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# **National, International and Human Security**

Security Systems and Actors, March 26, 2024

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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?*

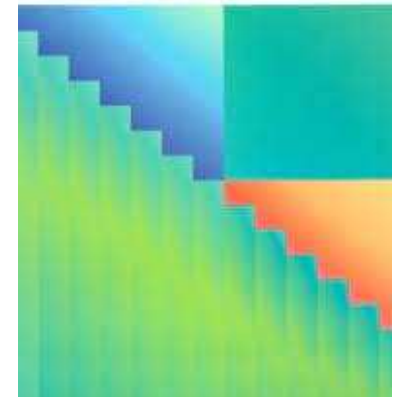
- security dilemma
- risk of creating a militarised and security-obsessed society

# 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

“The concept of security has for too long been interpreted narrowly: as security of territory from external aggression, or as protection of national interests in foreign policy or as global security from the threat of a nuclear holocaust. It has been related more to nation-states than to people.”

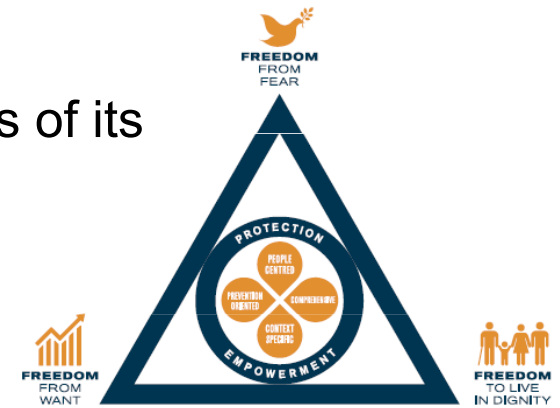
HUMAN  
DEVELOPMENT  
REPORT 1994



„Forgotten were the legitimate concerns of ordinary people who sought security in their daily lives. For many of them, security symbolized protection from the threat of disease, hunger, unemployment, crime, social conflict, political repression and environmental hazard.“

