



# WHAT KIND OF SECURITY?

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# Brief History of SS

- Sub-discipline of IR
- What is security?
- Agenda of SS
- Periodization of the evolution of security studies:
  - a) **Interwar period** (national security, ensuring the defense of the state, first research centers)
  - b) **the 1950s** (interdisciplinarity, focus on foreign policy, expansion of the methodological base - game theory, dominant direction realism, World Politics)
  - c) **period 1955-1965** (strategy for the use of nuclear weapons, Survival journal)
  - d) **period 1965 -1980** (decline SS, MAD - mutual assured destruction)
  - e) **period 1980-1989/90** (International Security journal, new approaches)
  - f) **period after the end of bipolar confrontation** (completely new topics, non-military threats)

# Critical Security Studies

- Shift in the 90s (The first impulse - Toronto school - Strategies in Conflict: Critical Approaches to Security Studies)
- **Traditional security studies** focused on military and state as referent object
- A shift in the definition of the referent object and threats
- Three main aspects of CSS according to Browning a McDonald
- Mohammed Ayooob – subaltern realism
- Discussion of the concept of security in the 90s - three groups
  - A) group against changing the agenda (John Mearsheimer, Stephen Walt)
  - B) group supporting the partial change (Schultz, Buzan?)
  - C) group supporting radical reform (Ulman, Kegley)

# The most famous SS approaches - Toronto School

- 1994 - small conference at the York University entitled Strategies in Conflict: Critical Approaches to Security Studies
- Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams - Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases
- They began to questioning the concept of state as the main referent object – who or what is to be secured?
- Set out agenda of CSS in three points:
  - a) referent object
  - b) security more than just a military security
  - c) changed the way how security was studied

# New topics and new referent objects



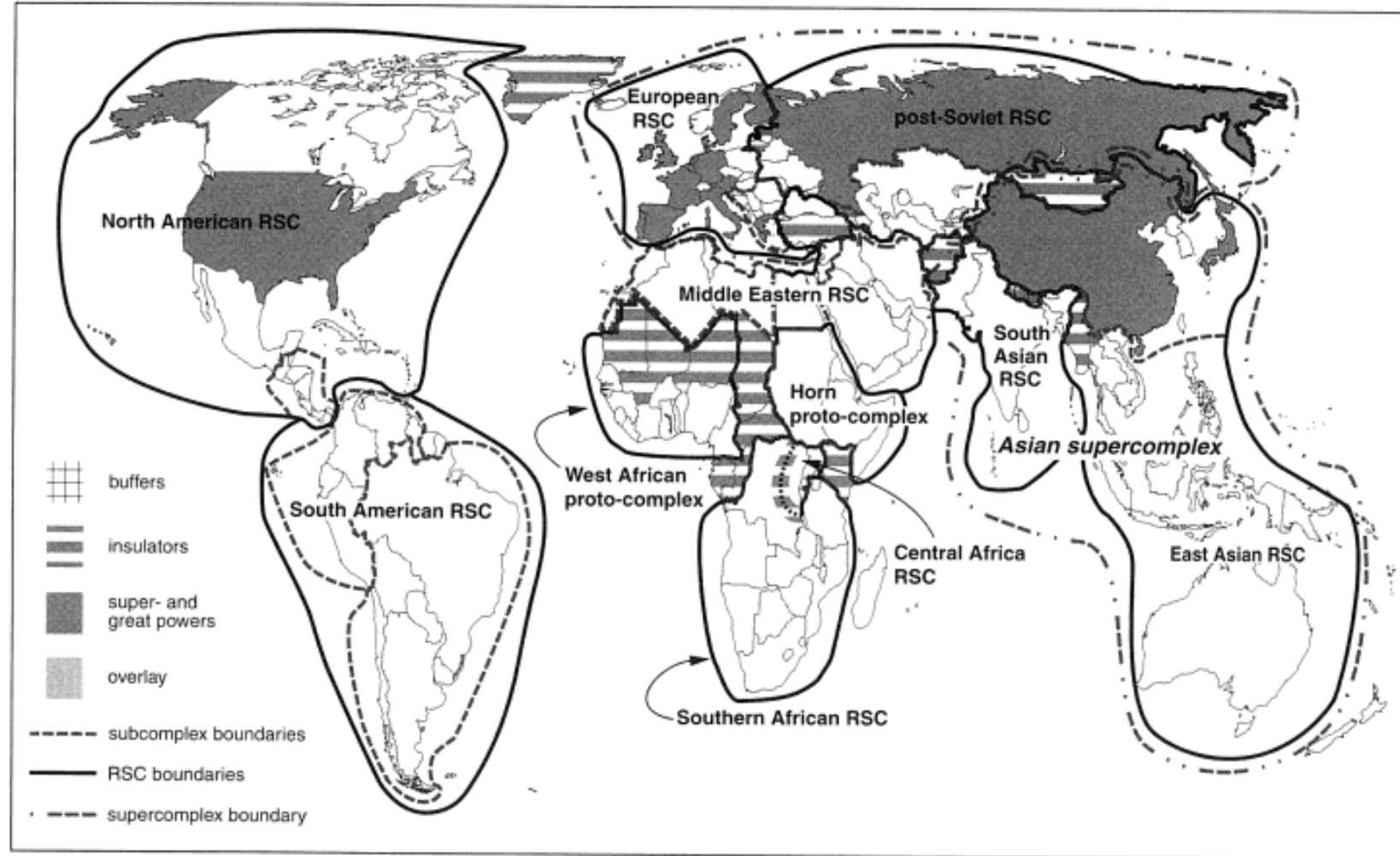
# The most famous SS approaches - Copenhagen School

