



INTERNATIONAL SECURITY - IRE107

FALL 2018

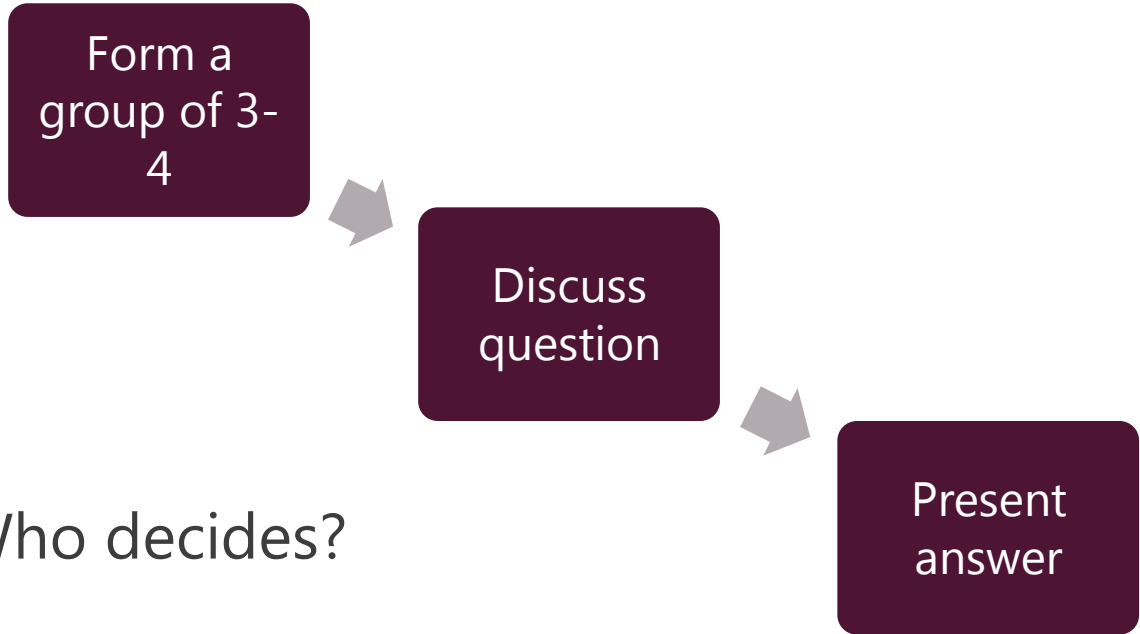
Security terms and theories

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STARTING DISCUSSION

- Is security survival?
- Is security absolute or relational?
- Is state/national security paramount?
- How do we know we're (not) secure? Who decides?
- Who improves or damages security (which actors)?
- What makes us most insecure? (WMD, or climate, or race, or conflict?)

