

Contemporary Security Studies

THIRD EDITION

Edited by

Alan Collins

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

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Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, OX2 6DP,
United Kingdom

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First edition published 2007

Second edition published 2010

Impression: 1

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Data available

ISBN 978-0-19-969477-8

Printed in Great Britain by
Ashford Colour Press Ltd, Gosport, Hampshire

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Preface

In this third edition all the chapters have been updated to take account of contemporary changes in the field of security studies. A number of chapters use developments in the Middle East as a consequence of the 'Arab Spring' to illuminate the specific aspect of security that is being discussed, from intervention in Libya to protests in Syria. Other case studies from across the globe have been revisited and updated and this includes leadership transition in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and street protests in Greece.

This edition maintains the structure of the previous editions: the Approaches section is followed by the Deepening and Broadening of the subject before we finish by looking at a range of Traditional and Non-Traditional security issues. There has been a reorganization of the chapters in the Approaches section, with Historical Materialism moved to Chapter 4 to reflect its Marxist roots; thus placing it alongside the traditional Realist and Liberalist approach. Peace Studies retains its position as an approach with Cold War origins, while the remaining chapters have become more salient post-Cold War. The order of the other two sections remains the same.

We have four new chapters. Three are complete revisions of topics from previous editions (Economic Security; Globalization, Development, and Security; and Defence Trade) that have either been solely written by new contributors or have had a new contributor's input. The fourth new chapter examines a new subject matter for the book and the field (Cyber-security). Finally, the new contributors maintain the international breadth of expertise found in the previous editions with contributors drawn from Europe, the United States, and Asia.

Acknowledgements

With all projects there are many people to thank, and this is no exception, for without their support this book could not have been produced. First and foremost thanks must be given to the contributors, first for agreeing to write their chapters and then for diligently submitting them on schedule, complete with pedagogic features. Thanks must also be given to those reviewers who commented in detail on the second edition; the third edition has benefited from, and been adjusted in the light of, their useful thoughts. Special thanks also go to Gillian Rollason, who was responsible for preparing and producing the resource centre that supports the book. I am also grateful to Professor John Baylis for originally encouraging me to take on this task. Finally, thanks also go to Catherine Page and Martha Bailes at Oxford University Press for their professionalism and assistance during the preparation of this book.

New to this Edition

- A new chapter on cyber-security charts the history and evolution of this highly topical security concern and the level of risk it presents.
- A rewritten chapter on economic security shows how economic instruments can be used to pursue security goals.
- A rewritten chapter on the defence trade adds an historical overview of the trade in arms and includes new case studies.
- A revised chapter on development and security looks at how globalization may foster a range of insecurities and subsequent demands for change in developing countries.
- Fully updated to take into account changes in the literature and recent events, including the Arab Spring.

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Christine Agius Lecturer in International Relations and Politics at Swinburne University of Technology, Melbourne, Australia. She is the author of *The Social Construction of Swedish Neutrality: Challenges to Swedish Identity and Sovereignty* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).

Jon Barnett Professor in the Department of Resource Management and Geography at the University of Melbourne, Australia. He is the author of *Climate Change in Small Island States* (London: Earthscan, 2010), and *The Meaning of Environmental Security* (London: Zed Books, 2001).

Alex J. Bellamy Professor of International Security and Director of the Human Protection Hub, Griffith University Australia, Director (International) Asia-Pacific Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, and Non-Resident Senior Adviser, International Peace Academy, New York. Recent books include, *Massacres and Morality: Mass Killing in an Age of Civilian Immunity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) and *Responsibility to Protect: The Global Effort to End Mass Atrocities* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009).

Helen Brocklehurst Lecturer in International Relations in the College of Arts and Humanities at Swansea University, UK. She is the author of *Who's Afraid of Children? Children, Conflict and International Relations* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

Barry Buzan Emeritus Professor of International Relations at the London School of Economics, UK. His latest books include *The United States and the Great Powers: World Politics in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge: Polity, 2004), and, with Lene Hansen, *The Evolution of International Security Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Alan Collins Senior Lecturer in International Relations in the College of Arts and Humanities at Swansea University, UK. He is the author of *Security and Southeast Asia: Domestic, Regional and Global Issues* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2003) and *Building a People-Oriented Security Community the ASEAN Way* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012).

Myriam Dunn Cavelty Lecturer of Security Studies and Head of the Risk and Resilience Research Group at ETH Zurich, Switzerland. She is the author of *Cyber-Security and Threat Politics: US Efforts to Secure the Information Age* (2008) and many other publications on cyber-insecurity issues.

Stefan Elbe Professor of International Relations and Director of the Centre for Global Health Policy at the University of Sussex, UK. He is the author of *Virus Alert: Security, Governmentality and the AIDS Pandemic* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009) and *Security and Global Health: Towards the Medicalization of Insecurity* (Cambridge: Polity, 2010).

Ralf Emmers Associate Professor and Head of the Centre for Multilateralism Studies at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University (NTU), Singapore. He is the author of *Geopolitics and Maritime Territorial Disputes in East Asia* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010) and *Cooperative Security and the Balance of Power in ASEAN and the ARF* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003).

Jeanne Giraldo Lecturer in the Department of National Security Affairs at the Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, USA, and Program Manager of the Defense Institution Reform Initiative for the Office of the Secretary of Defense, USA. She is co-editor of *Terrorism Finance and State Responses: A Comparative Perspective* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007).

Charles L. Glaser Professor of Political Science and International Affairs, Elliott School of International Affairs, the George Washington University, USA. He is the author of *Analyzing Strategic Nuclear Policy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991) and *Rational Theory of International Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

Suzette R. Grillot Interim Dean of the College of International Studies, Max and Heidi Berry Chair and Professor at the University of Oklahoma. She is the author (with Rachel Stohl) of *The International Arms Trade* (2009) and co-editor (with Zach Messitte) of *Understanding the Global Community* (forthcoming).

Eric Herring Reader in the Department of Politics, University of Bristol, UK. He is co-author with Glen Rangwala of *Iraq in Fragments: The Occupation and its Legacy* (London: Hurst and Cornell University Press, 2006) and co-author with Barry Buzan of *The Arms Dynamic in World Politics* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998).

