problems as security issues, thus, might even lead to militarization of environmental problems (Wæver, 1995, 64).

In the third observation, Wæver argues that there is an inclination for the concept of security to cause “us vs. them” way of thinking (Wæver, 1995, 64). In connection with this thinking, Wæver also acknowledges Daniel Deudney’s argument about nationalism. According to Deudney, the nation is deeply connected to war and “us vs. them” way of thinking (Deudney 1990: 467 as cited in Wæver, 1995: 64). This connection cannot completely be broken although it is a noble goal for Deudney to take the war and “us vs. them” thinking out of nationalism (Deudney 1990: 467 as cited in Wæver, 1995: 64). As a consequence of this, threats are habitually viewed as coming from outside. For environmental problems, such a perception drives “the attention away from one’s own contribution to environmental problems” (Moss, 1992: 32 as cited in Wæver, 1995: 64).

Lastly, Wæver warns that security is a politically conservative concept having a defensive nature, which is mainly concerned with defending a status quo (Wæver, 1995: 64). Referring environment in the realm of security for Wæver is paradoxical, as the logic of ecology has “religious potentials and references to holistic categories, survival and the linked significance of everything” that could mobilize totalitarianism (Wæver, 1995: 64).

With these observations in mind, Wæver argues that it is not a good idea to address environment as a security issue, although it is tempting to do so because “it is an effective way of dramatizing environmental problems” (Wæver, 1995: 64-65). The problem with referring environment as a security issue is that “it might lead to an inappropriate social construction of the environment problem, as a threat/defense problem” (Wæver, 1995: 65). Therefore, instead of securitizing environment, alternatives are offered. One of them is to consider “emerging values of environmentalism as establishing their own moral basis” and these emerging values “should be the basis of mobilization (Wæver, 1995: 65; Deudney, 1990: 469 as cited in Wæver, 1995: 65). Categorizing environmental problems within the field of economics is seen as another alternative. It is argued, “process-type threats are better met by the process-type remedies of economics”, and this might be more advantageous than alarming state with emergency and war-like analogy (Buzan, 1992: 25; 16-19 as cited in Wæver, 1995: 65).

Another important work that lays out the theoretical backdrop of the Copenhagen School is Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde’s *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (1998). As it is discussed in Chapter 2, the Copenhagen School of security divides security in sectors and identifies one of these sectors as the environmental sector. Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde (1998) argue that environment should not be securitized but there are actors trying to securitize it. In order to analyze such attempts for the securitization of environment they identify two agenda for environmental sector: a scientific and a political agenda (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998: 71). Scientific agenda constructed primarily by scientists and research institutions identifying environmental problems that potentially constitute threats to the progress of

contemporary civilizations (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998: 71-72). Political agenda, on the other hand, is about how these environmental problems are addressed within high politics (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998: 72; 91). For the securitization of environment, it is important for actors such as governments, transnational corporations or local communities to accept the scientific agenda (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998: 91).

According to Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde's (1998: 91) analysis of attempts for the securitization of environment, securitization at the global level has been limited. However, they argue that securitizing moves at the global level have led to substantial politicization (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998: 91). On the contrary, they assert that at the local level successful securitization of environment happens more often (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998: 91). On the discussion of how environmental problems are politicized or securitized, Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde evaluate environmental problems according to their causes and effects. For instance, they find that the aim of environmental lobby, functioning at the global level, is to eradicate the causes of environmental problems before they lead to disasters (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998: 82). Regardless of how many securitization moves such attempts include, they generally lead politicization than securitization (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998: 82-83). Given that environment problems usually indicate uncertainty about future, they do not provoke panic politics (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998: 83). This usually impedes any possible securitization moves although some securitization rhetorics occur.

Another important point in the discussion on the securitization of environmental problems is that at the times of environmental crises, it is not always environment itself what is securitized (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde 1998: 91). It is often the effects of environmental change, not the environmental change itself, what is being securitized. For instance, climate change induced migration is often referred as a security issue by states for various reasons. However, it is often the case that securitization occurs for the migration, not for the climate change itself. In this respect, it is likely for the focus of securitization to move into other sectors by moving the issues out from the realm of environmental security (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998: 91). This situation makes the analysis of environmental security from the Copenhagen School perspective difficult.

Environmental problems have global sources and effects, but their effects are not homogeneous all over the globe. The impacts of environmental problems are experienced in different places at different severity levels having strong localization dynamics. Due to the strong localization dynamics in environmental concerns, regional arrangements have been more preferred than global ones and these arrangements have proved to be more successful. In connection with this argument, there are two main reasons making the analysis of the securitization in environmental sector difficult. Firstly, given that regions have a large variety of issue areas, it is difficult to come up with an encompassing, all inclusive world map of regional subsystems (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998: 91-92). World maps only include specific environmental issues such as water issues or deforestation (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998: 92). Secondly, security follows large and complex patterns because the causes and effects of environmental issues involve different actors and

different regions (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998: 92). Since there are many dynamics and subsystems within the environmental problems involving variety of actors, analysis of environment from the Copenhagen School perspective is difficult.

Another scholar exploring environmental security from the Copenhagen School's perspective is Claudia Aradau. Aradau (2009) specifically focuses on the securitization of the climate change. Aradau explores the attempts securitizing climate change and argues that attempts of the securitization of climate change in the North is successful only to a limited extent. The attempts had limited success since national security understanding did include environmental threats in its agenda, but only limited progress have been made to tackle these threats (Aradau, 2009: 200). In order to assess whether policy makers and scholars should continue securitization, Aradau discusses three main aspects of securitization: (1) Time, (2) Military as a privileged actor by the national security discourse, and (3) Role of security knowledge (Aradau, 2009: 193). As a result, Aradau finds that securitization of climate change has serious consequences as securitization considers issues through a war-like, conflict lens with an emphasis on military (Aradau, 2009: 200). Aradau argues because of this situation, securitization is not the best way to deal with climate change (Aradau, 2009: 200).

