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**Reformulating Human Security in a More-than-human World:
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Reformulating Human Security in a More-than-human World: Reflections on the (Post-)Human Condition in the Anthropocene¹

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Abstract

For purposes of examining how to reformulate human security in the age of planetary crisis, this article is divided into eight sections. Following the introduction (section 1) describing the notion of *Anthropocene*, section 2 reviews recent revival of deep ecological thought: non-human turn in the context of *Anthropocene*. Section 3 discusses non-anthropocentrism and its limits by focusing on tacit anthropomorphism and introduces the concept of weak anthropocentrism. While going beyond simple deconstruction of nature/culture dichotomy, section 4 examines intertwined relations between ecological imbalance and social imbalance in the Patriarchal *Capitalocene* and section 5 examines racism: neuro-political fragmentation in *Plantationocene*. Section 6 introduces care-sensitive ethics for alleviating planetary crisis and the next section scrutinizes the implications of a crisis of care by looking at the way in which neoliberal capitalism guzzles care work from social reproductive sphere as well as extract wealth from natural sphere to sustain its accumulation. A final section: conclusion suggests the possibility of an ideal of total liberation framework for enhancing our practical capabilities to achieve the solidarity in a more-than-human world.

Keywords: human security, posthuman, more-than-human, Anthropocene, Plantationocene, total liberation framework

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“The earth is the very quintessence of the human condition, and earthly nature, for all we know, may be unique in the universe in providing human beings with a habitat in which they can move and breathe without effort and without artifice. The human artifice of the world separates human existence from all mere animal environment, but life itself is outside this artificial world, and through life man remains related to all other living organisms. (Arendt 1998 (orig.1958): 2)”

“If the Anthropocene is ever formalized by the International Union of Geologists, it will mean that long after fossil fuel-based civilizations are gone, the Earth will still bear in its rocks the signs of “our” having been here. But who is that “we?” We are simultaneously a divided homocentric humanity, and a dominant species and thus a part of the history of life on this planet; and we are also the sentient-moral aspect of Peter Haff’s “technosphere,” and a geological agent, to boot. With this collapsing of multiple chronologies—of species history and geological times into our very own lifetimes, within living memory—the human condition has changed.(Chakrabarty 2015: 180)”

1. Another challenge for human security: Posthumanism (more-than-human) in the context of the Anthropocene

Despite being criticized as “analytically vague,” “too idealistic,” “hot air,” and “complementary discourse co-opted by the state,”² the concept of human security, not least critical human security, has played a crucial role in de-naturalizing the traditional state-centric national security discourses by incorporating marginalized individual voices since the UNDP Report advocated it in 1994(Peoples and Vaughan-Williams 2021: 166-80). As the feminist, post-colonial, post-structural, and other critical perspectives have brought in excluded subaltern’s voices, the idea of human security has contributed to widening and deepening the concept of security by continuing to question whose security matters. More specifically, the human security discourse has aimed to scrutinize the human condition and its possibilities in the contemporary world by focusing on “freedom from want,” “freedom from fear,” and “freedom from indignity.”

However, we are now pressed to reformulate the concept of human security and rethink the human

² Regarding typology of critiques of human security, see Shahrbanou Tadjbakhsh and Anuradha M. Chenoy, *Human Security: Concepts and Implications* (London: Routledge, 2007) at 57-68..

condition by responding to the *non-human turn* (Grusin 2015)³ in the context of planetary boundaries. As UNDP reports⁴ and some scholars have already pointed out, we must reconsider human-centered human security as well as human development by reflecting on the context of the Anthropocene (Fagan 2017; Hardt 2018; UNDP 2020, 2022). The concept of the Anthropocene implied a new geological epoch in which human beings profoundly impact planetary conditions (Crutzen and Stoermer 2000). As human-induced climate change and the rapid loss of biodiversity suggest, its negative connotation is that humans as a geological force began to break down the dynamic equilibrium of the Earth system, the so-called Gaia (Lovelock 1979), irreversibly leading to a sixth mass extinction catastrophe. More precisely, humanity now encounters various types of planetary boundaries such as climate change, ocean acidification, stratospheric ozone depletion, atmospheric aerosol loading, bio-geo-chemical flows (interference with phosphorus and nitrogen), global freshwater use, land-system change, biodiversity loss, and chemical pollution (Rockström et al. 2009). These planetary boundaries, which indicate the endangered functioning of the Earth system caused directly or indirectly by human activities, force us to rethink human-centered security (Trombetta 2022). With regard to human security, we aim at achieving its three objectives: freedom from want, freedom from fear, and freedom from indignity; however, we must acknowledge that such freedom can be achieved only within planetary boundaries.

Planetary boundaries also imply that human beings cannot survive without non-human beings as our existence depends upon non-human others. Until now, conventional social sciences, including security studies, have failed to consider the implications of the embeddedness of social systems as part of Earth systems in a context where human-induced planetary pressures are driving dangerous planetary change (UNDP 2022: 58). By overcoming nature-human (society) dichotomy, we need to pay attention to the interconnected way in which human beings coexist with non-human natures. Our recognition of the intimate interconnectedness of humans living with non-human beings would lead to a rethinking of humanity itself beyond narrow anthropocentrism so that moral standing can be restricted to humanity alone. For example, the case of the COVID-19 pandemic has reminded us of the reality of the inextricable entanglement of humans with non-humans, including viruses and bacteria, as well as overarching precarities of our ecologies such as planetary health and global health (Morrissey 2021).

Related to this point, we need to rethink human security in the context of a more-than-human world (Morrissey 2021, 2023) or critical posthumanism (Cudworth and Hobden 2017; Mitchell 2016). More-than-human approach would enable us to become aware of our entanglements with other kinds of living beings and to center on how a multitude of organisms' livelihoods, the so-called multispecies worlds, shape and are shaped by political, economic, and cultural forces by exposing the limits of human-centered methodologies (Dowling et al. 2017; Kirksey and Helmreich 2010). In the same way, critical posthumanism also shares an

³ Non-human turn is closely related to material turn promoted by new materialism that follows the linguistic turn. Regarding material turn, see the following Karen Barad's statement. "Language has been granted too much power. The linguistic turn, the semiotic turn, the interpretive turn, the cultural turn: it seems that at every turn lately every 'thing'—even materiality—is turned into a matter of language or some other form of cultural representation. --- Language matters. Discourse matters. Culture matters. There is an important sense in which the only thing that doesn't seem to matter anymore is matter." Karen Barad, *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and Entanglement of Matter and Meaning* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007) at 132.

⁴ Regarding a concise commentary of UNDP reports, see Des Gaper, 'Rethinking Human Development and/as Human Security for the Anthropocene: An Analysis of the United Nation Development Programme Trilogy of Reports 2020-2022', *International Journal of Social Quality*, 12/2 (2022), 1-24.

awareness of the place of humans, non-humans, and their environments by decentering the human agency and criticizing anthropocentrism (Herbrecker 2018). In addition, as Cary Wolfe notes, “posthumanism isn’t posthuman (transhuman) at all---in the sense of being ‘after’ our embodiment has been transcended –but is only *posthumanist*, in the sense that it opposes the fantasies of disembodiment and autonomy, inherited from humanism (Wolfe 2010: xv).”

