

MUNI
FSS

National, International and Human Security

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Outline

- Different levels of security
 - National security
 - International security
 - Human security
 - Vernacular security
- Group discussion

National security

- state is given a **monopoly on the use of force** only insofar as it is capable of protecting its citizens
- ‘national security’ = all those public policies through which the nation state ensures its survival as a separate and sovereign community → the safety and prosperity of its citizens

National security: definitions

- "... a nation is secure to the extent to which it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values if it wishes to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by victory in such a war." (Walter Lippman, 1943)
- "... security, in an objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values, in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked." (Arnold Wolfers, 1952)
- "Security itself is a relative freedom from war coupled with a relatively high expectation that defeat will not be a consequence of any war that should occur." (Ian Bellamy)

National security

- national security as the **absence of threats** to acquired values through **deterrence or defence** capabilities
 - security pursued by reducing vulnerability (implies a self-help = military power and economic resources)
 - bias towards great powers
- ***Why (absolute) national security cannot be achieved?***
 - security dilemma
 - risk of creating a militarised and security-obsessed society

International security

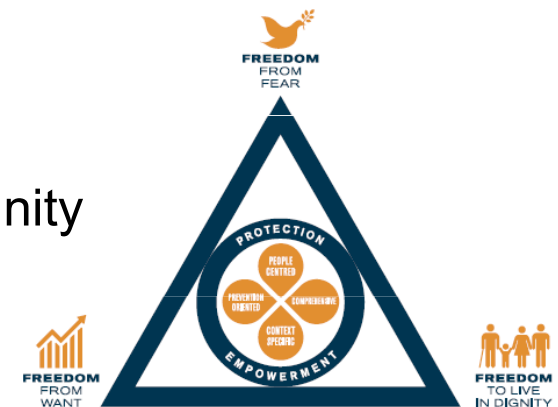
- focus on the **sources and causes of threats** → aims to reduce / eliminate them
- depends on the **management of relations** among states
- agree to conduct their sovereign affairs in accordance with specified normative standards
 - principles, norms, rules of behaviour → some degree of order and certainty
- international organizations and regimes

- criticism:
 - in practice depends on great powers + might lead to excessive vulnerability