Aradau firstly discusses the question of time with respect to the amplified sense of urgency and emergency in security speech acts (Aradau, 2009: 194-195). Similar with one of the previous arguments raised by Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde (1998), the effects of climate change often points to distant time with uncertain repercussions (Aradau, 2009: 194). Attempting to take an urgent action through securitization

requires emphasizing “the worst-case scenario” of climate change (Aradau, 2009: 195). Such an action delivers a magnified sense of urgency by evoking immediacy to take an action (Aradau, 2009:195). In this manner, security is used as an attempt for policy makers to take an action because security is understood as “the language states understand” (Aradau, 2009, 195).

Such attempts of securitization, however, are not likely sustain their pace Aradau argues in agreement with Deudney (Deudney, 2006: 246 as cited in Aradau, 2009: 195). Given that the effects of climate change differ in “speed and scale” pointing to an abrupt future and, it takes “sustained long-term commitment” dissimilar with other types of security issues (Aradau, 2009: 195). This situation is problematic according to Aradau, because such a long-term commitment requires allocation of resources including financial ones having the possibility for policy makers not to prioritize climate change (Aradau, 2009: 195). Instead, such funds might be shifted away from climate change towards more urgent issues such as counter-terrorism policies (Aradau, 2009: 195). Aradau gives the example of underfunded and unprepared Federal Emergency Management during Hurricane Katrina, which ended up with catastrophic social and environmental issues (Aradau, 2009: 195-196). In the same time period, Department of Homeland Security in the USA had “75% of funding focused on fighting terrorism” (Aradau, 2009: 196). Keeping these in mind, Aradau argues that securitization of the climate change have serious and unpredicted consequences (Aradau, 2009: 196).

In the second discussion, Aradau questions whether military, as an actor prioritized by traditional national security discourse, is suitable for tackling climate change.

Drawing on Elbe's (2006) argument, Aradau indicates that securitizing climate change might lead to the exclusion of actors such as civil society organizations other than state and its security actors (Aradau, 2009: 196). Additionally, Aradau states that the actions of military such as wars have negative environmental consequences in terms of contamination of water, deforestation and so forth (Aradau, 2009: 196). Securitizing climate change would lead states to assign military forces as the protectors of the environment giving funds for its protection (Aradau, 2009: 197). This would eventually lead to indirect funding for the destruction of the environment by the military (Aradau, 2009: 197). Thus, Aradau argues that military is not the proper actor for tackling climate change.

Lastly, Aradau discusses the role of security knowledge that is used for studying environment induced conflict tend to divide the world into "hotspots of conflict and areas of normality" (Aradau, 2009: 199). Issues like scarcity, poverty, environmental conflict and their effects on ethnic and identity politics are likely to divide the world into North and South according to common security knowledge (Aradau, 2009: 198-199). However, what lies behind the environmental problems in the South might not necessarily be local and the reasons tend to be rooted in "the legacy of colonialism" and the North dominated "international economic relations" (Aradau, 2009: 199). Since securitization of climate change employs security knowledge for state institutions such as military and intelligence, this knowledge is often relevant for only limited part of the world (Aradau, 2009: 198). In this respect, this knowledge in prevention of environmental conflicts is not applicable to all geographies, which makes the analysis of environment from the Copenhagen School perspective difficult.

Aradau's discussion reveals that securitization of climate change is undesirable because of its "war-like" treatment to issues, usually with military as its main actors. Additionally, since environmental change points out to an unknown future it usually does not evoke the sense of urgency that is required for the securitization of environment. Additionally, Aradau argues that securitization might exclude civil society organizations and similar actors behind with its particular focus on military. Furthermore, military, having negative implications on the nature might not be the proper actor to tackle the climate change. Securitization, thus, has unpredicted consequences and successful securitization rarely occur.

Trombetta contributes to the literature by analyzing environmental language and how it functions and transforms environmental and climate security meanings and practices (Trombetta, 2008: 587). This specific manner of exploring security provides a new perspective, which enables one to explore the political process and learn how the urgency and relevancy of threats are being selected (Trombetta, 2008: 588). Additionally, the awareness of environmental problems might help in defining and transforming political communities and their identities. Lastly, securitization approach might "open the space for 'genuinely political' constitutive and formative struggle" in which political structures are being discussed and established (Trombetta, 2008: 588).

Despite the benefits of reconsidering the environment from the Copenhagen school perspective, there exist implications about securitizing the environment (Trombetta, 2008: 587-591). According to the Copenhagen School security is perceived as an

existential threat which is dealt with logic of war and emergency and it tends to keep issues away from securitizing (Trombetta, 2008:588-589). However, Trombetta argues that such an antagonist understanding of dealing with environmental issues does not help whereas preventive measures does help. In this regard, Trombetta integrates the Copenhagen School approach with various security practices on risk management and prevention that have been borrowed by Ulrich Beck's analysis of risk society (Trombetta, 2008: 590-91). In this regard, Trombetta gives examples from discourses of climate security to stress how securitization and risk society perspectives complement each other in the case of climate change. Securitization alone requires emergency actions, however, environmental issues are more complex, uncertain and potentially destructive (Trombetta 2008: 597-599). This expresses the rationale of Beck's risk society. In this respect, assessing security of climate change underlines the necessity for preventive measures (not confrontational) and engagement of other actors (Trombetta, 2008: 600).

In short, Trombetta argues that the Copenhagen School can be appropriate in studying the process how environmental concerns “gain priority and mobilize social action” (Trombetta, 2008: 600). The security of climate change is “a reflexive and contextualized process that generates meanings and practices” (Trombetta, 2008: 600). On the contrary, the Copenhagen School has a “problematic fixity” essentializing security in a “historic and sector-specific” manner and its practices. Trombetta indicates that security of climate change “is not about applying a fixed meaning of security and the practices associated with it” (Trombetta, 2008: 600). Trombetta argues that the securitization of environment is transforming current

security practices and requirements, entailing new roles for actors and ways for security (Trombetta, 2008: 585).

