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**УВОД У СТУДИЈЕ БЕЗБЕДНОСТИ:
МЕТОДОЛОШКО-ИСТРАЖИВАЧКЕ И
ТЕОРИЈСКЕ ОСНОВЕ БЕЗБЕДНОСТИ**

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CONTEMPORARY SECURITY STUDIES

AN INTRODUCTION TO METHODOLOGICAL,
RESEARCH AND THEORETICAL
FOUNDATIONS OF SECURITY

ACADEMY OF CRIMINALISTIC AND POLICE STUDIES
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The leader of the Project is Full Professor Saša Mijalković, PhD

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CONTENTS

ABOUT THE MONOGRAPH.....	9
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I THE CONCEPT AND EVOLUTION OF SECURITY STUDIES

1. The Emergence of Security Studies.....	11
2. The Development of Security Studies as a Scientific and Teaching Field.....	16
3. The Scientific Constituents of Security Studies.....	20
4. The Subject of Security Studies.....	21
5. The Future of Security Studies.....	23

II THE RESEARCH SCHOOLS AND THEORIES OF SECURITY STUDIES

1. The Research Schools and Theories of/in Security Studies.....	27
2. Realism	29
2.1. Classical (Doctrinal) Realism	29
2.2. Neorealism (Structural) Realism	30
2.3. Neoclassical Realism	32
2.4. Contingent (Dependent) Realism	33
3. Liberalism.....	34
3.1. Neoliberal Institutionalism.....	34
3.2. The Democratic Peace Theory	35
3.3. The Liberal Peace Theory.....	37
4. Critical Approaches.....	38
4.1. The Welsh School of Security Studies	38
4.2. The Copenhagen School of Security Studies.....	40
4.2.1. <i>Security as the Speech Act (Securitization)</i>	40
4.2.2. <i>Security Sectors and the Regional Security</i>	44
5. Other Alternative Approaches.....	47
5.1. Social Constructivism	47
5.2. The Feminist Approaches	48

5.3. Postmodern Thoughts on Security.....	51
5.3.1. <i>Post-structuralism</i>	51
5.3.2. <i>Post-colonialism</i>	52
5.4. The School of World Society	55
6. The Security Culture Theory.....	57
7. The Significance of Security Theories.....	66

III THE METHODOLOGICAL BASIS OF SECURITY STUDIES

1. The Methods of Researching Security Phenomena	71
2. The Scientific Research within Security Studies.....	80
3. The Sources of Data on Security Phenomena.....	83
4. The Most Frequent Problems in Researching Security Phenomena	85
5. The Conceptual-Categorical Apparatus of Security Studies.....	87

IV TERMINOLOGY OF SECURITY

1. Security as a term	91
1.1. Security Logic and Philosophy	91
1.2. Security Etymology	95
1.3. Reference Values	102
1.4. Reference Interests.....	106
1.5. The Security Phenomenon	108
2. The Predominant Determinations of Security	111
2.1. Security as a State.....	112
2.2. Security as a Function	113
2.3. Security as an Organization	115
2.4. Security as a System.....	118
3. The Approaches to Defining the Security Concept	120

V SECURITY CONCEPTS

1. The Idea and Classification of Security Concepts.....	127
2. Human Security.....	130
2.1. The Concept of Human Security	136
2.2. The Concept of Societal Security.....	145
3. National Security.....	152
3.1. The Traditional Concept of National Security.....	153
3.2. The Contemporary Concept of National Security	158
4. International Security.....	163

4.1. Traditional Concepts of International Security.....	165
4.1.1. <i>The Balance of Power</i>	165
4.1.2. <i>Collective Security</i>	168
4.1.3. <i>World Government</i>	172
4.2. Contemporary Concepts of International Security.....	173
4.2.1. <i>Security Community</i>	174
4.2.2. <i>Security Regime</i>	177
4.2.3. <i>Security Complex</i>	180
4.2.4. <i>Cooperative Security</i>	182
5. Global Security	187
6. Non-Governmental Security Sector	192
6.1. Profit Entities of the Non-Governmental Security Sector.....	193
6.2. Non-Profit Entities of the Non-Governmental Security Sector	198

VI ENDANGERING SECURITY

1. The Concept of Endangering Security.....	203
2. The Structure of Phenomena of Endangering Security.....	208
2.1. Sources of Endangering Security.....	209
2.2. Carriers of Endangering Security	211
2.3. Forms and Aspects of Endangering Security	212
2.4. The Object of Endangering Security and Its Values.....	213
2.5. Consequences of Endangering Security	214
2.6. The Feedback of the Consequence to the Source and Carrier of Endangering	215
3. Characteristics of Contemporary Security Endangering Phenomena.....	217
4. The Classification of Security Endangering Phenomena	223
4.1. Security Challenges, Risks, and Threats	225
4.2. The Agenda of Security Challenges, Risks, and Threats	228
5. Dominant Phenomena of Endangering Security	230
REFERENCES.....	233
INDEX	243

On the cover photo: "Stara Planina Nature Park", a view from the „Goat's rock“ on the river Visočica and Lake Zavoj. Photographer: Professor Saša Mijalković, August 2018.

ABOUT THE MONOGRAPH

The monograph *Contemporary Security Studies: An Introduction to methodological, research and theoretical foundations of security* is the result of many years of comprehensive research of the phenomenon of security and the endangering of security and it is the outcome of the research effort aimed to prove the scientific character of the security field.

The fact is that security in the Republic of Serbia is still not in the national nomenclature of scientific fields. Instead, it is claimed, with some reason, but far from having absolute right to it, by political scientists, jurists, soldiers, ecologists, and similar scientific and educational, and professional profiles. In spite of everything, the theory and practice of security have developed to the point of growing into an independent scientific field within the social and humanity sciences, and to a great extent within the natural and technical and technological sciences. Therefore, we expect security to be declared an independent scientific field within the social and humanity sciences, and this monograph to be one of the numerous and firm arguments in accomplishing that aim.

Respecting the postulates of the methodology of scientific research, professional ethics in higher education and scientific and research activities, but also the standards of the *Code of Ethics of Scientific and Research Work* of the Academy of Criminalistic and Police Studies, it is our duty to briefly elaborate the history of this book. Specifically, the ideas for the texts on security, endangering of security, and the methodology of exploring security phenomena, have been taken from the traditional *Belgrade Security School* that has been developed for years in the Education and Research Centre of the Security Institute, the former (Service, Department of) State Security, in the Security Information Agency, at the Faculty of Security Studies, University of Belgrade (former Faculty of Civil Defence, before that, Faculty of National Defence), and in police education (the Secondary School of Interior Affairs in Sremska Kamenica, the College of Interior Affairs in Zemun, Police Academy in Belgrade, and the Academy of Criminalistics and Police Studies in Zemun).

The presented scientific findings obtained scientific verification, to a smaller extent, by being published in the first and second edition of the course book *National Security* by the author Saša Mijaković PhD (Academy of Criminalistic and Police Studies, 2009, 2011). It was in the first three chapters of the course book (Methodological basis of national security, Security, and Endangering security), on around 100 pages. The development of scientific thought has led, over time, to the justified need for distancing the matter of the security basis/introduction to contemporary security studies from the matter of national security, and to intensive abstraction of the matter of the security basis in relation to the operationalized matter of the national security. The results of the

distinction that refer to the basic categories of security are incorporated in this monograph.

The scientific findings taken from the course book *National Security* (2009, 2011) constitute up to 30% of this monograph. Therefore, we strived to accomplish that *Contemporary Security Studies: An Introduction to methodological, research and theoretical foundations of security* meets all normative and ethic criteria of a new scientific publication, which was confirmed by the reviewers. Meanwhile, in the course book *National Security* (third edition, Academy of Criminalistic and Police Studies, Belgrade, 2015), these contents were, to a great extent, excluded and replaced by a new text. Finally, we were again honoured to have the publishing and copyrights remain in the hands of the Academy, to which we devoted our careers.

We may not sound modest, but we must say that we expect serious “exploitation” of this monograph, both in the teaching processes at the studies of the second and third grade of numerous institutions for higher education in the Republic of Serbia and the surrounding countries, and as the inspiration for a number of new researches in the security field.

In the end, we would like to thank everyone from whom we received praises, criticism, ideas, and suggestions regarding our research efforts of many years, contributing to the volume and content of this book. We also thank our reviewers, professor Radomir Milašinović PhD, professor Milan Milošević PhD, and professor Mladen Bajagić PhD, who have supported our scientific and research work for years.

We owe a special gratitude to the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia which, within the project entitled “Development of Institutional Capacities, Standards, and Procedures for Fighting Organized Crime and Terrorism in Climate of International Integrations” (No. 179045, 2011–2018), supported the publishing of the first and the second edition of this monograph, 2015 and 2016. We also thank Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia for supporting translation and publication of the monograph in English language, 2018, which is slightly updated in comparison to previous editions. We hope that numerous theoretical clarifications and distinctions that we strived to elaborate would contribute to finding new solutions and enhancing security practice in the Republic of Serbia confronting organized crime and terrorism, during its negotiations for the accession to the European Union. Finally, we thank Mrs Marija Veličković, the analyst from the Ministry, who helped us and supported us during the realization of this project.

In Belgrade, 2018.

The authors

THE CONCEPT AND EVOLUTION OF SECURITY STUDIES

I

1. The emergence of security studies

Security is the term without which we cannot imagine the contemporary world's rhetoric. Its frequent usage in politics, health, food, the environment, economics, energetics, culture, education, agriculture, medicine etc., as well as the significance attached to everything having the sign "security", speaks about the power of this term which today has, many would agree, a wide meaning. Since it pervades all areas of human, state, and international life, it is not wrong to say that security is one of the *civilizational achievements*¹ and one of the dominant *features of culture and behaviour*².

Precisely owing to the frequent usage of the term security in many fields of social life, it is over-exploited nowadays, but it is no less inspirational and challenging for the researchers engaged in this field. Even though, in its contemporary meaning, it is dominantly associated with the period of the Cold War and relations among countries, security has other meanings, as well, and the development of this term has a long and rich history.

Security firstly developed in practice, and its development was followed by the development of theory. To be specific, security practice is as old as the mankind. It appeared with the materialization of human emotions and instinct for self-preservation (*instinct of fear, biological mechanism of an organism's survival*).³ From the initial individual (*self-*) *preserving* behaviour, through time, the *collective* (group, tribal, social, state, international) *protective activity (function)* appeared.

1 More about that in: *National Security Cultures – Patterns of Global Governance* (eds. Kirchner, E. J., Sperling, J.), Routledge, London and New York, 2010.

2 Stajić Lj., Mijalković S., Stanarević, S.: *Bezbednosna kultura*, Draganić, Belgrade, 2004, 2005, 2013; Stajić Lj., Mijalković S., Stanarević, S.: *Bezbednosna kultura mladih – kako bezbedno živeti*, Draganić, Belgrade, 2006.

3 Dillon, M.: *Politics of Security – Towards a Political Philosophy of Continental Thought*, Routledge, London, New York, 1996, p. 17; Anžič, A.: *Varnostni sistem Republike Slovenije*, Easopisni zavod Uradni list Republike Slovenije, Ljubljana, 1997, p. 35.

In its beginning, security was observed on the individual level, because it was reduced to the physical survival of an individual. However, from the individual action, a man turned to organizing into groups, in order to more easily ensure his survival and protect against enemies. The foundation of the first city-states aimed to protect an individual, as well, because the city walls had a role of “the protector” of citizens. The security, which is predominantly related to the state as a value, was firstly acknowledged after the adoption of the Westphalian sovereignty principle and the appearance of the first sovereign states, and it reached its zenith during the Cold War.

The creation of communities in order to protect security did not have just practical significance which reflected in the protection of mutual values. The equal significance lies in the building of self-confidence and in the strengthening of the feeling of security due to the engagement the community in the protection of the values previously protected by an individual. Finally, communities create collective values, which require synergic, i.e. joint action of the members of the community.

In a narrow sense, security was based on the military and, later, on the negotiating (political and diplomatic) principles. In a wider sense, almost all aspects of human activity and innovations were for the purpose of security, starting from the development of tools for hunting and agriculture, medicine, civil engineering, weapons, means of transport, public services, all the way to the telegraph, telephone, aircraft, radars, internet, lasers, satellites, etc.

Thus, the roots of the security practice originate from the self-preserving activity of the primordial, territorially organized societies. It developed at the same time as the state, and got its complete form in the Westphalian peace in 1648. Since then, sovereign countries have been the dominant subjects of international relations, and therefore, the creators of security on the state and international level. Apart from the man and state, near the end of the second millennium, the core of security started including non-state entities, economics, the environment, social sector, energetics, culture, etc.

With the increase of the volume, diversity, and destructivity of dangers and threats, the context of security changed. That situation is, among numerous factors, the consequence of the insufficient knowledge of the phenomena that endanger the referent values of a man, state, international community, and the planet, but also of the mechanisms of their protection. Since the understanding of the problem is the necessary condition of its solving, the development of the theoretic thought on the security phenomena occurred and, applying special methods (techniques and means) and the rules of logic, it systematizes the existing and discovers new knowledge on the security phenomena and security practice.

The roots of the theoretic thought on security can be observed in the early stage of the development of social sciences. Epicurus (341 BC - 270 BC) and his followers observed security on the individual level and connected it to the concept of happiness. According to Epicurus and Lucretius, on their road to happiness, one pursues the realization of the desires that are necessary for their survival, such as the desire for food, water, shelter, and the desire for having no worries, but also the realization of the desires that are not natural, such as the ones for glory and political power, and they consider them the consequence of one's striving towards security that is the result of the fear of death and the rage of gods.⁴

Ancient philosophers, sociologists, and historians did not treat security as a special scientific field, but ancient thinkers' incessant seeking to reach, improve, enjoy, protect, and defend social values, primarily peace, freedom, rights, duties, and responsibilities of an individual and the polis, to improve the organization and functions of the state, but also of all other spheres of (non)state life, definitely reflected on the security. Thus, either the ancient thinkers or the subsequent ones "won't tell us all we want to know, but will help us to learn *how to think* about security and quite a bit about *what* to think about security and *why*."⁵

Apart from the ancient thinkers, the foundation for the security studies was also laid by Thucydides (5th century BC), Thomas Hobbes (the end of 16th and the beginning of 17th century), Carl von Clausewitz (the end of 18th and the beginning of 19th century). They gave their contribution to the security studies by explaining the "security dilemma" – Hobbes expounded the logic behind the violence and violent threats between the individuals having different, confronted priorities and desires which cannot be satisfied at the same time, and that is why they turn to violence. That results in the incessant war of "everyone against everyone" that can only be resolved by transferring the prerogative to the state, which Hobbes explained in his work "Leviathan". Clausewitz and Thucydides deal with "the security dilemma" between countries and societies, understanding that the inexorable tendency of force against force leads to nothing but war, unless limited by political aims and moral purposes. Clausewitz considers that "the security dilemma" is inherent in the system of national countries where each country arms in order to protect their own interests, which is followed by the feedback of other countries which will otherwise be vulnerable to the intimidation of opponents.⁶

4 Sharples, R. W.: *Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics: An Introduction to Hellenistic Philosophy*, Routledge, London, New York, 1996, pp. 87, 93.

5 Kolodziej, E. A.: *Security and International Relations*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2005, pp. 48–75; about the roots of the thought on security, primarily though the work of Hobbes, Thucydides, Rousseau, Locke, Bentham, Hegel, Clausewitz, Smith, and Descartes see: Burke, A.: *Aporias of Security, Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, Vol. 27, No. 1, 2002, pp. 1–27.

6 Kolodziej, E. A.: *Security and International Relations*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2005, pp. 72–73.