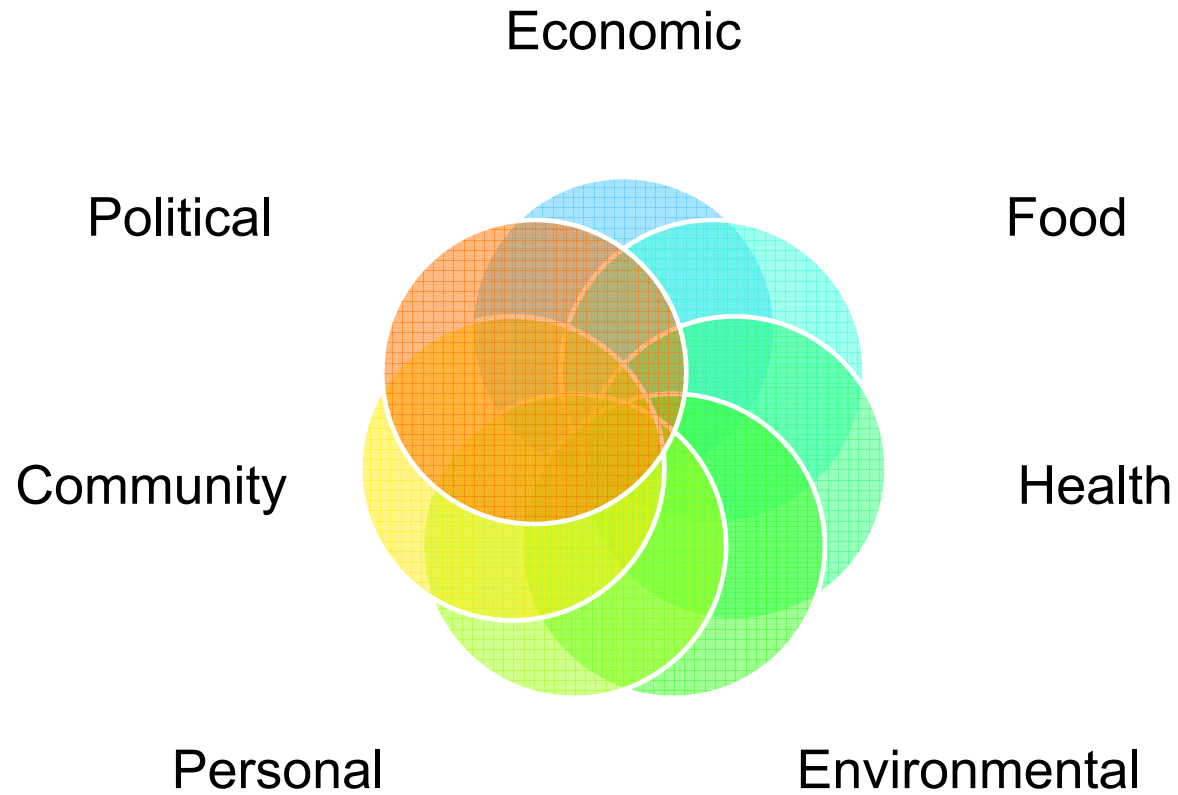
Change of paradigm? Human security

- NS and IS both view states as protectors rather than oppressors of its own citizens
- states might endanger their own citizens
- paradigm of human security
 - moral primacy to the **well-being of men, women and children** over and above the rights and interests of states or of international society
 - different definitions - safety → well-being, human rights
 - freedom from fear + freedom from want + freedom to live in dignity

HUMAN
DEVELOPMENT
REPORT 1994



Dimensions of human security



TYPE OF INSECURITY	ROOT CAUSES
Economic insecurity	Persistent poverty, unemployment, lack of access to credit and other economic opportunities
Food insecurity	Hunger, famine, sudden rise in food prices
Health insecurity	Epidemics, malnutrition, poor sanitation, lack of access to basic health care
Environmental insecurity	Environmental degradation, resource depletion, natural disasters
Personal insecurity	Physical violence in all its forms, human trafficking, child labour
Community insecurity	Inter-ethnic, religious and other identity-based tensions, crime, terrorism
Political insecurity	Political repression, human rights violations, lack of rule of law and justice

Human Security Network

- established in 1999, a loose grouping of states led by Canada, Norway, Switzerland
- the task of promoting the concept of human security as a feature of national and international policies
- agenda for political action:
 - elimination of antipersonnel landmines
 - stopping the use of child soldiers
 - promoting respect of international humanitarian law and the work of the ICC
 - stop proliferation and misuse of small arms and light weapons
 - protection of civilians in conflict

Responsibility to protect (R2P)

- ICISS report (2001) - proposed the doctrine of R2P:
 - *„State sovereignty implies responsibility, and the primary responsibility for the protection of its people lies with the state itself.“*
 - *„Where a population is suffering serious harm, as a result of internal war, insurgency, repression or state failure, and the state in question is unwilling or unable to halt or avert it, the principle of non-intervention yields to the international responsibility to protect.“*
- applies to genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, ethnic cleansing

Responsibility to protect (R2P)

- prevention as the most important dimension of R2P
- military intervention as an exceptional measure in cases of serious and irreparable harm occurring to human beings (or imminently likely to occur)
 - *A. large scale loss of life as a product of deliberate state action / neglect / inability to act / failed action*
 - *B. large scale ‘ethnic cleansing’*
- application of “precautionary principles“ (right intention last resort, proportionality, a reasonable chance of success)