Form a
group of 3-
4



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graph LR; A[Form a group of 3-4] --> B[Discuss question]; B --> C[Present answer]
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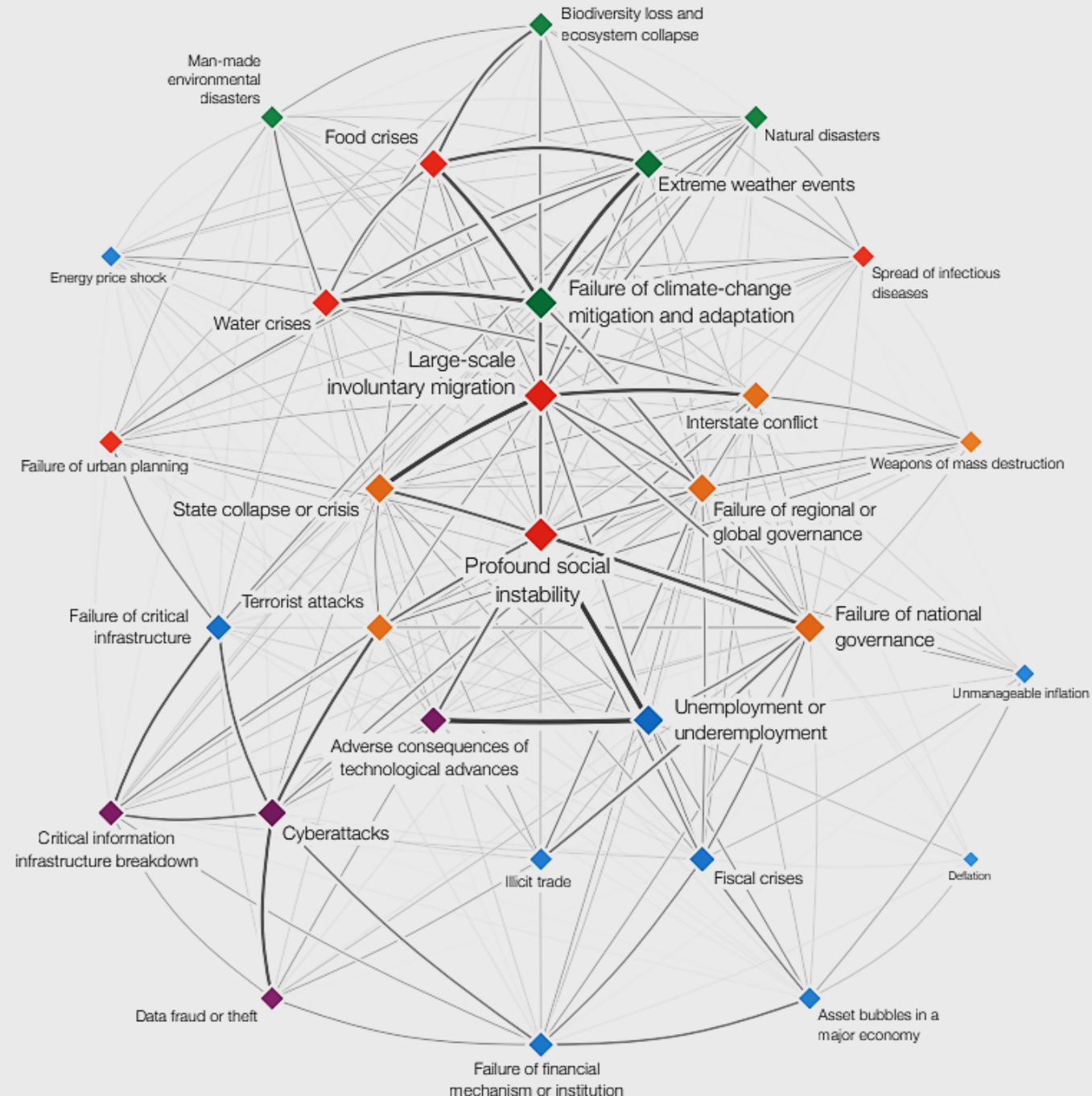
Discuss
question

Present
answer

GLOBAL RISKS

- World Economic Forum
- **The Global Risks Report 2018 13th Edition**
- http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GRR18_Report.pdf

Figure III: The Global Risks Interconnections Map 2018



terrorism
hybrid
deterrence
mitigation
threat
interest
strategy
agent
structure
security
hazard
risk
defense
war
nuclear
climate
cyber
conflict
crisis
impact
vulnerability
opportunities

SECURITY

- security is **survival plus**
- while survival is easier to define the plus is not
- depending on the level of analysis (read Singer) survival will consist of:
 - a degree of sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity



- the prevention/mitigation of threats to values
- freedom from (persecution)
- and freedom to (pursue happiness)

Global

International

National

Individual

THREAT

- **primary phenomenon endangering values**
- **severity corresponds to how core the value is**
- national security threat as an action or sequence of events that (Ullman 1983):
 - 1) threatens drastically and over a relatively brief span of time to degrade the quality of life for the inhabitants of a state; or
 - 2) threatens significantly to narrow the range of policy choices available to the government of a state or to private non-governmental entities (persons, groups, corporations) within the state
- ever broadening list with varying weights of impact

- Cold War
 - dual threat to state security – physical and ideological
 - dual as source – internal and external
 - oriented at military
 - *Collective defense*
- Current
 - societal and environmental threats
 - previous are present, but less important
 - *Collective security*

