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# Fusing of Security and the Environment: New Euro-Platitude or Latitude?

*An Analysis of the Social Construction of 'Environmental Security' in the European  
Union Policy Making*

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*Cogito, ergo sum* or *I think, therefore I am* once was aptly states by the philosopher René Descartes. I am deeply grateful to the all who throughout the years have contributed to the making a scientific cognition to be the joy of life for me. In this particular instance I would like to thank all my professors at MEA programme, and predominantly the supervisor Malena R. Sundström for the guidance and inspiration. Due to her help the last months of work with this thesis have been an extraordinary time. Also, I would like to express my gratitude for the fascinating experiences and support of my Family from back home and the 'Residence' and its friends here in Lund.

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# Abstract

This thesis critically examines the social construction of ‘environmental security’ in the EU policy making. The main purpose of the thesis is to answer the central question of how the process of fusing security and environmental concerns in the EU’s policy-making can be explained; and what are the effects of it. In an attempt to provide some insights into the range and functions of this phenomenon, the study draws on the theoretical basis of social constructivism as well as on the distinct methodology of critical discourse analysis. Two main types of discourse on the ‘environmental security’ are examined, namely academic discourse in the field of security studies as well as the EU official discourse. The study does not simply refer to the interpretative analysis of discourse but rather it aspires to provide critical explanation of all the effects that have been produced and influenced by the way in which the environmental and security problematique is conceived in the Union. The main argument of the thesis is that the EU pursues security and sustainable development and/or environmental protection as coherent and mutually reinforcing strategic policy objectives. Yet, even though this discursive policy process has produced some results in according concrete substance to the environment-security linkage. It remains much to be done to implement the two-way promise of ‘environmental security’ in terms of policy outputs.

*Key words:* Policy interplay, EU environmental policy, EU common foreign and security policy, social constructivism, critical discourse analysis method.

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# List of Abbreviations

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
EEC	European Economic Community
EU	European Union
ESS	European Security Strategy
GMES	Global Monitoring of Environment and Security
RIESS	Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy
RSD	Renewed Strategy for Sustainable Development
SDS	Sustainable Development Strategy
SEA	Single European Act
UN	United Nations
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction

*Environmental security is one of those poisonous concepts which cloud the mind.*  
W. Sachs, 2001

## 1. Introduction

Environmental policy of the European Union (EU) presents an interesting puzzle from the scholarly insight. "At its founding in 1957, the EU had no environmental policy, no environmental bureaucracy and no environmental laws. Today, the EU has some of the most progressive environmental policies of any state in the world, despite the fact that it does not possess many of the formal attributes of a sovereign state, such as an effective commonly organized army or a formal constitution" (A. Jordan, 2005, p. 1). In addition to that, one of the most striking developments of EU's activity in the environmental domain has been the heave of the environmental objectives to the very heights of the EU's 'high politics'. As a result of the general trends in the evolution of global politics, notably, since the end of the Cold War, environmental concerns have become an integral part of discussions on security in Europe. As S. Dalby aptly puts it "Whether under the rubric of environmental security, as a part of the broader human security agenda, or one among a number of new global dangers, environmental themes are now part of the calculus of international politics and part of the scholarly debates in international relations" (S. Dalby, 2002, p. xix).

While the international as well as European security agenda has changed through the past few decades, and as a reaction to that a new wave of scholarly research has been triggered, "exactly how this new found concern with environment should be related to security is still much less than agreed upon" (S. Dalby, 2002, p. xx). While some scholars following a conventional line of reasoning in security studies identify environmental issues as a political security threat; others, however, by following a critical line of reasoning argue that the attempt to conjoin the environment and security is a "political act and the discourses that construct dangers and endangered subjects are far from natural or neutral reflections of an independent reality" (quoted in S. Dalby, 2002, p. xxi). Interestingly enough, even though environment and security has been increasingly coalesced in the official EU legislation, an analysis of either implications of this, or true measures and specific actions to achieve this, has been rather scarce.

## 1.1. Presentation of the Problem and Purpose of the Research

In view of this ambivalent context, this thesis sets to analyse the **research subject** of the *fusion* of security and environmental protection in the EU's environmental and security policy-making (the **research object**). Both **empirical** and **theoretical impulses** have dictated the research problem. On the practical side, certain political developments in the EU – such as a) ever stronger EU's promotion of the well-known litany of the environmental woes as well as permeating environmental values in some of the most stubborn EU member states; b) globalization of environmentalism as a discourse and practice, emerging patterns of global environmental governance and stronger EU's actorness in the global arena with the focus on EU's normative or civilian power and on soft vs. hard security; c) an increasing global effort to reduce human-induced climate change and the EU's aspired leadership which accelerates the trend towards 'Europeanization' of the energy, environment and climate change domain, and resultant 'greening' of EU's international relations; d) as well as current financial/ economic crisis as the latest excuse for inaction or, maybe, as a foreseeable push of the unsuccessful dominant liberal paradigm slightly towards a more social democratic view with the stronger commitment to protect environment – raise the profile of the environment as a salient political issue and render the analysis of fusion of security and environmental protection more than necessary.

Whereas on the theoretical side, while EU's security and development nexus has been acknowledged and consistently researched earlier on (e.g. see R. Youngs, 2007), the link between security and environmental concerns, though established in EU official discourse, as mentioned above, has been under-researched. As the review of relevant literature shows, lately there have been some attempts to fill this theoretical vacuum. For instance, a three-year research programme has been launched by the research centre 'Institut Français des Relations Internationales' to study processes and consequences of securitization of environmental and health issues, yet special scholarly focus on the distinct EU's problematique is missing. This thesis represents an effort to contribute to the breaking of this theoretical deadlock.

Thus, the **main purpose** of the thesis is to answer the **central question** of *how the process of fusing security and environmental concerns in the EU's policy-making can be explained; and what are the effects of this process*. In this way the emergence of 'environmental security' as a novel mode of conceptualizing environmental problems in the EU becomes an important topic of research and, thereby, poses a long list of compelling questions:

- Q1) what does the rhetoric of environmental security mean in EU's policy practice?
- Q2) have environmental commitments increased and been deployed as a part of EU's security strategy; and, in the reverse direction, has environmental policy backed up EU's security aims?



Q3) what broader results tailoring and redefinition of environmental concerns in security terms has produced?

Accordingly, the EU's official discourse on 'environmental security' as well as both the environmentally-mediated security perception and security-informed environmentalism of the Union have been analysed in the study.

## 1.2. Theoretical - Methodological Considerations and Research Material

Cognitive phenomena like the one under scrutiny belong to the home-ground of social constructivism – a 'middle way' area of investigation, to speak in Adler's terms, between positivist or rationalist approaches (whether realist or liberal) and post-positivist or interpretive approaches (mainly poststructuralist and critical) (E. Adler, 1997, p. 319). Thus, the **theoretical basis** of the thesis is social constructivist. Social constructivism in this study is defined as the "view that the manner in which the material world shapes and is shaped by the human action and interaction depends on normative and epistemic interpretation of the material world" (E. Adler, 1997, p. 322).

In meta-theoretical terms the social constructivist contention implies a) subjective or post-positivist ontology; b) objective or positivist epistemology; and c) discourse analytical methodology. In the words of I. Manners, "[...] Social Constructivist approach to the study of politics [...] is built on the assumptions of a subjective ontology ('the world is socially constructed') and objective epistemology ('which can be measured and analysed')" (I. Manners, 2002, p. 13). In brief, it means that even though the reality is a product of interpretative social practices, it still can be meaningfully researched through scientific means. With regard to the research object this denotes that developments in the EU environmental and security politics depend critically on the social construction of environmental problems and security threats and, therefore, the notion of 'environmental security' and policy implications that flow from it must be contested and explored. These **meta-theoretical assumptions** of social constructivism have had profound methodological implications for the study: not only they constrict the possibilities for the selection of analysis method but also allow disregarding conventional (positivist) research strategy with hypothesis formulation and testing.

In this study an analysis of the research problem has been conducted by the critical discourse analysis (CDA) **method**, developed by emeritus professor of socio-linguistics Norman Fairclough. Critical discourse analysis is a substantive form of text analysis as a part of an array of qualitative methods available for social science research. Methodological framework of the thesis, as a *selective* application of this

discourse analytical perspective, will be discussed in the following chapter of this work.

