Handbook of International Security and Development

Edited by **Paul Jackson**

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Contributors

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Preface

The *Handbook of International Security and Development* brings together the contributions of a multidisciplinary group of internationally renowned scholars with the aim of providing the state of the art on such important issues as the nature of the relationship between development and security, stabilization, demobilization of armed forces, security sector reform and development by remote control. Reflecting the very broad nature of this subject, the chapters range across a very wide range of approaches and worldviews, touching on themes such as democracy, corruption, human rights, gender and the nature of the state.

The aim of this volume is to provide a state-of-the-art survey and evaluation of contemporary thinking in the area, and the book includes contributions from a number of analysts who are both academics and also practitioners in this extremely fast-moving field. The variety of perspectives range from critical positions through to empirical and historical narratives charting the relationship between security and development in a number of contemporary policy approaches, also addressing the nature of development and how far it has been 'securitized' in current Western debates. Importantly, the book also includes views from the Global South as well as from Western academics. All contributions are written in a non-technical way and, whilst they touch upon some important and complex ideas, they are designed to be comprehensive introductions to their specific areas.

Usually, editing such a volume is a rewarding but also stressful experience, but in this case the stress has been greatly reduced by a team of people who produced some excellent work in a timely manner, greatly reducing the need for me to pester them too frequently. At the same time, the team at Edward Elgar, notably Emily Mew, our editor, have been very supportive from the beginning.

Paul Jackson
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Contents

1. Introduction: security and development
Paul Jackson

> In an increasingly interconnected world, progress in the areas of develop-
> ment, security and human rights must go hand in hand. There will be no
> development without security and no security without development. And
> both development and security also depend on respect for human
> rights and the rule of law. *UN Secretary General, 2005*

As the Arab Spring swept across North Africa in 2001, the World Bank
issued the *World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security and
Development* (World Bank 2011). This recognized something that the
international community had been grappling with for some time, namely
that repeated cycles of violent conflict whether through wars, criminality
or civil conflict, directly and negatively affects development.

This chapter outlines the nature of current debates in the subject and
establishes an overarching framework within which to locate the chapters
that follow. It begins to investigate what is meant by the terms security
and development and the framework that currently affects thinking on
violence and conflict in the developing world and its relationship to
development. In order to fully appreciate the chapters within this
handbook to security and development, it is necessary to understand how
we got to where we are and to have some shared concepts, even if those
terms are effectively contested just within this volume let alone more
broadly.

However contentious the terms themselves are, the policy implications
of placing them together are equally problematic. There are implications
for the idea of human security, for example, in integrating debates about
development within debates about security – sometimes termed 'securiti-
zation'. It also works the opposite way in looking at the 'developmenti-
zation' of security in particular in questioning traditional international
relations theory that is based on the state exercising a monopoly of
violence, along with concepts of security colonizing environmentalism,
trade, migration and other subjects of an emerging critical security
studies literature. Despite this, the President of the UN Security Council
recognized the need for the construction of state institutions if the state is
to survive at all in stating in 2008 that: 'The Security Council recognizes
that the establishment of an effective, professional and accountable

1

security sector is one of the necessary elements for laying the foundations for peace and sustainable development' (UN 2005).

In addition, it is imperative to consider what 'development' might mean in the context of the rise in ideas of 'fragile states', 'state-building' and 'peace-building' in development discourse and policy. In particular, the widening of the analytical approaches to 'security' away from formal state institutions to less centralized organizations incorporating local actors and agents, and a deepening of security away from national security issues and towards security of the individual (human security), have been accompanied by a global shift in policy approaches that have partly driven an academic agenda that has lagged in some ways.

Whilst it is certainly true that many of the security and development approaches have grown out of practice that is then reflected back on to theory, the *World Development Report 2011*, the New Deal for Fragile and Conflict Affected States, and the current debates on the successors to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), all show a desire to reconnect practice with theory. In particular, they all attempt to build on what we know about why violent conflict happens in order to construct better development interventions that address the underlying conflict drivers.

At the same time, contemporary debates on development and security are linked to recognition of the complexity of new security threats ranging from state collapse, criminal networks, migration, human trafficking and environmental threats, and the inadequacy of much international relations theory to adequately explain real threats rather than elegantly modelled superpower games. With the end of the Cold War this also coincided with a shift within academic studies of security as former 'Cold War Warriors' shifted their gaze to different parts of the world and began to notice other security threats. This then produced a spectrum of activity ranging from the traditional state-centric view to the human security view, with several nuances in between.

This spectrum has framed the tension within debates around development and security since these approaches have different ideas about the relative balance of security approaches. In particular, a more traditional state-based approach has concentrated on reconstructing 'failed' states and rebuilding formal state institutions. This has been the main focus of much state building literature and the state building approach remains a core pillar of much security and development policy. However, this does raise questions about exactly whose security is being secured and the conventional state building approach is open to accusations of over-emphasizing the national security of the state with the aim of security of the international order of states, rather than ensuring the security of

people on the ground. This has been reflected in much domestic rhetoric within donor states. In 2008, for example, the UK National Security Strategy stated that:

> In the past, most violent conflicts and significant threats to global security came from strong states. Currently, most of the major threats and risks emanate from failed or fragile states ... Failed and fragile states increase the risk of instability and conflict, and at the same time have a reduced capacity to deal with it, as we see in parts of Africa. They have the potential to destabilise the surrounding region. Many fragile states lack the capacity and, in some cases, the will adequately to address terrorism and organised crime, in some instances knowingly tolerating or directly sponsoring such activity. (Cabinet Office 2008: 14, section 3.21)

Similarly, the US National Security Strategy of 2006 argued that:

> The events of September 11, 2001, taught us that weak states, like Afghanistan, can pose as great a danger to our national interests as strong states. Poverty does not make poor people into terrorists and murderers. Yet poverty, weak institutions, and corruption can make weak states vulnerable to terrorist networks and drug cartels within their borders. (White House 2006)

Around 1 billion people, including some 340 million of the world's poorest people, are estimated to live in a group of between 30 and 50 'fragile' countries, most of which are in Africa. There is a current international consensus that, without better and more international engagement, these countries will continue to provide insecure environments for their populations. One core approach is therefore to construct states that can then be treated as members of the international community, can be held to account for their actions and can provide security for their populations. The key, however, may not be just in constructing institutions, particularly effective security institutions, in the absence of development activities, or political or governance developments.

This development of 'meaningful governance' links with the human security end of the spectrum where the emphasis is far more on security of the individual rather than the state. This also recognizes that dysfunctional states may be the chief source of insecurity for some citizens. Security institutions may be useful, but should a police officer concentrate on maintaining security of a state or regime, or should he/she offer day-to-day security to an individual on the ground?

Human security, as anything other than a negative comment on state-centric approaches, remains somewhat difficult to pin down as a concept, particularly in terms of the policy implications of taking a human security approach. In practice this has really meant emphasizing