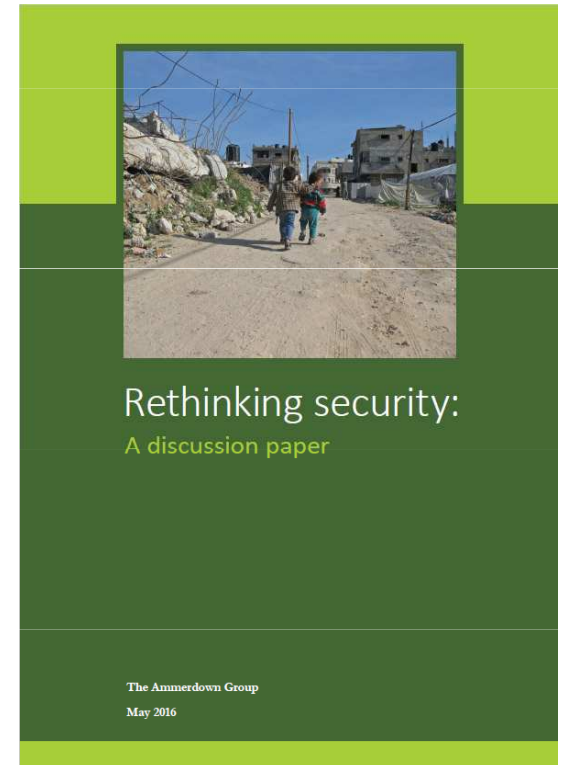
Human security approach: criticism

- lacks a precise definition
- too broad → little guidance for policymakers
- not a useful framework of analysis for scholars
- can help justify (military) interventions in other states



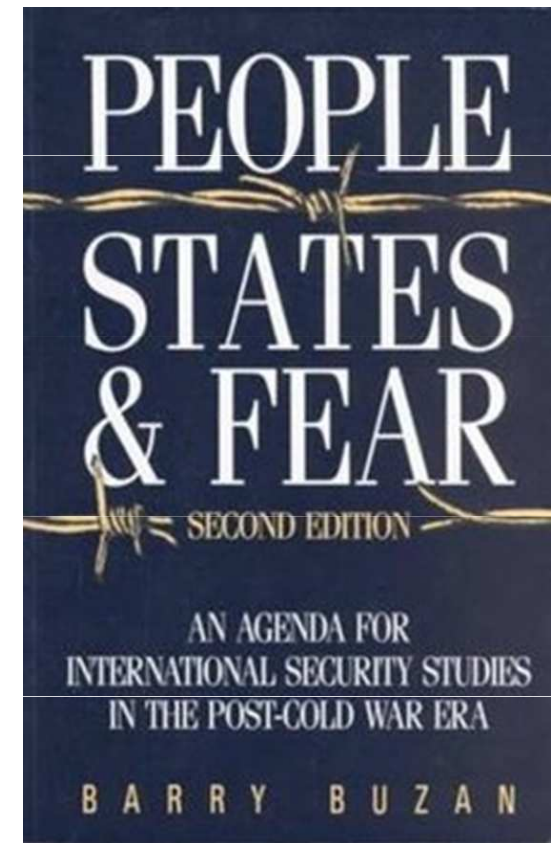
Rethinking security

- The Ammerdown Group. „Rethinking security: A discussion paper growing insecurity“
 - established approach - identify threats and „neutralise“ them through „capabilities“ (mostly hard power)
 - the military response has been ineffective and counterproductive
 - the goal of security must be grounded in the wellbeing of people in their social and ecological context
 - priority issues: scarcity and climate change, inequality, militarism, violent conflict
 - need for greater understanding of the adversaries



A holistic view of security

- Buzan: 3 levels of security - **individuals** (level 1) - **state** (level 2) - **international system** (level 3)
 - strong interconnections, they cannot be addressed separately!
 - need for reintegration
- ▶ **systemic security** - interconnecting all three levels
 - taking account of the vulnerabilities of other actors, threat from one's own state...
- solution to the power-security dilemma (excessive vulnerability x provocation)
- stability of the system - by distributing the control as wide as possible across the levels



