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**THE WELSH SCHOOL IN CRITICAL SECURITY
STUDIES**

Ayşen GÜLDÜRDEK

Danışman

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Bu tez, Soğuk Savaşın klasik güvenlik anlayışına eleştirel bir bakış açısı getiren Galler Okulunun yeni güvenlik yaklaşımını ve eleştirilerini incelemektedir. Eleştirel Güvenlik anlayışı çerçevesinde, gerçekçi okulun devlet odaklı güvenlik anlayışının genişleyip derinleşmesi gerekliliği savunulmuştur. Devletin merkez alındığı güvenlik anlayışında, bireyler ve sosyal gruplar gibi diğer aktörlerin göz ardı edilmesi “kimin güvenliği” sorusunu gündeme getirmiştir. Bu tartışmaların ışığında, Soğuk Savaş sırasında ihmal edilen “insan güvenliği” kavramı ve bu kavramın gerekliliği ve önemi güncel örneklerle desteklenmiştir. Bunun yanında devletler arasındaki çatışmanın yerini yoğunlukla devlet içi çatışmalara bırakması, tehdidin de yapısını değiştirmiş; göç, doğal afetler, çevre kirliliği, organize suçlar ve terörizm gibi kavramların da tehdit unsurları arasında incelenmesi zorunluluğunu beraberinde getirmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Eleştirel Güvenlik Çalışmaları, Galler Okulu, AB, İnsan Güvenliği, Özgürleşme.

ABSTRACT

MA Thesis

The Welsh School in Critical Security Studies

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This thesis observes the Welsh School’s new security thinking and its critiques towards the Cold War security approach. Under the framework of the Critical Security Studies, it is argued that realist school’s state oriented security approach should be broadened and deepened. As a result of the state based security studies, which ignored the security actors such as individuals and social groups, question of “whose security” comes into the security agenda. Under the spotlight of these discussions, “human security” concept and how it is necessary and important is supported with current events. In addition to this, since the intra-state conflicts generally replaced with inter state wars, nature of the threats are also changed and issues such immigration, natural disasters, environmental disasters, organized crimes and terrorism are mentioned and treated as potential threats.

Key Words: Critical Security Studies, Critical School, Welsh School, Human Security, Emancipation.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
AHSI	African Human Security Initiative
AU	African Union
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CGE	Commission on Gender Equality
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CONSAS	Constellation of Southern African States
CRT	Civilian Responds Team
CSS	Critical Security Studies
CT	Critical Theory
EDA	European Defense Agency
EIB	European Investment Bank
ERBD	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ESDP	European Security and Defense Policy
ESS	European Security Strategy
EU	European Union
FTA	Free Trade Area
IR	International Relations
ISDSC	Inter-State Defense and Security Committee
NPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
OSAA	Office of the Special Adviser on Africa
PTA	Preferential Trade Area
SACU	South African Customs Union
SDCC	Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference

INTRODUCTION

The concept of security has always been related with the state and the threats directed to the sovereignty of it. After the 17th century, with the Westphalian state system, state has been accepted as an object and also the subject of the security. This system comes up with its own justifications that facilitate the dominance of the state as a security actor. This state-based security approach oriented the practices and the politics of the states. It was mostly felt during the Cold War because of the bi-polar system that encouraged the state as a security provider. Addition to the guardian role of the state, threats was always labeled as the “other” which implies the communist states for the Western bloc or the capitalists for the Communist ones.

Since the security as a concept is at the center of the International Relations discipline, “whose security”, “who provides the security”, and “what kind of threats” are some of the questions in dispute. Neo-realism has been valued especially during the Cold War with its responds that put the state into the center of the argument. States are assumed as rational and self- interested actors whose interests and identities are accepted as pre-given and fixed. Moreover to this, according to the neo-realist security approach under the anarchic order, states are alone and have to protect themselves from the other. Therefore, military capabilities of the states have to be developed in order to survive in the anarchic international system. In addition to the state-centric and military based approach, positivist methodology that embraces objective knowledge shaped the security approach of the realist school. In other words, it is believed that science can help us to understand the problems of the social world. As a result of these assumptions, national security was narrowly defined and solutions to the security problems evaluated as they were seen, as they are facts.

Developments in the late 1980s were a new breath to the international relations. Superpowers’ leaders began to declare alternative approaches and solutions to the international security. Transformations in the dynamics of the international politics prompted states to accept new thinking strategies on their international

security understanding. Scholars began to question the supremacy of realism and its security perspective. As a result of these developments, alternative thinkers began to be effective with their alternative approaches to the Cold War security perspective.

“Peace research”, “Third world security approach”, “Alternative security thinking” challenged the realist assumptions on the security issue. Although they diverge on their challenges, they are in common on the necessity to evaluate security relations from a different point of view. Peace researchers believe that war can be avoidable by understanding the structural causes of the violence. Johan Galtung contributed to this argument with the terms such as “negative and positive peace”. Addition to the Galtung, Boulding introduced the “stable peace” concept to the field. All the scholars under the peace research insist that peaceful solutions to the violence are possible by understanding the main reasons behind the conflicts. On the other side, Third World Security approach criticizes the one-sided security conception of the realist school. According to them, traditional discourse cannot explain the third world security problems by ignoring its own internal dynamics. Amitav Acharya, leading scholars on the third world security approach, claims that Euro-centric comprehension of the international system means leaving the third world states with their own destiny. Finally, Alternative security thinking mentions the necessity of the “common security” idea. In other words, they believe that win-win situation can be possible by increasing the mutual confidence among the states.

Since the Cold War is a period with the ebb and flow, these alternative voices could not arouse the sufficient interest. However, by the early 1990s, scholars of the Copenhagen School gained the attention of the IR with their contributions to the security field. Barry Buzan, Ole Weaver, Jaap de Wilde offered new dimensions to the post-Cold War security approach. They all claim that traditional methods are inadequate to describe the current security needs and to respond to these needs. Their main argument was the necessity of “broadening and widening” the security agenda. By broadening, it is claimed that new areas should be added addition to the military. For the Copenhagen scholars these four areas, political, economic, societal and environmental sectors, will help us to cope with the new international threats.

Addition to the broadening, with the concept of widening, they draw the attention to the issue of level of analysis. Although the Copenhagen School believe that state should not be replace with the other actors, they believe that addition to the state, other complementary actors should be taken into consideration. Moreover to the widening and broadening discussion, another concept “securitization” was also introduced by the Copenhagen scholars. Waever and Buzan described the securitization as “an act, which is presenting an issue as an existential threat that requiring emergency, measures.” Even if an issue requires political respond, as a result of the securitization act, military solutions are preferred. Thus, Waever calls for de-securitization, which means to transform them from the emergency situation to the normal political spheres.

By all means, Copenhagen school took an important step with its contributions to the international security. Hence, the Critical Security Studies took a giant step forward. Critical Security Studies is an umbrella that consists Feminist school, post-positivism and the Welsh School. Although they are diverse in their main assumptions, they share the idea that during the Cold War, one side of the coin was emphasized but the other side was ignored. Critical Security Studies facilitate from the critical international theory to improve their arguments. Ontological and epistemological challenges to the neo-realist theory is discussed under the critical theory and got the support of the Critical Security Studies.

Moreover to the critical theory, Critical Security Studies are in common on the issue of referent object for the security. They all question the role of the state as a referent object. Addition to the state, they point out the other actors such as individual, society and women. Although their responds are different, all of them ask the question “whose security.” For the Welsh School, human security must be at the center of the argument. Ken Booth introduced the term of emancipation as an important concept to the field of security. According to him, people can be secure only if they feel free from the constraint that is emancipation. Therefore threats are described broader than the traditional security approach. On the other hand, Feminist School questioned the role of the women inside the IR discipline. They support that

gender blind security approach leaves the women in an unsecured condition. Additionally feminist scholars reject the realist assumptions that accept anarchical and hierarchical international system because this kind of understanding encourages man dominant IR discipline. Finally, Ole Waever develops societal security with the support of the Copenhagen School. He mentions the importance of the identity groups inside the state and their threat perceptions. An ethnicity or a religion can create the “we” feeling inside the state. These scholars claim that most of the examples such as the Yugoslavia and its ethnic conflicts verified the truth that states can also be a threat to its own societies.

Finally, they challenge the military focused approach of the traditional security understanding. Critical Security Studies share the belief that in order to respond to the complex threats of the post-Cold War period, agenda of the security should be expanded. For the critical security scholars, global threats such as environmental degradation, economic recessions and population growth cannot be solved with the traditional answers. They assert that in order to overcome to these problems, the agenda of the security should be expanded.

Although these three schools under the Critical Security Studies gained importance in the field, the Welsh School and its critics to the traditional realist security approach will be the main aim of this study. The Welsh School has been one of the leading critical security schools and it draws all the attentions with the contributions of the scholars such as Ken Booth, Richard Wyn Jones and Andrew Linklater. These scholars did not abstain to declare that traditional security approaches are not satisfactory to respond the security needs of today.

Ken Booth came up with an alternative to the realism that is “utopian realism.” This is a challenge to the hegemony of the realism and to its assumptions. First, he rejects the constant nature of the anarchic international system. It is emphasized that security and cooperation is possible under the anarchic system. Second, Booth criticizes the state level of analysis of the realism and offers a more holistic approach. In other words, the other level of analysis such as individual and

international levels should be taken into account to evaluate the referents of the security. Third, it challenges the approach that accepts security as equal to military and inevitable without military power.

In addition to the assumptions of the utopian realism, The Welsh School followed the Frankfurt School critical theory to establish its own arguments. With the theoretical guidance of the Frankfurt School, The Welsh School developed its epistemological arguments such as “subject/object relations, static structure of the social world (immutability), and the instrumental purpose of the theory.” Under the subject/object relations, it is claimed that distinction between subject and object is not possible. Identity of the subject is crucial while evaluating or explaining the matters in the outside. Another argument is about the static structure of the social world. For the Welsh School, there is not an immutable social world because human beings can construct and transform the power relations. The last epistemological argument of the Welsh School is about the purpose of the theory. Cox distinguishes theories according to their purpose. While the explanatory theories explain the world as ‘it is’, the constitutive theories approach differently and offers alternative world order. Since the Welsh School scholars believe that the theorists are part of the social process, they prefer the constitutive theory.

Moreover to the epistemological contributions to the field, The Welsh School developed a key concept to explain their main arguments that is emancipation. Frankfurt School scholar Jurgen Habermas states that communication and interaction are important steps to reach an emancipated society. According to him, an ideal speech community, which is open to all human beings and accepts all claims legitimate and equal, is an important condition for the emancipation. As a result of the inspiration from the Frankfurt School scholars, they believe that emancipatory change is the main argument of the critical security studies. For the critical scholars, sustainable peace can only be obtained with the emancipated society, which is free from constraints and able to choose freely. Emancipatory approach focuses on human security and human rights as well as military instrumentalities. Therefore,

emancipation believes the instrumentality of justice and law rather than the military or force.

Relation between the community and security is another arguments developed by the Welsh School. Scholars of the Welsh School inspired from the “security community” concept of the Karl Deutsch. With the security community, Deutsch asserts that common threats can only be handled with the establishments of the common institutions and the practices. The Welsh School also embraces the term because they believe that common identity and the interests can only be possible with a community. Therefore, inside-outside dichotomy can replace with the idea of the “we-ness.” Addition to this argument, it is supported that common security is an also important component of the emancipated society. Thus, Ken Booth developed the “emancipatory community” that comprehends the collective political identities. Since the Welsh School assumes the constant and exclusivist identities are causes to the conflicts and ongoing enmities, establishment of common identities is accepted as a prerequisite for the stable security.

The Welsh School aims to strengthen its theoretical arguments with the examples that cannot be understood with the assumptions of the realism. In the praxis, South Africa and the Stability Pact Project of the European Union has been disappointment for the traditional security approach. While these examples are accepted as anomalies for the realist security understanding, they represent important practice field for the Welsh School scholars.

During the Cold War southern African states did not acted as a guardian but became a threat to their own citizens. States security policies represented insecure conditions for the majority groups. Apartheid South Africa aimed to destabilize its neighbors in the outside and the majority groups in the inside of the country. After the Cold War, subsequent transformation on the security understanding of the region came to scene. Changing in the nature of the threats was also effective in these transitions. In post-Cold War era, states had to compete with the threats such as environmental degradation, unemployment and economic problems that are different

from the threats of the past. As a result of these common threats and problems, states agree to cooperate and create regional integration. SADC, COMESA and SACU are some of the attempts for the establishment of the regional integration in the southern Africa.

Another anomaly for the realist security understanding is the European Union and its human security perspective. With the end of the Cold War, changings in the nature of the threats prompted the EU to take effective cautions. Member states developed new mechanism to improve their regional integration and also enlargement. In order to cope with these problems, EU aimed to develop a new security perspective and a new European Security policy. It is admitted that EU cannot be secure if the other parts of the region is insecure. Therefore, “human” has been put at the center of the security approach of the union. As a result of these attempts, EU theorized its human security doctrine with the reports such as Barcelona Report and the Madrid Report. These reports underlined the importance of the principles such human rights, clear political authority, multilateralism, bottom-up approach, regional focus, use of legal instruments and the appropriate use of force. These principles consisted the security mottos of the EU and they are in harmony with the claims of the Welsh School and its new security perspective. With the South Eastern European Stability Pact project, EU has a chance to apply its human security principles to the field.

Under the spotlight of these explanations, the aim of this thesis is to provide a general overview for the development of the International Security approach. The role of the Welsh School and its intellectual contributions to these process is also constitutes another aim of this study. The challenges of the Welsh School to the hegemony of the realism in the security field are described in a theoretical and practical sense.

In order to achieve these aims, the thesis is presented in three chapters. In the Chapter I, evolution of the International Security approach is mentioned. First the traditional security approach of the Cold War described by referring the main

assumptions of the realism. Then the main challenges to the traditional security approach during the Cold War mentioned under the titles of the “Peace Research, Third World Security Approach, and Alternative Security Thinking.” Addition to these critiques during the Cold War, Copenhagen School and its main challenges and contributions were detailed. After the Copenhagen School, Critical Security Thinking represented the critiques of the post-Cold War era. Basic assumptions of the Critical Security Thinking are described as the Critical Theory, Deepening and Broadening the Security. Chapter II lays out the main part of this thesis that is the Welsh School. Main arguments of the Welsh School under the title of the utopian realism, Frankfurt School critical theory and the epistemology, emancipation and the community and security are examined. Finally, Chapter III consists the examples of the Human Security on the field. Relations between the theory and the praxis are mentioned. Addition to this, Southern Africa and the EU Stability Pact Project are examined as the case studies of this study.

CHAPTER I

EVOLUTION OF THE SECURITY

1.1 Traditional Security Studies

The fall of the Berlin Wall represented the transition from one era to another. This wall was the symbol of antagonisms during the Cold War. It was a symbol of two ideologies, two powers, two enemies and briefly two distinct worlds. However, in the theoretical realm of IR, Berlin Wall was the indicator of the realist predominance. Especially on the field of international security, relations of states were read from the realist perspective. Although, the main purpose of this study is the evaluation of the critical Welsh school, in order to understand these critiques, first the traditional security study, which was a product of the realists' assumptions, should be evaluated.

Cold War Security Studies was called “National Security Studies” in the US and “Strategic Security Studies” in Britain.¹ As it can be understood from its title, during the Cold War security focused on the “state”. The state was the only referent object and also subject for the security studies. Additionally, the military capability of a state was seen as the only means to guarantee the security of that actor and the scientific-objectivist understanding of the neorealism is embraced. These assumptions shaped the concept of “security” during the Cold War and also differentiated it from the other critical perspectives. As Burchill noted “discipline of IR differentiated on the issue of methodology, epistemology and ontology.”²

From a historical perspective, classical realism established historical mode of thought and tried to understand institutions, theories and events within their historical

¹ Pinar Bilgin, “Pasts, Presents and Futures of Security” in *Regional Security in the Middle East: A Critical Perspective* (Routledge, 2004), p.17.

² Scott Burchill., “Introduction,” in *Theories of International Relations*, ed. Scott Burchill, Richard Devetak, Andrew Linklater, Matthew Paterson, Christian Reus-Smit and Jacqui True (Palgrave, 2005), p. .3

contexts.³ International political environment and conditions encouraged the dominance of realist paradigm in Anglo-American thinking on international affairs. Realism assumed the existence of an anarchic international order that impose inherent constraints upon the actors. State as a unitary and rational actor has to deal with all problems alone since there is a deterrence problem that prevents the occurrence of cooperation. As E.H. Carr mentioned in his *The Twenty Years' Crisis*, "in the international order, the role of power is greater and that of morality less."⁴ Morgenthau maintains that statesman think and act according to their interest which is defined as power.⁵ Power is seen as an end not as a mean. Realists often focused on the national foreign policies and seek to explain foreign policy strategies of states. In addition to the foreign policy analysis, realists put the national security issues at the top of their agenda. As a result of this perception, military and political issues are considered as high politics that requires more attention. War can erupt in any time because as Clausewitz argued it is thought as "a continuation of political activity by other means."⁶

During the 1950s, some American scholars such as Kenneth Waltz, Morton Kaplan, Stanley Hoffman and Richard Rosecrance transformed realism into a new form.⁷ They abandoned reliance on the nature of human beings to understand the anarchic nature of world politics but tried to explain it with the systemic factors. Neo-realists different from the classical realists try to understand why states behave similar ways despite their different political systems. They respond to this question by accepting the effects of systemic forces and the systemic constraints.⁸ Neorealism

³ Robert W. Cox, "Social Forces, States and World Orders", *Millenium*, 10, no.2 (1981), p. 1542.

⁴ Robert O. Keohane, "Realism, Neorealism and the Study of World Politics" in *Neorealism and Its Critics*, ed. Robert O. Keohane (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), p. 8.

⁵ Hans J. Morgenthau, "Theory and Practice of International Politics" in *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York: Knopf, 1960), p. 4.

⁶ Mark V. Kauppi and Paul R. Viotti, "Realism: The State, Power and the Balance of Power" in *International Relations Theory: Realism, Pluralism, Globalism, and Beyond* (Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 1999)

⁷ Keohane, p. 14.

⁸ Andrew Linklater, "Neo-realism in Theory and Practice" in *International Relations Theory Today*, ed. Ken Booth and Steve Smith (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), p. 242.

is basically “state-centric” or “statist theory” as Krasner called it.⁹ The state is the main actor and subject within international relations.

Why is the state accepted as the main actor? Waltz answers this question by referring to the anarchic international order. According to him, the state is not the only actor but it is the major one that can survive in the decentralized system.¹⁰ Under this realist logic, states are the actors that can provide their own security within this anarchic order. States are assumed as rational, self-interested actors whose interests and identities are pre-given and fixed.¹¹ Their security needs and interests are also fixed and constant. In order to meet this assumption, definition of threats should also be pre-given and limited. Since there is an absence of authority, states relied on self-help and try to increase its absolute power. The state as a major actor in the system becomes the guarantor of security for its citizens. Thus, the security of citizens is possible with belonging to a state and the “citizenship” emerges as an important shield.¹² Outside of the state, “others” are accepted as potential threats. Different from the classical realism, neo-realists introduced the term distribution of capabilities that distinguished units under the anarchic system.¹³

Although there are differences among the realist school, they share common approaches related with the security field. One of them is about the cooperation under the self-help and the anarchic international order. Cooperation or alliances can be possible but actors are too susceptible to these cooperative relations. Realist point of view assumes a world in where today’s ally can be the enemy of tomorrow. A rational actor, the state, establishes its strategies to survive against these external threats. Moreover to these capabilities, states are accepted as “black boxes” which

⁹ Richard K. Ashley, “The Poverty of Neorealism”, *International Organization*, 38, no. 2 (1984), p. 582.

¹⁰ Kenneth N. Waltz, “Anarchic Structure of World Politics,” in *International Politics*, ed. Robert J. Art and Robert Jerwis (Addison: Wesley Educational Publishers, 1998), p. 32.

¹¹ Steve Smith, “Singing our World into Existence: International Relations and September 11”, *International Studies Quarterly*, 48, no.3 (2004), p. 5.

¹² Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams, “From Strategy to Security: Foundations of Critical Security Studies” in *Critical Security Studies*, ed. Keith Krause and Michael Williams (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), p. 40

¹³ Waltz, “The Anarchic Structure of ...”, p. 58.

does not allow estimating the power and capabilities of the other states.¹⁴ As a result of this uncertainty, as Waltz noted, “war may at any time break out.”¹⁵ While answering the reasons behind the strong state-state as the only important actor-it should not be forgotten that the Cold War also provided the appropriate atmosphere for this assumption. Bi-polar world was declared as the only stable system and existence of balance of power among super-powers was celebrated.¹⁶ This point of view brings the second assumption of the realism that is the “importance of military power”.

In order to survive and to protect the balance of power, states try to be more powerful. Mearsheimer summarizes this situation by claiming that great powers fear each other and all other powerful states are potential enemies.¹⁷ Although it was accepted that other factors such as economy and politics are necessary for being powerful, military forces had the dominancy over the other capabilities.¹⁸ Militarization is viewed as an effective method to deter the other and by that way stabilize the order. Scholars such as Kenneth Waltz believe militarization; especially nuclear weapons will bring stability to the international system. Waltz insists that the existence of nuclear weapons brings the deterrence capability as in the case of Cuban Crisis.¹⁹ According to him, Kennedy and Khrushchev realized the cost of a possible war and so behaved cautiously.²⁰ Realism also brought its concepts that were embedded during the Cold War. Concepts such as counterforce, first-strike capabilities, arms race stability and limited nuclear war emerged during the Cold War.²¹ In addition to this, bipolar world also paid attention to the threats that needed military solutions. This brought the result of militarization of all problems even if they could be solved with non-military means.

¹⁴ Bilgin, “Pasts, Presents and Futures...”, p. 18

¹⁵ Waltz, “Anarchic Structure of...”, p. 39.

¹⁶ Linklater, “Neo-realism in Theory ...”, p. 245.

¹⁷ John J. Mearsheimer, “Anarchy and the Struggle for Power”, in *International Politics*, ed. Robert J. Art and Robert Jerwis (Addison: Wesley Educational Publishers, 1998), p. 51.

¹⁸ Graeme Cheeseman, “Military Force(s) and In/security” in *Critical Security Studies and World Politics*, ed. Ken Booth (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), p. 63.

¹⁹ Kenneth Waltz, “The Spread of Nuclear Weapons: More May Be Better”, *Adelphi Papers*, no. 171 (1981), p. 5.

²⁰ Waltz, p. 5.

²¹ Joseph S. Nye Jr., Sean M. Lynn-Jones, “International Security Studies: A Report of a Conference on the State of the Field”, *International Security*, 12, no.4 (1988), p. 9.

In addition to the state-centric and military-focused security agenda, traditional security also embraced the positivist methodology of realism. As Ashley emphasized “neorealist theory is theory of, by and for positivists.”²² Positivism rejects human subjectivity and believes in the fact that only objective knowledge can leads to the science. Hence, it is supported that value-free science can solve the problems and provide answers.²³ One of the founders of this approach, Weber claimed sociology, history or political science are value-neutral subjects and rejects any normative stand.²⁴ This argument was accepted under the IR since the victory of behaviorist approach.²⁵ Only the facts were important and the interpretations or evaluations cannot be viewed as a confidential methodology.

For both realism and neo-realism, reality is “out there” and this reality is universally accepted. There is no place for normative methodology within the IR discipline. Stephan Walt evaluates the history of the security studies as a gradual evolution toward an objective and scientific discipline.²⁶ According to Krause and Williams, by doing this, Walt creates an “epistemic hierarchy” over the other theories and approaches that may offer alternative methods.²⁷ Robert Cox distinguishes theories according to their aims and methodologies. He calls neo-realism under the group of “problem solving”, since it takes the world as it finds it and it aims to legitimize the status quo.²⁸ Consequently, after WW II, realism declared its hegemony and IR began to be explained with the positivist methodology. It was believed science had given us to understand the world and this evaluation paved the way for accepting the science as a cure to the problems of the social world.²⁹ On the other side, Smith explained this dominancy with the impact of US power on IR. Especially, during the Cold War, realism served the interest of the great powers and as a result of this; it became dominant in the field.³⁰ Especially,

²² Ashley, p. 591.

²³ Steve Smith, “Paradigm Dominance in International Relations: The Development of International Relations as a Social Science”, *Journal of International Studies*, 16, no.10 (1987), p. 9.

²⁴ Smith, “Singing our World into...”, p. 2.

²⁵ Smith, p. 2.

²⁶ Krause and Williams, “From Strategy to Security: Foundations....”, p. 36.

²⁷ Krause and Williams, p. 37.

²⁸ Cox, “Social Forces, States...”, p.190.

²⁹ Cox, p. 190.

³⁰ Smith, “Paradigm Dominance in International...”, p. 14.

American realists believed they could provide a causal explanation for the behavior of the great powers since they have a theory that explains this.³¹

For scholars who focus on the security field of the IR, high politics including military issues are superior to the low politics such as economy or environment.³² As a result of this, national security issues were narrowly defined and the precedence was given to the state in the name of national security. In the course of the Cold War era, IR focused on US-Soviet relations and the concept of security reflected this great power relation. There was a two-player, zero-sum game and uncertainty on the security agenda. Therefore traditionalists do not believe in peaceful transformation. State is seen as unchanged or static entity since its first emergence in 1648.³³ They claim that within the anarchic international structure, state's actions are limited and the alternative choices are not abundant. They overestimated the changing nature of threat or necessity for the new actors. In a word, states are the main actors and their security from the outside is the only matter.

Realism had its "golden age" during 1955-65. It was named as "golden" since nuclear weapons, limited arms race or deterrence theory were the products of that age.³⁴ Instead of the questions that focused on the means of the security or how important is it, theorists tried to explore the importance of nuclear weapons.³⁵ During the golden age of realism, limitations such as deterrence theory and the state as a rational actor were tried to be justified by theorists. Deterrence theory assumed the existence of an aggressor and also focused on military retaliations against this actor, rather than answering, "why this actor opposes to the status quo."³⁶ In addition to

³¹ Richard Little, "The English School vs. American Realism: a Meeting of Minds or Divided by a Common Language?", *Review of International Studies*, 29 (2003), p. 451.

³² Michael Mastunduno, "Economics and Security in Statecraft and Scholarship", in *Explanation and Contestation in the Study of World Politics*, ed. Peter J. Katzenstein, Robert O. Keohane and Stephen D. Krasner (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999), p. 198.

³³ Bryan Mabee, "Security studies and the "Security State" : Security Porivision in Historical Context", *International Relations*, no:2 (2003), p. 138.

³⁴ David Baldwin, "Security Studies and the End of the Cold War", *World Politics*, no:1 (1996), p. 122.

³⁵ Baldwin, p. 122. These theorists were Thomas Schelling, Glenn Synder, William W. Kaufmann, Henry Kissinger...

³⁶ Stephan Walt, "Renaissance of Security Studies", *International Studies Quarterly*, 35, no. 2 (1991), p. 215.

this, “rational actor” assumption supported the “deterrence theory” by neglecting the effects of domestic, psychological and organizational factors that can shape the decision of an actor.

During 1970s and early 1980s “new thinking strategy” in international security emerged and developed.³⁷ Consequences of the Vietnam War encouraged thinkers to turn their interests from the Cold War to the other matters. As Baldwin mentioned not only the Vietnam War but also the other factors such as Arab oil embargo, which represented non-military threat to American security interest lessened the dominance of the traditional approach³⁸. However, end of the detente and the reemergence of tension again called the realism to the scene until to the end of the Cold War. As a consequence, during the Cold War realism created a world that is not real anymore. Changing dynamics of the world required new approaches that will reflect the ingredients of the new international system. As a result of the new dynamics, realist explanations of the security relations were questioned during the supremacy of it.

1.1.1 Challenges to the Traditional Approach during the Cold War

Many theorists, during the Cold War, believed that the zero-sum game of realism should be replaced with other alternative approaches. The emergence of US-Soviet détente made the issue of “war” less important. On the other side, economic recessions in the US and the fluctuations in the world economy encouraged theorists to study “international political economy in the late 1960s.”³⁹ As a result of these developments, “transnational relations”, or “interdependence” became new words that challenges to the dominance of realism.⁴⁰ This was a new wave for the security studies. Scholars began to take the history as a referent for explaining the cases and also they compared the historical events and their outcomes.⁴¹ These alternative thinkers clarified the importance of the nonoffensive defense, common security,

³⁷ Ken Booth, “Security and Self: Reflections of a Fallen Realist” in *Critical Security Studies*, ed. Keith Krause and Michael Williams (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), p. 85.

³⁸ Baldwin, “Security Studies and the...”, p. 123.

³⁹ Walt, “Renaissance of Security...”, p. 216.

⁴⁰ Walt, p. 216.

⁴¹ Walt, p. 216.

human rights, disarmament, confidence building and democracy.⁴² In short, they believed that a wider agenda and also a broader definition of security could be attained. Three important contributions challenged the dominance of the traditional approach during the Cold War. These were the commission on Global Governance and its “peace research”, “third world security approach” and finally “alternative security thinking”.

1.1.1.1 Peace Research

Peace researchers share the idea of students of common security by supporting that different from the realist approach, alternative security thinking is necessary⁴³. The main argument of the “peace research”⁴⁴ is to understand the causes of violence and find alternative peaceful ways to remove this violence. Addition to Gorbachev’s adaptation of “Alternative Security” thinking in the late 1980s, other non-state actors such as U.S.’s “Freeze” movement, “Nuclear Disarmament Campaign” of UK and also European Nuclear Disarmament followed him.⁴⁵ Peace Researchers had a broad conception of security. Individuals, social groups and also global society are accepted as important referents under the field of security. Peace research had a distinct and important voice within the Cold War security studies because of its significant scholars who made valuable contributions to the field. One of them is Johan Galtung with his distinction of structural and individual violence.

Galtung emphasizes on the importance of the structural causes of war.⁴⁶ Additionally, Galtung defined “peace” with a different point of view. He believes “an extended concept of violence leads to an extended concept of peace.”⁴⁷ According to him, peace did not mean the absence of war. Social justice is also

⁴² Booth, “Security and Self...”, p. 85.

⁴³ Pinar Bilgin, “Individual and Societal Dimensions of Security”, *International Studies Review*, no.5 (2003), p. 204.

⁴⁴ In 1978, a consultative committee under the responsibility of UNESCO considered the coordination and development of research, information and documentation on peace. The committee is operated within a working definition that characterized peace research.

Charles Chatfield, “International Peace Research: The Field Defined by Dissemination”, *Journal of Peace Research*, 16, no.2 (1979), p. 163.

⁴⁵ Bilgin, “Past, Presents and Futures...”, p. 20.

⁴⁶ Johan Galtung, “Violence, Peace and Peace Research”, *Journal of Peace Research*, 6, no. 3 (1969), p. 168.

⁴⁷ Galtung, p. 168.

necessary to consolidate a long-standing peace.⁴⁸ While the absence of physical violence is negative peace, absence of structural violence means positive peace.

Addition to the contributions of Galtung, Kenneth Boulding also introduced the term of stable peace. His workings focused on the problem of preventing war, which generally emerges because of the failures of the IR discipline.⁴⁹ Apart from studying on preventing the war, he also emphasizes that stable peace cannot be defined only in terms of “absence of war”. For him, peace under the shadow of the weapons will sooner or later lead to war. This is the situation of the unstable peace that is also defined as a condition in which no real expectations exist that peace will be maintained in the future.⁵⁰ Boulding claims that “stable peace, in contrast, exist when two sides learn how to make peace by creating trusting relationships that disarm people’s minds as well as their institutions.”⁵¹

1.1.1.2 Third World Security Approach

Third World Security approach is the second critical voice against the realist security thinking. There are no comprehensive or integrated theories in the Third World Security approach. However, it focuses on the problems of the Third World states that have common character. These states are decolonized nations and also they were known as non-aligned states during the Cold War.⁵² This movement identified itself as a distinct movement different from the Eastern and the Western blocs and they rejected to ally with the superpowers at that time. Thus, this movement challenged to the security conception that is developed according to the security needs of the superpowers. This approach basically claims that traditional

⁴⁸ Galtung, p. 168.