In order to ensure **methodological quality criteria** of the study, it was aspired to increase procedural reliability as well as validity of the research in a number of ways (see U. Flick, 2005, p. 369, 371). Firstly, as to increase the depth of the analysis the study has been based on an examination of extensive **data**, or in the words of U. Flick, 'data triangulation' has been applied (Ibid, p. 389). This includes an analysis of three types of data sources: a) EU's principal official documents and legislation in the field; b) relevant practical developments related to the EU environmental and security policy; as well as c) secondary scientific sources gathered from the classical and newest works of recognized scholars in their respective fields. Secondly, as to increase scope and consistency in methodological proceedings the study encompasses full **period** since the inception of the both EU environmental and security policies till the present. Thirdly, an attempt has been made to check trustworthiness of reported observations and interpretations by testing them against other possible interpretations and others texts. Fourthly, in order to allow for making an appropriate evaluation of the analysis and its results, ontological as well as epistemological **position of the research(er)** has been explicated above. Finally, as to enhance the reliability of the whole process, the research procedures are documented throughout the work and methodological analysis strategy will be described in detail in the subsequent chapter. All in all, numerous controls have been installed in the research with the **self-reflective understanding** that this study *per se* is one of the contributions to the environmental security discourse.

As the review of relevant literature shows, the **novelty** of this work lies in its attempt to cast new light on the on-going reformulation processes within the EU by focusing on the interplay between distinct, though cross-cutting aspects of EU integration. Central to this project is to grasp how particular conceptions or discourses, i.e. environmental security in this case, come to have prominence and resonance in the EU. Furthermore, in order to understand the social construct of environmental security one has to open up for insights and ideas from an array of overlapping disciplines and approaches, including philosophy of social sciences, international relations, security studies, public policy analysis, environmental studies, European integration studies, global governance as well as (environmental) political economy. In other words, this work not only enhances our knowledge on cross-polarisation of the EU policies and contributes to general debates in political science due to its interdisciplinary nature, but also involves questioning the very way issues are framed in the Union.

### 1.3. Disposition

In order to answer the central question of the research and attain its main goal, the structure of the thesis has been subdivided in two parts. First of all, the **theoretical segment** of the thesis introduces with the methodological research strategy of CDA and its advantages for the study. Whereas in the second **analytical segment**, on the grounds of theoretical and methodological premises, empirical research of fusing security and environmental protection in the EU's policy-making is presented. Firstly, the main lines of academic discourse, which have contributed to the perception of environmental issues in security terms, are analysed. For the purposes of the study, an analysis of general academic discourse additionally serves as a research summary showing previous scholarly engagement with the 'environmental security'. Secondly, by analysing representative selection of EU official legislation the study sets on to examine the EU's official discourse on environmental security and explain the *status quo*. Thirdly, in order to assess implications and effects it looks at the social practices of this authoritative narrative. By connecting findings of the both sections, lastly, general theoretical as well as empirical conclusions are drawn and further research prospects are outlined.

## 2. Methodological Strategy: Critical Discourse Analysis Technique

This segment of the thesis provides with the methodological analysis strategy as well as definitions of theoretical instruments which have been invoked in the research. Firstly, the critical discourse analysis framework is presented; secondly, the selection of this method is motivated by explaining its advantages for the study.

To date, as M. A. Haajer aptly puts it, “It has become almost a platitude to characterize public problems as socially constructed”; while, “discourse analysis has come to mean many different things in as many different places” (M. A. Haajer, 1995, p. 42-43). Different theoretical perspectives and analytical approaches to linguistic discourse analysis (such as Birmingham School, conversation analysis, French discourse analysis and critical linguistics) tend to either emphasize or downplay various aspects of this technique. To avoid this confusion, the methodological framework of critical discourse analysis, developed by N. Fairclough, is consistently applied in the study. According to N. Fairclough, discourse is a “use of language seen as a form of social practice” and discourse analysis is an “analysis of how texts work within socio-cultural practice” (N. Fairclough, 1995, p. 7). The author conceptualizes critical discourse analysis method as a “**three-dimensional framework** where the aim is to map three separate forms of analysis onto one another: analysis of texts, analysis of discourse practice and analysis of discursive events as instances off socio-cultural practice” (Ibid, p. 2; emphasis added).

In more practical terms this method implies a **three-stage analysis process** of **three distinct dimensions** of discourse. According to the author, it includes: a) linguistic *description* of the text; b) *interpretation* of the relationship between (productive and interpretative) discursive processes and the text; and c) *explanation* of the relationship between the discursive processes and the social practice (Ibid, p. 97; for the diagrammatic representation of the CDA approach see Table 1 in the Appendix). For the purposes of this study, the first ‘descriptive’ dimension of discourse analysis, which is concerned with the descriptive linguistic analysis of either spoken or written language texts, will not be given much consideration. Whereas, the second ‘interpretative’ dimension, which involves attention to processes of text production and consumption, as well as the third ‘explanatory’ dimension, which means an analysis of discursive events, will constitute the substance of the methodological strategy employed in the study. In a sense, this signifies selective application of the CDA and an omission of irrelevant sophistications of the model.

Selective application of the CDA method is also related to the special emphasis put on the **critical aspect** of this technique. The author distinguishes between *descriptive* discourse analysis those goals are “either non-explanatory, or explanatory within ‘local’ limits, in contrast to the ‘global’ explanatory goals of *critical* discourse analysis” (Ibid, p.43). According to N. Fairclough, “Where goals are non-explanatory the objective is to describe without explaining and looking for causes. Where goals are explanatory but ‘local’, causes are looked for in the immediate situation (e. g. motivations of the actors producing discourse) but not beyond it; that is, not at the higher levels of the social institution and the social formation, which would figure in the critical explanation” (Ibid, p.43). For *critical* discourse analysis, according to the author; “the question of how discourse cumulatively contributes to the production of macro structures is at the heart of the explanatory endeavour” (Ibid, p.43). In other words, one of the most valuable features of this three-dimensional framework is that “it encapsulates an important principle, namely that the analysis of texts should not be artificially isolated from analysis of institutional and discursive practices within which texts are embedded” (Ibid, p.9). Consequently, the present study, which aims at *explaining* the fusion of security and environmental goals in the EU, is particularly concerned with the *effects* of the discursive practices which ‘go beyond the immediate situation.’ Thus, the analysis has not been limited to specific discursive practices of EU official legislative texts, but rather attempted to systematically relate them to the structures of the EU’s socio-political context.

A significance of the ‘critical’ approach as well as an appeal of the application of discourse analysis technique to the field of environmental politics has been increasingly recognized in the scholarly debates. For instance, in his recent article on the ‘Importance of Critical Environmental Studies’ P. Wapner, by emphasizing “opportune moment to cultivate more incisive critical environmental thought” ostentatiously argues that “If there ever were a need for critical environmental studies, it is now – when a thaw in political stubbornness is seemingly upon us and the stakes of avoiding dramatic action are so grave” (P. Wapner, 2008, p. 9-10). Avoiding all the rant, three main **advantages of the critical discourse analysis** method for this study can be discerned. According to the P.H. Feindt and A. Oels, who have analysed if ‘discourse matters’ in environmental policy making, these are the following:

Firstly, discourse analytical perspective contributes to the understanding where “environment is no longer regarded as lying ‘outside’ society but as discursively co-produced. Environmental problems are not taken as objectively ‘given’ but their representation is recognized as an effect of linguistic regularities, which implies that their constitution reflects strategies of power and knowledge” (P.H. Feindt and A. Oels, 2005, p. 168). In other words, the first strength of CDA for this study is its capacity to reveal ‘the role of language’ in EU’s policy making (M. Hajer and W. Versteeg, 2005, p. 176). Secondly, according to P.H. Feindt and A. Oels, “discourse analysis offers a reflexive understanding of ‘the political’ and

transforms the practice of policy analysis. Discourse analysis allows one to study the power effects produced by and built into environmental discourse” (P.H. Feindt and A. Oels, 2005, p. 169). Thus, the second strength of CDA is its ability to demonstrate how particular EU (environmental or security) discourses constrain or produce available policy options, i.e. it reveals the ‘embeddedness of language in practice’ (M. Hajer and W. Versteeg, 2005, p. 176). Finally, “discourse analysis provides insights into the processes of subject and object formation. It shows that, like all discourses, environmental discourse constitutes identities, expectations and responsibilities that play their part” (P.H. Feindt and A. Oels, 2005, p. 169). Thus, the third strength lies in its ability to ‘illuminate mechanisms and answer *how*-questions’ (M. Hajer and W. Versteeg, 2005, p. 176). In the present case what CDA can do is to trace how concept of ‘environmental security’ has emerged, how its meaning has subsequently evolved and how and with what effects it was rendered governable.

