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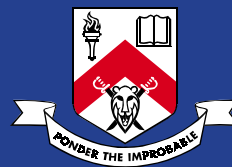
REPORT OF A CONFERENCE ORGANISED BY
THE INSTITUTE OF DEFENCE AND STRATEGIC STUDIES (IDSS)

2-3 MARCH 2006
MARINA MANDARIN HOTEL, SINGAPORE

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INTRODUCTION

Amitav Acharya, Deputy Director of the Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS) warmly welcomed the participants at the 3rd Regional Plenary Meeting of the Grantees of the Ford Foundation Project on "Non-Traditional Security in Asia". He commented that it was a privilege to be able to keep this "epistemic community" alive and flourishing and that IDSS was honored to have had the opportunity to host these meetings related to the advancement of the non-traditional security (NTS) agenda. Acharya observed that the Ford project had succeeded in developing a true community of scholars and analysts from universities and research institutions with an objective of bringing NTS issues into the mainstream security analysis and policy discourse. He noted that one of the key events of the Plenary Meeting was to launch the publication of *Studying Non-Traditional Security in Asia: Trends and Issues*.

Professor Amitav Acharya, Deputy Director of IDSS, delivering his welcoming remarks

Acharya expressed that the concepts, frameworks and approaches developed out of the Ford project would be useful in anticipating, analysing and providing response mechanisms to new and emerging NTS challenges. He articulated the need for the project to move beyond the stage of analysis and engage in concrete action. This process would undeniably require time and effort- a reason why such meetings must continue. He remarked that it would indeed be a challenge, albeit a necessary one, to address and bridge the distinction between NTS and traditional security- in essence, bringing NTS

under the rubric of security. Such reconciliation needs to be realised not just in the Asian region but also in the other centers of power.

Andrew Watson, Ford Foundation Representative in China, thanked IDSS and congratulated the contributors for the kind of work they have accomplished so far. Watson noted that the idea of NTS had become established in the region and had formed part of the official language in international meetings and government ministries. He stated that the Ford Foundation was particularly delighted to see the depth and range of regional collaborations and hoped that the publication of the book and convening of regular meetings had deepened the sense of a "community of interest".

Professor Andrew Watson, Representative for China of the Ford Foundation, making his opening remarks

Watson observed that the project had brought together many different kinds of work: theoretical, conceptual, and broad-level social issues encompassing pluralism, diversity, ethnicity and gender; specific cross-border issues such as terrorism, migration and the environment; as well as community-level issues comprising disputes over natural resources and fishing rights. The project therefore embodied a rich combination of interests and approaches sharing a common concern to resolving conflicts. Watson expressed his interest in the individual research institutes' presentations and deliberated about how the future would evolve with the contribution of this project.

Session I

Human Security in South Asia: Discourse, Practice and Policy Proposition

Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies, Bangladesh

Abdus Sabur began by concentrating on the discourse and practice of human security in South Asia, followed by policy recommendations. He explained that the objective of their research project was twofold: first, to provide an understanding of the concept of human security through a synthesis of indigenous scholarships and practices, academic discourse and policies; and second, to document and analyse prevailing and evolving concepts of human security. Sabur went on to give further details pertaining to their research design. To ensure the comprehensiveness of research outcome, it was decided that there would be ten papers in total- five (South Asian) country and five thematic. The country papers were commissioned to explore the socioeconomic and political profile of the country for contextualising human security, examine the human security discourse and practices, mainstream human security into the country's security discourse and make policy recommendations. The thematic papers encompassed five subthemes: constructing a human security index for South Asia; violence, terrorism and human security; ethnicity and human security; gender and human security; and marginalisation and human security.

Sabur noted that issues of governance and non-governance, concomitant issues of democracy or the lack of it, intra-state conflicts along horizontal and vertical divides and development or the lack of it, figured most prominently in both the country and thematic papers. He commented that although there remains no general consensus on the concept of human security, the essence of it may be broadly defined as human dignity, self-esteem and the capability to make decisions. The research project also intensely scrutinised the role of the state from the lens of two diverse perspectives. The first viewed human insecurity as state perpetrated and perpetuated, and the second argued that

human security could not be strengthened without strengthening the state. Sabur stated that the research conducted highlighted that traditional and non-traditional sources of insecurity coexist, especially in the post-9/11 period.

The Dynamics of Securitization in Asia

The Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies, Singapore

Ralf Emmers prefaced his presentation by stating that there was a real tendency on the part of governments and civil societies to treat national and transnational matters as linked. Emmers went on to explain that the team had tried to develop a conceptual framework that went beyond a simple investigation of NTS questions to understand the complex process of how and why such issues emerged and were being considered by both governments and non-state actors. The IDSS framework adopted and modified the Copenhagen theory of securitization which raised salient questions. These included: the role of the state in such processes and whether they were primary actors; the role of domestic politics in addressing NTS threats; and the interplay of different concepts of security- national security, comprehensive security, human security- and how they were linked to processes of (de)securitization. Despite the systematic investigation of NTS issues in Asia, he noted that questions remain on whether securitization led to the development of more effective policies or to the dangers of over-securitization.