- 1995 - Barry Buzan, Ole Weaver and Jaap de Wilde published book: Security: A New Framework for Analysis
- Old vs. new concept of security
- Resolves its incoherence by arguing that the social production of security is sufficiently stable to be treated objectively
- Concept of sectoral security - military, political, economic, societal, environmental security
- Concept of analytical levels/categories (international systems, international subsystems, units, subunits and individuals).
- Concept of regional security complexes (4 basic principles)

*„a group of states whose major security perspectives and concerns are so intertwined that the national security issues of each cannot be adequately analyzed or addressed separately“*



# Copenhagen School – Regional Security Complexes



Map 2. Patterns of Regional Security Post-Cold War

# Copenhagen School - Securitization

- **Referential object** – entity which is threatened and has legitimate right for survival
- **Securitisator actor** – the one who securitises
- **Functional actor** – influences the dynamic of the sector
- Securitisation actor is presented by an entity which presents certain issue as security threat through **speech act** - 2 phases:
  - a) portraying a certain problem as an existential threat
  - b) accepting the phenomenon as a threat and subsequently taking appropriate measures
- Three aspects influencing success of the securitization - the nature of the threat, the external context, the linguistic and grammatical criteria of the speech act



# The most famous SS approaches – Welsh/Aberyswyth School

- Steve Smith – Critical Security Studies and World Politics, Theory of World Security by Ken Booth.
- Emancipatory realism - security is perceived in a wider context = education, economic growth, healthy environment, etc.
- Focused on a normative goal = human independence
- A wide range of non-military threats
- The normative aspect - an academic lives in society and cannot separate himself from "values" - we select and emphasize certain facts + influences such as gender, education, class, etc... The problem is not that we do not make an "objective decision", the problem is that some options we choose to ignore

# Sectoral analysis - Military sector

- Referent objects – state or military.
- Securitisation actors - ruling political elite
- In practice, the military security agenda includes the ability of governments to avert internal and external threats to their existence, but also includes the use of military force to defend states or governments against non-military threats such as immigrants, competing ideologies, etc.
- 2 major turning points: the end of the Cold War + the collapse of the USSR and 9/11
- The biggest threat - conflicts
- Military sector and events of 2020/2021 - withdrawal from Afghanistan, reescalation of conflict in Nagorno Karabach, long-lasting conflicts in Syria and Jemen, increasing instability in the Sahel, etc.

# Sectoral analysis - Political sector

- Referent object - stability and sovereignty of the state
- Securitisation actor – political leaders
- Threats against internal legitimacy x external recognisiton/legitimacy
- 3 components of the state: ideas/ideology of the state, physical base and institutions.
- Threats: separatist tendencies towards weak states, threats to states arising from political-ideological issues, actions of the supranational, regional integration unit and the reaction to this action, etc.
- Domestic (coups, anti-government protests, delegitimization of the government), regional (tensions and instability within bilateral relations), and global level (rising tensions between the West and China/Russia).

# Sectoral analysis - Economic sector

- Referent object can be individuals, sometimes states (economic stability and prosperity) and sometimes the entire international economy
- Securitisation actor - state authorities, IGOs and sometimes companies
- Threats: economic losses, eventual collapse of the entire economy, economic declines, etc.
- Economic regionalism – EU, ASEAN, NAFTA/USMCA, etc.
- A **financial crisis** is any of a broad variety of situations in which some financial assets suddenly lose a large part of their nominal value. Example: banking crisis, currency crisis, international finances crisis.