SECURITY CHALLENGE

- **Is it just a threat?**
- technically a synonym, but used to underline collective security and increase the standing of remote but shared threats
- often “soft security”:
 - i.e.: contagions, environmental degradation, migration, antibiotic resistance, drought, ageing populations, and many others growing in importance due to globalization
- does not have to name an adversary

GLOBAL SECURITY
CHALLENGE



VULNERABILITY

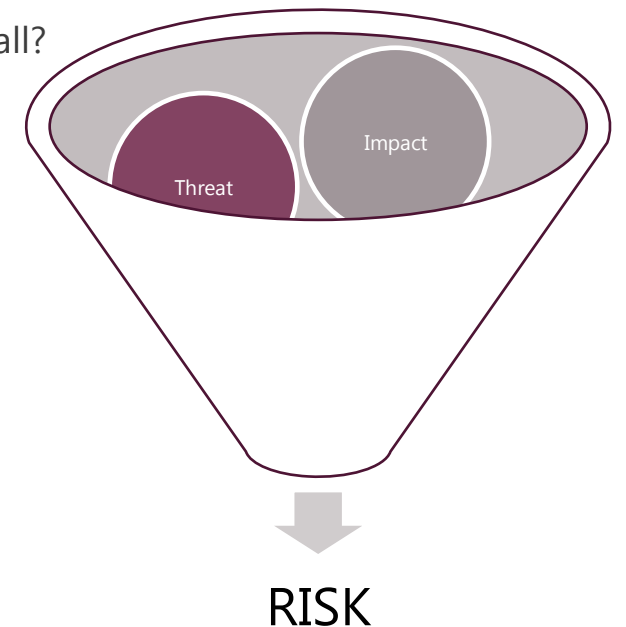
- the **level AND area-specific weakness/exposure** to threats
- susceptibility to threat, being exposed, or sensitive to **STRESSORS** in a particular area and at a particular level
- follows the logic of security challenges and discourse is guided away from military and national security vulnerabilities, to more societal and environmental definitions
- *What is a structural vulnerability assessment?*

- **from physical exposure:** presence and density of the people, habitat, networks, goods and services in risk zones, physical military or civilian infrastructure
- **to concepts of resilience:** societal capacity to retain values and recover from attacks negative influence

RISK

- Is a risk negative or positive?
- likelihood of occurrence
 - *"Uncertainty arises when the future is unknown but no actual probabilities (objective or subjective) are attached to alternative outcomes. Risk arises when specific numerical probabilities are attached to alternative outcomes"*(Llewellyn 1996:744)
- probability of a loss coupled with our evaluation of its size and significance
- *What is a risk appetite?*

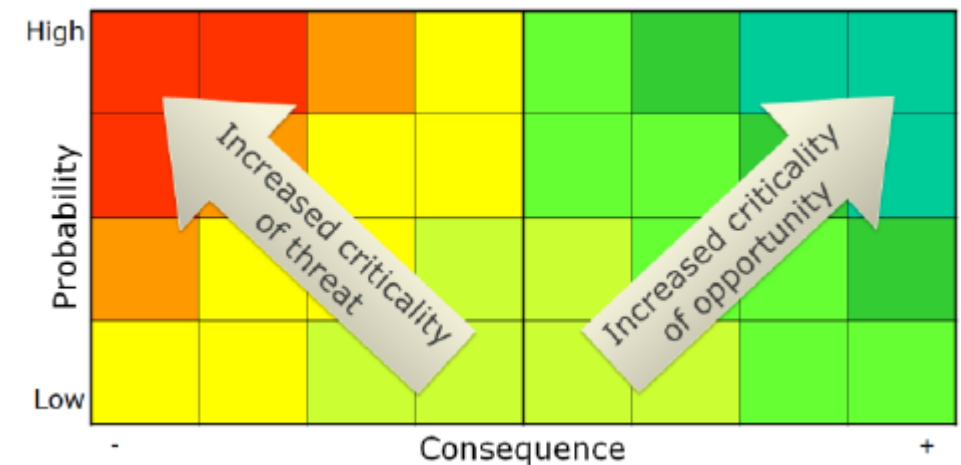
- Risk management
 - just weigh the risk of climate change against the risk of economic downturn if policies are applied
 - How aggressively?
 - How "risky" is it to stall?



