

CHAPTER 3.3.

CHANGING SECURITY THREATS AND IMPACTS OF THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC IN GLOBAL POLITICS

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Abstract

This study aims to highlight the impact of the COVID -19 pandemic with a critical view. Since December 2019, the world has seen a significant threat, the like of which cannot only be studied using classical security approaches based on a state-centric view. The COVID-19 pandemic is a unique global threat that has affected all political actors worldwide, especially their security. This study seeks to examine “how the COVID-19 pandemic impacts individuals, genders, and societies that are also under risk groups of global politics, and how state leaders have reacted to this in this uncertain period”. In one year, “the war against a threat” has been redefined to include health, food, and human and gendered securities while also taking massive global environmental change into consideration. This global threat will affect the world’s future due to the political choices, consumer behaviour, and ways of dealing with violence that arise from it. The Covid-19 pandemic will create a shift in how different identities and existences are regarded.

Keywords: Security studies, COVID-19, human security, gender, immigration.

1. Introduction

The classical definition of international security is the state's survival of certain risks and threats in an anarchical system. With the Post-Cold War period, individual and societal security theories mention new risks and uncertainties and provide new global political opportunities. Three major masterpieces demonstrate alternative views in security studies for the 21st Century. These are Buzan's *People, State, and Fear* (2007), Bilgin's article "Individual and Societal Dimensions of Security" (2003), and an article in which leading security academics discussed the changing ontology of security studies (Aradau et al., 2006). This theoretical evolution has led to determining new security threats that affect the lives of individuals and societies. International security that is only related to state security expands over the borders of the globe. Focusing on the transforming context of security after COVID-19, the changing global politics with security challenges will provide us a framework. This article will focus on the global threats and outcomes exacerbated after the COVID-19 pandemic which has affected human security through state-centric security policies. Prominent scholars are aware that this kind of pandemic, after such a massive lock-down period, has empowered border and national security by its very nature. Public awareness concerning environmental degradation, climate change, and immigration are closely linked with food insecurity, overdrawn consumption habits, and short supply chains. Threats become not only global and regional but also individual and underline the survival of humanity in the pandemic.

In orthodox international relations, states interact in an anarchic environment in which each state may depend on its self-help to survive. Hobbes emphasized the state's necessity to control the "natural condition" of the society, and society's security has been the main reason for the existence of the state. Considering that there are no superior authorities or penal mechanisms on states, the traditional security perception is that threats are always against state sovereignty. When states increase their power, they create a threat against each other, and they do not trust their intentions; therefore, the conflict is subsistent in an anarchic system and is, thus, a security dilemma (Herz, 1950). Raising power is a national security interest, although protecting values is also essential, like avoiding war (Wolfers, 1952, pp. 483–484). Especially in structural realism, a requirement for the order and balance of power between states can create peaceful conditions. Both the English School and liberalism expanded the idea of international society; governments sacrifice their power to construct order in terms of international laws, regimes, and cooperation. According to Waltz, the interruption or abolition of the order can occur with conflict, which is an inevitable outcome of the anarchic system (1979). Neoliberal theory searches the motivation of states for cooperation. Liberal

institutionalism and internationalism explain the state's goals to limit conflicts and humanitarian crises. Alternative approaches seek how anarchical society defines the state system and why orthodox theories accept the state-centric view. Globalization and regional conflict, which have dissolved in the bipolar system that has created the shift from international to global politics, are diversified and contribute to a more normative system like human rights regime (Ruggie, 1982).

The UN is an international organization with equal and sovereign states. Regarding human rights and international law, the UN is a major organization establishing the international order in global politics. Until the 1990s, the UN Charter denied intervention in internal affairs to protect peace and security (Article 4 and Chapter 7); according to the UN, states are sovereign and equal (1945). Intervention in state sovereignty develops with the concept of the responsibility to protect (R2P). R2P draws the legal framework to limit the sovereignty of states ruled by authoritarian regimes experiencing humanitarian crises. In the circumstance of a pandemic, R2P operations can continue in conflict areas, which may increase the risk of spreading the virus. The COVID-19 pandemic affects Libya, Yemen, the global refugee crisis, and humanitarian policies.

The shift from state-centric security to human security creates a new ontology (Aradau & Huysmans, 2014). The most important reason is the collapse of the bipolar power balance system, depending on the fear of a nuclear war. The increase in the intensity of regional conflicts in the Middle East and the Balkans after the Cold War increased humanitarian vulnerabilities. Conflicts experienced in extreme conditions such as epidemics, natural disasters, and migrations went beyond inter-state relations and became global problems. Regional challenges develop as a result of globalization and concern all actors and humanity. In this scenario, the effect of globalization on communication is also significant. The humanitarian crises of the 20th Century are now brought into our homes by the mass media. The refugee crisis in Northern Iraq, the Srebrenitza massacre, and the HIV epidemic encourage communities to hear about collective suffering. Societies put pressure on the states to take collective action with the globalization of mass media. Today, the impact of the COVID-19 outbreak on public opinion affects thinking on collective security more than was the case at the time of the Spanish flu 100 years ago.