Nicholas Thomas of the Centre of Asian Studies (CAS), Hong Kong, spoke on the research collaboration between IDSS, CAS and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. The research project examined the extent to which unregulated population migration flows within and outside of Asia were being securitized. Case studies also examined how different types of population flows were interrelated. Thomas remarked that the project not only identified the process of securitization, but also evaluated how effective such strategies were. He stated that one key outcome of the project was to highlight the ways in which similar issues surrounding policy

debates on illegal migration and human trafficking were dealt with in different ways regionally. He stressed that states were still captured by domestic interests even when faced with transnational policy concerns and articulated that legal solutions must be international in scope in order for them to be effective in addressing illegal cross-border migration. This research project will culminate in a book publication by RoutledgeCurzon.

Mely Anthony added that three important points resulted from the IDSS project on securitization. First, that despite limitations of the framework, it generated livelier debates among academics, policy-makers and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) on how and why certain issues are securitized. In spite of the diversity of opinions, the state remained a critical factor in the securitization process, defining which, when and how issues were securitized. Second, that despite governments' discomfort in using the term human security, many security issues raised were in fact human security. Third, that there were concerns, particularly among NGOs, that securitization could lead to unintended consequences such as an expanded role of the military or the marginalisation of alternative voices to resolve problems. Anthony noted that a common finding in the research conducted was that securitization was essentially a political act.

Understanding and Responding to "Terrorism" in South Asia

Regional Centre for Strategic Studies, Sri Lanka

Syed Rifaat Hussain provided an overview of the research project. The project was designed to analyse the nature of "terrorist-related" conflicts in South Asia and examine how they could be addressed adequately. The project also established a website on terrorist activities in the region. Hussain explained that the project was implemented in four parts and involved about 35 contributors from the region. The first part of the project dealt with the basic notion of terrorism in South Asia. The second looked at the responses of states in dealing with terrorism in South Asia. This included thematic conceptualisations as well as six case studies of

Professor Syed Rifaat Hussain presenting the Sri Lankan research project

terrorist violence in the region. The third part looked at the implications of insurgencies on women in South Asia. It focused on five countries in the region facing various forms of insurgencies (Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka). The final part involved the creation of a database on terrorism and violent conflicts.

Hussain remarked that the research outcome highlighted that terrorism was a process in which the state, for various shortcomings of its own, provided a breeding ground for a self-destructive cycle that was unmanageable. He further noted that terrorism was found to be more about misgovernance, the failure of states to redress grievances of its citizenry, intolerance by dominant groups, as well as the lack of vision and insecurity of political leaders, and their tendency to adopt short-term quick-fix solutions that only served to further exacerbate the situation.

Discussion

Zakaria Ahmad identified six issues raised from the presentations. The first was the question of whose interests were being served in the study of NTS. Ahmad remarked that it seemed to suggest that there was a group of scholars who had almost "invented" this NTS field. He stated that the studies were interesting as they questioned how governments responded to what they deemed to be NTS. Second was the issue of inclusivity versus exclusivity. Ahmad commented that the interpretation of issues

could be arbitrary in the eyes of the beholder and that normative and non-normative concerns also had to be differentiated. Third was the question of evidence and sources. Ahmad argued that there was a lack of strong empirical evidence to support the areas that NTS scholars wanted to focus on.

The fourth issue raised by Ahmad was the problem of lexicon and nomenclature; the need for a "referent" to be established, whether it was the state, non-state actors or intra-state groups. The fifth issue was on the question of context. Ahmad articulated that in traditional security, people dealt with post-Cold War contexts and security architectures. In NTS, however, that context has been blurred, with the area of focus left to the researchers themselves. This has resulted in a problem of comparability. Ahmad made a final point on the problem of attempting to apply a European model in a non-European context and highlighted that this required more investigation.

In response to the first issue raised by Ahmad, **Syed Rifaat Hussain** remarked that although states in South Asia were strong in institution building, human rights, and the rule of law, there remained significant political repression. The state thus potentially benefited from the process of securitization. He pointed out that non-state actors and other securitizing agents were inadequate to challenge the securitizing power of the state. **Abdus Sabur** added that the worst cases of human deprivation were seen in South Asia. These cases created grievances that ultimately became directed towards the state.

Ralf Emmers addressed the conceptual issues raised. He stated that a key point to note was that the notion of security and the object of reference were themselves constructed concepts. Emmers agreed that the question of whose interests were being served was problematic and pondered whether the scholars were themselves independent in the process of securitization. **Mely Anthony** unpacked the role of the state and pointed out that the NTS approach had two primary advantages. It teased out what and who the security referents were, and explored responses that might not have been traditional. NTS

approaches therefore opened up response options other than using the military.

Rizal Sukma highlighted that a key issue that needed to be addressed was the legitimate and illegitimate process of securitization. He remarked that the studies were useful as they addressed both the "when" and "why" people should pay attention to certain problems and try to mainstream them into the government agenda. Caution must be exercised, however, not to allow the government to use securitization to expand the role of the state.

Wang Yizhou noted that the Singapore project strongly featured a pan-region NTS perspective. He recounted that two years ago, there were two different constituents with two different focuses- the United States talked about NTS largely in terms of weapons of mass destruction and terrorism and Central Asia discussed NTS in reference to religion. Wang wondered if the Singapore team could give some insight into a pan-East Asia understanding of NTS. **Mely Anthony** responded that undocumented migration, infectious diseases, transnational crime, poverty and economic development were among the key NTS issues that emerged in East Asia. She stated that these issues were largely defined by the degree of urgency to which these challenges had to be responded to.