Richard Jackson Deputy Director, National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Otago, New Zealand. He is the co-editor (with Samuel Justin Sinclair) of *Contemporary Debates on Terrorism* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012) and co-author (with Lee Jarvis, Jeroen Gunning, and Marie Breen Smyth) of *Terrorism: A Critical Introduction* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011).

Peter Viggo Jakobsen Associate Professor in the Institute for Strategy, Royal Danish Defence College. He has written extensively on coercion and the use of force. His most recent book is *Nordic Approaches to Peace Operations: A New Model in the Making?* (London: Routledge, 2009).

Caroline Kennedy Professor of War Studies at the University of Hull and the author of *The Origins of the Cold War* (Palgrave, 2007) and *Deadly Devices: IED: and the Defeat of the West* (Hurt Publisher forthcoming).

Pauline Kerr Director of Studies in the Asia-Pacific College of Diplomacy at the Australian National University. She is co-editor with Geoffrey Wiseman of *Diplomacy in a Globalizing World: Theories and Practices* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013) and co-editor with Stuart Harris and Qin Yaging of *China's 'New' Diplomacy: Tactical or Fundamental Change?* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

Brenda Lutz Ph.D. Department of Politics, University of Dundee, UK, and Research Associate, Decision Sciences and Theory Institute, Indiana University-Purdue University, USA. She is the co-author of *Terrorism: The Basics* (London: Routledge, 2011), *Global Terrorism* (2nd edn, London: Routledge, 2008), and *Terrorism in America* (New York: Palgrave, 2007).

James Lutz Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science at the Indiana University-Purdue University, USA. He is the co-author of *Terrorism: The Basics* (London: Routledge, 2011), *Global Terrorism* (2nd edn, London: Routledge, 2008) and *Terrorism in America* (New York: Palgrave, 2007).

Patrick Morgan Professor of Political Science and holder of the Thomas and Elizabeth Tierney Chair in Global Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of California, Irvine, USA. He is the author of *Deterrence Now* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) and *International Security: Problems and Solutions* (Washington: CQ Press, 2006).

David Mutimer Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science and Director of the Centre for International and Security Studies at York University, Canada. He is the author of *The Weapons State: Proliferation and the Framing of Security* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000) and co-editor (with Neil Cooper) of *Reconceptualising Arms Control* (Oxford: Routledge, 2012).

Nana K. Poku John Ferguson Professor of African Studies, Dean of School of Social and International Studies, and Pro Vice Chancellor for Research and Knowledge Transfer, at the University of Bradford. Most recently, he is co-author of *Politics in Africa: A new introduction* (London: Zed Books, 2011) and co-editor of *Third World Quarterly* Special Issue: 'The Millennium Development Goals: Challenges, Prospects and Opportunities' (January 2011).

Paul Roe Associate Professor in the Department of International Relations and European Studies at the Central European University, Budapest, Hungary. He is the author of *Ethnic Violence and the Societal Security Dilemma* (London: Routledge, 2005).

Paul Rogers Professor of Peace Studies in the Department of Peace Studies at the University of Bradford, UK. He is the author of *Losing Control: Global Security in the 21st Century* (3rd edn, London: Pluto Press, 2010) and *Global Security and the War on Terror: Elite Power and the Illusion of Control* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008).

Sam Raphael Senior Lecturer in Politics and International Relations at Kingston University, UK. His publications include, with Doug Stokes, *Global Energy Security and American Hegemony* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010).

Michael Sheehan Professor of International Relations in the College of Arts and Humanities at Swansea University, UK. He is the author of *International Security: An Analytical Survey* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2005) and *The International Politics of Space* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007).

Gary M. Shiffman Professor (Adjunct) in the School of Foreign Service, Security Studies, Georgetown University, Washington, DC, and President and CEO of Giant Oak, LLC. He is author of *Economic Instruments of Security Policy: Influencing Choices of Leaders* (Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

Doug Stokes A Senior Lecturer in International Politics at Kent University, UK. He is the co-editor of *US Foreign Policy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) and the co-author, with Sam Raphael, of *Global Energy Security and American Hegemony* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010).

Jacqueline Therkelsen Ph.D. candidate in Peace Studies, University of Bradford, researching on regional politics in Africa.

Harold Trinkunas Associate Professor in the Department of National Security Affairs at the Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, USA. He is the co-editor of *Ungoverned Spaces: Alternatives to State Authority in an Era of Softened Sovereignty* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010).

Ole Wæver Professor of International Relations in the Department of Political Science at the University of Copenhagen, Denmark, and director of CAST, Centre for Advanced Security Theory. He is the co-author, with Barry Buzan, of *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) and co-editor, with Arlene B. Tickner, of *International Relations Scholarship Around the World* (London: Routledge, 2009).

James J. Wirtz Dean of the School of International Studies and Professor in the Department of National Security Affairs at the Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, USA. He is the author of *The Tet Offensive: Intelligence Failure in War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991, 1994) and co-editor of *Complex Deterrence: Strategy in the Global Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

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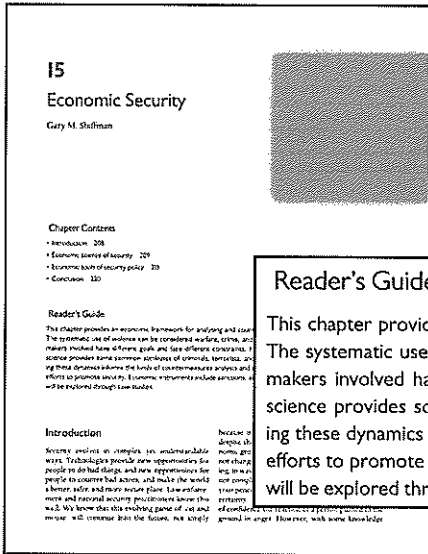
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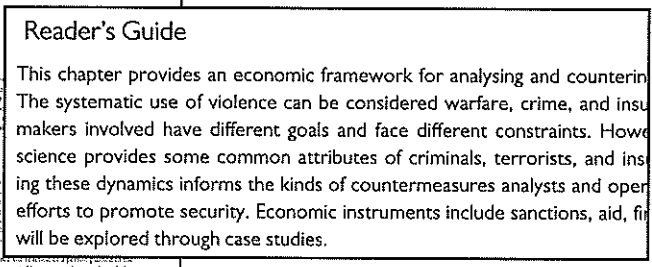
Guided Tour of Learning Features

This book is enriched with a range of learning tools to help you navigate the text and reinforce your knowledge of security studies. This guided tour shows you how to get the most out of your textbook package.