Many segments of the security theory and practice developed within a religion. They included the ideas of individual and collective values, manners of their acquiring and protection, but they were also about the development of certain aspects of security services, especially church diplomacy and certain intelligence services. The particular role of the church is its deciding on war and peace. In the Middle Ages, it dominated secular life and regulated state policies, and there was even a belief that popes and church are above kings, and that secular rulers are obliged to adapt the worldly laws to God's (canon) laws. The Medieval period is particularly specific by the church influence on all life segments, especially in the field of science.

Scientific thought occupied the minds of theologians and clergymen and, in that period, Saint Augustine and Thomas Aquinas had the greatest influence. In the 13th century, Thomas Aquinas defined the worldly rule as a part of the eternal rule of God. According to Aquinas, God determined the forms of people's life in community, so the changes in rule and society are unimaginable, because they represent a sin against the God's command.⁷ In his books, Thomas Aquinas wrote about the phenomena closely related to security – war, rebellion, killing, as well as about the relation between religion and politics. He considered a war to be just if it met three conditions: there needs to be the authority of the ruler under whose command the war is initiated; secondly, the existence of a just cause is required, i.e. those against whom the war is initiated need to deserve that because of the offenses they committed; and thirdly, it is necessary that those who start the war have a righteous intention, which is either the promotion of a good cause or the averting from or the prevention of evil being committed.⁸

The church had a strong influence on defining a threat and sanctioning socially unacceptable behaviour, so it often happened that civil authorities conducted execution of those sentenced by the church for heresy, because waging a war against infidels was considered a just cause.

Along with religion, pseudo-religious (pagan) practices (beliefs, magical rituals and customs for protecting the security of an individual and community (so-called *incantations* and *conjurations*), as well as for endangering security (so-called *curses*, *sorcery*, *black magic*) developed among people. Thus, in the symbiosis with (self-)protection practice, a *security culture* developed, according to which, for personal and collective security, "some things should be done, while others should not" and "some things must be done, while the others must not".

In a wider sense, the elements of security theory developed for centuries, first within military science and disciplines (primarily through war skills, intelligence work methodology, civil protection, and defence) and later within legal science (primarily within international, constitutional, administrative, and criminal laws,

7 Šulce, H.: *Država i nacija u evropskoj istoriji*, Filip Višnjić, Beograd, 2002, p. 33.

8 Dyson, R. W. (ed.): *Aquinas: Political Writing*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004, pp. 240–241.

as well as in the state and law theory), political sciences and disciplines (primarily political systems and science on international relations), criminological disciplines (primarily criminalistics methodology), organization and management sciences etc. Over time, according to the theoreticians, by extracting certain knowledge funds on security from the listed science disciplines, independent – synthetic, but also unique disciplines of security sciences developed.⁹

In a narrow sense, security studies are young and they developed with the sudden development of security practice during the Second World War and the so-called Cold War. Prior to that, the security theory had been a substratum of the so-called *war studies*, *defence and military strategy* and *geopolitics*.

War studies have a wide range of interests, such as the law of war, war philosophy and ethics, war psychology, international relations, sociology, anthropology, etc.

Defence and military strategy arise from them and they were the focus of state politics at that time, due to the necessity to prepare the defence in case of a military attack by another state or alliance.

Geopolitical studies are also an essential part of studying security, because the security was based in the geopolitical calculations. Considering the fact that the security is identified with the protection of territorial integrity, geographic position had a crucial importance in the security assessment.

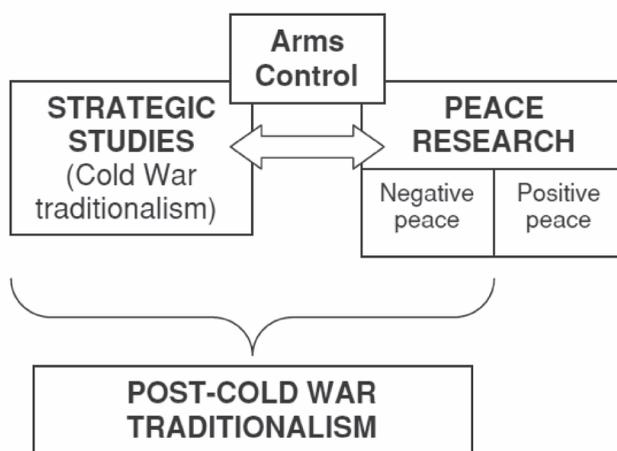


Figure 1. The Composition of Post-Cold-War traditionalism studies¹⁰

9 More about the relation between the security science and some of the listed disciplines in: Stajić, L.J.: *Osnovi sistema bezbednosti sa osnovama istraživanja bezbednosnih pojava*, Pravni fakultet u Novom Sadu, Novi Sad, 2013.

10 Buzan, B., Hansen, L.: *The Evolution of International Security Studies*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2009, p. 157.

After the Second World War, the differentiation between the *strategic studies* and *peace studies* occurred.

The focus of *strategic studies* was the question of nuclear weapons and nuclear deterrence, in order to prevent the escalation of the conflict with the Soviet Union.

Peace studies were directed towards searching for the models to promote peace in the world, and later, as the concept of peace was expanded, their interest was occupied by economic, environmental, and other security sectors. To be precise, the traditional understanding of peace as the absence of war was upgraded by the concept of *positive peace*, which involves not only the absence of personal, but of structural violence, as well. Thus, so that peace could exist in a society, it is necessary to meet some other conditions, apart from the absence of war, such as good rule, developed good neighbourly relations, respecting human rights, low level of corruption in the society, secure business environment, proper allocation and distribution of resources, etc.¹¹

Even though they were still developing within strategic studies, the period of the sixth and seventh decade of the previous century is considered to be “the golden age” of *security studies*. They finally got differentiated upon the termination of the Cold War, when the international community faced the disappearance of the bipolar structure and a multitude of contemporary threats that go beyond the limits determined by the realistic assumptions on the known foreign enemy and their military power.

The contemporary security studies are multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary and they respect theoretic schools and directions from various parts of the world. The focus of the contemporary security studies is equally on an individual, on social groups, states, international community, and the planet, while the attention is expanded to a wide range of non-military threats and the threats coming from the non-state actors and the environment.

2. The development of security studies as a scientific and teaching field

The development of security, as a scientific, and later a teaching field, started during the Cold War, predominantly in the countries of the global West. Soon, it became the subject of interest in Asia, Africa, and East-European countries, as well. During the Cold War period, the researches significant for the security were mostly done by the researchers from the field of natural and technical and technological sciences. They were focused on the problems of nuclear weapons

¹¹ Social progress and positive peace, <http://www.visionofhumanity.org/#page/news/891>, accessed on 11th September 2015.

and the rationalization of the nuclear weapons race. They were most frequently financed by their own governments for dealing with the issues significant for the national security. They were gathered within specialized institutions, most frequently according to the model of the then most well-known American “think tank” – RAND Corporation. This corporation was established in 1948 with the aim to draw the representatives of the academic community “into the world of nuclear target planning and more general speculations about the nuclear.”¹²

The first institutes and research centres at universities were established in the Western Europe and the United States of America, such as *The Department of War Studies, King’s College* in London in 1950 and *The Institute of War and Peace Studies, Columbia University*, in 1951. *The International Institute for Strategic Studies* was founded in London in 1958 and, according to its survey conducted in the 1970s, the Institute listed 128 institutions (in 29 countries) where research in Strategic Studies was being pursued.¹³

The first research units outside the Euro-Atlantic area were established, such as *the Institute of Strategic Studies* in Islamabad in 1973 and the *Center for Strategic Studies* in Tel Aviv in 1977.¹⁴

The first debates on the security studies occurred in international relations and political scientific journals (*World Politics, International Affairs, International Studies Quarterly, Foreign Affairs, American Political Science Review* and *Political Studies Quarterly*). The journals specialized in security studies also appeared, such as *Survival* (1958), and from 1970s to 1990s the others followed: *Terrorism/ Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* (1977), *Journal of Strategic Studies* (1978), *Arms Control/Contemporary Security Policy* (1980), *Intelligence and National Security* (1986), *Terrorism and Political Violence* (1988) and *Security Studies* (1990).¹⁵

The security studies went through an expansion as the corpus of teaching and scientific disciplines after the Cold War. In that sense, security became a relevant research field that dealt with contemporary security problems and gathered the increasing number of researchers around the current topics in that field. Since the end of the Cold War, *Security Sciences* and *Security Studies* have been taught at the higher education institutions worldwide and future members of the security sector are primarily recruited from them.¹⁶

That trend, though at a much slower pace, was present in the Balkans and in our country, as well. The fact is that, in accordance with the traditional concept

12 Lawrence, K. P.: State, Hegemony and Ideology: The Role of Intellectuals, *Political Studies*, XLIV, 1996, p. 49.

13 Buzan, B., Hansen, L.: *op.cit.*, p. 92.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 93.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 97.

16 Compare Buzan, B., Hansen, L.: *Op.cit.*, pp. 1–7, 13–16; Collins, A. Uvod: Što su sigurnosne studije, *Suvremene sigurnosne studije* (translation, edited by Collins, A.), Politička kultura, Zagreb, 2010, pp. 15–25; Waever, O., Buzan, B.: Nakon povratka teoriji: prošlost, sadašnjost i budućnost sigurnosnih studija, *Suvremene sigurnosne studije* (translation, edited by Collins, A.), Politička kultura, Zagreb, 2010, pp. 434–457.

which is limited to the military sector, security was studied primarily in military schools and academies. With the establishing of some civil universities, primarily the Faculty of National Defence, the University of Belgrade (1978) and the Faculty of Security Studies in Skopje, set up within the Centre for Educating Personnel for Security and Social Self-Protection (1977), the illusions on the security theory being the exclusivity of military schools and academies were broken.

Nowadays, in the Republic of Serbia and its surroundings, there are several higher education institutions that educate the personnel for the security sector needs. Some of them are even specialized exclusively for educating in the field of security (Faculty of Security Studies, the University of Belgrade, National Security Academy of the Security Information Agency of the Republic of Serbia, the Faculty of Security and Protection in Banja Luka, the Faculty of Security Sciences in Ljubljana, Security and Diplomacy Academy in Belgrade, etc.).

At the moment, the only higher education institutions in Serbia that primarily teach security sciences are the *Faculty of Security Studies, the University of Belgrade*, established in 2006 as a legal successor of the Faculty of National Defence, the University of Belgrade and the *National Security Academy of the Security Information Agency of the Republic of Serbia*, established in 2013.

At the same time, the tendency of expanding the field of science and education interest to other universities is noticeable, as well as the development of police education which also involves teaching on security studies. Those are certain higher education institutions that have narrowly specialized orientations at undergraduate studies (e.g. *the Faculty of Law, the University of Novi Sad* – the Department of Internal Affairs, *the Faculty of Law, the University of Kragujevac* – the National Security Department) and graduate academic studies (*the Faculty of Political Sciences, the University of Belgrade* – the Department of International Security, *the Faculty of Law, the University of Novi Sad* – the National Security Department). In the surrounding countries, those are the *Faculty of Law, the University of Montenegro* – the Department of Security and Criminalistics, *the Faculty of Security Sciences, the University of Banja Luka*, the Department of Criminalistics, Police and Security, *the Faculty of Criminology, Criminalistics, and Security Studies in Sarajevo* – Security Studies, etc.

The change of the overall security practice context in the second half and particularly in the last quarter of the 20th century contributed to the development of security studies in our country and in the surrounding ones. The state is no longer the only “provider” of security - there are non-state and international actors, as well. The state is no longer the only object of security – it is also aimed to individuals, social groups, international community, and humanity. Apart from the military threats, the security focus gets directed at numerous non-military ones, which are not tackled exclusively by the army and, finally, the overall social

and economic transition (primarily of real-socialist countries) is followed by the reform of the security sector.

Security Studies are traditionally taught within the studies of the College of Interior Affairs in Zemun and the Police Academy in Belgrade, and at a lower level of abstraction at the Secondary School of Interior Affairs in Sremska Kamenica. With the establishment of the Academy of Criminalistics and Police Studies (where the studies in criminalistics and police and security sciences are conducted) in 2006, the *Security Module* at the academic undergraduate studies was formed, as well as the *Police and Security Module* at the vocational undergraduate studies and the *Security Module (Security Protection of People and Property)*, and before that *National Security – Terrorism and Anti-Terrorism*) at the graduate academic specialist studies. Meanwhile, there has been established the Academy of Criminalistic and Police Studies by the Decision of the Government of the Republic of Serbia in 2014.

At the Academy of Criminalistic and Police Studies, there is the expert body – the *Security Sciences Department*. All scientific disciplines within it are classified into narrower scientific fields of *Security Sciences* and *Security in Emergency Situations*. At the University, within the Security Sciences Department, at the undergraduate studies, the following teaching and scientific disciplines are studied: *National Security, International Security, Environmental Security, Security in Emergency Situations, Risk Management in the Protection and Rescue System* and *People and Property Protection System*. At the graduate studies, the following subjects are studied: *Terrorism and Political Violence, Security Systems, Intelligence and Counterintelligence Aspects of Terrorism and Anti-terrorism, Comparative Models of Security Protection of People and Property, the Phenomenology of Endangering Security, Endangering People, Property, and Business*, etc. At doctoral studies, *Contemporary Security studies* and *Security in Emergency Situations* are offered to students as elective courses. As a result of ERASMUS Plus Project entitled „Development of master curricula for natural disasters risk management in Western Balkan countries (NatRisk WeB, no. 573806-EPP-1-2016-1-RS-EPPKA2-CBHE-JP)“, at the Academy of Criminalistic and Police Studies will be offered a new module at graduate master studies entitled: *Managing safety risks caused by natural disasters* starting from 2018/2019.

The Academy of Criminalistic and Police Studies organizes two traditional scientific conferences with international significance that have security issues on their agenda (*Tara* and *Archibald Reiss Days*). Apart from that, it publishes numerous publications (course books, monographs, anthologies) the content of which, partially or completely, refers to security studies. The Academy is the publisher of the scientific journal *Science, Security, and Police* (1996), while the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Serbia publishes the journal *Security* (1959).

Therefore, it is clear that security studies represent an independent, unique, and synthetic theoretic and empirical teaching and a scientific field which explores the lawfulness of an individual, society, state, international system, and humanity in general, as well as the realization, maintenance, improvement, and protection of their vital values and interests from various threats. At the same time, it is both a fundamental (it strives to acquire new knowledge and expand the current scientific knowledge fund) and, to a certain point, an applied field (strives to find solutions to the specific security issues), because it tackles real security issues, processes, and conditions. The contrary interpretations claiming that security is military, legal, or political discipline are unfounded, because its independence is confirmed by its scientific constituents.

It is realistic to expect this scientific field to be taught and studied in police education, but within security studies of other higher education institutions in the world, as well. This thesis is confirmed by the real “revolution” in the re-qualifying of higher education institutions for becoming a part of the education system in the security field.¹⁷

3. The scientific constituents of security studies

Science is the system of scientific knowledge, an ordered, connected, comprehensive, and variable set of scientific facts, empirical generalizations, scientific laws and theories, based on certain principles.¹⁸ The criteria distancing the system of scientific knowledge from the others are the basic scientific constituents – own and unique subject, theory, language and scientific method.

In the Republic of Serbia, security has not been formally declared a scientific field, yet. The reasons lie in its multidisciplinary nature that enables other scientific fields to “pronounce it as theirs”. Thus, political scientists claim that international security is a discipline within the science on international relations, jurists say that the law is in the core of security, etc. That is precisely the reason why the title of this book is “*Contemporary Security Studies: An Introduction to methodological, research and theoretical foundations of security*” and is the product of our efforts to prove that security is actually a separate scientific field.