Session II

China Facing Non-Traditional Security: A Report on Capacity Building

Institute of World Economics and Politics, China Academy of Social Sciences, China

Yu Xiaofeng introduced the NTS textbook to be published in June 2006, entitled "An Introduction to Non-Traditional Security". The purpose of the textbook was to examine the fundamental theories

Professor Yu Xiaofeng introducing the Non-Traditional Security textbook

and trends of development of international security, as well as highlight the important achievements of NTS research. Yu expressed the view that the younger generation were "world citizens" with a responsibility to advance the notion of human security. Yu noted the transformation of the concept of security and identified religious fundamentalism, terrorism, separatism, natural disasters, crime, and public health as NTS issues under the rubric of global, human and social security.

Wang Yizhou expressed his hope that more people in China would pay more attention to NTS. He remarked that China was a huge country with many Marxist traditions and it had thus been difficult to promote the NTS project over the last three years. The project had hosted national conferences and produced several publications on regionalism, contemporary global issues and feminist perspectives of International Relations.

Wang stated that these were important platforms for the Chinese to gain knowledge on NTS issues and rethink the concept of security.

Development Gaps and Economic Security in ASEAN Economies

Institute of World Economics and Politics, Vietnam

Bui Quang Tuan set out the project's main objectives: to gain an insight of economic security concepts and study the situation of development gaps in ASEAN. He stated that the project analysed the impact of development gaps on economic security and explored approaches and measures to narrow such gaps. The underlying assumption of the project was that security had been extended to become multi-dimensional and multi-disciplinary. Human security was viewed as a fundamental aspect of NTS and was used as a central criterion in assessing development. Bui stressed that development became a NTS issue once it reached a "critical point of crisis", defined to occur when the security of each citizen and the stability of society were weakened. He remarked that the project had enriched the concepts of economic security, which could now be considered at different levels: human, national, regional and global.

Dr Bui Quang Tuan speaking on development gaps and economic security

The main conclusion drawn from the project was that there was a need for a new approach in dealing with economic security. As the development gap

had impacted on the economic security within countries in the ASEAN region, the narrowing of the development gap was deemed necessary. Bui identified two measures important to this process: greater efforts from less developed countries and cooperation and integration with the more developed ASEAN countries. He recommended accelerating economic reforms, paying more attention to reducing poverty, developing market and private sectors, ensuring that legal systems were consistent with international standards, improving transparency in accessing information and economic resources, creating social safety nets and developing human capital.

Bringing Politics Back In: Globalization, Pluralism, and Securitization in East Asia

Ilmin International Relations Institute, Korea University, Korea

Hyun In-Taek described the three main tasks of Phase I of their research project: theory-building; case studies; and policy implications and recommendations for further studies. He explained that they focused on the domestic political processes of securitization. A liberal approach was adopted to take into account diverse preferences, the values of domestic actors, and the coalitions between domestic and international actors. Hyun stated that the project's findings would culminate in a publication by USIP Press.

Lee Guen presented on the "who" and "why" in the process of securitization. He stated that the "who" question was aimed at identifying the powerful political coalitions that were engaged in securitization and examining the values that they cherished. In locating these powerful coalitions, the processes were traced to see how they were winning the political games. Lee explained that there were three "whys": events, politics and ideas. Event-driven securitization was demonstrated by the SARS crisis in China when the event pressured the Chinese government to prioritise SARS as an important national security issue. Politics-driven securitization was exemplified by the process of desecuritization of the two Koreas. Ideas-driven

securitization was alluded to the Japanese process of human securitization.

Kim Sung-Han added that the empowering role of non-state actors was salient. Although the role of the state was acknowledged to be important, he commented that the project found that securitization initiatives came primarily from non-state actors. Kim observed that regional organisations had to be strengthened to meet the challenges of globalisation and NTS threats. Concrete regional action plans that comprised task-distribution, timeframes and the allocation of financial resources had to be implemented. Kim noted that building regional cooperative mechanisms was complementary to addressing NTS issues. Kim outlined the relationship between securitization, desecuritization, resecuritization and delayed securitization. He explained that effective securitization was country and area dependent.

Discussion

Caroline Hernandez indicated that she was even more convinced of the importance of context in the securitization process, given the sub-regional nature of the presentations. She remarked that the Korean project, in raising the questions of "who" and "why", rightly addressed the issue of context. She observed that the China project on NTS focused on the role of the state and the regime but noted that the project could not depart too radically from the state.

Dr Carolina Hernandez delivering her comments

Hernandez commented that the problem related to securitizing NTS was linked to domestic governance. She stated that it would be increasingly difficult for non-state actors to engage and securitize NTS issues without greater political liberalism in the region. She pointed out that culture must not be used to justify inaction and resist the transfer of power from the state to its citizens. Hernandez further pointed out the shortage of regional cooperative mechanisms and the need for the state to recast the traditional notion of sovereignty.

Drawing on Hernandez's observation on the Chinese emphasis on the role of the state, **Peter deSouza** remarked that the Chinese discussion on textbooks had not looked at the aspects of representation and interpretation- essentially intensely contested spaces. **Wang Yizhou** explained that human security was available in contemporary China. He pointed out the importance of keeping in mind that China, as like many other Asian countries, was still in the stage of balancing human security with nation-building.