In sum, CDA is indispensable for the research in which framing of information is crucial, as it is often with the environmental and security policies. Interpretation of environmental problems as security issues is to a significant degree a discursive process. It is constituted through the colonization of security domain by discursive practices of EU policy making, such as the use of vocabulary of danger. CDA has a major opportunity here to establish its credentials as a method to be used in the research of these processes. With the necessary preliminaries over, it is to a mapping of these discursive practices and their consequences that the thesis now turns.

### 3. An Analysis of the ‘Environmental Security’ Discourse

The previous section has introduced with the basic theoretical-methodological assumptions of critical discourse analysis technique. This conceptual framework will further guide the study of the social construct of environmental security. The aim of this empirical part of the thesis is to assess of *how discursive practices of fusing security and environment take place in the EU’s policy making and with what effects*. In pursuance of this objective, first of all, general academic discourse on environmental security is examined as to demonstrate how the main schools of thought have contributed to the linkage of environmental issues and security. Secondly, EU’s official discourse is scrutinized with a further attempt to show the results of this process, the latter being analysed in the third chapter of this empirical section.

#### 3.1. The Academic Discourse: A New Green Dimension of Security

Over the last decades a considerable amount of research has been put into studying various aspects of ‘environmental security.’ In this thesis rather than exploring the whole uncharted terrain of thought, an **academic discourse in the field of security studies** has been analyzed since it has most of all promoted the redefinition of security in the light of global ‘environmental threats.’ Accordingly, for establishing the relationship between (productive and interpretative) discursive processes and the scholarly texts, discourse analytical framework, namely, its second interpretative dimension is employed. In this chapter prominent works in security studies are explored, which here are treated as a primary source of data, and, in addition to that, findings are backed up by analysis of secondary scientific sources. Needless to say, there are a number of closely complementary perspectives and academic debates that the research might have drawn on, such as environmental political economy, environmental philosophy, literature on global environmental governance and environmental regimes or different streams of writing on environmentalist theory *per se*. Although, these contributions are very important, they are not directly related to the conflation of security and the environment, and in the interests of clarity, brevity and focus, a detailed engagement with this literature has been avoided.

As it was aptly noted by L. Brock, “A particular difficulty with environmental security is the absence of agreement on the problem that it is intended to address. In some respects environmental security is the answer to a question that was never asked” (quoted in J. Barnett, 2001, p. 12). Thus, it is particularly important to investigate a moving target of the meaning of ‘environmental security.’ As analysis of the data has shown, in general, the evolution of academic discourse on ‘environmental security’ can be analytically divided into **three overlapping phases**: a) the first phase of strategic security studies starting in 1980s with the incorporation of environmental resources as a ‘strategic’ national or international security concern; b) the second phase of traditional security studies starting in early 1990s with the recognition of environmental issues as a separate security sector as well as with the promotion of human or ecological security perception; and c) the third phase of critical security studies starting in late 1990s with the nascent understanding of environmental security as a specific form of socially constructed practice. (For the summary of the development of ideas on ‘environmental security’ see Table 2 in the Appendix).<sup>1</sup>

In the **first phase of strategic security studies**, which mainly builds on the realist tradition in international relations, the initial attempts to locate environmental issues on the security agenda, by scholars such as L. Brown (1977) and R. Ullman (1983), were driven by an understanding of the ‘environmental degradation’ (scarcity of natural resources, deterioration of biophysical systems, accumulation of wastes) as a political ‘threat’ to (inter)national security. Since then new apocalyptic narratives have emerged that have depicted environmental degradation as an inducement to or multiplier of violent conflicts (e.g. N. Meyers, 1986). Environmental resources were conceptualized as both necessary to human life and limited in access. This, subsequently, gave those recourses ‘strategic’ dimension crucial to security interests. Scholarly thought have focused on preventing ‘resource wars’ (e.g. for water) and on promoting environmental measures to strengthen (inter)national security (e.g. A. Westing, 1986). In sum, the initial collision of security and environment in the discourse of strategic security studies resulted in the military – environment linkages, i.e. militarization of environmental policy issues, as well as in the engagement with the ‘environmental degradation’ as a central theme in the redefinition of security.

Towards the end of the Cold War the discourse has changed, giving rise to the recognition that there was insecurity beyond military sphere. Thus, the **second phase of traditional security studies** was marked by the incorporation of the environment as a distinct security sector rather than interpretation of the environment as a strategic resource crucial only for the accumulation of political or military power (e.g. early works of B. Buzan, 1991). Similarly to the previous ‘strategic’ phase, ‘traditional’ line of reasoning was also largely based on (neo)realist thinking. Spearheaded by

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<sup>1</sup> The Table 2 displays a heuristic guide to the study of ‘environmental security.’ It should be seen as a loose devise to aid comprehension and not as an overly accurate classification. It is intended to serve as a cursory introduction to the evolution of ideas in the security studies, which are explored in greater depth in the Chapter 3.1., and further applied throughout the remainder of the thesis.



such scholars as J. Mathews (1989), discourse of security studies focused on the 'trans-boundary' nature of 'alternative threats' such as environmental hazards, which require collective action and development of non-coercive forms of 'green' diplomacy. In other words, environmental issues had been reformulated as foreign policy priorities.

In parallel to this traditional approach to the security-environment relation, two new, though quite similar lines of reasoning developed, taking as their focal point an enlarged definition of either 'common'/ 'human'/ 'global'/ 'comprehensive' or 'ecological' security. Both the comprehensive (e.g. J. Kakonen, 1992) and ecological security (e.g. J. Barnett, 2001; D. Pirages and K. Cousins, 2005) narratives called for linking environmental initiatives with the broader array of transnational complementary activities (in the economic, development, security fields) as to ensure common interests of global security. The principal difference of these narratives lays in their conceptual emphasis on 'ecological' or on 'human' rather than on 'environmental' security and, consequently, on what it is to be considered as the primary referent objects of the security strategy. This means that it is either the human life and primary needs of individuals (e.g. food, health, clean environment), or the planet, living entities, ecosystems as well as ecological processes that must be secured, rather than the existence of the nation-state or other political unit and its 'strategic interests' as it was for the most part implied by the prevalent 'environmental security' thinking. All in all, academic discourse of traditional security studies has evolved by stretching perception of the environment – security linkage in three main ways: a) by adding new separate environmental security sector with its distinct 'environmental threats'; b) by promoting global vision of human security; and c) by prioritising green security sentiment of maintaining ecological equilibrium.

By the late 1990s academic discourse refocused anew, as a number of scholars, especially those sympathising with the 'postmodern' line of reasoning, expressed unease at the connection between the two concepts as well as an endless broadening of the field of inquiry. Thus, at the roots of the **third phase of critical security studies** was the question of why hitch the environment to security in general. With no surprise, the new 'critical' turn was mainly based on fundamentally different ontology and epistemology of either social constructivist or post-structuralist tradition in international relations. Among the most prominent lines of objection was (now so popular) the Copenhagen School (e.g. late B. Buzan, O. Waever and J. de Wilde, 1998). Drawing on the notion of 'securitization' it was argued that discursive processes through which (an environmental) problem is presented as a security issue or 'threat' have certain political consequences, since it is possible to initiate or justify a set of social conditions (e.g. 'emergency measures') that would not be introduced if the issue were conceived as other than falling under 'security' domain. In sum, the academic discourse of critical security studies has thus far viewed the conflation of the environment and security as a specific form of a

‘performative’ rather than ‘descriptive’ act and, therefore, has engaged in deconstruction of conventional narratives on ‘environmental security.’