- Broadest equation:

RISK ASSESSMENT MATRIX

| Impact | Likelihood | | | | |
|---------------|------------|----------|----------|----------|----------------|
| | Rare | Unlikely | Possible | Likely | Almost certain |
| Catastrophic | moderate | moderate | high | critical | critical |
| Major | low | moderate | moderate | high | critical |
| Moderate | low | moderate | moderate | moderate | high |
| Minor | very low | low | moderate | moderate | moderate |
| Insignificant | very low | very low | low | low | moderate |



REFERENT

- **referent or referent object**
- entity whose security is to be assured
- national security – state
- human security – individual

- broadening category – regions, communities, minorities, institutions, etc.
 - all require **actorness**: i.e. the ability to take decisions as a social actor

| | UNDP | Commission on Human Security | UNESCO | Report of the Secretary - General |
|-------------------|------------------|--|--|-----------------------------------|
| Referent Objects | All Humans | People in under-developed countries | People with extreme poverty in under-developed countries | All Humans |
| Security Provider | Non-state actors | State actors, IOs, NGOs, Civil Society | State actors, IOs, NGOs, Civil Society | State |
| Sovereignty | No | Provisional | Provisional | Absolute |
| Role of the State | Source of Threat | Security Provider & Source of Threat | Security Provider & Sources of Threat | Security Provider |

STRUCTURE

- **the context which allows for and limits the actions of actors**
- our context is international
- the structure of the system is perceived differently, depending on paradigm:
 - realism, neorealism, liberalism, neoliberalism, Marxism, constructivism
- the departing assumption dictates that since global governance is lacking: the international system is subject to varying degrees of anarchy

- Unipolarity
- Bipolarity
- Multipolarity
- Market structure
- Interdependence
- Dialectical materialism
- World-systems core-periphery
- World society
-

| Dangers for Human Security Posed by | Human Security | | | |
|---|--|---|--|--|
| | Threats to | Challenges for | Vulnerabilities to | Risks for |
| Underdevelopment ('freedom of want') | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human well-being, • human health • life expectancy | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • social safety nets • human development • food security | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • economic crisis and shocks • communicable diseases | those most vulnerable (socially, economically) and exposed to underdevelopment, violence and hazards: |
| Conflicts and human rights violations ('freedom from fear') | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human life and personal safety (from wars) • identity, values | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • feeling secure in a community • human rights • democracy | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • warlords, criminals • corrupt regime, ruler • human rights abuses, violations | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • peasants, • poor • women, • children, • old people |
| Hazards and disasters ('freedom from hazard impact') | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Livelihood • survival • settlements, urban slums | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • sustainable development • food security | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • exposed population • livelihoods, habitat • disease (cholera, dengue, malaria, etc.) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • indigenous people • minorities. |
| Violation of basic laws, lack of good governance ('freedom to live in dignity') | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • human dignity, • human rights, • basic human needs | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • rule of law, • democratic system of rule • peaceful conflict resolution | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • corruption and organized crime | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • rights of the citizens • human well-being |

- Brauch 2011: 101
- Concepts of Security Threats, Challenges, Vulnerabilities and Risks

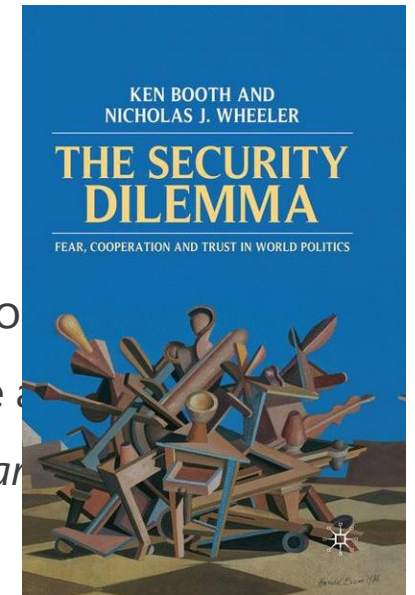
PARADIGMS

(KEGLEY – SHANNON 2011:47)