The COVID-19 pandemic is becoming a vast threat to individual, societal, and traditional state security. Under circumstances where global trade, human mobility, political contracts, and conflicts all increase the risk of infection, states have been implementing isolation conditions since March in order to curb the pandemic. The measures taken globally come

with different implications, namely, the COVID-19 pandemic demonstrates the impact of traditional national security policies, and conventional defense strategies are insufficient. Military and medical capacities become vital. Global actors holding research prominence and developed health facilities will succeed in controlling this illness. For example, the Bill Gates foundation promotes research into COVID-19 vaccines.

The COVID-19 pandemic shows the urgency of immediate action in areas like cybersecurity and health security at borders, which were also vital security gaps in the pre-pandemic era. Cyber-attacks have increased with the transition to distance education and online working conditions in Europe and the USA. Consequently, cybersecurity across the globe will also create an international cooperation area.

The control of the pandemic requires a strict lock-down. This case creates a shift in security policies: states focus on their survival and national security. Global terrorism increased after September 11, it has proliferated conventional weapons and defense systems. Today, the areas of competition and cooperation in health are expanding. Strict surveillance policies of nation-states have increased, especially in arms control and controlling infection conditions for health security. Increased internal security audits, curfews, and the strictness of border security policies to prevent human mobility will primarily affect groups at risk, such as displaced, elderly, and disabled people in the lock-down period. Women, children, and the working-class are at risk of violence and infection. Patterns of violence during the COVID-19 pandemic have accelerated xenophobia, racism, class distinctions, sexual and gender-based violence. This study will analyse new security approaches in governing COVID-19 pandemic on a more human-centric level.

2. COVID-19 Pandemic and Human Security

The 1994 UNDP Human Security Report defines security as going beyond the traditional concept of state security (maintaining sovereignty and security at its borders) to living with the virtue of being human, free from fear and inequality. The UNDP 1994 document defines the gaps in human security threats. Human security is universal, people-centered, and interdependent on elements that facilitate early prevention (1994, p. 22). States are not the only reference object of security. Individuals need to be saved from insecurities, just like the state. The insecurities can be varied.

- Economic insecurity: This means inequality in terms of resource distribution, poverty, unemployment, and food. Famine in post-conflict conditions such as Bengal and Biafra in 1943 are examples. The fair production and trade of

raw materials and using clean, cheap, sustainable resources can create positive solutions. The world has come face to face with the danger of a serious famine during the ongoing pandemic.

- **Health insecurity:** Global epidemic policies involve the building capacity to prevent the spread of epidemics such as HIV / AIDS and cancer. Today, we can observe the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on global politics, primarily through this element. Prevention has become more important than the cure during the pandemic since death rates immediately increase when controlling policies or health care are insufficient.
- **Environmental security:** Natural disasters can cause environmental degradation. For example, floods, landslides, hurricanes can create restrictions in access to clean water. Massive lock-down procedures diminished pollution in some regions like in China and Italy.
- **Personal safety:** Violence against individuals, torture, domestic violence, community security, identity, ethnic and conflict-based violence, political security, freedom of expression, restrictions on political participation. We can see the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic in all these parts. The UN and the World Health Organization define the pandemic as a humanitarian crisis and consider it a part of human security (UN, 2020; WHO, 2020). Also, gender-based violence increased with the COVID-19 pandemic, this has created personal insecurities .

The pandemic's effects are observed differently in every country worldwide, depending on the risk groups. For the last four decades, risk groups extend from the blue-collar working class to women, disabled people, genders, and immigrants who need emergency agendas (Gostin & Katz, 2016).

Globalization is the phenomenon of contemporary politics. Economic and financial capital growth in favor of technology-producing countries is evident, though The pandemic also harms developed countries. It reveals the impact of consumer culture and the global climate crisis. In Turkey, Iran, India, and Indonesia, the disease's trend continued to April and May with high rates. The severe health conditions in these countries demonstrated the linkage between health care and social state relations. After the Iran case, Turkey reacted rapidly to COVID-19 with strict precautions. With its fast service providers, Turkey have exported medical products to European countries.

With the COVID-19 pandemic, the security threats for states shifts from traditional defense policies. Health security turned into a central pillar of human security understanding. To an extent, the government's military, political, and economic power adapt to global health policies. Policies like isolation, widespread testing, diagnosis, intensive care capacities are vital. These policies control the pandemic. The combination of influence and capacity defines power in global politics, as the control of the COVID-19 pandemic has remarkably transformed the definition of power based on national security. We can predict that globalization will continue in the dimension of regionalization. Despite the COVID-19 Pandemic, world leaders in particular still stress the conflict's importance. "*Fight against COVID-19,*" or war rhetoric has appeared in many leaders' discourse, for instance in Donald Trump's and the European Union COVID-19 crisis team's speeches. In the fight against the pandemic, it is clear that the crisis should go through scientific sharing and cooperation rather than a war.