While the posthumanism perspective pays attention to the fact that our mode of being is dependent on complex entanglements with animals, ecosystems, and technology through embodiment and embeddedness, it also casts a light on how humanity attempts to be constructed by dehumanizing the other and excluding “the constitutive outside” such as animals. More precisely, the politics of posthumanism aim to incorporate non-human beings’ signals as well as the marginalized people’s voices by deconstructing the nature-society dichotomy and decentering anthropocentrism. According to Cudworth and Hobden who advocate “the emancipatory project of posthumanism,” “critical posthumanism is a politics for all that lives, and for the purpose of eliminating multiple forms of oppression. And all that lives is incredibly vulnerable in our times (Cudworth and Hobden 2018: 136).” As Audra Mitchell also suggests, thinking beyond boundaries of humanity highlights that security in practice, which seems to be human enterprise independent of non-human beings, is rooted in, indebted to, entangled with, and vulnerable to many other beings and forces (Mitchell 2016: 70).

For purposes of examining how to reformulate human security in the age of planetary crisis, this article is divided into eight sections. Following this introduction, section 2 of this article reviews recent revival of deep ecological thought: non-human turn in the context of *Anthropocene*. Section 3 discusses non-anthropocentrism and its limits by focusing on tacit anthropomorphism and introduces the concept of weak anthropocentrism. While going beyond simple deconstruction of nature/culture dichotomy, section 4 examines intertwined relations between ecological imbalance and social imbalance in the Patriarchal *Capitalocene* and section 5 examines racism: neuro-political fragmentation in *Plantationocene*. Section 6 introduces care-sensitive ethics for alleviating planetary crisis and the next section scrutinizes the implications of a crisis of care by looking at the way in which neoliberal capitalism guzzles care work from social reproductive sphere as well as extract wealth from natural sphere to sustain its accumulation. A final section: conclusion suggests the possibility of an ideal of total liberation framework for enhancing our practical capabilities to achieve the solidarity in a more-than-human world.

2. Revival of ecologism (deep ecology): Situating the human being in a relational cosmos

We can situate the more-than-human approach and critical posthumanism in the lineage of deep ecological thought rather than environmentalism. Here, we should pay attention to the difference between environmentalism and ecologism. According to Andrew Dobson, while “environmentalism argues for a managerial approach to environmental problems, secure in the belief that they can be solved without fundamental changes in present values or patterns of production and consumption, ecologism holds that a sustainable and fulfilling existence presupposes radical changes in our relationship with the non-human natural world, and in our mode of social and political life (Dobson 2007: 2-3).” In other words, while environmentalists believe that environmental issues can be solved within the existing political and economic structures, ecologists deny such a reform as ineffective and advocate a radical social change, including a massive change in human values.

Deep ecological thought has paid attention to non-humans as recent posthumanism does. Richard Grusin

also pointed out in his book *The Nonhuman Turn* the following:

“The concern with nonhumans is not new in Anglo-American thought. In American literature, for example, we can trace this concern back at least to Emerson, Thoreau, Melville, Dickinson, and Whitman. The nonhuman turn gained even more powerful impetus in the nineteenth century from Charles Darwin’s insistence on seeing human and nonhuman species as operating according to the same laws of natural selection and William James’s radical contention in *the Principles of Psychology* that human thought, emotion, habit and will were all inseparable from, and often consequent upon, nonhuman, bodily material processes (Grusin 2015: viii).”

The recent nonhuman turn can be traced to a variety of different intellectual and theoretical developments such as actor-network theory, affect theory, animal studies, new materialism, speculative realism such as object-oriented ontology, new brain sciences such as neuroscience and cognitive science, and so on (Grusin 2015: viii). As limits of anthropocentrism such as planetary boundaries and realities of ecological destruction become obvious, the non-human turn is now accelerated. Specifically, the re-emergence of non-human turn implies the revival of deep ecology that emphasizes the intrinsic value of the non-human by responding to the planetary crisis of the Anthropocene.

In short, deep ecology is a movement that rejects the man-in-environment image in favor of the relational, total-field image, advocates bio-spherical egalitarianism in principle, and urges us to identify with the totality of life on earth, the planetary biosphere (Naess 1973). This type of holistic *ecocentrism*, such as Aldo Leopold’s *land ethic*, maintains that ecosystems have their own moral standing independent of that of their component individuals (Leopold 1949). Furthermore, *biocentrism* maintains that all living creatures are intrinsically valuable and have a moral standing of their own individuals. A narrower version of biocentrism is a *sentientist* standpoint, arguing that non-human animals should be given consideration comparable to human beings with respect to shared capacities, including the capacity to suffer (Attfield 2014: 10-11). Peter Singer’s consequentialist animal liberation or animal rights argument emphasizing minimization of pains of non-human animals is the typical *sentientist* one.

As J. Baird Callicot, an expert on environmental ethics, pointed out, there is a substantial moral difference between ecocentrism such as land ethic and biocentrism emphasizing sentient rights, including animal liberation (Callicott 1980). While Leopold provides a statement of the categorical imperative of the land ethic arguing that “a thing is right when it tends to preserve the integrity, stability, and beauty of the biotic community (Leopold 1949: 224-25),” *ecocentrism* that attributes ethical value not only to animals but to plants, soils, and waters, is holistic. In contrast, the *sentientist* approach, which insists upon sensibility as the only relevant capacity for enjoying full moral standing, is individualistic or atomic. While the *sentientist* approach accords moral standing to sentient non-human animals, it does not discover value in non-human beings that lack sensibility. While companion animals such as dogs and cats are treated as members of *sentientist* families, some *ecocentrists* insist that domesticated animals are treated as slaves and must be liberated from domination and oppression. In the same way, *ecocentrists* justify the eco-hunting of deers to protect plants, whereas *sentientists* abhor as it a cruel act. In any case, both ecocentrist and sentientist ideas shake the anthropocentric worldview including the concept of human security by decentering the human.

3. Deconstructing anthropocentrism by anthropomorphism and its limit: Toward weak anthropocentrism

Despite these differences between *ecocentrism*, *biocentrism*, and *sentientism*, they share common premises such as that moral standing cannot be restricted to humanity alone. Specifically, they try to extend ethical consideration from human beings to non-human beings by applying anthropomorphism. Figure 1, which Roderic F. Nash describes in *The Rights of Nature*, is a schematic view of the historical tradition of extending rights to oppressed minorities in Anglo-American societies. “At the center are the natural rights tradition and the concept of intrinsic value that date to Greek and Roman jurisprudence. The diagram lists the key document that codified each new minority’s inclusion within the circle of ethical consideration. Its purpose is merely to show that ethics have expanded over time and that some thinkers and activists now regard nature as deserving liberation from human domination. For people of this persuasion natural rights have indeed evolved into the rights of nature (Nash 1990: 7).” In other words, ecologists try to apply human-to-human ethics to non-human life and non-living matter in the same way in which some people attempted to grant rights to dehumanized and marginalized minorities such as slaves, people of color, natives, women, and LGBTQs⁵. Ecologists try to overcome speciesism that does not admit moral consideration to non-human beings in the same way in which human rights fighters tried to overcome racism and sexism. Regarding human security, we have deepened and widened the concept of security by extending its application to excluded people. Now, we aim to extend the concern regarding security to non-human beings (Cudworth and Hobden 2017; Mitchell 2016).

