Anthony Burke and Rita Parker (eds.): Global Insecurity: Futures of Global Chaos and Governance

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Author: Michaela Zemanová, University of Economics, Prague, Czech Republic.
E-mail: qhalm02@vse.cz.

   The book *Global Insecurity: Futures of Global Chaos and Governance*, edited by Anthony Burke and Rita Parker, offers a complex introduction to current global trends that evoke questions about our security not only on the national or regional levels, but also on the global and planetary levels. It presents a wide collection of essays written by nineteen leading Australian scholars in security studies, international relations and politics, some of whom are also former government policy advisors or state officials.

   The book is divided into an introduction and three mains parts containing 19 chapters altogether. The first part is theoretical and discusses the concept of global security. The second part is about specific global agendas dealing with various global threats, such as climate change and ecological degradation, pollution, the economic crisis, gender violence, transnational terrorism, nuclear weapons or transnational crime. The final, third part opens questions about the future of national security, the role of states, and especially the reformation of global institutions.

   The main theme of the book is what Joseph Camilleri, the author of its second chapter, called "the globalization of insecurity". Although there are some positive global trends, the authors point out the most alarming examples of global threats in order to portray the necessity and unavoidability of changes in the current international regimes. Those changes must be well understood and accepted by world leaders and general society, and, most importantly, successfully implemented within society. The difficulty and complexity of this issue is what the book's subtitle (*Futures of Global Chaos and Governance*) relates to. The predicted global chaos is connected to the critical character of the book, as it criticises not only the negative side effects of the interconnected capitalist world economy, but also the insufficient global agendas and policies treating those effects according to outdated security approaches.

   Contrary to the traditional security approaches, and bearing in mind the planetary consequences of the insecurities, the authors of the book claim to look at the *"global governance problem through new lenses"* (p. 3). They all accept the importance of the broadening and deepening of the security agenda. Moreover, they are also willing to *"rethink the very foundation and architecture of international security"* (p. 3). This willingness is mainly obvious in the Part I of the book, titled "Conceptualizing Global Insecurity". This part is divided into four chapters, each referring to different theoretical concepts, such as the globalization of insecurity, the feminist political economy of violence, post-human security, and security cosmopolitanism. Anthony Burke explains their selection for the purpose of the book. He argues that these diverse theories converge on some core understandings, such as *"the systemic and processual nature of global insecurity, the need to address complex insecurities through profound structural and normative change, and the need for new kinds of analysis, ethics, and governance to address our common global challenges"* (p. 4).

   Chapter 2, "Insecurity and Governance in an Age of Transition", written by Joseph Camilleri, elaborates on the phenomenon of the globalisation of insecurity. The author portrays the current era of transition as moving away from the state-centric approaches of

security towards new concepts of policy-making and governance arrangements, where armed non-state entities have been emerging, and above all else, a new psychological climate has been created. *"Agency has come to be exercised by old entities (states) within shifting boundaries and in new ways (e.g. cyber warfare) as well as by new entities (subnational and transnational) in ways both old and new"* (p. 26). Such a dichotomy generates inadequate governance frameworks, which result in the governance deficit. The author offers an integrated policy response which modulates the state-centric security paradigm. It contains a whole-of-governance and a whole-of-society framework with a requirement of a new pedagogy.

Chapter 3, "Global Violence and Security from a Gendered Perspective", written by Jacqui True and Maria Tanyag, offers a feminist theory as another alternative framework for studying global security. Specifically, it describes gendered insecurities by using a feminist political economy analysis of the Women, Peace and Security agenda (WPS). The topic of the WPS is later elaborated on in a case-study in chapter 8. Although feminist theory is a well-established approach in many studied areas, the area of global security still would require a deeper study and broader acceptance of feminist researchers.

Chapter 4, "Post-human Security", written by Erika Cudworth and Stephen Hobden, outlines several different security approaches. It firstly describes the traditional and critical approaches, which are later problematised by ideas of post-humanist approaches. In general, post-humanist approaches emerged as *"a reaction against the view of human exceptionalism (or anthropocentrism)"* (p. 68). The chapter also provides a basic introduction to approaches such as the new vitalism influenced by Gilles Deleuze, the vital materialism of Jane Bennet, the hybridisation of Bruno Latour and his Actor Network Theory (ANT), political ecologism, the de-development perspective, eco-feminism, complex ecologism, and critical post-humanism.

Chapter 5, "Security Cosmopolitanism and Global Governance", written by Anthony Burke, represents the last theoretical chapter dedicated to the conceptualisation of global security through the lenses of security cosmopolitanism. The author raises a question about a problem that *"is the major focus of this book: how to effectively, justly, and fairly respond to systemic, globalized forms of insecurity with improved approaches to national policy and regional and global governance"* (p. 85). Burke sees an answer to this question in cosmopolitan ethics, which should counter the failings of a state-centric way. Moreover, he points out the main finding of the book, which is univocally proven in all its chapters, namely the lacking effective systemic responses to the analysed issue areas. Burke also offers multiple reasons for such ineffective responses, such as *"power politics, poor institutional design, and inadequate analytical and ethical paradigms in policy-making and global governance"* (p. 93).

Demonstrations of specific areas with lacking systemic responses are provided in Part II, titled "Global Agendas". This part consists of twelve chapters, each analysing the efficiency of existing global governance regimes in regard to specific security areas and how these regimes incorporate the globalisation of insecurity into their agendas.