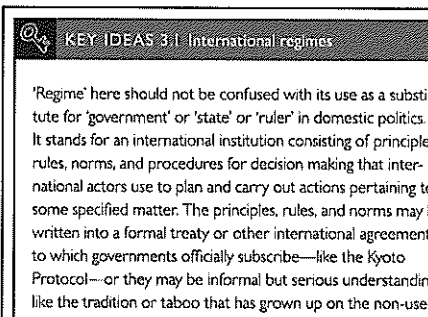
Reader's Guides

Reader's Guides at the beginning of every chapter set the scene for upcoming themes and issues to be discussed, and indicate the scope of coverage within each chapter.



Boxes

A number of topics benefit from further explanation or exploration in a manner that does not disrupt the flow of the main text. Throughout the book, boxes provide you with extra information on particular topics that complement your understanding of the main chapter text. There are five types of box:



Key Ideas

'Key Ideas' boxes outline the thoughts of key political thinkers relevant to the chapter's argument.

! THINK POINT 3.1 Liberalism and the Arab Spring

The Arab Spring offers an overview of the impact, conditions, and deficiencies of a liberalist perspective in practice. To start with it demonstrated the appeal and power of liberalist norms and values among citizens in numerous countries. Mass demonstrations displayed broad support for major elements of democracy, human rights, and economic liberalism.

Think Point

'Think Point' boxes will expand your understanding of the subject area.

BACKGROUND 16.2 Foreign direct investment

Foreign direct investment (FDI) occurs where an entity—for example an individual, public or private enterprise, a government, or groups of entities—owns at least 10 per cent of a foreign (i.e. non-resident) enterprise, with the aim of developing a long-term relationship between investor and enterprise. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) defines FDI as:

Background

'Background' boxes will enable you to understand the context within which events take place and subjects develop.

CASE STUDY 14.2 Climate change and atoll islands

Atolls are rings of coral reefs that enclose a lagoon that contains small islets with a mean height above sea level of approximately 2 metres. There are five countries composed entirely of low-lying atolls: Kiribati (population 85,000), the Maldives (population 309,000), the Marshall Islands (population 58,000), Tokelau (population 2,000), and Tuvalu (population 11,000).

Case Study

'Case Study' boxes demonstrate how political ideas, concepts, and issues are manifested in the real world.

“ KEY QUOTES 11.2 Deterrence and defence

'Defence is possible without deterrence and deterrence is possible without defence. A state can have the military wherewithal to repel an invasion without also being able to threaten destruction to the invader's population or territory. Similarly, a state can have the wherewithal to credibly threaten an adversary with such devastation and yet be unable to repel his invading force.'

Key Quotes

'Key Quotes' boxes include memorable quotes from scholars, politicians, and others to help bring ideas and concepts to life.

Information security 101

Cyberspace connotes the fusion of all communication networks, databases, and sources of information into a vast, tangled, and diverse blanket of electronic interchange. A 'network ecosystem' is created virtually and it 'exists everywhere there are telecommunications wires, coaxial cables, fiber-optic lines or electronic signals.'

Glossary Terms

Key terms appear in bold in the text and are defined in a glossary at the end of the book to aid you in exam revision.


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KEY POINTS

- Major issues for the future centre on the effects of a combination of socio-economic divisions and environmental constraints.
- The 9/11 attacks and the subsequent war on terror have yet to address the underlying reasons for current perceptions of insecurity.
- Responding to a potentially fragile and insecure international system will require sustained analysis combined

Key Points


Each chapter ends with a set of key points that summarize the most important arguments developed.

 **QUESTIONS**

1. Why are some issues considered as security ques
2. How is a process of securitization completed?
3. Is an act of securitization generally dominated by
4. Is securitization more likely to succeed in authorit
5. What are the benefits of securitizing or desecuri

Questions


A set of carefully devised questions has been provided to help you assess your understanding of core themes, and may also be used as the basis of seminar discussion or coursework.

 **FURTHER READING**

- Bellamy, A. J. (2009), *Responsibility to Protect: T* Press. Presents an account of the emergence
- Chesterman, S. (2001), *Just War or Just Peace?* versity Press. An excellent account of the leg
- Evans, G. (2008), *The Responsibility to Protect.*

Further Reading

Reading lists have been provided as a guide to finding out more about the issues raised within each chapter, and to help you locate the key academic literature in the field.

 **IMPORTANT WEBSITES**

- <http://www.womenwarpeace.org> The United Na en, Peace and Security noted the 'need to consolidate website is the response to this. It is a portal that prov
- http://www.unicef.org/emerg/files/women_insecur Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Arm women as security sector actors.

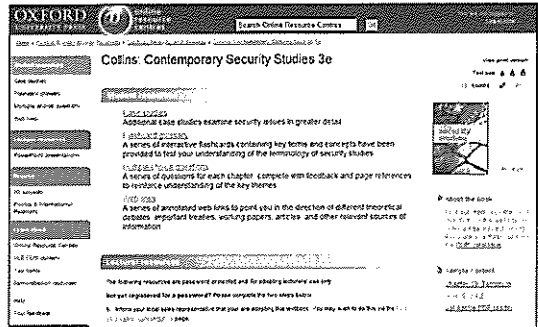
Important Websites

At the end of every chapter you will find an annotated summary of useful websites that are central to security studies and that will be instrumental in further research.

Guided Tour of the Online Resource Centre

www.oxfordtextbooks.co.uk/orc/collins3e/

The Online Resource Centre that accompanies this book provides students and instructors with ready-to-use teaching and learning materials. These resources are free of charge and designed to maximize the learning experience.