| Feature | Realism | Liberalism | Constructivism |
|-------------------|---|--|--|
| Core concern | War and security How vulnerable, self-interested states survive in an environment where they are uncertain about the intentions and capabilities of others | Institutionalized peace How self-serving actors learn to see benefits to coordinating behavior through rules and organizations in order to achieve collective gains | Social groups' shared meanings and images How ideas, images and identities develop, change, and shape world politics |
| Key actors | States | States, international institutions, global corporations | Individuals, nongovernmental organizations, transnational networks |
| Central concepts | Anarchy, self-help, national interest, relative gains, balance of power | Collective security, reciprocity, international regimes, complex interdependence, transnational relations | Ideas, images, shared knowledge, identities, discourses, and persuasion leading to new understandings and normative change |
| Approach to peace | Protect sovereign autonomy and deter rivals through military preparedness and alliances | Institutional reform through democratization, open markets, and international law and organization | Activists who promote progressive ideas and encourage states to adhere to norms for appropriate behavior |
| Global outlook | Pessimistic: great powers locked in relentless security competition | Optimistic: cooperative view of human nature and a belief in progress | Agnostic: global prospect hinges on the content of prevailing ideas and values |

UNCERTAINTY AND THE SECURITY DILEMMA

- 2 level dilemma
- not to be confused with security spiral (although often used in its lieu)
- **1st level dilemma** – a dilemma of interpretation intentions, capabilities, and signals of o
 - occurs under the inescapable and **unresolvable uncertainty** between defensive and offensive o
 - *How can we know our adversary's steps are aiming to change the status quo rather than safeguar*
- **2nd level dilemma** – a dilemma of choosing the appropriate response to not reinforce the 1st level dilemma
 - if 1st dilemma is evaluated incorrectly may send a strong signal to the opposite effect
 - *misplaced trust may lead to ruin, while deterring a benign act may result in escalation (**security paradox**)*



DEALING WITH UNCERTAINTY

- **Fatalist logic (realism and neorealism)**

- is the idea that security competition can never be escaped in international politics. Human nature and the condition of international anarchy determine that humans will live in an essentially conflictual world.

- **Mitigator logic (liberalism and neoliberalism)**

- is the idea that security competition can be ameliorated or dampened down for a time, but never eliminated. Here, notions of regimes and societies are key, blunting the worst features of anarchy

- **Transcender logic (constructivism)**

- is the idea that human society is self-constitutive, not determined. Humans have agency, as individuals and groups, and so human society can seek to become what it chooses to be, though inherited structural constraints will always be powerful. A global community of peace and trust is in principle possible if in practice it currently looks improbable.

- *Booth and Wheeler 2008:143.*

THE BROADENING OF SECURITY

- Current mainstream approach COMBINES and EVOLVES
- Constituting broadly out of 2 domains which overlap

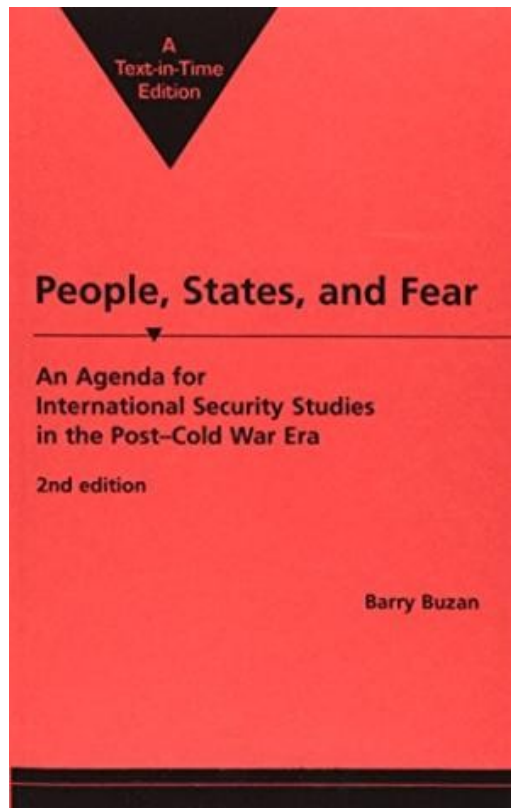
Hard security

- primarily external existential threats
- response military deterrence, threat, or use
- response capacity is delimited geographically
- realist-based and measured in terms of power
- predominantly zero-sum