**All in all**, while currently scientific battles still rage over the scope, meaning and relevance of the environment – security connection and, thus, there is much confusion in the studies of peace and security phenomena, it has been possible to dissect how various schools of thought accord different content to the linkage.<sup>2</sup> As it was aptly noted by J. S. Dryzek, “the moral of it is that the way we think about basic concepts concerning the environment can change quite dramatically over time, and this has consequences for the politics and policies that occur in regard to environmental issues. The most basic consequence is that now we have a politics of the Earth, whereas we did not” (J. S. Dryzek, 1997, p. 5). Also, it was demonstrated that on the theoretical level it is rather easy to reveal how the ‘environmental security’ has been constructed through interpretative practices of academic discourse in security studies. Yet, it is only through the empirical analysis that it is possible to come to an assessment of the effects of this phenomenon on the EU’s policy making. In so doing this study seeks to demonstrate how social constructivism and critical discourse analysis technique add essential insights into our understanding of contemporary EU’s political activity in the domains of security and environment.

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<sup>2</sup> For the contemporary literature regarding the topic of environmental security follow the link <<http://www.envirosecurity.org/essentialreading.php>> provided by the international non-profit and non-governmental organisation ‘*Institute for Environmental Security*.’

## 3.2. The EU Policy Discourse and Practice: A Green New Deal?

In the previous chapter it has been analysed how the academic discourse in the field of security studies has contributed to the social construction of the new 'green' dimension to security. Whereas, this section provides with an empirical assessment of the fusion of the environment and security in the EU's policy making. 'Environmental security' can be studied in the policy *process* as well as in actual policy *outputs*. On the one hand, understood as an issue of *process*, broader discursive processes of EU policy objectives, official statements, Treaty articles, strategies or other types of legislative acts can be analyzed. On the other hand, it can also be studied in the policy *outputs*, or discursive events, as specific policy initiatives or actions, regulatory instruments and particular administrative measures put in place. Thus, in this study, firstly, by applying the interpretative dimension of CDA technique, the *status quo* has been examined of what are the discursive components of the environment-security linkage in the EU legislation. Secondly, by applying explanatory dimension the question of what this rhetorical commitment changed in terms of policy practice, i.e. discursive events and broader socio-political effects of the official discourse have been explored.

### 3.2.1. A Two-Way Promise of Environmental Security

The critical revision of official EU discourse, and its taken-for-granted assumptions of 'environmental security' builds on an examination of the '*European Security Strategy: A Secure Europe in a Better World*' (ESS) and '*Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy: Providing Security in a Changing World*' (RIESS). Additionally, the '*European Union Strategy for Sustainable Development: A Sustainable Europe for a Better World*' (SDS) and the '*Renewed Strategy: Review of the EU Sustainable Development Strategy*' (RSD) are examined. This empirical material has been selected for the analysis since it provides most high-profile articulation of the environmental security discourse at the EU level. What is more, the two security strategies are the only top-level documents produced in the field of EU strategic security planning. While, the two strategies for sustainable development represent currently the most significant EU documents for the Union's political activity in the sustainable development (environmental) sphere.

The **European Security Strategy** was approved by the European Council and drafted under the responsibilities of the High Representative for EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) in 2003. It for the first time established principles and objectives for advancing the EU security interests. As analysis has

shown, the Strategy exhibits conventional (neo)realist security perception with a focus on traditional security issues. Among the 'key threats' to the security of the Union 'terrorism, proliferation of WMD, regional conflicts, organized crime and state failure' are listed. One of the most widely quoted assertions is that: "Large-scale aggression against any Member State is now improbable. Instead Europe faces new threats which are more diverse, less visible and less predictable" (ESS, p. 3). Both the lesser emphasis put on 'armed conflicts', 'direct military threat' and an understanding of the 'new modern threats' illustrate the recognition of security risks beyond purely military sector and, hence, the move from 'strategic' towards broader 'traditional' security approach. On the other hand, there are some elements peculiar to the first strategic phase of academic discourse on environmental security. For instance, among the main 'global challenges' to the EU's security the "competition for natural resources, notably water, which will be aggravated by global warming" is stressed (ESS, p. 3). This demonstrates an acknowledgment of the environment as a 'strategic' resource capable of causing conflicts and, therefore, crucial to the EU's security interests. From a variety of environmental hazards only the issues of 'global warming' and 'conflicts over natural resources' are granted some attention in the collision of the environment and security. Also, it is noted that 'diplomatic efforts, development, trade and environmental policies, should follow the same agenda', i.e. initially the interplay between security and environmental agenda is seen as a precondition for coherence of EU action (ESS, p. 13). In sum, although the 'environmental security' is not explicitly spelled in the top level document of EU strategic security planning, certain elements, also inherent in the academic narratives of 'environmental security', are present in the strategy. Consequently, this signifies discursive elevation of the environment to the high standing of security issues in the EU's policy making.

The subsequent **Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy** was adopted in 2008. As it is stated in the report, "it does not replace the European Security Strategy, but reinforces it" (RIESS, p. 3). The report examines implementation of the strategy and gives guidelines on what can be done to improve the enforcement of EU security interests. As analysis has shown, the report accords much greater substance to the EU's environmental security discourse. This time, in evaluating changing security conditions, the issue of 'climate change' is defined as the Union's 'key priority' and it is put on the equal footing with other 'global challenges and threats' such as terrorism or proliferation of WMD (RIESS, p. 5). It is also mentioned that "in March 2008, the High Representative for CFSP and Commission presented a report to the European Council which described 'climate change' as a 'threat multiplier'" (RIESS, p. 5). Moreover, it is asserted that environmental concerns such as 'natural disasters, environmental degradation, ruthless exploitation of and competition for natural resources' though identified earlier in 2003, now have taken on a 'new urgency' (RIESS, p. 5). In other words, in this report environmental problems were reinterpreted as a 'threat' with 'political and security consequences' for the Union. Such invocation of endangerment securitizes

environmental issues as to accord higher priority on the policy agenda as well as to highlight the necessity for 'urgent' measures to address the 'security threat.'

In addition to that, broader concept of 'human security' is articulated in the report, e.g. including 'peace-building, long-term poverty and inequality reduction, development assistance, preservation of the environment and public health, sexual violence prevention' and *etc.* (RIESS, p. 2, 8). As noted in the report: "there cannot be sustainable development without peace and security, and without development and poverty eradication there will be no sustainable peace" (RIESS, p. 8). In other words, the EU pursues security/ peace and sustainable development as mutually-enhancing strategic policy objectives. The human security narrative, or 'people-based approach' as expressed in the report, potentially has considerable implications for the security policy implementation since the primary object to be rendered secure here is a human being rather than the Union *per se* (RIESS, p. 10). More importantly, the latter quotation demonstrates that the EU's security discourse has picked up the catchword of 'sustainable development' from the vocabulary of EU's environmental policy. Consequently, both the 'human security' approach with an environmental dimension and the addition of 'green sentiment of sustainability' result in the reinterpretation of security and peace conception in the EU's policy making and, hence, in the distinctive 'soft' European approach to foreign and security policy. In sum, the EU's official security policy discourse articulates **environmentally-mediated security perception** as a form of converging security and environmental policy objectives. Yet, it remains to be investigated if the implied promise of 'environmental security' is perceived in both directions. Is there a security-informed environmentalism in the EU environmental policy? In pursuance of this question, the EU Strategy for Sustainable Development as well as the Renewed Strategy for Sustainable Development have been examined.

Before presenting analysis results, it is necessary to briefly introduce how the Union, from nothing since its inception, has come to the 'politics of the Earth' with the currently omnipresent sustainable development approach. In short, according to J. McCormick and A. Jordan *et al*, **the evolution of the EU environmental policy** has undergone four main phases (based on J. McCormick, 2001, p. 41-68; and A. Jordan, 2005, p.19-38; 42-46; 295-313). The first *incidental phase*, from the Treaty of Rome and the establishment of EEC in 1957 till the international Stockholm Conference on Human Environment in 1972, was characterized by the pragmatic *ad hoc* measures with the focus on the common market attainment rather than proper environmental policy. The second responsive or *reactive period*, from the approval of the first Community Action Programme on the Environment in 1973 till the adoption of Single European Act (SEA) in 1986, was marked by the 'environmental revolution' with the emergence of integral Community environmental policy. However, even though environmental policy gained in terms of political status, its actual legal basis remained relatively weak. In the third initiative or *proactive phase*, from the ratification of the SEA in 1987 till Maastricht Treaty in 1992, the EU environmental policy became more substantive since it was based on the sound legal basis of the

SEA. The Community not only established legal competence for the environmental policy action but also introduced 'sustainable development' conception to the political agenda. Also, in this period the Community emerged as a significant actor promoting environmental protection in the international arena. Finally, in the fourth *stage of policy consolidation*, from ratification of the Maastricht in 1993 and the UN Rio Earth Summit in 1992 till the present, the principle of 'environmental policy integration' into other EU sectoral policies as well as the achievement of 'sustainable development' have become fundamental objectives of the Union, the latter mentioned as 'high' as in the Preamble and Article 2 of the Treaty (For more detailed information on the evolution of EU environmental policy see summary Table 3 in the Appendix).