In this regard, even though it relies to the knowledge and achievements of other sciences to a certain degree, we will strive to prove, by applying certain methodologies of scientific research and using a unique conceptual and categorical

¹⁷ See: Croft, S.: What Future for Security Studies?, *Security Studies – An Introduction* (ed. Williams, P.), Routledge, London–New York, 2008, pp. 499–511. Undeniably, security studies are becoming increasingly significant. However, the “hyper-production of the pseudo-theoreticians of security” is also noticeable, as well as the decrease in quality of training of the staff having the degrees acquired at the security studies, which creates unnecessary and unfair competition on the knowledge markets and the work of the security sector.

¹⁸ Ristić, Ž.: *Uvod u metodologiju istraživanja*, Fakultet narodne odbrane, Beograd, 1983, p. 1.

instrument, that security studies involve the exploration of the laws of achieving, improving, and protecting vital individual, social, state, international and global values and interests. The unique subject, adapted methods, developed language and the “rounded” theory make security studies an independent scientific field with more scientific disciplines that have multidisciplinary features and primarily belong to the field of social and humanistic sciences, as well as, partly, to the fields of natural and technical and technological sciences.

4. The subject of security studies

The subject of a science is a segment of reality to which research efforts are directed and about which, applying certain research rules, the science aims to form a system of scientific knowledge. There are opinions according to which almost all issues of social and state life, as well as the phenomena and processes in the nature and in technical systems, can be observed as the subject of security disciplines. This expanding of the security subject by uncritical “securitizing” of the outside world phenomena is scientifically unjustified and socially inappropriate. On the other hand, there are opinions claiming that the security subject includes only those social, natural, and technical and technological phenomena which have a positive or negative influence on certain values and interests (so-called *security phenomena*), and we adhere to that opinion.

In the widest sense, the subject of security studies is the security of various security levels (individual, social and state, international community, humanity) in various social areas.¹⁹ It is the realization, maintenance, improvement, and protection of the vital values and interests of the referent objects of protection from various threats coming from the outside or created inside them.

In the narrow sense, those are the sources, forms, carriers, and the consequences of the threats to referent values of various protection objects, as well as the function, organization, and system which an individual, society, state, or international community use to protect the values of an individual, society, state, or international community.

Specifically, security studies include the examination of:

- the concept and development of security studies;
- the research directions and theoretic approaches within security studies;
- methodological basis and scientific constituents of security;
- traditional and contemporary understanding of security;
- security concepts;

¹⁹ Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde call different areas of social life “security sectors”, which, apart from the theory of regional security complex, represent a contribution to security studies provided by the representatives of the so-called the Copenhagen School of Security Studies.

- non-state actors in the security sphere;
- the concept, structure, and classification of threatening phenomena;
- endangering security with the phenomena of natural, technical and technological, and human origin.

Security studies are a teaching and a scientific field that is predominantly classified into the field of social and humanistic sciences. Even though, at its beginning, it was closely connected with the field of international relations science (considering the fact that security studies mostly tackled the issues of territorial integrity, protection of national security, handling security dilemmas, increasing power, and nuclear weapons, and the fact that theoreticians and researches from international relations science dealt with security studies), nowadays, security studies are not exclusive to only one scientific field. Namely, these are the studies that have sufficiently matured so that they can be observed as a separate multi-disciplinary scientific field which relies on the knowledge and experience of other disciplines, but which develops its unique subject and other scientific constituents. That gives security studies a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary nature and confirms the necessity of multi-sectoral approach in security research and improvement.

That definitely means that the subject of security studies is related to and affiliated with the disciplines of other related scientific fields. For instance, there is the obvious connection with the constitutional law, the theory of the state and law, the history of the state and law, political systems, and international public law in the part of the subject which defines human, social, state, and national values (sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence, freedom and rights of citizens, legal order), national security system (the organization of state government) and international cooperation in the security domain. Moreover, the knowledge on certain security threats that have international dimension, as well as on the mechanisms of their prevention and suppression, and the reality of the relations between states, is the connection with the subject of the international relations science.

The relation between security studies and the disciplines from the field of criminal law cannot be denied (criminal law, misdemeanour law, commercial criminal law, and international criminal law), particularly in the part of the subject referring to the legal qualification of the phenomena that endanger security. At the same time, the matter dealing with the etiological, phenomenological, and consequential dimension of the phenomena that endanger security and have human origin, as well as with the mechanisms of social reaction to crime, is close to the subjects of criminology, social pathology, and criminalistics, primarily criminalistics methodology. The part of the subject about the military challenges and security threats, as well as about the mechanisms of country defence, is closely related to military sciences and the so-called defence law, war and humanitarian law.

In addition to that, security studies are connected with the disciplines from the field of economic sciences (the spheres of the economic security and public finances), social sciences (the sphere of social security), political sciences (the spheres of the security system management and civil and military diplomacy), sociological sciences (the spheres of the environmental and bio-security), technical and technological sciences (the spheres of information security, energetic security, prevention and suppression of technical and technological disasters and high-tech crime), and others. Finally, in the science research sphere, there is the obvious connection with philosophical and sociological sciences.

Security is definitely related to many other teaching and scientific disciplines that have not been mentioned here (e.g. the connection with nuclear physics, chemistry, and microbiology in the part devoted to terrorism with mass destruction weapons, with psychology in the part referring to the suicidal terrorism, with organization sciences in the part referring to the design and management of security systems, etc.).

Certainly, due to the dynamics of the security reality, security studies will “cooperate” with other disciplines, and the result of that condition will be the expansion of its subject.

5. The future of security studies

Even though it is the “natural habitat” of security, the Euro-Atlantic environment is, nowadays, just a segment of the “security stage” where various plays are performed with even more versatile security actors. In the future, security studies are likely to be by far more international than they have been so far. That is, primarily, the consequence of the globalization of some contemporary security challenges, risks, and threats which are no longer concentrated only in Europe and the United States of America.

This development of (in)security opens the door to the consideration of various security issues on the national, international, but also on the individual level and the level of social groups in diverse cultural, value, and normative environments. It is clear, then, why security studies are becoming and are going to be increasingly relevant and more present teaching and science field in all parts of the world, including our country and the surrounding countries, where they are going through a real expansion.

Security is a young and dynamic science field that is creating its place in the system of sciences. It is comprised of a number of disciplines which explore its specific aspects. Apart from the scientific positioning, security is considered extremely useful in relation to its practical usability, since when they make

references to the security theory, political decision-makers look for and find the legitimacy for their measures and activities. The theory and practice of security are inseparable and for the development of the theory it is important how it treats some of the current issues on the political agenda.²⁰

Therefore, in order that the security theory could survive and be successful, it is necessary that it has the ability to provide adequate answers to current security challenges and threats. Thus, the future of security studies depends on the development of security practice, but also on the methodological and research abilities of theoreticians for predicting the development of security issues and the creation of adequate responses to those issues, which will be the support to national and international security politics.

Security studies are frequently criticized for the imprecise analytical framework and their property of being an independent teaching and scientific field is denied. Security studies, particularly in our national scientific and educational system, have not been officially declared an independent scientific field. It should be emphasized that this is not a methodological, logical, gnoseological, or epistemological problem, since all disciplines of the security orientation have their independent systems of scientific knowledge, i.e. the unique subject, theory, language, and method. The nature of this problem is, first of all, of commercial nature, because by denying that security is a scientific field, related scientific fields “profit” both developmentally (flourishing of new educational profiles and scientific and educational institutions), and financially (education as business is prone to unfair competition – personal development by preventing the others to develop).²¹ Due to that, security disciplines are presented as one of the (sub) branches of other scientific corpora, most frequently of military, political, law, criminological or criminalistic sciences.

However, it cannot be denied that security studies include the autonomous and integral corpus of more aspects and groups of scientific disciplines, which are characterized by the independent system of scientific knowledge and which tend to acquire and deepen the knowledge on various security levels and sectors, the structure of security endangering phenomena, and the manner security system responds to them. Those disciplines have specific scientific constituents, subject, method, language, and theory and scientific and research work is developed within them. As an independent teaching and scientific field, security will certainly be studied for a long time in police education and the studies of the Faculty of Security Studies, but also within the security studies of other higher education institutions in the world, which will probably form separate departments for

20 Waever, O., Buzan, B.: *Nakon povratka teoriji: Proslost, sadašnjost i budućnost sigurnosnih studija, Suvremene sigurnosne studije*, (translation, edited by Collins, A), Politička kultura, Zagreb, 2010, p. 453.

21 Mijalković, S., Popović, M.: *Development and Future of Security Sciences in the Republic of Serbia, Archibald Reiss Days*, Vol III, Academy of Criminalistic and Police Studies, Belgrade, 2013, p. 292.

some sub-fields of security sciences: national security, international security, protection and rescue in emergency situations, etc. This thesis is confirmed by the real “revolution” in the re-qualifying of higher education institutions for educating in the security field.²²

In order that security studies can strengthen their teaching and scientific position in the future, certain “obstacles need to be overcome”. First of all, the academic community needs to realistically consider the significance of declaring security a scientific field and do that without further delay. That would clearly define the conditions in relation to who can realize security studies, what references the teachers would need, and what expert knowledge the graduates would acquire. Doing that would partly limit the unprofessionalism of newly-established higher education institutions that hyper-produce the insufficiently qualified personnel for the security sector.

Apart from the contribution to the diversity of scientific pluralism, that would formally and legally acknowledge the “scientific affiliation” of numerous higher education institutions which are currently being accredited as higher education institutions for management in the field of security and defence, for legal, political, criminalistic, and other sciences.

Furthermore, the conditions will be created to include the higher education profile obtained at security studies into the national nomenclature of professions. That would also formally and legally strengthen the identity of many professions, which contributes to the strengthening of the integrity of a large number of professions.

In addition to that, the state and society will more realistically perceive the capacities of science and education sectors, which will result in their relying more on those sectors in performing their own activities.

Moreover, the development of science and research work in the security field will be stimulated and, for domestic researchers, that will facilitate the access to the funds of international organizations intended for the financing of research work.

Finally, the awareness must be raised in the academic community that declaring security a scientific field will cause damage to no one, but that the whole community will benefit from that.

22 Croft, S.: What Future for Security Studies?, *Security Studies – An Introduction* (ed. Williams, P.), Routledge, London–New York, 2008, pp. 499–511.

1. The Research Schools and Theories of/in Security Studies

The security theory can be observed as the main constituent of the teaching and scientific discipline, as well as the set of knowledge within the wider scientific concept or viewpoint on the certain segment of the security reality.

From the first perspective, the security theory is a general, simple, synthesized, explanatory, informative, verifiable, changeable, and applicable system of knowledge and conclusions obtained by applying logical operations, verification of hypotheses, and empirical generalizations. They explain, within the limits of the science subject, the developmental and relational laws that exist among facts, phenomena, and processes that have a positive or negative influence on the protected social and state values and interests. They direct and develop the security practice and enable the understanding and predicting of security phenomena.

In that sense, the security theory principally consists of more (sub)theories – teachings about some segments of the security subject (e.g. the theories on the security function, the security organization, the endangering of security, the security system, the security management, etc.). Apart from that, the situation is complicated by the multiplicity of values that need protection and there are more theories about that, as well (the theory of individual, human, environmental, and social security).

If observed in other sense, the security theory involves a complete teaching or parts of teachings (conclusions and claims) of certain research directions and schools. For instance, some “international relations schools” devote some parts of their teaching to the issue of human, national, international, and global security. Security does not just primarily preoccupy research schools. At the same time, the part of knowledge devoted to it does not refer to the complete scope and

content of the security concept, but to the part interesting from the aspect of international relations.²³

In general, the research directions that offer certain explanations of security phenomena can be classified into four groups: Realism, Liberalism, Critical Approaches, and Other Alternative Approaches.

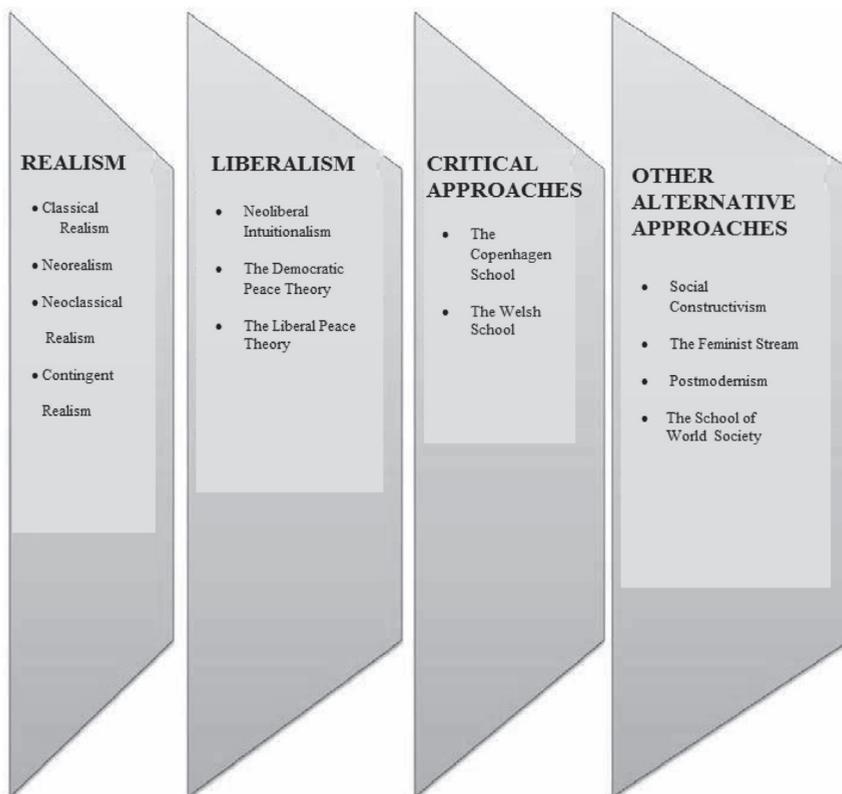


Figure 2. The main research directions of security studies and their approaches

²³ For instance, many of these research directions and schools have been described in: Simić, D. R.: *Nauka o bezbednosti – savremeni pristupi bezbednosti*, the Official Gazette of the RS and the Faculty of Political Sciences, Belgrade 2002, pp. 55–57; Terriff, T., Croft, S., James, L., Morgan, P. M.: *Security Studies Today*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2001, pp. 29–114; Jackson, R., Sørensen, G.: *Introduction to International Relations*, Oxford University Press Inc., New York, 1999, pp. 67–270; Weaver, O.: The Rise and Fall of the Inter-Paradigm Debate, *Perspectives on World Politics* (eds. Little, R., Smith, M.), Routledge, London–New York, 2006, pp. 395–404; *Security Studies – An Introduction* (ed. Williams, P.), Routledge, London–New York, 2008, pp. 1–129; Stajić, Lj., Mijalković, S., Stanarević, S.: *Bezbednosna kultura*, Draganić, Beograd, 2004, 2005, 2013; Stajić, Lj., Mijalković, S., Stanarević, S.: *Bezbednosna kultura mladih – kako bezbedno živeti*, op.cit; Peoples, C., Vaughan-Williams, N.: *Critical Security Studies – An introduction*, Routledge – Taylor & Francis Group, London and New York, 2010.

Realism and Liberalism are considered traditional approaches because they were dominant in the Pre-Cold War and the Cold War period.

The Critical Approach and Other Alternative Approaches are considered contemporary approaches because they had their intellectual beginnings during the Cold War, but they got completely expressed after the end of the Cold War, when traditional approaches could no longer explain the dynamic security reality the world was faced with.

2. Realism

The first and the oldest research direction which, within security studies, strives to provide the explanations of security phenomena is called Realism. There are more approaches within it and each of them tends to remove the deficiencies of the previous one and to establish the realistic position as the dominant theoretic direction in explaining security concepts and phenomena.

The main characteristics of this direction are the belief in the anarchistic nature of the international system and the pattern of hostility and conflicting interests that exist in inter-state relations.