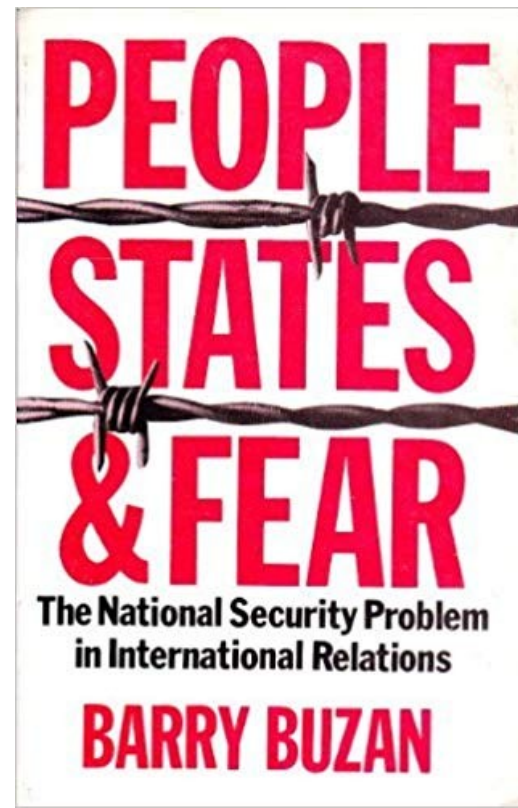
Soft security

- primarily internal, or transborder, or global threats
- response requires other than military force, collaboration cooperation, prevention
- response capacity and action is delimited by issue rather than geography
- more liberal and measured in terms of coverage and progress
- predominantly non-zero sum