Brian Job raised two questions arising from the Korean presentation: whether the securitization process was defined by debate or policy outcome and the extent to which securitization represented the overall domestic process. **Lee Guen** mentioned that Hernandez had given a very constructive comment on the need for regional cooperation. He remarked that ASEAN had come close to establishing an institutional formula for a human rights enforcement agency, but that Northeast Asia did not have such a sub-regional equivalent. In response to Job's question, he stated that the driving force for securitization was the interaction between various actors, and thus that the process was defined more by debate than by policy outcome.

Nick Thomas remarked that the utilisation of the human security concept in the Vietnam project was interesting. He asked whether the term was used to redefine relationships within the country or whether the term was used in the manner defined by the United Nations Development Programme. **Bui Quang Tuan** acknowledged that there were many development gaps between and within the

ASEAN countries. He stressed that integration was a key solution to overcome economic crises and development gaps.

Session III

Securitization of Irregular Migration: The South Asian Case

Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit, Bangladesh

Tasneem Siddiqui explained that the project addressed several issues: why migration was being securitized; how it was being securitized; who the referent object was; the role of securitizing actors; whether migrants were really threats to security; how securitization impacted the human security of migrants; what the outcomes of securitizing migration were; and the impact of these outcomes on the economy and society. Research was empirical and at least one hundred migrants were interviewed, in addition to that of government functionaries, experts and civil society members. The theoretical framework was developed by using concepts from two disciplines: globalisation theories of migration and development; and the NTS school.

Dr Tasneem Siddiqui making her presentation on irregular migration

Siddiqui highlighted that the studies found that the securitization of migration was in tandem with the threat to human security of migrants: economic security in terms of wages and working conditions; food security; health security; personal physical

security; political security from authorities and local administration; social security from local rent seekers and thugs; and environment security in terms of the types of dwelling and sanitation facilities. Siddiqui stated that whilst migration did pose new challenges for policymakers, these challenges could not always be addressed through securitization. She noted that securitization often brought new threats to the human security of migrants, and that the challenges should be resolved in the political and administrative arenas. Siddiqui argued that migration should be desecuritized. She expressed the need for improved opportunities of safe migration, better governance of migration at the national, regional and international levels, and social and cultural adaptations to address the threat to the dominant identities of receiving societies.

Understanding Non-Traditional Security in East Asia: Managing New Challenges in a Changing State, Society and Region

Institute for Asia Pacific Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, China

Jia Duqiang prefaced his presentation by explaining that the overall project covered three independent sub-projects: pluralism and society; migration and security; and state and civil society. All three sub-projects have been completed, with three volumes published. Jia went on to describe the project on pluralism and society, with a particular focus on extremism and its implications on China. Jia highlighted five research findings. The first was the notion and formation of extremism. Jia remarked that it was difficult to establish a common definition of extremism and took the view that broadly defined, extremism referred to the actors that harmed societies and nation-states for political ends. Jia identified religious extremism, terrorism and national separatism as forms of extremism present in China.

The second finding related to the dangers of extremism. Jia stated that extremism had become a serious threat to national security and a source of social instability both in China and the region. The third was that the root causes of extremism were complex. Jia indicated that extremism could be traced to ideology, inter-religious and inter-ethnic differences, and modernisation and economic progress. The impact of extremism was the fourth finding. Jia stressed that extremism posed a real threat to China's stability, unification and foreign relations. He highlighted the close link between fighting extremist forces and maintaining territorial integrity. Jia concluded by stating that China needed to pay greater attention to NTS in order to deal with the challenges posed by extremism. He advocated economic modernisation as the best counter-measure against extremism and remarked that China must engage in long term strategies to fight extremism.

Discussion

Suchit Bunbongkarn referred to the Bangladesh presentation and agreed that the securitization of migration would cause problems for the state. He raised the question of how irregular or undocumented migration could be tackled, and the extent to which it could be solved, so as to improve human security. He noted the interrelations between human security, irregular migration and state security, and pondered about establishing a win-win situation across all the three. On Jia Duqiang's presentation on extremism, Bunbongkarn noted the strong emphasis on state security. He agreed that extremism was a national threat to China but asked the extent to which states could define their own security. He argued that states should not define their national security from the point of view of other states. Bunbongkarn also deliberated whether fundamentalism and extremism could be reconciled with a state's own citizenry.

Jia Duqiang agreed that state security should ideally be integrated with human security and NTS. In reality, however, it was difficult to achieve a general consensus on the concept of NTS in order to devise strategies of integration. He highlighted China's geographic size, population and diverse socio-economic circumstances within the country itself, and explained that China therefore had to place stability as its foremost security concern.

Book Launch Of Studying Non-Traditional Security In Asia: Trends And Issues

Andrew Watson expressed his honor at presenting a speech at the book launch. He remarked that the Ford Foundation was supporting committed people and helping them conduct good work. He congratulated the authors on the book, which he noted reflected a rich body of research on NTS undertaken since the 1990s. He observed that separate publications had been produced, but that *Studying Non-Traditional Security in Asia: Trends and Issues* brought all the individual

Dr Mely Anthony, Professor Amitav Acharya, Professor Andrew Watson and Dr Ralf Emmers

*Professor Amitav Acharya and Professor Andrew Watson at the book launch of **Studying Non-Traditional Security in Asia: Trends and Issues***

research projects under one single book. Watson congratulated Mely Anthony, Ralf Emmers and Amitav Acharya for compiling intermediary reports and coordinating the workshops and conferences. He articulated that the Ford Foundation was pleased to support the project on NTS, a field that emerged in the 1990s to address sets of challenges such as the Asian Financial Crisis, globalisation, the environment, AIDS and drug-related issues. Although at that time the security discourse in Asia was still grounded in conventional thinking, the theoretical concept of NTS has since initiated efforts to rethink security issues.