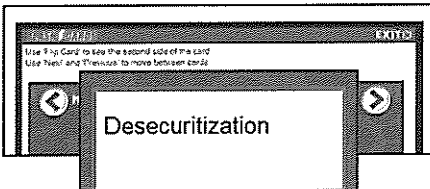
FOR STUDENTS:

What is securitization?

Securitization is a concept; it is a model which explains the such as influenza, can be moved from the non-political sphere ultimately into the realm of security. The Securitization Copenhagen School which is characterised by the writings Jaap de Wilde and others based at the Conflict and Copenhagen (Chapter 9). Its practical use is as a frame

Case Studies

Four additional case studies on women and war, terrorism, securitization of communicable disease, and water resources examine pressing security issues in greater detail.



Flashcard Glossary

A series of interactive flashcards containing key terms and concepts has been provided to test your understanding of the terminology of security studies.

Question 1

How can we best describe liberalism?

- a) Liberalism is a fundamentally pessimistic approach that regards the international system as destined to the escalation of conflict. It is the dominant conception in the practice of international politics.
- b) Liberalism is the dominant conception in the theory of international politics, which realism dominates the conduct of international affairs. It is an optimistic approach that defines the ways in which states should relate to one another, particularly during conflict situations.

Multiple Choice Questions

A bank of self-marking multiple-choice questions has been provided for each chapter of the text to reinforce your understanding and to act as an aid to revision.

100...2009...2009...2009

Z Communication is a huge online nexus of analysis and discussion in many languages for left wing activists, journalists and scholars including those who combine those roles

100...2009...2009...2009

The Campaign Against the Arms Trade (CAAT) is a non-governmental organization (NGO) that aims to reduce and eventually to end the arms trade and the militarization of arms-producing essential. From an IR perspective, CAAT is significant in that it challenges the arms trade as such rather than particular exempt or counterproductive aspects of it and frames the arms trade as a militarized capitalism.

100...2009...2009...2009

Web Links

A series of annotated web links has been provided to point you in the direction of different theoretical debates, important treaties, working papers, articles, and other relevant sources of information.

FOR INSTRUCTORS:

PowerPoint Presentations

These complement each chapter of the book and are a useful resource for preparing lectures and handouts. They allow lecturers to guide students through the key concepts and can be fully customized to meet the needs of the course.

Approaches to Security: Realism

What is Realism?

What is realism?

- Realism's basic shared assumptions include that the international system is anarchic, power is a defining feature of the international system, and states are rational, unitary actors.

Introduction: What is Security Studies?

Alan Collins

Chapter Contents

- Introduction 1
- Definition of security 1
- Structure 2
- Conclusion 9

Introduction

Welcome to Security Studies: *the* sub-discipline of International Relations. It is the study of security that lies at the heart of International Relations. It was the carnage of the First World War, and the desire to avoid its horrors again, that gave birth to the discipline of International Relations in 1919 at Aberystwyth, United Kingdom. This concern with the origins of war and its conduct enabled International Relations to 'distinguish itself from related disciplines such as history, economics, geography, and international law' (Sheehan 2005: 1). It is the survival of agents, which for much of the discipline has meant sovereign states, that has become accepted as the dominant explanatory tool for understanding their behaviour. Security is a matter of high politics; central to government debates and pivotal to the priorities they establish. Quite simply, 'no other concept in international relations

packs the metaphysical punch, nor commands the disciplinary power of "security"' (Der Derian 1995: 24–5).

Definition of security

Welcome, then, to a subject of great importance and, since you are about to embark upon the study of this subject, no doubt you would like to start with a definition of security. Or, what it means to be secure? You will see in Key Quotes 1.1 that many scholars have done so. The good news is that a consensus has emerged on what security studies entails—it is to do with threats—and the even better news is that hidden within that simple definition lies the complexity that you are about to delve into. What is most striking about the definitions in Key Quotes 1.1 is that, while war and the threat to use force is part of the security equation, it is not exclusively so. The prevalence of

threats is sufficiently far-reaching for Security Studies to encompass dangers that range from pandemics, such as HIV/AIDS, and environmental degradation through to the more readily associated security concerns of direct violence, such as terrorism and interstate armed conflict. The latter, which so dominated the discipline that during the Cold War it became synonymous with Security Studies, is actually a sub-field of Security Studies and is known as Strategic Studies. Oxford University Press publishes a textbook that is concerned with Strategic Studies: it is called *Strategy in the Contemporary World*.

With the Cold War over, Security Studies has re-emerged, and core assumptions about what is to be secured, and how, have come to occupy our thoughts. Traditionally the state has been the thing to be secured, what is known as the referent object, and it has sought security through military might. In the chapters that follow you will find alternative approaches to security; approaches that offer different referent objects, different means of achieving security, and that indicate that past practice, far from enhancing security, has been the cause of insecurity. You are, then, about to study a subject that is undergoing great change as it questions its past assumptions, deepens its understanding of what should be secured, and broadens its remit to encompass a diverse range of threats and dangers. Of course, this broadening of the subject matter creates a blurring in the distinction between Security Studies and the study of International Relations more generally. In this sense the broadening of Security Studies mirrors the wider blurring between International Relations and Political Science. The process of globalization has led to internal issues becoming externalized and external issues internalized. The role of domestic agents and policy concerns appear prominently on global agendas, whether it is the future political structure of Afghanistan or deforestation in the Amazon. This blurring of the demarcation between International Relations, Political Science, and Security Studies can be seen in the breadth of topics covered in this book and the centrality of security in theories of international relations (for more on this see Chapter 27). This is to be welcomed. I know it can appear confusing and it would be much easier to categorize topics neatly, but this is to misunderstand the nature of the social sciences. These disciplines are sub-disciplines precisely because they overlap and have 'something to say' about the same topics. Instead of looking for different subject matters, it is better to

think about different approaches. Despite the contested nature of security, you know that ultimately we are interested in how referent objects are threatened. With that thought in mind, examining this diverse range of topics might seem rather less daunting.