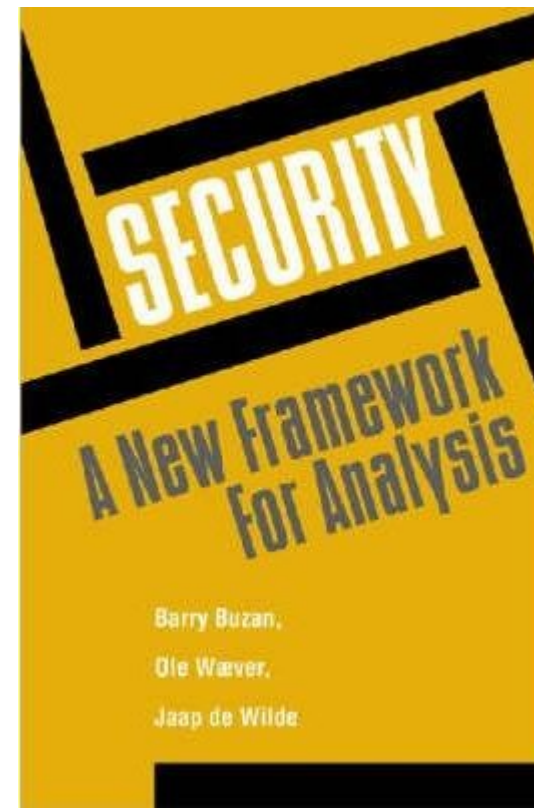
EVOLUTION OF SECURITY – THROUGH THE EYES OF BARRY BUZAN



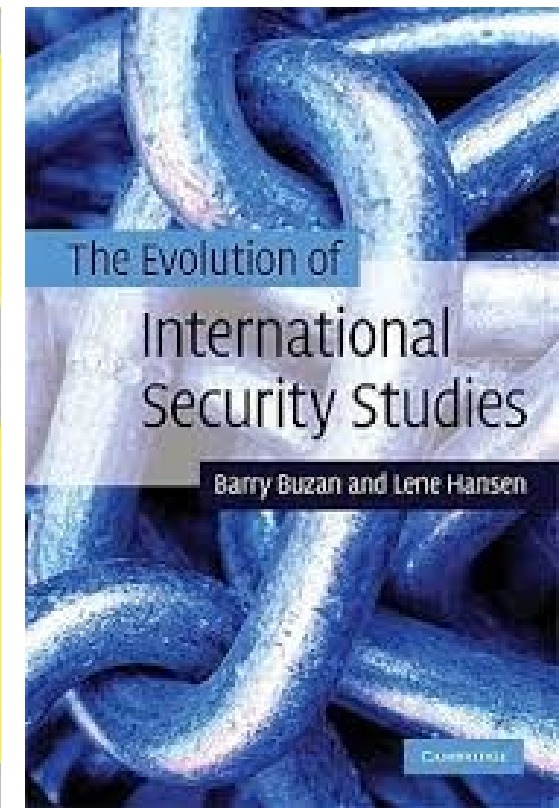
1983



1991



1997

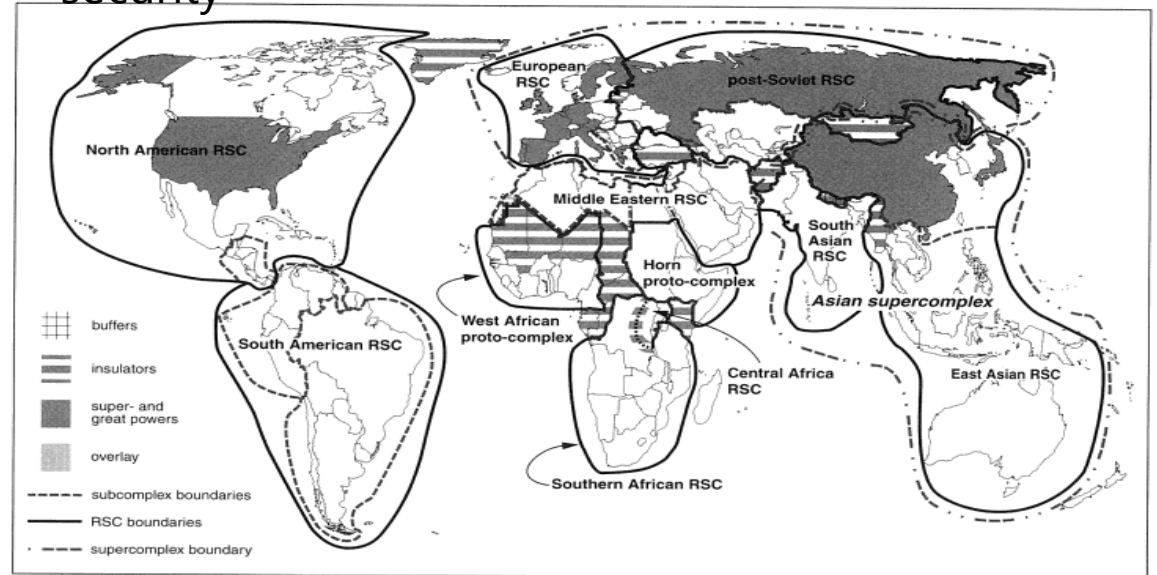


2009

MAINSTREAM SECURITY

- Currently defined in **5 sectors**:
- **Military**
 - state-centric; involve use of force; existential
- **Political**
 - regime orientated, ideological in nature
- **Economic**
 - acceptable level of stability
- **Societal**
 - coping with differences in identity and culture
- **Environmental**
 - climate and ecology orientated issues