Watson summarised the results of Phase II of the Ford project. He reflected that the project provided a theoretical basis for thinking about security, broadened the analysis of security to

different levels- from state to localities, opened up a discourse on the different referents in responding to security and addressed a wide-range of issues beyond the traditional sphere of security. The Ford Foundation was delighted to support the strong research in the fields that advanced new ideas in NTS and contributed to an evolving world-view in thinking about security. Watson observed that the book was a truly collaborative project involving eleven teams and demonstrated how NTS conceptualised a framework to encourage a rethinking of issues. He further noted that the book highlighted the many levels at which NTS could operate on and underlined the potential for an Asian regional research agenda. This book would undeniably provoke a new debate in NTS issues and provide a solid basis to promote collaboration and outreach.

Professor Andrew Watson delivering his speech

Mohammad Humayun Kabir said it was unclear to him whether the Bangladesh project referred to the security of the irregular migrants or the phenomena of irregular migration. He highlighted that there was a difference. The former was a one-sided issue whilst the latter had two-sides: the security of migrants in the receiving country and the insecurity caused by the irregular migrants to the estate and people of the receiving country.

Peter deSouza raised two issues. He asked who securitized the migration issue in the receiving country. He commented that this issue was likely to become very sensitive, given that this century was going to be one of transnational migration. The second issue dealt with the ideological impact between migrants and their home countries. deSouza noted that in the Indian context, the rise of Hindu consciousness arose partly supported by this "long-distance nationalism".

Tasneem Siddiqui highlighted that the project concentrated only on voluntary and not forced migration- the latter having different connotations and human rights issues. She explained that the project focused on three stages of migration: migrants before leaving the home country; migrants in the country of destination; and migrants after securitization took place.

SESSION IV

HUMAN SECURITY IN SOUTH ASIA: A PEOPLE'S COMMONSENSE

Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, India

Peter deSouza prefaced his presentation by stating that their study adopted a slightly different strategy- in essence a non-traditional view of NTS- in order to make the discussions on human security people-centric rather than expert-centric. In this sense, the study aimed to recover "a people's commonsense" on NTS. deSouza explained that the study employed the methodologies of surveys and dialogues. The study addressed five sets of questions: how people in South Asia viewed their security and insecurity;

how they viewed them compared to the past; the sources of insecurity; who the most insecure groups were; and what these insecure groups were insecure about.

Research findings revealed that 6.34% of people in South Asia felt unsafe and that 27.9% felt less secure than before. deSouza stressed the importance of interpreting these figures in absolute terms, emphasising that these percentages translated to a significant amount of the population. He also commented on the contradictory perspectives of insecurity held by the people and the experts. Whilst the public discourse initiated by the experts focused on the insecurity of the state and community, it was the insecurity of the self that featured most prominently in the people's perceptions of insecurity. The study also examined the variables of place, gender, religion, ethnicity and region in establishing the insecure groups and their sources of insecurity. deSouza concluded by recommending institutional and political reform in order to address the issues raised by the study.

"FISH FIGHTS OVER FISH RIGHTS": NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY ISSUES IN FISHERIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

WorldFish Center, Malaysia

Nerissa Salayo remarked that the fisheries were a growing sector and a basic source of export earnings for most of the developing countries in Southeast Asia. She explained that the primary problems facing the sector were ineffective property rights and an "open sea" policy perception, a rising population and an increasing stress on aquatic resources. The objectives of the study were to develop a broad framework for addressing the approaches for reducing overcapacity in Southeast Asia, examine where fisheries conflicts may arise and provide plans to ameliorate these conflicts and enhance national and regional security. Salayo stated that their study focused on small-scale or traditional fisheries as they had been marginalised and lacked the influence in the decision-making process that the larger-scale ones had. The study comprised identifying the fisheries conflicts

and their origins in Cambodia, the Philippines and Thailand, and developing a framework for managing these conflicts whilst being mindful of the security concerns on livelihood, the fishing environment and fishing stocks. A typology that drew the links between the conflicts and security concerns was presented.

Dr Nerissa Salayo speaking on fisheries in Southeast Asia

Policy recommendations included: undertaking relevant research and development programs and relating them to advocacy; building non-fishery human capacity to reduce the excess fishing capacity; promoting and harmonising action plans through good governance; and politicising the security threat and advocating management interventions. **Len Garces** further suggested three areas in which action should be taken: the review of regulations and the anticipation of changes in government structures; the improvement of implementation strategies; and the consultative planning of "exit strategies" including that of information and communication. A policy brief would be finalised and published soon. Garces stated that the next phase of the study would focus on action research and field trials of their policy recommendations and developing mechanisms of regional cooperation in cross-border conflicts in "fishery hot spots" in Southeast Asia.