At the present phase of EU environmental policy consolidation, the EU similarly to other signatories of the 1992 United Nation's 'Rio Declaration' committed itself to draw up a strategy for sustainable development in time for the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development. The **EU Strategy for Sustainable Development** was adopted in 2001. As analysis has shown, in contrast to the EU security strategies examined above, the Sustainable Development Strategy does not articulate such a 'strong' discourse on environmental security. However, certain aspects of implicit '**security-informed environmentalism**' do prevail. First of all, the sustainable development here is perceived as a 'global objective' or a 'broader vision for the future' which eventually contributes to the security and safety of the Union. As stated in the strategy: "Sustainable development offers the EU a positive long-term vision of a society that is more prosperous and more just, and which promises a cleaner, safer, healthier environment" (SDS, p. 2). What is more import, a gamut of environmental issues, such as the 'global warming or climate change, loss of biodiversity, increasing waste volumes, soil loss and transport congestion' are referred to as 'severe and irreversible threats' which require 'urgent policy action' (SDS, p. 3-4). Furthermore, it is mentioned that "sustainable development should become the central objective of all sectors and policies"; "all EU policies internal as well as external must have sustainable development as their core concern" (SDS, p. 5-6). Therefore, it may potentially spill over to the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy. Yet, specific measures for the implementation of sustainable development principle in the area of CFSP were not explicitly mentioned in the strategy. By contrary, the strategy identifies 'priorities for action' in the policy sectors of energy, public health, agriculture, business, transport, research and social policy sector. In sum, even tough securitization of environmental issues is not so implicit in the SDS, it implies a simple assumption that anything beneficial for the sustainable development and the environment is good for security, and *vice versa*.

In terms of fusing security and the environment the subsequent revision of the strategy in 2006 added not much to the existing policy discourse. The **EU Renewed Strategy for Sustainable Development** mainly repeats previous commitments and places 'environmental protection' as the EU 'key policy objective' with a 'new sense of urgency' (RSD, p. 3). However, it expressed strong new focus on the integration of

the strategy into international dimension of EU activities. The ‘overall goal’ here is “To actively promote sustainable development worldwide and ensure that the EU’s internal and external policies are consistent with global sustainable development” (RSD, p. 20). More importantly, one of the main ‘operational targets’ is to “Include sustainable development concerns in all EU external policies, including the Common Foreign and Security Policy, *inter alia* by making it an objective of multilateral and bilateral development cooperation” (RSD, p. 21). In other words, this time it expresses clear move to incorporate environmental objectives into EU foreign and security policy. Yet, from an array of prospective actions and measures enumerated in the renewed strategy none of them seem to be directly related to the purely security sector but rather to the foreign policy or international relations of the Union (e.g. ‘implementation of the EU strategies on Africa, Latin America and the Pacific’ or ‘the promotion of transforming the UN Environment Programme (UNEP) into a UN specialised agency or UNEO’; RSD, p. 21). In sum, the improved version reiterates the previous assumption that peace, security and sustainable development, environmental protection go together and newly adds that it is the EU’s ‘international responsibility’ to ensure that. This narrative is reminiscent of a catch-all ‘human’ or ‘global’ security approach which was articulated in the EU security strategies, especially in the Report enforcing implementation of the ESS.

**All in all**, it can be concluded that the promotion of integration between security and environmental considerations in the Strategies for Sustainable Development is not as unequivocal as it was in the previously analysed EU security documents. Yet, since in the both types of strategic documents the EU has routinely asserted that it pursues security and environmental protection and/or sustainable development as coherent and mutually reinforcing strategic policy objectives, **a two-way discursive link between the environment and security** increasingly appears to be a core tenet of the EU policy process. In other words, some elements of the both environmentally-mediated security perception as well as security-informed environmentalism are present in the EU policy making. However, the pivotal question remains what are the effects of this discursive synergy between the environment and security in terms of concrete EU policy outputs. The latter question is dealt with below.

### 3.2.2. The State of Play between the Environment and Security: Empirical Implications

As noted by K. Conca and G. D. Dabelko, the “emergent environmental security paradigm rests on a series of claims that environmental change is an important source of social conflict; that many societies face graver dangers from environmental change than from traditional military threats; and that security policies must be redefined to take account of these new realities” (K. Conca and G. D. Dabelko, 1998, p. 281-282). As it was previously demonstrated, the nascent EU discourse on environmental security to a large extent embraces these claims and “in this way it offers a potentially *powerful* but also *controversial* new way of thinking about the environmental issues” (Ibid. p. 281, emphasis added). Therefore, it is particularly important to investigate, firstly, what are the policy commitments and instruments which back up this discourse as well as what it has changed for the EU policy making. Secondly, the most salient point is how the redefinition of security and environmental domains affects the policies itself. To what extent and in what ways the foreign and security policy, and especially the inclusion of environmental concerns in to the CFSP, will influence the environmental policy? And in the reverse direction, how, if at all, the incorporation of environmental considerations will impact the development of CFSP?

The **analysis of the empirical implications** produced by the EU environmental security discourse has been based on the examination of discursive events (e.g. specific EU regulatory actions or administrative measures) as well as broader effects on the EU socio-political context. The following explanation of what the two-way promise of environmental security has changed in terms of EU policy practice has been analytically divided into three parts. Firstly, some empirical instances are briefly presented furnishing the rich illustrations on how the discourse has been enforced. Secondly, the consequences for the environmental sphere as well as for the security sphere are considered. Lastly, the wider implications ‘beyond the immediate situation’ as well as a normative issue of general desirability of the EU environmental security discourse is addressed.

Although, due to the limits in time and space it is rather difficult to thoroughly answer the whole set of aforementioned questions, the analysis has revealed that there has been a **modest progress** in according some concrete substance to the environment-security linkage. From a number of **examples** on how the EU environmental security discourse is implemented the following are the most instructive. First of all, the EU recently has established a European capacity for the joint Global Monitoring of the Environment and Security (GMES). Its creation by 2008 was stipulated in the SDS (SDS, p. 8). The newly launched GMES is a ‘European solution’ designed to provide information on the status of the environment and security. As it is stated in the webpage of the GMES, it is a European contribution to the global gathering of information on the ecological security. Among its main services is the “Support for emergency management in case of natural



hazards and particularly civil protection institutions responsible for the security of people and property". This initiative is foreseen to "help the creation of new models for security and risk management."<sup>3</sup> Secondly, since the 'ruthless exploitation of natural resources' or 'environmental degradation' is seen in the strategic EU documents as 'an underlying cause of violent conflicts' and it is asserted that 'the increasing tensions over water and raw materials require multilateral solutions', the Union takes part in various international activities to tackle this problem (RIESS 8). For example, the European Community and its member states counting as an individual party participate in the Kimberley Process as to ensure that exploitation of natural resources, namely rough diamonds, is not used for funding violence or wars against legitimate governments.<sup>4</sup> Also, the EU member states, particularly supported by Sweden, France, Germany and UK, endorse the Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative to prevent that the exploitation of natural resources would not result in poverty, corruption, and violent conflicts.<sup>5</sup>

Thirdly, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the EU strives for the integration of environmental concerns into all its external policies, *inter alia* the EU CFSP. Yet, so far the mainstreaming of the EU environmental goals has resulted in various measures more directed towards the EU foreign relations policy rather than security policy *per se*. For instance, the informal EU Green Diplomacy Network was established in 2003 as a meeting ground for the EU member states' foreign ministry officials to deal with international environmental as well as sustainable development issues. The Network was founded with the overall goal to "promote the use of the EU's diplomatic resources in support of environmental objectives."<sup>6</sup> In addition to that, regarding the incorporation of the Community environmental concerns into the sphere of EU bilateral and multilateral international relations, both the environment–development assistance nexus as well as the EU's promoted cooperation on climate change are the most topical examples in the present EU external activities. Finally, in opposition to the previous group of cases, the last instance requires particular attention because it focuses on the mainstreaming of EU environmental and sustainable development factors more directly into security policy domain. The initiative of 'greening European security' was launched at the '*Symposium on Sustainable Development and Security: Challenges and Opportunities*' at the European Parliament in 2006. The Programme includes cooperation between the NGO 'Institute for Environmental Security' and the European Parliament with the

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<sup>3</sup> For more information on the GMES see <<http://www.gmes.info/index.php?id=home>> [Visited on 15/05/2009].