⁴⁹ Hugh Miall et al., *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), p. 42.

⁵⁰ Bilgin, “Individual and Societal...”, p. 205.

⁵¹ Bilgin, p. 205.

⁵² Raju G.C. Thomas, “What is Third World Security”, *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.* 2003. 6:205–32, p. 207. The spirit of the nonaligned movement was given shape at the 1955 conference in Bandung, Indonesia, where 29 countries from Asia (including the Middle East) and a few from Africa were represented. Nonalignment began mainly as an Asian movement of countries that had emerged from colonialism in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War beginning with India in 1947. Later, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was set up as a formal global institution in 1961.

realist discourse is not adequate to explain the state-individual relations and the security priorities of the Third World states.

According to Acharya, realism advocated an order that was compatible with the spirit of the Cold War era but this order enhanced the conflicts in the Third World.⁵³ For the Third World thinkers, security needs and the realities of the Third World states are ignored.⁵⁴ As Acharya claimed, Euro-centric explanation of the international system is one of the important reasons behind the negligence of the Third World issues or experiences.⁵⁵ Security of the Third World states became important and deserved attention by the West only when they pose a threat to the security of the Western powers. This competition continued even it left the Third World in an insecure position. In Acharya's view "they (superpowers) left considerable room for the escalation and prolongation of local and regional wars."⁵⁶ Scholars also reject the classical concept of "other" which refers external and outward items.⁵⁷

Caroline Thomas emphasizes the different worldviews of the West and the Third World by underlining their security needs. Unlike the First World, Third World included the economic, political and environmental issues into their security agendas.⁵⁸ Satisfaction in those security issues such as food, health, money and trade is as crucial as military capability since these states search security first at the domestic level. For the developed world, the status quo should be maintained since their security is usually guaranteed by the preservation of the status.⁵⁹ On the contrary, as Bilgin underlined, "many third world (but not all) states saw a change in

⁵³ Amitav Acharya, "Third World and Security Studies", (paper prepared for presentation at the conference. Strategies in Conflict: Critical Approaches to Security Studies, convened by the Centre for International and Strategic Studies, York University, Toronto, 12-14 May 1994), p. 8.

⁵⁴ Important scholars under the Third World approach are Caroline Thomas, Al-Mashat, and Mohammed Ayoob.

⁵⁵ Amitav Acharya, "The Periphery as the Core: The Third World and Security Studies", in *Critical Security Studies*, ed. Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams, (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), p. 300.

⁵⁶ Acharya, p. 306.

⁵⁷ Mohammed Ayoob, "Defining Security: A Subaltern Realist Perspective" in *Critical Security Studies*, ed. Keith Krause and Michael Williams (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), p. 124.

⁵⁸ Bilgin, "Individual and Societal...", p. 206.

⁵⁹ Bilgin, p. 206.

the status quo necessarily as a threat but rather as conducive to the security-provided, of course, that the change toward the creation of an international economic structure sensitive to the needs of the developing states.”⁶⁰

Finally, although these critical voices tried to challenge the dominant security perspective, they could not create enough of an impression. They were not able to prove their arguments contrary to the reality of the Cold War. Anarchic international system and its consequences were imposed over the IR field and challenges to this hegemony had disappeared within the dominant voices. However, this dominance was shaken with the fall of Berlin Wall that represented a new era. This era provided the suitable atmosphere for the emergence of the strong critical approaches. These approaches were ready to provide new answers to the question of “security”. As Booth mentioned “chaotic international atmosphere pushed the critical perspectives to respond to the needs of security studies.”⁶¹ Realism envisaged a world that only represented the one side of the reality and also one side of the world. As a respond to this, critical voices try to prove that “another world is also possible”.

1.1.1.3 Alternative Security Thinking

As Olof Palme wrote in the programme for disarmament “Our alternative is common security and there can be no hope for victory in a nuclear war....”⁶² Common security took its official approval in the UN Palme Commission⁶³. Rather than the “zero-sum game” of the traditionalists, common security insisted that conflict can be avoided by enhancing mutual confidence.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Bilgin, p. 206.

⁶¹ Ken Booth, “Critical Explorations”, in *Critical Security Studies and World Politics*, ed. Ken Booth (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), p. 10.

⁶² Bilgin, “Pasts, Presents and Futures...”, p. 20.

⁶³ Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues, organized under Olof Palme’s chairmanship in 1980. In its report two years later, the Palme Commission offered a “blueprint for survival” in a world of growing military expenditures, with an expanding arms trade, alarming national races to improve both weapons of mass destruction and conventional weapons, new risks of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, new pressures for the weaponization of outer space, the growing lethality of conventional wars, the escalating economic and social costs of armament, and expanding public awareness of the environmental consequences both of nuclear war and the production of nuclear weapons, <http://disarmament2.un.org/speech/30Sept1999.htm>.

⁶⁴ Carl G. Jacobsen, “The Changing War Culture”, *Peace Magazine*, (Nov-Dec. 1998), <http://archive.peacemagazine.org/v14n6p13.htm>.

The main idea of common security is rejecting the “principle of deterrence” among the major powers. As mentioned in the Palme report; “States can no longer strive towards strengthening their security at another’s expense. It is only possible to achieve it through joint effort.”⁶⁵ Hence, they believe that maintaining confidence-building projects can abolish the security dilemma.⁶⁶ This approach aims to avoid war by a series of measures, such as disarmament, arms control or peacekeeping.⁶⁷ For these scholars, the current security system emphasizing on the necessity of nuclear weapons is too dangerous so it should be done away with. They support anti-nuclear activities since a nuclear war would end with no winners. Thus, alternative thinkers believe that it was in the interest of both sides to work against it. They support NOD (nonoffensive defense) which is a strategy to ensure one’s own defense without considering of attacking to the territory of other state⁶⁸. NOD is in harmony with the idea of common security since both of them aim to find alternative methods to solve the problem of nuclear competition.

Gorbachev also embraced common security and was ready to leave the zero-sum game understanding. He announced a unilateral nuclear test moratorium and decreed the unilateral withdrawal of 500.000 troops from Eastern Europe.⁶⁹ This attitude was an example to the principle of “reasonable sufficiency” which refers to the drastic reduction of military arsenals.⁷⁰ These kinds of attempts during the Cold War environment encouraged these scholars to come up with alternative security understandings.

1.2 The Copenhagen School

By the early 1990s new threats had emerged and they were not directly related with the traditional military threats. These threats did not appear suddenly but they were ignored during the Cold War. International society was not ready to

⁶⁵ Alexander I. Nikitin, “The Concept of Universal Security: A Revolution of Thinking and Policy in the Nuclear Age”, <http://www-ee.stanford.edu/~hellman/Breakthrough/book/pdfs/nitkin.pdf>

⁶⁶ Bilgin, “Pasts, Presents and Futures...”, p.20

⁶⁷ Hanna Newcombe, “What is Common Security?, A Conceptual Comparison”, *Peace Magazine*, (Aug-Sept 1990), <http://archive.peacemagazine.org/v06n4p08.htm>.

⁶⁸ Cheeseman, p. 65.

⁶⁹ Jacobsen, p.12.

⁷⁰ Nikitin, p.24.

confront these problems since they had no experience to handle these issues. In the Post-Cold War period, scholars of the Copenhagen School offered new dimensions.

The work of Barry Buzan has been important in the development of security studies. Buzan and the other scholars such as Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde questioned the primacy of the military power and the position of state in the conceptualization of security.⁷¹ Their main argument was “widening the security agenda by adding four sectors”. They believe that transformations in the Post-Cold War security agenda required the involvements of these new sectors to cope with the new threats. Within this context the new areas proposed by the Copenhagen school addition to the military, are political, economic, societal and environmental sectors.⁷² Moreover to broadening the issue; Buzan claims that levels of analysis are also important to decide the referent objects for security. The level issue encompassed substate, state and the international system levels.⁷³ Although Buzan admits non-state collectivities are also important units that should be taken into consideration; he is a little bit conservative on the issue of the position of the state. Since the state stands between the substate level and the level of international system, it is accepted as the main actor in Buzan’s approach.⁷⁴ He supports his argument by indicating the role of the state as a policy-making actor. In this way state is represented by Buzan as the dominant actor compared to the other referents. Because of his state centric explanation, he is called as “neo-realist.”⁷⁵

According to Buzan, Waever and de Wilde; there is an important difference between a state-centric approach and a state-dominated field. They emphasize that they support the latter one and claim that;

⁷¹ Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde, “Introduction” in *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, ed. Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998), p. 5.

⁷² Barry Buzan, “New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-First Century”, *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1994-)*, 67, no.3 (1991), p. 433.

⁷³ Barry Buzan, *People, State and Fear* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1991), p. 19.

⁷⁴ Steve Smith, “The Contested Concept of Security” in *Critical Security Studies and World Politics*, ed. Ken Booth (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), p. 33.

⁷⁵ Bilgin, “Pasts, Present and Futures...”, p. 34.

“Security is an area of competing actors, but it is a based one in which the state is still generally privileged as the actor historically endowed with security tasks and most adequately structured for the purpose.”⁷⁶

Yet the changes in the European security understanding compelled Buzan to shift his discourses on the referent object for security. Conflicts in Balkans and the nature of the security problems pushed for the development of the notion of societal security.⁷⁷ Ole Waever’s important contribution to this concept aimed to focus on non-state actors such as groups of people and collectivities.⁷⁸ While the state security focused on sovereignty, societal security focused on identity.⁷⁹ Waever did not explain the societal security under the state security. He defines them as two different referent objects.

Following the societal security, another crucial concept “securitization” was discussed by Waever and Buzan. Securitization is an act, which is presenting an issue as an existential threat that requiring emergency, measures.⁸⁰ Thus, the meaning of security will always depend on inter-subjective understandings that are socially constructed.⁸¹ In order to figure out why a problem becomes security issue, one may look to the actors that are involved in the process of securitization.⁸² Securitization promotes solving the issues with military way rather than political attempts. As a result of this understanding, Waever calls for de-securitizing issue which means to transform them from the emergency situation to the normal political spheres.⁸³ Waever defines securitization as a “conservative mechanism” which is created by state elites.⁸⁴ Addition to the position of the actor, how to convey the issue to the public is also an important matter. Thus, “speech act” plays crucial role to convince

⁷⁶ Buzan et al., “Security Analysis: Conceptual Apparatus” in *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, ed. Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998), p. 37.

⁷⁷ Smith, “The Contested Concept...”, p. 33.

⁷⁸ Gunhild Hoogensen and Svein Vigeland Rottem, “Gender Identity and the Subject of Security”, *Security Dialogue*, 35, no. 2 (2004), p. 160.

⁷⁹ Smith, “The Contested Concept...”, p. 33.

⁸⁰ Buzan et al., “Security Analysis...”, p. 25.

⁸¹ Andrew Hurrell, “Security and Inequality” in *Inequality, Globalization and World Politics*, ed. Andrew Hurrell and Ngaire Woods (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 263

⁸² Hurrell, p. 263.

⁸³ Smith, “The Contested Concept...”, p. 34.

⁸⁴ Bilgin, “Pasts, Presents and Futures...”, p. 29.

the public since the issue is securitized only if and when the audience accepts it as such.⁸⁵

Although scholars accept the important contributions of the Copenhagen School to the field of security, there are some critiques to the works of the scholars of the School. One of the common critiques is directed towards Buzan because of his neo-realist stand. His definition of the international system as anarchic and identification of security with citizenship are important points that are attacked by scholars such as Wendt, Tickner, Wyn Jones, Krause and Williams.⁸⁶ Krause and Williams reject the equalization of security with citizenship since many examples proved that the state itself could be a threat to its citizens.⁸⁷ In addition to Krause and Williams, Johan Eriksson mentions the inconsistency of the Copenhagen School's approach in the issue of securitization and the widening the agenda.

According to Eriksson; "the logical inconsistency only appears if one combines a constructivist perspective with a multisectoral approach without discussing the political consequences of the latter."⁸⁸ Thus presentation of five sectors is a political construction and Copenhagen School should take the responsibility and address the consequences of this act. Eriksson also criticizes the process of the securitization. He supports that if the Copenhagen School wants to follow more rigid securitization approach, it should totally abandon the multisectoral approach.⁸⁹ As Michael Williams points out, Copenhagen school is broadening the analysis by the way of treating securitization as a speech act as well as trying to limit the security agenda.⁹⁰

One of the most common critiques comes from the issue of state-centrism. Most of the scholars are confused with the inconsistency of the Copenhagen School

⁸⁵ Buzan et al., "Security Analysis...", p. 25.

⁸⁶ Bilgin, "Pasts, presents and Futures...", p. 34.

⁸⁷ Bilgin, p. 34.

⁸⁸ Johan Eriksson, "Debating the Politics of Security Studies, Response to Goldmann, Waever and Williams", *Cooperation and Conflict*, 34, no.3 (1999), p. 349.

⁸⁹ Eriksson, p. 349.

⁹⁰ Michael Williams, "Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics", *International Studies Quarterly*, 47, (2003), p. 513.

on the issue of the state as a referent object. On the one hand they offer to leave state-centrism and mention the importance of identity as a referent object; on the other hand, they continue to believe the dominance of the state over the other referents.⁹¹ From the feminist perspective, Lene Hansen also points to the absence of gender related insecurity in the work of the Copenhagen School.⁹² Gender based issues were silent within the concept of the securitization since securitization can only exist if a referent object is existentially threatened.⁹³

Addition to the critiques to the Copenhagen School, contributions of this school was appreciated by the scholars especially in the post-Cold War era. They introduced new dimensions to the field by welcoming new concepts such as broadening, deepening and also securitization. These concepts paved the way for the further workings and developments under the subject of the International Security.

1.3 Basic Assumptions of the Critical Security Thinking

Almost forty years, concept of security, international security and the means of security had evolved under the shadow of the superpower conflicts. This superpower conflict shaped the meaning of the security in the minds of the people and when the superpower conflict ended, all the inputs that created traditional security approach also lost their significances. As a result of this new era, policy makers and also students of international politics have been focused on the meaning of international security. Although there were critical approaches during the Cold War, the most suitable environment for the critical approaches emerged during the late 1980s.

Bipolar nature of the Cold War era began to loose its meaning and all the developments were the reminders for a new international atmosphere. For David Mutimer, this was an opportunity to create an international agenda that is not dominated by the interests of the superpowers and also that is not consolidated upon

⁹¹ Olav F. Knudsen, "Post-Copenhagen Security Studies: Desecuritizing Securitization", *Security Dialogue*, 32, no. 3 (2001), p. 362.

⁹² Smith, "The Contested Concept...", p. 37.

⁹³ Smith, p. 37.

the military-power.⁹⁴ Especially ethnic and religious conflicts in Balkans in 1989-1991 confirmed the inadequacy of traditional security to explain the international condition.⁹⁵ As Ovalı believed Realist assumptions could not respond to the necessities of a new era.⁹⁶ Peter Katzenstein also accepts this inadequacy and asserts, “it is hard to deny that existing theories of international relations have woefully fallen short in explaining an important revolution in world politics.”⁹⁷ In this context, post-Cold War era presented all the outcomes that gave impetus for the emergence of the critical approaches.

Eli Stamnes defines critical security studies as “an approach to the study of security that has been inspired by, on the one hand, meta-theoretical debate that has taken place within IR (International Relations) on recent years and, on the other hand, the changes in world politics following the end of the Cold War.”⁹⁸ These approaches were ready to provide new answers to the question of security. Meaning of threat, means of security and the referent object of security were questioned by these new challengers. As Booth mentioned, chaotic international environment pushed the critical perspectives to respond to the needs of security studies.⁹⁹ These perspectives aimed to present “security studies that goes beyond problem-solving within the status quo and instead seeks to help engage with the problem of the status quo.”¹⁰⁰ Despite the existence of more than one critical approach, they share common arguments and challenge to the traditional security studies.

It is believed that in the 1930s British interest directed the IR discipline and since the end of the Second World War, U.S. interests replaced the British ones.¹⁰¹ Additionally, in IR as a social science, one side of the coin was overemphasized

⁹⁴ David Mutimer, “Reimagining Security: The Metaphors of Proliferation”, in *Critical Security Studies*, ed. Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams, (University of Minnesota Press, 1997), p.187.

⁹⁵ A. Şevket Ovalı, “Masadan Sahaya Gecis: Yeni Guvenlik Kurgusunun Uluslararası Politikadaki Yansımaları”, *Avrasya Dosyası*, 4, (2004), p. 118.

⁹⁶ Ovalı, p. 118.

⁹⁷ Michael C. Desch, “Culture Clash: Assessing the Importance of Ideas in Security Studies”, *International Security*, 23, no.1 (1998), p. 148.

⁹⁸ Eli Stamnes, “Critical Security Studies and the United Nations Preventive Deployment Macedonia”, *International Peacekeeping*, 11, no.1 (2004), p. 162.

⁹⁹ Booth, “Critical Explorations...”, p. 10.

¹⁰⁰ Booth, p. 10.

¹⁰¹ Smith, “Singing our World into ...”, p.15.

whereas the other side was ignored. However, critical approaches that emerged with the end of the Cold War insist that the other side of the coin is also important and should be studied. Feminist school focused on the gender problem, post-positivists displayed the importance of the identity in the issue of security and finally Welsh School under the Critical Security School tried to attract attention to the relation among the emancipation and the security. Yet, common arguments bring these schools together under the umbrella or title of the “critical”.

1.3.1 Critical Theory in IR

Critical security approaches take the “critical international theory” as a root to improve their basic arguments. For Ken Booth, “the general term critical theory has come to apply to those schools of thought that have challenged what is often generalized to be the positivist orthodoxy in Western social science.”¹⁰² According to Rengger and White, scholars such as Cox and Ashley helped to open a space for a growing body of normative thinking and these developments are often unconsciously was part of the tradition of critical IR theory.¹⁰³ By this way, critical theory had a huge impact on the study of international relations over the last twenty-five years. There are four main schools within the context of critical IR theory: Frankfurt School, neo-Gramscian theory, feminism and various types of post-structuralism.¹⁰⁴ In order to understand the main arguments of these schools, first the foundational claims of the critical international theory should be explored.

The first assumption emphasizes that actors or the subjects of the world politics are socially constructed during the historical process.¹⁰⁵ While neo-realism takes the existing system as a pre-given, critical international theory tries to figure out how the system had developed and constructed.¹⁰⁶ As Burchill clarified, critical theory provides a “guide to strategic action for bringing about an alternative

¹⁰² Booth, “Critical Explorations...”, p. 10.

¹⁰³ Nicholas Rengger and BenThirkell-White, “Introduction: Still critical after all these years? The past, present and future of Critical Theory in International Relations”, *Review of International Studies*, 33, no.3–24 (2007), p.7

¹⁰⁴ Rengger and White, p. 7.

¹⁰⁵ Krause, “Critical Theory and Security Studies”, *YCISS Occasional Paper*, no.33 (1996), p. 6.

¹⁰⁶ Linklater, “Neo-realism in theory...”, p. 256. As Wendt mentioned in his article (1995:75), there are major differences between modernist and post-modernist critical theory. While post-modernists reject all foundationalism, modernists stay away from this radicalism.

order.”¹⁰⁷ It supports that change is possible in world politics because according to critical theorists there is not one version of the power relations. On the issue of normative theory, critical IR theory rejects the possibility of the value-neutral theories. There are no universal laws in the social sciences since as Cox reminded, “both human nature and the structures of human interaction change, if only very slowly. History is the process of their change.”¹⁰⁸

Ontologically, they reject the realist assumption that defines human nature and action narrowly and instead focus on the identity construction¹⁰⁹. Paul Kowert explains the importance of the identity by indicating the difference with the rationalist theories. He notes that while rationalist theories can expect how states will behave or bargain, they cannot estimate who the actors are or how their interests were constituted.¹¹⁰ For Williams, “identity has not been missing from prevailing theories of international relations.”¹¹¹ On the contrary, he believes that taking into account the identity constitutes and also breeds the theories.¹¹² As Craig Murphy mentioned, in order to understand the world structures and the politics, theorists should shift their positivist methods to the method of empathetic understanding.¹¹³ By the way of the understanding the other side, the impact of identity can be examined by the observers.

Epistemological base of the critical IR theory also distinguishes it from the problem-solving theory. Critical IR theory rejects objective knowledge for the subjects, and structures of the world politics. As Booth mentioned, critical IR theory basically challenges to the positivist Western social science.¹¹⁴ As a result of this, critical approaches are called as “anti-foundational” which underlines the fact that

¹⁰⁷ Burchil, 19.

¹⁰⁸ Craig N. Murphy, “The Promise of Critical IR, Partially Kept”, *Review of International Studies*, 33. (2007), p. 117.

¹⁰⁹ Richard Price and Christian Reus-Smit, “Dangerous Liaisons”, *European Journal of International Relations*, 4, no.3 (1998), p. 254.

¹¹⁰ Paul A. Kowert, “National Identity: Inside and Out”, *Security Studies*, 8, No:2/23, (1998/99), p. 2.

¹¹¹ Michael Williams, “Identity and the Politics of Security”, *European Journal of International Relations*, 4, no. 2 (1998), p. 204.

¹¹² Williams, p. 204.

¹¹³ Murphy, p. 119.

¹¹⁴ Booth, “Critical Explorations...”, p. 10.

under the social sciences truth cannot be reached with neutral or objective knowledge.¹¹⁵ They accept interpretative method rather than scientific methodology. Under the spotlight of this assumption, critical theorists claim that theorist cannot stand outside the reality since norms and identities are important.¹¹⁶ If there is a theory as Cox defines “it is always for someone and for some purpose.”¹¹⁷ Marysia Zalewski mentions different understandings of writers on the issue of the meaning of theory. Is it a tool or a critique? This debate shows different positions of scholars on the epistemological conceptions of theory. Realists/neo-realists accept theory as a tool in the sense that one can use it to understand the world as it is.¹¹⁸ Scholars such as Andrew Linklater assert that theory is more than a tool. It does not only explain the world as it is but also tries to find “how the world got to be as it is”.¹¹⁹ Thus he rejects the subject-object distinction believing that events in the world are ontologically prior to the theories related them. In other words, critical theorists do not attempt to formulate objective, empirically verifiable truth statements about the natural and social world.¹²⁰

Critical theory believes “problem-solving theories” have many weaknesses. Although realism remains one of the dominant theories that explain the power relations, it is attacked by critical theories in some points. Realism had its golden age during the Cold War since it was able to explain the security relations that were also constructed by the dominant actors. This represents one part of the story, and proves that realism can only describe one part of the reality not the whole picture. Another weakness that is attacked by critical theorists is “realism is a static theory.”¹²¹ Realism does not predict the future and cannot answer to the questions that are about the long-term future. It evaluates a constant “war of nature or conflict” or constant relations that will end with the “prisoners dilemma.” All of these evaluations depend

¹¹⁵ Booth, p. 10.

¹¹⁶ Critical theorists in International relations are Richard Ashley, Robert Cox, John Ruggie, Alexander Wendt and Thomas Risse-Kappen.

¹¹⁷ Burchill, 19.

¹¹⁸ Barry Buzan, Stephan Krasner, Michale N.icholson and Michael Mann accept theory as a tool.

¹¹⁹ Marysia Zalewski, “All these theories yet the bodies keep piling up’: theories, theorists, theorising” in *International Theory: Positivism and Beyond*, ed. Steve Smith, Ken Booth and Marysia Zalewski (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 345.

¹²⁰ Price and Reus-Smit, p. 261.

¹²¹ Price and Reus-Smit, p. 261.

on the idea of constant human nature. It is not expected any change in the human nature or the state relations so the outcome becomes constant international structure.

For critical theorists in IR, another problematic assumption of realism is “its unsophisticated methodology.”¹²² Problem-solving theories assume an unproblematic relationship between fact and value, the observer and the observed, and theory and practice.¹²³ As a result of this, they observe the state relations, as they exist in the nature free from the subjective interpretations. It is argued that omitting the identity, value or the other inputs do not represent the reality but it represents an actor or world that reflects the idea of the observer. Critical theorists criticize the realist methodology because of its problematic evaluations. As Price and Reus-Smith notified, “they (critical theorists) reject the hegemony of a single scientific method, advocating the plurality of approaches...”¹²⁴ In contrast to the scientific methodology, the critical theorists generally prefer interpretive strategies. Addition to the methodology, critical theorists question the narrow security evaluation of the realism. Political realism created a world that does not represent the security needs of the people and individuals throughout the world. Critical theorists also claim “realist ethics are hostile to the human interest.”¹²⁵ Ken Booth does not accept the idea that realism is amoral and also apolitical. However, he admits that realism focus on the statist ethics and ignores the interests that can be established free from the state’. As a result of this, it is evaluated that realist ethics are limited and neglects the human interests.

Critical theory in IR aims undermining the foundational claims of the dominant discourse in the IR discipline. Under the light of these common assumptions, modern and post-modern critical theorists oppose to the dominant rationalist theories of neo-realism and neo-liberalism.¹²⁶ This hegemony was not seen only in the structure of the international theory but also in the practice of the

¹²² Price and Reus-Smit, p. 261.

¹²³ Booth, “Critical Explorations...”, p. 6.

¹²⁴ Booth, p. 6.

¹²⁵ Booth, “Critical Explorations...”, p. 6

¹²⁶ Booth, p. 7

international theory¹²⁷. Critical theory that included post-positivism, feminism and also critical security studies aims to expand the limits of the IR rather than transform it¹²⁸. Post-positivist approach, feminist school and critical security studies (Welsh school) embrace the assumptions of the critical theory and offer an alternative security approach.

1.3.2 Referent Objects in Critical Security Studies

As it is mentioned in the first part of the chapter, security field in IR is predominated with the state and as Buzan pointed out “the referent object for security has traditionally been the state and in a more hidden way, the nation.”¹²⁹ Whose security is a crucial question in order to define the object that is to be secured. Furthermore, threats and solutions are defined according to the referent object so pointing out different objects will create different solutions and threats. Apart from the classical approach, critical security theorists are in common by looking different objects of security other than state. After the Cold War, critical approaches are able to introduce new actors such as individuals, social groups or in a more broad way humans as well as the states. Although Copenhagen School introduced the deepening approach, they failed to abandon the conservative understanding about the state. Other critical approaches such as Feminist approach, Welsh School and human security approach of some non-governmental organizations are braver to say, “The king is naked”. Addition to these approaches, Ole Waever contributed with its societal security approach that emphasized the role of societal groups.

What kind of factors encouraged theorists to increase their voices for the sake of the other referents under the security field? According to Krause and Williams, “new issues and perceived threats, and the challenges to sovereignty from a range of transnational and sub national forces have provided considerable grist for current

¹²⁷ Booth, “Beyond Critical...”, p. 243.

¹²⁸ Jill Steans, “Engaging from the Margins: Feminist Encounters with the Mainstream of International Relations”, *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 5, no.3 (2003), p. 445.

¹²⁹ Buzan et al., “Security Analysis...”, p. 36.

discussions of the nature of security...’’¹³⁰ Thus, this is a response of critical theorists to the changing atmosphere in the international arena. Benjamin Miller claims that this is not only an empirical challenge but also a transition on the normative grounds emphasizing on human values and needs.¹³¹ Critical voices are in harmony in the issue of need for deepening but they are diverse in the question of the name of the referent objects. Ken Booth supports that individual security has a priority to the state’s security. Moreover Booth also introduced a new term that is human emancipation.

1.3.2.1 Individuals as a Referent Objects

Traditional security approach assumed that the Cold War structure will continue forever and the state will be the only actor that deserves protection from other states. Critical theorists aim to prove that the world has changed and this transformation requires the protection of other actors such as individuals. According to the individualists, defining security without considering the individuals does not explain the current security context. There is a missing part in the levels of analysis since traditional point of view focused only the state or system level. Booth claims that individual’s security is more crucial than the state’s security because it is the “ultimate units of the great society of all mankind.”¹³²

One of the most significant arguments of the individualists is the problematic role of the state as a security provider. There is a constructed identity for the states. According to this given identity, state is described with the Westphalian practice.¹³³ Hence, state is not a given, unproblematic, Westphalian unit. States sometimes leave their citizens in an insecure condition for the sake of its security.¹³⁴ Thus, the

¹³⁰ Simon Dalby, “Contesting an Essential Concept: Reading the Dilemmas in Contemporary Security Discourse” in *Critical Security Studies*, ed. Keith Krause and Michael Williams (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), p. 7.

¹³¹ Benjamin Miller, “The Concept of Security: Should it be Redefined?”, *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 24, no. 2 (2001), p. 6.

¹³² Hayward Alker, “Emancipation in the Critical Security Studies Project”, in *Critical Security Studies and World Politics*, ed. Ken Booth (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), p.191.

¹³³ Tim Dunne and Nicholas J. Wheeler, “We the Peoples’: Contending Discourses of Security in Human Rights Theory and Practice”, *International Relations*, 18, no.1 (2004), p. 11.

¹³⁴ George Sorensen, “Individual Security and National Security: The State Remains the Principal Problem”, *Security Dialogue*, 27, no. 4 (1996), p. 374.

security of the state can be provided only in the situation of the insecurity of its citizens.¹³⁵ Buzan explains this dilemma with “the security of individuals is locked into an unbreakable paradox in which it is partly dependent on and partly threatened by the state.”¹³⁶ For most of the time, authoritarian states can use this situation to create an excuse for their human rights violations. Protagonist attitudes of the ruler as in the case of Saddam rule in Iraq ended with many civilians’ dead. Explaining this situation with the state-based approach, do not allow the people examine the insecurities of individuals within the state.¹³⁷

Under the individual security, the term “human emancipation” also should be mentioned. Ken Booth accepts human at the center of the security and introduces emancipation as the key concept of the security. In a simple way, emancipation means freeing people from all of the constraints.¹³⁸ Human beings can only feel secure when they are free to choose. Human security is people centered not the states centered. According to Alkire, “human security shifts that focus to persons, regardless of gender, race, religion, ethnicity, citizenship, or other distinguishing characters.”¹³⁹ Addition to the difference on the names of the referents objects, there is a divergence between the critical and traditional security studies on the question of the “how the individual security can be maintained?” Human security emphasizes the role of the cooperation because of the global interdependence. Although it is contrary to the self-help principle of the realist approach, under the human security approach, cooperation is necessary for creating global security to the individuals. The UNDP report outlines seven areas of human security: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security.¹⁴⁰ Especially in the environment and social rights there is a strong dependency between states.¹⁴¹ Related with the cooperation, human security accepts

¹³⁵ Bilgin, “Individual and Societal...”, p. 208.

¹³⁶ Andrew Linklater, “Political Community and Human Security” in in *Critical Security Studies and World Politics*, ed. Ken Booth (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), p. 116.

¹³⁷ Bilgin, “Individual and Societal Dimensions”, p. 208.

¹³⁸ Booth, “Security and Self...”, p. 110.

¹³⁹ Sabine Alkire, “A Conceptual Framework for Human Security”, *Centre for Research on Inequality, Human Security and Ethnicity*, CRISE, p. 31.

¹⁴⁰ UNDP, 1994.

¹⁴¹ Matthew Weissberg, “Conceptualizing Human Security”, *Swords & Ploughshares*, (2001), p. 6

broader definition of threats. As a result of this broad range of threats, states need to help each other.