STRUCTURAL CHALLENGES, ENABLING SPACES: GENDER AND NON-TRADITIONAL FORMULATIONS OF SECURITY IN SOUTH ASIA

Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace, Foundation for Universal Responsibility, India

Sumona DasGupta spoke of the irony in classifying perennial issues relating to everyday life and livelihood into a box called NTS. She remarked that it is more apt to talk of NTS approaches rather than of NTS per se. The project brought forth the notion of gender as a category and a cross-cutting issue. It recognised gender as a potent weapon of social exclusion and deprivation and called for the inclusion of that half of the population whose voices have been marginalised in the narratives of national security. According to DasGupta, the project highlighted the need to emphasise how women and men were impacted differently, both in times of violent conflict and apparent peace. She stated that they had commissioned several field studies across South Asia on gender and various aspects of NTS. These studies comprised: gender and displacement; gender, insecurity and terrorism; gender, state and conflict; gender and peacemaking; and gender, security and land.

Empirical findings across all studies yielded several conclusions. DasGupta observed that the absence of war did not necessarily equate to a secure life for communities. She asserted that development projects themselves often caused debts, injuries, loss of property and involuntary displacement. In addition, the studies highlighted that the "gender neutrality" of traditional approaches to security needed sustained interrogation and that new understandings of security needed to be sensitive to the construction of gendered identities. Engendering security required a constant contestation of the notion of mainstreaming and a shift to a discourse that took cognisance of structural challenges and enabling spaces. DasGupta opined that the most important contribution of the project was a recognition that the whole notion of "threats" was a remnant of realism. Methodologies need to be altered so that the security establishment is able

to get in touch with the heat and dust of everyday insecurities.

Swarna Rajagopalan added that their project changed the referent for security analysis. By disallowing the state any form of speaking rights, the notion of security was solely defined by and located in the individual. An issue should be securitized as a security issue as long as it affected and impacted real people.

Discussion

Brian Job remarked that the studies were fascinating, diverse and informative. He further pointed out that all the studies were impeccable in their research design, use of data statistics and the adoption of different and challenging perspectives. In his comments, Job raised three aspects about the studies that deserved significant attention: human security; democracy; and the important distinction between NTS issues and NTS approaches. On the issue of human security, he noted the prioritising of the individual's perspective of security. Referring to deSouza's survey findings, Job acknowledged that studies of public opinion previously undertaken across other countries and other contexts supported deSouza's survey-drawn conclusions. He also stressed the importance of recognising the inversion effect of the priorities of individuals, expressed fundamentally as security of the self, and those articulated by the state.

Democracy was perceived as an area of debate and contestation, articulated more as a focus on the way in which views are represented in a political context. Job highlighted two problematic aspects of democracy: how perceptions of security could be manipulated by the processes of securitization happening in societies; and how democracy may be used in some majoritarian sense, so much so that it became more of a focus on the appropriate representation of different voices in the security dialogue. Job stated that the study on gender clearly highlighted the distinction between NTS issues and NTS approaches. He drew attention to the inclusion and exclusion of certain groups in important areas of security and securitization and wondered about the differences that existed between security definitions of the public and the private. Job encouraged the studies to further investigate the individual's perspective of personal security.

Job made a further three comments on the implications of the studies for the future. First, NTS as a term has broadened the security agenda and expanded advocacy. Second, the debate about securitization could lead to redefinitions and critical nuances of the Eurocentrically-defined Copenhagen School. The issues of securitization lie in the agenda-setting and politicisation processes and how individuals or communities achieve a voice in different domestic and regional contexts. With the achieve inversion between individual and state perspectives of security now exposed, the next step would be to address that discrepancy. Third, an individual perspective of human security must be sustained.

Suchit Bunbongkarn observed the interdependence of individual, community and state security and posed the question of how they could be linked in order to speak of security in a comprehensive sense. Bunbongkarn opined that greater academic investigation must be conducted. **Syed Rifaat Hussain** queried on the representation of the sample in deSouza's study. Speaking on the inversion on perceptions of security, he questioned the role of the communication elites in the agenda setting process. Hussain highlighted that deSouza's study demonstrated the disfunctionality of existing political systems in addressing the people's core security concerns and wondered whether democracy could actually bridge this gap.

Addressing the methodological question posed by Syed Rifaat Hussain, **Suhas Palshikar** clarified that the study's cross-section random sampling was indicative that the regions and social sections were fairly represented. Palshikar attributed the disjunction between public opinion and elite discourses on security to the ingenuity of the people despite elite influence and pressure. **Peter deSouza** stressed the importance of a creative dialogue

between the people and the state's position. He was of the opinion that such engagement would create a platform for human security to be viewed as a distinct axis upon which problems get formulated.

Zakaria Ahmad challenged the concept of NTS and expressed scepticism on how the study on fisheries contributed to an understanding of NTS. Ahmad categorised the fisheries-related problems under the rubric of agriculture policies and argued that conflicts should be handled by dispute settlement mechanisms. **Narissa Salayo** related her study to the inversion of security perceptions at the state and individual levels. She highlighted the flaws in state policies towards the fisheries sectors. Although there was a diffusion of actions taken at the national, provincial and township levels, there remained limited capacity to tackle relevant issues.

Meiwita Budiharsana stated that the studies have confirmed her hypotheses on human security and gender, and provided a conceptual framework from which to further develop these issues. **Swarna Rajagopalan** reiterated the urgent need to revisit security in a manner that reflects people's lived realities at every level. She emphasised the saliency of not viewing people as mere subjects.