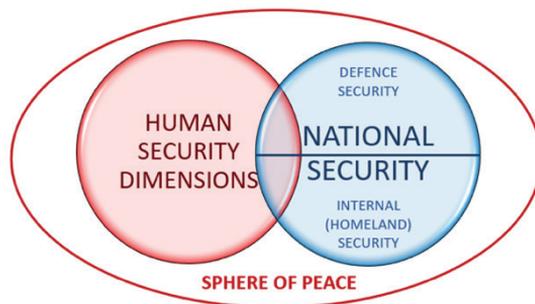


Figure 1: 21st Nigerian Economic Summit, presentation on sustainable solutions for peace and human security by Dr. Tayo Aduloju (sustainable presentation solutions for peace and human security, 2016)

It is possible to understand the crisis experienced by developed countries when globalization has deepened the inequality between the North and the South in the pandemic. Health policies are a part of financial capitalism and determine the need for health equipment, ventilators, masks.

Scholars underline the following scenarios that will affect the sphere of peace. This area includes human security and national security

1. USA and China rivalry shows a global crisis between two global powers will continue. Significantly, Donald Trump's skeptical attitude to climate change and COVID-19 damaged the idea of the USA's liberal legitimate superpower role in the global system. As Milani highlights, "*If the nineties could have been analyzed as the peak of American international legitimate power; nowadays there is a clear global power repositioning in a chessboard where China plays an increasingly pivotal role in economic, institutional and normative terms*" (Milani, 2020, p. 147).

2. National Health and Food Security will be the central part of the post-pandemic national order; health became the central part of human security necessities. Still, big powers like the USA are significant suppliers but not in sufficient capacities. States are very interdependent (Milani, 2020, pp. 148–150).

3. Populist conservative regimes are increasing in North and South. The increase in the pressure against scientific institutions and health authorities is a significant threat; denial campaigns and conspiracy theories are increasing with the leader discourses.

4. Increasing awareness in non-state actors like bloggers, NGO's, and political activists that will put a high demand on constructing post-pandemic order. Advocacy organizations, especially for specific risk groups, will be necessary after the strict isolation and surveillance culture that expanded during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Bangladesh can produce with low labor costs. India, and even countries like Turkey, while exporting medical supplies, are trying to control economic security. In this process, opening borders to medical trade supplies will show Turkey's power.

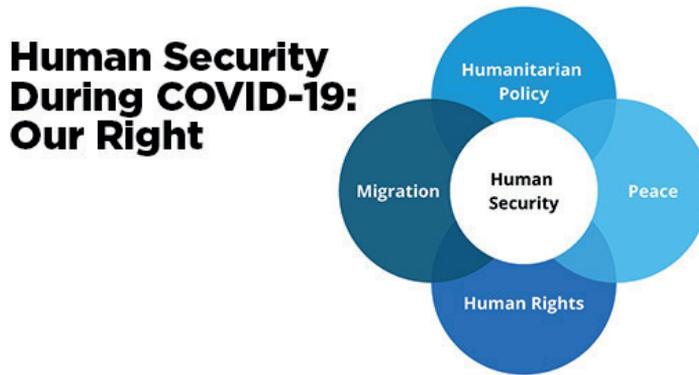


Figure 2: Coronavirus affecting global humanitarianism

<https://www.mpac.org/coronavirus-response/demand-human-security-during-covid-19.php>

We can predict that globalization will be determined by regionalization. Populist leaders still stress the fight against Covid-19 discourse like Donald Trump and the European Union COVID-19 crisis team. The discourse of fighting or war involves competition though it is clear that the crisis should go through scientific sharing and cooperation rather than a war.

Arundhati Roy is a global activist, and she points out the problematic part of the world leaders' "war rhetoric."

“The mandarins who are managing this pandemic are fond of speaking of war. They do not even use war as a metaphor. They use it literally. Nevertheless, if it were a war, then who would be better prepared than the US? If it were not masks and gloves that its frontline soldiers needed, but guns, smart bombs, bunker busters, submarines, fighter jets, and nuclear bombs, would there be a shortage?” (, 2020).

In the following chapters, we will analyze the outcomes of this rhetoric much more clearly. This rhetoric not only increases the different types of violence but also flames militarization, xenophobia (like calling the COVID-19 virus as a Chinese virus) (Elodie Hut, Caroline Zickgraf, Francois Gemenne, Tatiana Castillo Betancourt, Pierre Ozer, 2020).

Turkey’s traditional security approach is highly constructed on real-politics since Turkey is also an important collective security actor for NATO, OSCE, and other security partners. Relying on power and conduction high political priorities, the Turkish government raised its national solidarity discourse to respond to the COVID-19 pandemic. The following section will evaluate the social and individual challenges and opportunities that arose during COVID-19.

2.1 The Human Security Case in Turkey

The Turkish government implemented rapid isolation precautions after March 10, 2020, and they continued till June 1, 2020. The Republic of Turkey contributed to international meetings at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs level with WHO and the UN and announced they would cooperate with global action plans about COVID-19. As of the beginning of May, taking control of the high mortality rates demonstrates that this cooperation is tight. Turkey’s interior ministry implemented a series of measures to stop face to face education, worship, gatherings, alongside travel bans in big cities. The insufficiency of the voluntary isolation till mid-April did not prevent the number of cases, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs took measures.

State-level soft power, both on a regional and global level, turned into more interventionist active foreign policy at the end of 2019 policies, especially in the Middle East region. The situation in Syria shifted to a ceasefire. If regional security priority will continue, it would mainly affect the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic in the conflict field. In terms of relations with the Middle East, the conflict in Libya makes the process even more complicated, though Turkey has influenced the regional powers, primarily supporting the Sarac government. The final ceasefire will show whether the regional tension will be closed.