<sup>4</sup> For more information on the Kimberley Process see <[http://www.kimberleyprocess.com/home/index\\_en.html](http://www.kimberleyprocess.com/home/index_en.html)> [Visited on 15/05/2009].

<sup>5</sup> For more information on the *Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative* see <<http://eitransparency.org/eiti/summary>>; on the EU member states' support for the initiative see <<http://eitransparency.org/node/458>> [Visited on 15/05/2009].

<sup>6</sup> For more information on the *EU Green Diplomacy Network* see <[http://ec.europa.eu/environment/international\\_issues/green\\_diplomacy\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/environment/international_issues/green_diplomacy_en.htm)> [Visited on 15/05/2009].

aim “to promote the forging and implementation of an integrated strategy for environment, sustainable development and security - or the better inclusion of environmental security aspects in the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy, European Security Strategy and European Sustainable Development Strategy.” It encompasses such issues as: “a) mainstreaming environmental factors into EU foreign policy; b) mainstreaming of conflict prevention into EU development cooperation; c) civilian-military cooperation; d) energy security and climate security; and e) relation of the EU security policy to the other external policies (e.g. trade or aid and development policy).”<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, the previous engagement with these questions on the part of the European Parliament resulted in the release of the European Parliament ‘*Report on the Environment, Security and Foreign Policy*’ and the ‘*Resolution on the Environment, Security and Foreign Policy*.’ In sum, all the four types of cases illustrate that there have been some minor attempts or political actions taken to substantiate the ‘environmental security’ discourse in the EU. However, there is no clear-cut coherent vision on either the direction or the causality of fusing the two domains, but rather, to put it in the words of R. Youngs, “an *ad hoc* approach based on the easy assumption that ‘all good things go together’” (R. Youngs, 2007, p. 3).

In view of this ambivalent context, what are the **consequences** of the current state of (inter)play between the environment and security? Regarding the implications for the EU policy making in the **environmental sphere**, the most prominent outcome, which already has been mentioned above, is the instrumental use of the high standing of security for the environmental purposes. The securitization of environmental problems or the elevation of the environment to the very heights of ‘high politics’ results in the *greater public visibility* of these issues as well as *perceived greater necessity for the common actions* at EU level. By quoting K. Conca and G. D. Dabelko, this can be summarized that the EU environmental security discourse “is more than an effort to reconceptualise the nature of the present and future threats that societies face. It is also a political agenda aimed at mobilizing the states and societies towards a new set of goals and redirecting resources and energies away from exclusively military concerns. [...] only by framing the environmental problematique in security terms can the necessary level of governmental attention and social mobilization be ensured.” What is more, the “security institutions [can] contribute directly to environmental protection, given their financial resources, monitoring and intelligence-gathering capabilities, and scientific and technological expertise” (K. Conca and G. D. Dabelko, 1998, p. 282). The latter argument is to a certain extent already evident in the creation of the EU capacity for the ‘Global Monitoring of the Environment and Security’, as presented above.

The second important consequence for the EU environmental sphere is the mode in which the content given to the category of ‘environmental security’

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<sup>7</sup> For more information on the cooperation between NGO ‘Institute for Environmental Security’ and the European Parliament see < <http://www.envirosecurity.org/ges/> > [Visited on 15/05/2009].

articulates a particular way of organizing the environmental debate in the Community. As it has been obvious from the analysis of the official environmental security discourse, the EU pursues security and sustainable development as mutually-enhancing strategic policy objectives. In other words, it relies on the well entrenched Brundtland definition of sustainable development, which is a political consensus on the balance between economic growth and environmental protection.<sup>8</sup> The conflation of 'security' to the 'sustainable development' implies the reproduction of the mainstream rhetoric with the persistent dominance of neoclassical economics, if not the further 'watering down' of the concept and the resultant '*green washing*' of EU activities, instead of 'greening' them as it has been initially intended. Lastly, one more possible consequence could be the *militarization* of the EU environmental policy, if the Community environmental concerns would be more closely incorporated into the EU policy in the security and defence sector. According to J. Barnnet, this potentially would be a rather negative move since "the money spend on the environment provides more security than money spent on the military" in pursuance of environmental goals (J. Barnnet, 2001, p. 40).

In the opposite direction, regarding the implications for the EU policy making in the **security sphere**, the most prominent outcome, which was already briefly mentioned above, is the *distinctive 'European' approach* to the foreign and security policy. The discursive fusion of the environment and security, namely, by articulating the human security approach with the explicit environmental dimension and by adding the new green sentiment of sustainability, provides the EU with the new latitude for its international activities. It signifies a three-fold discursive change in the European security policy: a) a change in the perception of 'threats' – from existential (traditional) threats to alternative ontological security concerns (exemplified by the increasing recognition of numerous environmental hazards as 'threats' to the EU security); b) a change in the referent object of security – from securing the Union to securing the human beings and the environment; and c) a change in the understanding and practice of the best means to achieving security – from legitimization of conventional security practices to legitimization of novel soft security practices (as it has been exemplified above, there was a move in the EU security cooperation from traditional defence diplomacy to the novel green diplomacy initiative). The latter aspect is related to the second important consequence for the EU policy making in the security sphere. The fusion of security and the environment not only is a locus of the strong foreign policy discourse but also this new more holistic security thinking potentially produces a *new mode of security governance* in the Union. In sum, concomitant with the slight remaking of the EU's security perception is the policy

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<sup>8</sup> The term of 'Sustainable Development' was used by the Brundtland Commission, formally known as the UN 'World Commission on Environment and Development' (WCED, 1983), which coined what has become the most often-quoted definition of sustainable development as development that "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." For more information on the Brundtland definition of sustainable development visit the <<http://www.worldinbalance.net/agreements/1987-brundtland.php>> [Visited on 15/05/2009].

focus that enables engagement with a new 'trademark' for the EU foreign and security policy activities as well as with the novel options for security governance. So far, however, as analysis of empirical implications has shown, the potentially powerful EU policy process of fusing security and the environment has been rather weak in terms of policy outputs.

After assessing the consequences of the both environmentally-mediated security perception and security-informed environmentalism for the environmental and security policies *per se*, the final question remains of what are the **broader effects** of this phenomenon for the EU? According to the analysis results, it can be concluded that the discursive confluence of environmental and security objectives affects an evolution of the EU governance and its agenda in two main ways. Firstly, as stated above, the fusion of the environment and security, as a part of the present ecological modernization in the Union, is potentially a new profile issue for the EU's external relations. Hence, it *contributes to the re-invention of the EU* as a post-modern 'green' entity as well as legitimisation of its activities as a primary instrument for progress in the member states as well as in the wider international community. Along these lines the EU can be seen as a 'forerunner' or 'role model' for the creation of new 'European' solutions to 'global' problems. Secondly, considering the institutional aspect of this phenomenon, namely the policy interplay or cross-pillarisation implies *more purchase for the European Commission and the Parliament* over the foreign and security policies of the EU, and, most importantly, over the traditionally inter-governmental security domain. In other words, the 'environmental security' discourse affords the Commission along with the Parliament greater opportunity to utilize its powers. Also, in this way the environmental and security policy interplay adds to the tensions between the EU institutions. According to I. Bailey, "the friction between the policy 'proposers' and 'deciders' is particularly pronounced in environmental policy because the Commission and the Parliament have traditionally been more sympathetic to environmental issues than the Council" [...] "more disparate views are inevitably articulated within the Council because of the varied interests of the member states" (I. Bailey, 2003, p. 23).