# Sectoral analysis - Societal sector

- Referent object – national security, society/community
- Societal security = identity security
- Securitisation actor – Leaders (political, spiritual, tribal etc.).
- Identity threats :
  - a) Migration
  - b) Horizontal Competition
  - c) Vertical Competition
  - d) Massive population decline
- The way in which identity is constructed is important, examples: Separation, Numerical superiority, Language, Cultural customs, Melting pot, etc.

# Sectoral analysis - Environmental sector

- Referent object - the environment or some of its strategic components, the preservation of the current level of civilization
- Securitisation actors - governments, government agencies and intergovernmental org. – governments establish rules to the actors, enforce their compliance
- According to Buzzan 6 topics of the environmental agenda:
  1. Disruption of ecosystems (climate change, loss of biodiversity, desertification)
  2. Energy problems (depletion of natural resources, various forms of pollution)
  3. Population problems (population growth and consumption exceeding the capacity of the Earth)
  4. Food problems (poverty, famine)
  5. Economic problems (protection of long-term unsustainable methods of production, social instability due to the growth imperative)
  6. Civil disputes (damage to NE due to conflicts + violent conflicts resulting



# Sectoral analysis - Environmental sector

- Three types of threats:

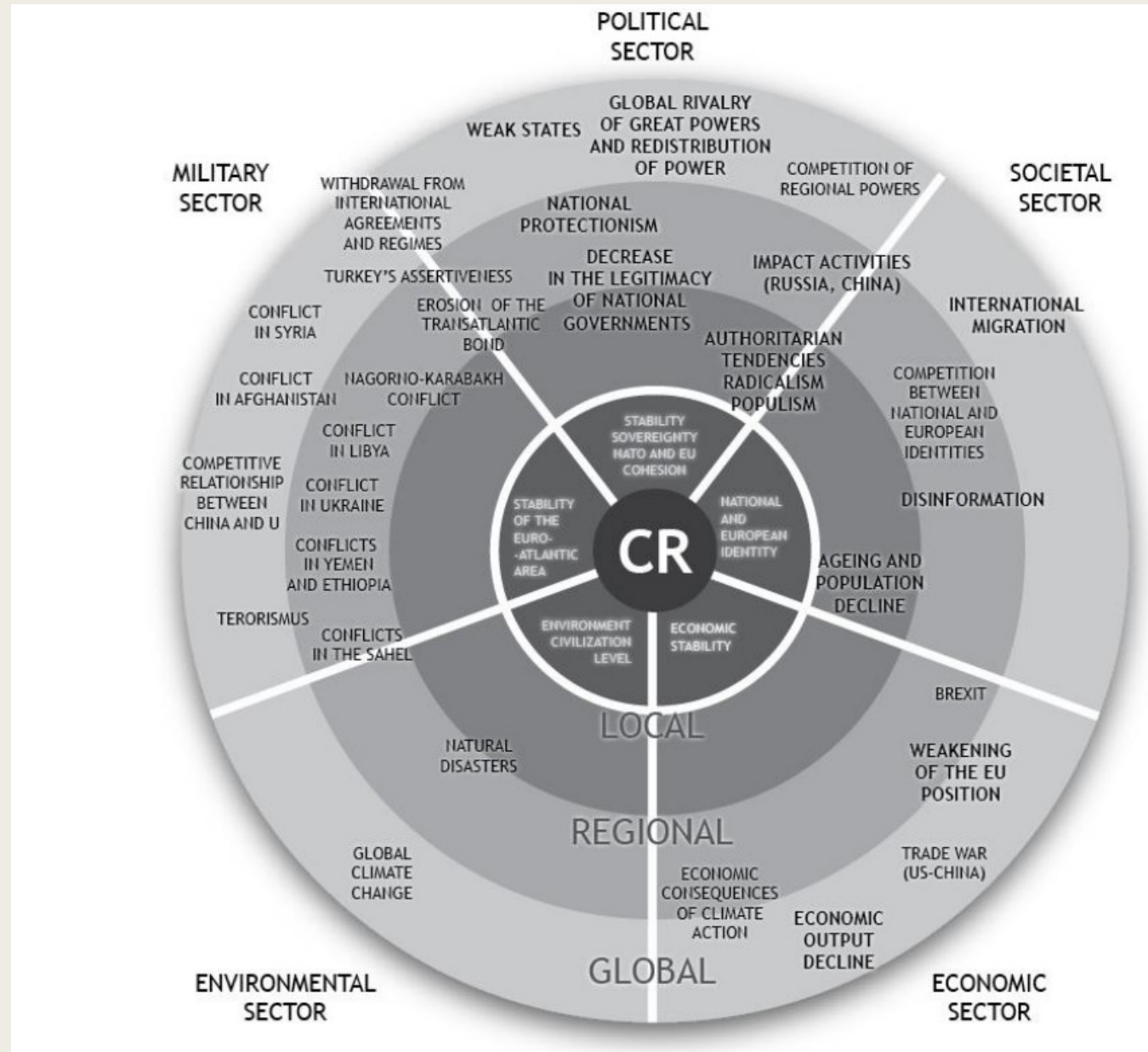
- a) Threats to human civilization that arose from the natural environment and not caused by human activity.