2.1. Classical (Doctrinal) Realism

The oldest realistic approach, *Classical Realism*, was conceived in the interwar period. It appeared as a sort of a critical review of the utopian ideas that were the basis of the international system which, at the time, idealized and, as the practice quickly showed, overestimated the significance of international institutions. Realists perceive the world and politics the way they are, criticizing the idealistic representations of the world that deviate from the reality.

To be precise, this direction is based on the idea and concept of “the state of Westphalia” according to which, countries are the national factors that independently take care of their security and well-being. The state is seen as the main actor of international relations which are, according to their nature, anarchic, uncertain, and distrustful. In order to protect its security, a state must incessantly increase its power and maintain the “fight attitude”.

Realists consider that the power of a country is the lever of its security and that the increase of its power is its supreme interest. The most significant form of the power of a country is its military power and its power is limited by the power of other countries. Unlike the later realists, classical realists explain the behaviours of states according to the pattern of a security dilemma. To be precise, classical realists give significance to the individual behaviour. That is why they look for

the reasons of the pursuit for acquiring and increasing power in the human nature which strives to constant acquisition and increase of power due to the human depravity. For that reason, the classical realists do not give the favourable outcomes to the possibility of cooperation between countries, considering their antagonistic, irreconcilably opposed interests. There are six most prominent principles of Classical Realism:²⁴

- Politics is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature;
- The main signpost of realism is the concept of interest defined in terms of power. It clearly differentiates politics from economics, ethics, aesthetics, religion, or other spheres;
- Realists do not endow the concept of interest defined as power with a meaning that is permanent and definite, but it depends on the political and cultural context in which the foreign policy is defined;
- Realism is aware of the moral significance of political action, but it is also aware of the ineluctable tension between the moral command and the requirements of successful political action;
- Realism refuses to identify the moral aspirations of a particular nation with the moral laws that govern the universe;
- Realists maintain the autonomy of the political sphere, but they also respect the existence and relevance of standards of thought other than political ones (legalistic and moralistic approaches to international politics).²⁵

Therefore, classical realists provided the foundation for the realistic approach in the understanding of security, but the historic circumstances led to its modification in the conditions of the occurrence of the bipolar structure. This change indicated that, apart from the increase of power, countries must also aspire toward their survival in the international system which is anarchic, so the structure of the international system appears as a significant variable of the survival and security of a country.

2.2. Neorealism (Structural Realism)

The *Neorealist Approach* appeared in order to remedy the deficiencies of the Doctrinal Realism.²⁶ It tends to preserve the position of the Realist School in explaining the security phenomena by altering some of the basic postulates of Classical Realism. Firstly, it is considered that the fundamental interest of states

24 One of the founders of Classical Realism, Hans Morgenthau, highlighted these six principles of Classical Realism. Apart from him, a significant representative of this direction is also considered to be Edward Carr, the author of the work "The Twenty Years' Crisis 1919-1939" (1939).

25 Morgenthau, H.: *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle For Power and Peace*, Knopf, New York, 1961 (1948), pp. 3–14.

26 The most prominent representative of the Neorealist Approach is Kenneth Waltz.

is the survival in the international system, and not just the increase of power. That is explained by the fact that, in an anarchic system, the highest objective is security and the increase of power can, but does not necessarily lead to that objective. Therefore, countries will more frequently strive to balance the power and not to increase it. As an example, two coalitions are given:

“Give two coalitions, for example, the greater success of one in drawing members to it may tempt the other to risk preventive war, hoping for victory through surprise before disparities widen. If states wished to maximize power, they would join the stronger side, and we would see not balances forming but the world hegemony forged. This does not happen because balancing, not bandwagoning, is the behavior induced by the system.”²⁷

This direction is also called *Structural Realism* since the explanation for the behaviour of countries is not searched on an individual level, but on the level of international structure. The structure is defined in three parts:

- *according to the principle by which a system is ordered*, as anarchic or hierarchic;
- *according to the differentiation/non-differentiation of functions of units in the international system*, as the differentiation of functions of hierarchic structures, such as the states whose different units perform different functions, and the non-differentiation of functions of units of anarchic structures composed of like units, and
- *according to the distribution of capabilities across units*, as the bipolar or multipolar structure of the system.²⁸

Considering the fact that the system structure is anarchic, states are constantly in the process of fight for balancing, i.e. for the distribution of capabilities that should be such that none of the states becomes a hegemon and changes the nature of the anarchic structure. The states strive to the process of balancing through the internal and external efforts. The internal efforts are the steps that lead to the increase of economic capability, military power, and the development of a wiser strategy. The external efforts refer to joining military alliances and those are all the steps that lead to the strengthening and expanding of the own military alliance and weakening and reducing of the enemy alliance. In the situation when states cannot be a part of the balancing process, they will opt for the strategy of joining the stronger one (bandwagoning).²⁹ This is the case with small, weaker states that are not strong enough to influence the course of the world politics and that is why they adhere to the other, stronger state or alliance in order to enjoy its protection.

27 Waltz, K.: *Teorija međunarodne politike*, Aleksandrija press, 2008 (1979), p. 140.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 99.

29 *Ibid.*, pp. 131, 139.

2.3. Neoclassical Realism

Apart from the Neorealist approach, there was another approach within Realism that aspired to offer its own explanation of the functioning and behaviour of states. It is called *Neoclassical Realism* and it is a compromise between Classical and Structural Realism.³⁰

To be precise, respecting the international factors and the influence of the system structure itself, aspiring to explain the behaviour of states as precisely as possible, neoclassical realists include in that explanation the factors that come from within. Their contribution is in offering the explanation of the behaviour of states in the foreign policy by respecting the internal factors, conditions, and circumstances, and not just by the structural theory of international politics, where neo-realists neglect the internal policy factors. Unlike the classical realists, which rely on the “corrupted human nature” in their explanations, the neoclassical realists involve other factors that shape the behaviour of one state and its acting towards other states, such as the character of the political system, religion, and ideology. Neoclassical realists reject the assumption that the main objective of a state is its security, because they consider that states strive to use their power to direct the international system towards their own objectives and intentions.

This direction is called neoclassical because it complements certain stands of Classical Realism with explicit inclusion of the external and internal variables. The neoclassical realists emphasize that the scope and ambitions of the foreign policy of a state depend mostly on the position it has in the international system, especially on its capabilities in terms of material power. In that sense, the neoclassical realists note (using the formula of Thucydides) that “the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must”.³¹

Thus, they differ from the classical realists because they do not ignore the significance of the system factors and from the neorealists because they do not perceive the system structure as the only factor that shapes the behaviour of states. In their explanation they include the relative powers of states and other factors of the internal policy that influence the behaviour of states and the international system they thereby create. The significance of the internal policy for the realist theory is great, considering their claim that system pressures are filtered through intervening the internal policy variables before they produce certain foreign policy behaviour and that states adapt changes in their external environment

³⁰ The term “neoclassical realism” was first used by Gideon Rose in his review including several papers which are the foundation of Neoclassical Realism and which were created by exceptional authorities in this field, back in 1998.

³¹ Rose, G.: Review: Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy, *World Politics*, Vo. 51, No. 1, 1998, p. 146.

partly as a result of their peculiar domestic structures and political situations. Hence, depending on those domestic factors, states often react differently to similar systemic pressures.³²

To support this thesis, the “phenomenon of balancing” (behavioural tendency of states that results in the balance of powers) is given, where, with the inclusion of the internal variables, it is explained what influences states to deviate from this expected behaviour and to opt for the opposite strategy of “jumping on the bandwagon” (*bandwagoning*). In order to explain this deviation, apart from the system motivators, internal factors are also included. Those are the political elite consensus and their cohesion, the weaknesses of the governing regime and social cohesion (society preferences).³³

Even though Realism was not considered a dominant theory of international relations and security studies during the Post-Cold War period, it still continues to provide the explanations of the phenomena manifested as the power politics.³⁴

2.4. Contingent (Dependent) Realism

Talking about the realistic approaches, a “softer” realism should be mentioned, the one that presents a smooth transition to the following theoretic directions which respect the significance of cooperation and mutual interests. Within the realistic opus, there was a development of a direction known as *Contingent (Dependent) Realism*, or “Optimistic Realism”.³⁵

Contingent realists believe that Structural Neorealism is wrong for at least three reasons:

- first, they reject the attitude on the necessary tendency towards competing that is inherent in theory, because self-help does not necessarily mean that states are doomed to the eternal competition that will result in a war;
- second, they do not accept that states are motivated only by the “relative gain”, because the gain is greater during the cooperation than during the competition and armament race which only create insecurity, and
- third, they believe that the emphasis states place on the possibility of others to be cheating is exaggerated, because, in that way, they never let themselves out of the vicious circle of the armament race.³⁶

32 Schweller, R.: Unanswered Threats: A Neoclassical Realist Theory of Underbalancing, *International Security*, Vol. 29, No. 2, 2004, p. 164.

33 *Ibid*, pp. 168–186.

34 Mostly through the works of Randall Schweller and Fareed Zakaria.

35 Glaser, R. C.: Realists as Optimists: Cooperation as Self-Help, *International Security*, Vol. 19, No. 3, 1994/95, pp. 50–90.

36 Baylis, J.: International and Global Security in the Post-Cold War Era, *The Globalization of World Politics* (eds. Baylis, J., Smith, S.), Oxford Press, New York, 2001, pp. 253–276 in *Reforma sektora bezbednosti*, (ed. Hadžić, M.), Institut G 17 plus i CCVO, Beograd, 2003, p 74.

The ideas of this approach are based on the thesis that it would be more useful for the security of states to cooperate than to compete, i.e. to protect the national interests by establishing a balance between security threats and their own power. Security is a priority goal of a state and it is accomplished by such ratio of power that eliminates the risks of aggression. The increase of power in order to improve personal security reduces the security of others and leads to similar countermeasures of other states, and this creates a “security dilemma”.

3. Liberalism

The next research direction present within security studies which had a special relevance in the period between the two World Wars is called Liberalism. Its main assumptions rest on the idea that disagreements between states can be overcome and that the conflict is not necessarily the only way of the communication in international relations.

The outburst of the Second World War and the collapse of the League of Nations, as the main institutional embodiment of this theoretic direction, impaired the credibility of the liberal explanation of the behaviour of states in their mutual relations. Several approaches can be distinguished within this direction.

3.1. Neoliberal Institutionalism

The first among the liberal research approaches is *Neoliberal Institutionalism* which gives the main role to the international institutions in the security preservation. It advocates the “branching of security” perceiving more levels of security (individual, society, state, international community, planet), the subjects of security that exist and act outside the state sector (the so-called non-state security sector), and international cooperation in security.

Neoliberal Institutionalism shares some assumptions with Neorealism. It tends to explain certain regularities in the behaviour of states by analysing the nature of the anarchic international system. However, neoliberal institutionalists consider that the neorealist conception of structure is too narrow and limiting because neorealists take into consideration only the changes that arise from the movement of relative material capacities of states, i.e. the changes in the domain of their material power. In that sense, they criticize neorealists because they cannot explain the changes in the behaviour of states unless their position in the system changes, especially owing to the increase (or decrease) of the material capabilities of a state. Therefore, neoliberal institutionalists believe that the conventions and norms in the global politics are equally fundamentally relevant

as the distribution of power and capabilities among states, and, thus, the actions of a state, in the meaning used by neorealists, depends on the acceptance of practices and institutions, such as the principle of the sovereignty of states.³⁷

The main assumption of liberal institutionalists is that states will continue cooperating in order to protect a common interest, because in the period of globalization, states can no longer behave as self-sufficient units of the international system, due to the increasing inter-dependence of states in almost all fields. In order to make the perspective the neoliberal institutionalists offer relevant for the international system, it is necessary to meet two conditions: first, the actors must have common interests, i.e. they must have a potential gain from that cooperation and the second, the variations in the level of institutionalization should produce certain effects to the behaviour of states.³⁸

Therefore, this points out that the cooperation is possible, but that it partly depends on the existence, or non-existence, of institutionalized arrangements between states. If some types of institutionalized arrangements exist between states, liberal institutionalists consider that the states will behave differently than if those arrangements did not exist.

Neoliberal Institutionalism aspires to find a solution for overcoming a security dilemma using the power of institutions. For instance, the states that transferred a part of their sovereignty to intergovernmental organizations show that absolute gains are more important to them than the relative ones, i.e. that the common benefit of the states they share a certain institutional framework with is more cost-effective than fighting those states in order to gain predominance over them. It is considered that “institutions can provide information, reduce transaction costs, make commitments more credible, set focal points for coordination in various fields and, in general, facilitate the process of reciprocity”.³⁹

3.2. Democratic Peace Theory

The second liberalistic approach is the teaching of Democratic Peace Theory that represents a stand according to which spreading democracy enhances all security levels. Democracy is considered the fundamental source of peace. Democratic Peace Theory is considered one the legacies of modern liberalism. The peace zone started to be created in 18th century among liberal societies, and Kant called it the “pacifist federation” or the “pacifist union”.⁴⁰

37 Keohane, R.: Neoliberal Institutionalism, in: Hughes W. C., Meng, Y. L. (eds.): *Security Studies: A Reader*, Routledge, London and New York, 2011, p. 160.

38 *Ibid*, p. 158.

39 Keohane, R., Martin, L.: The Promise of Institutional Theory, *International Security*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 1995, p. 45.

40 Doyle, M.: Democratic Peace, in: Hughes W. C., Meng, Y. L. (eds.): *Security Studies: A Reader*, Routledge, London and New York, 2011, p. 165.

To be precise, the basis of this theory is that democracies do not wage war against each other and that a democratic system is the assumption of a peaceful relation towards other states and of a comprehensive progress of a society and state. It is considered that the democratic institutions within a state are “restraining factors” when it comes to the decision of a state to initiate a war (*institutional explanations*), as well as that the democratic norms and beliefs, by their nature, are an obstacle to war (*cultural and normative explanations*). When it comes to *institutional constraints*, they refer to the fact that the distribution and balance of power and democratic control make it harder for the democratic leaders to lead a state into a war, as well as to the fact that the leaders of democracies must get a wide support from the people in order to initiate a war in accordance with the democratic procedures. When it comes to *cultural and normative constraints*, they are based on the fact that decision-makers in democratic societies strive to internationalize the internal norms referring to peaceful conflict resolutions. Thus, they also expect other democratic leaders to respect those norms of conflict resolution that are created in the internal political processes of those states.⁴¹

Democratic Peace Theory is one of the theoretic concepts that has attracted the attention of political decision-makers, so it is considered quite a convincing political weapon. The securitization of democracy made non-democratic regimes a threat and enabled the use of emergency military measures in order to protect democratic values, and that threat was institutionalised in the NATO strategy. Democratic Peace is also called a “fabricated fact” that political decision-makers accepted from the academic community because it strengthened the political position of the most powerful country (the USA). That means that thanks to the thesis of democratic peace, the USA succeeded in regaining the image of representation and it could redraw its map of global security.⁴²

This is one of the most frequent criticisms of the democratic peace thesis, since it is considered an excuse for the neo-colonialist politics of the USA. Another criticism directed to Democratic Peace Theory refers to the fact that it functions only in the relations of liberal states with other liberal states, while there were numerous conflicts between liberal and non-liberal states throughout history.

41 Russett, B.: *Grasping The Democratic Peace*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1993, p. 35.

42 Buger, C., Villumsen, T.: Beyond The Gap: relevance, fields of practice and the securitizing consequences of (democratic peace) research, *Journal of International Relations and Development*, vol. 10, 2007, p. 434.