Conclusion

Andrew Watson remarked that the conference had addressed a wide range of theoretical and practical issues on NTS. The conference had displayed the potential for a strong regional perspective on NTS by highlighting the distinct empirical evidence of the regional experience, addressed the contextual and normative issues in defining security, and endorsed the indispensable link between civil society and the state in providing security. Watson stated that the Ford Foundation would like to assist the grantee institutions to sustain the excellent research work and dialogue. He envisaged four aspects of the way forward: first, to sustain the growing sense of momentum and achievement in the NTS discipline and the process of networking

and collaboration across institutes; second, to consolidate the research and disseminate findings within and outside the region; third, to engage in outreach activities to move beyond the current group and include even those who do not agree with the concept of NTS but whose interactions would contribute to the debate; and fourth, to promote academic linkages and research exchanges.

Hyun In-Taek observed that the collaborative effort on NTS has been a very important initiative launched under the Ford Foundation. Hyun opined that the group's regional study on NTS has opened up an avenue in the predominately Eurocentric study of International Relations. He promoted the idea of Asia as a hub for NTS studies and expressed appreciation for the continuation of the Ford project.

Peter deSouza highlighted the Asian academic capital and conceptual contribution that the Ford project has achieved. He attributed the uniqueness of the network to the plurality of its concerns and methods. deSouza identified three key areas for the future: establishing linkages with other kinship groups such as democracy and development networks; bringing the NTS discourse into the public domain and engaging with public dissemination instruments; and translating the work done in English to regional languages so that the discourse does not remain intellectually-elite dominated. **Wang Yizhou** agreed with deSouza on the importance of cross-language communication exchanges. He encouraged further examining the harmonisation of different security agendas and referents.

On the issue of whether to define the discipline, **Sumona DasGupta** advocated accepting plurality and encouraging new metaphors of security whilst continually interrogating the fault-lines between what is traditional and what is non-traditional. DasGupta raised the notion of chains of insecurity: that an act of violence by the state or its detractors sends multiple shocks through the community. These chains of insecurity need to be theorised when looking at non-traditional formulations of security.

In promoting the utility of the continuation of the Ford project, **Rizal Sukma** stated that the NTS network provides a new avenue for bringing back to the agenda what has gone missing in most regional organisations- the notion of human security. Sukma pronounced that the transformation of the group into an institutionalised network would equip it to push the NTS agenda to a more official level and allow it to have a greater impact on policy makers.

Bui Quang Tuan indicated his strong support for the Ford project, stating that it has resulted in capacity building in the less developed countries in the region. **Abdus Sabur** touched on the need of perfecting the concept of human security and convincing policy makers to divert both attention and resources to human security issues.

Brian Job affirmed that the cumulative results of the Ford project and conference have taken NTS in its theoretical and substantive dimensions a lot further than it has been advanced in Europe and North America. He stated his strong belief in utilising the Internet as an outreach tool for the dissemination of information and adopting an open regionalism concept that promotes inclusivity in membership.

Building on the general consensus about moving forward, and with a strong belief that the eleven grantee institutions constituted a nascent epistemic community in Asia dealing with NTS issues, **Amitav Acharya** proposed on behalf of IDSS a framework for the creation of an Asian Non-Traditional Security Consortium. This Consortium would consolidate the NTS research agenda established in Phases I and II of the Ford Project, mainstream the field of NTS in Asia, and address the challenges and tasks that lie ahead. Acharya

Professor Amitav Acharya proposing the creation of an Asian Non-Traditional Security Consortium

identified four such challenges. First, to take stock of emerging issues such as natural disasters and pandemics, and incorporate them into the NTS agenda for close investigation; second, to bridge the East-West divide in NTS research and policy analysis through shared awareness; third, to move beyond the concept of the securitization dynamic to explore implementation strategies for protecting peoples and societies from danger; and lastly, to broaden the NTS field from one of the episteme acting as gatekeepers to one that also includes practitioners and policy makers.

Acharya outlined that the activities of the Consortium would include an annual conference, sub-regional workshops, dissemination seminars in the United States, a research fellowship programme, a newsletter and website, and curriculum development. The founding membership of the Consortium would comprise the eleven grantee institutions and the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Indonesia. Other institutions involved in NTS would be welcome to join. Acharya proposed that IDSS host the Consortium and serve as its Secretariat.

Rapporteurs: **Tan Kwoh Jack** and **Beverley Loke**

Programme
&
List of Chairs, Speakers and Participants

PROGRAMME

Wednesday, 1 March 2006

Arrivals

1900 hrs **Welcoming Dinner**
Venue: AquaMarine (Level 4)

Thursday, 2 March 2006

0900 hrs Registration

0930 hrs Opening Remarks

Welcome Address:
Professor Amitav Acharya, Deputy Director, IDSS
Professor Andrew Watson, Ford Foundation

1000 hrs **Session One**

Chair: Dr Carolina Hernandez, Institute for Strategic and Development Studies (ISDS), Philippines

Presenters:

Mr A.K.M. Abdus Sabur, Research Director
Mr Mohammad Humayun Kabir
*Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies
(Bangladesh)*

Assistant Professor Mely Anthony, Project Coordinator
Assistant Professor Ralf Emmers
*Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies
(Singapore)*

Professor Syed Rifaat Hussain, Executive Director
Mr Sugeeswara Senadhira
Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (Sri Lanka)