In addition to these core values, human security accepts a holistic understanding of the problem since the existence of universal goals. The Commission on Human Security, chaired by Sadako Ogata and Amartya Sen, submitted a report named as Human Security Now in May 2003.¹⁴² In that report, commission accepted six broad areas and mentioned the main issues that need response. These issues are condition of people in conflict situation, situations of displaced people, transition phase between war and peace, economic and health security and finally gender-based inequality.¹⁴³ According to this report, in an interdependent world people depend and affect each other. Thus, each of us is responsible to the other. Sadako Ogata summarizes the main point of the human security, “the broadening of the concept of security from state to human security has resulted from the realities of the changing world.”¹⁴⁴ In that sense, Ken Booth shares the idea of Hedley Bull who advocates “international order is only to be valued to the extent to which it delivers world order which is the provision of the primary goals of social life to all individuals such as security from violence.”¹⁴⁵ Thus, war is also a constraint and should be thought as a part of the emancipation project.

In addition to the scholars who prioritize individual security, scholars such as Martin Shaw or Liotta mention the security of both, state and human security. In his article “Boomerang Effect”, Liotta supports that in order to avoid from the boomerang effect, it must be focused on both national and human security.¹⁴⁶ Supplying individual security without considering the state’s survival will probably end with insecurity of the former. Post-Cold War era presents very complex picture of international security. Focusing on both state and individual dimensions of

¹⁴² The idea of an independent commission was launched at the 2000 UN Millennium Summit. “The commission conceptualizes human security as protecting peoples’ vital freedoms from critical and pervasive threats in ways that empower them so that they fulfill their strengths and aspirations.” Sadako Ogata, “The Human Security Commission’s Strategy”, *Peace Review*, 16, no.1 (2004), p. 25.

¹⁴³ Sadako Ogata, p. 26.

¹⁴⁴ Ogata, p.28.

¹⁴⁵ Dunne and Wheeler, p. 12.

¹⁴⁶ P. H. Liotta, “Boomerang Effect: The Convergence of National and Human Security”, *Security Dialogue*, 33, no.4 (2002), p. 474.

security can solve this complexity. In addition to Liotta, Martin Shaw also criticizes pure individualists as Booth and believes “both state and individual need to be understood within a sociological context, and neither is seen as standing alone.”¹⁴⁷ According to Shaw referents have an interaction within the system and they affect each other’s security.¹⁴⁸

1.3.2.2 Societies as a Referent Objects

Societal security is an alternative to the state-centric approach. The root of this concept leads to the concerns about the European security in the post-Cold War era.¹⁴⁹ Societal security is developed by Ole Waever with the support of the Copenhagen School in order to point out the rising “we” feeling within the societies.¹⁵⁰ This social construction promotes groups to embrace and protect their identity that is equal to the ethnicity, culture and nation. Thus, under the societal security, “identity of group is presented as threatened by dynamics as diverse as cultural flows, economic integration, or population movements.”¹⁵¹

According to classical approach, state, nation or social groups are assumed to be embodied in states existence. As a result of this point of view, actors that are inside of the state are ignored and their interests or identities are not discussed as an object. While in the state security the existential threats are the sovereignty, for the societal security, the referent object or the protected one should be the society.¹⁵² Additionally, societal security is presented as independent of the state security and as a result, the Copenhagen School introduces “dual conceptualization” of security.¹⁵³ On the other hand, scholars such as Van Evera and Barry Posen claim that traditional state-centric security approach cannot be evaluated without considering the impact of

¹⁴⁷ Smith, “The Contested Concept...”, p. 33.

¹⁴⁸ Bilgin, “Individual and Societal...”, p. 209.

¹⁴⁹ Bilgin, p. 211.

¹⁵⁰ Buzan et al., “Security Analysis...”, p. 37.

¹⁵¹ Williams, “Words, Images, Enemies:...”, p. 513.

¹⁵² Buzan et al., “Security Analysis...”, p. 22.

¹⁵³ Hoogensen and Rottem, 162, Williams, “Words, Images, Enemies:...”, 518.

identity.¹⁵⁴ Rise of mass armies and as a result international anarchy are the outcomes of the identity concerns of the groups.¹⁵⁵

After the Post-Cold war many examples proved that identity is securitized by the elites. It is mentioned under the security policies of the nations or it becomes emergency issue although it can be called as a political problem. European Union, which is a supranational body, put the issue of rise of migration on their security agenda. According to Williams, migration is constructed as a threat by using some images such as "... figures attempting to jump on trains through the Channel Tunnel between France and the UK ... or of lines of asylum seekers waiting to be picked up for a day's illicit labor..."¹⁵⁶ Thus by using the means of the securitization, identity of the communities can be presented as under the threat of others. In addition to the European example, Yugoslavia is another well-known example to the ethnic conflict. In this case, referent object of war is not the state but the society within the state. Not the collective identity but the units of identity were under the threat.¹⁵⁷ Croats, Serbs and Bosnians perceived each other as an existential threat and tried to protect their identity in order to survive. Different from these examples, in some cases the state itself can be the cause of the societal insecurity. Decisions of states can be contrary to the interest of some interest groups within the society. In 1921, Catholic republicans felt that their identity is under the threat with the settlements of the Protestants by the support of the UK. Thus, catholic-protestant conflict increased and continued until today. This is the decision of the state and this decision left some part of the community's interest under the threat.

The notion of societal security is the outcome of the transformation of the international system after the Cold War. State is alone cannot meet the security needs. Copenhagen School did not offer this concept as an alternative to the state but as an addition to the conventional referent-object.

¹⁵⁴ Williams, "Identity and the Politics...", p. 207.

¹⁵⁵ Williams, p. 207.

¹⁵⁶ Williams, "Words, Images, Enemies:...", p. 526.

¹⁵⁷ Beverly Crawford and Ronnie D. Lipschutz, "Discourses of War: Security and the Case of Yugoslavia" in *Critical Security Studies*, ed. Keith Krause and Michael Williams (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), p. 178.

1.3.2.3 Women as a Referent Objects

Feminist approach is also critical for the issue of the referent object. However, as Linda Bash mentioned feminists do not want to be treated as a special category, but try to integrate themselves into the category of object.¹⁵⁸ Thus, feminist school insists that, IR discipline is a gender blind area and also a security study under this discipline follows the same tradition. There are important writers as Cynthia Enloe, Linda bash, Jan Pettman and Ann Tickner and all of them emphasizes the issue which is ignored, “what about the security of women?”

All of the arguments begin with the neo-realist approach within the understanding of security. Anarchic international world only permits to protect state from the outside-threats. This point of view prevents to focus on the domestic actors and their security conditions. At that point, feminist writers are hand in hand with the other critical theorists that reject state-based security approach. According to Tickner, state-centric analyses leave the insecurity of the other actors across the level of analysis and this makes women as a marginalized actor.¹⁵⁹ Hierarchical international system that creates dichotomies is challenged and rejected by the feminist scholars. Dominant masculinism is also a kind of dichotomy similar to the other terms such as protector/protected, inside/outside and order/anarchy.¹⁶⁰

Feminist scholars argue that state’s attempts to create more secure borders can end with the insecurity of the women within the territory. Jill Steans claims “there is a literature that documents how militaries and military expenditure can be seen as antithetical to women’s security.”¹⁶¹ Especially wartime rape that was used in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda is used as war tactic.¹⁶² It is a weapon and a strategy that targeted women’s bodies. During the Bosnian War, it is estimated that

¹⁵⁸ Linda Bash, “Human Security, Globalization and Feminist Visions”, *Peace Review*, 16, no.1 (2004), p. 7.

¹⁵⁹ J. Ann Tickner, “You Just Don’t Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists”, *International Studies Quarterly*, 41, no. 4 (1997), p. 625.

¹⁶⁰ Hoogensen and Rottem, p. 166.

¹⁶¹ Stein, p. 446.

¹⁶² J. Ann Tickner, “Feminist Responses to International Security Studies”, *Peace Review*, 16, no.1 (2004), p. 45.

the Serbian extremists raped 30.000 women.¹⁶³ The more effective study comes from Katherine Moon. She investigated the prostitution camps around the US bases in South Korea. This is also another dramatic example that shows the insecurity of the women for the sake of the state security.¹⁶⁴ But the most ironic side of this issue is, violence to women is accepted as a normal case. This normalization is also another problem for the feminist scholar. Violence against the women during the UN peacekeeping operations is declared as a normal situation and as a fun of the young soldiers.¹⁶⁵ As a result of these examples, integration of women as a security objective is a “must” for the feminist scholars. However, they know that in order to accomplish this aim, epistemological and also ontological structures of the discipline have to be changed.

On 31 October 2001, Security Council Resolution 1325 addressed the impact of the war on women and women’s contribution to sustainable peace.¹⁶⁶ This is the first resolution that specifically address to this issue but it is clear that it probably will not be the last one. In May 2003, the report of Commission on Human Security mentioned the gender-based inequalities as a threat to human security. In spite of integration of gender-based problems to the report, the Commission did not take up women as a specific subject.¹⁶⁷ For Bunch, by doing this they omitted many important things related with the inequalities.¹⁶⁸ In this respect, feminist school aims to transform the masculine dominance within the IR discipline. They claim that domestic level of analysis is necessary in order to manage the gender-based inequality. Feminist scholars are insisted for not to be blind against the supremacy over the women.

¹⁶³ Katrina Lee Koo, “Confronting a Disciplinary Blindness: Women, War and Rape in the International Politics of Security”, *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 37, no.3 (2002), p. 528.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. According to the United Nations Human Development Report in 1995; women are penalized by economic sanctions as a result of military conflict. Women and children constitute about 80 percent of the total refugee population, a population whose numbers increased from 3 million to 27 million between 1970 and 1994, mainly due to military conflict. Tickner, “You Just Don’t Understand ...”, p. 625.

¹⁶⁵ Tickner, “You Just Don’t Understand ...”, p. 627.

¹⁶⁶ www.un.org/womenwatch

¹⁶⁷ Charlotte Bunch, “A Feminist Human Rights Lens”, *Peace Review*, 16, no.1 (2004), p. 32.

¹⁶⁸ Bunch, p. 32.

1.3.3 Broadening Security

Critical Security Studies not only share the critical theory or the problem of referent object but also reject the military-focused agenda of traditional school. They support that military focused strategies were appropriate for the Cold War era but now it is the time to open the door for the new agendas. Broadening means “expanding the agenda of security studies beyond that of the hitherto militarized and statist orthodoxy.”¹⁶⁹ According to this approach, addition to the military threats, there are also new global threats such as population growth, environmental degradation, and economic welfare. As Bilgin explained, critical security studies insisted on broadening in order to “... understand the dynamic relationship between the social-political-economic-environmental as well as military dimensions of security.”¹⁷⁰

Ken Booth defines the broadening as an intellectual shift from the perspective of status quo to the reality of change.¹⁷¹ In a changing world, both the meaning of security and the meaning of threat transform. Broadening aims to respond to this transition and the requirements of the global world. Now, not the question of “how we will deter the other from attacking us” but “how we will prevent the global warming or economic inequality as the sources of conflict” is tried to be answered. This is so because as Lynn Jones admits “if the most-pessimistic scenarios about the threat of large scale global warming are realized, the resultant loss of life, economic damage...maybe greater than the threat posed by most wars.”¹⁷²

Accepting the non-military issues addition to the military-based approach is an important challenge to the traditional realist perspective. According to this approach, anarchic environment and also existence of zero-sum do not permit actors to focus on non-military threats. Threat can only comes from the other state via the

¹⁶⁹ Booth, “Critical Explorations...”, p. 16.

¹⁷⁰ Pinar Bilgin and Adim David Morton, “Historizing Representations of ‘Failed States’: Beyond the Cold War Annexation of Social Sciences?”, *Third World Quarterly*, 23, no.1 (2002), p. 69.

¹⁷¹ Ken Booth and Peter Vale, “Security in Southern Africa: After Apartheid, beyond Realism”, *International Affairs (Royal Institute of Affairs 1944-)*, 71, no.2 (1995), p. 293.

¹⁷² Sean M. Lynn-Jones, “International Security Studies After the Cold War: An Agenda for the Future”, *Discussion Paper 91-11*, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

militaristic equipments. With the end of the Cold War, first the existence of new referents, namely deepening, then the broadening the agenda began to be discussed by the Critical Security theorists. As Pinar Bilgin explained, broadening security does not mean to include everything under the title of threat but is an attempt to evaluate the threats that are ignored up to now.¹⁷³ Broadening is an awareness of the scholars that “what is really threatened is not an abstraction like “the state” but the material well-being of individuals.”¹⁷⁴ Insisting on the traditional militaristic answers to the non-military problems will leave the individuals and the state in an unsecured condition. Thus, in order to struggle with the new threats such as environmental pollution or economic inequalities; actors have to be equipped with the appropriate tools.

Defining security with a broader approach got critiques from scholars who are loyal to the traditional state and military based definition of security. One of the best-known critiques asserts that broadening will make the definition of security as meaningless. It is rejected because of the conceptual and methodological reasons.¹⁷⁵ According to this approach, broadening the agenda will affect the coherence of the field because of equating every bad thing with a security threat. Moreover to the academic coherence problem, evaluating the environmental problem with a worst-case scenario is rejected since it is perceived as dangerous. In this respect, Daniel Deudney argued, “national security from violence and environmental habitability has little in common...”¹⁷⁶ If all the elements that affect the life negatively are accepted as security threats, it will be hard to give meaning to the definition of security. Thus, there will be intellectual confusion in the field of security.

According to Tuchman Mathews environmental decline leads directly to the conflict but this conflict is felt in the economic performance and political stability of the nation.¹⁷⁷ This shows that these non-military issues do not affect the survival of

¹⁷³ Bilgin, “Pasts, Presents and Futures...”, p. 44.

¹⁷⁴ Keith Krasue and Michael C. Williams, “ Broadening the Agenda of Security Studies: Politics and Methods, *Merston International Studies Review*, 40, no.2 (1996), p. 233.

¹⁷⁵ Dan Henk, “ Human Security: Relevance and Implications”, *Parameters* ?, (2005), p. 98.

¹⁷⁶ Ayoob, p. 125.

¹⁷⁷ Ayoob, p. 126.

the state directly. However, Acharya's Third World example leaves no doubt that broadening the security is directly related with the survival of a state. According to her, "...resource scarcity, overpopulation, underdevelopment, and environmental degradation were at the heart of insecurity in the Third World."¹⁷⁸ These non-military issues represent real threats for the Third World, not for the developed states. For a woman living in a Third World tribe, finding enough food and water for her child is as important as being secure from the attacks of the other tribe.

Broadening is a new dimension and an important challenge to the realist discourse of the Cold War era. Under the realist motto, states believed that military power is a must in order to survive and to deter threats. Threat was certain and concrete so fighting was not difficult. After the Cold War critical theorists underlined the threats that are not concrete and not easy to fight. For the rest of the West, definition of security does not refer to the military threats and security since "the national security cannot be separated from the non-military threats to security."¹⁷⁹ Critical theorists share the view that not the bullets but the scarcity of food, water and housing are the real threats confronting the humanity. Thus, insistence on the militaristic methods and ignoring the non-traditional threats can create undesirable ends.

¹⁷⁸ Acharya, "The Periphery as the Core:...", p. 304.

¹⁷⁹ Acharya, p. 304

CHAPTER II

THE WELSH SCHOOL

2.1 Main Arguments of the Welsh School

End of the Cold War opened the intellectual doors for the critical approaches to sought to “re-think, re-define, and re-conceptualize security.”¹⁸⁰ Nature of threats, nature and name of the referent objects and the subjects of security are questioned. Most of the critical approaches to the traditional school embraced the motto of “there is one world, but many realities.”¹⁸¹ In the first chapter, those critical voices towards the state-based and military-focused traditional approach were examined. These critiques followed different paths and different theoretical inputs to create alternatives.

As Anthony Burke noted, one important line of approach to security in realist terms has come from the Welsh School of critical security studies.¹⁸² It has promoted by scholars based at the university of Wales, Aberystwyth, such as Ken Booth, Richard Wyn Jones and Andrew Linklater.¹⁸³ Although Welsh School is mentioned under the CSS (Critical Security Studies), it has different characteristics. Addition to the Welsh School, study of Keith Krause and Michael Williams represents the other mainstream approach under the CSS.

In 1997, Krause and Williams’ assumptions on Critical Security Studies had known with the publication of an edited volume.¹⁸⁴ Although they called this work as critical security studies, there is a distinction from the critical security studies of the

¹⁸⁰ Pinar Bilgin, “Pasts, Presents and Futures of Security” in *Regional Security in the Middle East: A Critical Perspective* (Routledge, 2004), p. 25.

¹⁸¹ Ken Booth, “Critical Explorations”, in *Critical Security Studies and World Politics*, ed. Ken Booth (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), p. 2.

¹⁸² Anthony Burke, “What Security Makes Possible: Some Thoughts on Critical Security Studies”, *Working Paper in Australian National University*, no.1 (2007), p.6.

¹⁸³ Burke, p.6.

¹⁸⁴ Name of the edited book is “Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases” by Keith Krause and Michael Williams.

Welsh School.¹⁸⁵ In generally, they question the empirical and ontological limitations within the traditional security studies. Under the spotlight of their critiques, Krause and Williams developed the deepening approach as well as the idea of the broadening the security issues. Referent objects addition to the state, and the problems of the new threats are discussed under this school. It is supported that “the status of others is uncertain, needing to be deciphered and determined.”¹⁸⁶ Despite their efforts to introduce alternative approaches, they do not aim to create “a new orthodoxy of critical security studies...”¹⁸⁷ According to Booth, for fear of creating a new orthodoxy, editors preferred not to define the term “critical” and also “security.”¹⁸⁸ They avoided to be known as a coherent school of thought. Different from the Welsh School, there is no attribution to the critical orthodoxies (Gramscian and Frankfurt School). Instead of this, Krause and Williams emphasized the necessity of a dynamic and open-minded approach to the subject.¹⁸⁹ As Alker supported Krause and Williams questioned the alternatives beyond the problem-solving approach of the traditional school.¹⁹⁰

Welsh School used the term “critical” different from Krause and Williams.¹⁹¹ Firstly, Welsh School does not refrain from explaining what they mean by “critical” and “security” since for them clear understanding of these terms is necessary to invoke a coherent theory.

¹⁸⁵ Steve Smith, “The Contested Concept of Security” in *Critical Security Studies and World Politics*, ed. Ken Booth (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), p. 40.

¹⁸⁶ Keith Krause and Michael C. Williams, “From Strategy to Security: Foundations of Critical Security Studies” in *Critical Security Studies*, ed. Keith Krause and Michael Williams (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), p. 50.

¹⁸⁷ Keith Krause and Michael Williams, “Preface: Toward Critical Security Studies”, in *Critical Security Studies*, ed. Keith Krause and Michael Williams (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), p. 8.

¹⁸⁸ Ken Booth, “Beyond Critical Security Studies” in *Critical Security Studies and World Politics*, ed. Ken Booth (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), p. 260.

¹⁸⁹ João Reis Nunes, “Politics, Security, Critical Theory: A Contribution to Current Debates on Security”, Paper presented at the SGIR Pan European Conference, Turin, 2007, p.6

¹⁹⁰ Hayvard Alker, “Emancipation in the Critical Security Project” in *Critical Security Studies and World Politics*, ed. Ken Booth (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), p. 191.

¹⁹¹ Krause and Williams believed that precise definition of “critical” is unnecessary. However, they used the term “critical” according to the Robert Cox’s distinction between the problem-solving theory and critical theory. While the former takes the action as given, the latter questions its origin and the possibility of change. Keith Krause and Michael Williams, *Critical Security Studies, Concepts and Cases*, p. 11.

According to Ken Booth,

*Critical security study is an issue-area study, developed within the academic discipline of international politics, concerned with the pursuit of critical knowledge about security in world politics. Security is conceived comprehensively, embracing theories and practices at multiple levels of society, from the individual to the whole human species. Critical implies a perspective that seeks to stand outside prevailing structures, processes, ideologies, and orthodoxies while recognizing that all conceptualization of security derive from particular political theoretical positions...*¹⁹²

Scholars under the Welsh School emphasize the need to move from the old orthodoxy towards the new one. Booth summarizes this view; “the price for old thinking about world security is paid, daily, in the death, disease, poverty, and oppression of millions.”¹⁹³ Ken Booth defined a new approach that is utopian realism. It combines both normative and empirical theories. Welsh School challenged the “iron cage”¹⁹⁴ of the realism-categories and basic assumptions of realism- since it that locked world into these assumptions. They try to show that liberation from the prison of realism is possible and necessary. This attempt is also called also as a new thinking of the security.¹⁹⁵ It is a new thinking since utopian realism offers some modifications to the realist theory. Although, it is not introduced as a coherent school opposite to the existing ones, it demonstrates the availability of transformation to meet the requirements of the new security relations.

Welsh school scholars do not only reject the statism and scientism of the traditional studies but also they “reconceptualize the security studies.”¹⁹⁶ Even though international structure is presented as an anarchical order, critical scholars believe that security and cooperation is possible. Traditional theories-neo-realism and neo-liberalism- mentioned only one side of the coin but ignored the alternative results of the anarchy. Hence, Welsh school attempt to demonstrate that power relations and self-help is not a natural outcome of the international system. Furthermore, statism is rejected since they believe that only the holistic approach can evaluate the whole picture. Individual human beings, ethnic groups, nations and the

¹⁹² Booth, “Critical Explorations”, p.15.

¹⁹³ Booth, “Beyond Critical ...”, p. 260

¹⁹⁴ Booth, “Critical Explorations”, p.4

¹⁹⁵ In that paper, the term of “new thinking” will be used to refer the utopian realism.

¹⁹⁶ Smith, “The Contested Concept ...”, p. 42

whole global community of humankind constitute the alternative actors of the security issues. This complex nature of the security promotes the inclusion of the other threats in addition to the military oriented threats. Expanding the agenda by including the other security issue areas is the attempt of broadening that comes after the deepening. For Booth, broadening derives from deepening and can be possible as long as political theory assume this.¹⁹⁷ In other words, deepening provides construction of a new ontology and epistemology different from the neo-realism and depending to this theoretical background, “agendas can be understood as more or less broad.”¹⁹⁸

Welsh School benefited from the intellectual heritage of the Critical Theory in order to prove the possibility and the urgency of the transition from the traditional theory that only reflects the Cold War agenda.¹⁹⁹ Thus, with the contribution of the Critical Theory, it moved towards the aim of reconceptualization of security. Term of emancipation is a milestone for the Welsh School and also crucial challenge to the traditional state-based security approach. As Bilgin mentioned “Booth placed human beings at the center and gave priority to the emancipation.”²⁰⁰ Addition to the emancipation, “community” is pursued as another dynamic of the security. Critical security scholars assert that feeling of “we-ness” rather than difference between “us” and “them” should be highlighted.

Due to the consistency of this study, first the utopian realism will be examined and the main assumptions of the utopian realism will be discussed. Then, the three pillars of the peaceful security -critical theory, emancipation and the community- will be mentioned.

¹⁹⁷ Booth, “Critical Explorations”, p. 14–15.

¹⁹⁸ Booth, p. 14–15

¹⁹⁹ Ken Booth, “War, Security and Strategy: Towards a Doctrine for a Stable Peace” in *New Thinking About Strategy and International Security*, ed. Ken Booth (London: HarperCollins Academic, 1991), p.373.

²⁰⁰ Pinar Bilgin, “Individual and Societal Dimensions of Security”, *International Studies Review*, 5 (2003), p.209.

2.1.1 Utopian Realism

Describing realism with an adjective such as utopian can be a contradiction for most of us since the nature of the realist thinking rejects the possibility of an idealized world. As Booth claimed, in 1939, E. H. Carr's 'the twenty years crisis' was a milestone in the realist thought. This publication was a "death knell of utopianism as a respectable intellectual tradition."²⁰¹ Developments during 1930s left no hope for the utopist or idealistic opportunities for the world. Instead of cooperation, power politics became dominant. Henceforth, this dominancy continued and embedded in the political life.

Hegemony of realism has been apparent, yet as Hans J. Morgenthau and E.H. Carr admitted that realism is not enough.²⁰² While Carr believed utopia and realism are "...belonging to different planes which can never met", he also declared "there is a need for combination of utopia and realism."²⁰³ As a result of the complex and diverse explanations of the leading realists, Booth benefited from the distinction proposed by William T. R. Fox on empirical realist and doctrinal realist.²⁰⁴

It is supported that rather than the doctrinal realism, empirical realism can answer to the challenges of the current security problems. For Fox,

*The doctrinal realist asserts the basically rapacious character of contenting great powers in a Hobbesian world. Eternal conflict is structurally determined; there is no escape from the security dilemma... The empirical realist by contrast looks to see how they actually behave and perhaps beyond that to examining the possibilities for tolerable coexistence.*²⁰⁵

As Booth claimed the term utopian is a controversial term and generally accepted as a negative label.²⁰⁶ This is a reflection of the hegemony of the mainstream thinking and the control of the language. It is accepted that, utopian has

²⁰¹ Ken Booth, "Security in Anarchy: Utopian Realism in Theory and Practice", *International Affairs*, 67, no.3 (1991), p.527.

²⁰² Ken Booth, "Introduction, The Interregnum: world politics in transition" in *New Thinking About Strategy and International Security*, ed. Ken Booth (London: HarperCollins Academic, 1991), p. 17.

²⁰³ Booth, "Security in Anarchy ...", p.530–531.

²⁰⁴ Booth, "Introduction, The Interregnum...", p.17.

²⁰⁵ Booth, p.17–18.

²⁰⁶ Booth, "Security in Anarchy ...", p. 534.

no relationship to the real world and also unimaginable.²⁰⁷ Contrary to these definitions, Welsh School use the term “utopian” to promote the idea that “the world does not have to look like the one we are familiar with.”²⁰⁸ Utopian thinking serves as a catalyst to re-evaluate the real world. It is a challenge to the existed realities that created hegemony over the actions, relations and also languages. As Ken Booth described, it encourages the man to have desire for a better world.²⁰⁹ Describing utopia in that sense will create another image about the term in our minds. It does not describe a dream that is not possible to happen but creates a set of goals and desires for getting the better life.

Since the Welsh School scholars do not mention the utopian realism in their study as Booth do, title as the utopian realists will not used for calling the Welsh School. On the other hand, concentration of Booth on this issue presents the signals of the new thinking about security.²¹⁰ Booth makes a distinction among the “end-point utopias” and the “process utopias.”²¹¹ If there is a long time scale to reach to the goal, this is an end-point utopia. There is a last point for the desired future. However, for scholars it is not profitable to wait for a long time to create an alternative structure. Process utopias are seen as a reformist steps to create a peaceful world. It is easier to get the desired goal since it is not a revolutionary agenda.²¹² As Neufeld clarified, “critical theory’s utopianism is constrained by its historical processes’... it limits the range of choice to alternative orders which are feasible transformations of the existing world.”²¹³ Contrary to the end-point utopias, for process utopia means are the ends. Although there are differences, both types believe that “the world could and should change.”²¹⁴

²⁰⁷ Richard Wyn Jones, “On Emancipation: Necessity, Capacity, and Concrete Utopias” in *Critical Security Studies and World Politics*, ed. Ken Booth (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), p. 232.

²⁰⁸ Booth, “Security in Anarchy ...”, p. 535.

²⁰⁹ Booth, “Security in Anarchy ...”, p.535

²¹⁰ Alker, p. 192.

²¹¹ Booth, “Security in Anarchy ...”, p. 535.

²¹² Ibid. Examples to the process-utopias are: reducing the risk of war each year, improving the human rights conditions, and spreading the economic justice, etc.

²¹³ Mark Neufeld, “Pitfalls of Emancipation and Discourses of Security: Reflections on Canada’s ‘Security With a Human Face’ ”, *International Relations*, 18, no.1 (2004), p.110.

²¹⁴ Booth, “Security in Anarchy ...”, p.530.

When utopian realism is evaluated, utopian as an adjective has a more practical and attainable character. Moreover to this, utopian realism is different from the doctrinal realism since it is more realistic while expressing the world events. In other words, doctrinal realism extracts the domestic issues and tries to evaluate the world security with an incomplete map.²¹⁵ Therefore, realism has a more realist meaning within the utopian realism since it covers all of the systemic levels including the inter-state relations

Utopian realism offers some revisions on the subject of the anarchy, referents objects for the security and the security threats. Booth defines himself as a post-realist in the sense that “he recognizes the Kenneth Waltz’s version of realism, but thinks that it is necessary to go beyond that.”²¹⁶ By promoting the alterations and assumptions to the realist thinking under the name of “utopian realism”, Booth aims to prove the existence of a different security conception other than imposed over the IR. It is first insisted that security under the anarchic system is possible and does not end inevitably with the worst-case scenario. Second, all the unit levels are mentioned within the list of the actors that will be protected. Third, the novelties in the nature of the threats are emphasized and these new agendas are mentioned.

2.1.1.1 Anarchy and the International Security

First assumption of the utopian realism challenges the very hard nature of the anarchic international system. It supports that anarchy is not a barrier in front of the international security. Doctrinal realists assume a state system that is inevitably a ‘war system’. Anarchic international system poses limited choices and states have to play the game within these restrictions. Survival, self-help and the state of war are some of the characteristics of the anarchy and the reasons of the restrictions upon the states. Self-help one of the outcomes of the anarchic international system leaves no way out for states. Thus actors pursue the other as a potential threat and increase their military capability to survive. This creates the result of the security dilemma,

²¹⁵ Booth, p.530.

²¹⁶ Booth, “Security in Anarchy ...”, p.533.

which makes the states insecure rather than secure. As Waltz indicated, “among states, the state of nature is a state of war.”²¹⁷

Scholars under the critical security studies sought for potentials for escaping or overcoming the security dilemma.²¹⁸ Welsh School rejects the “pessimistic connotations” of anarchy.²¹⁹ On the one side there is ‘anarchy’, and on the other side there are ‘security communities.’ As Booth mentioned, these security communities support the claim that it is too early to have Hobbesian pessimism.²²⁰ Western security communities as European Union prove that security under the anarchical international system is possible. Constant anarchical international system justifies constant power struggle and the insecurity condition. However, Booth claimed, “as the institutions, processes and units of the system change so will patterns of behavior and the potentialities for security.”

Welsh School scholars believe that change is possible. Thus, there is not one kind of outcome of the anarchy; these outcomes can diverse according to the change in the rules of the game. If states leave to believe that self-help is a destiny, then security dilemma also can be mitigated.²²¹ Common security, which is an alternative choice to the self-help system, is also possible under the anarchic international system. Anarchical character of the system cannot produce a “security community” based on the common norms and interests since these kinds of institutions are contrary to the self-help and the security dilemma. However, Welsh School insists that by promoting the optimistic sides of the anarchy, human beings can avoid the armed conflict, which is inevitable in the Hobbesian system. For Krause, terms such as “collective”, “common” or “cooperative security” are developed for “amelioration not a transcending of the security dilemma.”²²² Linklater also underlines the problem

²¹⁷ Kenneth N. Waltz, “The Anarchic Structures of World Politics” in *International Politics*, ed. Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis (Ny: Harper Collins, 4th edition, 1996), p.59

²¹⁸ Keith Krause, “Critical Theory and Security Studies”, *YCISS Occasional Paper*, no.33 (1996), p. 19.

²¹⁹ Booth, “War, Security and Strategy: ...”, p. 337.

²²⁰ Booth, “War, Security and Strategy: ...”, p. 337.

²²¹ Booth, p. 338.

²²² Krause, “Critical Theory and ...”, p. 20.

of limited explanation of the anarchy.²²³ While he admits that international system is anarchic, he also points out the normatively regulated nature of the system.²²⁴ For him, there are normative constraints upon states that impel them to act according to normative considerations. These attempts can be evaluated as defiance to the idea that future will be the continuation of the past.