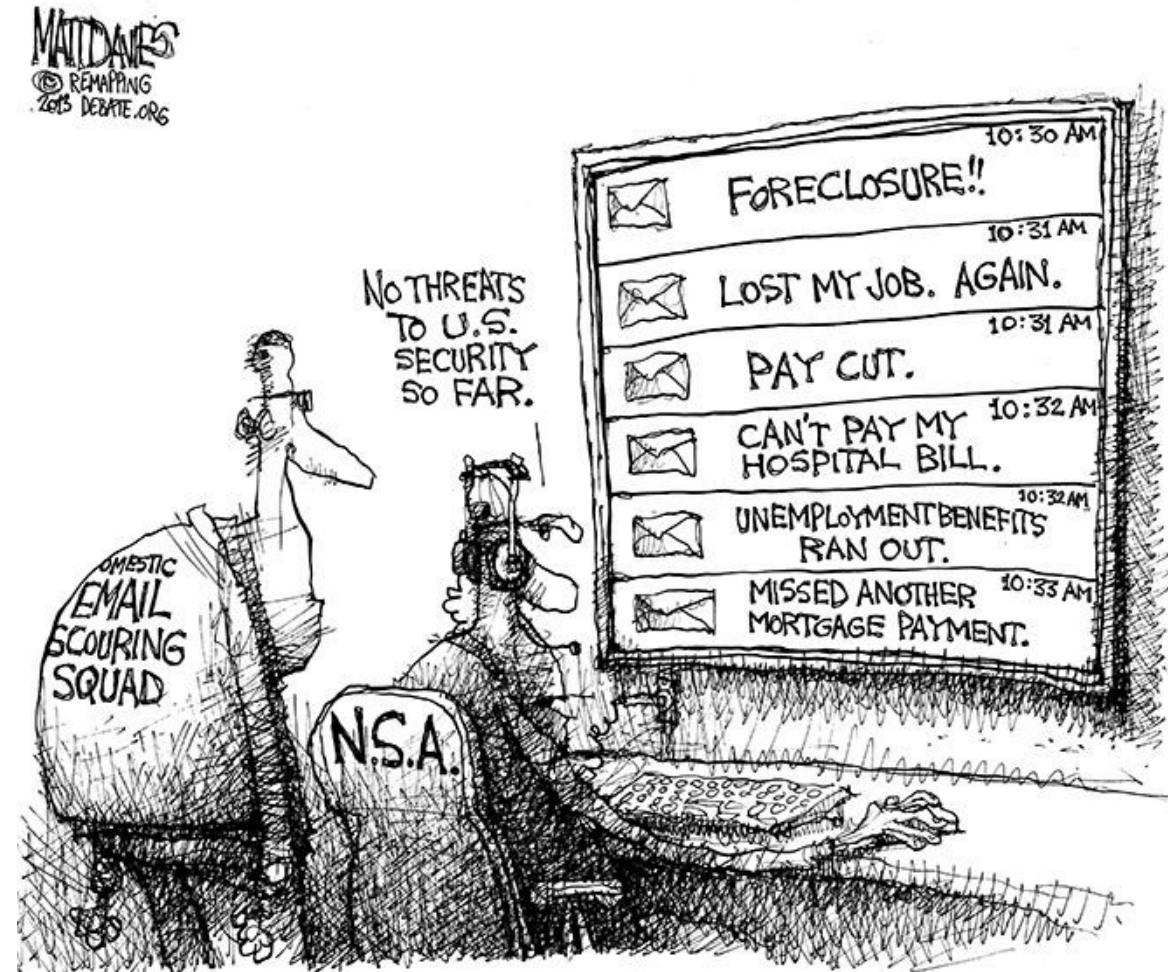
Regional security complexes as ecosystems of security



- at **3 different levels**: individuals, states, and international system

SECURITIZATION IN IR

- Making something more secure?
- rather making something that was not a threat before (although existed) into a threat in the political arena
 - by introducing an issue in the security discourse it becomes a threat
 - step up from politicization – the act of making something a political issue
 - once an issue is securitized it is subject to special treatment and security responses may apply
- **constant process broadening our definition of security**



SECURITIZATION

- **Securitization act:**
- (1) claims that a referent object is existentially threatened
- (2) demands the right to take extraordinary countermeasures to deal with that the threat
- (3) convinces an audience that rule-breaking behavior to counter the threat is justified

- Ole Weaver and Barry Buzan
- followed by many iterations and revisions