Structure

The book is not designed to be read from start (Chapter 1) to finish (Chapter 27) because that is not the way to read an academic text. If this seems a peculiar thing for me to write, then let me explain. You are not reading a novel in which the aim is to keep you in suspense until the final pages where you discover who committed the crime or whether the lovers live happily ever after. You want to know the questions and the answers as soon as possible, and then, because—as important as the answers are, they are not the most important thing—you should want to know why these are the answers and how they were reached. Think of it as a complicated maths question in which the mathematician has scribbled furiously on the blackboard (or more likely today the whiteboard) a series of, to a layperson, unintelligible equations that eventually lead to an answer. It is the bit in between the question and the answer (the bit in between are those impenetrable equations) that reveals why the answer was found and found in that particular way. It is like this with your studies too. You should want to know, and your tutor will certainly want to know, why you believe in the answers you have found: to know your thought processes. Knowing why you think about a subject the way that you do, so that these thought processes can be convincingly articulated in oral and written form, is what reading for a degree is all about.

Therefore in this book, when reading the chapters, it is perfectly fine to read the introduction and then the conclusion, but you then have to read the bits in between to know why the answers found in the conclusion were reached. Understanding the author's thought processes will help you develop yours. So, having read what this book contains, which you will find in this chapter, then read the conclusion. Chapter 27 will present you with the state of Security Studies, and the theorizing that has taken place in the discipline. It provides you with the context of why we, students and tutors (scholars of the subject), think about the subject the way that we do. In particular, the chapter reveals the differences between American and

69 KEY QUOTES I.I Definitions of security

'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.'

Bellamy (1981: 102).

'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, cited in Buzan (1991a: 16).

'National security may be defined as the ability to withstand aggression from abroad.'

Luciani (1989: 151).

'A threat to national security is an action or sequence of events that (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, nongovernmental entities (persons, groups, corporations) within the state.'

Ullman (1983: 133).

'Security, in any objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values, in a subjective sense, the absence of threats to acquired values, in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked.'

Wolfers (1962: 150).

'Security—insecurity is defined in relation to vulnerabilities—both *internal and external*—that threaten or have the potential

to bring down or weaken state structures, both territorial and institutional, and governing regimes.'

Ayoob (1995: 9; emphasis in original).

'Emancipation is the freeing of people (as individuals and groups) from the physical and human constraints which stop them carrying out what they would freely choose to do. . . . Security and emancipation are two sides of the same coin. Emancipation, not power or order, produces true security. Emancipation, theoretically, is security.'

Booth (1991: 319).

'If people, be they government ministers or private individuals, perceive an issue to threaten their lives in some way and respond politically to this, then that issue should be deemed to be a *security issue*.'

Hough (2008: 10) (emphasis in original).

'Security . . . implies both coercive means to check an aggressor and all manner of persuasion, bolstered by the prospect of mutually shared benefits, to transform hostility into cooperation.'

Kolodziej (2005: 25).

'"Security" is not just a social concept or topic to be studied or analyzed; it is also a problem to be managed or otherwise controlled by human communities on a regular basis if they hope to survive.'

Smith (2010: 2).

European approaches to theorizing about security, as it traces past, present, and possible future trends in how security is studied by today's scholars. For those new to Security Studies and/or International Relations, it will be a testing read, but stick with it, because it will be a chapter that you will want to read more than once as you increase your knowledge of this subject; in each read you will discover something new. Once Chapters 1 and 27 have been read, the book becomes a pick 'n' mix, so if you want to start with weapons of mass destruction (Chapter 18) or terrorism (Chapter 19) then go right ahead. That is not to say that the structure has no meaning, and I would strongly advise that you at least begin with the Approaches section and especially Chapters 2 and 3 in order to appreciate the primary role that states

and power have had in the study of security. By beginning with the Approaches section you will be able to appreciate just how hugely important different approaches are in establishing what constitutes security; a point that will be evident once you have read Chapter 27.

The book is divided into three sections: differing Approaches to the study of security; the Deepening and Broadening of security; and, finally, a range of Traditional and non-traditional issues that have emerged on the security agenda. The authors come from a range of countries, and their examples are global in scope. Nevertheless, the field of Security Studies, as with International Relations more generally, is dominated by Western thought and approaches. One of the refreshing changes in post-Cold War Security Studies is that

the security problems of the developing world are no longer either ignored or seen through the prism of the East–West conflict. We are therefore examining these security problems and, perhaps, in doing so, we will witness the emergence of specifically African or Asian approaches to the study of security that will force us to rethink core assumptions and gain a greater understanding of the Security Studies field. In the meantime the field, while global in scope, remains dominated by Western thought.

Approaches

In the book's first substantive chapter, Chapter 2, Charles Glaser introduces the first of the two dominant explanations of why and how states have sought security: realism. Realism is not one approach but rather a set of approaches, and in this chapter you will be introduced to the divisions within this explanation of why states behave the way they do as they seek security in an anarchic international environment. One such division concerns debates within structural realism, but there is also a more fundamental division within realism: structural realism versus motivational realism. Utilizing the emergence of China as a great power, this chapter explains the key concepts realism brings to the study of security as well as the breadth of approaches that fall within its framework. The second dominant explanation of why and how states have sought security is the focus for Chapter 3. Here, Patrick Morgan will introduce you to liberalism. Whereas realism seeks an explanation for state behaviour in the international system, liberalism looks to the state as the unit of analysis and places importance on domestic actors' power and preferences and the nature of their political systems. Since behaviour is a product of domestic circumstances for liberals, states are not alike, and this means that international relations are determined by the choices people make; the world can operate in a realist manner, but for liberals it does not have to. The recognition among state leaders that they have common, shared, values means that they can establish agreements on a range of issues from trade to human rights that will benefit them all and thus create a secure environment. Liberalism, while recognizing that cooperation can be difficult, is nevertheless an optimistic approach that posits lasting security as a possibility.