Lead Discussant: Professor Dato' Zakaria Ahmad, HELP University College, Malaysia

1100 hrs *Coffee/Tea Break*

1115 hrs Discussion

1215 hrs *Lunch* (Website Presentation)

1330 hrs **Session Two**

Chair: Mr Kwa Chong Guan, IDSS

Presenters:

Professor Wang Yizhou, Director
Professor Yu Xiao Feng
Institute of World Economics and Politics, China Academy of Social Sciences (China)

Dr Bui Quang Tuan, Director
Mr Nguyen Van Trien
Institute of World Economics and Politics (Vietnam)

Professor Hyun In-Taek, President
Dr Kim Sung-Han
Dr Lee Geun
Ilmin International Relations Institute, Korea University (Korea)

Lead Discussant: Dr Carolina Hernandez, ISDS, Philippines

| 1530 hrs | *Coffee/Tea Break* |

| 1545 hrs | **Session Three** |

Chair: Dr Ralf Emmers, IDSS

Dr Chowdhury R. Abrar, Professor
Dr Tasneem A. Siddiqui,
Refugee and Migratory Movements Research Unit (Bangladesh)

Dr Jia Duqiang, Senior Fellow
Dr Liu Hong, NUS
Institute for Asia Pacific Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (China)

Lead Discussant: Dr Suchit Bunbongkarn,
Institute of Security and International Studies (ISIS), Thailand

| 1900 hrs | **Reception and Dinner:** Book Launch of *Studying Non-Traditional Security in Asia: Trends and Issues (Marshall Cavendish)* *Venue: Vanda Ballroom (Level 5)* |

END OF PROGRAMME FOR DAY ONE

Friday, 3 March 2006

| 0900 hrs | **Session Four** |

Chair: Dr Mely Anthony, IDSS

Presenters:

Dr Peter R. Desouza, Professor
Professor Suhas Palshikar
Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (India)

Mr Len Garces, Research Fellow
Dr Nerissa Salayo
WorldFish Center (Malaysia)

Dr Sumona DasGupta, Senior Programme Officer
Dr Swarna Rajagopalan
Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace, Foundation for Universal Responsibility (India)

Lead Discussant: Professor Brian Job, University of British Columbia, UBC *(Visiting Professor, IDSS)*

| 1100 hrs | *Coffee/Tea Break* |

| 1130 hrs | Way-forward Session led by Professor Amitav Acharya, Deputy Director, IDSS and Professor Andrew Watson, Ford Foundation |

| 1230 hrs | Lunch |

END OF PLENARY MEETING

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About IDSS

The Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS) was established in July 1996 as an autonomous research institute within the Nanyang Technological University. Its objectives are to:

- Conduct research on security, strategic and international issues.
- Provide general and graduate education in strategic studies, international relations, defence management and defence technology.
- Promote joint and exchange programmes with similar regional and international institutions, and organise seminars/conferences on topics salient to the strategic and policy communities of the Asia-Pacific.

Constituents of IDSS include the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR), the Centre of Excellence for National Security (CENS) and the Asian Programme for Negotiation and Conflict Management (APNCM).

Research

Through its Working Paper Series, *IDSS Commentaries* and other publications, the Institute seeks to share its research findings with the strategic studies and defence policy communities. The Institute's researchers are also encouraged to publish their writings in refereed journals. The focus of research is on issues relating to the security and stability of the Asia-Pacific region and their implications for Singapore and other countries in the region. The Institute has also established the S. Rajaratnam Professorship in Strategic Studies (named after Singapore's first Foreign Minister), to bring distinguished scholars to participate in the work of the Institute. Previous holders of the Chair include Professors Stephen Walt (Harvard University), Jack Snyder (Columbia University), Wang Jisi (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences), Alastair Iain Johnston (Harvard University) and John Mearsheimer (University of Chicago). A Visiting Research Fellow Programme also enables overseas scholars to carry out related research in the Institute.

Teaching

The Institute provides educational opportunities at an advanced level to professionals from both the private and public sectors in Singapore as well as overseas through graduate programmes, namely, the Master of Science in Strategic Studies, the Master of Science in International Relations and the Master of Science in International Political Economy. These programmes are conducted full-time and part-time by an international faculty. The Institute also has a Doctoral programme for research in these fields of study. In addition to these graduate programmes, the Institute also teaches various modules in courses conducted by the SAFTI Military Institute, SAF Warrant Officers' School, Civil Defence Academy, and the Defence and Home Affairs Ministries. The Institute also runs a one-semester course on '*The International Relations of the Asia Pacific*' for undergraduates in NTU.

Networking

The Institute convenes workshops, seminars and colloquia on aspects of international relations and security development that are of contemporary and historical significance. Highlights of the Institute's activities include a regular Colloquium on Strategic Trends in the 21st Century, the annual Asia Pacific Programme for Senior Military Officers (APPSMO) and the biennial Asia Pacific Security Conference. IDSS staff participate in Track II security dialogues and scholarly conferences in the Asia-Pacific. IDSS has contacts and collaborations with many international think tanks and research institutes throughout Asia, Europe and the United States. The Institute has also participated in research projects funded by the Ford Foundation and the Sasakawa Peace Foundation. It also serves as the Secretariat for the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP), Singapore. Through these activities, the Institute aims to develop and nurture a network of researchers whose collaborative efforts will yield new insights into security issues of interest to Singapore and the region.