- b) Threats caused by human activity and affecting the natural system (present an existential threat)

- c) Threats caused by human activity and affecting the natural system (do not represent an existential threat)

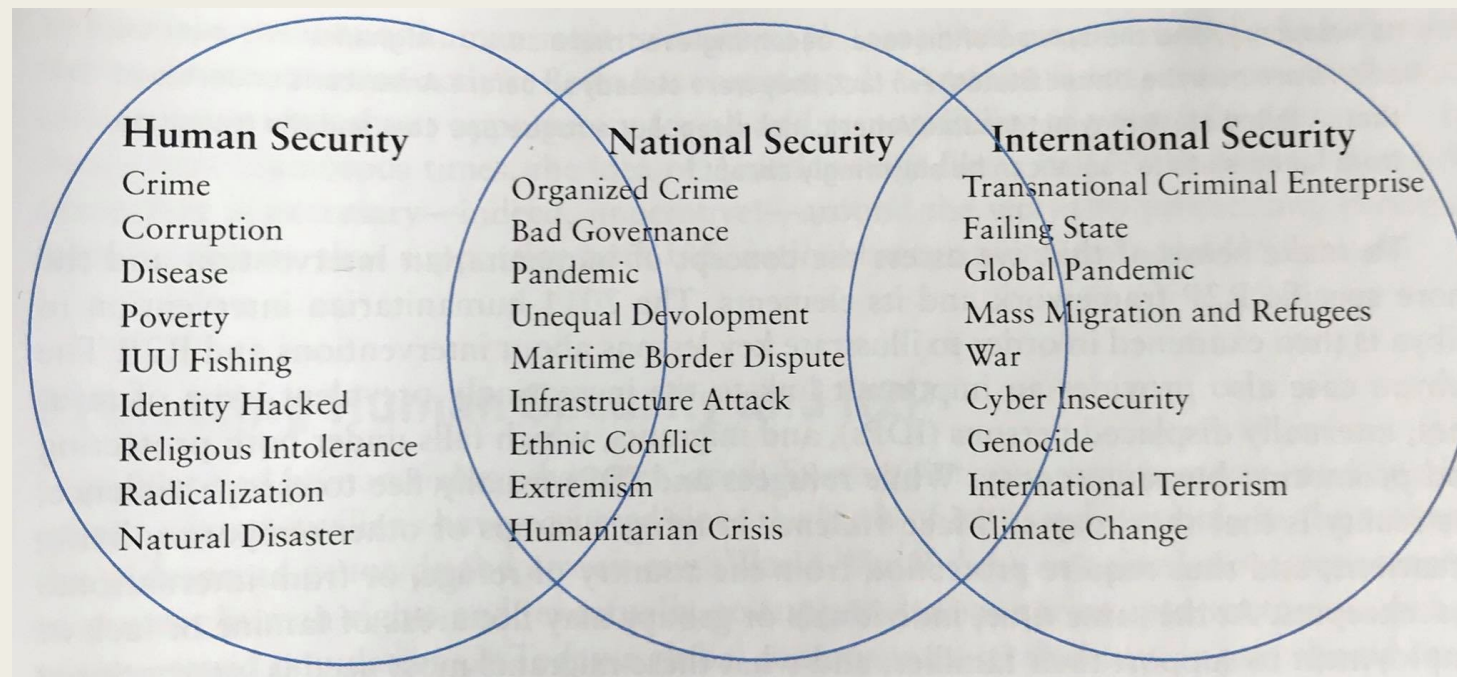
- Think globally, act locally

# Sectoral analysis



# Security according to Reveron and Mahoney-Norris

- Derek S. Reveron, Kathleen A. Mahoney-Norris - Human and National Security Understanding Transnational Challenges



# Security according to Reveron and Mahoney-Norris

- Identity Security
- Civil Security
- Economic Security
- Environmental Security
- Maritime Security
- Health Security
- Information Security

# Class Participation- Discuss the following points:

- What type of security do you think is the most important and what is the least important? Justify your answers
  - *Identity Security, Health Security, Military Security, Economic Security, Environmental Security, Information Security, Civil Security, Maritime Security*
- What do you think are the three biggest threats that Central European society faces at the moment?
- How are these threats different from those that most endanger African and Asian societies?

Thank you for your  
attention