We can think of these opening chapters as covering traditional approaches to understanding the search

for security because they have underpinned much of our thinking during the previous century; they remain hugely influential, and just because they are traditional does not mean they have been replaced by more recent thinking. New thinking about security has emerged, especially in the post-Cold War period, and such approaches are explained and examined in the other chapters in the Approaches section. You should think of these new approaches as challenging the dominance of the traditional insights offered by realism and liberalism. It may be that you find the traditional explanations of how security can be conceived of and achieved convincing. This is fine so long as you reach that conclusion with an understanding of the other approaches—in other words, that you find an approach to understanding security convincing based not on ignorance of other approaches but with a full understanding of them.

The first alternative approach has one of the most recent labels to enter the security studies field—historical materialism—but it hails from a tradition on a par with the previous two chapters; in this instance Marxism. Written by Eric Herring, it provides both an explanation of what historical materialism is and how it relates to the other approaches in this book's first section. The exploitative nature of capitalism and the insecurities this generates form the focal point for this approach to understanding what constitutes security, and this is explained with reference to the arms trade industry and international development. Since this book is not intended to be read one chapter after another you might want, after having read this chapter, to look at Chapter 22 (Defence Trade) and especially Chapter 16 (Development and Security) to explore what insights an appreciation of historical materialism provides in these particular issue areas. Francis Fukuyama's 'End of History' was, in part, an obituary for Marxism but perhaps in a slightly modified form you will consider it has much to reveal about the insecurities that plague the contemporary world (Fukuyama 1992).

The next alternative approach, and one that shares with realism, liberalism, and Marxism a long tradition, is peace studies, although as a formal field of study its origins are found in the post-1945 period. Here the approach to security is distinctively broad based, both in the nature of threats that the field covers and also in its approaches to finding solutions. Thus, although initially concerned with the arrival of nuclear weapons, peace studies, long before the post-Cold War era,

were noting the security implications of environmental degradation and poverty. With its wide agenda, it is not perhaps surprising to learn that academics working in peace studies come not just from politics and international relations but other disciplines in the social sciences, notably anthropology and sociology, as well as the natural sciences, such as physics and mathematics; it is a truly interdisciplinary field. In Chapter 5 a leading authority, Paul Rogers, provides a historical account of how peace studies developed, highlighting its characteristics and revealing its continued relevancy to contemporary security studies.

The following chapter captures the reflections that took place by some scholars studying security in the immediate post-Cold War period. Labelled Critical Security Studies (CSS), these reflections pre-date the end of the Cold War, but they have flourished since the removal of the nuclear sword of Damocles that hung over the study of security. David Mutimer provides an explanation of the different approaches that have developed since CSS first arrived on the scene in 1994. For those new to critical thinking it is a demanding read, but thoroughly worthwhile, because, amongst many of the things on which it will give you pause to ponder, it unashamedly forces you to think through your assumptions, and it reconnects security with its normative origins.

While CSS was challenging traditional ways of thinking about security, another alternative approach was challenging the traditional explanations for state behaviour in International Relations more broadly; first coined in 1989, social constructivism has rapidly emerged as a third explanation for why international actors behave the way they do. As with realism and liberalism, it is not one approach, and in Chapter 7 Christine Agius introduces us to two broad camps: conventional and critical constructivism. For constructivists identities matter in explaining the search for security, and identities are constituted through interaction. Since state identities are malleable and can change as a consequence of interaction, this means we create the world in which we live. Conceiving of relations as a product of how we think of them—as opposed to them being something independent from us—enables us to think of threats as socially constructed. This can, as Chapter 7 reveals, provide important insights into topics such as NATO enlargement and the War on Terror.

One of the new 'buzz words' in the security literature is human security. It shares much in common

with critical approaches to security, the most notable being its critique of the state-centrism of the traditional approach. As the name suggests, the referents for security are humans, but, as Pauline Kerr explains in Chapter 8, while this change of referent object reveals the close connection between development and security, it also brings many challenges to maintaining analytical rigour. Dividing human-security proponents into narrow and broad schools makes it possible for you to appreciate the vast arrays of threats that exist to humans and their livelihoods and thus enables you to make your own judgement about what constitutes security. The chapter also compares the state-centrism of realism with human security to reveal both of their strengths and weaknesses.

A criticism aimed not just at security studies but at the wider field of international relations is the failure to appreciate the important insights that gender provides. In the penultimate chapter in the Approaches section, Caroline Kennedy reveals two elements that gender can provide in our understanding of security: a practical appreciation of the role women have been ascribed in the security field and a discursive element that reveals the implicit link between militarism and masculinity. The latter highlights how the notions of honour, nobleness, and valour are associated with masculinity and war, implicitly therefore leaving femininity devoid of such positive attributes. The former notes how women, if they are mentioned at all, are portrayed in a secondary, supporting role to men, whereas the reality is that in many ways (rape, prostitution, breeders) women are victims and their plight has remained a silence in the study of security.

The final chapter in the Approaches section, Chapter 10, examines a process known as 'securitization', which was introduced to the literature by scholars working at the Conflict and Peace Research Institute (COPRI) in Copenhagen. Known collectively as the Copenhagen School, these scholars place primary importance on determining how an issue becomes a security issue, by how it is articulated. That is, we think of something as a security issue because the elite, such as political leaders, have convinced us that it represents a threat to our very survival. They are, therefore, interested in the 'speech acts' that the elite use in order to convince an audience that, in order to counter a threat, they require emergency powers. It is then a subjective approach to determining what constitutes security. A threat exists because an audience has been convinced it exists by the elite and it has granted the

elite the authority to use emergency powers to counter the threat. The threat therefore is not something that simply exists; it has to be articulated as a threat for it to become a matter of security. Ralf Emmers explains this process, notes limitations with the concept of securitization, and uses case studies ranging from Australian reaction to undocumented migration to the invasion of Iraq in 2003.

Deepening and Broadening

The middle section of the book examines the deepening and broadening that has taken place in Security Studies. As will have become evident from the Approaches section, the theoretical approach you take towards examining security will determine the type of subject matter that you consider constitutes security. This part of the book contains six sectors of security; these are the recognizable sectors that you will find in the Security Studies literature. The exception is regime security, which I have included instead of political security, first because political security has a tendency to become a miscellaneous section in which security issues that cannot fit in the other sectors end up, and secondly because, while political security is concerned with external threats (concern with recognition), its greater utility lies in internal threats (concern with legitimacy) to the regime. Labelling the chapter 'regime' therefore clarifies what the referent object is and also highlights the internal dimension of this security sector. Whether these sectors do constitute security is contentious, so, as with all your reading, adopt a critical, enquiring mind, and see if you are persuaded.