The Readmission Agreement with Europe turned out to be complicated. Opening of the borders in February after the Idlib crisis harmed the constructive policies between the EU and

Turkey. Turkey is one of the Council of Europe countries who is responsible for monitoring and controlling immigration policies, this situation affects her candidacy for EU membership. At this point, the readmission conditions signed with the EU in 2016 came to a halt with the February crisis. The pandemic will create a pause to these conditions. Health equipment exchange with the EU and the EU measures helped the crises soothe a bit.

Some of the most important reasons for the pandemic's spread are the global trade process, diplomatic relations, and human mobility. Turkey closed its borders with Iran on February 23, and in mid-March with Bulgaria and Greece.

3. Gendered Insecurities

From the individual and societal perspective of security, gender identities became vulnerable, considering the security gaps that the pandemic has created. Enloe points out the importance of the “war against the pandemic” discourse with its influence on policy-making.

“We have learned – feminist investigators have repeatedly taught us that war-waging has fueled sexism, racism, homophobia, autocracy, secrecy, and xenophobia in myriad countries and across generations. None of those will prevent a pandemic. They will never promote trustworthy science and functional medical infrastructures. They will not protect the most vulnerable among us. They will not keep us all safe. They most certainly will not lay the groundwork for post-pandemic democracy (Enloe, 2020).”

The pandemic primarily affects the violence against women and children. Gender-based violence in literature comprises domestic, sexual, psychological, and economic violence; it also contains structural violence. In regions such as Libya and Yemen, conditions of conflict persist. Women among the displaced refugee groups in Syria experience the war's most severe conditions despite the ceasefire process. Africa, Latin America, and Balkan post conflict zones are all vulnerable to gender-based violence.

“Combatting impunity for sexual violence is critical to deterring and preventing such crimes, and to providing redress for survivors. An investigation into mass rape in the DRC has been suspended due to the pandemic, and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict anticipates that COVID-19 will have significant repercussions for legal responses to “the Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict (CRSV) including accountability, given reduced capacity to receive and process reported incidents. Relevant investigative work, pre-trial hearings, and trials are likely to be limited, and justice will be delayed. The cumulative effects could significantly restrict survivors' access to justice” (UN Women et al. 2020, p. 15).

Women experience areas of insecurity more intensely in the following points.

- **Healthcare:** Major setbacks in reproductive health and gynecological diseases. Difficulty in accessing checkup service in diagnosing diseases other than coronavirus (UNFPA, 2019).
- **Education:** Women are taking house care works more than men due to their gender roles; this creates severe constraints in implementing distance education, working conditions and academic activities.
- **Social inequality:** Examples such as nursing, textiles, mostly female workers, affect women intensely during the COVID-19 pandemic in wage earners. Women will have more difficulty in applying the conditions of family isolation.
- **Food Security:** Women can experience limitations in access to food, clean water, and hygiene in conflict or temporary ceasefire conditions. Women with disabilities and migrants confront higher risks in isolation conditions; in some cases like Bangladesh or Niger, isolation conditions can cause domestic mobility.
- **Economic inequality:** Women today still do not earn equal pay for equal work, meaning paid less than men for the same working hours. Domestic care labor, which is unpaid labor, is three times more than men's household labor.
- **Violence against women, domestic violence, and partner violence** are increasing in isolation conditions. Monitoring domestic, economic, psychological, and sexual violence cases are vital and guaranteed by Law 6284 - LAW TO PROTECT FAMILY AND PREVENT VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN in Turkey.
- **Abuse of Power:** Power is defined in a masculine sense in global politics. War and armament are accepted as men's natural roles. Peace and reconciliation are perceived as essentialist roles of women. Nevertheless, states abuse power and mostly male decision-makers have the responsibility to conduct this power. Here, every community and individual in the risk groups, women, genders, children, immigrant disabled people, and wage-earners face inequality.

The UN and gender-based NGO's monitor and recommend policies on the following topics after the pandemic.

- Feminist policy determines the needs and priorities of vulnerable communities.
- This policy is necessary for the states to develop peaceful, inclusive, and welfare communities based on human rights in fighting the epidemic.

• Disadvantaged groups are very wide. Women, genders, children, elderly or disabled people, individuals who have chronic health conditions, rural residents, homeless people, refugees, immigrants, indigenous peoples, stateless people, people in conflict and war zones are all in these groups (Dalaman, 2020b).

The UNDP draws the outlines of integrating gender-based violence (GBV) in COVID-19 response plans.

- *“Ensure that GBV response services, including justice services, are designated as essential and remain open and accessible, including online and digital platforms.*
- *Support budgeting, too, at minimum, ensure human and financial resources are not diverted from essential GBV services and essential maternal health services. Data from Ebola-affected Sierra Leone indicates a spike in maternal mortality due to resources being diverted elsewhere. In anticipation of increased demand for essential GBV services, advocate for additional human and financial resources for essential GBV services to the extent possible.*
- *Conduct a rapid GBV and COVID-19 assessment to understand the changing context and gaps in capacity or services.*
- *Promote the inclusion of women’s organizations in COVID-19 plan development, implementation, and monitoring.*
- *Support governments in promoting and protecting human rights throughout COVID-19 response. Responses may include efforts to ensure emergency COVID-related policies and legislation uphold international human rights standards and that civic spaces for civil society, including human rights defenders, are protected.”* (UNDP, 2020).