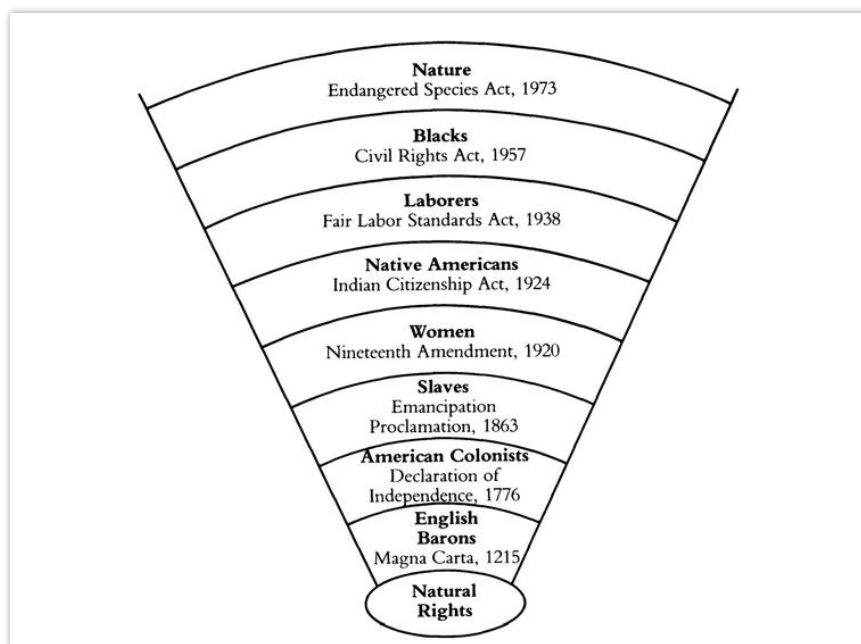


Figure 1 The Expanding Concept of Rights (Nash 1990: 7)

However, we notice some limits in the method of anthropomorphic or analogical extension of rights to non-human beings in the case of *ecocentrism*, *sentientism*, and *biocentrism*. First, although deep ecologists

⁵ Some ecology-oriented political theorists try to apply human-to-human ethics to non-human life and non-living matter in the same way. See Sue Donaldson and Will Kymlicka, *Zoopolis: A Political Theory of Animal Rights* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), Alasdair Cochrane, *Sentientist Politics: A Theory of Global Inter-Species Justice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

state that there is the intrinsic value in nature, the “intrinsic” value cannot exist without evaluators like us. Accordingly, we just apply our created values to nature. In short, the intrinsic value is the anthropogenic one and we just try to apply it to non-humans by anthropomorphism. Second, there is also the demarcation problem. In the case of *sentientism*, we try to extend moral boundaries to all sentient animals, but not to non-sentient beings such as plants and rocks. More precisely, we adopt some characteristics such as capacities to suffer or communicate which human beings share with others as criteria of extensions. A natural response to this argument will lead to the demarcation problem such as “why stop here?”. With some features of nature providing the basis for its value, we demarcate a line between some beings that should be included in the moral community and others that should be excluded from it. A demarcated line between inside and outside or good and bad, which depends upon our or their selected values, is arbitrary (Thompson 1990). Even if we try to *escape* from anthropocentrism by engaging with deep ecology and adopting the flat object-oriented ontology, we never fail to reinscribe tacit anthropocentrism in anti-anthropocentrism by smuggling anthropogenic values into ecologism (Fagan 2017). In short, deep ecological thought including non-human turn that criticizes anthropocentrism cannot escape from “perspectival anthropocentrism” (Hayward 1998: 47).

The problem is not with anthropocentrism itself but with chauvinistic Cartesian anthropocentrism which does not ascribe inherent values to non-humans at all. Responding to the non-human turn, we will be able to and should restructure the value system from strong anthropocentrism such as human exceptionalism to *weak anthropocentrism*⁶ alongside relational ecologism rather than escape from anthropocentrism itself (Hargrove 1992; Norton 1984). In the same way, we cannot reconceptualize human security from the standpoint of anti-anthropocentrism because anthropogenic value such as security implies “without care” for human beings, not for non-human beings. However, we can reformulate human security in accordance with non-instrumental relational values by criticizing human exceptionalism and paying attention to the more than human web.

4. Intertwined relations between ecological imbalance and social imbalance in the Patriarchal Capitalocene

As posthumanism criticizes Cartesian dualism between nature and society as human exceptionalism, nature and culture (society) have been entangled like a Möbius strap so much that it has become difficult to divide them (see Figure 2). After “the end of nature” had been declared, the world is now comprised of “*naturecultures*” (Haraway 2008: 138) or “*naturalcultural assemblages*” (Haraway 2016: 38). However, as human-induced climate change indicates, a negative interaction between nature and society makes “*naturalcultural assemblages*” unsustainable. To scrutinize such a negative interaction, we should adopt *strategic dualism* focusing on dyadic human-nature interactions rather than throw away the dualistic disarticulation.

⁶ Ecological pragmatism or weak anthropocentrism (a belief that our sense of a close relationship between human and non-human beings can serve to correct value systems which are exploitative of nature) can provide a basis for criticizing unsustainable practices by strong anthropocentrism (a belief that nonhumans have value only if they are valuable for humans), thereby providing an adequate basis for environmental protection without committing to the questionable non-anthropocentrism intrinsic value theory. Bryan G. Norton, 'Environmental Ethics and Weak Anthropocentrism', *Environmental Ethics*, 6/2 (1984), 131-48, Anthony Weston, 'Beyond Intrinsic Value: Pragmatism in Environmental Ethics', in Andrew Light and Eric Katz (eds.), *Environmental Pragmatism* (London: Routledge, 1996), 285-365.

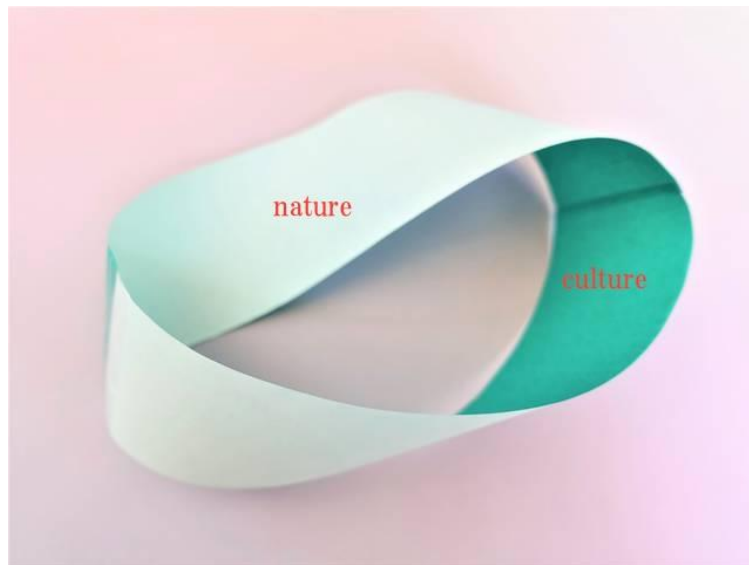


Figure 2. a Möbius strap of *naturalcultural assemblages*. (Design by H. TOSA)

After human beings entered the stage of the Earth approximately two hundred thousand years ago, we remade nature in accordance with our preferences and needs. It became difficult to demarcate between non-human nature and anthropogenic nature, including domesticated animals. Now, the Anthropogenic negative consequences remind us of the vicious interactions between nature and society.