In a similar way with her above-mentioned work, Trombetta similarly adopts a Copenhagen School perspective in “Rethinking the Securitization of the Environment” (Trombetta, 2011). Evoking security is perceived as problematic from the Copenhagen School perspective given that any issue might be securitized when someone names it that way; the Copenhagen School uses war and emergency logic when an issue is securitized; and focus might shift from objective threats to collectivities, identities and interests (Trombetta, 2011: 135-136). Hence, as affirmed in the previous chapter, Copenhagen School refrains from securitizing, rather it either avoids securitizing an issue or makes a desecuritization move (Trombetta, 2011: 136). Though it is problematic to evoke security, Trombetta suggests that securitization of environment can generate “measures and policies that probably would not otherwise have been undertaken” (Trombetta, 2011: 136).

In order to demonstrate that securitizing environment might help to take action about environmental problems Trombetta analyses two empirical cases: depletion of the ozone layer and environmental conflict. Although the Copenhagen School refers securitization of the environment as “failed securitization moves”, these cases point out the significance of “more contextualized analysis” (Trombetta, 2011: 142). In a similar manner with her 2008 work, these cases imply security practices based on “prevention, risk management and resilience” (Trombetta, 2011: 143). Trombetta argues that these practices contrast with the logic of the Copenhagen School that focuses on urgency and exception constructed through speech acts (Trombetta, 2011:

143). Trombetta suggests a “more empirically driven, sociological approach” without essentializing or fixing the logic of security that might help transform the content of securitization and the practices of security (Trombetta, 2011: 143; 149).

Rita Floyd is another scholar working on environmental security from the Copenhagen School perspective. In *Security and the Environment: Securitisation Theory and US Environmental Security Policy*, Floyd analyses how United States’ environmental security policy is ‘securitized’ and ‘desecuritized’ (Floyd, 2010). Floyd suggests revision of securitization from the Copenhagen School perspective that normally excludes intentions of the securitizing actors performing speech acts. Floyd argues that including securitizing actors’ intentions into securitization and desecuritization of the environment provides insights about moral evaluation (Floyd, 2010: 188-189).

Floyd suggests that improving the Copenhagen School with consideration of the intentions of securitizing actors will be beneficial in two aspects. Firstly, it will improve the securitization of the Copenhagen School by making it more coherent (Floyd, 2010:189). Secondly, for mainstream security analysts and for others seeking to examine “security studies not just for insights as regards the practice of security but also for some clue as to how we might guide such practices in the future” by including intentions as causes (Floyd, 2010:189). In this respect, Floyd aims to strengthen the analytic capability of the Copenhagen School.

Introducing intentions as a causal analytic tool to the Copenhagen School might reveal implications of securitizing climate change. Floyd warns that climate security

“could give policy-makers with little interest in environmental issues a shield to hide behind, as those reluctant to sign up to fixed carbon emission targets would be able to say, ‘We care about the climate so much, we even consider it a matter of national security’, whilst doing little above and beyond securing military installations before the ill-effects of climate change” (Floyd, 2010: 192). By pointing out this possibility, Floyd enables security analysts to understand that “‘climate security’ may mean a lot less than one might initially think and that it might not necessarily be a good thing” (Floyd, 2010: 192).

This section of Chapter 4 explored works on environmental security from the Copenhagen School perspective. Firstly, this section reviewed the works of Wæver (1995) and Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde (1998), which construct the theoretical framework of the Copenhagen School’s environmental sector. Wæver (1995) argued that instead of securitizing environment, environmental problems should be dealt within other sectors such as economics because securitization evokes a threat/defense dimension that entails mobilization of states’ defense organs. Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde (1998) argued that despite that environmental problems are global in nature they have strong localization dynamics due to their different local effects. Therefore, securitization is rarely attempted at global level. At local or regional levels, it is not the environment itself that is attempted to be securitized, but it is the effects of the environmental change. This section also explored the work of Aradau (2009) that focuses on the securitization of the climate change. Aradau (2009) argued that securitization of climate change has unpredicted consequences and successful securitization only occurs to a limited extent. Trombetta (2008; 2011) argued that security from the Copenhagen School perspective have an essentialist, fixed

meaning, whereas security of environment is reflexive. Trombetta (2008; 2011) suggested that a preventive approach might help transform the content of securitization. Rita Floyd (2010) also suggested inclusion of the intentions of leaders that are speaking of security in the analysis environmental security from the Copenhagen School perspective.

The works that are reviewed in this section identified out some important points about environmental security from the Copenhagen School's perspective. First and foremost, for the Copenhagen School securitization of the environment is undesired because it calls for urgency to tackle threat. However, environmental threats often point to an unknown time in the future making it difficult to evoke an urgent action. Though there are attempts of securitization, these attempts are often either local (securitizing the effects of the environment such as migration or conflict) or unsuccessful. The cases studied by various researchers in the literature are in agreement with these theoretical findings. To tackle problem of some accounts suggests taking preventive measures and involvement of other actors; some suggest more empirically driven, sociological approach; and some others suggest inclusion of intentions of securitizing actors to the analysis of the environmental sector in the Copenhagen School.

The main aim of this chapter was to explore critical environmental security literature specifically from the perspectives of Aberystwyth and the Copenhagen Schools of security. This chapter proceeded in two main sections dedicated to both perspectives. In the first section, critical works on environmental security from the Aberystwyth

School perspective are explored. The second section analyzed works on environmental security from the Copenhagen School's perspective.

The first section outlined Ken Booth's perspective on environmental security from the Aberystwyth School. Ken Booth suggested a holistic approach for the solution of threats directed to state of nature. To this end, governments and other actors should understand the challenge as a whole and act collectively to eradicate it before it is too late. Schnurr and Swatuk's work dealt with Ken Booth's challenge to rethink security from "bottom-up" perspective. Schnurr and Swatuk analyzed the case of Namibia and its marine resources. Through this case, Schnurr and Swatuk argued that politicization of security reveal the beneficiaries of security and insecurities of marginalized people. Following Schnurr and Swatuk's discussion, Matt McDonald's work *Security, The Environment and Emancipation* is reviewed. McDonald identified security as an area of contestation where different visions on what and who needs to be secured are expressed. McDonald explored how core values are defined, who defines security and how the meaning of security can be changed in emancipatory sense. Lastly, this section of Chapter 4 reviewed Nicole Detraz's work. Detraz suggested that environmental problems, especially climate change have significant impacts on people's lives and these impacts are gendered because of predefined roles assigned to genders. Thus Detraz recommended using a gendered lens and emancipation as a theoretical tool for scholars to unveil the experiences of marginalized people, which are gendered, by the changing environment.