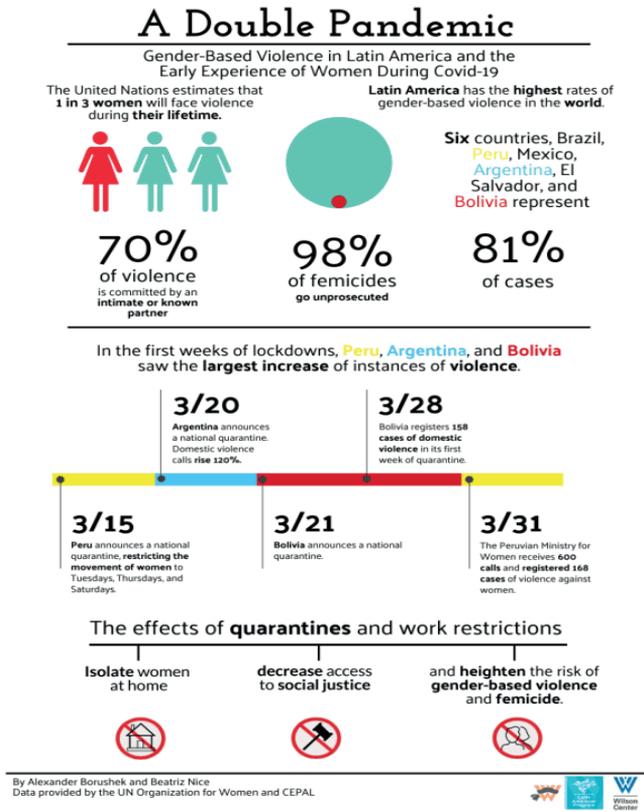


Figure 3: Gender-Based Violence Rates in Latin American region according to UN Women and Supporting NGO’s (2020)

3.1. Solutions in Turkey

The Execution Package, which entered into force with the lock-down on 14 April 2020, restricted the implementation of Law No. 6284 by police forces. Sudden lock-down in the household creates a vulnerability for violence (Yılmaz, 2020). Poland, Bulgaria, and Turkey (host signatory countries) discussed the withdrawal from the Istanbul Convention in July and August. The populist conservative groups support the withdrawal remarks on the importance of protecting the family. However, the women’s movement, women NGOs like KADEM (KADEM, 2020), and women from the government were against the withdrawal. Under pandemic conditions, women and children became more vulnerable to the COVID-19 situation.

Turkey remarked on the importance of cooperation in gender field normalization conditions. Non-governmental organizations, law enforcement, and local governments continue to take measures through various violence advice lines.

In the report prepared by The TED University Center for Gender Studies, the following topics stand out in combating violence (TED Üniversitesi Toplumsal Cinsiyet Çalışmaları Merkezi, 2020).

- The increase in violence against women and children is not a secondary issue in the fight against the pandemic.
- Effective implementation of Law No. 6284 is vital, and women need access to the Istanbul Convention's preventive and protective mechanisms.
- Government needs to carry out social, legal, and political regulations for the fight against violence.

4. Different risks, common outcomes: Stating the link between the environment and the COVID-19 pandemic

Alternative approaches to security, especially on the COVID-19 agenda, need a more comprehensive subtitle beyond the human and gender-based security. COVID-19 is the major environmental crisis that the globe has seen in the last Century. From the moment the virus began to harm the human body, the seas' pollution, and the disappearance of species, climate change has affected pandemic conditions and science. It is an absolute case that our control of nature is within limits; if we continue to harm the environment this fast, we will be confronted with highly dangerous micro-organisms.

In addition, there are many environmental consequences that warn us about consumption habits and our social life, consumption behaviors can make a big change in the environment.

4.1 Migration

With the COVID-19 outbreak, national and international migration conditions have changed. The refugee camps were directly closed to the outside due to pandemic conditions; many responsible institutions and NGOs have become unable to monitor humanitarian conditions and carry out the necessary inspections. Tracking illegal human trafficking has become difficult.

Immigrants of the largest transit in Turkey and Europe, due to Turkey in 2014, has signed the readmission agreement with the EU in 2016. The COVID 19 pandemic and migration issue have a link with Turkey-EU relations. Turkey continues to hold 3.5 million Syrian refugees on temporary protected status. Despite the conditions of the "readmission agreement" signed with the European Union in 2016, the mobility process experienced at the Edirne border at the beginning of February created a difficult position for the states (Yinanç, 2020).

Several points stand out mainly in the evaluation of the COVID-19 pandemic and migration.