A recent UNDP report also alarmed us about a vicious cycle between planetary and social imbalances as follows:

“The strain on the planet mirrors the strain facing many of our societies. This is not a mere coincidence. Indeed, planetary imbalances (the dangerous planetary change for people and all forms of life) and social imbalances one another. As the 2019 Human Development Report made plain, many inequalities in human development have been increasing and continue to do so. Climate change, among other dangerous planetary changes, will only make them worse. Social mobility is down; social instability is up. Ominous signs of democratic backsliding and rising authoritarianism are worrying. Collective action on anything from the COVID-19 pandemic to climate change becomes more difficult against a backdrop of fragmentation (UNDP 2020: 3-4).”

Several scholars pointed out a complex socio-natural interplay between planetary boundaries and social boundaries (Leach et al. 2013) and between environmental sustainability and social equity (Leach et al. 2018). Leach et al. identified ten different but overlapping forms of interaction dynamics in social-ecological systems: 1. ecological space dynamic, 2. resource distribution dynamic, 3. elite dynamic, 4. marginalization dynamic, 5. status and consumption dynamic, 6. environmental disconnection dynamic, 7. environment intervention dynamic, 8. collective action dynamic, 9. market capitalism dynamic, and 10. morality-power-knowledge dynamic (Leach et al. 2018). Although the socio-ecological systems are highly complex, we can summarize these dynamics into several, not least capitalism. As Melissa Leach wrote, “the common driver of both inequity and unsustainability lies in the workings of a global capitalist system and its recent neo-liberal and financialized incarnations. Common structures and processes including deregulated markets and profit-oriented behavior by individuals and firms are producing both economic inequities and environmental

unsustainability (Leach et al. 2018: 8).” We may call this kind of view the *Capitalocene* perspective.

According to Jason W. Moore, an author of *Capitalism in the Web of Life: Ecology and the Accumulation of Capital*, “the Capitalocene does not for capitalism as an economic and social system.---Rather, the Capitalocene signifies capitalism as a way of organizing nature---as a multispecies, situated, capitalist world-ecology (Moore 2016: 6).” Capitalism is a world-ecology that joins the accumulation of capital, the pursuit of power, and the co-production of nature in successive historical configurations. Moore claims that the origins of today’s inseparable but distinct crises of capital accumulation and biospheric stability are found in a series of landscape, class, territorial, and technical transformations that emerged in the three centuries after 1450.

Here, we should reconfirm the fact that there are social boundaries below which lie resource deprivations endangering human well-being. Some social boundaries imply human biological thresholds such as malnutrition, hunger, lack of access to medical care, and avoidable death, which human security discourse tries to overcome by calling for “freedom from want.” The human conditions include not only material ones but also cultural and psychological ones. We need equitable recognition (“freedom from indignity”) as well as equitable “freedom from want.” Lack of equitable “freedom from indignity” or “freedom from want” sometimes may trigger armed conflicts and bring about environmental destruction in which “freedom from fear” is seriously threatened.

Concerning the negative interactions between the social and ecological imbalance under capitalism, Murray Bookchin, who advocated *social ecology*, also pointed out as follows:

“*Nonhuman* nature can be designated ‘first nature,’ in juxtaposition to the *social* nature created by human beings, called ‘second nature.’ Social ecology is almost these days in dealing with these two developments of ‘nature-as-a-whole’ as a highly creative and shared evolution rather than as an oppositional and purely dualistic antinomy. By contrast, mystical ecologies—with their ‘biocentric’ notions---often disdain the problems of humanity and second nature; indeed, they tend to venerate first nature as ‘wilderness.’ --- The very notion of the domination of nature by man stems from the very real domination of human by human (Bookchin 2005: 23, 65).”

Likewise, eco-feminists have also stressed the connection between anthropocentric exploitation of non-human nature and the patriarchal exploitation of women (Warren 1990). Val Plumwood, a forest activist and ecofeminist, argues that the human/nature value dualism at the heart of rationalism has spawned other harmful dualisms such as masculine/feminine, reason/emotion, and spirit/body and that these dualisms have not only been anthropocentric but also androcentric (Plumwood 1997). Each centrism shares a common structure underlying different forms of oppression by putting an omnipotent subject at the center and constructing others as sets of inferior qualities. More specifically, sexism shares similar logic such as exclusion, denial, and instrumentalism with speciesism as well as racism, colonialism, classism, heterosexism, and ableism. Importantly, these oppressive dualisms operate jointly and sometimes reinforce each other.

To counter these intertwined and intersectional oppressions, ecofeminists claim that they are able to transfer their understanding to the other’s oppression as supporters of non-human nature. For example, Maria Mies, a well-known Marxist-ecofeminist, argues that just as women’s bodies and labor are colonized by a combination of capitalism and patriarchy, so is nature (Mies 1986: 74-77). Under capitalist patriarchy, both women and nature function as exploited resources without which the wealth of ruling-class men cannot be created. Although social-reproductive activities like housework, nursing, education, and health care play a crucial role to maintain the capitalist system, they are under-estimated due to the gender bias. The capital

system often free-rides on social-reproductive activities as well as the nature. Epistemological interconnections between anthropocentrism and androcentrism also promote these socio-economic interconnections between the anthropocentric exploitation and patriarchal exploitation. In short, biased value structures reproduce hierarchical power structures and vice versa.

5. Racism in *Plantationocene*: Neuro-political antagonism and fragmentation against solidarity

Related to a reconceptualization of human security based on protection and empowerment of agency, the recent UNDP special report raises “solidarity” as a new key concept as a commitment to work together and navigate the challenges of the Anthropocene as follows:

“As the world faces another historic juncture, with a truly global catastrophe (the Covid-19 pandemic) and the looming climate crisis, we are well poised to revisit the concept of human security and the human security approach. It is in light of these truly collective threats and downturn risks that afflict us as a common humanity, albeit with different resources and capability to cope and adapt to the challenges ahead. An enriched human security approach is one of the fundamental ways in which we can reconceptualize the solidarity needed to tackle these collective challenges as a truly global, international community. ---- Solidarity recognizes that human security in the Anthropocene must go beyond securing individuals and their communities to systematically consider interdependence across all people and between people and the planet. For each of us to live free from want, from fear and from indignity, all three strategies must be deployed—for it is protection, empowerment and solidarity working together that advances human security in the Anthropocene (UNDP 2022: 37, 141).”

In addition, the UNDP report points out numerous hindrances to solidarity: violent conflicts closely linked to horizontal inequalities, the concentration of political and economic power among a few and the exclusion of many, the legacy of historical injustices (colonial rule), planetary disruptions, and unintended negative consequences of technological innovation, including social polarization promoted by social media platform (UNDP 2022: 80). Although the report recognizes many hindrances to solidarity, it seems to lack deep analysis from critical perspectives.

Recent cognitive neuropolitical research points out that we all have cognitive vulnerabilities that often lead to false categorizations and dehumanization of other humans: quick social exclusion by rejecting to make an effort to read other people’s minds (Yu 2022). For example, stereotyping that may aid in navigating and predicting the social world around us sometimes misleads us to false categorizations, by which we rapidly and unconsciously deny full humanity to out-groups in society while we ascribe empathic emotions to those we consider to be part of our in-group. In short, neuro-politics tends to divide societies through the dehumanization of others. If we perceive this kind of social psychological phenomenon from critical racial studies, it becomes much clearer that hegemonic racialization undermines solidarity by portraying large segments of humanity as inferior, unworthy, and a threat to security for ruling elites. Social divisions and confrontations as well as planetary crises could be best interpreted as a more or less acute expression of inherent contradictions of current neo-liberal capitalism, which we have already discussed as the *Capitolocene* perspective. Under neoliberal financialized capitalism, the newly predatory primitive accumulation of capital has indeed directed violence toward the web of life, including human beings and non-human beings. Related to violence promoted by capitalism, Moore notes as follows: “the Capitalocene

is also a Necrocene---a system that not only accumulates capital, but drives extinction. At stake is how we think through the relations of Capitalocene and Necrocene---between the creativity of capitalist development and its deep exterminism. The exterminism is not anthropogenic but *capitalogenic* (Moore 2017: 597).”