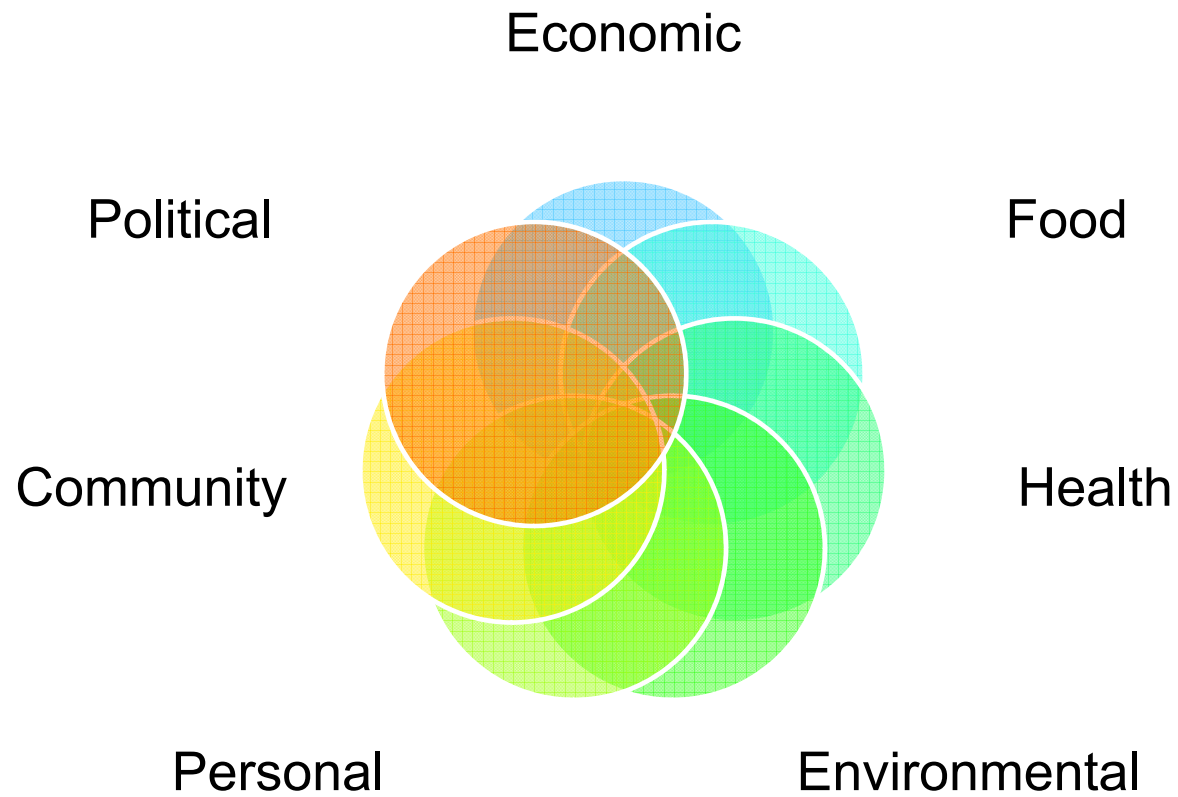
# Change of paradigm? Human security

- 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





# Dimensions of human security



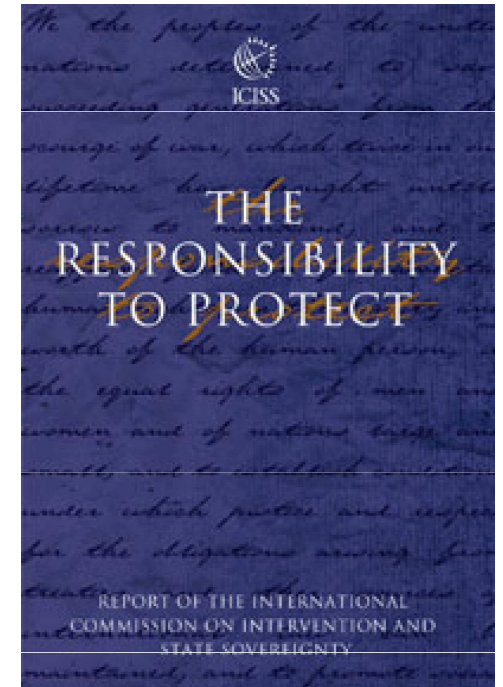
TYPE OF INSECURITY	ROOT CAUSES
Economic insecurity	Persistent poverty, unemployment, lack of access to credit and other economic opportunities
Food insecurity	Hunger, famine, sudden rise in food prices
Health insecurity	Epidemics, malnutrition, poor sanitation, lack of access to basic health care
Environmental 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 (genocidal intent or not) as a product of deliberate state action / neglect / inability to act / failed state situation*
  - *B. large scale ‘ethnic cleansing’*
- application of “precautionary principles“ (right intention, last resort, proportionality, a reasonable chance of success)