- Insecure groups are under threat in the pandemic.
- Immigrants are in vulnerable groups; refugees have problems with health and hygiene conditions.
- One of the most important things that place refugees and migrants at high risk for diseases is their inability to access essential health services due to civil wars and conflict.
- Refugees are out of widespread testing, diagnosis, and treatment. People with chronic illnesses have limited access to medicine and live without health records.
- Barriers to refugees' access to healthcare vary from country to country. Inequality, high costs, and equipment shortages in the health sector make pandemic conditions difficult.
- In the daily living conditions of migrants and refugees, unhealthy housing, crowded families living together, infrastructure problems of the neighborhoods they live in, restrictions on access to water and hygiene materials, economic restrictions, and unemployment put these communities at greater risk (Tarlan, 2020).

Refugees and the migration crisis at the global level will continue to be an area of tension in global politics. Conflict continues despite the call of the UN Secretary-General Gutierrez. Ongoing conflicts in many regions are demonstrating the human mobility will continue through illegal ways.

Especially in Europe, due to the COVID-19 outbreak, states are increasing their controls at their borders. Rescue vessels are kept in open waters, and asylum requests are temporarily suspended.

In February, mobility in Turkey's refugee crisis entered into a standstill period. Since the 2011 crisis over Syrian refugees in Turkey has about 3.5 million temporary protection status. 110,000 live at the citizenship level, nearly 100,000 live integrated with the society with a residence permit. Turkey does not accept refugees from the eastern border with commentary on the Geneva Conventions. This only provides temporary protection status for Syrian, Afghan, Iranian, and Iraqi refugees and causes problems in the integration process.

Not only external immigration but also internal immigration has close relations COVID-19 pandemic. In lots of cases like Niger, Bangladesh, and China, people displaced by poverty and environmental hazards or seasonal term jobs are creating the risk of diffusion of the

infection (Dev & Kabir, 2020; Elodie Hut, Caroline Zickgraf, Francois Gemenne, Tatiana Castillo Betancourt, Pierre Ozer, 2020; Sydney, 2020).

4.2 Environmental and Food Security

Environmental and food securities are significant issues in the COVID-19 pandemic. From the beginning of 2020, the globe experienced long-term lock-downs. Ecological degradation is connected with global epidemics since micro-organisms can be transferred from animals to human beings or even from chemical waste. Pollution and climate crises are related to food consumption and class gaps. While three-thirds of the human population represent the South-North differences, and poverty is massively increasing, the upper-middle class of growing states is consuming animal-based food. It is not only a cultural but sometimes popular trend among all countries. According to many ecologists, animal-based food consumption is also a reason for climate change because it is accelerating carbon emulsions.

Environmental degradation can influence the mobility of people, sometimes forced migration. Migration can have problematic outcomes, even if it's internal and external, by changing economic outputs. Economic security is one of the main pillars of human security, which has bounds with food and health security.

“The recent amplification of the climate ‘crisis’ and ‘emergency’ discourses, in turn, emphasizes the role of crises as perceived ‘turning points’ and means to call for immediate action in response to an existential threat (in this case, climate change and the urgent imperative to limit global warming well below two °C). Confirming the momentum gained by this discourse supported by environmental activists, media outlets, and scientists alike, 2019 was dubbed ‘the year of climate emergency declarations’ and ‘climate emergency’ became the 2019 Oxford Word of the Year. However, as crises are meant to be temporary by nature, the use of this term can seem questionable concerning anthropogenic climate change as many of its impacts are irreversible, meaning that there is no “going back.” Disaster scenarios - although technically more apt to fit into a definition of ‘crisis’ given their perceived abrupt and distressing nature - also give way to subjective (and sometimes irrational) crisis narratives. This is exemplified by the generalized use of expressions such as ‘calamities,’ ‘catastrophes’ or ‘acts of God’ and the diffusion of apocalyptic imagery to represent such events (see the recent Australian megafires). Such depictions contribute to framing disaster events as extraordinary and uncontrollable, and can also turn people’s attention away from the constant efforts that are required to reduce risk and mitigate potential (economic and non-economic) losses through robust multi-sectoral approaches and policies that durably address populations’ exposure and vulnerability to

climate-related hazards. At the same time, 'slow-onset' impacts of climate change (e.g. land degradation, desertification) are less often apprehended from a crisis perspective by media outlets and the general public. However, far from constituting a distant and future risk, these events have already led to emergency-like situations, such as conflicts and famine, and have been identified as destabilizing threats on a global scale. (Hut et al. 2020)

As we define the risk and uncertainties during the COVID-19 pandemic from global security claims, we need to identify the positive remarks. In some areas during the lock-down like China and Milan, pollution rates in the air, and sea contamination decreased (Collivignarelli et al., 2020; Kerimray et al., 2020; Lal et al., 2020).

While we are looking at environmental security, we need to analyze how food security has been an important issue during the pandemic.

4.2.1. Food Security

The definition of food security comprises the content, production, entire supply chain. *“Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for active and healthy life (World Food Summit, 1996).”*

Concerning food availability, it was noted that primary production might not be severely affected because production areas are often geographically distant from urban population densities. However, the pandemic may affect harvesting, transportation, and distribution. In this regard, animal feed and ingredients for food product preparation may be adversely affected, especially if they need to be imported. This is particularly true as many of the primary ingredients originate from China and India for food and non-food items, such as pharmaceuticals. Thus, the present reliance on specific markets, products, and distribution channels are probably insufficient or inadequate to respond to anticipated disruptions caused by the pandemic. In order to fight this virus, travel, conferences, conventions, and sporting vents have been canceled, and foodservice providers, as well as the entire tourism industry, have been decimated due to the required social distancing. All of these have consequences for human resources and the economy. The food industry needs to keep its staff healthy if it is to function successfully. Consumers may also resort to over-stocking and hoarding, which adversely affects the supply chain. This happens mostly due to believing rumors and false information from unauthorized sources(Shahidi, 2020, p. 2) .”