It is often pointed out that the violent primitive accumulation of capital accelerated extracting cheap nature and exploiting cheap labor on an unprecedented scale by responding to the end of frontiers: the crisis of neoliberal financial capitalism. The most extreme case is war; creative destruction by the military-industrial-media complex represents the age of Necrocene. Violent primitive accumulation of capital also promotes the commodification of the web of life. It means that the intrinsic values in the web of life are converted to the exchange value through the instrumental value along the capitalist expansion and that the value structure based on the exchange value becomes predominant so that human beings are also treated as the exchange value for capital accumulation: human capital and labor. As Arendt lamented, by yielding to painful labor, we began to lose our *human condition* based on plurality in such a way that nobody is ever the same as anyone else who ever lived, lives, or will live through original action (Arendt 1998 (orig.1958): 7-21). In short, plurality is based on our own intrinsic value: more-than-economic value, and not exchange value: money.

As the capitalist material restructuring of the web of life produces the dominant value structure based on the exchange of value through reification, the hegemonic value structure reinforces the capitalist power structure by promoting social polarization, fragmentation, and marginalization of the poor majority and accelerating the speed toward ecological catastrophe: a sixth mass extinction. The majority of the people are forced to live in increasing insecurity and oppression along intersecting lines of class, gender, generation, caste, and ethnicity.

Historically speaking, driving forces of oppression and extinction partly derive from colonial violence and plantation capitalism founded on racism. The assumed absence of value in Black lives makes racial capitalism possible. Donna Haraway proposed the name *Plantationocene* for “the devastating transformation of diverse kinds of human-tended farms, pastures, and forests into extractive and enclosed plantations, relying on slave labor and other forms of exploited, alienated, and usually spatially transported labor (Haraway 2015: 162).” As she notes, “scholars have long understood that the slave plantation system was the model and motor for the carbon-greedy machine-based factory system that is often cited as an infection point for the Anthropocene. --- Moving material semiotic generativity around the world for capital accumulation and profit --- the rapid displacement and reformulation of germ plasm, genomes, cuttings, and all other names and forms of part organisms and of deracinated plants, animals, and people ---is one defining operation of the Plantationocene, Capitalocene, and Anthropocene together. The Plantationocene continues with ever-greater ferocity in globalized factory meat production, monocrop agribusiness, and immense substitutions of crops like oil palm for multispecies forests and their products that sustain human and nonhuman critters alike (Haraway 2015: 162).” According to her, the plantation is a system of multispecies forced labor. Although her defining plantation system seems appropriate, the multispecies world approach that brings in a notion of “equally for all” tends to result in a cursory treatment of realities of racial-sexual oppression and obscure the way in which racial capitalism⁷ operates, as some scholars criticize (J. Davis et al. 2019).

⁷ By using the word “racial capitalism,” Cedric Robinson criticizes orthodox Marxism for its failure to ascertain the centrality of racism. Cedric J. Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition* (3rd edn.; Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000 (Orig. 1983)).

If we focus on the ways in which destructive plantation capitalism, racism, and speciesism have led to a contemporary devaluation of the web of life, the necro-politics of dehumanization of others as barbarians in the colonial era becomes visible in a new way in the Anthropocene. While we had better focus on racial environmental justice such that adverse effects of planetary destruction and pollution affect brown and black populations more intensely, as shown by the case of Hurricane Katrina in 2005 (Morse 2008), we should not forget that the colonial violence had triggered human-induced climate change in the 17th century. The case of the so-called “Orbis spike” is such a case. A sharp decline in atmospheric CO₂, which resulted from the dramatic decline in the population in the Americas from 54 million to 6 million via exposure to diseases carried by Europeans, plus war, enslavement, and famine, led to a rapid reforestation and a significant dip in atmospheric carbon dioxide levels and the coolest part of Little Ice Age (Lewis and Maslin 2015: 175). In short, while the Columbian Exchange between Old World and New World species led to the monoculture that represented the *Plantationocene*, necro-politics against indigenous peoples in the Americas brought about Anthropogenic climate change: “the early Anthropocene.” The current Anthropocene can be viewed as a continuation of previous colonial eras that began with the dispossession and genocide of indigenous people, plunder of nature including land, displacement and extraction of African slaves, and extended through advanced industrial capitalism based on the exploitation of labor propelled by fossil fuels later (H. Davis and Todd 2017).

If racial capitalism, as well as patriarchal capitalism, should be a central category in explaining the onset of the Anthropocene, we should challenge the racial blindness of the Anthropocene and better rename it as *Black Anthropocene*: a billion missing articulations of geologic events, that is inhuman proximity organized by historical geographies of extraction, imperial global geographies, and contemporary environment racism (Yusoff 2018: xii-xiv). In addition, we should pay attention to a new way in which lingering racism and sexism divide people in resonance with the rise of neo-right-wing populism that takes the position of immigration and climate change denial. Racism usually operates by dividing people into those who deserve a decent life and those who do not deserve it by mobilizing the politics of dehumanization of the latter. In the extreme case, it sometimes demarcates the “abyssal line” between those who must live and those who must die (Santos 2014: 118-35)⁸. Such racial bio/necro-politics appears in the form of police brutality represented by the murder of George Floyd in 2020, which provoked #BlackLivesMatter movement. The marginalized Black people face insecurities and unjust death through a hegemonic act of securitizing the color line on the pretext of protecting public order: white security. Related to the continuing Plantationocene, Achille Mbembe notes as follows:

“First, the systematic risks experienced specially by Black slaves during early capitalism have now become the norm for, or at least the lot of, all of subaltern humanity. The emergence of new imperial practices is then tied to the tendency to universalize the Black condition (Mbembe 2017: 4).”

The Black condition---total negation of the human condition---has been reproduced through racial

⁸ In the same way, Giorgio Agamben argues that the *Anthropological Machine* operates by means of excluding as not (yet) human an already human being from itself, that is, by animalizing the human, by isolating the nonhuman within the human. The machine is able to function only by establishing a zone of indeterminacy; a kind of a state of exception where would thus be obtained is neither an animal life nor a human life, but only a life that is separated and excluded from itself---only a *bare life*. Giorgio Agamben, *The Open: Man and Animal*, trans. Kevin Attell (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004) at 37-38.

discourses and practices equating Blackness with the non-human. As the humanitarian crisis in Haiti---the first Black republic in the Western Hemisphere---indicates, the Black condition has not ended following the formal abolishment of slavery or formal decolonization because the trajectory of the plantation system over the *longue durée* has continued to shape the dire socioeconomic conditions in the aftermath of slavery (Murphy and Schroering 2020). The Black condition still continues to linger around in a new form of politics of dehumanizing others. As neoliberal globalization leads to the increasing gap between the rich and the poor, part of the discontented people supports authoritarian right-wing leaders who try to direct people's anger and resentment at racial and ethnic minorities by mobilizing the rhetoric of welfare chauvinism; migrants do not deserve welfare benefits. Importantly, current racism is not necessarily based on physical but also cultural, religious, and other types of minority signs. The scapegoating of minority populations results in the detention and deportation of immigrants, preventive incarceration, re-segregation, police brutality, intentional neglect, and various types of inhuman conditions.