Chapter 6, "Global Ecology, Social Nature, and Governance", written by Simon Dalby, and Chapter 7, "Framing Global Climate Security", written by Mary E. Pettenger, deal with environmental agendas. Chapter 6 examines the development of the global climate agenda since the Cold War, which is connected to the age of the Anthropocene. This age encompasses what Victor Calaz called the Anthropocene gap. It is the gap *"between existing technology and political arrangements on the one hand and on the other, the rapidly changing social nature in which we now make our lives"* (p. 105). Furthermore, the chapter puts emphasis on the initiatives of geopolitical ecology and ecopolitics as a prerequisite for effective international political actions. However, it also points out that they may not be enough to fill the gap and adds a new localism as an example of a grassroots initiative. Chapter 7 focusses on framing climate change as a security threat,

specifically on the pragmatic, intersecting and apocalyptical frames and how these frames advance or restrain *"positive global responses to mitigate and adapt to climate change"* (p. 134).

Chapter 8, "The Women, Peace, and Security Agenda at the United Nations", written by Laura J. Shepherd, examines the WPS agenda, outlines its main obstacles and proposes how they may be resolved. In general, the author cautiously but optimistically evaluates the current state of the WPS agenda. The remaining challenge for the established pillars of the WPS agenda is to create a balance in the ensured protection provisions of the agenda for boys and men without disadvantaging girls and women, or a balance in depicting the many roles that women can represent in a conflict, from an agent of change to a victim or a perpetrator of violence.

Chapter 9, "Children, Conflict, and Global Governance", written by Katrina Lee-Koo, is concerned about the United Nations' abilities to develop successful global governance architectures for protection and better living conditions for women and children all around the world. It explicates how children's capacity to be politically active may have a helpful or destructive impact on the development of their communities. It argues that children are *"a custodian of peace"* (p. 172), who can be *"a strong, peace-building constituency"* (p. 171) and lay down *"the foundations of a sustainable peace"* (p. 172). All this is possible only if we start to look at children as vital participants of their societies and provide them with the right incentives in order to ensure their rights are globally respected and understood accordingly.

Chapter 10, "Global Weapons Proliferation, Disarmament, and Arms Control", written by Marianne Hanson, Chapter 11, "Challenges Facing the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty", written by Tanya Ogilvie-White, and Chapter 12, "Restraint and Governance in Cyberspace", written by Greg Austin, are all connected with the traditional security approaches focussing mainly on national security and high politics. However, the real and possible impact of certain weapons and the development of the human rights agenda have been reorienting the notion of security towards human security with humanitarian obligations. These three chapters examine the new psychological climate, defined by Joseph Camilleri in Chapter 2, which was derived from the dichotomy of old and new.

Chapter 13, "Pandemics and Dual-Use Research", written by Rita Parker, and Chapter 14, "Advocating Global Health Security", written by Sara E. Davies, deal with biological and health security issues, such as dual-use research and questions of ethics, pandemics or biological weapons, and propose steps toward reducing these types of insecurity. Moreover, Chapter 14 is based on a discourse analysis of two international health initiatives, the Tobacco Free Initiative (TFI) and the Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunisation (GAVI), and portrays how securitisations of health issues are operationalised and framed.

Chapter 15, "The International Governance of Forced Migration", written by Savitri Taylor, Chapter 16, "Three Generations of International Human Rights Governance", written by Morten B. Pedersen, and Chapter 17, "The UN Security Council and the Problem of Mass Atrocities", written by Alex J. Bellamy, provide a critical insight into existing but underdeveloped or ineffectual international regimes dealing with the protection of not only people in need, but also all people as rights holders.

Part III, titled "Reforming Global Institutions", represents the concluding part of the book, which, as its title hints, calls for a reformation of the current unsuitable international institutions and regimes. The critique of the current status of the global and national security is elaborated in the last two chapters. Chapter 18, "The Future of National Security and the Role of States", written by Allan Behm, and Chapter 19, "The United Nations and Global Security", written by Rita Parker and Anthony Burke, summarise the new security problems fostered by globalisation, which generate *"an entirely new security landscape for which most nation states are ill prepared"* (p. 327). Furthermore, Chapter 18 analyses

this new phenomenon and offers several reasons for the state's deficit, which are based on the arguments stated by Burke in Chapter 5. The chapter also criticises the international organisations as unable to fulfill current needs of global society because they are, like states, still locked in the post-WWII era. Then, Chapter 19 analyses the United Nations as an example of such an organisation, and what challenges this global institution faces. Specifically, it calls for a reformation of the Security Council in terms of membership and representation because of the globalisation of new security issues. It claims that the Council *"suffers from a quadruple legitimacy deficit: performance, representational, procedural and accountability"* (p. 364).

The collective of authors successfully fulfilled the main aim of the book, which is to introduce the reader to the most alarming global security threats of this century and how those threats reconceptualise the traditional understanding of security. The book does not aim to create a new theoretical approach but it rather offers a number of already existing theories which accept the planetary importance of securitisation, and which the authors consider to be necessary for understanding it. Although all the provided approaches share similar fundamental premises and can be framed as critical constructivist from the international relations perspective, the book does not provide any deeper synthesis of them. Furthermore, the book critically evaluates various existing global agendas dealing with current global threats as negative consequences of globalisation. However, the last part only briefly outlines some solutions to insufficient global agendas. Nevertheless, it proposes a discussion for reformation of global institutions and calls for a further debate on and further studies of global security.

The complexity of the book with its numerous theoretical approaches and case studies means that the book does offer an introductory knowledge to the studied phenomenon. For a deeper study of it, a reader has to look for other works by the authors, but lists of such works are provided at the end of each chapter. Therefore, I recommend the book to university students or starting PhD students, as well as members of the general public interested in the topic.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Michaela Zemanová is a graduate of the Faculty of International Relations of the University of Economics in Prague and currently a student of doctoral studies in the field of International Political Relations at the Jan Masaryk Centre for International Studies. Her research is focussed on globalisation, identity and culture in international relations.