The final aspect which is crucial in the evaluation of broader effects is the normative issue of general **desirability of the EU's environmental security discourse**. As it was previously demonstrated by the analysis of the academic discourse in security studies, there is a gamut of initial views on the notion of 'environmental security' and, thus, it is hardly surprising that this 'open-ended' normative question has pervaded all of the literature. While opponents of the notion argue that "there are real damages in linking environmental concerns to the concept of security"; the proponents say that "Securitizing environmental issues calls for extraordinary responses from the governments equal in magnitude and urgency to their response to (military) security threats" (J. Barnett, 2001, p. 9-10; 91). In other words, whilst there is a reason to doubt if the EU's invocation of endangerment will result in the policy measures relevant to the demands of present environmental problems, the environmental security discourse represents a seemingly attractive

position due to its assumed ability to deliver visibility and fast response. In sum, it can be said that although the understanding of environmental problems in security terms is not unproblematic and there are merits and demerits in this process, it has to be looked at each particular instance of its implementation in order to decide on 'desirability.' As it was showed by the analysis of empirical implications, the impact of the interplay between the EU environmental and security policies can be either positive or negative and, therefore, to put in the words of M. Glachant, it has to be strived for finding "ways to maximize potential synergies, or alternatively to reduce inconsistencies" (M. Glachant, 2000, p. 2).

*It has to be decided if one wants to approach a problem in security terms or not... then the Is-question automatically turns into a Should-question. J. Huysmans, 1998*

## 4. Conclusions

Is the fusion of the environment and security in the EU's policy making a new euro-latitude or platitude? How this discursive process can be explained and what are the effects of it? The main purpose of the thesis has been to provide some insights into the range and functions of this phenomenon. In pursuit of this aim, the theoretical basis of social constructivism as well as the three-dimensional framework of critical discourse analysis method has been applied to the study of the EU environmental and security policies. Three key objectives of the research were set. 1) The first was, by analysing the main lines of academic discourse in the field of security studies, 1.1) to establish how the main schools of thought have contributed to the social construction of the green dimensions to security as well as 1.2) to show how concept of 'environmental security' has emerged and how its meaning evolved subsequently. 2) The second objective was, by analysing EU's official discourse and its taken-for-granted assumptions on 'environmental security', 2.1) to investigate what are the discursive components of the environment-security linkage in the EU legislation, and 2.2) to examine whether the implied promise of 'environmental security' is perceived in both directions. 3) The third, final objective was to assess the empirical implications of the discursive processes of environmental security 3.1) in terms of concrete EU policy outputs, 3.2) in terms of consequences for the EU environmental and security policies *per se* as well as 3.3) in terms of broader effects on EU policy making. This final section highlights both the **theoretical and empirical findings** of the analysis.

Hereby the thesis builds on and defends three main groups of working assumptions which also answer the central question of the research and represent the **argument of the thesis**.

**Firstly**, it was concluded that the way we think and define the basic concepts concerning the environment or security can change quite dramatically over time, and this has considerable consequences for the politics and policies that occur in regard to this. On the one hand, it is exemplified by quite remarkable evolution of the EU's activity in the environmental domain. In the words of I. Bailey, "Considering the inherent conflicts between environmental policy and other areas of EU activity and

the fact that environmental issues were not even mentioned in the Treaty of Rome, it is remarkable that this area of policy has attained its current level of prominence. Not only has the scope of EU environmental policy been transformed from rather motley assortment of trade-related technical standards into something approaching comprehensive framework for achieving sustainable development” but also (it can be added now) the environmental issues have been elevated to the very heights of the EU’s ‘high politics’ (I. Bailey, 2003, p. 40). On the other hand, this argument can be exemplified by the quite remarkable evolution of the meaning and scope of ‘security’ manifest in the continuous its theoretical rethinking and practical remaking as to include ‘alternative’ environmental ‘threats.’ In sum, *the particular articulation of the problem shapes ‘if’ and ‘how’ the problem is dealt with* and this is what the social construction is about. **Secondly**, it was inferred that the EU environmental security discourse represents a new ‘green deal’ since the EU pursues security and sustainable development and/or environmental protection as coherent and mutually reinforcing strategic policy objectives. In other words, *a two-way discursive link between the environment and security increasingly appears to be a core tenet of the EU policy process; and some components of the both environmentally-mediated security perception as well as security-informed environmentalism are present in the official narrative.*

**Thirdly**, it was concluded that, on the one hand, *the EU’s new ‘green deal’ of hitching environment to security has had some significant implications.* 1) First of all, in the environmental domain of EU activity the following consequences have been identified: 1.1) greater visibility of the environmental issues and perceived greater necessity for the common actions at EU level; 1.2) reproduction of the mainstream rhetoric on ‘sustainable development’ with the persistent dominance of neoclassical economics, i.e. further ‘green washing’ vs. ‘greening’ of the EU political activities; and 1.3) a potential consequence of militarization of the EU environmental policy. 2) Secondly, in the security domain such consequences as 2.1) distinctive ‘European’ approach to the foreign and security policy which provides the EU with a new latitude for its international activities; as well as 2.2) the emergent novel mode of security governance, have been identified. 3) Finally, on the broader scale such effects as 3.1) contribution to the re-invention of the EU as a post-modern ‘green’ entity and resultant legitimisation of its activities as well as 3.2) amplification of the influence of the European Commission and Parliament over the traditionally inter-governmental security domain, have been discussed. On the other hand, it has been inferred that even though the discursive process of fusing environment and security has produced some minor results and there has been a modest progress in according concrete substance to the environment-security linkage in terms of policy outputs. *In general, the EU has no clear vision on how to realize this promise.* In other words, the relationship between discursive policy processes and discursive events is rather weak.

In addition to that, some **reservations** have to be made since it has been rather difficult to discern if the identified outcomes have been spurred as a result of the

discursive formation of 'environmental security' or whether they have appeared due to the simultaneous operation of other factors. Also, it has to be remembered that environmental security discourse aptly illustrates that the coherence is not an essential feature of it and, in fact, a discussion of such phenomenon may involve many different aspects. Consequently, depending on the chosen scholarly focus and specific methodological proceedings, different interpretations of the discourse can be reached and different conclusions drawn. This can be summarized in the words of N. Fairclough that one has to be cautious not to "reduce all of social life to discourse or all of social science to discourse analysis" (N. Fairclough, 1995, p. 185).

The latter argument is closely related to the **limitations of the heuristic device** which has been employed in the research. One of the drawbacks of the CDA method along with the social constructivist perspective is that it does not provide neither exact methodological rules on how the research should be conducted, nor any precise framework of explanation, but rather a loose set of assumptions or guidelines on how certain phenomena should be interpreted. Accordingly, this leads to the methodological difficulties for the researcher when conducting the study. Due to these limitations of the theoretical-methodological foundation numerous controls have been installed in the research process in order to meet methodological quality criteria of procedural reliability and validity, as it was discussed in the introduction.

At the end of the day, despite aforementioned weaknesses, the application of the distinctive social constructivist approach as well as discourse analytical technique is an appealing methodological strategy since it allows to see the EU policy making and to assess the current state of (inter)play between the environmental and security policies from a unique and highly significant, i.e. **critical angle**. In this way it adds essential insights into our understanding of contemporary EU's political activity in the domains of security and environment. However, to be able to come to grips with the complex phenomenon of fusing security and environmental goals as well with the full effects of the conceptual innovation of the 'environmental security' **further research** has to be conducted. One of the prospective alternative research strategies could be the analysis of pronouncements of representatives from the relevant EU institutional bodies, conducted by using different qualitative method, e.g. an interview. In conclusion, it can be said that whilst construction of the green dimension to security has been appealing at the conceptual level, its translation from rhetoric to practice has been shown to be complex. So far the EU was unable to make full use of the synergy between the environmental and security policies and, thus, it remains much to be done to implement the two-way promise of environmental security. These rather equivocal conclusions not only affirm the controversial nature of the environment-security linkage but also set the groundwork for the future critical inquiry.