3.3. Liberal Peace Theory

The third approach within Liberalism is the so-called Liberal Peace Theory.⁴³ This approach connects the free market principle with peace and security, i.e. it perceives the economic progress of states as a condition for the reduction of tensions. These assumptions are explained by the fact that the states which have an economic cooperation become inter-dependent. Thus, the war or destabilization in one state would impact the others, as well. Globalisation, the drive power of the expansion of the free market, represents a net that limits the foreign policy behaviour of states. One of the most known versions of Liberal Peace Theory is the so-called “*The Golden Arches Theory of Conflict Prevention*”. It metaphorically uses McDonald’s restaurant chain as a symbol of a commercial connection of states that are not at war against each other: “*No two countries that both have McDonald’s have ever fought a war against each other since they each got their McDonald’s.*”⁴⁴

The “*Golden Arches Theory*” was later refreshed by “*The DELL Theory of Conflict Prevention*” that stipulates that no two countries that are both parts of a major global supply chain, like DELL’s, will ever fight a war against each other as long as they are both a part of the same supply chain. People embedded in those global chains “don’t want to fight old-time wars anymore. They want to make just-in-time deliveries of goods and services – and enjoy the rising standards of living that come with that.”⁴⁵

This theory faces criticism, as well, most frequently stating that there is no evidence that free trade and the spreading of capitalism bring peace. The initial increases in prosperity allow states to project power and engage in conquest abroad. Further development reduces the utility of conquests, but the ability to project power means that developed states still fight over policy goals. While development influences the way in which states interact, increasing two countries’ wealth will not necessarily reduce the probability that they end up fighting.⁴⁶

43 Adam Smith is considered the founder of Liberal Peace Theory and he was the first to speak about the forces that govern the free market as the “invisible hand” that regulates the potential conflicts and reduces tensions. The Liberal Peace before him could be recognized in the works of a French philosopher Montesquieu, who wrote, back in 18th century, that international trade created the international “Great Republic” which united all tradesmen and their nations across borders and that it would certainly create a more peaceful world.

44 Friedman, T. L.: *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, Anchor Books, New York, 2000, pp. 248–250.

45 Friedman, T. L.: *The World is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-first Century*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, New York, 2005, p. 587.

46 Gartzke, E., Alex Weisiger, A.: Under Construction: Development, Democracy, and Difference as Determinants of Systemic Liberal Peace, *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 58, 2014, pp. 133–134.

4. Critical Approaches

Unlike traditional approaches, the contemporary approaches to security are often collectively referred to as “Critical Approaches”, because they appeared as the criticism of traditional approaches the deficiencies of which became particularly evident with the end of the Cold War. Therefore, the supporters of critical approaches to security reject the concept of anarchy as the primary determinant of international relations, and, instead of a state, they take social groups and individuals as the referent objects of security. In addition to that, they emphasize the significance of non-governmental security subjects, as well as non-military aspects of security.

Considering the credibility they enjoy in the academic community and the ontological and epistemological contribution to security studies, the most significant among these approaches are two schools: the Welsh and the Copenhagen School of Security Studies.

4.1. Welsh School of Security Studies

The expression “*Critical Theory*” is used in a wide context to signify a number of theoretic directions that have a critical attitude towards the traditional ideas on knowledge and society and that cause orthodox opinions in the social science of Western civilization. To be precise, critical theories are anti-foundational, because they emphasize that the claims about what the truth is in a society cannot be definitively determined according to an objective or the final standard. Critical approaches to security studies have their roots in the critical society theory of Frankfurt School and they are connected with the work of the Welsh School of Security Studies.⁴⁷

Critical Theory in security studies is specific by its critical potential directed towards traditional theories, because it believes that they tend to isolate some practices from the comprehensive context in which they are located. As a result of that isolation, a determined and defined knowledge structures are created where the potential to change is ignored. For instance, traditional security studies tended to abstract military issues from their broader context by making a series of often implicit assumptions about the context based on realist premises, such as the one concerning the role and value of a state as a security category.⁴⁸

The main feature of Critical Approaches is that they criticize the current system in which the theoretic contribution is reflected in the maintaining the current ratios of power that do not permit the changes of the current state of affairs. The representatives of Critical School provoke the previously firm state-

47 Booth, K.: *Theory of World Security*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2007. p. 40.

48 Wyn J. R.: *Security, Strategy and Critical Theory*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, London, 1999, pp. 80–81.

centred position, blaming a state for the majority of security issues. A state, according to them, takes overly significant position as a central security category. The traditional concepts of state, sovereignty, superpower, war, strategy, and weapons are problematic for the critics.

The critics agree that states are important features of world politics, but they are unreliable, illogical and too diverse in their character to be used as the primary referent objects, for several reasons.

Firstly, some of them are in the business of security, while some are not, and it is particularly difficult to observe a state as the referent object of protection when we consider the states with dictatorial regimes. Secondly, even when states are the producers of security, they represent the means and not the ends. The critics believe that the state cannot be the object or the ends of the security policies, but just the means or the instrument that the creator of security policies will use to provide for the other levels of security and their values (individuals, social groups, etc.). And finally, states are too diverse in their character to serve as the basis for a comprehensive theory of security because the historical variety of states, and the relations between them, make us wonder whether a theory of the state is misplaced and whether a class of political entities from the early history to the present time can be the foundation for a sturdy concept of security.⁴⁹

What Critical Approaches insist on is the expansion (to new sectors, apart from the military one) and the deepening of the term security (to new referent objects: individual, social groups, humanity). The Welsh School gave the most recognizable contribution to the development of the Critical Approach in security studies through the concept of emancipation.⁵⁰ The concept of emancipation is equal in the opus of the Welsh School with the concept of security, because security is the absence of threat and emancipation is the “liberation of people (both individuals and groups) from physical and human limitations that prevent them from doing what they would otherwise freely choose to do”.⁵¹

The critical approach nurtured in the Welsh School is frequently taken as the intellectual foundation of contemporary discussions in the security sphere that is concerned about the environment protection, human security, crises management, humanitarian interventions, etc. The concept of security that is understood as *emancipation* in the opus of the Welsh School deals with the deepening of the security concept. Unlike strategic studies, the concept of emancipation is not focused on a state, but on individuals and groups and their basic needs. Within the concept of security as emancipation, it is considered that for the contemporary security studies understanding of defence would be

49 Booth K.: Security and Emancipation, *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 4, 1991, p. 320.

50 The Welsh School of security studies was created at the University Aberystwyth in Wales, when Ken Booth and Richard Wyn Jones introduced the “Critical Security Studies”. The paper that marked the activities of this school is the collection of works called “Critical Security Studies” edited by Keith Krause and Michael Williams. See: Krause K., Williams, M.: *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases*, UCL Press, London, 1997.

51 Booth K.: *Op.cit.*, p. 319.

essential, but they would also be required to know the language and practice of human rights, environmental issues, the problems of economic development, and the subtleties of comparative politics.⁵²

In accordance with the emancipatory approach to security, security studies need to be directed towards the identifying, analysing, and solving of insecurities that influence individuals and groups in certain contexts. Emancipation as an approach to security differs from other approaches by a constant emphasis on the significance of the potential for transformation and by the fact that that critical potential prevents the maintenance of the current status of the system. In one word, unlike other approaches, particularly the realistic ones, which deal with the world the way it really is, the emancipatory approach deals with the world the way it should be. The achievement of security in an emancipatory sense is intrinsically connected with broader political transformation that opens up a new space in people's lives, so that they can make decisions and pursue some courses of action beyond mere survival.⁵³

4.2. Copenhagen School of Security Studies

Apart from the Welsh School, the prominent place among Critical Approaches is taken by the Copenhagen School, whose foundation is comprised of the united work of Barry Buzan and Ole Waever, and later their followers, established within, at the time well-known. Copenhagen Peace Research Institute.

Waever studied security as a speech act and he believes that threats occur in the process he called securitization. Buzan's contribution was in the concept of regional security complex and sector analysis.

4.2.1. *Security as a Speech Act (Securitization)*

When considering securitization, it is important to point out that it is based on the assumption of the social construction of reality. The theory is based on the assumption that certain issues are a part of a security agenda because they were securitized or "labelled as security". In one word, those are all the issues that are labelled with some security significance in the process of social construction, and they become a part of security agenda not for being objective and universal threats, but because they are made as such by people who then treat them in accordance with the ideas they attach to them. The securitization process, i.e. the process of the security creation starts with a speech act (securitizing move) that needs to use the rhetoric of an existential threat in order to emphasize that

52 *Ibid*, p. 324.

53 Basu, S., Nunes, J.: Security as emancipation, in: Shepherd, L. (ed.): *Critical Approaches to Security: An introduction to theories and methods*, Routledge, London and New York, 2013, p. 64.

this specific issue requires more attention than the others and that it should take absolute priority.⁵⁴

In order that an issue can get security significance, apart from the rhetoric of existential threat, i.e. a speech act, it is necessary that there is a sufficiently strong and persuasive securitizing actor that realizes the speech act, i.e. presents the issue to the public from whom he needs to obtain the confirmation of the acceptance of the threat as existential, in order that the securitization can be successful. That acceptance by the audience, i.e. the public, is significant because the securitization process entails the application of emergency measures that accompany placing an issue outside the domain of regular politics, and those measures require the legitimacy of the public. Those special or emergency measures can include the use of violence, limitation of human rights, breaking the rule of non-interference into the matters of other states, etc. Common securitizing actors are political leaders, bureaucracies, government members, lobbyists, etc.⁵⁵

Table 1. Copenhagen School's Key Terms⁵⁶

THE COPENHAGEN SCHOOL'S KEY TERMS	
<i>Facilitating conditions</i>	Particular contexts (including the form of a speech act; position of the speaker; and historical conditions associated with the threat) that enable the acceptance of a particular securitizing move by the relevant audience.
<i>Securitizing move</i>	The actor's attempt to construct an issue or another actor as an existential threat to a particular group through a security "speech act".
<i>Securitization</i>	The process where a securitizing actor defines a particular issue or actor as an "existential threat" to a particular referent object and this move is accepted by a relevant audience.
<i>Desecuritization</i>	The process whereby particular issues or actors are removed from the security realm and (re-)enter the realm of "normal politics".
<i>Regional security complex</i>	A set of units in a particular geographical area whose security processes and dynamics are interlinked to the extent that their security problems need to be understood or addressed in conjunction with each other.
<i>Security sectors</i>	Fields of activity or arenas (military, societal, political, economic and environmental) that entail particular forms of security interactions and particular definitions of referent objects.

54 Buzan, B., Weaver, O., Wilde, J, de.: *Security – A New Framework for Analysis*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, London, 1998, p. 24.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 40

56 Taken from: McDonald, M.: Constructivism, in: Williams, P. (ed.): *Security Studies: An Introduction*, Routledge, London and New York, 2008, p. 70.

Thus, the creation of a security threat is inter-subjective because it occurs as the result of “negotiations” between the securitizing actor and the public. In order that the speech act can result in successful securitization, there need to be certain facilitating conditions, such as *the position of the securitizing actor* (if the securitizing actor is someone on the position of power and has a certain social influence) and *the language used* (they need to stick to the linguistic and grammatical rules of security and use the terms that create security associations with the audience). The process opposite to securitization is called desecuritization and it returns the issues to the domain of regular politics and regular political instruments and established rules.⁵⁷

The securitization theory is one of the most exploited and most interesting fields for researches. That explains the development of this theory that has numerous followers, regardless of whether they criticize it or strengthen it through new empirical confirmations. Due to that, it is constantly in the process of revision and perfecting. For instance, if it was, at the beginning, usual for the securitization theory to separate the roles of securitizing actor and the securitization analyst (whose role should be just objective reviewing and analysing of the securitization process, and not participating in it), that assumption was abandoned in later papers because it had been determined that an analyst could not be neutral in relation to his/her research subject. They use the scientific capital they have in order to fabricate some knowledge and scientific facts, as it is the case with the climate changes, which were given the security significance owing to the scientists who sent messages about that which were globally accepted. In this manner, the position was created for scientists from which they can realize a speech act in the security field.⁵⁸

Thierry Balzacq gives three main assumptions on the securitization theory. The first assumption refers to the central role of the audience, because it usually enables the securitizing actor to use emergency measures and it is usually in a direct causal relation with the issue being securitized. The second assumption is about the interdependence of the acting and the context on which it acts, which points out that the success of securitization will depend on the textual and cultural meaning, i.e. that a speech act will always be related to some meanings that are the result of a previous social interaction.

57 Buzan, B., Weaver, O., Wilde, J, de.: *Op.cit.*

58 Willumsen Berling, T.: Science and securitization: Objectivation, the authority of the speaker and mobilization of scientific facts, *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 42, No. 4/5, 2011, p. 392.

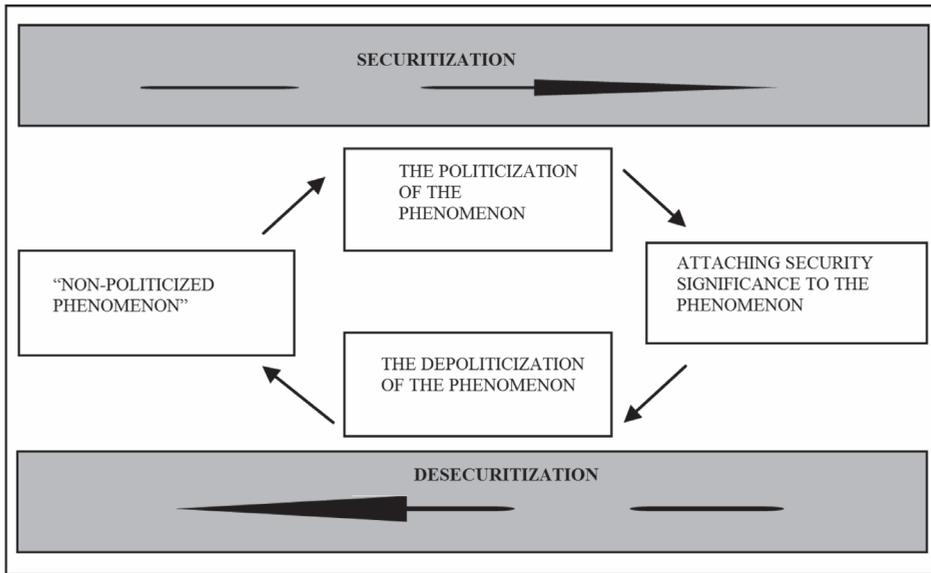


Figure 3. The Process of Securitization and Desecuritization⁵⁹

The third assumption refers to the significance of practices on securitization which occurs in the field of fight and competition and in which the usual practices influence the assigning of inter-subjective meanings. Thus, he differentiates two securitization models: the first is philosophical securitization, which places the greatest significance in the securitization process on the strength and persuasiveness of a speech act which is used for the construction of the reality; the second is sociological securitization and it places the greatest significance in the securitization process on the network of practices in the context in which that securitization is successfully accepted.⁶⁰ Sociological securitization does not dispute the relevance of a speech act, but tries to point out that the effect a speech act has on its audience is more important than the act itself, so it focuses on that communication, i.e. the practice of creation of (in) security and the context in which it occurs.⁶¹

“Visual securitization” is also considered a part of sociological securitization and it explains that the securitization process occurs not only when there is a speech act, but when there is a visual act as well. Visual securitization happens

⁵⁹ The figure is inspired by text from: Buzan, B., Weaver, O., Wilde, J, de.: *Security – A New Framework for Analysis*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, London, 1998, p. 23.

⁶⁰ Balzacq, T.: A theory of securitization: Origins, core assumptions, and variants, in: Balzacq , T. (ed.): *Securitization Theory*, Routledge, Abingdon, 2011, pp. 1–30.

⁶¹ Huysmans, J.: What’s in an act? On security speech acts and little security nothings, *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 42, No. 4,5, 2011, p. 372 ; McDonald , M.: Securitization and the Construction of Security, *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 14, No. 4, 2008, pp. 563–587.

when an image becomes someone or something threatening and who/which requires urgent protecting from. Finally, it proposes the securitization model that includes four components: the visual component or the existence of an image, the inter-textual context that comes with the image, the wider policy discourse, and the constitutions of an image. The example of this is the crisis Denmark went through after the publication of the cartoon of Prophet Muhammad, i.e. after the image of Prophet Muhammad got securitized.⁶²

4.2.2. *Security Sectors and Regional Security*

The second part of the Copenhagen School's contribution is reflected in the researches of Barry Buzan on the expansion of traditional security studies to new sectors (*Sector Analysis*) and on the significance of a region in global politics (*Regional Security Complex Theory*).