Welsh School has a strong belief that change in the attitudes of the actors and the political processes lead to cooperation under the anarchic international system. Thus, it is too early to call international system as a Hobbesian arena because for critical scholars there is not any static world of relations. This is a challenge to the claims of traditional approach that accepts anarchy and the states as essential facts of the world politics.²²⁵

2.1.1.2 Security as a Holistic Approach

Another assumption of the utopian realism asserts that, “security should be evaluated in a holistic manner.” This means all of the levels of analysis should be taken into account. Contrary to this, traditional security studies perceive the world from a statist perspective- emphasizing that state is the only significant actor in the world politics. Traditionally, they have been the referents because they have been seen as the guardians of their citizens’ security from external and internal threat.²²⁶ This approach assumes state as a unified actor that represents the harmony of interests between the individual and the state. This is so because the individuals’ security depends on the state’s security that they belong. Realists accept statism as a necessary and a justified term since it reflects the reality of the international relations that is composed of the interaction of states.²²⁷ Wyn Jones calls this understanding as

²²³ Andrew Linklater, “Neo-realism in Theory and Practice”, in *International Relations Theory Today*, ed. Ken Booth and Steve Smith (Cambridge: Polity, 1995), p. 249.

²²⁴ Linklater, p.249.

²²⁵ Krause and Williams, “ From Strategy to Security: ...”, p. 39.

²²⁶ Ken Booth and Peter Vale, “Critical Security Studies and Regional Insecurity: The Case of Southern Africa” in *Critical Security Studies*, ed. Keith Krause and Michael Williams (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), p.334.

²²⁷ Richard Wyn Jones, “ Part 2: Traditional and Critical Security Studies” in *Security, Strategy and Critical Theory*, ed. Richard Wyn Jones (Boulder, Co: Lynne Rienner, 1999), p.95.

“state fetishization” and this fetishism contributed to the emergence of dichotomies such as inside and outside.²²⁸

Welsh school is skeptical about the role of the state as the only security provider. Richard Falk explains this concern by claiming, “modern states are too large to satisfy human needs and too small to cope with the requirements of guidance for an increasingly interdependent planet.”²²⁹ Furthermore, it is assumed that millions of people in the world are under the threat because of the brutal administration of their own states rather than the other aggressor states’.²³⁰ According to Wyn Jones, “...arms purchased and powers accrued by governments in the name of national security are far more potent threats to the liberty and physical safety of their citizens...”²³¹ Different from the traditional approach, Welsh School scholars mentioned the other side of the coin, that is “state as a part of problem rather than a solution.” Utopian realism does not support the annihilation of state but offers to diffuse the role, which is attributed to the state, among the other actors.

Not only the role of the state as a security provider but also the role of the state as a referent object is questioned by the Welsh School. They challenged the realist attempt that accepts only the state as an actor that requires protection. This is so because; divergence of threats requires differentiation of the actors that will cope with these threats. Booth supports this argument with “...the referent object of security should no longer be exclusively the state but should also encompass the individual human being at the lowest level and world society at the highest.”²³² Utopian realism or in general Welsh school advocates the individuals as a referent object. As Wyn Jones admits “Booth’s argument is an important corrective to state-centrism.”²³³ According to the utopian realism, traditional approach blurs means with ends. In other words, states are one of the means in order to provide security. State’s

²²⁸ Wyn Jones, 96.

²²⁹ Booth, “Security in Anarchy ...”, p. 541.

²³⁰ Alker, p.191.

²³¹ Wyn Jones, “Part 2: Traditional and Critical ...”, p. 99.

²³² Booth, “War, Security and Strategy...” p. 341. In that argument, Booth uses “state” in order to refer the national military conception of security. According to that approach security should be a broader concept than merely strategy.

²³³ Wyn Jones, “Part 2: Traditional and Critical ...”, p. 114.

instrumentality becomes meaningful as long as individuals are recognized as ends. This means, a human being is a *raison d'être* for the state to act as a security provider. Thus, individuals are assumed to be the center of the argument and can be called as an “ultimate referent” by the scholars of the Welsh school.²³⁴

Taking individuals as the ultimate referent does not mean excluding the other objects such as class, state or other collective entities. This argument is clarified with the contribution of the critical theory. It is justified with critical theory since it includes all of the modes of exclusion (domestic, international and transnational) as objects.²³⁵ According to the critical theorists, individual as a referent object can be meaningful as long as the other objects that surround it, is taken into account. Horkheimer believed that individuals should be taken as a referent with its social context. This is a “Horkheimerian interpretation” and it is inspired by the Welsh School. Taking the individual as an ultimate referent is offered since by that way scholars have a chance to investigate the bigger contexts that individuals involve.²³⁶ This is a necessary step due to the importance of the experiences and identities of individuals. Thereby, in order to evaluate the bigger picture, Welsh School adopts the individuals as referent object of security. This assumption is compatible with the argument of the Welsh School that aims to be free from the statism that is called by Wyn Jones as a “security blanket of traditional security studies.”²³⁷

On the subject of necessity for alternative referents, Welsh School demonstrates parallelism with the solidarist conception of security under the British School discourse. Solidarists emphasize, “security discourses takes place within a political community, though the community is not necessarily limited with the state.”²³⁸ Wheeler and Linklater emphasize the importance of “world society” that consists of individuals.²³⁹ Linklater offers to replace the state with the individual as

²³⁴ Wyn Jones, p.114.

²³⁵ Andrew Linklater, “The Changing Contours of Critical International Relations Theory” in *Critical Theory and World Politics*, ed. Richard Wyn Jones (Boulder, Co: Lynne Rienner, 2001), p. 27.

²³⁶ Wyn Jones, “Part 2: Traditional and Critical ...”, p.115.

²³⁷ Wyn Jones, p.117.

²³⁸ Alex J. Bellamy and Matt McDonald, “Securing International Society: Towards an English School Discourse of Security”, *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 39, no.2 (2004), p. 312.

²³⁹ Bellamy and McDonald, p.313.

the “moral subject and the constitutive member of international society.”²⁴⁰ Solidarists assert that “boundaries of community extend beyond the state and the overall purpose of society is the protection of individual security.”²⁴¹ On the other hand, the second school under the British School called as pluralists share the skepticism of Hedley Bull in “claiming that the prioritization of individual security may be ultimately self-defeating because it can undermine the international order that individual security is based on.”²⁴² Solidarists disagree with the pluralists because they claim that political boundaries drawn by the pluralists are the result of the individual insecurity. There is also another divergence among the schools of the British School on the issue of the importance of norms. For solidarist scholars, international norms are important since these norms can promote human rights across the world. On the other side, pluralists believe that “forceful articulation of political values would destabilize the international order and make it harder for states to provide security for their citizens.”²⁴³ As a result of this collective action, they assert that justice and security can exist as an indispensable outcome. On the other side, contrary to the pluralists, solidarist approach benefits from Kantian “Perpetual Peace.” Linklater claims that struggle for power and security, which are the results of insecurity, can be eliminated gradually with the international political change.²⁴⁴

Welsh School differs with Hedley Bull since he supports the pluralist argument and believes “security can only be provided if states inhabit an orderly world governed by the principle of sovereignty...”²⁴⁵ This argument brings the term of “international society” which permits the existence of diverse communities that leads to justice and security within a society. Bull prefers international society rather

²⁴⁰ Bellamy and McDonald, p.313.

²⁴¹ Bellamy and McDonald, p.313.

²⁴² Bellamy and McDonald, p.313.

²⁴³ Bellamy and Matt McDonald, p. 314.

²⁴⁴ Linklater, “The Changing Contours ...”, p. 37

²⁴⁵ Ibid. Hedley Bull’s work and that of his predecessor and mentor, Martin Wight, are core to the present-day “English school” that focus not just on the state system, but also on various aspects of international society. Bull rejects both the Hobbesian or realist tradition which views international politics as a state of war and the Kantian or universalist tradition that aims a political community of mankind. He follows the midway and supports the Grotian or internationalist tradition. According to this, Bull supports that “... states are not engaged in a simple struggle, like gladiators in an arena, but are limited in their conflicts with one another by common rules and institutions. Moreover to that, all states in their dealings with one another are bound by the rules and the institutions.

than system. For him, while the system means contact between states and the impact of stronger one on another, society refers common interests and values, common rules and institutions.²⁴⁶ According to pluralists, not the individuals but the sovereigns or states are the immediate members of the international society²⁴⁷ Bull criticizes the replacement of the state with a universal mankind since he insists that existence of states is necessary in order to make possible the emergence of the society.²⁴⁸ Hedley Bull claims that prioritization of individual security can create insecurity because it can undermine the international order that individual security is based on.²⁴⁹ Richard Shapcott summarizes the Bull's concern for the order versus justice as "order must serve justice and justice must not threaten order..."²⁵⁰ It is supported that in contrast to the competing views on justice, agreeing on the need for order is reasonable for states.²⁵¹

Ken Booth is close to the solidarists' assumptions since justice rather than order and human rights rather than state sovereignty can result with the individual emancipation or security.²⁵² He believes that world society is not a necessity but it is a must.²⁵³ Both of them-Welsh School and Solidarists- pointed to the insecurity of security outcome of the traditional security approach. Furthermore, Kantian imperative that "humans be understood as ends in themselves and never as means" is attributed by both approaches.²⁵⁴

²⁴⁶ Stanley Hoffman, "Hedley Bull and His Contribution to International Relations", *International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944-), 62, no. 44 (1986), p.185.

²⁴⁷ Hedley Bull, "Does Order Exist in World Politics?" in *International Relations Theory*, ed. Paul R. Viotti and Mark V. Kauppi (Boston: Allyn&Bacon, 1999), p. 128.

²⁴⁸ Hoffman, p.186.

²⁴⁹ Bellamy and McDonald, p. 308.

²⁵⁰ Richard Shapcott, "IR as Practical Philosophy: Defining a 'Classical Approach'", *BJPIR*, 6, (2004), p.274.

²⁵¹ Nicholas J. Wheeler, "Pluralist or Solidarist Conceptions of International Society: Bull and Vincent on Humanitarian Intervention", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol. 21, no. 3 (1992), p. 467.

²⁵² Bellamy and McDonald, p. 326.

²⁵³ Booth, "War, Security and Strategy...", p. 340.

²⁵⁴ Booth, p. 327.

2.1.1.3 Security is not a Simply Military Issue

Welsh School argues for broadening the security agenda to include the other issues in addition to the military issues. According to Eli Stamnes, this move represents a shift from reactionary and zero-sum understanding of security to the non-military issues of security.²⁵⁵ At first, Barry Buzan developed this argument and attached sectors of security addition to the military threats.²⁵⁶ Although traditional security scholars criticized this approach, it gained support from various scholars. As Wyn Jones admitted, the end of the Cold War provided the legitimacy for the discussion of a broader security agenda.²⁵⁷

This approach points out the alternatives that can be replaced with the strategic reductionism.²⁵⁸ In other words, it rejects identifying security with military threats. According to Booth, “strategic reductionists take the politics out of strategy and reduce it to military accounting.”²⁵⁹ As a result of this tendency, scholars reach to the outcome of complex relationships among the politics-military and industrial complex.²⁶⁰ For Booth, there is a chain of relations that desire the continuation of the status quo. This was common throughout the Cold War, yet previously neglected issues such as environmental threats, international migration and nationalism alerted scholars to respond these threats. As Graeme Cheeseman underlined the fact that there are “threats without enemies” and they have different characteristics compared to the military threats.²⁶¹ Bilgin underlines that, “depending on the referent, security analyses point to different threats and also prescribe different solutions.” For example, social groups in France felt threatened themselves by crime and

²⁵⁵ Eli Stamnes, “Critical Security Studies and the United Nations Preventive Deployment in Macedonia”, *International Peacekeeping*, 11, no.1 (2004), p.163.

²⁵⁶ Barry Buzan, *People, State and Fear*, (Boulder, CO:Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1991), p.19 These sectors are political, societal, economic, and environmental.

²⁵⁷ Wyn Jones, “Part 2: Traditional and Critical ...”, p.105.

²⁵⁸ Booth, “War, Security and Strategy...”, p. 345.

²⁵⁹ Booth, p. 345.

²⁶⁰ Booth, p. 346.

²⁶¹ Graeme Cheeseman, “Military Force(s) and In/ security” in *Critical Security Studies and World Politics*, ed. Ken Booth (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), p.71.

immigration not by the military threats so voted according to their threat perceptions.²⁶²

There are some concerns for the issue of broadening. Stephan Walt worries that broadening the field of security will bring “intellectual incoherence.” However, Booth claims that it is not a plausible concern since limited intellectual borders are more risky than the broad ones.²⁶³ Intellectual borders are artificially created and leave most of the issues outside the door. Now, these forgotten issues are knocking the door and tried to have place inside the intellectual field. Critical scholars insist that cognizance of these threats is the first step to remedy the problem. Socio-economic marginalization and economic injustices are ignored and are not accepted as a reason of the dramatic increase of the radical social movements like the Al-Qaeda. As a result of these facts, Welsh School questions the reality of the traditional security theory. Economic and social inequalities, and environmental constraints are the reasons of insecurities in our age and it is supported that these threats cannot be eliminated by the military means.²⁶⁴

Issue of broadening creates a new controversial concept that is securitization. Welsh School behaves this concept warmly since it finds some emancipatory dynamics within the securitization approach. It is supported that securitization project of Copenhagen School involves the possibilities of progressive alternatives. Deciding to securitize one issue and desecuritize the other is a political decision and a normative approach.²⁶⁵ Wyn Jones asserts that “it is clear that there is some kind of emancipatory impulse at work here: the authors wish to establish a normative framework with which to evaluate the “goodness” and the “badness” of certain

²⁶² Bilgin, “Individual and Societal...”, p.212. The leader of the National Front in France, Jean-Marie Le Pen took 17 percent of the vote in the first leg of the French presidential elections and came second after the leader of the center-right.

²⁶³ Wyn Jones, “Part 2: Traditional and Critical ...”, p.106.

²⁶⁴ John J. Mearsheimer et al., “Roundtable: The Battle Rages On”, *International Relations*, 19, no 3 (2005), p.340.

²⁶⁵ Richard Wyn Jones, “On Emancipation: Necessity, Capacity and Concrete Utopias” in *Critical Security Studies and World Politics*, ed. Ken Booth (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), p.218.

practices...”²⁶⁶ However, as Wyn Jones claimed there are some limitations in the work of the Copenhagen school.²⁶⁷

At first, securitization is a state-centric approach since it gives the work of securitization only to the state elites. It ignores the role of the civil society and other sub-units. Addition to this limitation, Welsh School criticizes the scholars of the Copenhagen School-Barry Buzan, Ole Weaver, Jaap de Wilde-because of their failure to ask, “why some outcomes are preferred to others.”²⁶⁸ They do not examine the nature of the alternatives and the distinction among the ethical-political decisions. Finally, Weaver is criticized because he fixes the content of security and he assumes that there will be no challenge to the elites’ decisions of the securitization.²⁶⁹ Although, they do not prefer to be known under the workings of the CSS, Habermasian discourse ethics strengthened their securitization approach.²⁷⁰

Discourse ethics approves the necessity of universalist principles and depends on the general theory of communicative action.²⁷¹ Speech acts has an important role within the theory of communicative action since it gives the promise for the possibility of a better world. Speech is crucial because “...political principles, norms or institutional arrangements can only be said to be valid if they can meet with the approval of all those who would be affected by them.”²⁷² Thus, in order to claim that a speech act is valid, there should be four validity claims: the speech act should be meaningful, true, justified and sincere.²⁷³ Despite to the critiques, securitization is accepted as a necessary step because “states elites attach the label ‘security’ to nonmilitary issues as well as analysts need to focus on their reasons for doing so.”²⁷⁴

²⁶⁶ Wyn Jones, p.218.

²⁶⁷ Wyn Jones, “Part 2: Traditional and Critical ...”, p.109.

²⁶⁸ Wyn Jones, “On Emancipation: Necessity...”, p.218.

²⁶⁹ Wyn Jones, “Part 2: Traditional and Critical ...”, p.109

²⁷⁰ Wyn Jones, “On Emancipation: Necessity...”, p.218. There are three things about the discourse ethics: it is universalistic, it is democratic and it is a form of moral. It offers a way of being inclusive without denying the difference. As a result of this, it offers a way of thinking about and regulating the conflict. N. J. Rengger, “Negative Dialectic? The Two Modes of Critical Theory in World Politics” in *Critical Theory&World Politic*, ed. Richard Wyn Jones (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001), p.98–99.

²⁷¹ Rengger, p.98.

²⁷² Rengger, p.98.

²⁷³ Wyn Jones, “On Emancipation: Necessity...”, p.224.

²⁷⁴ Wyn Jones, “Part 2: Traditional and Critical ...”, p.108.

With the contribution of Critical theorists, Welsh school tried to complete the securitization process. Nature of alternatives and the validity of claims are discussed and developed by the Welsh school.

2.1.2 Frankfurt School, Critical Theory and the Epistemology Debate

Critical security studies take the Frankfurt School critical theory²⁷⁵ as a guide in order to define the world and the subject-object relations. For Ken Booth, “the general term critical theory has come to apply to those schools of thought that have challenged what is often generalized to be the positivist orthodoxy in Western social science.”²⁷⁶ Critical theory has a recent history and emerged out of the work of the Frankfurt School in the interwar period.²⁷⁷ Max Horkheimer as the founding father of the school and Jurgen Habermas as a student are the most influential thinkers in the Critical Theory tradition.²⁷⁸

Critical security studies share the feeling of the skepticism towards the positivism. Critical theory rejects positivism by claiming that knowledge does not arise from the objective reality but it also reflects some interests and purposes.²⁷⁹ They reject purely disinterested and detached theory from the life since it is claimed that theorist is a part of the social phenomenon.²⁸⁰ Positivism as an epistemological approach “implies the legitimacy of certain methodology or methods of doing things.”²⁸¹ Positivist claim, which argues that social sciences can be built upon the same model as the natural sciences, has a long-standing argument within the IR. This means, observation and experience is possible for the social sciences like the natural

²⁷⁵ There are four strands of critical IR theory. Frankfurt School, neo-Gramscian theory, feminism and various strands of post-structuralism. Under the II part, Frankfurt School critical theory will be called as “critical theory”.

²⁷⁶ Booth, “Critical Explorations...”, p.10.

²⁷⁷ Steve Smith, “Positivism and Beyond” in *International Theory: positivism and beyond*, ed. Steve Smith, Ken Booth and Marysia Zalewski (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.27.

²⁷⁸ Smith, p.27

²⁷⁹ Andrew Linklater, “The Achievements of Critical Theory” in *International Theory: positivism and beyond*, ed. Steve Smith, Ken Booth and Marysia Zalewski (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.279.

²⁸⁰ Richard Shapcott, “IR as Practical Philosophy...”, p.278.

²⁸¹ Michael Nicholson, “The Continued Significance of Positivism?” in *International Theory: positivism and beyond*, ed. Steve Smith, Ken Booth and Marysia Zalewski (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.128.

sciences. Furthermore, positivist assumptions accept that social truth exists independent of the observer.²⁸² According to that view, there is an objective truth and the international relations theory is the result of this objective knowledge. As Krause emphasized, positivism involves the fact that by the experiences and the objective knowledge, it is possible to create a particular model that explains, “how states have always behaved and presumably always will behave in the future.”²⁸³

Therefore, positivist evaluation creates a justification for the existing status quo and supports the immutability. Beyond the positivist challenge, Frankfurt School critical theory opposes the claims of immutable world structure.²⁸⁴ For the critical theorists, there is not a constant nature of structure and change is possible. They claimed that prospects for the change are immanent within the existing structures. Final assumption is “opening up new potentialities for constructing an historical sociology with an emancipatory purpose.”²⁸⁵ It aims to exercise the open-dialogue that will end with new forms of political society without unjustified exclusions. According to that approach, elimination of the exclusions will result with the ‘just relation’ that is one of the conditions of the perpetuated peace.

Critical security studies of the Welsh school reflected the arguments of the critical theory and developed the arguments under the spotlight of its assumptions. In his article, *Security in Anarchy*, Booth admitted that for the sake of the comprehensible political world “global and eclectic” approach that takes its insights from the critical theory is required.²⁸⁶ Main epistemological promises of the Welsh school inspired from the Critical theory; subject/object relations, static structure of the social world (immutability), and instrumental purpose of the theory. Simply, as

²⁸² Ken Booth, “Security and Self: Reflections of a Fallen Realist”, in *Critical Security Studies*, ed. Keith Krause and Michael Williams (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 87.

²⁸³ Nicholson, p. 130.

²⁸⁴ Nicholas Rengger and Ben Thirkell-White, “Still Critical After All These Years? The past, present and future of Critical Theory in International Relations”, *Review of International Studies*, no 33 (2007), p.6.

²⁸⁵ Rengger and White, p.7

²⁸⁶ Booth, “Security in anarchy...”, p. 537.

Krause stated, there is a movement from the “objectivist, rationalist approach of both neorealism and neoliberalism, and toward more interpretive modes of analysis.”²⁸⁷

2.1.2.1 Subject/Object Relations

Critical theory rejects the distinction between the subject (observer) and the object (observed). According to Ken Booth, “... what goes under the microscope in the names of security may be result of changes within the theorist-in here-rather than as a result of significant changes in the world-out there.”²⁸⁸ This illustrates the importance of the subject while evaluating the outside world. Identity of the observer should not be ignored since it answers some of the questions, “who are the observers?” “what the observer believes?” and “why he/she observes?”²⁸⁹ All of these questions are related with the issue of the identity and describe the involvement of the subject to the process of the observation. As Kimberly Hutchings mentioned, critical theory rejects the separation of facts and value.²⁹⁰ From the point of critical theorists, it is not realistic to claim the existence of the value-free knowledge.

Booth mentions an analogy between the photographs and the positivist assumptions. He criticizes this analogy since it is believed that family photographs and the camera records always reflect the objective truths and it never lies.²⁹¹ Some of the academic students of the international relations assume themselves as a camera that record everything passively, and certainly not emoting.²⁹² From the positivist point of view, observer always gives the objective knowledge of the outside. However, as Booth indicated, they ignored the fact that observer takes the picture of the outside that he/she wants to see and needs to see.²⁹³ Thus, the camera, photograph or the social scientist does deliver the one part of the reality that is desired and excludes the other. This analogy supports the argument of Cox, “theory is for

²⁸⁷ Krause and Williams, “From Strategy to Security: ...”, p. 49.

²⁸⁸ Booth, “Security and Self...”, p. 87.

²⁸⁹ Booth, p.88.

²⁹⁰ Rengger and White, “Still Critical After all these years...”, p. 9.

²⁹¹ Ken Booth, “Human Wrongs and International Relations”, *International Affairs*, 71, no.1 (1995), p. 104.

²⁹² Booth, p.104.

²⁹³ Booth, p.104.

someone and for some purpose.”²⁹⁴ For Critical theory, the type of knowledge gained from a theory is related to its normative purpose.²⁹⁵ This is what Shapcott emphasizes, “in CT (critical theory), all theory is related intimately to practice.”²⁹⁶

A theory is established in order to realize a practical aim or purpose. Habermas calls this as “knowledge-constitutive interest.” He rejects pure objective knowledge. According to this approach, there are three interests that constitute the knowledge. First one is the technical interest in order to understand “how to extend the control over nature and society.”²⁹⁷ Practical interest is the second one that focuses on “how to create and maintain an orderly communities.”²⁹⁸ Finally, emancipatory interest identifies and abolishes unnecessary social constraints.²⁹⁹ As a result of this evaluation, critical theory accepts that all theory has a normative stand. However, this does not mean that they support a pure normative approach. Instead, Habermas rejects pure explanatory and pure normative theory.³⁰⁰ Critical theory united the knowledge and interest in order to create human freedom from the constraints. Hence, “critical theory argues that knowledge about society is incomplete if it lacks the emancipatory purpose.”³⁰¹ All of these claims reach to the conclusion that, all theories should serve to the human interest and human emancipation.

Critical theorists as Cox and Linklater argue that critical theory has a “capacity to discriminate between the workings of power and the workings of freedom.”³⁰² In order to achieve this discrimination, critical theory needs an emancipatory project. Thus, critical theory struggles for all kind of exclusion

²⁹⁴ Ken Booth, “75 years on: rewriting the subject’s past-reinventing its future” in *International Theory: positivism and beyond*, ed. Steve Smith, Ken Booth and Marysia Zalewski (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.328.

²⁹⁵ Shapcott, p.278.

²⁹⁶ Shapcott, p.278.

²⁹⁷ Linklater, “The Achievements of Critical...”, p. 281.

²⁹⁸ Linklater, p.282.

²⁹⁹ Linklater, p.282.

³⁰⁰ Shapcott, p. 279.

³⁰¹ Linklater, “The Achievements of Critical...”, p. 281.

³⁰² Kimberley Hutchings, “The Nature of Critique in Critical International Relations Theory” in *Critical Theory&World Politic*, ed. Richard Wyn Jones (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001), p. 83.

including epistemological ones. It rejects hegemony of the politics over the morality and offers the critical theory as an alternative theorizing model with its alternative normative values.

2.1.2.2 Possibility of Change

Critical theory and the Welsh School are in common in the argument that, “world politics is not static, and that its structures and identities are constructed, implies the possibility of change.”³⁰³ This is an important challenge to the traditional theories that anticipate continuity in the world politics. Especially, neo-realism and its immutability thesis are challenged by the critical theory. Anarchy and its results such as security dilemma or self-help are highly criticized by the critical theory since it rejects the given facts and believes to the constructed and changeable relations and identities.

Neo-realism has a structuralist argument that prioritizes structure over the practice. As a result of this, neo-realist argument accepts that structure exist autonomously independent of the actors and the identities.³⁰⁴ For structuralist, practice is the product of the structure and it creates particular forms of behavior.³⁰⁵ Possibility of change is also evaluated according to the dominance of the structure. As Ashley mentioned, neo-realism accepts the independence of the structure from the state as an actor since states alone cannot alter the whole structure.³⁰⁶

Immutability thesis of neo-realism depends on the idea that political communities cannot escape from the structural limits and the anarchy. However, Waltz offers an exception to this argument. According to him, only the great powers have a capacity to determine the nature of the system.³⁰⁷ Neo-realism as a problem solving theory takes the world as a given with the existing social and power

³⁰³ Krause, “Critical Theory and ...”, p.11.

³⁰⁴ Richard K. Ashley, “The Poverty of Neorealism”, *International Organisation*, 38, no. 2 (1984), p. 1580.

³⁰⁵ Ashley, p.1582.

³⁰⁶ Ashley, “The Poverty of...”, p.1575.

³⁰⁷ Linklater, “The Achievements of Critical...”, p. 282.

relations.³⁰⁸ Possibility of change or the alternative system is not questioned or wondered. Contrary to the critical theory, problem-solving theory aims to explain the status quo. Due to the rejection of the change, problem-solving theories are called as a historical. Thus, as Linklater mentioned,

“Neo-realism fails to consider the changing nature of state structures and therefore cannot account for the possibility of an anarchical system which is not only peaceful but responsive to subnational identities and cosmopolitan moral sentiments.”³⁰⁹

Critical theory rejects the immutability thesis since it believes human beings have a capacity to construct the social and power relations as well as the identity. Different from the problem-solving theory, critical theory does not accept the world as it is given and asks, “how that order came about.”³¹⁰ Critical theory concerned not just with the past but also with a continuing process of a historical change.³¹¹ Exploration for the immanent potentialities in order to reach to the emancipation, which leads a better life, is an important proof to the critical theorists argument that is change is possible.³¹²

For the critical theory, human beings have enough capacity and experience to alter the results of the anarchy, structure or the system. Nothing is pre-given and cannot be decided previously. According to Wendt, self-help and the power politics are not the pre-determined results of the anarchy and the structure but the outcome of the process.³¹³ Practices, interests and the identities of the states are the elements of the process. He rejects security dilemma or stag hunt as a necessary future of the anarchy since states have not necessarily selfish identities and interests.³¹⁴ Self-help or the security dilemma are the constructed features of the anarchy and these features of the anarchy can be abolished according to the changing interests, relations or the identities of the actors. Hence, critical theory insists for the possibility of a normative choice different from the existing order.

³⁰⁸ Robert W. Cox, “Social Forces, States and World Orders”, *Millennium*, 10, no. 2 (1981), p.1538.

³⁰⁹ Linklater, “Neo-realism in Theory and ...”, p. 255.

³¹⁰ Robert W. Cox, “Social Forces, States...”, p. 1540.

³¹¹ Cox, p.1540.

³¹² Booth, “Critical Explorations...”, p. 11.

³¹³ Alexander Wendt, “Anarchy is what states make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics”, *International Organization*, 46, no. 2 (1992), p. 394.

³¹⁴ Wendt, p. 402.

As Booth clarified, "...where there is no allowance for change there is unlikely to be justice, and without justice there is the potential for conflict."³¹⁵ Critical theory by promoting the change contains utopianism since it depicts the alternative world order.³¹⁶ Critical scholars stress that statism and the status quo promote the interests of the one side, yet it leaves the other in a disadvantaged position. Critical theory and the Welsh School believe that "immutability supports the structured inequalities of power and wealth which are in principle alterable."³¹⁷ Thus, critical theory searches for new forms of community in which individuals and groups can have freedom and justice. If it is assumed that international system and relations are not given but constructed, a new construction for the better world and also the emancipation can be possible.

2.1.2.3 Constitutive Theory versus Explanatory Theory

Theories differ due to the differences of their purposes. These different purposes create different kinds of theories. Cox explains this,

*Beginning with its problematic, theory can serve two distinct purposes. One is a simple, direct response: to be a guide to help solve the problems posed within the terms of particular perspective that was the point of the departure. The other is more reflective upon the process of theorizing itself: to become clearly aware of the perspective which give rise to theorizing, and its relation to other perspectives...*³¹⁸

While the first one tries to explain the world as 'it is', the second one approaches differently and offers alternative world order. As a result, neo-realism and the traditional security approach use the theory for the purpose to explain the existing. On the other side, critical theory and the critical security studies prefer the "constitutive" purpose of the theory. Whereas, the explanatory theories define themselves out of the process, constitutive theories see themselves as a part of the process they describe.³¹⁹ Traditional security scholars do not question the alternative

³¹⁵ Booth, "Security in anarchy...", p.539.

³¹⁶ Cox, "Social Forces, States...", p.1544.

³¹⁷ Linklater, "The Achievements of Critical...", p. 279.

³¹⁸ Cox, "Social Forces, States...", p. 1540.

³¹⁹ Barry Buzan, "The timeless wisdom of realism?", in *International Theory: positivism and beyond*, ed. Steve Smith, Ken Booth and Marysia Zalewski (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 53.

order but work within the existing framework, but critical security scholars seek for opportunities to construct new world order. Bilgin explains the constitutive role of the theories by emphasizing the relationship between the traditional security theories and the politics in the Cold War.³²⁰ According to her, "...the concepts, assumptions and findings of Cold War Security Studies, in turn, helped sustain the Cold War."³²¹

According to Booth, theorists are part of the social process in order to promote the emancipation.³²² Thus, as a part of the society, theorizing is described as a social act. At that point, the roles of the intellectuals began to be questioned. Gramsci calls observers that are embedded within the social process as "organic intellectuals."³²³ Gramsci makes a distinction among the traditional intellectuals and the organic intellectuals. For him, traditional intellectuals are men that have independent social roles that put them above the social class within the society.³²⁴ In other words, traditional intellectuals only explain the situation of the society and are called as "free-floating" thinkers.³²⁵

In contrast to the traditional intellectuals, organic intellectuals promote the interests of the social classes and have a constitutive role in the society.³²⁶ Organic intellectuals' roles differ according to the social classes that they represent. Gramsci believes that organic intellectuals of the working class have a capacity to promote the human emancipation with the assistance of the proletarian movement. As Wyn Jones claimed, critical security scholars by promoting the peace movement and the emancipatory development play the role of the organic intellectuals. These scholars offer alternative world orders and increase their voices for the excluded and the suppressed. It is emphasized by Linklater, "... critical theory looked for immanent possibilities that it might be transformed to satisfy the interests of the marginal and the excluded."³²⁷

³²⁰ Bilgin, "Pasts, Presents and...", p. 49

³²¹ Bilgin, p.49.