Racial discourses and practices equating Blackness with the non-human animal remind us of arguments in critical animal studies and critical disability studies; those viewed as disabled and animals have both been figured as strange and have been devalued due to perceived inferiority. In addition, through the anthropocentric dichotomy culture/nature, nature and those associated with it have been constructed as the other and of lesser value than those associated with culture. This othering process undergirds numerous forms of human oppression based on various types of <superior/inferior> binary logic --- sexism, racism, ableism, and classism --- as well as the oppression of non-human animals (Fitzgerald and Pellow 2014: 29). Responding to these intersectional, multiple, and linked oppressions, radical ecologists and animal liberation activists began to advocate the idea of “*the total liberation frame*” in the 1990s. According to them, “it is imperative that we no longer speak of human liberation, animal liberation, or earth liberation as if they were independent struggles; rather, we need to speak of total liberation (Fitzgerald and Pellow 2014: 43).” David Naguib Pellow, one of total liberation advocates, notes; “the total liberation frame suggests that if intersectionality begins and ends with humans, then the concept is unnecessarily restrictive. Total liberation activists contend that one cannot fully grasp the foundations of racism, classism, ableism, heterosexism, and patriarchy without also understanding speciesism and dominionism because they are all ideologies and practices rooted in hierarchy and the creation of oppositional superior and inferior subjects (Pellow 2014: 20)”.

Here, we notice the epistemic convergence of various types of liberation movements against intersectional oppressions of neoliberal capitalism in the entangled more-than-human worlds. Although we know that *total liberation* is a utopian project, we can reformulate the concept of human security by setting *total liberation* as a beacon of hope against various types of intersectional oppressions and insecurities in the planetary predicament. Carmen G. Gonzalez's quoting Martin Luther King, Jr.'s message in the context of racial capitalism in the Anthropocene seems to be right on target: “Injustice anywhere is injustice everywhere---In a real sense all life is inter-related (Gonzalez 2021: 85).”

6. Politics of justice and care-sensitive ethics for non-human beings and future generations

We need to bring in a politics of justice to correct such social and ecological imbalance. We cannot maintain social and environmental sustainability without justice. It goes without saying that a politics of justice in the context of planetary crisis involves value judgment about which qualities of which resources should be sustained by which means as well as for and by whom. Related to this point, John S. Dryzek and

Jonathan Pickering wrote in *The Politics of the Anthropocene* as follows:

“We now address three ways in which the scope of planetary justice needs to reach beyond Holocene thinking: by escaping state-centric accounts of justice; in extending justice to future generations; and through encompassing justice for the non-human (Dryzek and Pickering 2019: 68).” (See Figure 3)

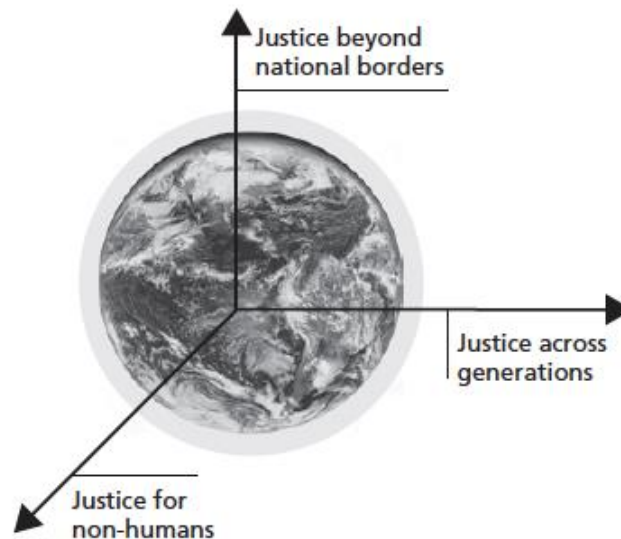


Figure 3. Dimensions of Planetary Justice (Dryzek and Pickering 2019: 68)

While the concept of environmental justice often addresses relations of social justice among people, in particular the environmentalism of the poor, ecological justice focuses on justice for non-humans. Planetary (social-ecological) justice embraces both. Hence, we need to extend our moral considerations not only beyond national boundaries but also toward non-human beings as well as future generations. Yes, but to what extent? Here again, we encounter the moral boundaries problem.

Social justice, as well as ecological justice, is a highly contested concept around questions such as “equity of what” and “how much inequity is acceptable.” Its notions change in accordance with its context over time. Widely accepted social values arranged through political negotiations constitute the context within which moral boundaries are contingently demarcated. This type of view of morality is *contextual morality*, which Joan C. Tronto describes in contrast to universalistic morality, which requires that rules of moral conduct are accessible to all of those expected to adhere to moral rules (Tronto 1993: 27-8). According to her, a concept of care will serve as the basis for rethinking moral boundaries from the contextual morality perspective, and, by extension, the terrain of current moral and political life (Tronto 1993: 101). She defines care as “a species activity that includes everything that we do to maintain, continue, and repair our ‘world’ so that we can live in it as well as possible.” That world includes our bodies, ourselves, and our environment, all of which we seek to interweave in a complex, life-sustaining web (Tronto 1993: 103).

Carol Gilligan, a psychologist well known for her book *In a Different Voice*, also shows the contrast between an ethic of care and an ethic of justice by writing as follows.

“The moral problem arises from conflicting responsibilities rather than from competing rights and requires for its solution a mode of thinking that is contextual and narrative rather than formal and abstract.

This conception of morality as concerned with the activity of care centers moral development around the understanding of responsibility and relationships, just as the conception of morality as fairness ties moral development to the understanding of rights and rules (Gilligan 1982: 19).”

Related to it, the abstract distributive model of social justice is often criticized by care-sensitive feminists for its tendency to adopt ahistorical assumption that autonomous and rational individuals are equally situated and to focus only on material conditions, but not cultural politics such as politics of recognition (Warren 2000: 181-87). Here, the ethic of care, which emphasizes contextualism and relationism, may be able to remedy the defects of the abstract distributive model of justice and complement it. If we paraphrase famous Tolstoy’s sentence “Happy families are all alike; every unhappy family is unhappy in its own way,” we can say that each social injustice is unique in its own way. There is no one-size-fits-all theory of justice to remedy various kinds of social injustice. By bringing in the perspective of situated vulnerable ones who suffer from injustice, contextual care-sensitive ethics can fill in the blank that the distributive model of justice cannot cover.