The second section of this chapter focused on the works from the Copenhagen School perspective. The second section initially explored Wæver's 1995 work and

Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde's analysis of environmental sector, which set the framework of how environment is analyzed by the Copenhagen School. Wæver listed four different reasons about why it is not a good idea to address environment as a security issue although some find tempting to do so. Since using the term security might lead to a consideration like a threat/defense problem, Wæver offered alternatives. These alternatives vary from including the issues within the field of economics to consideration of environmental problems within the value of environmentalism. Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde reviewed the dynamics of environmental problems and listed the reasons why it is difficult to analyze environmental problems from the perspective of the Copenhagen School. This section also reviewed Aradau's work on climate change and securitization. In a similar way with Wæver and Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, Aradau listed some reasons why securitization of environment is not be desired through the school's discussions on time, military. The works of Trombetta argued that dealing with environmental problems from the Copenhagen School is problematic. Trombetta suggested that a "more empirically driven, sociological approach" might help transforming the content of securitization and the practices of security (Trombetta, 2011: 149). Floyd rather suggested that inclusion of intentions of securitizing actors to the analysis of the Copenhagen School's environmental sector. In this respect, Floyd aims to reveal the implications of securitizing the climate change.

This chapter in general presented two distinct schools of studying environmental security. The review of key theoretical works and case studies showed that the Aberystwyth School and the Copenhagen School differ in their method and solutions

they offer. The first distinct difference between two schools is that the Aberystwyth School draws a more positive picture for the solution of the environmental problems. The School aims towards the positive in terms of progress and offer a solution to tackle threats directed to environment. The cases showed that environmental insecurities are experienced in many places by many different referents. Through politicization of security, this approach reveals whose values define the meaning of security. Through emancipation, it offers alternatives or more representation for those, whose voices are not included in the making of security.

On the other hand, the Copenhagen School argues that it is difficult to analyze environment because logic of threats and vulnerabilities from the School's perspective is different from environmental security's threat logic. The School perceives existential threats directed by another actor having will factor, that needs to be handled urgently. Although some actors tend to securitize environment to take a swift action, the security logic of environment is essentially different. The effects of environmental threats often points at to an unknown time frame in the future, which takes the urgency factor out. Additionally, environmental threats are not necessarily directed by a specific actor (such as another state), majority of these threats are generated by human activities. The works studying the Copenhagen School perspective offer an array of different solutions to the securitization of the environment. One solution is to desecuritize environmental threats and to treat them in other sectors such as economics. Another solution is to reevaluate the Copenhagen School with an empirically driven approach. Lastly, introducing intentions of securitizing actors to the analysis of securitization to reveal the implications of securitizing environment.

CHAPTER 5

CONTRIBUTIONS AND LIMITATIONS OF ANALYSING ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY FROM THE ABERYSTYWTH SCHOOL AND THE COPENHAGEN SCHOOL PERSPECTIVES

Chapter 5 aims to discuss the contributions and limitations of the Aberystwyth School and the Copenhagen School for the analysis of environmental security. To this end, Chapter 5 firstly explores the contributions of the Aberystwyth School. Following the discussion on the School's contributions, the chapter lists the limitations of analysing environmental security from the Aberystwyth School perspective. The second section of this chapter initially reveals in what ways the Copenhagen School contributes to the analysis of environmental security. Finally, the chapter discusses the aspects that the Copenhagen School is limiting for the environmental security analysis.

5.1 Contributions and Limitations of the Aberystwyth School

The first section of Chapter 5 aims to discuss the contributions and limitations of the

Aberystwyth School for the analysis of environmental security. As it was previously reviewed in Chapter 2, the Aberystwyth School broadens and deepens the concept of security. These two analytical moves of the School enable practitioners and theorists of international security to include a variety of referent objects, which are not limited to the state level. Furthermore, these moves facilitate one to reveal the insecurities in different parts of the world by different referents and agents. In this regard, other than focusing on the threats directed to state or bureaucracies, the Aberystwyth School allows us to perceive the insecurities directed to others. The Aberystwyth School in this respect is useful to reflect on different environmental insecurities.

Environmental security cases that have been studied from the perspective of the Aberystwyth School reveal that the School broadens the concept of security.

Traditional focus of security concentrates on threats directed to state and its sovereignty. On the contrary, The Aberystwyth School puts issues in the realm of security that traditionally would not have identified as security issues. In this respect, the Aberystwyth School implies moving away from the state centric concept of security to a broader concept of security. Such a broader concept enables inclusion of a variety of environmental concerns such as the climate change, deforestation and threats to natural resources into the realm of security.

The Namibian case used by Schnurr and Swatuk (2012) exemplifies how an issue like Namibia's marine environmental change and change in Namibian people's livelihoods can transform into a security issue. Such insecurities normally would not be included in the realm of security according to the traditional perspective. The Namibian case illustrates "the importance of broadening security beyond state-centrism in order to understand how environmental change impacts political, economic and social instability" (Schnurr and Swatuk 2012, 8). Analysing

environmental security from the perspective of the Aberystwyth School is useful in the sense since it reveals unseen aspects of environmental change.

Matt McDonald (2012) similarly presents another security issue, Brazilian Amazon rainforest deforestation that normally would not have been a security concern for traditional security. McDonald identifies deforestation of Brazilian Amazon rainforest as an international and community-wise security issue. In this respect, Brazilian case demonstrates traditional security approaches are limited to reveal security and it reflects on environmental change relationship from a broader perspective.

The Aberystwyth School not only helps in identifying new security threats for the environmental security analysis. The school also presents a number of different referent objects and agents such as societies, indigenous communities, NGOs and so forth through deepening security. Traditional security understanding is often blind and deafened to insecurities experienced by referents other than states. It usually does not allow room for a multiplicity of voices in the making and practice of security. In this sense, the Aberystwyth School decentres state and gives voices to those who are not visible in the making and meaning of traditional security.