³²² Booth, "Beyond Critical ...", p. 263.

³²³ Booth, "Security and Self...", p. 107.

³²⁴ Wyn Jones, "Part 2: Traditional and Critical ...", p. 154.

³²⁵ Wyn Jones, p. 154.

³²⁶ Wyn Jones, "Part 2: Traditional and Critical ...", p. 154

³²⁷ Linklater, "The Changing Contours ...", p. 31.

Theorists of the critical security studies with the impact of the critical theory involve within the theory and look for better. Explaining the necessary conditions for the boiling water is possible since numbers, degrees and materials are enough to reach a result. However, in order to explain the conflict emanating from the minority problems, intellectuals will need different things other than numbers or degrees. From the point of the critical scholars, intellectuals should involve into the process. In other words, under the process of theorizing, values and identities as well as facts should be taken into consideration. Thus, as it is purported by the critical scholars, explanation cannot handle the complex identities and the relations of the human beings and the other units in the social sciences.

2.1.3 Emancipation

Welsh school takes the “emancipation” as a key concept and places it at the center of their work. They support that emancipation should be given precedence over the realist concepts, power and order.³²⁸ Power and the order inevitably result with the insecurity of the other. Critical theory -especially Frankfurt School³²⁹- is an inspiration for the Welsh School with regard to the role of the emancipation. As a result of the intellectual reflections, Welsh School believed that emancipatory change constitutes the primary purpose of critical security studies.³³⁰ Critical theorists of the Frankfurt school (especially Jurgen Habermas) and the Welsh school developed the term of the emancipation in their studies and arguments.

Horkheimer defined emancipation as “the liberation of individual human beings from suffering and the promotion of happiness.”³³¹ For Horkheimer, proletariat in the society has a potential to increase the awareness of individuals for

³²⁸ Booth, “Security in anarchy...”, p. 539.

³²⁹ Founders of the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt- Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno, Walter Benjamin, and Herbert Marcuse - were attempting to preserve, extend, and deepen a tradition of nondogmatic Marxian thought. Project of emancipation remained at the heart of their workings. They believed that social thought and political action ought to be oriented toward liberation. Chris Brown, “Our Side? Critical Theory and International Relations” in *Critical Theory & World Politics*, ed. Richard Wyn Jones (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001), p. 194–197.

³³⁰ Stamnes, “Critical Security Studies...”, p. 162.

³³¹ Richard Wyn Jones, “Promise: Toward a Critical Theory of Security” in *Security, Strategy and Critical Theory* (Boulder, Co: Lynne Rienner, 1999), p. 23.

getting liberation from the constraints. However, he is also pessimistic for the role of the proletariat since modern capitalism deactivated the individuals for exercising this activity.³³² Addition to his pessimism for the role of the proletariat, he had also some shifts in his thoughts. Although at first Horkheimer described emancipation with the domination of nature by the human being, he improved his argument in collaboration with Adorno.³³³ They agreed that the control over the nature would result with the domination and oppression.³³⁴ This is contrary to the nature of the emancipation. They realized that control over the nature combined with the civilization and technology, resulted with the genocides or violence. Thus, not the control but the “reconciliation” with the nature is seen as a step to the emancipation. Reconciliation predicts humanity “of” nature, rather than “above” it.³³⁵ As Jones claimed, “Adorno and Horkheimer cannot point to any concrete examples of what types of institutions and relationships might characterize a more emancipated society.”³³⁶ Without concrete examples it is evaluated as utopic and cannot realizable.

As Smith states, Jurgen Habermas has been the most influential thinker of the critical theory of the Frankfurt School.³³⁷ He evaluated the process of emancipation different from his predecessors. Habermas denies, “class power is the fundamental form of social exclusion or that production is the key determinant of society and history.”³³⁸ In other words, he expresses that looking for emancipation in the production realm of the society is not realistic. He offers communication or interaction rather than class power and the forces of production as an emancipatory movement. It is emphasized that the vitality of the capacity to engage all others in pen and universal discourse.³³⁹ Habermas underlines the term of Ideal speech community that is assumed as a prerequisite for the emancipatory society. This ideal speech community is open to all human beings, accepts all claims as equally

³³² Wyn Jones, “On Emancipation: Necessity...”, p.224.

³³³ In 1947, “Dialectic of Enlightenment” was published by Horkheimer and Adorno. Wyn Jones, “Part 2: Traditional and Critical ...”, p. 221–222.

³³⁴ This is explained by Wyn Jones as the role of instrumental rationality. Theses developments are the results of the civilization. “During the process of civilization, instrumental rationality takes an ever greater role and status until other forms of rationality become totally marginalized and redundant.”

³³⁵ Wyn Jones, “On Emancipation: Necessity...”, p. 225.

³³⁶ Wyn Jones, “On Emancipation: Necessity...”, p.225.

³³⁷ Smith, “Positivism and Beyond...”, p. 27.

³³⁸ Linklater, “The Achievements of Critical...”, p. 280.

³³⁹ Linklater, p. 280.

legitimate, proceeds on the assumption that in true dialogue and it will not be certain that who will learn from whom.³⁴⁰ Yet, Habermas shifted his ‘communicative approach’ to the ‘analysis of speech.’ He discussed the validity claims of a speech act-meaningful, true, justified, and sincere- since without validity of the speech emancipatory potential will not exist.³⁴¹

Under the shadow of the intellectual impact of the Frankfurt school, critical security studies of the Welsh school makes the concern of human emancipation as the main part of their work. Ken Booth attributes several roles to the emancipation; as a philosophical anchorage, as a strategic process, as a guide for tactical goal setting.³⁴² As an anchorage it decides, “whether particular claims to knowledge should be taken seriously.”³⁴³ Furthermore, due to the strategic process, it presents the continuity and dynamism. Finally, it is a tactical goal because potentialities in the world transform the emancipatory ideas into action.

Emancipatory discourse of critical school is transferred to the theoretical realm of international relations by various theorists. According to Stamnes, in general terms, emancipation is a process toward a world that involves “less domination, marginalization, insecurity and suffering.”³⁴⁴ Hence, the meaning of security is discussed and concluded with different explanations. For the scholars of critical security studies, security is not a synonym with the absence of threat or peace. For Ken Booth, “security begins with threat(s), but its essence is choice-and so it is intimately related to emancipation.”³⁴⁵ Thus, being secure allows a person to choose the danger. In other words, if there is no danger of threat, people have the time, material resources and the opportunity to achieve other things. As Booth explained, “security is an instrumental concept or condition.... (Security) it gives

³⁴⁰ Linklater, “The Changing Contours ...”, p. 28.

³⁴¹ Wyn Jones, “On Emancipation: Necessity...”, p. 224.

³⁴² Ken Booth, “Introduction to Part 3” in *Critical Security Studies and World Politics*, ed. Ken Booth (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), p. 182.

³⁴³ Booth, p. 182.

³⁴⁴ Stamnes, “Critical Security Studies...”, p.163.

³⁴⁵ Ken Booth, “Nuclearism, human rights and constructions of security (part 2)”, *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 3, no. 3 (1999), p. 49.

people(s) the opportunity to develop peace as a sustainable political (and cultural) practice.”³⁴⁶

Welsh School scholars support the emancipatory society since they believe that only the emancipated society can promise a world lack of any constraints that poses threats to the individuals’ security. Out of the constraints, one will have chance to perceive the threat or the danger. As a result of the opportunity to choose freely, it is predicted that sustainable peace will exist. The idea of the sustainable peace refers to the Kenneth Boulding’s argument of stable peace.³⁴⁷ According to this approach, peaceful practices will remove the structural violence that is a desired solution for preventing the emergence of the danger in the future again. This will bring “...the construction of comprehensive security-moving towards freedom from threats at all levels-creates space for the growth of sustainable peaceful practices.”³⁴⁸ Ken Booth claimed, “security and the emancipation are the two sides of the same coin.”³⁴⁹ According to Booth,

“Emancipation means freeing people, as individuals and groups, from the social, physical, economic, political and other constraints that stop them from carrying out what they would freely choose to do.”³⁵⁰

Emancipatory approach focuses on human security and involves comprehensive conception of security such as human rights as well as military instrumentalities.³⁵¹ Furthermore, emancipation approves justice rather than military power as an important means for the perpetual peace. Emancipation is perceived as a process towards a better world than the present.³⁵² According to Smith, emancipation is not a universal timeless concept and cannot be evaluated at the expense of others.³⁵³ It is not a universal concept since it is an ongoing process and emancipated issues will change according to the time and the places. Peter Vale examined the South Africa in where apartheid regime has ended but the violence in the state

³⁴⁶ Booth, p. 50.

³⁴⁷ Booth, p. 50.

³⁴⁸ Booth, p. 51.

³⁴⁹ Wyn Jones, “Part 2: Traditional and Critical ...”, p. 118.

³⁵⁰ Booth, “Security and Self...”, p. 110.

³⁵¹ Ken Booth, “Nuclearism, human rights and constructions of security (part 1), *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 3, no. 2 (1999), p. 8.

³⁵² Bilgin, “Individual and Societal...”, p. 209.

³⁵³ Smith, “The Contested Concept ...”, p. 42.

behavior has never ended.³⁵⁴ Thus, emancipation is not an ending process but continues to be a road map for reaching to the lasting peace. For Booth,

“...absolute order implies no change; and where there is no allowance for change there is unlikely to be justice; and without justice there is the potential for conflict.”³⁵⁵

Critical theory and the inspired scholars of the Welsh school engage in immanent critique with the aim of promoting emancipatory politics.³⁵⁶ It is defined as “the discovery of the latent potentials in situations on which to build political and social progress.”³⁵⁷ In one hand immanent critique refers the subject/object relations. According to this aspect of approach, there is not a natural fact that is given because it is supported that reality is historically and socially constructed. On the other hand, “it involves a notion of unfulfilled potential existing within the human experience.”³⁵⁸ Immanent critique is not utopian blueprint, but an action that searches for the emancipatory potential within the society. Critical theory rejects the “possibility of establishing one objective moral standard, its focus is on the development of certain potentialities immanent in the existing world.”³⁵⁹ It is believed that emancipatory potentials always exist in somewhere within the human beings. For Horkheimer, from a traditional Marxist ideology, proletariat had the potential to realize these emancipatory potentialities. For Habermas or Adorno, addresses of these activists to realize the emancipation are different. Existence of unrealized possibilities within the society supports the increase possibility of the emancipatory change for a better world.³⁶⁰

Emancipation is a project that does not aim to standardize good life or the best one. This is not possible since emancipation itself rejects any oppression or constraint imposed by the outside. Emancipation is a process towards a better world

³⁵⁴ Peter Vale, “New Ways to Remember...’: Community in Southern Africa”, *International Relations*, 18, no. 73 (2004), p. 74.

³⁵⁵ Vale, p.74.

³⁵⁶ Booth, “Critical Explorations...”, p. 11.

³⁵⁷ Booth, “Beyond Critical ...”, p. 263.

³⁵⁸ Stamnes, “Critical Security Studies...”, 164.

³⁵⁹ Booth, “Nuclearism, human rights...(part 1)”, p. 263.

³⁶⁰ Booth, “Critical Explorations...”, p. 11.

and focus on the certain immanent potentialities in the world.³⁶¹ Booth asserts that “emancipation is in the spirit of our times, as witnessed by the end of the Cold War and the end of apartheid in South Africa ...”³⁶² For critical scholars, these examples are important since past set a light to the future. It is believed that this is a process and will never culminate because signals for a better life can be found in any time and in every place.³⁶³

2.1.4 Community and Security

Community is accepted as the complementary term of the security and the emancipation. As Booth stated, “security, community and emancipation are inseparable.”³⁶⁴ Cox defined community as, “based on relationships which constitute a network of mutual claims, rights, duties, and the obligations that pull people together in ways that are qualitatively different from the impersonal forces which create a system.”³⁶⁵

Welsh school scholars support the notion of “security community” as a concrete term that can realize the aim of the common peace and security. Karl Deutsch developed the term of security community with a belief that common problems and security threats can be responded by existence of institutions and practices that promotes common interests and ideas.³⁶⁶ Under the security community peace is predictable with the interactions of the actors who avoid from the common threat.

Booth and Vale describes necessary conditions for Deutsch’s security community,

“... a security community grow out of the mutual compatibility of values; strong economic ties; the expectation of more; multifaceted, social, political

³⁶¹ Stamnes, “Critical Security Studies...”, p. 163.

³⁶² Bilgin, “Individual and Societal...”, p. 209.

³⁶³ Bilgin, p. 209.

³⁶⁴ Ken Booth, “Introduction to Part 2”, in *Critical Security Studies and World Politics*, ed. Ken Booth (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), p. 110.

³⁶⁵ Chris Brown, “International Theory and International Society: The Viability of the Middle Way?”, *Review of International Studies*, 21, no. 2 (2001), p. 185.

³⁶⁶ Booth, Nuclearism, human rights...(part 2), p. 51.

and cultural transactions; a growing density of institutionalized relationships; mutual responsiveness; and mutual predictability of behavior.”³⁶⁷

Integration of Western Europe is a model for the security community. Furthermore, existence of the European security community shows the possibility of a stable peace in the anarchical world politics.³⁶⁸ Booth evaluates the European integration as an “historic example of imagining, constructing, and then practicing security in ways that have actually delivered stable peace.”³⁶⁹ Thus, for critical scholars at the heart of the broader and deeper conception of security is the idea of political community.³⁷⁰ For Deutsch, communication and interaction are the essence of the construction of community.³⁷¹ Booth and Vale compare the France-Germany and Turkish-Greece relations and evaluates the possibility of security community for the former, while not for the latter.³⁷² Turkey and Greece have a limited social interaction and reject their mistakes in the past. However, Germany accepted its Nazi past and developed opportunities for the social interaction.³⁷³ Critical theory also supports that open dialogue among the actors will provoke the emergence of new communities that means a break for the unjustified exclusion.³⁷⁴ Welsh school embraces the term of community since it supports to “reconsider the distinctions between “we” and “they” in a political sense.”³⁷⁵ This is evaluated as a necessary step for the creation of a community that creates common interests and common identities.

As Bilgin underlined the fact that taking the identities and the interests of the communities as constant and unchanging is problematic for the critical security scholars.³⁷⁶ Moreover to this, for McSweeney having a separate identity is not the cause of the security problem since people have separate identity because of the security problems.³⁷⁷ Namely, identity is the victim of the economic and political

³⁶⁷ Ken Booth and Peter Vale, “Security in Southern Africa: After Apartheid, beyond Realism”, *International Affairs*, 71, no. 2 (1995), p. 290.

³⁶⁸ Booth, Nuclearism, human rights...(part 2), p. 51.

³⁶⁹ Booth, p. 52.

³⁷⁰ Booth, p. 52.

³⁷¹ Booth, p. 52.

³⁷² Booth and Vale, “Security in Southern Africa...”, p. 292.

³⁷³ Booth and Vale, “Security in Southern Africa...”, p. 293.

³⁷⁴ Linklater, “The Achievements of Critical...”, p. 280.

³⁷⁵ Booth, “Security and Self...”, p.109.

³⁷⁶ Bilgin, “Individual and Societal...”, p. 213.

³⁷⁷ Bilgin, p.213.

interests. Following McSweeney, this approach can be defeated with the critical perception that insists for the re-creation of the identity and interests through practice.³⁷⁸ Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1990s and the two world wars are important experiences that are mentioned by Bilgin to explain the availability of the transformation of the interests and the identities.³⁷⁹ Therefore, for the critical scholars, construction of the identity and the interests makes the formation of a security community possible and also realizable-as in Western Europe after the World War II.

Welsh School denies the inside-outside dichotomy that privileges the interests and the security of the former and excludes the other. Linklater emphasizes the importance of “extending political community to include outsiders, on universalizing norms, on realizing a cosmopolitan ethic.”³⁸⁰ According to this approach, societies should develop the identity of “we-ness.” This is contrary to the neo-realism since it does not consider the possibility that nation states could be transformed to a new form of political-security community.³⁸¹ Furthermore, Welsh School scholars challenge to the belief that the state is the guardian of the security since the state itself can be a threat to the citizens’ life. For Booth and Vale, this argument came true in South Africa in where state security was hostile to human security.³⁸² National security in this region refers to the security of the regime, rather than the security of individuals.³⁸³

Under the light of their experiences and studies, Welsh School disagrees with the reductionist and inside-out approach of the neo-realism. For critical theory, which is inspired by the Welsh School, inside of the state is also important and type of rule can affect the relations of the state with the other actors.³⁸⁴ Under the impact of this approach, Welsh school follows the Kantian idea that accepts the pacifying

³⁷⁸ Bilgin, p.214.

³⁷⁹ Bilgin, p.213.

³⁸⁰ Linklater, “Neo-realism in Theory and ...”, p. 257.

³⁸¹ Linklater, “Neo-realism in Theory and ...”, p. 259.

³⁸² Booth and Vale, “Security in Southern Africa...”, p. 293.

³⁸³ Booth and Vale, p. 294.

³⁸⁴ Andrew Linklater, “Political Community and Human Security” in *Critical Security Studies and World Politics*, ed. Ken Booth (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), p. 119.

tendencies of the republican regimes.³⁸⁵ According to this approach, there is a public consent within the republican regimes so declaring war to the other is not easy when it is compared with the authoritarian states. As Linklater claims, rulers of the republican regimes have a moral belief that all human beings, including the non-citizens, deserve to live in a peaceful and justice world.³⁸⁶ Thus, “the liberal approach to security and community therefore generates an emancipatory politics that is designed to enlarge the realm of human interaction that is governed by publicity, dialogue, and consent...”³⁸⁷

Following to the role of the domestic analysis over the emergence of a community, emancipation also provides the necessary reasons for the establishment of a political or security community that ignore the exclusionary discourses and impose the common values. If competition and self-help are one kind of anarchy, then emancipation and better world are possible by creating common security among the actors. This argument depends on the belief that anarchy does not locked into the worst-case scenario. For the Welsh school scholars common security is one of the indispensable dynamic of the emancipation. Thus, under the light of these discussions, Ken Booth develops the term of emancipatory community,

“...an emancipatory community will recognize that people have multiple identities, that a person’s identity cannot be defined by one attribution, and that people must be allowed to live simultaneously in a variety of communities. Emancipatory communities...celebrate human equality.”³⁸⁸

If emancipation aims to remove all the constraints and limits, then boundaries among the inside-out and self-other should be abolished through the establishments of the security communities. These institutions help to creation of collective political identities that are more inclusive and emancipatory.³⁸⁹ Thus, singular, bounded, and culturalized identities are seen an obstacle in front of the emancipatory communities. It is believed that most of the regional insecurities can be solved by the transformation of these insecurities into a security community. Europe was an

³⁸⁵ Linklater, p. 119.

³⁸⁶ Linklater, p. 119.

³⁸⁷ Linklater, p. 119.

³⁸⁸ Booth, “ Introduction to Part 2”, p.109.

³⁸⁹ Jan Jindy Pettman, “Questions of Identity: Australia and Asia” in *Critical Security Studies and World Politics*, ed. Ken Booth (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), p. 174.

example to this transformation. Building common interests, common identities and moral obligations are seen as necessary elements for the emancipation. In order to prevent the emergence of the threat or danger, “there is no doubt that security is inextricably linked with community and emancipation.”³⁹⁰

³⁹⁰ Linklater, “Political Community and...”, p. 114.

CHAPTER III

EMANCIPATORY PRAXIS: HUMAN SECURITY ON THE FIELD

3.1 Theory and Praxis

“What are the interrelationships between theories and practices? Who controls the facts in the security debate? How we do come to and how should we understand security? What should be-as opposed to are- the referent(s) when thinking about security...” are some of the vital questions asked by critical security scholars such as Booth and Vale.³⁹¹ Critical security studies come up with these considerations and try to find answers. Although Booth admits the “intellectual hegemony” of the realism during the Cold War³⁹², critical security scholars examine the discourses and practices of security that have been changed or still changing. For them, in order to create a meaningful photo of the post-Cold War international security relations, new words or understandings should come into play. For the purpose of stressing the divergence among the traditional security studies and the critical security studies, first the practices of theory from the point of critical scholars will be under the debate.

For the critical security studies, theory has three key functions.³⁹³ First, practices and the meanings of security represent the main responsibility field of the theoretical inquiry. Furthermore, according to Booth and Vale, there is a strong connection between the nature of theory and the nature of practices. Namely, practices are the images of the theories that describe them. Finally, theories create the structures that surrender us and also establish facts that we recognize as the real world. Even though theories have an impact over the lives of the people, as a result

³⁹¹ Booth and Vale, “Critical Security Studies and Regional...” p. 329.

³⁹² Acharya, “The Periphery as the Core:...”, p.299

³⁹³ Booth and Vale, “Critical Security Studies and Regional...” p.330.

of its humanly constituted nature, they are vulnerable to the change.³⁹⁴ Despite to the realist orthodoxy, critical security scholars advocate the necessity to evaluate new security practices from a different theoretical approach other than the realist assumptions.

International context and its incalculable character are well developed by the scholars of the critical approach. Matt McDonald, one of the supporters of this approach, states that “contexts in which security is evoked or invoked are constantly changing means that what constitutes security will also be constantly changing: over time and across different groups and society.”³⁹⁵ With respect to the arguments of the critical security approach, theory that defines the security approach of a particular era is fluid, constructed and fundamentally political.³⁹⁶ Thus, with the end of the Cold War, except some hard realists, scholars began to ask, “are we moving into a new world order?”³⁹⁷ In other words, is the Westphalian international order come to an end and would be replaced with another order?

Since the late 1980s there has been a challenge to the orthodox view that is described by Booth, “the theory and practice of security in world politics should be synonymous with the trinity of statism, strategy and stability.”³⁹⁸ Some developments in the post-Cold War era forced the scholars to reevaluate the validity of the traditional security approach. For Booth there is urgency for re-thinking since,

*... the break-up of bipolar rigidities created space for world politics to accelerate into fast-forward: in the growing gap between rich and poor, mass rape in the Balkans, widespread human rights violations, civil war in Central Africa, the crisis of capitalism in Asia and South America, environmental disasters, nuclear proliferation in South Asia, the terror attacks in the United States, and on and on.*³⁹⁹

³⁹⁴ Booth and Vale, p.330.

³⁹⁵ Matt McDonald, “Security, Sovereignty and Identity”, refereed paper presented to the Jubilee conference of the Australasian Political Studies Association, Australian National University, Canberra, 2002, p.2.

³⁹⁶ McDonald, p.4.

³⁹⁷ Buzan and Little, p.90.

³⁹⁸ Ken Booth, “Realities of Security: Editor’s Introduction”, *International Relations*, 18, no.5 (2004), p.5 Writer uses statism in order to describe “the idea that the sovereign state is and should be the highest focus of loyalty and decision-making”, uses strategy for explaining the manipulation of military power and strategy, finally uses stability for describing “the promotion of order in the anarchical society.”

³⁹⁹ Booth, p. 6.

Critical security scholars share the belief that “Westphalian realism may not have been rendered entirely... Nevertheless, its traditional claim to serve as the commanding heights of how international relations can and should be understood is rightly under serious challenge.”⁴⁰⁰ New security problems and instabilities arise from different and complicated factors. According to Hurrel, these new threats derive from state weakness and the absence of political legitimacy, from the failure of states to provide order within their borders and from the incapacity of weak states to form a regional stable order in order to create a broader common purpose.⁴⁰¹ For the critical scholars, responding to these new threats with the remedies of the yesterday will be ineffective and may result with the prolongation of the solution.

Critical security scholars insist that international security relations do not operate only within the zone of conflict that accepts war as useable and also instrument of policy.⁴⁰² Furthermore, there are zone of conflicts that managed to build convincing regional barriers against the local wars and conflicts.⁴⁰³ The Association of South-East Asia Nations-ASEAN, the Southern African Development Community-SADC, and Mercosur in the Latin American southern zone are important references for the critical security understanding in order to substantiate the possibility of zone of peace.⁴⁰⁴ Therefore, regional or global integrations are seen as a response to the inter-state and also intra state conflicts. Despite to the realist static thinking, critical security studies endorse the idea that “there is a positive synergy between the regional and global security-building.”⁴⁰⁵ Since critical security prioritizes the concept of emancipation, human security, human rights and also justice, comprehensive conception of security is embraced. Booth claims, “it will not be possible to disinvent Saddams ... without a comprehensive approach to regional and global security building.”⁴⁰⁶ Additionally, he remarks the substance of the human rights and the justice because if they are postponed or delayed, security will be under

⁴⁰⁰ Mearsheimer et al., “Roundtable: The Battle...”, p. 309.

⁴⁰¹ Hurrel, “Security and ...”, p.259.

⁴⁰² Buzan and Little, p.101.

⁴⁰³ Buzan and Little, p.101.

⁴⁰⁴ Buzan and Little, p.102.

⁴⁰⁵ Booth, “ Nuclearism, human rights...”, (part 1), p.7

⁴⁰⁶ Booth, p.9

the threat.⁴⁰⁷ Critical security scholars pursue the community building, both regionally and globally as requirements for the creation of the emancipated societies. For the critical security perspective, one of the main motivations behind the concept of regional security is surely the spillover effect of the conflicts throughout the regions. Richard Millet describes this situation,

“In today’s global village there is no such thing as a purely national crisis. Every conflict has spillover effects, ranging from trade disruptions to refugee flows to violent clashes.”⁴⁰⁸

Under the spotlight of this approach, it can be referred that conflict within the boundaries of one state constitutes a security threat to all who share common borders. Even though this is not an invention of today; critical security scholars call attentions to this reality. Booth states that critical security studies can have a role to deliver counter hegemonic facts and knowledge to construct alternative images of regional security.⁴⁰⁹ Therefore Welsh School scholars designate examples that cannot be explained with the assumptions of the traditional security approach. Southern Africa, Yugoslavia, Ireland, and the European Union are representing the models that are described by critical scholars as the limits of the traditional realist security perspective.

In the praxis, the unhappy returns of the traditional security approach are examined.⁴¹⁰ Understanding of security, referent objects for security, agents and the institutions of security, and also the possibility of a regional union is discussed within the literature based on Welsh School by referring to some conflict intense regions. Since the human security threats are generally experienced in the southern African region that involves “weak states”, human security as a term have its field applications mostly in Africa. On the other side, Balkan as a region has similar weak states problems and tries to struggle with it. Thus, this region also attracted the critical security school’s attraction and human security project has been brought to life under the Stability Pact as a case study.

⁴⁰⁷ Booth, p.10.

⁴⁰⁸ Richard L. Millet, “Colombia’s Conflicts: Spillover Effects of a Wider War”, *Strategic Studies Institute*, 2002, p.1

⁴⁰⁹ Booth and Vale, “Critical Security Studies and Regional...”, p.332.

⁴¹⁰ Ken Booth and Peter Vale, “Security in Southern Africa...”, p.286.

3.2 Case Study: Southern Africa

3.2.1 Security Understanding of the Region During the pre-1990

Southern Africa is an important case since it is declared by the critical security scholars as one of the anomalies for the traditional security analyses.⁴¹¹ As Booth and Vale admitted, “the states of southern Africa, for example, do not match the textbook images of Anglo-American political science.”⁴¹² This region represents some characteristics that do not overlap with the generalizations of the realist security discourse. Colonialism and also apartheid were the most well known characteristics of this region during the Cold War and these factors shaped the security images and architecture of the region.

Cold War security obsessions of the Superpowers reached and also affected the southern Africa. They conducted their relations with these states according to their security perceptions.⁴¹³ South Africa’s Cold War security understanding based on racial discrimination in the inside and destabilization of their neighbors in the outside. Newly independent African states also tried to benefit from the conflict among the superpowers. In other words, by getting military and political support from these states, African governments expected to have an opportunity to strengthen their minority rulings against their people.⁴¹⁴ South Africa as a British colony is an example to the competition area of the Cold War. After 1948, the South African Nationalist Party, which exercised apartheid policy in the country, provoked segregation in the country and in the entire region.⁴¹⁵ Cold War division strengthened this separation and ruled according to the security interests of leading powers. As

⁴¹¹ In this text, the southern Africa will be used in order to refer the region as a whole. Booth and Vale, “Critical Security Studies and Regional...”, p.333.

⁴¹² Booth and Vale, p.334.

⁴¹³ Edwin S. Cochran, “The Pivotal State: Post-Apartheid South Africa”, *Parameters*, 2000.

⁴¹⁴ Cochran, “The Pivotal State:...”,.

⁴¹⁵ Instituted by the South African Nationalist Party in 1948, apartheid (“separateness”) sought the “separate development” of South Africa’s races. Apartheid provided the policy framework for the maintenance of minority rule through the institutionalized social, economic, political, and legal segregation of South African whites, blacks, Indians, and “Coloreds” (people of mixed race). Prior to Mandela’s election, internal resistance to apartheid had driven South Africa to the brink of civil war, and regional and international opposition to South Africa’s racial policies had left the country a pariah state, largely isolated from the rest of the international community.

Vale states while the rich-minority enjoyed the support of the West, impoverished black majority is backed by the Soviet Union.⁴¹⁶ In their article, Booth and Vale argue that:

*Colonialism, and nationalist thrust towards independence, bequeathed a condition in which states were the prime security referents, and these power structures were created and underpinned by military power. Within the region the distribution of power has been distinctly uneven, with a single state, South Africa, dominating. Yet that dominant state's ruling elite felt insecure.*⁴¹⁷

In the inside, states such as the South Africa have not acted as a watch-keeper over the security of their citizens. In contrast to this, they generally have been hostile to human security. Security represented different meanings for the state elites and for the majority in the apartheid South Africa. White minority elites described national security as a central policy-making and also as a destabilization of the other states in the region. However, for the majority security was the insecurity of their minority elites. That is to say, security of the South African state did not mean the same thing with the security of its people. Security understandings of the states created regional insecurity and also security dilemmas in the region.

Apartheid South Africa during the Cold War looked to its borders as a defense against its enemies.⁴¹⁸ In the 1980s, for instance, South Africa's security paranoia brought out its campaign known as destabilization that left more than a million of the region's people dead.⁴¹⁹ Traditional security paradigm, while enjoying its intellectual hegemony during the Cold War, took effect in the whole region, not only in South Africa. Up until 1975, countries like Mozambique and Angola, until 1980, Rhodesia were still ruled by colonial administrations.⁴²⁰ These governments exercised similar policies with South Africa, and followed apartheid policies in their

⁴¹⁶ Peter Vale, "Pivot, Puppet or Periphery: The Cold War and South Africa", *Working Paper 9*, International Center for Advanced Studies New York University, 2003, p.7

⁴¹⁷ Booth and Vale, "Security in Southern Africa:...", p. 287.

⁴¹⁸ Roger Southall, "Regional Security: The New Security in Southern Africa", *Southern African Report*, 10, no.5 (1995).

⁴¹⁹ Booth and Vale, "Security in Southern Africa:...", p.286.

⁴²⁰ Rocky Williams, "Human Security and the Transformation of the South African National Security", *Journal of Security Sector Management*, (2005), p.3

countries. As Rocky Williams mentioned, “these administrations also implemented national security policies that targeted domestic resistance movements...”⁴²¹

Cold War security atmosphere of the southern Africa underlines the fact that traditional security analyses that prioritize statist and militarized perspectives are inappropriate for the some part of the world. Southern African states and their security dynamics gave a general picture that is different what the traditional security approach claimed. As critical scholars mentioned, in the southern Africa there is a clash of interest in the issue of security within the individual states. Domestic insecurity resulted with the security problems in the region. Critical security perspective affiliates this problem with the attempt to create an objective meaning of security. According to them, “security has no objective meaning but it is intersubjectively invented...”⁴²² Moving from the objective meaning that prioritize state as a security provider will not help us to understand the existing security threats in the regions that is peculiar to itself.