Vernacular security

- based on the constructivist approach to security and human security
- it criticises speaking for people x **talking to people / with people**
- security as a contested concept = different meanings for different people

- ***What meaning do people attach to security in their daily lives?***
 - a great plurality of meanings
 - securities instead of a security

Vernacular security: example 1

- Lee Jarvis and Michael Lister (2012)
Vernacular Securities and Their Study: A Qualitative Analysis and Research Agenda
- a project examining public attitudes towards security, citizenship and anti-terrorism policy within the UK
 - (a) What kinds of security threats do people in this country face? (b) What are the main issues or threats to your own security? (c) In what ways do you think threats to security have changed over time, if any? (d) What does security mean to you? (e) Who do you think is responsible for providing security?
- = heterogeneity of vernacular securities

Table 1. Public views of security: a typology.

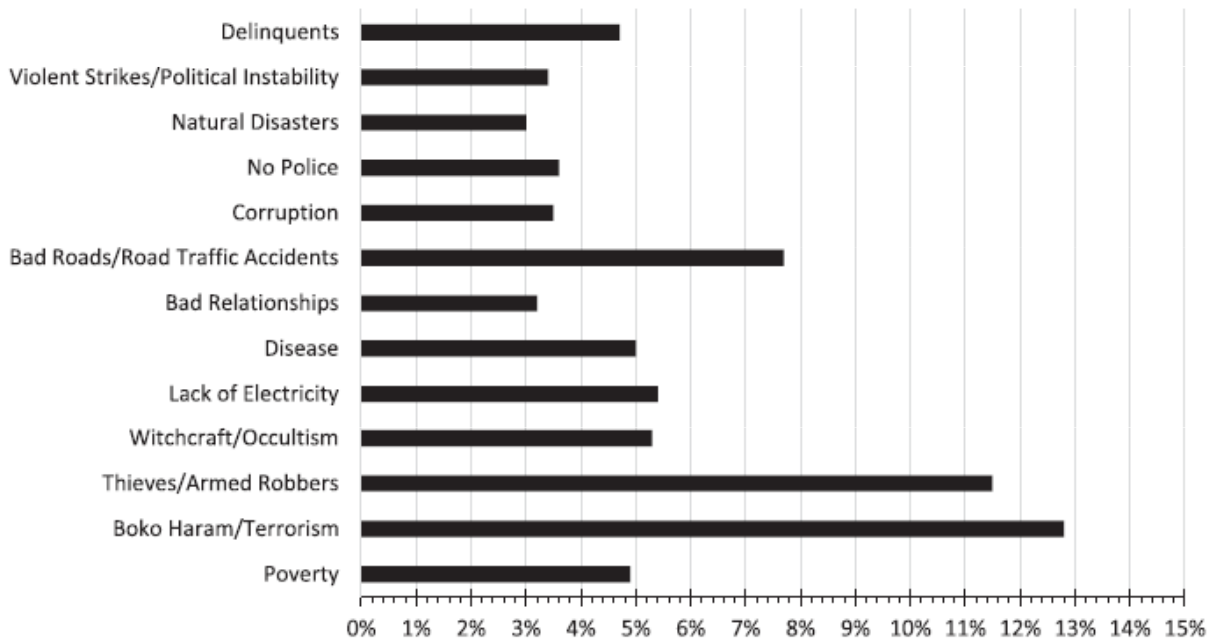
Security as:	Key features	Internal variances	Example
Survival (plus)	Assured existence Materiality of needs Presumed universal Parsimony	Continuation of life Meeting of basic human needs	'Everybody should have [a] basic standard of water supply, and food supply ... of healthcare [and] housing'
Belonging	The comfort of needs met Familiarity with physical and human surroundings	Positive accounts Negative accounts	'the ability to feel comfortable where you are ... from walking down the street in a city ... to feeling comfortable with the people you're with ... and in your job situation and in your life situation, with your health'
Hospitality	Positive recognition by others	None encountered	'I think if we feel welcome we'd probably feel more secure'
Equality	Social, political and/or legal parity between individuals and communities	Of opportunities Of treatment	'you are secure if you are treated the way others are treated without ... any preferential treatment'
Freedom	Self-authorship within legally-circumscribed parameters	Positive freedoms Negative freedoms	'I equate [security] ... to freedom really; to feeling that you can do what you want and be where you want within the confines of the law ... without fear'
Insecurity	Security's implication in undesirable or unjust social/political practices	Primarily around agency: accounts centred either on media or governmental elites	'[When] they say we're going to increase security. I think of martial law'