We begin with military security because it is the home of our traditional understanding of what constitutes security; the use or threat to use force. In Chapter 11 Michael Sheehan provides a clear exposition of the issues that are the staple diet of military security: war, deterrence, alliances, arms control, and so on; but, while these can be explained by traditional approaches, this chapter reveals that the alternative approaches have something to say about these issues as well, and, in so doing, shed new light on the subjects. Military security used to be the *sine qua non* of security studies, and, while it no longer dominates the discipline as it once did, it remains very much part of the security agenda and remains an indispensable component. What has changed is what constitutes military security, and this chapter reveals the breadth

and depth of the subject in a concise and accessible fashion.

Turning our attention to the security concerns within states enables us to appreciate that life in the developed world is far from indicative of that lived by most of the planet's inhabitants. The majority of people living in the developing world face a vast range of insecurities, from half a million people dying each year from the use of light weapons to 40,000 dying each day from hunger. There is, as Richard Jackson writes in Chapter 12 on regime security, 'a profound disjuncture between the kinds of security enjoyed by a small group of developed nations and the kind of security environment inhabited by the majority of the world's population'. In this chapter you will have the opportunity to understand the underlying causes of the developing world's inherent insecurity and why it is that, far from being the providers of security, governing regimes become the main source of their peoples' insecurity. It is a bleak picture that is portrayed, but after reading the chapter you will appreciate the complexities that make bringing security to these millions of people both urgent and yet extremely difficult. The notion of an insecurity dilemma captures not only the spiralling nature of the violence but also how problematic it is to find a solution.

The broadening of security so that it means more than a preoccupation with the state and military defence should have been appreciated by now. In Chapter 13 on societal security, an alternative to the state, and indeed the individual, is posited. In this instance you will be introduced to the notion of a collective of people becoming the thing to be secured. In recent times the term 'ethnic' has become a popular label for describing conflict between groups within states. In this chapter Paul Roe introduces you to a means of examining the dynamics behind those ethnic conflicts where identity lies at the conflict's core. Importantly he does so by focusing on non-military issues that can give rise to insecurity and thereby shows how ambiguity in such seemingly non-threatening issues, such as education, can indeed become matters of great concern. If you have an interest in the nexus between security and identity, this is a must-read chapter.

Although it pre-dates the end of the Cold War, it was in the 1990s, and especially because of concern over ozone depletion and global warming, that environmental change began to be thought of as a 'new' security threat. In Chapter 14, while you will be exposed to the vast array of environmental degradation

that is occurring in today's world, the question of interest is what makes environmental change a matter of security. Jon Barnett provides an explanation of why the environment emerged on the security agenda before providing six interpretations of environmental security. You will, therefore, have the opportunity to consider whether the environment really is a security issue and whether labelling it as a matter of security helps or hinders attempts to reverse environmental degradation. For those with a normative interest in studying international security, this is an important chapter to read.

The final two chapters in this section are concerned with economics from two very different perspectives. In Chapter 15 Gary Shiffman utilizes the rational decision making that underpinned Adam Smith's explanation of human nature to indicate how economic instruments of the state can be used to pursue security goals. With an appreciation of what explains human behaviour, it then becomes possible to pursue economic policies, such as sanctions, trade agreements, or aid strategies, to fulfil policy goals. Drawing upon a variety of examples, such as US economic engagement with North Korea and US financial controls on terrorist assets, the chapter reveals the security considerations that underpin economic policy.

The final chapter of the deepening and broadening part of the book, Chapter 16, continues the economy theme, but here the focus is on how the liberal international political economic order provides prosperity for the developed North at the expense of the developing South. Globalization is thus presented as an explanation for those structural conditions that expose people to a range of insecurities. Insecurities that ultimately can drive demands for change and such change might be manifest in rebellion, riots, and regime change. In this chapter Nana Poku and Jacqueline Therkelsen draw upon the recent events in Egypt and Greece to highlight the insecurities that a globalized world has created.

Traditional and non-traditional

The final section of the book highlights a series of traditional and non-traditional security issues that have emerged on the Security Studies agenda. The section begins with traditional security concerns and then moves to the non-traditional issues that have emerged as the subject area has expanded. We begin by addressing the traditional security concern of the

threat and use of force. This is examined by looking at how Western strategy has evolved post-Cold War away from deterrence to compellence and in particular to the use of coercive diplomacy. This captures the logic behind Western, and in particular US, strategic thinking.

The Bush administration's willingness to talk of 'pre-emptive' use of force, and indeed to implement it, revealed a significant change in strategic thinking in the West. It is no longer simply enough to deter opponents from taking action; it is now necessary to persuade, coerce, and, on occasion, force them to change their behaviour. This, as Peter Viggo Jakobsen writes, has led to the post-Cold War era witnessing the pursuit of coercive diplomacy. Coercive diplomacy is the threat, and if necessary the limited use of force, designed to make an opponent comply with the coercer's wishes. It is action short of brutal force and thus an attempt to achieve a political objective as cheaply as possible. It has been used to respond to acts of aggression, halt weapons of mass destruction (WMD) programmes, and stop terrorism. Chapter 17 provides you with the criteria for what constitutes coercive diplomacy and the obstacles to its success, and concludes that Western efforts have largely failed. If you want to understand the strategy that underpins Western, and specifically US, policy on the use of force since the end of the Cold War, this is a chapter for you.

Since the tragic events of 9/11, the acronym WMD has been catapulted into everyday usage. Weapons of mass destruction, and the fear that rogue states or terrorists will target the USA or Europe with such weapons, has become a central concern for Western states. The belief that Iraq had an undisclosed arsenal of WMD provided the justification for the USA's decision to remove Saddam Hussein's regime, and it was the nuclear programmes of both North Korea and Iran (the former a declared weapons programme; the latter a potential and feared possibility) that earned them membership of Bush's 'Axis of Evil'. What, though, are WMD, why are they considered so different from conventional weapons, how easy are they to use, and what has been their impact on international relations? These are the questions that James Wirtz addresses in Chapter 18.