The Namibian case showcases the unequal impacts of change in marine resources on Namibian society, especially on poor fishermen. Schnurr and Swatuk (2012) argue that as a result of Namibian state's policies towards its marine environment, small fishers were driven out of the sector threatening livelihood choices and life chances. The Aberystwyth School, in this respect, helps in revealing that there are other referents of security than of states.

The Brazilian case also constitutes an interesting example in showing the

Aberystwyth School's contribution with respect to referents of security. McDonald's (2012) case of Brazilian Amazon rainforest deforestation demonstrates that there are many actors involved in construction of security and there are some others who are insecure because of existing practices. The case emphasizes the importance of indigenous communities residing inside the Amazon rainforest and how their welfare, livelihoods and even lives are threatened by deforestation that happens on a massive scale. Additionally, the case reveals that there are variety of actors other than the Brazilian state and the military. For instance international and domestic NGOs and civil society organizations actively play a role in securing the welfare of Amazonian residents and affecting the rainforest. These voices are normally unheard by traditional security studies. However, the Aberystwyth School enables such actors' voices to be heard in the making and practice of security.

Another contribution of the Aberystwyth School for the analysis of environmental security is that the School seeks for potential for emancipation. According to the Aberystwyth School emancipation and security are "two sides of the same coin" meaning that security cannot be attained without emancipation (Booth, 1991: 319). In this respect, the Aberystwyth School emphasises the process of emancipation for the reconstruction of security. It seeks potential for emancipation in different social, political and economic contexts and in environment.

The Brazilian case offers a broad time frame for analysis, from 1972 to 2000s, analyse how contestation over the meaning and practice of security occurred and changed through time. McDonald (2012) demonstrates that in the Brazilian case there is a progressive change in environmental security where voices of indigenous communities, NGOs are represented in the making of security. McDonald (2012) argues that this change is emancipatory. In this respect, Brazilian case offers that

giving voices and representation in the making of security, opening a way for possibility for progress.

The analysis of environmental security from the Aberystwyth School perspective also has some limitations. As a result of exploration of the case studies, emancipation for the reconstruction of security seems to be working at the local level. However, as Ken Booth (2007) suggests, the environmental problems should also be handled at the global level. The cases tend to focus on global or local environmental problems from a local perspective, generally from state level; they do not explore how to reconstruct security through emancipation at the global level.

The case of Namibia focuses on a local problem from a local perspective. Although marine resources seem to have connections with a broader problem (international fish stocks), the main problem reflected in the case is local. Additionally, the referents of security, small scale fishermen who were driven out from the fishing sector, are also local. The case does show Namibian state's attempts to participate national and regional initiatives on fish stocks. However, the case tells us a little about how to reconstruct security from a global perspective.

In a similar way with the Namibian case, the case of Brazilian Amazon rainforest has global implications, but the case itself focuses to the dynamics from the Brazilian state's level. International actors such as international NGOs are also taken into consideration as a result of the School's deepening and broadening moves. However, the process itself is handled at the domestic level within Brazil. The case does not explore how to reconstruct security at the global level.

This section of Chapter 5 explored the contributions and the limitations of the Aberystwyth School for the analysis of environmental security through exploration

of cases. The cases demonstrated that the Aberystwyth School offers a wider concept of security helping in inclusion of issues in the realm of security that normally would not have been included. Additionally, the cases exemplified that Aberystwyth School contributes in giving voices in the making and practice of security. Lastly, the Aberystwyth School offers reconstruction of security through emancipation in various social, political and economic contexts and environment. However, the cases of environmental security from the Aberystwyth School perspective tend to focus on local problems or global problems and their local effects handling security at state level. In *Theory of World Security* (2007: 327- 336), which outlines the backdrop of the Aberystwyth School, Ken Booth argues that environmental problems are global and they should be handled at the global level with collective efforts of states, NGOs, civil society organizations, International Organizations and so forth, aiming to reach an emancipatory change. The cases; nevertheless, do not reflect on solutions of environmental problems from a global perspective. From this perspective, the analysis of the cases of environmental security is limited.

5.2 Contributions and Limitations of the Copenhagen School

The second section of this chapter aims to demonstrate the contributions and limitations of the Copenhagen School for environmental security analysis through case studies. As it was previously explored in Chapter 2, the Copenhagen School of security introduces the concept of securitization as a framework for analysis. The school explores the ways issues transcend from the realm of normal politics to the realm of emergency politics. The Copenhagen School emphasises the role of speech acts in construction of security and identifies five sectors in which attempts of securitization might occur. Finally, the School introduces the concept of desecuritization as a response to securitization and suggests putting issues from the

realm of emergency politics back to the realm of normal politics.

Given the Copenhagen School's commitment to these theoretical points, the starting point of the Copenhagen School is not the securitization of any issue, including the environment. The School studies the consequences of securitization of environmental issues. It allows analysis of how securitization works. Understanding the process of securitization is useful if environmental problems are to be put on government's security agenda in the short to medium term.

One of the major contributions of the Copenhagen School for the analysis of environmental security is that securitization of environment is seen as useful in the short term. Securitization of the environment is seen as an attempt to urge policy makers to tackle environmental change. Since securitization evokes urgent action that needs to be handled immediately, it is seen as a catalyst in taking an urgent action. As Eckersley argues, security is the language states understand (Eckersley, 2005; as cited in Aradau, 2009: 195). Thus, especially in the short term, securitization helps in mobilizing action.

Maria Julia Trombetta (2011) shows the securitization of the stratospheric ozone layer depletion as an example. The case explores the international initiatives attempting to securitize ozone layer depletion. The case demonstrates the ways information is provided by the scientific community and how the ozone layer depletion is conceptualized as a threat by securitizing actors. The exploration of such factors reveal that with Montreal Protocol substantial steps were taken to phase-down CFC production and consumption in the industrialized and developing countries (Trombetta, 2011: 145). In this respect, securitization allows to attract attention, measure, policies and resources to environmental problems that would

otherwise not have been undertaken.