3.2.2 Transformation of the Security Understanding after the Cold War

Since the 1980s there were crucial developments both in the local and also global level that affected the security approach intensively. Major developments at the international level came true. The fall of the Berlin wall was a forerunner of a new era that was free from bipolar global security structure. Addition to this, hidden subjects such as ethnicity awakened and became a threat between and also within the states. The International capitalist economy threatened the internal stability of states that have a colonial or socialist past.⁴²³ Inside the region; the long-standing civil wars in Mozambique and Angola have come to an end, Namibia has gained independence, and oppressive apartheid regime in South Africa has been replaced with democracy.⁴²⁴

⁴²¹ Williams, p. 5.

⁴²² Booth and Vale, “Critical Security Studies and Regional...”, p. 332.

⁴²³ Booth and Vale. p. 334.

⁴²⁴ Gina van Schalkwyk, “ Challenges in the Creation of the Southern African sub-regional security community”, *Journal on Science and World Affairs*, 1, no. 1 (2005), p.33–34.

Although, there are some developments within the region, impacts of the Cold War policies and their shortcomings were felt effectively. As Solomon and Cilliers indicated, within much of Africa, ethnic nationalisms, organized crime and religious intolerance have become endemic features and became more perilous with the rise of environmental degradations, illegal migrations and resource scarcity.⁴²⁵ Today's problems have not similarity with the past. Roger Southall remarked this difference,

*During the apartheid era, South Africa looked to its borders as a defense against its enemies; its neighbors stared back in fearful anticipation of destabilizing military raids by the South African Defence Force. Today, with hostilities replaced by friendship, the major threats to states' stability are increasingly viewed as coming not from any military quarter, but from the common enemies of poverty and lack of hope, unemployment and massive economic migration southwards, environmental degradation, AIDS, drug-running and organized crime, the alarming availability of a massive supply of small arms in the wake of numerous wars, and so on.*⁴²⁶

Above all, these threats were related with the structure and embedded within these societies. This is why humanity is so powerless against to these new security problems. Not the military agreements or armaments of the nation states but the theoretical and institutional level of responses could be a response to this new security threats and trends.⁴²⁷ Critical security scholars aim to demonstrate that while the end of the apartheid in South Africa eradicated the local source of insecurity, other intractable security challenges are waiting in a stealthily manner in the new millennium.⁴²⁸ Redefinition of the security concept, introducing the human security perspective and common security approach that is based on the regional integrations are some of these academics handbooks for southern Africa.

⁴²⁵ Hussein Solomon and Jakkie Cilliers, "The Southern African Development Community and Small Arms Proliferation", TCP Series.

http://www.iss.co.za/dynamic/administration/file_manager/file_links/CHAP6S.PDF?link_id=29&link_id=4885&link_type=12&slink_type=13&tmpl_id=3, 26.03.08, p.75.

⁴²⁶ Southall.

⁴²⁷ Solomon and Cilliers, p.75.

⁴²⁸ Sagaren Naidoo, "A Theoretical Conceptualization of Human Security", Peace, Human Security and Conflict Prevention in Africa, *UNESCO ISS Expert Meeting* held in Pretoria, South Africa 23–24 July 2001, p.1

3.2.2.1 Insecurity Agenda in Southern Africa

Critical security studies attempted to redefine the concept of security that requires broadening and deepening. In consequence of the new security agenda, critical scholars expanded the definition including such factors as political democracy, human rights, social and economic development, and environmental sustainability.⁴²⁹ For Booth and Vale, narrowness of the agenda seems more manageable when it is compared with the expansion of the agenda.⁴³⁰ However, for them these complexities should not be an excuse for insisting on a narrow threat agenda. Critical scholars describe the intellectual understandings of the traditional scholars as closing the eyes and ears to the realities of the security. All of these theoretical explanations have a voice in the southern Africa.

After the Cold War, no places other than the southern Africa can overlap with the arguments of the critical security studies. Southern African countries have experienced great upheavals in recent decades that resulted with conflict within the states. As it is mentioned in the 2005 report of UN OSAA (Office of the Special Adviser on Africa), “these situations have helped to expose weakness in the State-centric concept of security.”⁴³¹ In that region, most of the events verified the emergence of the new security perspective.⁴³² Although one of the insecurity debates, apartheid, has ended with the transition to democracy in 1990s, “some fundamental insecurity remained untouched by political change.”⁴³³ These endemic problems are narcotics and arms smuggling, refugees and illegal immigrants, and also AIDS. Thus, not the external threats but the internal problems compose the insecurity issues in the southern Africa. In order to understand the main reasons behind these threats, Vale asks, “southern Africa, prisoner of the past?”⁴³⁴

⁴²⁹ Naidoo, p. 2

⁴³⁰ Booth and Vale, “Security in Southern Africa: ...”, p.296.

⁴³¹ United Nations Office of the Special Adviser on Africa (OSAA), “Human Security in South Africa”, December 2005, p.2

⁴³² Southall.

⁴³³ Peter Vale and John Daniel, “Regional Security in Southern Africa in the 1990s: Challenging the Terms of the Neo-Realist Debate, *Transformation* 28 (1995), p. 84.

⁴³⁴ Peter Vale, “Prisoner of the Past?: The New South Africa Abroad”, *Southern Africa Report*, 10, no. 5 (1995), p.13.

He answers,

*The ending of the Cold War has witnessed the rise of a new genre of realism in international relations - trade and economic determinism. It holds that the new conflicts are economic, that only countries who are positioned to respond to this can become "winning nations." Of course, there is ample superficial evidence to support this view, but it has been driven by economic interest groups in most countries and South Africa is no exception.*⁴³⁵

In southern Africa, the international economic system exacerbated the crisis and left the region's people to the conditions of misery.⁴³⁶ This is what critical scholars advocate; broadening the threat agenda may help us to understand the main reasons behind insecurity. New security threats in southern Africa cannot be meaningful without associating them with the economic, environmental and societal issues.

Africa as a continent is the poorest in the world. It contains 23 of the world's poorest countries and an estimated 290 million Africans exist on incomes less than \$1 per day.⁴³⁷ Conflicts emanating from economic interests are common in southern Africa since as Herbst explained rebellions are no longer anti-colonial and getting assistance from the outside is harder than before.⁴³⁸ As a result, these groups have to live under the conditions of resource scarcity and underdevelopment. Keen argues that, "in the post-Cold War period, war has increasingly become the continuation of economics by other means."⁴³⁹ Although in the southern Africa, states have open economies, trade within the region is limited.⁴⁴⁰ Trade was small since there is a dependency to South Africa that is the world's largest reserve holder and also the producer of the industrial minerals.

The threat of food scarcity is more fundamental than the threat of military violence because of the unproportional population growth. Without food or water, survival of the people fall under the danger and security argument becomes meaningless. A quotation from an ANC (African National Congress) guerilla

⁴³⁵ Vale, p.12.

⁴³⁶ Booth and Vale, "Critical Security Studies and Regional...", p. 333

⁴³⁷ Cochran, p.24.

⁴³⁸ Jeffrey Herbst, "Prospects for Elite-Driven Democracy in South Africa", *Political Science Quarterly*, 112, no. 4 (1997), p.272.

⁴³⁹ Herbst, p. 272.

⁴⁴⁰ Booth and Vale, "Critical Security Studies and Regional...", p.337.

explains this paradigm, “People can't eat democracy. We desperately need food, hospitals, houses, land, education, electricity, and water.”⁴⁴¹

Economic underdevelopment that resulted with food scarcity triggers the mass migration or illegal migration. This is another security problem of the southern African states. The number of people entering South Africa from other African countries is thought to have increased after the collapse of the old regime. Thus, these people floating to other countries for better life reflects the economic situations of the states in the region. According to Booth and Vale, migrants have created instability both in the states and borders in the region.⁴⁴² Mass migration and also poverty give rise to emergence of threats that affect the health of the population. After the transition to democracy, health policies remained same and also deteriorated. Health statistics of the region give an idea about the situation. According to a report that has been completed in 2004, infant and under-five mortality increased since 1998.⁴⁴³ HIV/AIDS have an important role in the rise of the mortality rates. UNAIDS data from 2003 show that %21.5 of the adult population (15-49 years) in South Africa is infected by the virus.⁴⁴⁴ As Krista Johnson points out:

“AIDS can no longer be understood or responded to as primarily a public health issue: it is a political issue, a development issue and a security issue one that requires a comprehensive strategy to mobilize social and political resources against the pandemic.”⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴¹ Booth and Vale, “Critical Security Studies and Regional...”, p.338 .

⁴⁴² Booth and Vale, “Security in Southern Africa:...”, p. 286.

⁴⁴³ “A study completed in 2004 reported that infant and under-five mortality (IMR and U5R) rates had declined steadily from 1975 to 1998, when U5R stood at 45.4/1000 and IMR at 59.4/1000 live births. However, in 1998 the trend reversed and, since then, the mortality rates have increased sharply. According to the study, “U5R increased to 95 per 1000 in 2000”, “... IMR had increased to 56/1000 in 2000 and 59/1000 in 2001”, and projections indicate that the increase will be to “75 per 1000 live births by 2010” (Solarsh and Goga 2004) The rate of maternal mortality for African women is over 300 times that of developed regions. The average birth-rate for African women is 6.2 births per woman. In Angola, the maternal mortality rate in 1996 was estimated at 1 500 deaths per 100 000 live births (the average for the developed world is 27). In Malawi, females in the 15 to 24 age bracket are six times more likely to be HIV-positive than men.(United Nations. 1991. The world’s women: Trends and statistics, 1970–1990.)

⁴⁴⁴ Sandra J. Mclean, “Human Security as: Freedom from Want”, <http://www.policyandsociety.org/archive/vol24no1/PS%2024-1%20MacLean.pdf>, (10.04.2008), p. 56.

⁴⁴⁵ Sandra J.Mclean, p. 56.

Environmental degradation is another security threat to the southern African states addition to the economic underdevelopment, illegal migration and health conditions. Cochran asserts, “environmental degradation is also widespread throughout the Africa, often as a result of reliance on extractive industries.”⁴⁴⁶ Deforestation is very common because people use it for warming and earning money. It reached at a rate of about nine million acres per year, and had a disastrous effect on ecosystems, watersheds and water supplies.⁴⁴⁷ In addition to the deforestation problem, growth in the population and rapid urbanization created air and water pollution in the region. The drought and the situation of near-famine of 1992 brought authorities in the region closer to understanding that without adequate planning, the provision of southern Africa’s basic needs will be problematical.⁴⁴⁸

Norman Myers claims that there is an important linkage between environment and conflict in the sense that deficiencies in the environment supply conflict prone conditions.⁴⁴⁹ By accepting the environment as a new threat in the agenda, he argues that it deserves to be viewed as equally crucial to nation’s security as military threats. As most of the critical scholars, for Myers there is a contradiction when “a leader who proclaims he will not permit one square meter of national territory to be ceded to a foreign invader, while allowing hundreds of square kilometers of topsoil to be eroded away each year.”⁴⁵⁰ In southern Africa, environmental pollutions and a scarcity of resources have displaced large numbers of peoples and made them illegal migrants or environmental refugees. This situation has an impact not only over the displaced persons but also over the local population living in the territories that they migrated.⁴⁵¹ Arrival of these people breeds the insecurity and intolerance in the local population because they have to compete for the scarce resources.⁴⁵² At the first sight, all of the process starts with the environmental degradations and resource scarcity but ended with the xenophobia and

⁴⁴⁶ Cochran.

⁴⁴⁷ Cochran.

⁴⁴⁸ Booth and Vale, “Critical Security Studies and Regional...” p. 336.

⁴⁴⁹ Norman Myers, “Environmental Security: What’s New and Different?”, <http://www.envirosecurity.org/conference/working/newanddifferent.pdf>, (14.05.08), p.4.

⁴⁵⁰ Julia Maxted and Abebe Zegeye, “Human Stability and the Conflict in the Horn of Africa”, *UNESCO ISS Expert Meeting* held in Pretoria, South Africa 23–24 July 2001, p.47

⁴⁵¹ Maxted and Zegeye, p.50.

⁴⁵² Maxted and Zegeye, p. 49.

conflict within the society. In other words, if a threat is giving alarm in one part of the threat circle, this will spread to others as a deadly virus.

Although conflicts in the southern Africa do not represent a model for the traditional security approach because of their internal natures, it is a conflict torn region because of its ethnic and religious diversity. This brings another threat agenda to the scene: societal conflict in the region. Because of its colonial past, southern Africa has an imposed and artificial state boundary that does not reflect the region's ethnic realities.⁴⁵³ These problematical state natures combined with the authoritarian governments that encouraged the emergence of brutal ethnic conflicts in the region. Within the southern Africa, struggles over economical or political power often take the form of ethnic conflict.⁴⁵⁴ In Angola, for example, fundamental reason behind the ethnic conflict is the competition of elites for the country's vast oil and diamond resources.⁴⁵⁵ Ethnic identity is a motivating source for the groups. According to Herbst, "significant role for commanders is to reinforce an identity that men can fight for."⁴⁵⁶ Thus, control of the states by one of the ethnic groups automatically results with the subordination of the other ethnic groups. There is a zero-sum proposition within the society because state itself is a threat for the ethnic groups or tribes of Angola.

While the critical security scholars discuss for broadening the field and taking into account the new threats to the human security, southern Africa came to exist as a laboratory for the critical scholars. End of the apartheid regime in South Africa with its destabilization policy within the region opened a new page. However, there have been new threats that require new answers. Booth and Vale advocates a move beyond realism in order to establish a secure environment in the region.⁴⁵⁷ While the broadening the threat agenda can be conceived as a first step for a comprehensive

⁴⁵³ Cochran.

⁴⁵⁴ Maxted and Zegeye, p.46.

⁴⁵⁵ Asis Malaquias, "Ethnicity and conflict in Angola:prospects for reconciliation", <http://www.iss.co.za/Books/Angola/6Malaquias.pdf>, 23.04.08. p.95. The governing Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) and the rebel União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) are competing for the resources.

⁴⁵⁶ Herbst, p. 281.

⁴⁵⁷ Booth and Vale, "Security in Southern Africa...", p.290.

security approach, issue of whose security should be the second step. There are some appropriate practices in the region that indicated the individual as new security referent vis a vis the state. These developments gained a meaning with the concept of human security and emancipation.

3.2.2.2 Human Security and Emancipation in Southern Africa

Since the UNDP highlighted the concept of human security in the 1994 Human Development Report, states are more sensitive to put this issue into their security agenda. As Schalkwyk specified, “in the 1990s the security debate shifted towards the recognition of a concept of human security as a counter- balance to mere state and/or regime security.”⁴⁵⁸ McDonald defines the human security as a potential response to the growing insecurity of security.⁴⁵⁹ Primacy of the human security in the new era can be evaluated as a revenge of the past that ignored the security of the human at the expense of the regime and the state survival. Human security places the individual at the center of security and emphasizes not only freedom from physical threats, but also the need for economic, social and political security of the individual.⁴⁶⁰ Thus, people and communities will have an ability to pursue a safe livelihood on equal terms with others.⁴⁶¹ This is what the Welsh School scholars advocate, emancipation. Human security is described as both a political project of emancipation and an analytical framework.⁴⁶²

Since the environmental degradation, epidemics, scarcity on food and fresh water supplies are not the threats targeting the state integrity or the state territory, new threat agenda encouraged the scholars to ask the question, whose security is to be considered in the southern Africa? Some of the scholars who argue for the human security answer to that question as human beings are under the threat and have to be protected. Despite to the arguments whether the UNDP impose universal or euro-

⁴⁵⁸ Schalkwyk, p.34.

⁴⁵⁹ McDonald, p. 277

⁴⁶⁰ Schalkwyk, p. 34.

⁴⁶¹ Jackie Cilliers, “ Human Security in Africa: A Conceptual Framework for Review”, *African Human Security Initiative*, [www. africanreview.org](http://www.africanreview.org), 12.05.08, p.11.

⁴⁶² Heidi Hudson, “Doing Security as Though Humans Matter: A Feminist Perspective on Gender and the Politics of Human Security. *Security Dialogue*, 36, no.2 (2005), p.155.

centric values, perspectives on human security enhances indigenous solutions to the human insecurity in Africa.⁴⁶³ Regional structures such as the AU (African Union), the NPAD (New Partnership for Africa's Development), and the Peace and Security Council are some of the regional initiatives realized in southern Africa and emphasized by critical scholars. Furthermore, the AHSI (African Human Security Initiative) has a fundamental role for the institutionalization of the concept of the human security. As Cilliers defines, "AHSI is a network of seven African non-governmental research organizations that have come together to measure the performance of key African governments in promoting human security."⁴⁶⁴ This network's partners are required to fulfill seven commitments: human rights, democracy and governance, civil society engagement, small arms and light weapons, peacekeeping and conflict resolution, anti-corruption, terrorism and organized crime.⁴⁶⁵

AHSI is described as a modified statist approach because of its traditional focus on the level of analysis.⁴⁶⁶ However, Hudson justifies this with a claim, "the choice of a traditional option is combined with an acknowledgment of individuals and communities as active participants in matters of security."⁴⁶⁷ In the same way, Cilliers maintains, "while there are many different approaches, one thing is clear; the security of the individual is no longer defined exclusively within the realm of states and as a consequences of national security."⁴⁶⁸ Security of whom is a question that is asked by critical scholars under the human security approach. Discussions about the security and the rights of women are some of the products of the human security approach that is in the wake of institutionalization in southern Africa.

⁴⁶³ Hudson, p. 166.

⁴⁶⁴ Cilliers, "Human Security in Africa...", p. 1.

⁴⁶⁵ Cilliers, "Human Security in Africa...", p.3. The AHSI partners are the South African Institute for International Affairs (SAIIA), the Institute for Human Rights and Development in Africa (IHRDA), the Southern Africa Human Rights Trust (SAHRIT), the West African Network for Peace (WANEP), the African Security Dialogue and Research (ASDR), the African Peace Forum (APFO) and the Institute for Security Studies (ISS).

⁴⁶⁶ Hudson, p.166.

⁴⁶⁷ Hudson, p. 167.

⁴⁶⁸ Cilliers, "Human Security in Africa...", p.11.

Women security is one of the crucial issues under the human security approach. Since it rejects the discrimination and violence within the society, conditions of women, which by and large face inequalities and threats, issue of threats to the security of women deserved to be discussed. Hudson admits this relation by claiming, "...a critical feminist perspective on security studies, and especially human security, is crucial to overcome certain gender silences."⁴⁶⁹ In southern Africa, women suffer from the conflicts and threats. According to Vincent,

*Women are the invisible victims of the 1990s, the faceless masses filling the background of canvases of terror and hardship. Most of the casualties of war are women and children. Most of these women are struggling to care for and protect their children. Human rights violations against women are rampant partly because they remain largely hidden.*⁴⁷⁰

Discussions of human security took effect in southern African states by means of constitutional arrangements. In the constitutions of most countries in the South African Development Community, discrimination on the basis of gender is prohibited.⁴⁷¹ Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, which obliges the signatories to condemn discrimination against women in all its forms, is signed by 29 African states.⁴⁷² Additionally, in South Africa, the Recognition of Customary Marriages Bill that addresses to the inequities of property arrangements under the customary law was enacted. Similarly, a CGE (Commission on Gender Equality), a constitutionally mandated body that is authorized to investigate gender discriminations and make advises to Parliament was established. In Angola, as a result of the pressures, government amended the Civil Code to end the women's inequality.⁴⁷³

Even if there are many efforts, which promote the women as a security referent, there are still problems in the southern African region. Vincent associates these problems with the colonial conquest and the anti-colonial struggle of the

⁴⁶⁹ Hudson, p.156.

⁴⁷⁰ Louise Vincent, "Women, security and human rights in Southern Africa", http://www.accord.org.za/ct/1999-4/ct%204_1999_pg30-34.pdf. (22.04.08),

⁴⁷¹ Vincent. The exception is Tanzania whose constitution prohibits discrimination based on nationality, origin, political affiliation, colour or religion, but does not mention discrimination based on gender, age or disability.

⁴⁷² Vincent.

⁴⁷³ Vincent.

region.⁴⁷⁴ Due to the legacy of the past, in southern Africa, there are militarized states with modes of masculinity. Still, few rural women in Southern Africa have been able to complete primary education and they are at a disadvantageous position in finding job. Rape is another concerning issue in the region, especially in South Africa, that has the highest incidences of rape in the world.⁴⁷⁵ Therefore, women as referent object have been able to enjoy the fruits of an expansion of the human security.⁴⁷⁶

Thus, as Booth and Vale underlined, “the pathologies of the traditionalist conceptions are manifest throughout southern Africa.”⁴⁷⁷ They emphasize the impact of the apartheid and the colonialism especially over the women and children.⁴⁷⁸ However, the recent Human Development Report creates high expectations for the future with its innovative recommendations. 2003 UN Human Development Report by focusing on the title, “peace and security for all”⁴⁷⁹, gives a clue for the transformation of the traditional statist security perspective.

Development of the human security concept gives rise to the consideration of threats not only at the state level. Beyond “security for whom” is the issue of “security of what values.”⁴⁸⁰ While the state level has a narrow threat perception, human security involves most of the issues related with the human beings. The Commission on Human Security published a report in 2003, *Human Security Now: Protecting and Empowering People*.⁴⁸¹ This report highlights that, “human security is

⁴⁷⁴ Vincent, “Women, security and human rights in Southern...”.

⁴⁷⁵ Vincent.

⁴⁷⁶ Vincent. In a single year – 1998 – approximately 36 400 South African women reported being raped; of

those, one per cent were raped by a spouse. Police in Zimbabwe’s second largest city, Bulawayo, report that an average of one woman is raped daily in the city. One third of the victims are between the ages of one and 15 years.

⁴⁷⁷ Booth and Vale, “Security in Southern Africa:...”, p.294.

⁴⁷⁸ Booth and Vale, p. 296.

⁴⁷⁹ UNDP Annual Report 2003, <http://www.undp.org/annualreports/2003/english/>, (23.03.08), p.60.

⁴⁸⁰ Kanti Bajpai, “Human Security: Concept and Measurement”, *Kroc Institute Occasional Paper*, 19, (2000), p.18

⁴⁸¹ United Nations Office of the Special Adviser on Africa (OSAA), “Human Security in...”, p.4 The Commission on Human Security was launched at the 2000 UN Millennium Summit with the purpose of exploring the evolving trend of analysis and making recommendations. A team of experts in the areas of humanitarian assistance and development was assembled, with support from the Government

a concept that combines human protection and human development, and interconnects peace, security and sustainable development.”⁴⁸² Additionally, the Commission considers that the situation of African countries entails a deal with human security at multiple levels.

Since the security and development are interwoven, it is underlined that a holistic approach is needed.⁴⁸³ Southern African countries refer to the subject of transformation of the traditional security approach and the importance of sustainable development for the peace in the local and the region in the Declaration on the Political and Socio-Economic Situation in Africa and the Fundamental Changes Taking Place in the World. In this declaration they assert,

*We reaffirm that Africa's development is the responsibility of our governments and peoples. We are now more than before determined to lay a solid foundation for self-reliant, human-centred and sustainable development on the basis of social justice and collective self-reliance so as to achieve accelerated structural transformation of our economies.*⁴⁸⁴

This declaration can be evaluated as a starting point for the next steps of the southern African leaders. According to Kaleb Demaksa, representative of the UN Economic Commission for Africa, human security and conflict prevention are necessary conditions for Africa’s economic growth and sustainable development.⁴⁸⁵ For Muller, a senior member of the South African Pugwash Group, “development is seen as a process of extending the range of people’s choices, while security means that these choices can be freely and safely exercised over time.”⁴⁸⁶

Prior to this declaration, there were some attempts during the Cold War. In 1980s, Lagos Plan of Action was accepted as a blueprint for transforming the African

of Japan, and was led by Sadako Ogata, former head of UNHCR, and Amartya Sen, Nobel Laureate in Economics.

⁴⁸² OSAA,p.4

⁴⁸³ Marie Muller, “Pugwash Symposium on Human Security in the Southern African Context 7–10 June 1998, Halfway House, South Africa”, <http://www.pugwash.org/reports/rc/rc2.htm>, (02.05.2008)

⁴⁸⁴ Declaration on the Political and Socio-Economic Situation in Africa and the Fundamental Changes Taking Place in the World. AHG/Decl.1 (XXVI) 1990

⁴⁸⁵ Kaleb Demaksa, p. 15. Sustainable development is defined as development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. (World Conference on Environment and Development, 1987.)

⁴⁸⁶ Muller, “Pugwash Symposium on Human...”.

economy based on the assumption that peace and human security are connected.⁴⁸⁷ Addition to this, living conditions of the Africans in a secure and stable environment was discussed. Following this, The United Nations Programme for African Economic Recovery and Development 1986 and 1990 recognized the importance of security for sustainable development. In 1990s, UN New Agenda for the Development of Africa also emphasized the relevance of peace and security by underlining that “peace is an indispensable prerequisite for development.”⁴⁸⁸

Similarly, 1998 Pugwash Symposium on Human Security in the Southern African Context focused on conceptualizing the human security concept in the region.⁴⁸⁹ In that meeting, necessity of re-thinking the concept of threat also discussed. Thus, contrary to the narrow definition of the traditional approach, threats were grouped under three titles. These are, classic military threats including inter-state violence or insurgency; non-military threats consist of energy, water, gender discrimination; and finally threats as a result of reduced functional capacity of the state as evident in increases in poverty, unemployment and crime.⁴⁹⁰ Due to the broad definition of threats, it can be concluded that “security concerns or threats are now delineated as any situation that make an individual insecure, including poverty, desertification, hunger, unemployment, gender dynamics, repression and ecological degradation.”⁴⁹¹

As Richard Falk clarifies, new threats to security, which exceed boundaries, cannot be solved by one state alone.⁴⁹² In other words, transnational threats require transnational responses. Since the nature of threats is changed, it is believed that subjects of the security should be reconceptualized. Thus, while the traditional

⁴⁸⁷ Kaleb Demaksa, “The New Africa Initiative: A View from the Economic Commission for Africa”, UNESCO–ISS Expert Meeting held in Pretoria, South Africa, 23-24 July 2004, p.15.

⁴⁸⁸ Demaksa.

⁴⁸⁹ Muller, ““Pugwash Symposium on Human...”. The first Pugwash symposium ever to be held in South Africa was organised by the South African Pugwash Group and funded by the Royal Netherlands Government. The Institute for Security Studies (ISS), whose director (Jakkie Cilliers) is also a member of the South Africa Pugwash Group, gave logistical support. The symposium was originally planned as the first of two workshops, initiated jointly by the South African and Dutch Pugwash Groups.

⁴⁹⁰ Muller.

⁴⁹¹ Muller.

⁴⁹² Naidoo, p. 5

national security is under the responsibility of the sovereign state, concerns under the human security requires cooperation or integration. The issue of security agents, in other words who will provide security is another argument discussed under the critical security approach. Southern Africa provides appropriate examples to the security agents incompatible with the subjects of the traditional realist security perspective.

3.2.2.3 Regional Integration in Southern Africa

Critical security studies approved the establishment of security communities as an important pillar for the international peace. For the critical scholars, states have not the capacity to control the external or internal threats alone because not only the name of the threats but also the structure of the threats had changed. Booth argues “the logical alternative to the modern state as the unit of analysis is the diffusion of power from states to local or regional communities.”⁴⁹³ He claims that recognition of common interests and common identities and the establishment of political and moral obligations are necessary elements for the long-term regional security.⁴⁹⁴ Southern Africa is one of the regions that have an urgent need for the establishment of a security arrangement that cares not only security from threats, but also security from want for the people of the region.⁴⁹⁵

In fact, before and after the apartheid era, there were demands in southern Africa for regional integration for different reasons. As Gibb underlined, during the apartheid period regional and national concerns, which focused on the dominancy of the white minority rule, shaped the character of the regional integration.⁴⁹⁶ From 1960 to 1990, Pretoria government promoted a regional strategy that enhanced the dependency to the South Africa. Therefore South African president, P.W. Botha, proposed the CONSAS (Constellation of Southern African States), which envisaged a co-prosperity sphere based on a common market. However, CONSAS is called as

⁴⁹³ Naidoo, p.7.

⁴⁹⁴ Booth and Vale, “Critical Security Studies and Regional...”, p.338.

⁴⁹⁵ Schalkwyk, p. 33.

⁴⁹⁶ Richard Gibb, “Regional Integration in Post-Apartheid Southern Africa”, *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 98, no.4 (2007), p. 421.

ill-defined form of regionalism because it lacks the common interest and a formal organization.⁴⁹⁷ It just aimed to enhance the economic interest of the South Africa.

In 1980s, SDCC (Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference) was established as a counter strategy to the CONSAS.⁴⁹⁸ Frontline states aimed to decrease their economic dependency to the South Africa and divide southern Africa by isolating the apartheid South Africa. Since the destabilization activities of the South Africa posed a threat to the security of the states, states in the region aimed to defend this threat with a regional organization.⁴⁹⁹ Addition to this, Eastern and Southern African PTA (Preferential Trade Area) that is formed with the aim of tax reducing was another regional initiative for protecting economic interests towards the dominant power of the region, South Africa.⁵⁰⁰

In the post-apartheid era, regional cooperation became urgent in order to fight with the endemic problems of the region. Booth and Vale ask, “can a sense of regional community -is the only guarantee of long-term security- grow in a region in which there has been so much enmity and violence?”⁵⁰¹ Because of the complex nature of the region, answer to this question is not so easy. There are some constructed realities or feelings related with the others in the region. For example, for a South African youth, their neighbors were inferior and also were manipulated by the outsiders. How they conceive each other is an important point for the creation of a regional community as in the case of the feeling of Europeans in the EU. Booth and Vale claims that the first step should be accepting themselves as common victims of structural and geographical insecurities rather than as victims of the each other’s aggression.⁵⁰²

⁴⁹⁷ Gibb, p.424.

⁴⁹⁸ Gibb.

⁴⁹⁹ The UN reports conclude that destabilization cost the countries of southern Africa over \$60 billion (1988 prices) and that ‘total strategy’ aimed to undermine not just military and economic targets but also the social fabric of nations. In addition, the reports estimate that over 1.5 million people were killed as a result of South Africa’s total strategy and that half of the populations of Angola and Mozambique had been driven from their homes. Gibb, p. 425.

⁵⁰⁰ Robert Davies, “Emerging South African Perspectives on Regional Cooperation and Integration After Apartheid”, *Transformation*, 20, 1982, p.75.

⁵⁰¹ Booth and Vale, “Security in Southern Africa...”, p.290.

⁵⁰² Booth and Vale, p.291.

End of the Cold War and the apartheid regime encouraged the South Africa to agree on that post-apartheid period should embrace some form of regional integration and cooperation. Addition to this, structural crisis emanating from insecurity conditions and the emergence of regional trading blocs in the north have an impact over the decision of the South Africa.⁵⁰³ Destabilization policy throughout the region, created a security dilemma for the South Africa. For example, destabilization policy of the South Africa increased the poverty in the region. Due to the economic insecurity, people migrated illegally to the South Africa for job and created high crime rates or resource scarcity problems that threaten the security of the state. Hence, it is supported that there should be move from Hobbesian relations to an interdependent region. This transition offers secure relations that come from cooperation rather than the raising of mass armies.⁵⁰⁴ Mandela also supports this, “we are inextricably part of Southern Africa and our destiny is linked to that of a region which is much more than a mere geographical concept”.⁵⁰⁵

After the democratic election in the South Africa, in 1994 South Africa joined to the SADC (South African Development Community) or former SDCC. In that treaty, states underlined that,

“We will take the region out of an era of conflict and confrontation, to one of co-operation; in a climate of peace, security and stability. These are prerequisites for development...”⁵⁰⁶

Addition to the change in the name of the SADC, structure of the community also transformed from development coordination to development integration.⁵⁰⁷ For example, as Gibb argued, SADC promoted conventional neo-liberal approach to regional integration, based on the free movement of capital and goods.⁵⁰⁸ SADC intended to establish a customs union following the implementation of its free trade area. Vision of the SADC is expressed as “a future in a regional community that will ensure economic well being, improvement of the standards of living and quality of

⁵⁰³ Davies, p. 80.