Sector Analysis is devoted to the analysis of adding new fields of interest to security studies, besides the traditionally present military-political agenda, taking into consideration the contemporary security dynamics. Each interest field, i.e. sector, has a specific dynamics and, within it, it is possible to identify specific types of interaction. Apart from military and political ones, new sectors include: economic, societal, and environmental sectors. The military sector deals with the relationships of power and force, military threats, and the response mechanisms to military threats. The political sector deals with the relationships of authority, governing status, and recognition, i.e. the maintenance of the political order. The economic sector deals with the relationships of trade, production, and finance. The societal sector deals with the relationships of collective identity, and, finally, the environmental sector deals with the relationships between human activity and the planetary biosphere. Each of them actually extracts a segment of social reality. The elements in the social system that are interesting for economists and the economic sector are enrichment, economic development, and the behaviour and motivation directed to the maximization of material, economic gain. The political sector, within the same social system, is focused on the sovereignty and power and, thus, interested in the behaviour directed towards the maximization of power. The military sector is interested in offensive and defensive capabilities a state has, as well as in the increase of those capabilities. The societal sector and the analysts dealing with it are focused on the protection of identity and cultural independence, while the environmentalists are focused to find the way of achieving the sustainable development.⁶³

62 Hansen, L.: Theorizing the image for Security Studies: Visual securitization and the Muhammad Cartoon Crisis, *European Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 17, No. 1, 2011, pp. 51–75.

63 Buzan, B., Weaver, O., Wilde, J, de.: *Op.cit.*, p. 7–8.

Through the sector analysis, the security agenda started including the issues that changed the security concept. Therefore, the contribution of this analysis to security studies is great. Buzan introduced the idea of the sector analysis at the beginning of the 1980s, pointing out that military threats, which present the core of traditional security studies, are not the only concern of national security, but that those threats are manifold and they vary in relation to the sector they come from. Thus, he notices that political threats are equally relevant for national security as military threats, because, even when a state is strong and, in the traditional military sense, protected from enemies, there could be divisions thriving within it caused by intolerance of the ideologies, ideas, or traditions. National economy is the basis of the physical survival of a state and economic decline can impact other security levels and sectors, including the military capacities. The situation is similar with environmental threats, in the sense that environmental events, like military and economic ones, can damage the physical base of a state's survival. In traditional studies, which recognized just the military sector, these threats were seen as natural, and therefore, not a part of national security agenda.⁶⁴

Nowadays, the relevance of the environmental sector for national and other securities is evident, taking into consideration numerous empirical confirmations such as earthquakes, storms, floods, droughts, which inflict more damage to states and their citizens than some of the wars in modern history. The societal sector can also produce threats to the national security, and they are usually manifested as a conflict of different cultures and ethnic groups during migration flows. Today, migrations threaten common identities and culture since they change the ethnical, cultural, religious and linguistic composition of population and, thereby, disable or hamper the capacity of the existing society to reproduce its identity in a traditional manner. Back in the '90s, Buzan stated that it potentially threatened to lead to a kind of "societal cold war" specifically between the West and Islam, in which Europe would be in the "front line".⁶⁵

When it comes to Regional Security Complex Theory, it is based on the idea that the states from one region share mutual security issues, and it relies on the historical experiences that show that throughout history, the greatest threat to states have been the states in their immediate surroundings. These were sufficient reasons for Buzan to make a draft of Regional Security Complex Theory back in the '80s. He defines a security complex "as a group of states whose primary security concerns link together sufficiently closely that their national securities cannot realistically be considered apart from one another."⁶⁶

64 Buzan, B.: *People, States & Fear – An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder–Colorado, 1991, p. 82

65 Buzan, B.: Security in the Twenty First Century, in: Hughes W. C., Meng, Y. L. (eds.): *Security Studies: A Reader*, Routledge, London and New York, 2011, p. 373.

66 Buzan, B.: *People, States & Fear – An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, p. 106.

However, considering the critical nature of the work of Buzan, this state-centred definition later went through a certain modification. Thus, a security complex in that sense is “a set of states whose major security perceptions and concerns are so interlinked that their national security problems cannot reasonably be analysed or resolved apart from one another. The formative dynamics and structure of a security complex are generated by the states within that complex.”⁶⁷

Finally, there have been attempts among theoreticians to apply Regional Security Complex Theory to other levels of analysis, apart from the one of a state, so a regional security complex was defined as “a set of actors whose major security perceptions and concerns are so interlinked that their national security problems cannot reasonably be analysed or resolved apart from one another.”⁶⁸ This determination of the regional security complex was given in the context of human and not national security, and it refers to conspicuous and prominent groups of existential threats that could be a referent object.

Regions are considered autonomous subsystems that are a part of a larger international geopolitical system. Regional Security Complex Theory considers four levels of analyses significant and they constitute the security constellation:

- *the internal level of the states* of the region, and on that level, their domestically generated vulnerabilities are particularly indicative, because the specific vulnerability of a state defines the kind of security fears it has, and the manner it perceives other states;
- *the relations between states* (state-to-state) which, actually generate the region as such;
- *a region's interaction with neighbouring regions* (even though the interaction within the region is considered more important, this external interaction is important in situations when the inter-dependence patterns in a region change significantly, particularly in case of the presence of a global power in one of the regions); and finally
- *the role of global powers in a region* (the interplay between the global and regional security structures).⁶⁹

There are nine regional security complexes in the international system: firstly, the global powers complexes – *North American* and *Post-Soviet* (North Asian), then *South American*, *European*, *Middle East*, *South Asian*, *East Asian*, *Central African*, and *South African*. Proto-complexes are the formations which have the tendency to become independent complexes one day. Currently, there are two such proto-complexes: *West African* and the proto-complex on the *Horn of Africa*.⁷⁰

67 Buzan, B., Weaver, O., Wilde, J, de.: *Op.cit.*, p. 12.

68 De Wilde, J.: *Speaking or Doing Human Security?*, in: Den Boer, Monica; De Wilde, Jaap (eds.): *The Viability of Human Security*, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam, 2008, p. 229.

69 Buzan, B., Waever, O.: *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2003, p. 51.

70 *The Persian Gulf as a Regional Security Complex*, <https://policytensor.com/2011/11/17/the-persian-gulf-as-a-regional-security-complex/>, accessed on 4th July 2018.

5. Other Alternative Approaches

5.1. Social Constructivism

Apart from the Copenhagen and Welsh School, which are systematized teachings created primarily in the European academic community under the Critical School of Security Studies, a significant place among the contemporary approaches to security, which provide the alternative to the rationalistic views of the world, is held by *Social Constructivism*. It can be freely said that constructivism is the basis of most of the alternative approaches, since they adopt the ontological starting point of social constructivists about the reflectivistic or interpretative nature of obtaining certain knowledge.

Social Constructivism is a theoretic approach that has its roots in sociology and the direction called symbolic interactionism.⁷¹ This research direction retained many assumptions of realists: they accept a state as the referent object of protection and the basic level of security studies analyses. Apart from that, they do not deny the state of anarchy in international relations and that the increase of personal power is the response to the suspicion in the honest intentions of other states. When it comes to the scientific contribution, they usually take the epistemology of positivism, but their ontology is anti-foundationalist, and it points out that the reality is not given once and for all and that it is not unchangeable, but it looks the way the society makes it, i.e. constructs it. Constructivists consider that what influences the conditions in the international system is not material in nature, but depends on values, ideas, historical experiences, ideas we have about each other, i.e. “ideational conceptions of their material circumstances”.⁷²

Constructivism tends to point out that states in international community do not necessarily have to be enemies, and the attitude they will have towards each other depends on inter-subjective meanings that people create on the basis of the signals they send, their interpretation, and the response to that interpretation, and this process is called “*the social act*”. Wendt gives the example of how the meaning is constructed, i.e. how a friendship/hostility pattern is created:

“Would we assume, a priori, that we were about to be attacked if we are ever contacted by members of an alien civilization? I think not. We would be highly alert, of course, but whether we placed our military forces on alert or launched an attack would depend on how we interpreted the import of their first gesture

71 We usually talk about the social construction of the social reality in the field of international relations and security studies (as opposed to the belief of its material nature that comes from realists) when it comes to the works of Alexander Wendt, since, of all social constructivists, he gave the greatest contribution with his book “*Social Theory of International Politics*”. See: Vent, A. E.: *Društvena teorija međunarodne politike*, Univerzitet u Beogradu, Fakultet političkih nauka, Beograd, 2014.

72 Kolodziej, E. A.: *Op.cit.*, p. 268.

for our security – if only to avoid making an immediate enemy out of what may be a dangerous adversary. The possibility of error, in other words, does not force us to act on the assumption that the aliens are threatening: action depends on the probabilities we assign, and these are in key part a function of what the aliens do; prior to their gesture, we have no systemic basis for assigning probabilities. If their first gesture is to appear with a thousand spaceships and destroy New York, we will define the situation as threatening and respond accordingly. But if they appear with one spaceship, saying what seems to be “we come in peace,” we will feel “reassured” and will probably respond with a gesture intended to reassure them, even if this gesture is not necessarily interpreted by them as such.”⁷³

Social constructivists are divided in two groups – “light constructivists” and “heavy constructivists”. These groups share a common ontological position on the nature of social reality – it is socially constructed, not material. However, considering the epistemology, light constructivists side with positivism and the determination of cause-and-effect relations, unlike heavy constructivists who stand for the interpretative epistemology.⁷⁴

Light constructivists perceive a state as a basic unit of political organization and its security roles as timeless, by which they keep constructivism in the wide spectre of the prevailing theories of international relations. Heavy constructivists criticize their reification of a state because, by doing so, they justify its right to monopoly of physical coercion, which is the very point heavy constructivists contest. Besides, heavy constructivists consider that the claims of the existing, authoritative theoretic directions should not be privileged, but we should create social knowledge that emancipates humans from oppressive structures.⁷⁵

5.2. Feminist Approaches

The next research approach among the alternative approaches, *Feminist Approach*, introduces gender as a key factor in the comprehension of security dynamics. This stream points at the significance of overcoming the discrimination and marginalization of the female gender when the solving security issues, primarily as the most numerous mass victims of wars and refugees, as the consequence of wars.

73 Wendt A.: Anarchy is What States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics, *International Organisation*, Vol. 46, No. 2, 1992, p. 405.

74 The characteristic of the interpretative epistemology is the belief that objective knowledge is not possible, therefore the determination of cause-and-effect relations is also impossible, so the methods used within the interpretative epistemology are qualitative, because their objective is the study of the subjective experience of people and the meanings they attach to that experience. See more in: Marsh, D.; Stoker, G.: *Teorija i metode političke znanosti*, Fakultet političkih znanosti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 2005 (translation).

75 Kolodziej, E. A.: *Op.cit.*, p. 282.

According to feminists, this situation is the consequence of the absence of women in the field of high politics. Namely, international politics is a field of interest traditionally reserved for men, and, in the contemporary world, feminists emphasize the need for changes in the manner international politics is conducted. They stand for more respect of women's experience and knowledge in international politics, unlike the situation in which women are usually on the margins of social and inter-state politics.⁷⁶

The theoreticians of the feminist stream deal with the manner gender influences the security sphere and the outcomes of security practice. This approach is considered contemporary and alternative, considering the fact that it shifts the attention from a state to other levels of analysis, primarily to individuals and human collectives.

The objective of Feminist Approach is better comprehension of gender position in the security sphere and its contribution to overcoming discrimination and marginalization of female gender when solving security issues, but also pointing at the necessity to protect women as a vulnerable category from all forms of threats.⁷⁷

Focusing the attention on gender issues in the security sphere got its institutional framework in the form of the adoption of Resolution 1325 titled "Women, Peace, and Security" by the United Nations Security Council in October 2000. In the theoretic sense, dealing with gender issues refers to the feminist epistemology and the criticism of abstract rationality that supports dualism (according to feminists, in the basis of all dualisms there is the fundamental one, which is the division to male and female). The Feminist Stream is based on strict criticism saying that rationality, objectivity, and other positive dualism parts are linked to men and that a woman in such order only has the status of an object, i.e. the object of knowledge, and not the subject.⁷⁸

Considering the fact that the approaches to feminist issues are heterogeneous, we cannot talk about the unique epistemology, but there are more feminist approaches. The most frequent division is to liberal and radical feminist approach.

Liberal Feminist Approach is more moderate and it deals with the analysis of the factual state of affairs in security sphere, i.e. it focuses on the findings about the presence of women in certain structures within the security sphere, in the army, police, security services, private security sector, and international institutions. The basic idea of liberal feminists is to explore the existence and type of obstacles to the presence of women in managing and governing bodies and the manner

76 Tickner, A.: *Feminism and Security*, in: Hughes, C.; Meng, Y. L. (eds): *Security studies*, Routledge, London and New York, 2011, p. 49.

77 Popović, M.; Cvetković, V.: Žene kao učesnici u mirovnim operacijama i donosioci odluka u sektoru bezbednosti, *Kultura polisa*, posebno izdanje 2, Kultura polisa, KPA, Novi Sad, Beograd, 2012, pp. 273–290.

78 Lončarević, K.: Feministička epistemologija: Nastanak, razvoj i ključni problemi, *Godišnjak Fakulteta političkih nauka*, br. 7, Fakultet političkih nauka, Beograd, 2012, pp. 42–43.

their presence/absence influences the outcomes of crisis and conflicts. For liberal feminists, the barriers to women's participation need to be identified so that they can be removed, in this way permitting those women who are interested in equal opportunity to take on the challenges of political and public life.⁷⁹

Radical Feminist Approach focuses on the differences in the social treatment of women and men and on the inferior position of women stemming from the patriarchal way of organizing a society. Unlike liberal feminists who consider that the presence of women in the security sector is the reflection of the natural tendency towards equality, radical feminists consider that women ought to be represented in the security sector because of the belief that women have a different approach to solving security and political issues than men, one that is more focused on cooperation and peace.⁸⁰

This approach is submitted to numerous criticisms and it has empirical weaknesses. The attitude that women always support the peaceful manner of resolving conflicts can be refuted by numerous examples throughout distant and recent history, because women, though few in numbers, as participants in political processes and makers of significant security decisions frequently exhibited a higher degree of brutality and decisiveness to resolve numerous problems with armed forces.⁸¹

Apart from Liberal and Radical Feminist Approach, there is also *Post-Structuralist Feminism* which gives no significance to the gender division prior to its emergence into a particular discursive context. This approach suggests that we make sense of bodies and ascribe them the meaning as a result of ideas that we have about gender: a body is not ontologically prior to gendered discourses but rather is gendered as/through a part of those discourses.⁸²

The significance of feminism in the practical sense is based on the factual improvement of the position of women in the security sphere. Therefore, respecting gender equality must not be just conceptual and theoretic, but it should also reflect on the operational plan. The fields that are significant to the feminist approach in that sense are the presence of women in police structures and armed forces, the position of women as actors and victims of armed conflicts, the participation of women in the processes of establishing and maintaining peace, and the presence of women in governing bodies on the governing positions.⁸³

79 Whitworth, S.: Feminist Perspectives, in: Williams, D.P. (ed.): *Security Studies: An Introduction*, Routledge, New York and Wolverhampton, 2008, p. 105.

80 *Ibid.*, p. 106.

81 One example of that can be the former United States Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, known by the sentence: "What's the point of having this superb military you're always talking about if we can't use it?", explaining her attitude on the use of army in resolving conflicts in the Balkans and Middle East. See: With Albright, Clinton Accepts New U.S. Role, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/govt/admin/stories/albright120896.htm?noredirect=on>, accessed on 4th July 2018.