Terrorism, perhaps even more than WMD, has come to occupy a top spot on the security agendas of states. In Chapter 19 Brenda and Jim Lutz provide a definition of terrorism and explain the various types (religious, ethnic, ideological) and causes of terrorism.

Using a typology that sees terrorism as either a form of war, or crime, or disease, they are able to explain why certain countermeasures are adopted by states and their implications for civil liberties. The chapter will provide you with details of terrorists ranging from the Ku Klux Klan to al-Qaeda and reveal the incidence of terrorism that has occurred throughout the world in recent times.

After the end of the Cold War but prior to 9/11, the subject that came to prominence in the field of international security concerned the use of (primarily Western) military force to intervene in cases of severe human suffering; it has not gone away, and in Chapter 20 Alex Bellamy charts the arguments for and against humanitarian intervention. The atrocities committed in Bosnia and the genocide of Rwanda heralded the arrival of the responsibility to protect (R2P). What R2P means, what it means for coercive state intervention, and what future R2P has in a world where mass atrocities continue—as witnessed in Libya 2011 and Syria—are the subjects the chapter examines.

We then turn our attention to the increasing demands for energy coupled to the declining pool of available resources; in the light of this, it is not surprising that energy security has become a critical issue for states (and people). Chapter 21 on energy security provides both a detailed coverage of the topic, specifically related to oil demand, and a link to previous chapters in the Approaches and the Deepening and Broadening sections. You will, for example, have an opportunity to look at what historical materialism argues about the state of energy security, and at the connections that energy security has to economic and regime security, as well as thinking about energy security as an issue not just for states but for human security as well. The USA figures prominently, and reading this chapter will enable you to appreciate that energy security involves a complex nexus of geopolitical, economic, and strategic concerns, which link together distant regions of the globe, and disparate security concerns.

Chapter 22 examines the last of the traditional security issues in this book: the arms or defence trade. In this chapter Suzette Grillot provides an historical overview of how the trade in arms has evolved, including recent trends, as well as the connections between the legal and illicit arms trade. It concludes by examining the methods implemented to control the defence trade. The chapter reveals the defence trade to be multifaceted and complex with a variety of actors engaged in the production and procurement

of weapons. Case studies include the procurement of weapon systems by terrorists as well as efforts to limit the trade in particular weapon systems, such as landmines.

In Chapter 23 we turn to our first non-traditional security issue, health, and here Stefan Elbe examines how diseases such as AIDS and SARS are a threat to both human and national security. AIDS is a pandemic; it was estimated in 2010 that around 1.8 million people die annually of AIDS-related illnesses, while a further 2.6 million people continue to become newly infected with the virus every year. This chapter shows how diseases can be thought of as a security issue for individuals, ranging from their economic impact to specific effects on food security for instance, to national security matters, such as the prevalence of HIV amongst soldiers. While diseases represent an exacerbating factor for national security, they are a direct threat when individuals are the referent object. This chapter concludes by noting that terrorists have deliberately used a biological agent to spread terror, and the potential for further attacks has enhanced the salience of bio-security on states' security agendas.

Our next chapter focuses on another non-traditional security matter that has become increasingly prominent on national security agendas; transnational crime. In 1999 Thailand identified the narcotics trade as the country's number one threat to national security. Drug trafficking, along with, among others, human trafficking and money laundering across national frontiers, are all forms of transnational crime, and, as the Thai experience reveals, this non-traditional security issue has risen rapidly up the national security agendas of states in the post-Cold War era. In Chapter 24 Jeanne Giraldo and Harold Trinkunas reveal the multiple ways in which transnational crime impacts directly, and indirectly, on human and national security. They explain why it has become more prevalent since the 1990s, the links between organized crime and terrorism, and the various responses that states have taken to curb its operation. If you want to appreciate a 'dark side' of globalization and how transnational criminal activity has impacted on international security, this is a must-read chapter.

Chapter 25 turns our attention to one of the most current topics to appear in the field of security studies; cyber-security. Whether in the fields of security, diplomacy, or indeed any aspect of international relations, information and its generation, management and manipulation has always been considered paramount.

The ability to control knowledge, beliefs and ideas are as central to achieving security as tangible resources, such as military forces and raw materials. It is the realm of cyberspace, connoting a fusion of communication networks, databases, and sources of information, that is the environment for this chapter's examination of information control. Utilizing three different discourses (technical, cyber-crime and cyber-espionage, cyber-war) Myriam Dunn Cavelty explains the inherent insecurity of information infrastructure, although she does conclude that the level of cyber-risk is often overrated.

The examination of what non-traditional issues constitute Security Studies today concludes by

examining the concept of child soldiers. This is a topic that has recently gained prominence, but it is not new; children have been agents in conflict for centuries. They are an under-theorized and under-utilized political agent, and in Chapter 26 Helen Brocklehurst brings to the fore their recruitment and role and the implications these have for our thinking about war and security. The legal dimension is examined and the difficulties of demobilization and reintegration are highlighted. Throughout, the chapter provides a critical analysis, challenging preconceptions and revealing the complexities the topic of child soldiers encapsulates.

Conclusion

You are, as I am sure you appreciate, about to embark upon a whirlwind tour of a fascinating subject—a subject that has undergone, and continues to undergo, a thorough introspection of its core assumptions. It is a wonderful time to be a scholar of the discipline—and by scholar I mean students and tutors—because there is so much new and innovative thinking taking place that it is impossible for it not to open your mind. Listen to the ideas contained in the chapters that follow and

if, by the end of it, you are more confused than you are now, then it has been a worthwhile enterprise. A caveat should, though, be added: that your confusion is not a reflection of ignorance but an appreciation of how complicated and complex the subject is and how challenging it is therefore to be a scholar of Security Studies. The chapter began with the question: what is Security Studies? It is all of this and more. Happy reading.



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