⁵⁰⁴ Booth and Vale, “Security in Southern Africa...”, p. 292.

⁵⁰⁵ Cochran, p.34.

⁵⁰⁶ Southern African Development Community, <http://www.sadc.int/shdsp>, (23.06.2008).

⁵⁰⁷ Solomon, p.79

⁵⁰⁸ Gibb, p. 426.

life, freedom and social justice and peace and security for the peoples of the Southern Africa.”⁵⁰⁹ SADC is the result of the dramatic developments in the security sphere with the end of the Cold War. Thus, as Southall argues “there is a quite remarkable willingness of former enemies within regional military and intelligence networks to work together towards a shared conception of a common, regional good.”⁵¹⁰

The ISDSC (Inter-State Defense and Security Committee) is the most important sub-structure of the SADC Organ. It can be described as a forum in which defense ministers meet to discuss matters relating with the individual and collective defense and security issues. Solomon and Cilliers assert that increased military cooperation in the region could diminish the reliance on external assistance and provide a regional stability.⁵¹¹ Rather than multilateral or regional level, there is bilateral level cooperation between South Africa and Mozambique under the ISDSC. In 1995, they signed an agreement to stop the trade in small arms. Although, they succeeded, it is claimed that this is the problem of the region so there should be a regional regime to combat the small arms.⁵¹²

COMESA (Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa) is another important regional institution of the southern Africa. It replaced the PTA and in 1994 established an agenda based on the FTA (Free Trade Area), customs union and economic union.⁵¹³ Objective of the COMESA is, “addition to the development through economic and social integration; promoting peace and security in the region in order to create peaceful and secure atmosphere...”⁵¹⁴ Members of the COMESA declare that without peace and security, there will be no meaningful development so they concentrate on creating opportunities for co-operation, interaction and

⁵⁰⁹ http://www.sadc.int/about_sadc/vision.php, (12.05.08)

⁵¹⁰ Southall.

⁵¹¹ Solomon-Cilliers, p. 85.

⁵¹² Solomon and Cilliers, p.89.

⁵¹³ Gibb, p.426

⁵¹⁴ Stephen Karangizi, “Subregional Agenda for Peace and Security: The Case of COMESA”, UNESCO ISS Expert Meeting held in Pretoria, South Africa 23-24 July 2001, p.77 The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa is a regional integration grouping of twenty African sovereign states (Angola, Burundi, the Comoros, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Namibia, Rwanda, Seychelles, the Sudan, Swaziland, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe).

integration.⁵¹⁵ Eventually, the COMESA Programme for peace and security was established after the fourth Summit of the COMESA in 1999.⁵¹⁶ The COMESA members signed the FTA but move from FTA to customs union was missed. SACU (South African Customs Union) is the other institution that has had an effectively functioning free trade area based on the free movement of goods and the de facto free movement of capital.⁵¹⁷ The economic structure of the Union links the member states by a single tariff and no customs duties between them.⁵¹⁸ The new SACU treaty concludes,

“Goods grown, produced or manufactured in the Common Customs Area, on importation from the area of one member state to the area of another member state, shall be free of customs duties and quantitative restrictions.”⁵¹⁹

These three regional institutions, SADC-COMESA-SACU, are united in their perception that intra-regional free trade will be the essential step for the regional integration. By taking into consideration of the fact that, regional institutions aim to ensure development of the states and also region, as Schalkwyk noted, “linkages between security and development would be the creation of the security community in the southern African region.”⁵²⁰ Trade relations may create interdependency and also can result with the win-win situation in the region. By that way, security of any state will depend on the others’ security and prosperity. On the other hand, neo-realist perspective rejects the security community perspective in the region and offers a different order for the region. Contrary to the interdependency argument, they support the hegemonic stability thesis. Neo-realist school of thinking supports that South Africa should use its economic power to ensure stability and order in the region.⁵²¹ Thus, hegemonic stability thesis of the neo-realist tradition would be proved. In contrast to this argument, Vale and Daniel believes that southern African people suffered a lot in the past so they deserve innovative and imaginary though and

⁵¹⁵ <http://www.comesa.int/about/vision/view>, (12.05.08)

⁵¹⁶ <http://www.comesa.int/about/vision/view>, (12.05.08)

⁵¹⁷ Gibb, 421. The Southern African Customs Union (SACU) consists of Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa, and Swaziland. The SACU Secretariat is located in Windhoek, Namibia. SACU was established in 1910, making it the world’s oldest Customs Union. <http://www.sacu.int/>, 12.05.08

⁵¹⁸ http://www.sacu.int/main.php?include=about/what_is.html&menu=menus/leftmenu.html

⁵¹⁹ SACU 2002 Article, <http://www.sacu.int/main.php?include=docs/legislation/1969-agreement/part8.html>, 14.05.2008.

⁵²⁰ Schalkwyk, p.35.

⁵²¹ Vale and Daniel, p.84.

emancipatory action. They call for “transforming the region into the zone of peace, a political agenda of reconciliation and non-hegemonic engagement.”⁵²²

Booth and Vale share the belief that all these developments will be more effective, if a single institutional mechanism is created under which security and economic concerns can be drawn together.⁵²³ Besides these efforts; civil societies and the non-governmental organizations are accepted as significant actors for the regional integration. According to Harsch, “African civil society should help to set standards for institutions and governments to deliver on their commitments, and monitor their performance.”⁵²⁴ Hence, involvement of the citizens and civil society will strengthen the construction of a union that is based on common values and interests.

Intra-regional security dialogues as the Nkomati Accord, which is a non-aggression pact between South Africa and Mozambique, and the regular Arusha conferences based on peace and security allowed developing an interaction among the parties. Although, there are problems related with the underdevelopments, political and economic fragility of the states, critical security studies insist on the regional integration or co-operation. Scholars as Southall are hopeful since the emergence of the new regional security arrangements are important for the promotion of the more humanistic, less state-centered conception of security in the region. They offer a new hope to mankind, as soon as security in the form of peace, order and justice are owned by the people (s) of the region.⁵²⁵

3.3 European Union

3.3.1 EU towards a Human Security Perspective

Human security as a concept has been developed and getting acceptance through the debates, theory and the practices of the issue. Evolution of the concept as a foreign policy guiding is evaluated as a challenge to the traditional security

⁵²² Vale and Daniel, p.98.

⁵²³ Booth and Vale, “Critical Security Studies and Regional...”, p.302.

⁵²⁴ Ernest Harsch, “African Union: a dream under construction african recovery”, *Africa Recovery*, 16, no.1 (2002).

⁵²⁵ Booth-Vale, “Critical Security Studies and Regional...”, p. 304.

paradigm.⁵²⁶ State as a referent object of the traditional security approach acknowledges the importance of the new trend in the security field. As Roland Paris cites, Canadian and Norwegian governments are among the most vocal supporters of the human security.⁵²⁷ Furthermore, they led to the establishment of a “Human Security Network” composed of states and non-state organizations.⁵²⁸ Thus, these actors adopted the human security policy on their foreign policy agenda. On the other side, EU (European Union) as a global actor could not be irrelevant to the developing concept that is proposed as an alternative to the state-centered security. Although, some of the EU states have become the founding members of the human security network, the impact of human security on the European security policy was described as limited.⁵²⁹

Transformation on the nature of threats and the globalization that resulted with the shrink of the world alerted the EU because it seeks to improve its effectiveness and visibility as a global actor.⁵³⁰ EU as a regional body witnessed the emergence of the new security approach that prioritized different security objects and subjects from the traditional security paradigm. Especially with the fall of the Berlin Wall, it became clear that despite the stability created by the East-West military balance of the Cold War, citizens were not safe.⁵³¹ Individuals were not under the danger of the nuclear attack, but they were under the attack of the environmental diseases, poverty, hunger and the human right abuses. In order to respond to these

⁵²⁶ Taylor Owen, “Human Security – Conflict, Critique and Consensus: Colloquium Remarks and a Proposal for a Threshold-Based Definition”, *Security Dialogue*, 35, no.3 (2004), p. 378.

⁵²⁷ Roland Paris, “Human Security, Paradigm Shift or Hot Air”, *International Security*, 26, no.2 (2001), p.87.

⁵²⁸ Human security network is a coalition of like-minded governments interested in human security. In May 1998, Axworthy and Vollebaek met on the island of Lysoen in Norway, and negotiated the Lysoen Declaration. It includes Austria, Canada, Chile, Greece, Ireland, Jordan, Mali, the Netherlands, Norway, Slovenia, Switzerland, Thailand and South Africa as an observer. T. S.Hataley and Kim Richard Nossal, “The Limits of Human Security Agenda: The Case of Canada’s Response to the Timor Crisis”, *Peace&Security*, 16, no.1 (2004), p.8.

⁵²⁹ Matthias C. Kettmann, “Towards a Human Security Council?”, *Human Security Journal*, 3, (2007), p.98.

⁵³⁰ Mary Kaldor, Mary Martin and Sabine Selchow, “Human security: a new strategic narrative for Europe”, *International Affairs*, 83, no.2 (2007), p. 273.

⁵³¹ Taylor Owen and P.H. Liotta, “From Concept to Contact: Human Security as Foreign Policy”, Draft Working Paper, archive.sgir.eu/uploads/P.%20H.%20Liotta-Owen%20and%20Liotta%20HS%20paper.pdf, (26.05.2008), p. 38.

problems, EU aimed to develop a new security perspective and a new European Security policy.

After the Cold War, EU was on the edge of the developing a European Foreign and Security Policy based on the integrity and cooperation. Hence, CFSP (Common Foreign and Security Policy) beginning with the 1986 Single European Act has started to evolve. In fact, a distinctive European approach to foreign policy has emerged with the 1993 Masstricht Treaty.⁵³² The CFSP intended to improve the capacity of the EU to tackle the problems at their roots and prevent the crisis before they erupt. While there was no specific attribution to the term of the human security in the security reports or the actions of the EU, there were ethical interventions to Somalia, Afghanistan and the former Yugoslavia for the sake of the human rights, rather than the national interest.⁵³³ Subsequent to the CFSP, in 1997 ESDP (European Security and Defence Policy)⁵³⁴ was adopted as a major part of the CFSP. The EU began to act according to the ESDP and the first fully EU mission were sent to the Congo and Georgia in 2003.⁵³⁵ Following to these missions, two missions were sent to the Macedonia and to Bosnia under the NATO responsibility. In the same year, December 2003, the ESS (European Council agreed a European Security Strategy) that advocates preventive engagement and affective multilateralism.⁵³⁶

Practices and the policies of the EU prove that human security has been applied in the decisions and the actions of the EU. Then the question emerges, “EU already does human security, do they need to call it as human security?” Kaldor

⁵³² Owen and Liotta.

⁵³³ Tara McCormack, “Securitizing Ethics? Human Security and Ethical Foreign Policy- European Foreign Policy After the National Interest”, Draft Paper, Paper prepared for LSE/ King's European Foreign Policy Conference, 'The Ethical Dimension of European Foreign Policy', held at the London School of Economics, July 1st-2nd 2005, p.6.

⁵³⁴ The French Presidency Report on the ESDP (that was subsequently adopted in the Treaty of Nice [2001]) states the aims of the ESDP are, '...to give the European Union the means of playing its role fully on the international stage and of assuming the responsibilities in the face of crises by adding to the range of instruments already at its disposal an autonomous capacity to take decisions and action in the security and defence field'. McCormack, p. 8.

⁵³⁵ McCormack, p.9.

⁵³⁶ The Barcelona Report of the Barcelona Report of the Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities, “A Human Security Doctrine for Europe”, <http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/global/Publications/HumanSecurityDoctrine.pdf>. Barcelona, 15 September 2004.

answers to this critique by indicating that “political concepts can take hold if they resonate, if they contain real meaning as providing either a guide to action or a description of a practice...”⁵³⁷ In other words, studying human security doctrine in its lexis, what is said and written about, and praxis, in terms of everyday action, is a crucial step to conceptualize the frame.⁵³⁸ Human security doctrine of the EU is theorized under the two reports. These reports can be called as the lexicon of the human security policy of the EU. First report is known as Barcelona Report and the second one is as Madrid Report. Both of these reports can only have a meaning if the doctrine is applied into a case. Although there are many praxis of this doctrine, EU’s South Eastern European Stability Pact will be evaluated in that study. The scholars accept stability pact as an important example to the human security practices of the EU. With its praxis and the words, EU declares its awareness that “it cannot be secure while the other parts of the globe are insecure.”⁵³⁹

3.3.1.1 Barcelona Report

Barcelona report is described by Liotta and Owen as the most recent advance in the EU debate over collective security and defense policy.⁵⁴⁰ This report, commissioned by Javier Solana and presented in September 2004, represents the first coherent attempt to develop a policy based on the human security concept.⁵⁴¹ Additionally, Barcelona report is prepared for the aim of the implementation of the ESS. It can be described as a textbook of the security policy of the EU. The report proposes a Human Security Doctrine for Europe, focusing on freedom of individuals from basic insecurities caused by gross human rights violations.⁵⁴² It recognizes that both the freedom from fear and the freedom from want are essential conditions to live in a peace.

⁵³⁷ Barcelona Report.

⁵³⁸ Kaldor et al., p. 273.

⁵³⁹ Kaldor et al., p.274.

⁵⁴⁰ Owen and Liotta, “From Concept to ...”, p. 39.

⁵⁴¹ Janna Haaland Matlary, “When Soft Power Turns Hard: Is an EU Strategic Culture Possible?”, *Security Dialogue*, 37, no.1 (2006), p.117.

⁵⁴² Barcelona report.

At the heart of the EU human security concept, there is a commitment to the multilateralism and human rights as well as the EU civil or military assets for the crisis management.⁵⁴³ In that report, responds to the “why human security for the EU?” can be found. According to the report, human security should be conceptualized because of the morality.⁵⁴⁴ Every people in the world deserve to live under the healthy conditions since all human life is of equal worth. In that respect, human security should be conceptualized because of the legality.⁵⁴⁵ This is a legal responsibility due to the Article 55 and 56 of the UN charter that promotes universal respect for human rights.

In addition to the UN Charter, EU constitution, Article 4, also states the importance of the peace, security and sustainable development of the earth. Therefore, EU recognizes the concern for the security of the people outside its borders.⁵⁴⁶ It should be conceptualized because it is a self-interest for the EU. It is stressed that EU cannot ignore the growing insecurity around the globe. Marry Kaldor stands for the emergence of the human security doctrine within the Union. According to her;

*Europeans cannot be secure while millions of people live in intolerable insecurity. Where people live with lawlessness, poverty, exclusivist ideologies and daily violence, there is fertile ground for human rights violations, criminal networks and terrorism. Conflict regions export or transport hard drugs and guns to the European Union. That is why a contribution to global human security is now the most realistic security policy for Europe.*⁵⁴⁷

Kaldor and the other members of the study group on the report underlined the fact that although embracing a human security agenda is viewed as utopian or idealist, it is more realistic than the traditional approach in the sense of combating with the insecurity. Human security perspective declared in the Barcelona report is

⁵⁴³ The Madrid Report of the Human Security Group, “A European Way of Security”, <http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/global/PDFs/Madrid%20Report%20Final%20for%20distribution.pdf>, 8 November 2007, p. 8.

⁵⁴⁴ Madrid Report, p.7.

⁵⁴⁵ Madrid Report, p.8.

⁵⁴⁶ Madrid Report, p.10.

⁵⁴⁷ “Europe needs a human security doctrine-and a new civil military force”, http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/pressAndInformationOffice/newsAndEvents/archives/2004/Europe_needsHumanSecurity_Doctrine.htm (28.05.2008)

conceived as an opportunity for creating a Europe as a “peace project”.⁵⁴⁸ Therefore, it is emphasized that, “...forward looking contribution to global security turn out to be the most effective way to mobilize political support for the European project at this point.”⁵⁴⁹

Addition to the meaning of the human security concept for the EU, outcomes of this report is crucial for the developments of the concept. These outcomes are reported under the three headings, which are described as the three elements of the Human security doctrine of the EU: seven principles to govern interventions, a 15.000 Human Security Response Force, and a new legal framework for the EU operations.

3.3.1.1.1 Principles of the Human Security Doctrine

In 2004, Barcelona Report on European Security Capabilities draws on what the EU already does in terms of crisis management, conflict prevention and reconstruction but takes it further.⁵⁵⁰ It gives a meaning and a purpose to the efforts of the EU states to use their collective efforts for the people under the insecure conditions. Thus, member states will conduct their security policies based on common principles and methods. These common principles and methods are mentioned through six principles that are as follows:

3.3.1.1.1.1 The Primacy of Human Rights

The first principle of the Human Security approach is, “to ensure respect for human rights; to secure the safety, dignity and welfare of individuals and the communities in which they live.”⁵⁵¹ In the report, the principle of the primacy of human rights is mentioned as a main distinction between the human security approach and the traditional-state based approach.⁵⁵² Contradiction between the state sovereignty and the humanitarian interventions for the sake of the human rights creates this divergence. With this report, EU member states express their sides in that

⁵⁴⁸ Madrid Report, p. 12.

⁵⁴⁹ Madrid Report.

⁵⁵⁰ Madrid Report.

⁵⁵¹ Mary Kaldor et al., p.2.

⁵⁵² Barcelona Report, p. 14.

argument. As regards to the Barcelona report, “the debate about sovereignty and the conditions under which human rights concerns should take precedence over sovereignty has been a central preoccupation of both practitioners and analysts of foreign policy.”⁵⁵³

Moreover to the reasons of the humanitarian intervention, appropriate methods are important for the conflict prevention. This is related with the importance of the safety and dignity of the human rights and values even in the midst of the conflict. Therefore, human security missions should care about the means as well as the ends of the operation. Since means are the core of the principle, it is overemphasized in the report, “in human security operations, protection of civilians, not defeating an enemy, is an end in itself.” Protection refers to both physical and material protection that is economic and social as well as political and civil rights.⁵⁵⁴

3.3.1.1.1.2 Clear political authority

Second principle of the human security doctrine suggests the existence of a legitimate political authority. Nature of the political authority is crucial for the protection of the human rights and values. EU suppresses the authoritarian governments with some instruments, which are diplomacy, sanctions and interruptions of aid. Not only these instruments but also civilian personnel are effective for the creation of a more legitimate and transparent governments.⁵⁵⁵ Additionally, it is stated that the EU interventions should gain public consent and support; otherwise they can fail.⁵⁵⁶

In the Barcelona report, EU’s political power over the command is represented as an important condition for restoring a political authority in the conflict torn region. Besides the political capability, “EU must provide the conditions for a

⁵⁵³ Barcelona Report, p.15.

⁵⁵⁴ Madrid Report, p. 4.

⁵⁵⁵ Barcelona Report, p. 15.

⁵⁵⁶ Barcelona Report.

political process through which such an authority can be built and it must assist in the promotion of law and justice...”⁵⁵⁷

3.3.1.1.3 Multilateralism

The word multilateralism indicates more than one meaning in the Barcelona Report. Firstly, it means working with the other international or regional organizations.⁵⁵⁸ EU has already realized this principle by cooperating with the UN, OSCE, NATO and also with the other regional organizations such as AU, SADC and ECOWAS in Africa.⁵⁵⁹ Secondly, it refers to creation of a common rules and norms and solving problems through common solutions. Finally, multilateralism requires coordination rather than rivalry. In order to create this coordination, the importance of the effective intelligence, foreign and security policy cooperation were mentioned. This principle is evaluated as a challenge to the neo-imperial approaches that supports competition instead of cooperation.⁵⁶⁰

3.3.1.1.4 Bottom-up Approach

For Ketteman, bottom-up approach lies at the heart of the EU Human Security Doctrine.⁵⁶¹ It is described as a method of on-the-job learning.⁵⁶² This means, the most appropriate way of gathering intelligence about the source of the conflict is talking with the people that affected from the conflict or crisis. There are many forms of reaching to the bottom, or the public. Communication, consultation, dialogue and partnership with the local population in order to improve early warning, mobilization of local support, implementation and sustainability are some of the methods of the bottom-up approach.

By using these methods, not only the political leaders but also the civil society, young people and women will be the object of the civil missions. As it is

⁵⁵⁷ Madrid Report, p. 9.

⁵⁵⁸ Barcelona Report.

⁵⁵⁹ Barcelona Report.

⁵⁶⁰ Madrid Report, p. 9.

⁵⁶¹ Kettemann, p. 49.

⁵⁶² Barcelona Report, p. 17.

stressed in the Madrid report, “outsiders cannot deliver human security, they can only help.”⁵⁶³

3.3.1.1.5 Regional Focus

The principle of regional focus calls attention to the changing nature of the threats. According to this principle, “new wars have no clear boundaries.”⁵⁶⁴ Preventing the conflict inside of a state does not mean it will not spread or emerge in the future. In the report, Kosovo was given as a very remarkable example. In the Kosovo case, there was a lack of regional focus because Dayton agreement included only Bosnia Herzegovina conflict but ignored the Kosovo. This was one of the failures that led to the outbreak of the Kosovo war in 1999.

Under the spotlight of the experiences, EU acknowledges that since the insecurity spills over borders through the refugees or the criminal groups, regional dialogues and actions are needed. Addition to the role of conflict prevention, it is underlined that “a continuous regional focus allows successful practices to spread quickly from one locality to another.”⁵⁶⁵ Hence, regional focus has an impact not only on obstructing the threats to spread the other parts of the region, but also allowing to transition of the peaceful practices throughout the region.

3.3.1.1.6 Use of Legal Instruments

Humanitarian interventions are very controversial practices because of its external character. It is controversial because addition to the humanitarian purpose of the intervention, “how operations should be conducted” lies at the core of the issue.⁵⁶⁶ In the report, EU aimed to address to this critical practice. According to this principle, “at an operational level the primary task of any deployment is to assist law-enforcement.”⁵⁶⁷ In other words, law enforcement mechanisms such as police, court officials or judges should be developed by the outsiders. It is underlined that not only

⁵⁶³ Madrid Report, p. 9.

⁵⁶⁴ Barcelona Report, p. 18.

⁵⁶⁵ Barcelona Report.

⁵⁶⁶ Barcelona Report, p. 19.

⁵⁶⁷ Barcelona Report.

providing a secure atmosphere for the civilians but also information and intelligence gatherings about the criminals is under their responsibility.

Now the question of whose law should be applied requires an answer. Barcelona report clarifies this issue by pointing to the situation of the failed states where there has been a breakdown of law and order.⁵⁶⁸ In this situation, it is suggested “the local population should be involved in the administration of justice as soon as possible.” Sometimes skilled political and judiciary staffs help to rebuild the law and order in the country. This work should be done as soon as possible because in order to deter the possible conflicts in the future, all the war criminals, terrorists and human rights violators should subject to the clear and transparent legal procedure.⁵⁶⁹

3.3.1.1.7 Appropriate Use of Force

Under the final principle of the human security doctrine, the use of force and its limits were mentioned. It is overemphasized that human security operations should privilege the lives of the civilians not the deployed soldiers. While trying to protect the civilians, deployed soldiers can use force. However, Barcelona report emphasized it in line with principle 1 (primacy of human rights) and principle 6 (legal instruments) that minimum force is key in their human security operations.”⁵⁷⁰ This does not mean that force should not be used even it is required for self-defense. On the contrary, killing of the Belgian troops by Hutu militia in 1994 is an example to the cases where the self-defense is not used and resulted with severe consequences.⁵⁷¹

Appropriate use of force is one of the cornerstones within the human security doctrine. It is important since in the Barcelona report EU’s intention was described as “... protecting individuals through law-enforcement with the occasional use of

⁵⁶⁸ Barcelona Report, p.18.

⁵⁶⁹ Madrid Report, p.19.

⁵⁷⁰ Barcelona Report, p.18.

⁵⁷¹ Barcelona Report, p17.

force.”⁵⁷² Therefore, in this report limits and the proportionalities of the force are reminded one more time.

3.3.1.1.2 The Human Security Response Force

There are many responsibilities under the human security practices. This mission involves some tasks such as establishment of law and order, reconstruction, humanitarian aid, disarmament, institution building, independent media and so on.⁵⁷³ While realizing these missions, “bottom-up approach” is accepted as a key. Thus, EU will respond to every case according to the local realities and requirements of the conflicts. However, who will provide these tasks under the EU, civilians or military troops?

In the report, it is emphasized that human security practices require “highly specialized skills and, at the same time, they need to be coordinated.”⁵⁷⁴ Under the spotlight of these requirements, an integrated civil-military force is offered in the report.⁵⁷⁵ As a result of this, they will complement each other and will touch upon different parts of the issue that required external intervention. Therefore, EU decided to create a civil-military unit and called it as “The Human Security Response Force.”⁵⁷⁶ It is composed of both civil-military elements with 15.000 personnel. According to report, the military personnel could be provided from the 60.000 troops made ready in Helsinki in 2001 as a Headline Goal as well as forces such as gendarme. On the other side, the civilian personnel would include police, human rights monitors, humanitarian aid workers, doctors and medical personnel etc.,⁵⁷⁷ This fore would be multinational with national military buildings and will be conducted both by the political authority of Brussels.⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷² Liotta and Owen, “From Concept to ...”, p. 48.

⁵⁷³ Barcelona Report, p. 21.

⁵⁷⁴ Barcelona Report, p. 21

⁵⁷⁵ Barcelona Report, p.22.

⁵⁷⁶ Barcelona Report, p.21–22.

⁵⁷⁷ Barcelona Report, p.21.

⁵⁷⁸ Barcelona Report, p.23.

Although civil-military combination is not a new case under the EU missions, with a clear arrangement EU would have a chance to “refine and coordinate what it already did in the past.”⁵⁷⁹ It is expected that a certain job description will prevent the traditional struggle among the civil-military personnel derived from resistance to be under the control of each other. Thus, the response force is a matter of integration, coordination and cooperation of the indispensable elements of the security mission; civil-military staff.

3.3.1.1.3 A Legal Framework

Since there is no single and coherent body in the international law for determining the human security interventions, EU human security doctrine emphasizes the need for a legal framework that will guide the EU missions.⁵⁸⁰ It is supported that this new legal framework under the EU will clarify the criteria for humanitarian interventions and by that way doubts and critics to the deployed missions will be eradicated.⁵⁸¹ This framework would include “...both decisions to intervene and the rules that apply in situations where troops are deployed.”⁵⁸² Addition to this, who will decide to the intervention? is another critical question that needs to be answered. According to the report, this decision will be given either with the permission of the state or there may be no permission since the absence of government that can decide this.⁵⁸³ Under the spotlight of this decision, it is clear that EU wants to be able to authorize the interventions exclusive of the UN Security Council authorization.⁵⁸⁴ Therefore, EU tries to develop its own legal frameworks and institutions free from the Security Council framework. In the report, some of the key concerns that must be involved in the framework were mentioned,

First of all, deployed personnel should be subject to the domestic law of the host state, just like the local population;. ...secondly, the legal framework needs to address differences in member states’ domestic law that could lead to unequal treatment of deployed personnel; thirdly, an EU legal framework should bring clarity to possible conflicts between different forms of

⁵⁷⁹ Madrid, p. 11.

⁵⁸⁰ P.H. Liotta and Taylor Owen, “Why Human Security?”, *The Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations*, 2006, p. 49.

⁵⁸¹ Barcelona Report, p. 24.

⁵⁸² Madrid Report, p.24.

⁵⁸³ Madrid Report.

⁵⁸⁴ Liotta and Owen, “Why Human ...”, p. 49.

*international law, particularly between human rights and humanitarian law;... fourthly, the legal framework should spell out complaints procedures open to local citizens in conflict areas as well as to deployed personnel.*⁵⁸⁵

This new legal framework with its key concerns aims to govern both the decision to intervene and the operations on the ground.⁵⁸⁶ Sources of this framework will be the domestic law of host states, the domestic law of sending states, international criminal law, international human rights law and international humanitarian law.⁵⁸⁷

3.3.1.2 Madrid Report

On 08 November 2007, EU relaunched its foreign and security policy with the Madrid Report of the Human Security Study Group.⁵⁸⁸ This report is entitled as “A European Way of Security”. This implies a distinction from the policies of the past and a signal for a European evolution of a new security approach. In other words, as it is admitted in the report, “...in the wake of the Global War on terror the EU should now define a distinct European Way of Security, based on Human Security principles, which would intervene it mire effectively in crises...”⁵⁸⁹ Barcelona report was the starting point for the EU to declare the most appropriate security strategy for itself that is Human Security.

Following to the Barcelona Report, in the Madrid Report, EU carried their efforts to develop their policies and strategies. In the report, Human Security Group described the European Way of security as an alternative agenda to address global insecurities such as policy failures in Afghanistan and Iraq.⁵⁹⁰ Furthermore, it is emphasized that, this report will be a guide for the Union to exercise further reforms to deal with violent crisis. According to Study Group,

The draft Reform Treaty spells out the general values and norms that guide the Union's external action. It commits member-states to make available

⁵⁸⁵ Madrid Report, p. 25.

⁵⁸⁶ Liotta and Owen, “Why Human ...”, p.49.

⁵⁸⁷ Liotta and Owen, p.50.

⁵⁸⁸ Madrid Report, p.28. The Human Security Study Group, under the direction of Professor Mary Kaldor, professor of global governance and co-director, Centre for the Study of Global Governance at LSE, issued the report which was presented in the presence of the EU High Representative Javier Solana on 08 November 2007 in Madrid.

⁵⁸⁹ Madrid Report, p. 7.

⁵⁹⁰ Madrid Report,p.9.

*more military and civil assets to carry out the Foreign and Security Policy and it proposes significant institutional changes which will increase the powers of the High Representative and establish an External Action Service. To make these reforms meaningful, what is needed in addition is a set of operational principles which will specify how these assets are to be used.*⁵⁹¹

In the Madrid Report, principles of the human security doctrine were reiterated; ESDP's evolution and the new human security missions of the EU were mentioned. Since the principles were analyzed, developments in the ESDP and the achievements of their missions will be examined.

3.3.1.2.1 From Madrid to Barcelona, ESDP

With the motto of “secure Europe in a better world”, EU involved into many conflicts and provided civilian experts and military forces to rebuild societies.⁵⁹² Operations in the Balkans, the Middle East, Africa and Asia have been important experiences for the EU for exercising the civil-military personnel cooperation. As it is mentioned in the report from Congo to Aceh, the EU has established an important *acquis* in its external security policy.⁵⁹³ Successful experiences and the establishment of common rules (*acquis*) encouraged the member states to involve into the crisis that they were reluctant in the past.

EU members' willingness contributed to the progressive developments in the institutional process such as the establishment of Operation Centre in Brussels. From 2007, this centre carries out autonomous planning and operation activities and also responds to the crisis and intervene them free from the approval of member states and NATO.⁵⁹⁴ Furthermore, EU carried some efforts to increase the civilian capabilities in its operations. With this aim, addition to the civilian personnel, a new body was established under the name of the CRT (Civilian Responds Team), which “provide a pool of trained experts, deployable within five days, giving a civilian dimension to rapid response.”⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹¹ Madrid Report, p. 4.