In connection with evoking urgent action for environmental problems, the analysis of environmental security from the Copenhagen School reveals how securitization transforms the practices. The ozone layer depletion case highlights the success of the Montreal Protocol, in which 50 countries agreed on phasing down their CFC production and consumption. In this sense, securitization of environmental problems might also help in transforming the practices.

Even though securitization might contribute to taking swift actions for environmental concerns, security tends to limit discussion and national security reflexes kick in the long term. In this respect, the Copenhagen School calls for desecuritization in the long term. Rita Floyd's (2010) case of securitization of the U.S. climate security during the Clinton administrations constitutes a proper example for this. Floyd demonstrates that "actors do not always and necessarily act with a view to securing the stated referent object of security" through the case study (2010:121).

Floyd argues that the securitization of the climate during the Clinton administrations was a successful one. The success of this securitization was visible in terms of the creation of new policies, new institutions and offices pertaining environmental security, as well as the introduction of domestic and international programs and so forth (Floyd, 2010:117). However, Floyd's analysis allows for deeper investigation of who are the real beneficiaries of securitization. The analysis, in this respect, reveals that referent object is not much about the environment or the American people but the interest of U.S. security institutions, in other words the agents of security, which were in need of a *raison d'être* in the aftermath of the Cold War (Floyd, 2010: 119). Scholars of the Copenhagen School thus suggest desecuritization

to remove such tendencies in securitization.

The exploration of cases also highlight that the analysis of environmental security from the Copenhagen School perspective has some limitations. One of these limitations of the Copenhagen School for the analysis of environmental security is that the School fixes security to temporal terms subjectively to securitizing actors' perspectives. This is problematic for the analysis of environmental security given the uncertainty about temporal conditions of environmental threats. Environmental problems often point to an unexpected and sudden future by their nature. It is uncertain when exactly the catastrophic effects of environmental problems that constitute "existential threat" to states, to humanity and so forth will take place. Given that there are high levels of uncertainty involved with respect to time, it is difficult to assess environmental problems through the filter of urgency. In this regard, the Copenhagen School's reliance to urgency of existential threats leads overlook of the future of environmental problems.

Aradau's (2009) work on the securitization of the climate change constitutes an example for this limitation. The catastrophic effects of climate change often point to an abrupt future meaning that its effects are manifested over a longer time span (Aradau, 2009: 194). Temporal factors make it difficult to take climate change into consideration in terms of urgency (Aradau, 2009: 193-196). For environmental problems such as the climate change existential threats are not easy to securitize because their effects are not visible in short period of time, their effects are gradually visible in the future. In this respect, because of the nature of environmental problems, "existential threats" are not easy to securitize or to evoke action because they appear in the future. This situation makes it difficult to analyse the attempts securitizing the environment from the Copenhagen School's perspective.

Another limitation of the Copenhagen School for the analysis of environmental security stems from one of the main premises of the School, speech acts. The Copenhagen School's reliance to speech acts, which are key for the construction of security, makes it difficult to analyse instances where speech acts are not available. This situation happens to cause a problem for the analysis of environmental security in two different respects. Firstly, speech acts on environmental security are not often readily available in the construction of security in domestic politics or world politics. Secondly, in some other cases, states that are insecured by environmental change, are not able to voice their insecurities, expertise or access to power in world politics.

As previously discussed securitization dynamics of the Copenhagen School heavily depend on speech acts. An issue is taken into the realm of security when it is enunciated as an existential threat by state elites who are capable of securitizing an issue. Copenhagen School's narrow framework of security is problematic for the securitization environmental problems as non-state actors, local communities, small states are not able to voice their insecurities, expertise or access to power. This situation can be exemplified at two levels: state level and international level.

Rita Floyd's case on U.S. climate security under Bush Administrations demonstrates an example for this at state level. The case reveals that climate change was desecuritized and depoliticized under Bush Administrations despite many environmental disasters such as hurricane Katrina destroyed land displacing numerous U.S citizens (Floyd, 2010: 166-167). As a result of the desecuritization of environmental problems not only verbal connections are taken out of the realm of security. Given that environmental problems were considered as a lesser concern under Bush administrations, a disappearance in environmental security practices was visible. This situation led to a change in variety of issues including a gradual cut

down in budget allocation for environmental concerns.

The Copenhagen School's epistemological commitment to speech acts by a limited array of actors, state elites, overlooks the insecurities of those who cannot speak of security. Lene Hansen refers this problem as "security as silence" and defines it as an instance "when insecurity cannot be voiced, when raising something as a security problem is impossible or might even aggravate the threat being faced" (2000: 287). Although Hansen's main concern is to portray honour killings as "security as silence", the terminology also helps us to understand silence of those who are insecured by environmental change. Floyd's case (2010) demonstrates that despite that there was a "public discontent" over Bush administrations' environmental policies and people who were severely insecured by natural disasters, verbal connections between environment and security had been abolished by Bush administrations (Floyd, 2010:158). The Copenhagen School is limiting in this respect, as it theoretically allows a limited array of actors to speak about certain security issues. This overlooks majority of environmental insecurities experienced by people causing a situation that Hansen (2000) refers "security as silence".

This problem, however, does not only arise at state level. It is possible to observe "security as silence" of some states at the international level over environmental problems. Claudia Aradau's (2009) exploration of securitization of climate change reveals that securitization of the climate change usually is undertaken by actors such as the UN secretary general, UK foreign secretary at platforms such as the UN security council (Aradau, 2009:168-169; 174). Although state representatives have the authority to speak about international security, their speech acts are not necessarily accepted by other states (Aradau, 2009: 177). The institutional structure of the UN security council, the membership is limited to fifteen states and veto right

is limited to only five permanent members, hinder other states to voice their environmental insecurities at the international level. In this regard states, which are not a member of the UN Security Council, either cannot voice their insecurities even though they are gravely endangered by environmental problems or their voice is unheard, even vetoed at the international level. The Copenhagen School is limited in reflecting the environmental insecurities of some states at the international level even if they are directly threatened by environmental problems.