Related to it, Fiona Robinson pointed out three key points of the care ethics approach to human security as follows:

1. *The “human” in human security cannot be understood as an autonomous individual; the human subjects of security must be understood as beings-in-relation.*
2. *Efforts to enhance human security must recognize the importance of relations and networks of responsibility and care in determining people’s everyday experiences of security and insecurity.*
3. *An approach to human security based on a feminist care ethics challenges assumptions about dependency and vulnerability in world politics by reading care discourses and practices through historical and contemporary relations of domination and exclusion (F. Robinson 2011: 9-10).*

Attention to the practices and discourses surrounding care leads us to recognize the fact that all human beings exist in relation to others and are sustained by a web of life through care practices. We are all precarious and vulnerable and accordingly, we need care for and with others and they need care for and with us. Robinson tries to reconsider human security theoretically through the lens of feminist ethics of care; however, she fails to reconsider it through the more-than-human perspective as the following statement indicates:

“While I am mindful of the fact that green theorists have usefully pointed out the dangers of anthropocentrism, I do not put forward an ethics of ‘caring for the environment.’ Care ethics understands morality as located in responsibilities and practices of care among human beings in the context of webs and networks of relationships. From this perspective, moral relations of care cannot be established with inanimate things or features of the natural environment, such as rocks, trees, or lakes (F. Robinson 2011: 143-44).”

If we apply Dobson’s taxonomy of environmentalism/ecologism, Robinson’s standpoint could be situated as anthropocentric environmentalism based on instrumental value contrasted with ecologism based on intrinsic value. Cartesian dualism such as nature/culture, as well as strong anthropocentric instrumental value, seems to remain intact in Robinson’s argument and consequently, she fails to view human beings as

intrinsically linked to other non-human beings, including animals, plants, soils, and rivers. As we argued, even if we cannot escape from the anthropocentric view, we can expand the circle of the moral community by attributing the intrinsic value to non-human beings. The more important point is that security threats do not affect humans in isolation and that they erupt within *naturalcultural assemblages* that humans constitute with diverse non-human beings. Thus, we cannot maintain a basic assumption that human is the ultimate subject of security (Mitchell 2014). Furthermore, if we stop the deconstructive move dissolving Cartesian dualism, human exceptionalism (speciesism) will strike back and bring about a blowback such as genocide in which racists try to dehumanize the heterogeneous others (enemies) as animals and eliminate them. If we want to avoid such humanitarian disasters, we must continue to deconstruct hubristic human exceptionalism and try to change the biased value system that sustains unjust hierarchical power structures by aiming for a fair distribution of care-sensitive attentiveness to the conditions of worldliness that human and non-human beings co-constitute in the form of irreducible interconnection.

Here, we should locate the conventional understanding of *security* in contrast with *care*. As the etymological root of security ---*se-curitas* (without care) in Latin---suggests, our desire for security is ultimately the desire to be without-care (Hamilton 2013). Security paranoia---our endless desire to eradicate care--- leads to our denial of our own vulnerabilities and of our own dependency on others for survival. Traditional security logic is based on an independent autonomous actor model and the Schmittian concept of politics –friend/enemy & inside/outside—which denies our inevitable interdependency essential to reliant and vulnerable beings that we are. In contrast, care-sensitive politics focus on the realities of the world that includes our bodies, ourselves, and our environment, all of which we seek to interweave in a complex, life-sustaining web (Tronto 1993: 103). As Cameron Harrington pointed out, “Given the unique ability of the Anthropocene to undo this promise of security, more care, not less, is needed in our complex, entangled world (Harrington 2022: 216).” A feminist care ethics of security looks at the precariousness and vulnerability of our relational beings in a more-than-human world.

In addition, as Harrington et al. note, “Care compels us to act responsibility in relation to others, without relying upon restricted forms of global justice or moral cosmopolitanism that are troubled by Anthropocene logics. Care represents a promising, if also problematic, approach to security in the Anthropocene, the age of ‘shared threat’ (Harrington and Shearing 2017: 34).” Specifically with regard to *naturalcultural assemblages*, feminist theories of care can articulate the reciprocity of human-nature relationships and the idea that non-human nature is often at the same time care-giver and care-receiver for human beings (Jax et al. 2018). In addition, mutual relation of caring for and with others will fill the deficit of protection, empowerment, and solidarity, which are key targets for enriching human security for the Anthropocene (UNDP 2022: 6-7). We should reformulate the concept of human security in accordance with this form of thinking and living “with shared care” from below rather than thinking “without-care (security)” from above.

7. Care crisis and its implications: Democratizing care practices responding to ecological/human insecurities

We have already argued that we must bring in the perspective of the ethics of care in the entangled precariousness to respond to the negative interactions between social and ecological imbalance and reformulate human security in the fragile more-than-human world. On the other hand, there is a huge care deficit between the ideal of ethics of care and the harsh realities of care practices. Here, we should pay

attention to the realities of the “care crisis” in which racial capitalism continues to extract labor from racialized bodies, particularly racialized women’s lives in care/repair/cleaning activities in the wasted world. As many feminists have pointed out, care activities are underestimated, look invisible, and are appropriated as unpaid works or shadow works. In the same way, wastes, which capitalism overproduces, are also externalized as an invisible shadow economy and handled by racialized disposable workers. As François Vergès underlines, “In the current working of the geopolitics of cleanliness/dirtiness, the *invisibility* of the cleaning jobs of women of color creates *visibility* of clean homes and public spaces (Vergès 2019).” Here, we can notice the dark side of racial capitalism in the way in which the global north tries to fill in the “care deficit” by employing care workers from the global south.

The invisibility of care works derives partly from gendered relations of power through an idealized distinction between men’s productive and women’s social reproductive labors. On the other hand, most migrant healthcare workers are underpaid and lack labor law protections or social services benefits. More specific to COVID-19, they face heightened precarity, risk, and insecurity (Neely and Lopez 2022). In short, racialized and gendered lives are framed as disposable and cheap labor in the service, despite their essentialities for the whole life. As Nancy Fraser pointed out, this chaotic situation can be best interpreted as an acute expression of the social reproductive contradiction of financialized capitalism (Fraser 2016b: 99). While neoliberal capitalism free rides on activities of provisioning, care-giving, and interaction that produce and maintain social bonds, it will not sustain itself without those care activities. Without support from invisible care/clean activities dealing with wastes and feces, the clean zone for the rich will become dirty and messy contrary to the neoliberal dream of total gentrification.

To understand the implications of the current care crisis in the context of the planetary predicament, I quote Fraser’s accurate and apt comment concerning it as follows:

“In capitalist societies, the capacities available for social reproduction are accorded no monetized value. They are taken for granted, treated as free and infinitely available ‘gifts,’ which require no attention or replenishment. It’s assumed that there will always be sufficient energies to sustain the social connections on which economic production, and society more generally depend. This is very similar to the way that nature is treated in capitalist societies, as an infinite reservoir from which we can take as much as we want and into which we can dump any amount of waste. In fact, neither nature nor social reproductive capacities are infinite; both of them can be stretched to the breaking point. --- The result is a ‘crisis of care’ that is every bit as serious and systemic as the current ecological crisis, with which it is, in any case, intertwined (Fraser 2016a: 31).”

Shortly speaking, while the predatory neoliberal capitalism expropriates and extracts “the outside nature” until planetary boundaries manifest themselves, it also freerides on the domestic care activities --- “the inside nature” --- until social boundaries are tangible. The care crisis represents social boundaries where “cannibalism capitalism” cannot guzzle care work from the social reproductive sphere to sustain the possibilities and accumulation anymore (Fraser 2022). The care crisis often appears as the care deficit. For example, Joan C. Tronto refers to the care deficit as “the incapacities in advanced countries to find enough care workers to meet the needs of people, their children, elderly parents and relatives, and infirm family members” (Tronto 2013: 17). This definition seems to be too narrow because it does not pay attention to the global south. If we interpret care practices in a broader context, we can notice the phenomena of the “care crisis” or “care deficit” everywhere, in Haiti, Sudan, Libya, Myanmar, Syria, Ukraine, Gaza, and so on.