Covid-19 is not a food-based virus, but it affects all procedures of sustaining food in the globe. A great threat of famine is expected in the world. The spread of the virus in livestock

and agriculture has turned into a critical constraint in supply chains, impacting availability and access. States face risks on ensuring security and safety while supporting the community's sovereignty on what they eat.



Figure 3: Security, Sovereignty and Safety in Food Security
<https://www.bigpicnic.net/about/food-security/>

“• All countries, but especially large food importers, are scrambling to build up their food reserves and have created increased pressure on global markets” (Zurayk, 2020, p. 17).

An increase in price limitations in preserving and transferring the food, changes in planting and harvesting seasons are risky security outcomes.

At national levels, the lock-down has elicited a panic buying spree by customers, temporarily emptying supermarket shelves and increasing wastage due to unconsumed fresh food.

- *Concurrently, the inability of farmers to sell food that was produced for the hotel/restaurant/ catering (HORECA) sector has led to wastage and produce dumping.*
- *Limitation on migrant workers' movement creates a loss of employment and income and has repercussions for increasing poverty rates in their countries of origin.*
- *Exposure of food workers, who are often forced to operate with minimum protection and without the ability to observe social distancing rules, is additional stress to their health and food security.*
- *Lock-downs and movement control are restricting the physical ability of people to access food and is creating food deserts in areas where transport is essential for the acquisition of food.*

- *Reduced wages and loss of income affecting the most vulnerable are driving an increased number of people into poverty. The poorest are already experiencing reduced economic access to food, especially fresh fruits and vegetables.*
- *There is a global price increase in the food basket of 20% to 50%, caused by disruptions, temporary shortages, hoarding, and profiteering along the retail value chain.*
- *Civil society initiatives such as food banks are lending support to state food assistance programs. Some countries are providing financial support to the poorest segment of the population”(Zurayk, 2020, p. 18)*

5. Leader Discourses, Security, normalization policies after COVID-19

The first examples of the normalization policies were in China and South Korea. Simultaneously, the successful control in Singapore and Taiwan, turned eyes to Europe. The fact that today states like Spain, Turkey and Russia are pushing the conditions with the highest mortality rates, the normalization processes in Europe are taken into consideration by the economic priorities.

In Turkey, controlled normalization has started in Haziran 2020 after the acceleration of the COVID-19 pandemic was controlled in that period. Though in September second wave started.

Experts claims after 9/11, the global state of emergency has built authoritarian states worldwide and strengthened the security discourse of populist leaders. There are indications that this transformation will continue over the COVID-19 pandemic. US President Donald Trump, Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro, British Prime Minister Boris Johnson, as populist leaders, is also criticized for their rights and freedoms and conservative policies in their countries. While isolation policies create a closure in the states’ public opinion, they have the power to reach everywhere in the world with the globalizing tools of communication, internet technologies, and social media. Precisely, globalization’s side effects gain a new dimension. The rise of political authoritarianism results in class and gender inequality, weak solidarity networks and individualization of the pandemic.

The rising borders of states, authoritarian, populist governments were also a reality of the pre-COVID-19 pandemic process. Nationalism produced much more racism and xenophobia, especially in regionalized and shrinking areas. Social solidarity networks must be strong under pandemic conditions, and physical distancing can’t turn into a social break. The increase in distance working and education conditions and social media use will carry social

opposition to a more virtual environment. Because many opportunities for demonstrations and gatherings, including religious worship, are controlled by conditions of isolation .

In this process, curfews are seen as legitimate within the social necessity and precaution policies. Law enforcement officers have serious powers in implementing closure or isolation processes, but all these conditions, even if they are socially accepted voluntarily, will create a power inequality. The authoritarian tendencies of states can become popular under pandemic conditions because authoritarian governments make quick decisions and quickly achieve economic stability. However, in the long run, this popularity causes great damage to democratic structures. For example, China assumed that it controlled the pandemic with its intense pursuit and closed domestic policy, but the international public criticized it in the context of human rights. Europe is the new center of the pandemic. The rising national precautions in Europe's borders despite the Union show weakness for the political and economic integration. Italy and Spain, receiving help from Cuba and Russia, disrupted the general perception of the world order.

In this context, whether globalization will deepen cooperation or competition between states at the level of regionalization can only be observed if the COVID -19 pandemic continues. For example, after the pandemic's announcement, the UN Secretary-General Gutierrez's call for a ceasefire could not provide a widespread control in the conflict zones, and the crisis in Libya in Yemen deepened.