Another limitation of the Copenhagen School for the analysis of the environmental security arises from the School's limitation of securitizing actors to certain state elites. As Trombetta (2011) demonstrates, scientific community plays an important role in identifying, analysing and framing threats arising from environmental problems, such as stratospheric ozone depletion. Scientific community has a significant place in the framework of the Copenhagen School; however, these actors are usually absent from the securitization process itself. The main actors who are capable of identifying security threats through speech acts may not be capable of analysing the risks scientifically. Security agent is usually not same as those who are knowledgeable about risks. The limitation of the Copenhagen School in this sense is limiting for the analysis of environmental, given the agents actor might not be the most knowledgeable actor to assess environmental threats.

This section of Chapter 5 listed and discussed the contributions and limitations of environmental security analysis from the Copenhagen School's perspective. Studies demonstrated that the Copenhagen School is useful in analysing cases where securitization is used for evoking urgency and taking swift actions for environmental problems in the short term. Additionally, the School reveals and analyses how securitization transforms environmental practices. Finally, the Copenhagen School

calls for desecuritization to prevent national security reflexes, which tend to appear the long term. The section also explored the limitations of analysing environmental security from the School's perspective. The section in this respect, elaborated that temporal fixation of the School and the unknown timing of environmental problems makes the analysis of environmental security from this perspective difficult.

Additionally, the section discussed that the School falls short to analyse the instances where speech acts are not readily available at state and international levels. Finally, the section argued that the School's limitation in terms of securitizing actor, makes it difficult to analyse environmental security because environmental problems requires scientific assessments and those who are knowledgeable about risks are often not the same actor.

The central objective of this chapter was to identify the contributions and the limitations of the Aberystwyth School and the Copenhagen School for the analysis of environmental security. To this aim, Chapter 5 initially explored the Aberystwyth School's perspective. The Aberystwyth School of security contributes to analysis of environmental security because it allows room for issues, such as Namibia's marine resources and Brazilian Amazon deforestation that traditionally would not be considered as security issues. Another contribution of the Aberystwyth School brings is that the School gives voice to those who are underrepresented in the making and meaning of traditional security. The Aberystwyth School in this respect allows a variety of actors, such as poor fishermen in Namibia or the indigenous communities living in the Brazilian Amazon Rainforest, to enunciate their insecurities. Finally, the Aberystwyth School offers emancipation for the reconstruction of security. In addition to the contributions of the Aberystwyth School, the first section of this chapter also discussed the limitations of the School. The School equates security

with the concept emancipation and case studies seek for emancipation. However, although some cases emphasise on environmental problems that are more global in nature, the cases do not show how to attain emancipation at the global level.

Chapter 5 also discussed in the ways the Copenhagen School contributes or limits the analysis of environmental security. The first limitation of the Copenhagen School in analysis of environmental security arises from School's restriction of security in temporal terms, in other words, urgency. Given that the effects of environmental problems do not point out to an exact time, fixing security to urgency makes environmental security analysis difficult. The School's construction of security through speech acts limits the analysis of environmental security given that speech acts are not always readily available for those who directly suffer from environmental threats at international and state levels. This situation in a sense causes "security as silence" problem, which is a term used by Lene Hansen (2000). Finally, although the Copenhagen School emphasises on the importance of scientific community, agents of security are often not those who are knowledgeable or directly capable of assessing the risk. As a result, environmental insecurities and their risks may not be assessed correctly by agents of security. This situation limits the environmental security analysis as analysing environment requires scientific assessments. Revisiting some of the cases from the previous chapter demonstrated that although both the Aberystwyth School and the Copenhagen School are useful and contributive for the analysis of environmental security, both Schools have certain limitations because of their theoretical commitments.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The central objective of this thesis was to identify and to assess contributions and limitations of the Aberystwyth School and the Copenhagen School for the analysis of environmental security. In line with this aim, Chapter 2 laid out theoretical backdrop for the thesis by examining the central concepts and tools of the Aberystwyth and the Copenhagen schools of Critical Security Studies. Following this theoretical exploration, Chapter 3 reviewed the literature on environment and security relationship. Subsequently, Chapter 4 explored the critical security works focusing on environmental security. Finally, Chapter 5 analysed the contributions and the limitations of the Aberystwyth School and the Copenhagen School for the analysis of environmental security.

Chapter 2 explored and examined central concepts and tools of the Aberystwyth and the Copenhagen Schools of Critical Security Studies. In this manner, the chapter demonstrated that the Aberystwyth School offers a broader research agenda where making and practices of security are questioned and revealed. The school introduces the concept of emancipation, which is inseparable from security, as a transformative

policy response. The Copenhagen School, on the other hand, analyses how issues become securitized through speech acts. Securitizing an issue might have drawbacks such as silencing the oppositional voices, giving power-holders “many opportunities to exploit threats for domestic purposes” or “the right to handle something with less democratic control and constraint” (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998: 29). As a response to securitization the school proposes desecuritization as “an optimal long-range option” (Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde, 1998: 29).

Chapter 3 focused on the literature on environmental security. Firstly, the chapter revisited the works of Levy (1995) and Rønnfeldt (1997) reviewing and categorizing environmental security literature in three waves/generations. Since offering a broad third category, like Levy (1995) and Rønnfeldt (1997), is unable to reflect variety of research conducted in the current literature, Chapter 3 classified the literature in accordance with various manners environment has been studied: as a security threat, referent of security or not as a subject or object of security as an alternative.

As its first categorization of the environment-security research, chapter 3 initially reviewed the literature that identified environment as a security threat. Under this category, some works emphasized on the necessity to refer environment in terms security since they argue that environmental problems constitute non-military threat having effects on national and international security. Others focused on causal links between environmental scarcity/abundance and conflicts whereas some part of the literature under this category referred environment as a threat to human security. On the other hand, a significant portion of literature referred environment as a referent object of security. Majority of the works reviewed under this category commonly

argue that the change in climate and ecological processes stem from human impacts on the environment. Finally, Chapter 3 reviewed works that suggested delinking environment and security. The literature under this category argued that security and environment are contradictory since security is traditionally related to war and preparation for war, war related activities might lead to environmental degradation. Some works argued that security and ecological thinking are conflicting as the former is status quo oriented whereas the latter is progressive.