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<http://www.envirosecurity.org/index.php>

The EU Global Monitoring of the Environment and Security  
<http://www.gmes.info/index.php?id=home>

The Kimberley Process  
[http://www.kimberleyprocess.com/home/index\\_en.html](http://www.kimberleyprocess.com/home/index_en.html)

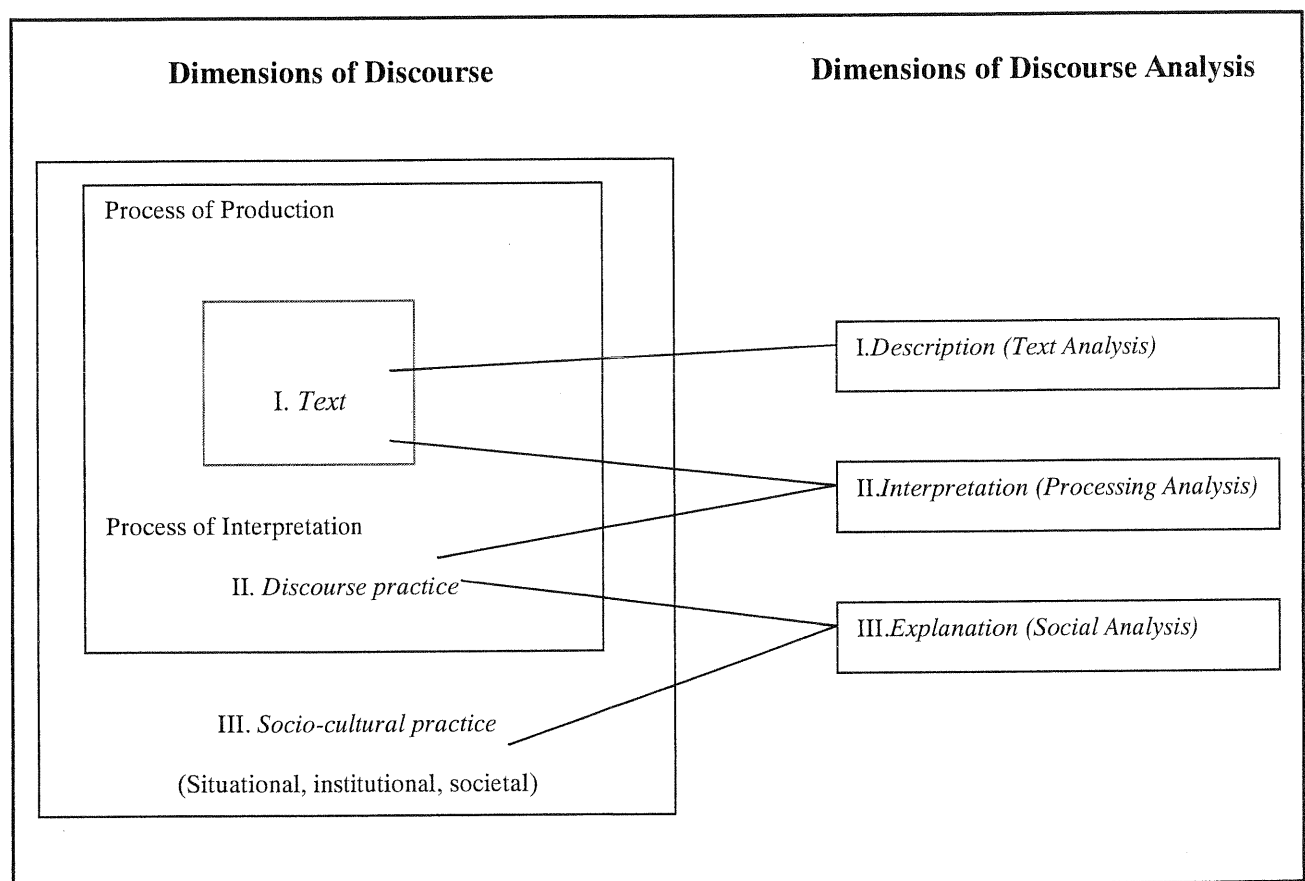
The Extractive Industry Transparency Initiative  
<http://eitransparency.org/eiti/summary>

The EU Green Diplomacy Network  
[http://ec.europa.eu/environment/international\\_issues/green\\_diplomacy\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/environment/international_issues/green_diplomacy_en.htm)

The Report of the UN World Commission on Environment and Development  
<http://www.worldinbalance.net/agreements/1987-brundtland.php>

# Appendix

1. Table: Diagrammatic Representation of the CDA Technique



Source: Fairclough, Norman, (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis: the Critical Study of Language*. London: Longman Group Ltd.; p. 98.

2. Table: The Development of Ideas on the Environment-Security Linkage

International Relations Meta-theory	International Relations Theory	Security Studies	Ideas on the Interplay of Environment and Security	Analysed works
<b>Positivism</b>  <i>objectivist ontology, positivist epistemology</i>	<b>(Neo)realism, (Neo)liberalism</b>	<i>Strategic security studies</i> (1980s)	Incorporation of the environment as a (inter)national security issue; environmental degradation as a 'threat' and an inducement to violent conflicts, focus on preventing resource wars and on using environmental measures to strengthen security, military – environment linkages.	Brown, Ullman, Myers, Westing
		<i>Traditional security studies</i> (Early 1990s.)	Recognition of the environmental security as a distinct security sector, emphasis on the trans-boundary nature of environmental threats which require collective action, promotion of human or ecological security perception	Buzan, Mathew, Kakonen, Barnett
<b>Post-positivism</b>  <i>subjectivist ontology, (post)positivist epistemology</i>	<b>Social Constructivism, Post-structuralism</b>	<i>Critical Security studies</i> (Late 1990s.)	Environmental security as a specific form of socially constructed practice, emphasis on the securitization of environmental problems, deconstruction of the conventional discourses on 'environmental security'.	Buzan, Waever, de Wilde,

Source: The table was composed by the thesis author based on the information analysed in the Chapter 3.1.

### 3. Table: The Evolution of the EU Environmental Policy

Period of the Environmental Policy Evolution		Characteristics
<b>I.</b> The period of Incidental Measures → <i>Common market focus</i>	From Treaty of Rome and the establishment of EEC in <b>1957</b> till <b>1972</b> with the Stockholm Conference on Human Environment	Pragmatic measures vs. proper policy; legal harmonization in order to abolish trade impediments; very limited number of environmental legislation, mainly on the <i>ad hoc</i> basis.
<b>II.</b> The 'Responsive' or Reactive Period → <i>The environmental revolution</i>	From the <b>1973</b> Approval of the first Community Action Programme on the Environment till the Adoption of SEA in <b>1986</b>	Emergence of EC environmental policy; initiation of specific actions and measures as a reaction to: i) an increasing concern among MS about the relationship between environmental protection and trade distortions, ii) political pressures of environmentalists and environmental disasters, iii) an acknowledgement of the necessity for supranational Community measures; integration of environmental dimension into other policies; environmental policy gains in terms of its political status, though actual legal basis remains relatively weak.
<b>III.</b> The 'Initiative' or Proactive Phase → <i>The EU establishes legal competence</i>	From ratification of the SEA in <b>1987</b> till Maastricht Treaty <b>1992</b>	Policy becomes more substantive, emergence of a truly integrated approach based on the sound legal basis of SEA - the inclusion of the Title VII on 'Environment' in the part III of the new EEC Treaty; introduction of new ideas and methods of environmental policy; establishment of the 'sustainable development' concept on the EU's political agenda; the emergence of the European Commission as an actor on the international environmental stage.
<b>IV.</b> Phase of Development → <i>Policy consolidation</i>	From ratification of the Maastricht in <b>1993</b> and the UN Rio Earth Summit in 1992 till the present	Institutionalization of the EU environmental policy through subsequent treaty amendments; Cardiff process initiation; the TEU strengthens Art. 130r by requiring that 'Environmental protection must be integrated into [...] other Community policies'; Fifth EAP 1993 places great emphasis on the 'environmental policy integration' principle and the promise of 'flexible policy instruments'; the achievement of 'sustainable development' becomes fundamental objective of the EU, mentioned in the Preamble and Art. 2 of the Treaty.

*Source:* The table was composed by the thesis author based on the information from:  
a) McCormick, John, (2001), *Environmental Policy in the European Union*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, p. 41-68; b) Hildebrand, Philip M., (2005), "The European Community's Environmental Policy, 1957 to '1992': From Incidental Measures to an International Regime" in Jordan, Andrew, (ed.)

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