⁵⁹² Madrid Report, p. 11. “Since 2003, over 11.000 personnel have been deployed on 18 missions, involving policeman, judges, lawyers and administrators as well as military personnel.”

⁵⁹³ Madrid Report, p. 12.

⁵⁹⁴ Madrid Report, p. 12.

⁵⁹⁵ Madrid Report, p. 12.

Another important element for increasing the EU's capacity to act is ability to fund the missions. Since the lack of money is one of the crucial obstacles in front of the humanitarian operations, EU tried to handle this challenge. According to the Madrid Report, "The Athena Mechanism under which member states fund security initiatives will continue to be reviewed with each new mission..."⁵⁹⁶

Since the EU's human security mission has two dimensions, civil and military, not only the civilian capacity has improved, but also there were some attempts to increase the military capability of the Union. With this aim, EDA (European Defense Agency), established in 2004, provided a military power for intervening the crisis effectively. A goal of EDA is described in the report as "develop procurement and defense industry capacity, including technology, intelligence and manpower to match ESDP ambitious."⁵⁹⁷ While explaining the superiority over the adversary is described as the operational parts of the EDA, application of the human security principles to the military force is overemphasized in the report.⁵⁹⁸ In other words, what sort of power is a crucial question that is answered in advance of the human rights and human security.

As it is mentioned in the report, developments in the institutional and funding mechanisms created a global actor that pursue not "reactive but pro-active security policies."⁵⁹⁹ Thus, common foreign and security policy will not be dream of the member states, but it will be a reality that is exercised in the missions.

⁵⁹⁶ Madrid Report, p. 12 In 2004, The Council established a mechanism, called 'Athena', to offer a more permanent basis for the financing of EU operations with military or defence implications and reduce the time necessary for the EU to start financing them. With a view to the administrative management of the financing of these operations, Athena, acting on behalf of participating or contributing Member States, has the necessary legal capacity to hold a bank account, acquire, hold or dispose of property, enter into contracts and administrative arrangements and be a party to legal proceedings. <http://europa.eu/bulletin/en/200401/p106015.htm>, 25 June 2008.

⁵⁹⁷ Madrid Report, p. 13.

⁵⁹⁸ Madrid Report.

⁵⁹⁹ Madrid Report.

3.3.2 Human Security Praxis and the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe

3.3.2.1 Background

South East Europe is one of the conflict-torn regions that suffered a lot from the regional conflicts. According to Bartlett and Smardzija, ‘destruction of infrastructure, the large numbers of deaths, and injuries, the displacement of persons from their homes and the creation of refugee flows on an unimagined scale, have affected in succession, Croatia, Bosnia and Yugoslavia.’⁶⁰⁰ This situation became worse with the outbreak of the Kosovo War in 1999. Not only the economic disruption but also problem of democratic consolidation made the SEE countries- Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, the FYR of Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Romania and Serbia- vulnerable to the crisis.

Although there were some economic reforms in Croatia and Macedonia, there has been little effort to create a competitive market economy in the region. Since there was lack of economic relations, trade level was low between the countries.⁶⁰¹ This low-level trade relation can be meaningful by referring the historical relations and the wars among the former Yugoslavian countries. However, there was also relatively little trade among the SEE countries before 1989. As Milica Uvalic stressed, “...low shares of mutual trade show that despite geographical proximity, the SEE region in 1989 was not at all economically integrated, except for economic links within former Yugoslavia.”⁶⁰² At that time, former Yugoslav republics had relatively integrated economies. However, this integration or cooperation was not able to prevent the brutal conflicts among the states.

⁶⁰⁰ Will Bartlett and Visnja Samardzija, “The Reconstruction of Southeast Europe, the Stability Pact and the Role of the EU: An Overview”, *Moct-Most*, no.2 (2000), p. 245.

⁶⁰¹ Bartlett and Samardzija. For example Albania, Bulgaria and Romania each trade less than %10 of their total exports within the South East European region. Croatia and Macedonia each trade less than %20 of exports within the region.

⁶⁰² Milica Uvalic, “Regional Cooperation in Southeastern Europe”, <http://www.one-europe.ac.uk/events/2000/conference/Uvalicpaper.PDF>, Working Paper 17/01, p. 4.

Disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1991-92 created five separate countries that introduced restrictions on trade with their former partners.⁶⁰³ Addition to this historical factor, war in 1999 disrupted all the hopes to create an integrated community in SEE. Historical, political and ideological conditions had a direct impact upon the reasons behind the non-integrated SEE. These countries tried to fulfill their political and economic isolation with the EU dependency. Thus, “their future economic development and reconstruction are highly sensitive to the policies which the EU adopts towards them.”⁶⁰⁴ There were some EU assistance programs towards the former Yugoslav countries, such as PHARE program in Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Bulgaria and Romania.⁶⁰⁵ Moreover to this program, European financing institutions, ERBD (European Bank for Reconstruction and Development) and the EIB (European Investment Bank) helped to create a bridge between the EU and the SEE countries.

3.3.2.2 Towards the Stability Pact

Although there were some economic involvements within the SEE region, EU generally focused to the central European countries because of its Eastern enlargement project.⁶⁰⁶ However, the Kosovo war brought a change in the attitudes of the international actors, especially for the EU. With the intensification of the conflict, they realized that this conflict would not affect only the security of the region, but also the Europe as a continent. EU as a global actor must do something, but what can be done? The idea of the Stability Pact arose before the Kosovo War in 1998. EU had already accepted a regional approach in the Balkans because it is supported that progress in the region could only be supplied with a successful regional cooperation. With this aim, EU involved in two initiatives in 1996, the Royaumont process realized by France and the SECI (South East European Co-

⁶⁰³ Uvalic, p. 5.

⁶⁰⁴ Bartlett and Samardzija, p. 249.

⁶⁰⁵ Bartlett and Samardzija.

⁶⁰⁶ Bartlett and Samardzija, p. 246.

operative Initiative) by the support of the US for the implementation of the Dayton peace-accord.⁶⁰⁷

The real efforts for the Stability Pact arose with the NATO intervention in response to the ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. Yet, while the NATO efforts continued, “in 1999 German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer spoke about the need for a Stability Pact as an umbrella for coordinated regional cooperation...”⁶⁰⁸ After the first step, the next one came immediately after the end of the Kosovo war. Thus, the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe was adopted at the EU initiative, in close coordination with the USA and the G8 in the Cologne meeting in June 1999.⁶⁰⁹ In the founding document, more than 40 partner countries and organizations declare their commitment to strengthen the countries of the SEE “in their efforts to foster peace, democracy, respect for human rights and economic prosperity in order to achieve stability in the whole region.”⁶¹⁰ Stability Pact was officially launched under the political auspices of the OSCE in Sarajevo in July 1999.⁶¹¹

The Stability Pact is not an “international organization, it does not have financial resources of its own, and it is not an implementing body.”⁶¹² It is described as a temporary body that contributes to strengthen the ties among the countries of the region. In other words, it is a forum in where SEE countries and the international community can discuss their problems and agree on a co-ordinated strategy to resolve them. Since its adoption, the Stability Pact for SEE has offered “a comprehensive and inclusive framework for international efforts aimed at bringing lasting peace and stability to SEE (south-eastern Europe) and to the whole region by fostering democracy, economic development and security.”⁶¹³ Thus, international

⁶⁰⁷ “Eight Years of the Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe- From Stabilization to Europe”, <http://www.stabilitypact.org/pages/Press/detail.asp?y=2007&p=635>, 12 December 2007, (25.06.2008) p. 3.

⁶⁰⁸ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/pages/Press/detail.asp?y=2007&p=635>,

⁶⁰⁹ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/pages/Press/detail.asp?y=2007&p=635>,

⁶¹⁰ “About the Stability Pact”, <http://www.stabilitypact.org/about/achievements.asp>, (15.05.2008)

⁶¹¹ Today the key partners of the Stability Pact are Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Romania and Serbia.

⁶¹² <http://www.stabilitypact.org/pages/Press/detail.asp?y=2007&p=635>, p. 4.

⁶¹³ “Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe”, CEI Project Proposal, http://www.seerecon.org/region/documents/cei_project_proposal_october_2001.pdf, October 2002, (26.05.2008), p. 1.

community agreed that stability pact would provide stability and security to the region after the Kosovo war and its destructions.

Addition to the stability and security concern, EU's regional approach and conditionality policy also played role on the evolution of the Stability Pact. Interstate cooperation is advanced as a part of the EU membership criteria. This conditionality became important in 1990s with the ethnic conflicts in the post-communist world. As a result of this, in March 1995 under the French presidency, EU accepted the "good neighborliness" as a key entry condition for the states that desire to be a part of the Europe.⁶¹⁴ EU's regional policy for the SEE had developed after the Dayton Peace Agreement in 1995. Therefore, it was clear that stabilization efforts should focus on regional level of analysis by including Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria, Slovenia and Romania.⁶¹⁵

Stick and carrot policy of the EU became effective at that point by declaring, "all these countries could in principle become eligible to start negotiations for a new type of association agreement with the EU."⁶¹⁶ This was an important anchor for the SEE countries because association agreements would probably improve trade relations with the EU and also provide export revenues to finance the regional reconstruction.⁶¹⁷ Thus for the SEE countries, regional cooperation became a prerequisite for integration with the EU. Under the spotlight of the impacts that resulted with the Stability Pact, it can be argued that there are two main aims of this project. First, it is a process aimed at achieving permanent peace and stability in the SEE. Second, Stability Pact "offers a more concrete perspective for full integration for the countries in the region into Euro-Atlantic political, economic and security structures."⁶¹⁸ On the other side the role of the pact has changed over time. At first it served as a platform that supplies funds for reconstruction of the region. Later, it

⁶¹⁴ Dimitar Bechev, "Carrots, sticks and norms: the EU and regional cooperation in Southeast Europe", *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*, 8, no.1 (2006), p. 5.

⁶¹⁵ Bechev.

⁶¹⁶ Bartlett and Samardzija, p. 1.

⁶¹⁷ Bartlett and Samardzija, p.1

⁶¹⁸ CEI Project Proposal,

http://www.seerecon.org/region/documents/cei_project_proposal_october_2001.pdf.p.1

evolved and turned into a forum where countries can discuss and identify their common problems.⁶¹⁹

Organizationally, Stability Pact relied on the special coordinator, Erhard Bushek, and his team. They have been appointed by the EU after consulting with partners and OSCE.⁶²⁰ Some important tasks under the special coordinator are “bringing the participants in political strategies in line with one another, coordinating existing and new initiatives in the region and helping to prevent unnecessary duplication of work.”⁶²¹ Addition to these responsibilities, special coordinator chaired the most effective political instrument of the Pact, the Regional Table. There are three Working Tables operating under the Regional Table. The Pact’s secretariat was organized into three units for dealing with an issue area.⁶²² These Tables are;

- Working Table I: Democratization and Human Rights
- Working Table II: Economic Reconstruction, Cooperation and Development
- Working Table III: Security Issues (with two sub-titles: Security and Defense and Justice and Home Affairs)

3.3.2.2.1 Working Table I: Democratization and Human Rights

After 1999, with the end of the conflict, stability and reconciliation were some of the necessary terms for the South Eastern Europe. In order to integrate into Europe and Euro-Atlantic structures, democratic governments and effective civil society had to be established.⁶²³ Working Table I covered all these complex areas that can be achieved only through long-term processes. Under the Working Table I these challenges were addressed by “promoting democracy, education, an open-media environment, and cross border.”⁶²⁴

⁶¹⁹ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/about/achievements.asp>, p. 1

⁶²⁰ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/pages/Press/detail.asp?y=2007&p=635>, p. 2. Since 1 January 2002, the special coordinator is Erhard Bushek (Austria). The Office of the special coordinator was based in Brussel.

⁶²¹ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/about/achievements.asp>, p. 1

⁶²² <http://www.stabilitypact.org/about/achievements.asp>, p. 1.

⁶²³ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/about/achievements.asp>, p. 8.

⁶²⁴ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/about/achievements.asp>, p.9.

Before addressing to these long-term challenges, immediate ones such as problem of refugees and displaced people should be responded by the Pact.⁶²⁵ With more than 13 million refugees and displaced persons, stability could only be a dream for the South Eastern Europe. Therefore, regional countries-Bosnia Herzegovina, Croatia and Federal Republic of Yugoslavia- and international agencies came together and tried to find a solution.⁶²⁶ As result of the regional approach, majority of the people demanding to return their home were permitted.⁶²⁷ In other words, the Stability Pact “supports developing and harmonizing legislation, status determination procedures ... to meet European and international standards.”⁶²⁸

Over-time the focus moved from humanitarian assistance to these displaced peoples to the longer-term democratic projects. Freedom of media is one of the crucial tasks under the democratization process. The Stability Pact has worked to apply the international standards of freedom of expression and media ethics in South Eastern Europe.⁶²⁹ The pact declared a “Charter for Media Freedom” to create a framework for further actions. Addition to the role of the charter, impacts of Media Task Force and local Media Working Groups were appreciated on the way of free media. According to the report of the Pact;

*Today, competition is fierce and diversity is abundant. All countries in South Eastern Europe have commercial television stations, both nationally and locally, providing news and entertainment. The number of radio stations mushroomed, particularly on a local and regional level. New newspapers were founded, although more rapidly than the market could digest. Internet penetration is rising quickly.*⁶³⁰

Reestablishing cross border contacts in region has also important functions to decrease the tension and establish strong ties among the border regions. Integration process after the II World War in Europe proved that cross border contact is an

⁶²⁵ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/about/achievements.asp>,p.9.

⁶²⁶ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/about/achievements.asp>.

⁶²⁷ “Stability Pact Refugee Return Initiative has subsequently been folded into the Migration, Asylum and Refugees Regional Initiative, which is focused on a broader migration agenda.” <http://www.stabilitypact.org/about/achievements.asp>.

⁶²⁸ “Migration, Asylum, Refugees Return”, <http://www.stabilitypact.org/marri/default.asp>. (18.08.2008)

⁶²⁹ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/marri/default.asp>.

⁶³⁰ “Media Task Force”, <http://www.stabilitypact.org/media/info.asp>, (18.08.2008)

important tool for reconciliation and stability.⁶³¹ Facilitating from the experience of Europe, South Eastern Europe “Euro-regions” to promote good practice in cross border cooperation between local and regional authorities.⁶³²

Under the Working Table I, Education and Youth is at the top of the rank within the tasks. For the SEE countries, education and training are not only indispensable for sustainable development and peace, but also a precondition for the integration into the EU.⁶³³ Under the spotlight of these reasons, “the Enhanced Graz Process” was created by the Pact. This Process has set two main strategic objectives for its future work. First one is “support of national education reform efforts in the perspective of the EU integration and the second objective is “promote regional cooperation at system, expert and civil society level in support of the Stability and Association Process.”⁶³⁴ The Task Force Education and Youth supports the involvement of the SEE countries into a wider European Area of Education by promoting the exchange programs in the region and also with the EU.⁶³⁵

For the Stability Pact, Gender Issues have also impact over the democratization process of the region. Political participation of women has been supported and evaluated as a precondition for the stability and reconciliation. Thus, all the SEE countries have ratified the UN Convention on elimination of discrimination against the women.⁶³⁶ The Gender Task Force has also played important roles by organizing seminars for local authorities, parliaments and trade unions and promoting gender equality mechanisms throughout the region.⁶³⁷

Finally, parliaments, which are indispensable for the democratic systems, are discussed under the Working Table I. Strengthening the parliamentary systems of the SEE countries are one of the priorities of the Stability Pact. With that aim, in 2001,

⁶³¹ “Local Democracy”, <http://www.stabilitypact.org/loc-dem/default.asp>, 17.08.08

⁶³² <http://www.stabilitypact.org/loc-dem/info.asp>. The sixth meeting of the Working Table on Democratization and Human Rights in Istanbul in June 2002 agreed that Local Democracy and Cross-border Cooperation as key features of the democratization and stabilization process in South Eastern Europe should be given priority within the Stability Pact.

⁶³³ “The Education and Youth Task Force”, <http://www.stabilitypact.org/education/info.asp>, 17.08.08.

⁶³⁴ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/education/info.asp>

⁶³⁵ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/pages/Press/detail.asp?y=2007&p=635>, p. 10.

⁶³⁶ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/pages/Press/detail.asp?y=2007&p=635>. In SEE, the percentage of women in state parliaments rose from around %7 in 1999 to %27.5 in 2005.

⁶³⁷ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/pages/Press/detail.asp?y=2007&p=635>, p. 11.

“the European Parliament and Parliamentary Assemblies of the Council of Europe and of the OSCE created a Parliamentary Troika with a rotating chairmanship covering all aspects of the Pact’s activities.”⁶³⁸ It is believed that this consultation among the parliaments will promote bilateral and multilateral cooperation among parliaments in SEE and will create consistency with the EU parliamentary structures.⁶³⁹ As a result of the cooperation, it is believed that democratic efficiency and effectiveness of the parliaments in SEE will improve. In 2007, by establishing the Regional Secretariat for Parliamentary Cooperation, Stability Pact continued its efforts for parliamentary cooperation in the SEE.⁶⁴⁰ Therefore, Pact intended to increase not only the efficiency of parliaments but also parliamentarians by sharing their experiences with each other.⁶⁴¹

3.3.2.2.2 Working Table II: Economic Reconstruction, Cooperation and Development

With the end of the 1999, SEE countries believed that the region needs a rapid transformation in its economic sphere. Because of unstable political atmosphere, there was a lack of confidence among investors and costumers.⁶⁴² Inflation rates, problem of corruption, low trade relations were some of the challenges that must be faced. Therefore, Stability Pact defined its objective in this area as, “to facilitate sustainable economic development through specific initiatives (modernizing infrastructure, particularly energy and transport), and to promote trade liberalization and investment.”⁶⁴³ In other words, SEE countries aimed to create a regional approach towards economic development and dedicated to develop a trade relation within the region and with the EU countries. At the same time, the Pact has tried to ensure a social cohesion within the region.⁶⁴⁴ This can be achieved only with appropriate economic measures that are compatible with the EU’s fiscal policy.

⁶³⁸ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/pages/Press/detail.asp?y=2007&p=635>, p. 12.

⁶³⁹ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/parliament/default.asp>. (17.08.08).

⁶⁴⁰ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/pages/Press/detail.asp?y=2007&p=635>, p.14.

⁶⁴¹ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/pages/Press/detail.asp?y=2007&p=635>,

⁶⁴² <http://www.stabilitypact.org/pages/Press/detail.asp?y=2007&p=635>, p. 12.

⁶⁴³ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/pages/Press/detail.asp?y=2007&p=635>,

⁶⁴⁴ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/wt2/default.asp>, (18.08.08)

Under the Working Table II, Energy and Infrastructure compromise the first task that needed to be developed. It was necessary because there were a great transport and energy challenges in the region. Infrastructure of the region was damaged during the conflict and required to be restored.⁶⁴⁵ Under the spotlight of the existing situation, the Pact decided to create a regional cooperation in the field of energy. With this aim, in 2002, European Commission ensured a political consensus among the SEE countries and the international community for a common market for energy sector.⁶⁴⁶ As a result of the common effort of the countries, in October 2005 Energy Community Treaty was signed between the SEE countries and EU.⁶⁴⁷ This Treaty formed a regionally integrated energy market for electricity and natural gas.⁶⁴⁸ Addition to this, Energy Community Treaty opened a way for the SEE to integrate into the wider EU market.

Similar to the energy and infrastructure realm, Trade was also important that had to be faced by the SEE countries. At intra-regional level, trade was limited because of the fragmented markets and tariff barriers within the region. According to experts, in order to create efficient regional market, international standards and regulations had to be applied.⁶⁴⁹ To this end, Stability Pact's Trade Working Group encouraged countries to harmonize their trade regimes through the bilateral trade agreements.⁶⁵⁰ A Memorandum of Understanding on Trade Liberalization and Facilitation was signed in 2002 and created a network of 32 bilateral free trade agreements, which facilitate intra-regional trade, until 2006.⁶⁵¹ These efforts were concluded with a single free trade agreement, Central European Free Trade Agreement, which is known as CEFTA 2006.⁶⁵² This agreement liberalized and facilitated trade in the region. With the CEFTA, partners of the agreement hoped that

⁶⁴⁵ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/energy/default.asp>. (18.08.08)

⁶⁴⁶ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/energy/default.asp>.

⁶⁴⁷ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/pages/Press/detail.asp?y=2007&p=635>, p. 13.

⁶⁴⁸ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/pages/Press/detail.asp?y=2007&p=635>.

⁶⁴⁹ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/pages/Press/detail.asp?y=2007&p=635>.

⁶⁵⁰ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/bac/default.asp>. (18.08.08).

⁶⁵¹ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/pages/Press/detail.asp?y=2007&p=635> p. 15.

⁶⁵² It was signed in December 2006. This agreement was reached by Albania, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Serbia and UNMIK/Kosovo during several months of intensive negotiations chaired by the Stability Pact and supported by the European Commission. Spisane p. 15.

a regional approach in the trade could be achieved due to the improved dialogue between governments, public sectors and private sectors of the countries’.

Social Cohesion was another task that had to be addressed under the Working Table II. Most of the SEE countries confronted with unemployment, inadequate health care systems, and weak infrastructures.⁶⁵³ The Stability Pact addressed this issue through the Initiative for Social Cohesion, called as “a forum for partners from the region and the international community to decide priorities and regional actions.”⁶⁵⁴ In that platform, it is advocated that SEE countries should harmonize their social policies with each other and with the EU. Additionally, in this forum, economic and social issues were treated as complementary challenges that have to be addressed simultaneously. However, under the task of Social Cohesion, Housing and Urban Management was not easy for the Pact. It was difficult since there was uncontrolled urbanization and lack of respect for the rule of law.⁶⁵⁵ Moreover to this, institutional and human capacity is lacking at national and regional level for the implementation of the urban projects. In order to handle these problems, “Stability Pact established a regional framework, together with SEE partners, IFIs and UN-HABITAT, to help channel investments, capacity building and long-term self-sustaining regional cooperation.”⁶⁵⁶ Academic cooperation also represented an important part of this cooperation. Governments receive support and information to realize their commitments made under the Vienna Declaration on Informal Settlements.

3.3.2.2.3 Working Table III: Security Issues

Working Table III focused on both internal and external security of the SEE. It is stated that,

“Strengthening democratic institutions, ensuring good governance, and facilitating reconstruction

⁶⁵³ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/pages/Press/detail.asp?y=2007&p=635>, p. 16.

⁶⁵⁴ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/pages/Press/detail.asp?y=2007&p=635>

⁶⁵⁵ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/pages/Press/detail.asp?y=2007&p=635>

⁶⁵⁶ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/pages/Press/detail.asp?y=2007&p=635>

and economic development are all necessary but not sufficient for sustainable conflict prevention.”⁶⁵⁷

Aim of the Pact under the Security field is described as “establishing a stable secure environment in the region and promoting regional cooperation in fighting organized crime and corruption and on migration issues.”⁶⁵⁸ According to Vucetic, Stability Pact seeks to alter the feeling of insecurity because of its impact over the policy decisions of the SEE countries.⁶⁵⁹ In the past, SP generally focused on border disputes and confidence building, but then the focus moved to the issues such as organized crime and corruption. In order to concentrate on these challenges, Pact created sub-fields and focused on these subjects one by one. Working Table III has been divided into two sections, Justice and Home Affairs and Defense and Security Sector Reform.

3.3.2.2.3.1 Justice and Home Affairs

Sub-tables on Justice and Home Affairs are still controversial areas that need strong regional cooperation. These sub-tables cover areas such as anti-corruption, migration-asylum-refugees regional initiative, mine action, organized crime and police-cooperation. Since the regional welfare and security depend on these factors, developments in those fields are important. Especially the organized crime and corruption are known as the reasons for the depletions of the region’s resources and wealth.⁶⁶⁰ Parliamentarians, media and civil societies are actors that cooperate to fight against the problematic areas of the region.

During the 80s and 90s organized crime infiltrate into some of the SEE countries. Therefore, today economic benefits or investments have been affected negatively because of the impacts of the organized crime. Since the organized crime needs effective organization and cooperation, the SECI Transborder Crime Fighting Centre was established in fighting against the organized crime in the region. Member

⁶⁵⁷ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/pages/Press/detail.asp?y=2007&p=635>, p. 18.

⁶⁵⁸ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/WT3/default.asp>, (23.08.08).

⁶⁵⁹ Srdjan Vucetic, “The Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe as a Security Community-Building Institution”, *Southeast European Politics*, 2, no.2 (2001), p.123.

⁶⁶⁰ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/pages/Press/detail.asp?y=2007&p=635>, p. 18.

countries' officials and their law enforcements meet under the Centre and this provides an opportunity to exchange their information and experience.⁶⁶¹ The SECI works closely with the Interpol, Europol and World Customs Organizations. Addition to the SECI, there are also specific initiatives under the Pact. SPOC (Stability Pact Initiative Against Organized Crime) is one of the affective initiatives that aim "to strengthen regional capacities to combat organized crime in accordance with the EU and internationally recognized standards."⁶⁶² The SPOC Board is open to all actors who intend to fight against the crime. The Board involves regional and national strategies and by this way, aims to increase the awareness of the actors.

The Stability Pact's PFI (Police Forum Initiative) is another framework under the Security table. The goals of the PFI are describes as "to enhance the capacity building of national Police Services, train police investigators in fighting organized crime, as well as to foster police cooperation in SEE."⁶⁶³ In other words, since 2000 Stability Pact tries to increase trust and confidence among the police services.

Illegal migration, asylum and refugees are another challenges that require regional cooperation and solutions. Irregular population movements are claimed as critical factors creating instability within SEE.⁶⁶⁴ By this aim, Stability Pact established the MARRI, the Migration, Asylum and Refugees Regional Initiative.⁶⁶⁵ MARRI involves six countries of the Western Balkans and it is a framework that coordinates the migration, asylum, refugees and visa policies. It is believed that managements in those areas will support the state and human security conditions throughout the region. On the other hand, border disputes and controls tried to be made more secure with the Ohrid Process on Border Security and Management.⁶⁶⁶

⁶⁶¹ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/pages/Press/detail.asp?y=2007&p=635>, p. 19.

⁶⁶² <http://www.stabilitypact.org/org-crime/default.asp>, The Stability Pact Initiative against Organized Crime (SPOC) was launched in October 2002. The SPOC Board meets twice per year. It consists of representatives of the SEE states, principle International Organizations, the EU member-states, major donor countries and NGOs active in the research field against organized crime. (25.08.08)

⁶⁶³ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/police/default.asp>.

⁶⁶⁴ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/marri/default.asp>.

⁶⁶⁵ Since July 2004 the initiative is under regional ownership as part of the South-East European Cooperation Process. The MARRI Initiative is governed by its participating states, Albania, Bosnia Herzegovina, Croatia, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia, who meet twice a year at the MARRI Regional Forum. <http://www.stabilitypact.org/marri/default.asp>

⁶⁶⁶ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/pages/Press/detail.asp?y=2007&p=635>, p. 20.

This process was established among the six Western Balkan countries, the European Commission, NATO, OSCE and Pact.

3.3.2.2.3.2 Defense and Security Sector Reform

If the security is the matter, discussing the uncontrolled arms sell and their illegal usage become inevitable and necessary. Although there are some developments in the security situations of the region, there are still problems in the traffic of small arms and light weapons.⁶⁶⁷ Together with NATO and OSCE, Stability Pact aims to fight against the illegal transfer of arms and weapons.

With the aim of stability and security, the RACVIAC (Regional Arms Control Verification and Implementation Assistance Centre) was founded in 2000. One of the objectives of the Centre is described as “providing arms control training, promoting confidence and security building measures as well as broaden cooperation in SEE.”⁶⁶⁸ For Vucetic, it is a first step in increasing the transparency of military affairs in the region. Open policy in the arms and weapon strategy will probably provide predictability in the region. Therefore, future conflicts or possible preventive wars may be prevented in the SEE. Addition to this, RACVIAC encourage the region states to fight against the terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and crime.⁶⁶⁹

⁶⁶⁷ <http://www.stabilitypact.org/pages/Press/detail.asp?y=2007&p=635>, p. 20.

⁶⁶⁸ <http://www.racviac.org/index/index.asp?id=../root/mission.asp&title=RACVIAC%20Mission&main=0&parent=MISSION>. (25.08.08).

⁶⁶⁹ <http://www.racviac.org/index/index.asp?id=../root/mission.asp&title=RACVIAC%20Mission&main=0&parent=MISSION>.

CONCLUSION

This thesis focuses on the role of the Welsh School on the evolution of the International Security approach after the Cold War. This was attempted by employing the basic assumptions of the Critical Security Studies and the Welsh School. Addition to this, critical theory also contributed to construct the main arguments of the Welsh School.

First of all, analysis of the traditional security approach shows that traditional security approach is the product of the Cold War power relations. States and their security perceptions are well defined and explained by the realist school. However, as the Critical Security Studies claim that there is not a constant or stable relations and systems. In this study, it is emphasized that realist security perspective failed by supposing international system is constant and will always be explained with the same assumptions. During the Cold War there were some challenges to the traditional security approach. However, up and down nature of the Soviet-U.S.A relations did not allow to these alternative approaches. Therefore realist explanations continued to explain one side of the coin and ignored the other side.

The fall of the Berlin Wall represents a new era not only for the relations of the state but also for the International Relations discipline. With the end of the Cold War most of the justifications of the realist security assumptions has removed. Not the communist bloc or the nuclear power of the neighbor but the other ethnic group or the illegal migration begins to be declared as threats. States lose their lands not because the war with the other one, they lose their lands because of the secessionist movements of their ethnic groups. All of these examples show the necessity for a broadened and deepened security approach. The Welsh School under the Critical Security Studies provides a new intellectual perception to the international security for the post-Cold War era. It does not reject all the assumptions of the realist school but criticize the state based and military oriented approach of the school.

In this study, how the one-sided security approach results with the security of the one side, while leaving the other side in an insecure condition is emphasized with

the case studies. In the apartheid South Africa, elites security labeled with the state security. These elites were aware that they could secure their leadership only if the majority of the society is powerful or insecure. Hence with the end of the Cold War, states and their leaders discover that in order to have a stable and secure environment all the actors within the society must be secure. Now we cannot identify any threat and also we cannot kill or defeat this enemy with the technological weapons such as nuclear weapons. Not our nation but the humanity is under the threat and not only the powerful nation but also all of the states should struggle in order to ensure a secure humanity. “The security of one person, one community, one nation rests on the decisions of the many others- sometimes fortuitously, sometimes precariously.”⁶⁷⁰

The necessity and the importance of the human security concept is well-defined by the Welsh School scholars. Under the spotlight of their theoretical contributions, states should aware that traditional national interest does not guarantee a secure environment for their citizens. National interest should be redefined in a broader sense. This new definition will decrease the problem of whether prioritizing the national interests or the human security? Not only the developed countries but also developing countries should struggle for creating some policies for the notion of human security. This will prevent the problem of burden sharing or free riding. Human security has a long-term end and need long-term struggle and cooperation. Especially international organizations and the regional integrations are important in order to spread the shared norms and the human-centered approach.

“What should we do?” is an important question and should be addressed seriously by scholars and politicians. Every people should share the responsibility since threats such as global warming does not distinguish rich or poor. Therefore, regional integrations and organization gain importance and states aim to involve into these kinds of organizations. Creating the identity of the “we-ness” becomes crucial for the states to cope with the global and the complex threats. In conclusion, the Welsh School and its theoretical contributions provided new security understanding to the IR discipline. The Welsh School scholars challenged to the traditional security

⁶⁷⁰ “Human Security Now”, <http://www.humansecurity-chs.org/finalreport/English/chapter1.pdf>

approach in a coherent sense and developed their arguments with the case studies. Therefore, they provided a deep breath to the international security discipline with their alternative security perceptions. These critiques encourage other critical approaches and show how it is necessary to develop new arguments in order to respond to the changing dynamics of the global world.

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