Vernacular security: example 2

- Bruce Bakera and Manu Lekunze (2019) *The character and value of vernacular security: the case of South West Cameroon*
 - perception of security in South West Cameroon
 - „*what counts as a security issue? for whom is security? how is security provided? who allocates security?*“
1. Security is contested
 2. A broad view of threats
 3. Security is subjective
 4. Security is communal
 5. Security favours certainty and stability
 6. Multiple providers
- ⇒ security as freedom

Vernacular security: example 2

Security Threats



Other threats which form less than 3% of the total threats mentioned were: tribal/cultural differences; exclusion; mob justice; western culture/demise of local values; rape; poor mobile phone connection; rain; injustice; homelessness; lack of opportunity; assault; pollution; death; disputes; bad neighbours/neighbourhoods; natural disasters.

DISTRIBUTION OF END-USER PREFERENCES

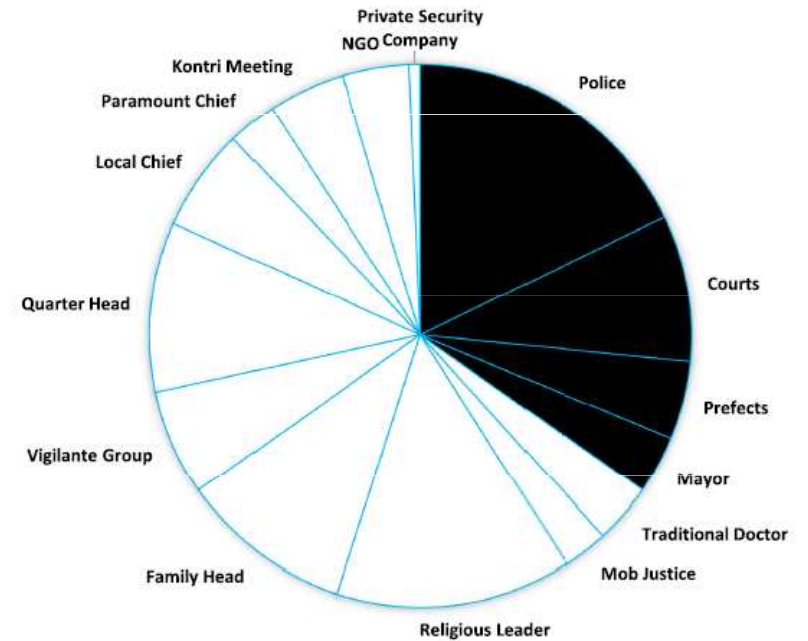


Figure 2. The Preferences of Security End-Users. Note: The area shaded black shows the percentage of those who turn to modern state actors for security. The area shaded in white shows the percentage of end-users who turn to community based actors for security.

Group discussion

- 1. What meaning do you personally attach to security?
Can you agree on a common definition of security in your group?***
- 2. Do you agree with the idea that national security should be replaced with human security to address the most pressing security concerns?***



Group discussion

3. *Should the concept of R2P apply to justify intervention in the name of climate change mitigation?*

Who Will Save the Amazon (and How)?

It's only a matter of time until major powers try to stop climate change by any means necessary.



By **Stephen M. Walt**, a columnist at *Foreign Policy* and the Robert and Renée Belfer professor of international relations at Harvard University. FP subscribers can now receive alerts when new stories written by this author are published. [Subscribe now](#) | [Sign in](#)