Destructive activities by masculine power politics overwhelm care/repair activities, sometimes leading to serious human insecurities and humanitarian crises as well as ecological disasters.

It is important to be aware of the cases in which apolitical humanitarian care practices grounded in the moral imperative to relieve suffering are sometimes held to be morally and ethically legitimate for the governing victims from above, which may contribute to the perpetuation of the status quo of asymmetrical power relations, including border enforcement control. By scrutinizing the case of the humanitarian assistance to immigrants in France, Miriam Ticktin argues that apolitical medical humanitarianism treating victims suffering from life-threatening illness and violence against women is accompanied by practices of violence and containment, which end up reproducing inequalities (Ticktin 2011: *passim*). According to Ticktin, “a politics of care reproduces a second-class status for immigrants in France, particularly those from the global South, exemplifying the ‘new humanity,’ worthy of rescue. --- Their main value is their suffering, insofar as practices of care that respond to suffering mark France as benevolent, as civilized, as humane. But finally, the politics of care maintains a racialized postcolonial nation-state, rendering immigrants visible in French society primarily in the form of gendered and racialized victims --- they can never be equal (Ticktin 2011: 24).”

In addition, another scholar points out that “since the mid-2000s, care has become entangled with the larger enforcement regime in new ways, as informal policies of humanitarian exceptionalism have been replaced by policies of contingent care that link care to enforcement (Williams 2015: 18).” While care practices are undervalued, feminized, and racialized despite their importance for the reproduction of societies, they are sometimes appropriated by the state machinery to maintain the status quo. This is highly similar to how the concept of human security is sometimes appropriated and assigned to a complementary role to national security.

These negative examples do not imply that we must dismiss care and compassion in humanitarian/ecological disasters. The problems derive from the apolitical care activities without committing to long-term structural change as well as appropriations of them by the hegemonic policing regime. To ease the care crisis, we should stop destructive activities and correct unequal and unjust power structures that bring about disasters where much more care activities are needed first. Then, we should transform the value structure which contributes to reinforcing asymmetrical and intersectional oppressive power structures. At the same time, we must democratize racial and patriarchal power structures by hearing subaltern’s voices and warning signals from nature. Against the value structure dominated by the exchange value, we should recover the intrinsic value of care practices in the reproductive sphere as well as the intrinsic value of non-human nature.

On the other hand, while paying attention to relationships and interconnections of our beings, we should promote collective caring through the care community and assign our responsibilities for care democratically. As we have already argued, there is a huge gap between the ideal of an ethic of care and realities of care practices. To fill a void, we must break down hierarchical relationships that maintain a gap leading to the care crisis by making care practices more democratic (Tronto 2013: 151-58). As Tronto argues, care is better when done democratically. As democratic caring flattens the hierarchy, it improves the quality of caring (Tronto 2013: 156-7). Lastly, solidarity, as a sense of common purpose, creates the conditions for caring among people and for greater responsiveness to democratic values. If we respect and take care of the ecology of interconnected relations in our beings against neuro-political antagonism, that type of efforts would lead to the possibility of human flourishing with non-humans and post-humanity as solidarity and the

realization of substantive post-human security in a more than human world.

8. Concluding Remarks ---

Total Liberation Framework: the Idealism as a Beacon for a More-than-human World

Facing the planetary boundaries in the Anthropocene, we are now forced to rethink human security from the relational viewpoint of human-non-human entanglements. Deep ecologists advocate that we must overcome human exceptionalism and recognize inherent values in non-human beings. However, we cannot share the same perception with non-human beings and cannot escape from the anthropocentrism as far as we exist as human beings. What we can do is to change our value structure from strong anthropocentrism such as human exceptionalism to weak anthropocentrism alongside ecologism that aims to find out intrinsic values in non-human beings.

In addition, we must pay attention to the interplay between ecological and social imbalances. Ecofeminists' insights suggest that patriarchal domination is complicit with anthropocentrism to plunder, extract, and destroy nature. Critical black reason also points out that racial capitalism has continued to promote the aggressive usurpation of land, labor, and natural resources, leading to the planetary crisis. In short, the current planetary crisis represents an embodied unjust reality shaped by patriarchy, racial capitalism, and science-technology using fossil and nuclear energy.

We have scrutinized the ways in which humans, nonhumans, and ecosystems intersect to produce hierarchical structures as well as insecurities within and across species that ultimately place our planetary at great risk. Against violent dynamics among and between humans and the more-than-human world, we need challenge the intersectional oppressions of the hegemonic power structure through a commitment to an ideal of *total liberation framework*. Violent acts of dehumanizing the enemies in Gaza/Israel, Rohingya/Myanmar, Uyghurs/China, and Ukraine/Russia remind us of how the *Anthropological Machine* operates by means of excluding as not (yet) human an already human being from itself, that is, by animalizing the human, by isolating the nonhuman within the human. We often notice humanitarian disasters in a kind of a state of exception at a zone of indeterminacy between inside and outside: neither an animal life nor a human life, but only a life that is separated and excluded from itself---only a *bare life*. They can be interpreted as negative consequences of our narrow anthropocentric worldview (speciesism) as well as our neuro-political fragmentation.

Faced with a broken world, we must repair it by embracing care ethics, but not the apolitical one. At the same time, we need resurrect our relational solidarity in a more-than-human world through democratized care practices. Related to this point, Corwin and Gidwani gave a helpful insight as follows:

“Repair as care highlights the importance of recognizing people, places, and things and their inter-relationships as impermanent, always in jeopardy of breakdown or wastage and thus in need of recurring maintenance and attention for their continued function. In an economic system based on creating waste in its wake, this means attending to human and non-human entities not as abstracted or alienated being---labours, commodities, resources, disposable objects---but instead as complex, multifaceted beings in relationships of codependence. If this becomes the starting premise of our interactions with one another, then caring for individuals means learning to *give* and *receive* care---caring *about*, caring *for*, and caring *with* the textile weave of relations that comprise the planetary web of life and the human-ecological systems that are its conditions or possibility. Only by embracing a democratized ethics of planetary care can we maintain our

increasingly fragile world for ‘as well as possible’ relationship (Corwin and Gidwani 2021).”

We must democratize care relations to resolve today’s crisis of care. Here, we should remind ourselves that the care deficit and democratic deficit are two sides of the same coin (Tronto 2013: 181). If neoliberal capitalism is a driving force leading to a crisis of care, as well as a crisis of democracy and planetary crisis by cannibalizing every sphere of life; guzzling wealth from nature and racialized populations, sucking up our ability to care for each other, and gutting the practice of politics (Fraser 2022: passim), we need to dislocate the hegemony of the capitalocentric discourse, *capitalocentrism*, and resituate potential dislocative powers on a different terrain by invoking an emerging political imaginary (Gibson-Graham 2006: 54-59). To transform the hegemonic power structure and the hierarchical value structure that reproduce unequal and insecure situations, we need to dislocate anthropocentrism as well as capitalocentrism. In the same way, we must reformulate the concept of human security alongside the counter-hegemonic move by continuing to ask whose or of what security and life matters, who or what is cared for, and how it is practiced in a fragile more-than-human world. Continuing practices along this line may get closer to making of planetary solidarity against apocalyptic present.

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