82 Shepherd, L.: Feminist security studies, in: Shepherd, L. (ed.): *Critical Approaches to Security: An introduction to theories and methods*, Routledge, London and New York, 2013, pp. 14–15.

83 Londoño López, M. C.: Seguridad y género: una agenda pendiente, *La manzana de la discordia*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 2010, pp. 55–62.

5.3. Postmodern Thoughts on Security

The alternative directions of security studies also include *postmodernism*. The same as other alternative approaches, it challenges the current structures and provides different explanations of security phenomena in comparison to realists and liberalists. Postmodern thought on Security is the mutual name for *Post-structuralism* and *Post-colonialism*.

5.3.1. Post-structuralism

Post-structuralists perceive the concept of security as a discursive creation and a point at the existence of “otherness” as the necessary element for the creation of a state identity. They claim that there is no permanent and firm foundation for building scientific explanations, or permanent patterns of friendship or hostility of states, but that they are socially constructed through the security language, i.e. the discourse. Security as a language, i.e. the meanings attached to this term, enables actors and institutions to accumulate resources, use violence, and control political agendas. Security as a system of signification has three explanations:

- firstly, security is explained as a “speech act”, which, when put onto an agenda and accepted as such, becomes securitized, i.e. significant for security;
- secondly, security discourse and practices are created as the product of struggles over power conducted in the name of security and attached to the very question of survival; and
- thirdly, the process of signification is unstable and it never happens that a term exists autonomously and independently of others, it is always a part of a chain or system.⁸⁴

Thus, the meaning is produced between the term and another term opposite to it, and it is always based on oppositions and dichotomies. In searching for the meaning, security relies on the devalued concepts it is attached to (generally insecurity, but also the other terms associated with that term, such as communism, illegal immigrants, terrorists, rebels, jihadists, etc.) and which give it the context and the significance to the concept of insecurity.⁸⁵

Security discourses depend on the perceptions we have of the world around us and those discourses have the role to maintain those ideas. Depending on the ideas someone has, historical experiences, and the notion of others, they will create a specific security language and shape the practices in accordance with

84 Burke, A.: Post-Structural Security Studies, in: Shepherd, L. (ed.): *Critical Approaches to Security: An introduction to theories and methods*, Routledge, London and New York, 2013, pp. 79–81.

85 *Ibid*, p. 81.

it. The necessity of the existence of “otherness” for the formation of discursive security creations indicates that the shaping of own identity is based on the existence of the other who is a threat to that identity. Nowadays, security implies trust and identity among the community members, while vagueness, fear, and anarchy are attributed to the imaginary place outside the social order.⁸⁶

Iver Neumann gives Huntington’s “The Clash of Civilizations” as an example of offering the “otherness” for the purpose of practical political advice for strengthening the togetherness of human communities. According to him, integration and exclusion are two sides of the same coin, so the issue here is not that exclusion takes place in the process of identity creation, but how it takes place.⁸⁷

The example of the creation of European identity is particularly illustrative, since it is based on the discourse that represents Russia as a potential military threat and it, therefore, threatens all the values European collective identity is based on. With that, Russian reactions to the expansion of EU and NATO are seen in European circles as tests of the extent to which Russians have learned that the institutionalization of the European and, in general, Western “selves” are not and cannot be potential threats to Russia.⁸⁸

The foreign policy creation of American identity is similarly explained. It is based on the existence of dualism friend/enemy and through the discourse of a threat in the form of the Soviet Union, the Cold-War identity of the USA was created.⁸⁹

5.3.2. *Post-colonialism*

Post-Colonial Approach and Post-colonial Studies are fundamentally critical studies and they draw attention to the shortcomings of the dominant approaches within the security studies which were created on the experiences of Euro-Atlantic tradition. This approach focuses on the structural inequalities of the “core/periphery” system as the background for consideration about the main security directions.

Considering the fact that security studies are mostly focused on the great power politics, what the Post-Colonial Approach tries to point at is that small, undeveloped countries have their own conceptions of values and interests and

86 Aradau, C., Van Munster, R.: Post-structuralism, Continental Philosophy and the Remaking of Security Studies, in: Dunn Cavelti, M., Mauer, V. (eds.): *The Routledge Handbook of Security Studies*, Routledge, London and New York, 2010, p. 74.

87 Neumann, I.: *Uses of the Other: “The East” in European Identity Formation*, Borderlines, Vol. 9, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1999, p. 37.

88 *Ibid*, p. 108–109.

89 The study on the discursive creation of American foreign-policy identity see in: Campbell, D.: *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1998.

their own security dynamics. In other words, Post-Colonial Approach can help draw attention to the ways that security is perceived by those who consider themselves “the victims of great power politics”.⁹⁰

The Post-Colonial Approach is, therefore, frequently called “the approach of the oppressed”, which makes sense when considering the attitude of the political and intellectual elite of the Western countries claiming that the Third World countries are not equal actors of world politics and sometimes they are even considered irrational actors. An example of that is nuclear policy, which is usually based on the assumption that nuclear weapons are much safer in the hands of eminent nuclear powers than in those of some of the Third World countries. This is the foundation of the “alarmism” of the West on the dangers of nuclear weapons in the possession of the Third World countries.⁹¹

Post-Colonial Approach appeared as a reaction to the “west-centric” nature of security studies, considering that they are mostly established on the European and North American security experience, and neglecting the specificities and the social and political context of the Third World countries regarding this field. The definition of security cannot be complete if it is based just on the experience of developed countries and if the concept of security and security threats differ in the developed countries from those in the Third World countries. The prevailing western connotation of security analyses developed, sovereign countries as the international system units, which is criticized by post-colonialists, considering the underdevelopment of the Third World countries. It can be concluded from that that the nature of security threats is not the same, because the Third World countries mostly face the threats that come from within the state. The differences in security issues and security direction of a state are linked to two key variables: the history of a state’s creation in the Third World countries in comparison to the western countries, as well as the pattern of elite recruiting and establishing and maintaining the regime of both the former and the latter.⁹²

The absence of the government legitimacy or the absence of the social consensus on fundamental state and social issues, resulting in the absence of wide national support to regimes, leads to intra-state tensions and insecurities that create a different security ambience from the one in which the west world countries function. Territorial satiation, societal cohesion, and political stability are considered the determinants of the pacific nature of the industrial Western democracies’ relations with each other. As long as Third World states are not

90 Biswas, S.: Post-colonial security Studies, in: Shepherd, L. (ed.): *Critical Approaches to Security: An introduction to theories and methods*, Routledge, London and New York, 2013, p. 90.

91 Gusterson, H.: Nuclear Weapons and the Other in the Western Imagination, *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 1999, p. 112.

92 Ayoob, M.: Security in the Third World: The Worm about to Turn, *International Affairs* Vol. 60, No. 1, 1984, p. 44.

able to achieve these goals, their formally established democratic institutions will continue to be vulnerable to internal challenges.⁹³

The security experiences of the Third World show that the majority of post-Cold War conflicts are the result of actions of local factors and not the consequence of the change of the international system structure from bipolar to multipolar, as claimed by realists.⁹⁴

It is considered that with the appearance of the Third World a challenge was set to the dominant (realistic) understanding of security regarding at least three points. First, it questions their focus on the inter-state level as the origin of security threats, because threats in most of the world are intra-state. Then, it questions the exclusion of non-military phenomena from the agenda of security studies, considering the flourishing of terrorism, organized crime, and other non-military threats. Finally, it challenges the belief that the global balance of power is a legitimate and efficient instrument of the international order.⁹⁵

On the basis of the security experiences of the Third World, post-colonial studies contributed to the broadening of the research field of security studies to economic stability, illnesses, poverty, and the environment pollution, in spite of realists' criticism that it would destroy the intellectual coherence of security studies.

Apart from pointing at the theoretic shortcomings of security studies, post-colonialists point at the practical politics that cannot be completely perceived without the Third World experiences, considering the fact that the majority of the world's population lives outside the Western civilization and that Europe and the non-European world mutually constitute and jointly make history. Besides, unlike conventional security studies which considered the conflicts between North and South to be "small wars" or asymmetric conflicts on the periphery, those conflicts have now become the central topic of security studies. Finally, the resistance movements formed around Al-Qaeda, and today around the Islamic State, and the reactions to them, are global in scope and not limited to particular states or even a particular region.⁹⁶ This gives post-colonial studies a particular significance within security studies, especially regarding the post-Cold War period.

93 Ayoob, M.: *Defining Security: A Subaltern Realist Perspective*, in: Krause K., Williams, M. (eds.): *Op.cit.*, p. 136.

94 Acharya, A.: *The Periphery as the Core: The Third World and Security Studies*, in: Krause K., Williams, M. (eds.): *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases*, UCL Press, London, 1997, p. 307.

95 *Ibid.*, p. 301.

96 Barkawi, T.; Laffey, M.: *The postcolonial moment in security studies*, *Review of International Relations*, Vol. 32, No. 2, 2006, p. 330.

5.4. The School of World Society

Finally, the supporters of the *School of World Society* present the thesis that the system of sovereign states has given way to the world society that includes individuals, social groups, nations, etc. It is the idea of creation of the global community of individuals supported by the common humanity law, i.e. the global law.

The concept of world society is based on the creation of global identity and it takes the world population as the basis of that identity. It also points at the danger of global security challenges and threats. The School of World Society is a progressive theoretic thought that relies on the teaching of the so-called English School of International Society. This school deals with the examination of traditional international theories and it is divided into three main groups: realists, rationalists, and revolutionists. Their key concepts are the international system (realists), international society (rationalists, a moderate and favoured option within the school), and world society (revolutionists).⁹⁷

The work of the English School is focused on the international and world society and norm, regulations, and institutions that support the *raison de système* (the system reason, as opposed to the concept of the state reason) and the social order of the international society.

The English School relies on the teaching of realists, but also of liberalists, social constructivists, and post-structuralists. Within the school, there are two wings: *pluralists*, who have a state-centred direction and who advocate the concept of international society of sovereign states and *solidarists*, who represent the idea of world society. However, it is considered that the world society is marginalized, still insufficiently developed concept in comparison to the concept of international society. In relation to that, there are several key features of the world society in the English School opus, i.e. the issues arising from this concept:

- the world society concept has a marginal position in literature, it is not systematically developed, and it remains secondary in relation to the concept of international society;
- in spite of the marginalization in the theoretic sense, the world society concept has a significant place within the English School, because it has a crucial significance for the encouragement of searching for the order on which the society of the whole humanity is based, which is seen, within the School, as an ideal to aspire to;
- there is still a firm divergence of political positions when it comes to the world society: on one hand, they defend the idea that the international

⁹⁷ Buzan, B.: *From International to World Society? English School Theory and the Social Structure of Globalization*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2004, p. 7.

society is necessary for the existence of the world order; on the other hand, they search for the ways to diminish the negative consequences on human rights arising from the main principles of international society, sovereignty principle, and non-interventionism;

- world society in the analytical sense is something of a “dustbin” including revolutionism, cosmopolitanism, and transnationalism. There is a strong agreement that international and world society rest on an ontological distinction between the state level on one hand and a rather complicated matrix of individuals and non-state groups, and trans-national actors on the other. It remains unclear what the relation of international and world society is like: according to some, world society is a precondition for international society; according to the others, world society and international society are enemy concepts and mutually exclusive; and according to the third, these two concepts are “prospective partners in marriage”;
- the rationalist view of the world society, which provides the civilization factor (the factor of cultural unity) to the realistic view, gives special attention to international interaction, which includes diplomacy, law, and commerce. However, there has been no follow-up of this idea that commerce was a part of the rationalist agenda;
- there is a strong presumption that international and world society have to be considered in global terms, and that their regionalist or sub-systemic developments must subtract from the whole by creating competing centres.⁹⁸

It is considered that the English School is unfairly neglected in the field of security studies, because it presents a significant contribution to that field: apart from the state reason, it includes the term “system reason”, points at the significance of the normative framework for securitization, indicates the historic variability of the basic concepts of security studies, such as war, balance of power, and human rights, points at the significance of insider/outsider dimension for the relations in the security field based on the divisions within the international society, etc.⁹⁹

98 *Ibid*, p. 44–45.

99 Buzan, B.: The English School: A neglected approach to International Security Studies, *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 46, No. 2, 2015, pp. 126–143.

6. Security Culture Theory

Security Culture Theory is quite new in our region.¹⁰⁰ To be precise, security culture was almost not mentioned in the Republic of Serbia until the beginning of the third millennium: there were no texts about it¹⁰¹ and almost nothing was polemicized. The encouragement to wider scientific and expert thoughts and polemicizing on security culture was the monograph *Security Culture* published in 2004. It is a scientific text which, applying the research methodology in social sciences field, shows theoretic thought on the concept, main (ethical, sociological, economic, and educational and pedagogical) aspects, principles, and determining factors of security culture, as well as on the security culture in society and national security system, and the relation between security culture and professional codes.¹⁰²

The publishing of this book influenced several higher education institutions to introduce a course named *Security Culture* into their study programmes. Primarily, those were the Faculty of Security Studies, University of Belgrade¹⁰³, the Faculty of Law, the University of Novi Sad¹⁰⁴, etc. Security Culture is on the list of elective courses of non-state educational institutions in the country and region, such as the Faculty of Legal and Business Studies, University “Lazar Vrkatić” in Novi Sad¹⁰⁵, and the Faculty of Security and Protection in Banja Luka.¹⁰⁶

Fortunately, this was not the end of the development of the idea and concept of security culture. Unfortunately, the reasons behind the intensification of the development of this idea were not positive. It was the increasing vulnerability of students and the young in the Republic of Serbia. In the conditions of the increase of the rate of juvenile crimes, a significant part of which was committed in schools or against the school property or teaching staff, the ministry responsible for the education affairs made a conclusion on the necessity of the improvement of the youth security culture. It was understood that schools do not just have educational

100 Inspired by the text: Mijalković, S.; Otašević, B.: Work on Improving Safety Culture of the Citizens of the Republic of Serbia, *Bezpieczeństwo – Powinność czy Gwarancja?*, Aspekty Prawne I Prawnoustrojowe, Wyższa szkoła humanitas, Sosnowiec, 2014, pp. 117–130.

101 The only texts about security culture were: one entry in the only security lexicon (Đorđević, O.: *Leksikon bezbednosti*, Partizanska knjiga, Beograd, 1986, p. 23), one expert article in the magazine of national significance (Kešetović, Ž.: Bezbednosna kultura u uslovima društvenih promena, *Bezbednost*, broj 6, Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova Republike Srbije, Beograd, 1995, 849–854), and one definition of the security culture concept presented in the course book: Stajić, Lj.: *Osnovi bezbednosti*, Policijska akademija, Beograd, 1999, p. 45.

102 Stajić, Lj.; Mijalković, S.; Stanarević, S.: *Bezbednosna kultura*, Draganić, Beograd, 2004.

103 Plan organizacije i realizacije nastave u školskoj 2017/2018 godini na osnovnim akademskim studijama, <http://www.fb.bg.ac.rs/download/studije/Plan%20nastave%20OAS%202017-18.pdf>, accessed on 1th June 2018.

104 Plan 2013 smer unutrašnjih poslova, <http://www.pf.uns.ac.rs/studije/osnovne-studije/sup/sup-plan2013>, accessed on 1th June 2018.

105 Bezbednost i kriminalistika: osnovne studije, <http://www.flv.edu.rs/osnovne-studije-bezbednost.html>, accessed on 1th June 2018.