5.1 Female Leaders or Nationalist: The governance of COVID-19 in a gendered perspective

A recent analysis of the COVID-19 global effect is generally focusing on how this pandemic is governing by the decision-makers, especially representatives of the states. The war, fight, conflict rhetoric generally used by populist leaders like Bolsanoro (Brazil), the President of India Ram Nath Kovind, called health workers as "Corona warriors"(DNA, 2020). All this kind of discourses define a health issue as an abstract enemy, respond with short-term policy-building, and determine the COVID-19 pandemic as unprecedented natural disaster but not an outcome of political and economic processes that influence the pandemic outbreak.

Feminist scholars have conceptualized security threats during the pandemic with a continuum of violence and suggest the importance of everyday security. States are the primary center of the security studies, they can show massive aggression to protests like "black lives matter" after a police officer murdered Goerge Floyd. The militaristic language

that Trump has used for protesters like *terrorists* and *thugs*. The police force's un-proportional intervention to protesters also defines "war on cops" (Forester & O'Brien, 2020, pp. 5–6).

Despite the militarist and populist speeches of the masculine leaders, Jacinda Arden, Tsai Ing-Wen, and Angela Merkel have preserved their calm, sensible attitudes. They stand up with solidarity and react more emphatically to their communities. Merkel's scientist identity and economic subventions during pandemics, Taiwan's leader Wen's urgent response to establish Central Outbreak Command Center (Dalaman, 2020a).

The gendered perspective of security and policy building relies on equal representation in decision making, challenging the inequalities, and preventing violence. Due to inequalities such as gender, race, and accessibility constraints, the pandemic process has largely coincided with the concept of human security.

The normalization and governance of the COVID-19 pandemic need to be governed by a new security approach

"1) The process has to include those who are traditionally marginalized and excluded from decision-making but who experience first-hand the fulsome effect of the lack of access to economic, social, and cultural rights protections. So, we should look at the first pillar of the Women Peace and Security Agenda¹ (WPS) and ask who participates in the planning, design, and roll-out of programs.

2) The importance of accountability for state failure to exercise due diligence in preventing reasonably foreseeable harms, including gender-based violence and child abuse. Such harms are 'widespread and systematic,' and responses are needed that recognize their seriousness as commensurate with crimes against humanity: the state must be held responsible for their investigation, prosecution, and punishment.

3) We need to think now about what the political economy will look like as we move out of the pandemic unless alternatives become established policy now. We are already seeing signs of continued commitment to disaster capitalism, land appropriation, environmental roll-back, and economic bail-outs, which increase the inequalities, which led us here in the first place. Relief and recovery require identification of the short, medium, and long-term needs of people as well as of society and how these are gendered.

¹ These Agenda were founded by 1325 UNSC resolution in 2000. In October 2000, the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 was drafted and adopted by the UN Security Council. It has been followed by nine other resolutions (UNSCR 1820, 1888, 1889, 1960, 2106, 2122, 2242, 2467, and 2493), which make up the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. This Agenda has transformative potential - the potential to escape cycles of conflict, to create inclusive and more democratic peacemaking, and to turn from gender inequality to gender justice. Women's agency, voice, and capacities are critical to local dialogues, better policies, and more equitable peace deals. The UNSCR 1325 is the most translated Security Council Resolution ever. (Resource: www.Peace.org)

4) Fourth, general international law obliges the state to make reparation for acts or omissions that constitute human rights violations attributable to it, an obligation that WPS makes applicable to survivors of conflict-affected sexual violence. This entitlement is applicable to those whose human rights have been denied by government acts and omissions before and during the pandemic and is not satisfied by ex gratia payments or welfare benefits. Reparations should be transformative; that is, they 'should provide a route through which to address the disadvantage and discrimination that contributed to and made possible the gendered harm in the first place.' They thus seek to transform gender (and other) relations and social structures so as to address inequalities and reduce the likelihood of repetition. WPS resolution 2242 recognizes the insecurity generated by 'the global nature of health pandemics' but, to reiterate the point, the reality is that the WPS agenda has not delivered on its feminist transformative promise. It has been co-opted by the militarism of the Security Council in upholding a narrow and impoverished notion of national security (Rees & Chinkin, 2020, pp. 3–4)."

Security turned into a global matter, therefore governing the COVID-19 pandemic is crucial. Determining the risks on behalf of every actor can define the solutions and clear uncertainties. Violence, displacement, climate regime are all controlled by state and non-state actors. The actors must be heard and contribute to policy-making. Women are not represented in peace agreements, health security policies, migration resolutions.

6. Conclusion

This study is an extensive literature review of changing security perceptions after the COVID-19 pandemic and suggests that alternative security policies can facilitate the governance of this pandemic. With globalization, social relations, and human connection transfer the virus, COVID-19 creates broader risks. The governments can limit lock-down and isolation precautions for continuing the economic, social, and political system. The four major security areas that the pandemic impact is human, gender, environment, food security. These security sections are all impacting economic and political security sectors; but also risking the lives of individual and social structures.

This study's limitation is not inclusive of any empirical research since, in our field still, there are limitations to conduct urgent qualitative research with sudden outcomes. This study wants to highlight how global and Turkish politics experienced pandemic with the mentioned sectors. Besides, we want to draw an outline supporting gender, race, economic equality, and new responses to this pandemic to govern this massive security threat.

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