Borrowing the frameworks explored in Chapter 2, Chapter 4 analysed critical environmental security literature specifically from the perspectives of the Aberystwyth School and the Copenhagen School. The chapter initially looked at Ken Booth's theoretical approach to environmental problems from the Aberystwyth School perspective. Ken Booth suggested that in order to mitigate environmental change it's necessary for governments and other actors to understand the challenges and act collectively. Schnurr and Swatuk studied the case of Namibia's marine resources from the Aberystwyth School in order to tackle Booth's challenge to rethink security from the "bottom-up". In line with this aim, Schnurr and Swatuk argued that politicization of security facilitates revealing the beneficiaries of security and insecurities experienced by marginalized people. Another work analysed by the chapter belongs to Matt McDonald. McDonald conceptualized security as an area of contestation where different opinions about what and who needs to be secured are discussed. McDonald argued that in the framework of this specific definition of security the meaning of security can be transformed in emancipatory sense for environmental concerns. Furthermore, McDonald discussed that this enables one to address environmental problems and the ones who are vulnerable to the global

environmental change. Another work that the chapter addressed was Nicole Detraz's perspective of environmental security. Detraz argued that it necessary to introduce a gendered perspective to the study of environmental security due to its gendered impacts. Moreover, Detraz offered emancipation as a theoretical tool for scholars to uncover gendered impacts of changing environment and the experiences of people who are marginalized because of predefined gender roles.

Chapter 4 also reviewed studies on environmental security from the Copenhagen School perspective. Firstly, the chapter looked at the environmental sector of two main theoretical works by Wæver (1995) and Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde (1998), which set the framework of how environment is analyzed by the Copenhagen School. Following the theoretical exploration of the environmental sector, the chapter reviewed other works that elaborated environmental security empirically. Firstly, the chapter explored Aradau's work on climate change and securitization. Aradau mainly discussed that because of the Copenhagen School's perception about time and security, securitization of environment is not desired. The chapter also examined Maria J. Trombetta's take on environment and securitization. Trombetta proposed a sociological approach backed with empirical research for the analysis of environmental concerns. According to Trombetta such research is necessary might help in altering the content of securitization as well as security practices. The chapter finally looked at Rita Floyd's work on securitization of climate change in the United States. Floyd rather recommended that the inclusion of intentions of securitizing actors to the analysis of the Copenhagen School's environmental sector might help in uncovering the implication of securitizing the climate change in the United States of America.

By reviewing key theoretical works and case studies of environmental security from the Aberystwyth School and the Copenhagen School perspectives, Chapter 4 demonstrated that these schools offer distinct manners studying environmental problems. The Aberystwyth School's perspective illustrated that various environmental insecurities are experienced in various places by various referents. The school, through politicization and emancipation, offered bringing about progress and change in the meaning and making of security. The Copenhagen School perspective discussed that the logic of threats and vulnerabilities and revealed that environmental security's threat logic is essentially different. The urgency factor, which is necessary for the construction of security, is out for environmental problems as their effects point at to an unidentified time. Furthermore, environmental threats are not directed by a specific actor, rather their sources are human activities. In line with findings, the school proposed desecuritization and handling issues in other sectors. Alternatively, some scholars offered re-evaluating the school with an empirically driven approach whereas some others suggested introducing intentions of securitizing actors to the analysis of securitization to reveal the implications of securitizing the environment.

As a result of the discussion that was introduced in Chapter 4, Chapter 5 elaborated the contributions and the limitations of the Aberystwyth School and the Copenhagen School for the analysis of environmental security. The Aberystwyth School of security contributes to analysis of environmental security by broadening the concept security and including issues that would not be included as security issues from the traditional security point of view. The School also includes those who are

marginalized in the making and meaning of traditional security. As the cases demonstrated, these marginalized actors range from poor fishermen in Namibia to the indigenous communities located in the Amazon Rainforest in Brazil. For the reconstruction of security, the school suggests emancipation. The school also has some limitations for environmental security analysis. The school associates security with emancipation but the cases fall short demonstrating how to reach emancipation at the global level.

The fifth chapter similarly demonstrated the Copenhagen School's contributions and limitations with respect to environmental security analysis. The school offers substantial analytical benefit as it demonstrates how securitization process works. This enables understanding the process when governments put environmental problems to their security agenda in the short to medium term. Additionally, the School shows that securitization might help in mobilizing action about environmental concerns especially in the short term. By this, the school demonstrates how securitization attracts attention, measure, policies and resources to environmental concerns.

Given that the school offers a fixed understanding of security to urgency, environmental security analysis is difficult as environmental problems only indicate an unknown time in the future. Additionally, as speech acts are not always available for those who are directly insecure from threats arising at international and state levels. This situation limits the analysis of environmental security by undermining the effects of environmental threats on the referents that are directly affected by the threats. Lastly, the Copenhagen School for analysing securitization within the

environmental sector points out the significance of the scientific community providing information to the political agenda. However, the cases demonstrate the agents of security are often by those who are not knowledgeable or directly capable of assessing risks. In this manner, environmental problems and their risks may not necessarily be evaluated in the way that they should be. This situation limits the analytical strength of the Copenhagen School for the environmental security analysis.

This thesis demonstrated that both the Aberystwyth School and the Copenhagen School are useful and contributive for the analysis of environmental security as they suggest new tools and manners for analysis. However, the analytical scope of both schools has certain limitations for environmental security analysis because of their theoretical commitments. The answer of the research question of this thesis also pointed out how environmental security is studied from different perspectives by reviewing the majority of studies. By specifically focusing on the Aberystwyth and the Copenhagen schools of security studies, this thesis displayed the value-added of analysing environmental security from these perspectives. This showed that despite these schools have been substantially studied in terms of their theoretical, the number of empirical works on environmental security from these perspectives is not sufficient. In order to strengthen and improve the analytical possibilities and capabilities of these two schools, there is a need for more empirical works studying different aspects of environmental problems.

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