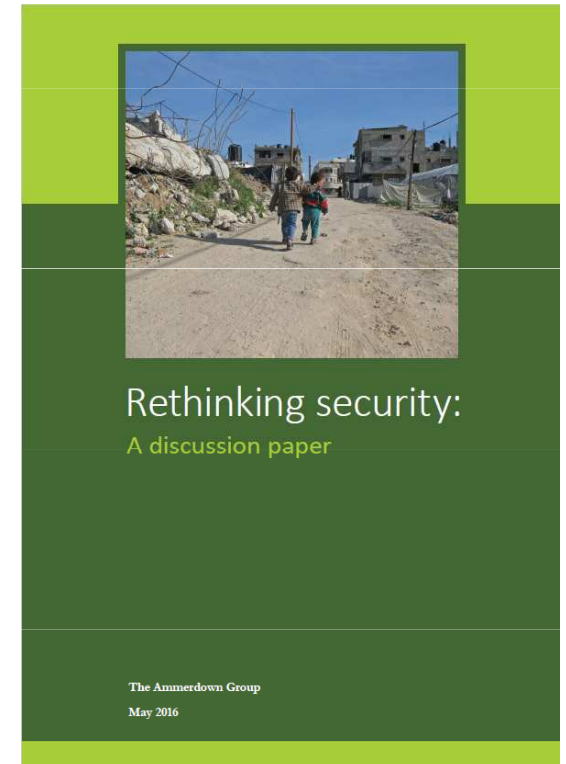
# Human security approach: criticism

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



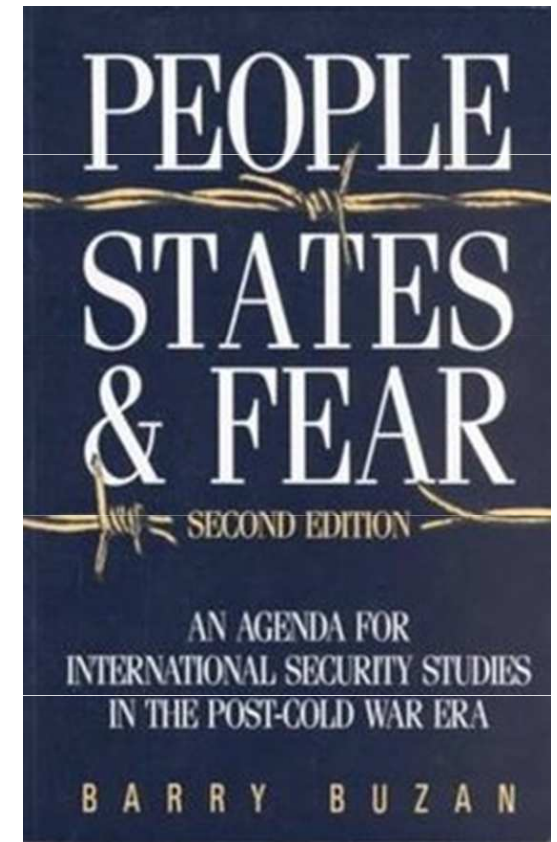
# Rethinking security

- 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

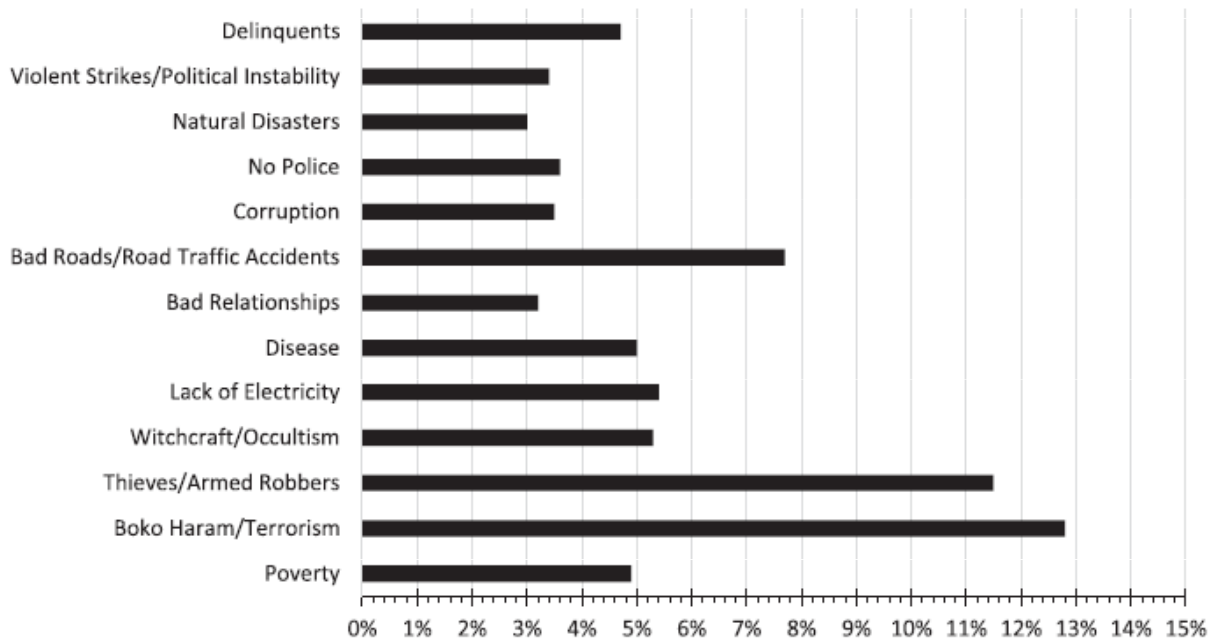
## Vernacular security: example 2

Delinquents  
Violent Strikes/Political Instability  
Natural Disasters  
No Police  
Corruption  
Bad Roads/Road Traffic Accidents  
Bad Relationships  
Disease  
Lack of Electricity  
Witchcraft/Occultism  
Thieves/Armed Robbers  
Boko Haram/Terrorism  
Poverty

**What issues do the people of South West Cameroon perceive as the biggest threats?**

# Vernacular security: example 2

Security Threats



DISTRIBUTION OF END-USER PREFERENCES

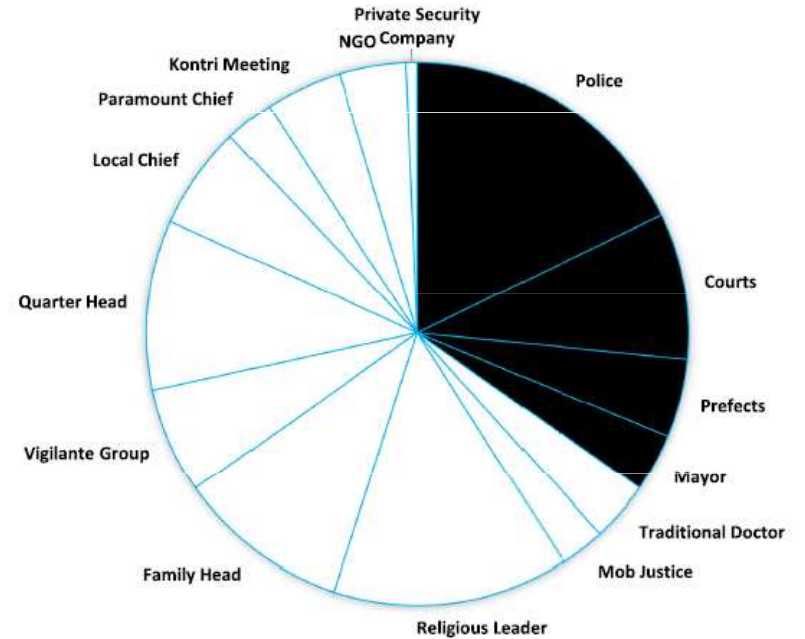


Figure 2. The Preferences of Security End-Users. Note: The area shaded black shows the percentage of those who turn to modern state actors for security. The area shaded in white shows the percentage of end-users who turn to community based actors for security.

# Group discussion

- 1. What meaning do you personally attach to security? Can you agree on a common definition of security within your discussion group?**
- 2. What dimensions of human security are the most threatened in your countries? What are the main insecurities people face?**