106 Plan i program za prvu godinu, <http://fbzbl.net/site/studijski-programi/bezbjednost-i-zastita/plan-i-program-za-studij-bezbjednosti-i-kriminalistike-i-godina/>, accessed on 1th June 2018.

role, which is the transfer of specific knowledge necessary for further education and future profession of an individual, but that they are equally significant for the preparation of the young for their overall active participation in social life. This definitely involves the transfer of specific knowledge and skills, as well as the creation of the students' attitudes on the need to protect themselves from various phenomena that threaten their life and property, the life and property of the people in their surroundings, and other social values, as well. That is accomplished by direct and proper personal engagement in case of a danger and/or by alarming social environment, primarily the social subjects responsible for dealing with security. The result of that would be that an individual, a young member of society, is not just a passive subject protected by the society and state, but the active factor of personal, public, national, and the security of others, as well. That capability of an individual to self-initiatively and properly participate in the realization of the social security function is a significant factor of prevention of crimes and other security endangering phenomena.

In relation to that, in mid-2005, the realization of a pilot project by the Ministry of Education and Sport and Faculty of Security Studies, University of Belgrade was initiated. It was named *Through Learning to Safety* and its aim was to improve the security of school population by the introduction of the optional school subject *Security Culture* in secondary schools. The subject was experimentally taught in twenty schools in Serbia (5 in each of the places: Belgrade, Novi Sad, Niš, and Kragujevac).

The result of the realization of one of the phases of this project was the creation of the monograph *Youth Security Culture – How to Live Safely* which was supposed to be the basis of the future course book for the school subject with the same name. Apart from the brief review of the content presented in the first monograph, the second monograph also included: etiological, phenomenological, and victimological aspects of numerous contemporary issues of youth security (tolerance, gender equality, attitude towards minority groups, conflicts, drug addiction, alcoholism, gambling, forms of physical, sexual, and verbal violence, domestic violence, peer violence, civil unrests and violence at sports events, sexual exploitation of children, human trafficking, terrorist threats and attacks, unauthorized use of firearms and explosive devices, destructive actions of sects, computer crime, natural disasters) with guidelines for behaving and protecting the security of people and property in those situations; guidelines for secure behaviour in specific spheres of life (traffic, health, and environment culture, school security, security at school excursions and school celebrations, security in living facilities, instruments of personal protection and the protection of objects), and the arguments for the improvement of cooperation between

citizens and police, as well as other security subjects. The relation between the first and second monograph is the relation between the general and the specific.¹⁰⁷

Unfortunately, the school subject *Security Culture* has not been introduced in the education process of secondary schools. Due to numerous objective problems – primarily the lack of financial resources, the realization of the project was “put on hold”. Apart from that, such fate of the project had a political background, owing to the frequent changes of the ministers responsible for education. However, on the basis of this project, various projects for the security improvement were developed by numerous non-governmental organisations and professional associations. In addition, the security culture phenomenon has started being extensively discussed.¹⁰⁸ What is more, many local authorities in the Republic of Serbia started considering how to enhance the security of their citizens and the development of their security culture has a significant role in that.

However, the theory of security culture “continued living”, particularly due to its positive sides and innovations in understanding and practicing security. The fact is that security and culture are categories that necessarily complement each other and create a certain relation of interdependence. If culture is defined as a set of universal values according to which a person determines his/her position in a society and the world, and security as the protection and protectiveness of those values, their connection and conditionality are clear.¹⁰⁹

In general, security culture is *the behaviour that creates security or contributes to security, the behaviour that does not threaten or contribute to threatening of security*. To be specific, security culture is *a set of adopted attitudes, knowledge, skills, and rules from the field of security, manifested as a behaviour and process, on the necessity, manners, and means of protecting personal, social, national, and international values from all sources, forms, and carriers of threatening regardless of the place or time of their manifestation*.¹¹⁰

Therefore, security culture is the behaviour governed by the awareness of the need to confront the security threatening phenomena by: removing etiological factors; independent acting against the threatening actors, if that does not endanger the personal security or the security of others; timely alarming of the relevant subjects of the national security system; independent acting or alarming the security subjects who will prevent the occurrence of harmful consequences,

107 Stajić, Lj.; Mijalković, S.; Stanarević, S.: *Bezbednosna kultura mladih – kako bezbedno živeti*, Op.cit.

108 On the Serbian version of Google (www.google.rs), solely, on 6th July 2018, the search engine identified around 333,000 results for the key word “security culture”. See: https://www.google.com/search?ei=WRIXW6G4H4OrsQHp8bhY&q=%22security+culture%22&oq=%22security+culture%22&gs_l=psy-ab.3..0i203k1i10.15620.24837.0.25603.4.4.0.0.0.111.427.0j4.4.0...0...1c.1.64.psy-ab.0.4.416...0i7i30k1.0.cgKXTnUZNU0, accessed on 6th July 2018.

109 See: Mijalković S.: O korelaciji kulture i nacionalne bezbednosti, *Kultura polisa – časopis za negovanje demokratske političke kulture*, broj 11/12, Udruženje za političke nauke Srbije – Ogranak u Novom Sadu i Grafomarketing, Novi Sad, 2009, p. 601–617.

110 Stajić, Lj., Mijalković, S., Stanarević, S.: *Bezbednosna kultura*, Draganić, Beograd, 2005, p. 29–30.

mitigate, remove, or enable the development of the occurred harmful consequence and, as efficiently as possible, revitalize the attacked values.

Thus, it is obvious that the core of security culture consists of:

- *responsibility* for oneself, others, state, international community, and all the values that require protection (starting from health, property, moral, cultural heritage to the environment and genetics);
- *awareness* of the need, manners, and means for protecting the mentioned values (awareness of the forms of threats, their consequences, awareness of the mechanisms of individual and collective protection and of the personal tasks and rights in that);
- *solidarity and participation*, as the natural right of all the people to equal security, but with the awareness that in the realization of security everyone has the duty to give personal contribution (understanding that security does not happen on its own, but that it is created, defended, improved, which requires individual and group work, sacrifices, and investment, while respecting other people and their needs);
- *desire* to confront the threatening phenomena even when they are happening to others, desire to improve the personal security condition, to label the dangerous phenomena, etc.;
- *encouragement*, as the energy for creating positive changes significant for the survival, development, and progress of the society;
- *inventiveness, audacity, and risk*, as significant determinants of active confronting the threatening phenomena. To be precise, the threatening phenomena are quite changeable, dangerous, difficult to eradicate, and they have their manners of “protection”. Therefore, their eradication requires constant application of new methods and means to tackle them most easily, reducing their possibility to produce harmful effects to the person/object they are directed towards or to endanger the person confronting them;
- *action*, an executive measure that brings the security state to the desired level, i.e. that creates the desired changes. First of all, those are the actions of defining interests, values, and aims (of an individual, social groups, societies, or the alliance of states); recognizing the source, form, and carrier of a threat; defining the strategy of protection of values (actions on organizing, regulating, and managing relations), and the actions of operative activities.¹¹¹

The operationalization of these attitudes completes the image that security culture is, in many ways, the consequence of social heritage that has its aims and a strategy for accomplishing those aims. Security culture is at the same

111 Stajić, Lj.; Mijalković, S.; Stanarević, S.: *Bezbednosna kultura*, Pravni fakultet Univerziteta u Novom Sadu, Novi Sad, 2013, p. 41.

time an idea for finding innovative and creative measures for solving various security issues. It strengthens the *presence of professional security subjects* on the local level. That establishes the mutual trust and improves the relations between citizens and security subjects, contributing to the improvement of the state of security.



Figure 4. Security Culture Content

It is obvious that security culture has a civic (personal, social, international and global) and a professional dimension. The firmer that connection is, the more secure the community is. The quality of that connection is influenced by, apart from the social and cultural heritage, education (training), awareness, politics, society condition (social, political, and economic circumstances), international environment, and other factors.¹¹²

At the same time, it is obvious that security culture has its *subjective* and *objective* dimension, i.e. the spheres that deal with human awareness and knowledge and the spheres of acting and creating consequences in the outer world.¹¹³

¹¹² *Ibid*, pp. 41-42.

¹¹³ *Ibid*, pp. 45-47.

The basis of the subjective sphere consists of, already elaborated, *human emotions* and *biological instincts*.

The next levels of security culture are *knowledge and skills acquired through upbringing*, primarily in the family. It is the transfer of traditional values and the manners of respecting and protecting them. In that process, a significant role is played by religion, which nurtures the cult of specific customs, beliefs, values, and the manner of reaching, enjoying, and protecting them. The fear that something might be illegal, immoral, a sin, or that it is “bad luck to do it”, that it will be condemned by others, definitely contributes to raising of the awareness that one should do good deeds and avoid the bad ones, which is security culture.

In addition, the level of *knowledge and skills acquired through education and professional work* is significant. Thus, some specialized knowledge applicable in the field of security protection is acquired through all education types, including the vocational specializations. Such knowledge is not applied only in performing professional work (official activities), but in everyday life, as well.¹¹⁴

Finally, the level of *knowledge and skills acquired through self-education and self-affirmation* is quite significant. That is the specific knowledge acquired at specialist trainings or during a long dedication to specific hobbies most people are unfamiliar with.¹¹⁵

The objective sphere of security culture consists of *human behaviour and actions*. Principally, those are the actions that are performed consciously and willingly, with the intention to produce a certain result, which consists of the protection of certain value or the removal of a danger or damage (the so-called *doing*). Exceptionally, those actions can be unconscious, when a person performs them instinctively (the so-called *reflex acting*).¹¹⁶

Finally, conscious behaviour of a person is also not performing an action (*not doing*), thus contributing to solving a security issue or to the progress of a threatening phenomenon.¹¹⁷ Therefore, since it contains the level of instinctive and unconscious acting, it can be concluded that everyone has security culture, even though they might not be aware of that. In that sense, it cannot be said that *someone does not have security culture*, only that it is *insufficiently developed*.

114 For example, until firemen/rescuers and emergency services arrive, a car mechanic and a machine locksmith will most easily open the door of a broken vehicle, and a general practitioner will most efficiently provide medical assistance to the person injured in a car accident.

115 Thus, for instance, until specialized police and rescue teams arrive, it would be quite significant to engage members of private alpinist, diving, skiing, parachuting, radio-amateur, or similar clubs for rescuing the injured in emergency situations caused by a natural disaster.

116 Most people will unconsciously twitch or duck when they hear a strong burst in their vicinity, not knowing whether it is an explosion of a dangerous device or something that cannot hurt them physically.

117 Not moving a person suspected of suffering a spine injury causes less damage than the improper first aid assistance which could aggravate the condition; not using water to extinguish fire in a chemical facility prevents an explosion or the progression of fire, so it is less damaging to wait for firefighters and prevent its spreading to the surroundings than to try to extinguish the fire with water, etc.

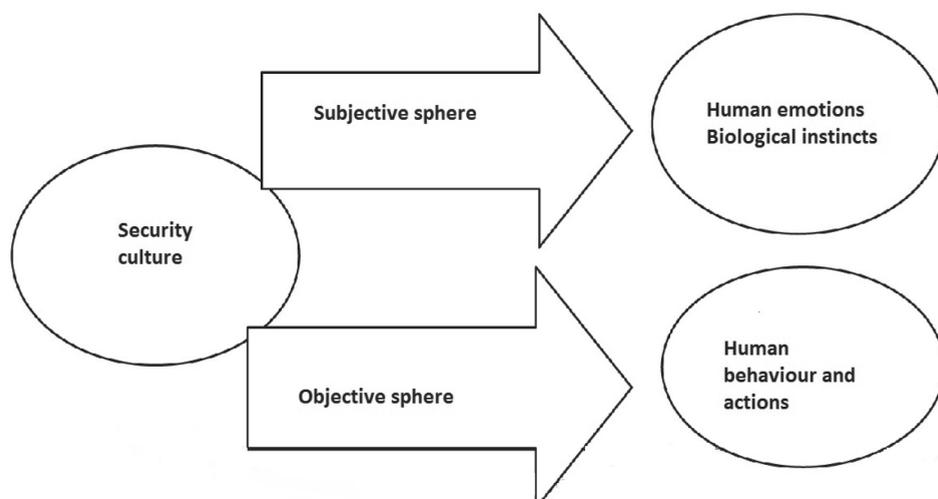


Figure 5. Security Culture Spheres

Security culture is manifested in several forms. In general, in relation to the origin and its carriers, security culture can be divided into individual, mass, professional, and national security culture and, in the expanded context, into the culture of international and global security, as well.

In relation to the origin and its carriers, security culture can be manifested as individual, mass, professional, and national security culture and, in the expanded context, as the culture of international and global security, as well.¹¹⁸

Individual security culture is the security culture of an individual and a small community such as a family or neighbourhood. It is acquired through upbringing in the family and developed and upgraded through the process of education and self-education. Its basic function is the protection of personal values (*God helps those who help themselves.*), but also of an individual, family, and the values of the people in one's surroundings, and the society (*Love thy neighbour as thyself.*).

Mass security culture is the result of the security culture of the society and its "average" is one of the significant features of culture, mentality, and identity of a nation. According to it, societies are determined as more or less security (self-)responsible. The significance of the security culture of citizens in protecting national security is best expressed by the description of the elements of the term citizen which involve responsibility for oneself and for others; awareness of personal duties and rights; solidarity; the sense of togetherness and sharing; non-

¹¹⁸ More about that in: Mijalković, S.: *Nacionalna bezbednost*, Kriminalističko- policijska akademija, Beograd, 2011, pp. 268–271.

acceptance of dishonesty; desire to improve the life and security in the community; the spirit of inventiveness, audacity, and risk; deliberation followed by action and a deliberate action led by the idea of the improvement of referent values.

Professional security culture is characteristic for professions. It is acquired by performing it for a long time. Its function is the protection of values of professional groups, but also the protection and improvement of general values and interests and the values of other individuals and groups the professions are in touch with. In relation to that, the security culture of the members of national security system is particularly interesting.

From the aspect of governing the state or the national security system (strategic management level), particularly significant aspect of security culture is *political culture*. It is a set of values, beliefs, and attitudes within which a political system functions. Political culture encourages specific political actions, thus influencing the stability of a political system, which is a significant determinant of the national security system.¹¹⁹

Moreover, the national security culture is comprised of synergic effects of all the levels of security culture in the protection of national and state values and interests. In a wider meaning, it is a constructive acting on the basis of the developed awareness of individuals, social groups, officials from the state apparatus and the national security system towards the values which require the protection, their significance, necessity, and mechanisms of their protection on individual and social plan, within real social reality and the state of international security.¹²⁰

To be specific, national security culture is the model of national security politics, i.e. the relation of a national government to the structural position of the state in the international system, primarily from the aspects of: subjective comprehension of objective threats to national security, the instruments for the identification of those threats, and inclinations and capabilities towards unilateral or multilateral actions. It is defined by using four determinants: the view of the state on the external environment; national identity; instrumental preferences, and interaction preferences. The countries with different security cultures will not so easily agree on what presents a threat or on the adequate means of their mitigation.¹²¹

National security culture is a constituent of the national identity because it presents a unique relation of a state and society towards its safety (*national*

119 Rosamond, B.: *Political Culture, Politics – An Introduction* (eds. Axford, B., Browning, G. K., Huggins, R., Rosamond, B., Turner, J.), Routledge, London, 1997, pp. 77–80.

120 More about that in: Mijalković, S.: *Tranzicija kulture nacionalne bezbednosti u posthladnoratovskom međunarodnom ambijentu, Kultura polisa: časopis za negovanje demokratske političke kulture*, br. 1, Udruženje za političke nauke SCG i Stylos, Novi Sad, 2012, pp. 273–286.

121 *National Security Cultures – Patterns of Global Governance*, pp. 11–13.

security identity). In brief, that is a *specific model –style of the (self-)protection of a state*. The degree of its development at the same time represents the total cultural and democratic level of some states and societies. Security reality is distinguished by the plurality of national security cultures.

Finally, we can talk, to a certain extent, about the *culture of international and global security*, which would represent dominant models of behaviour of non-state, state, and international actors within the concepts through which these levels of security are realized.

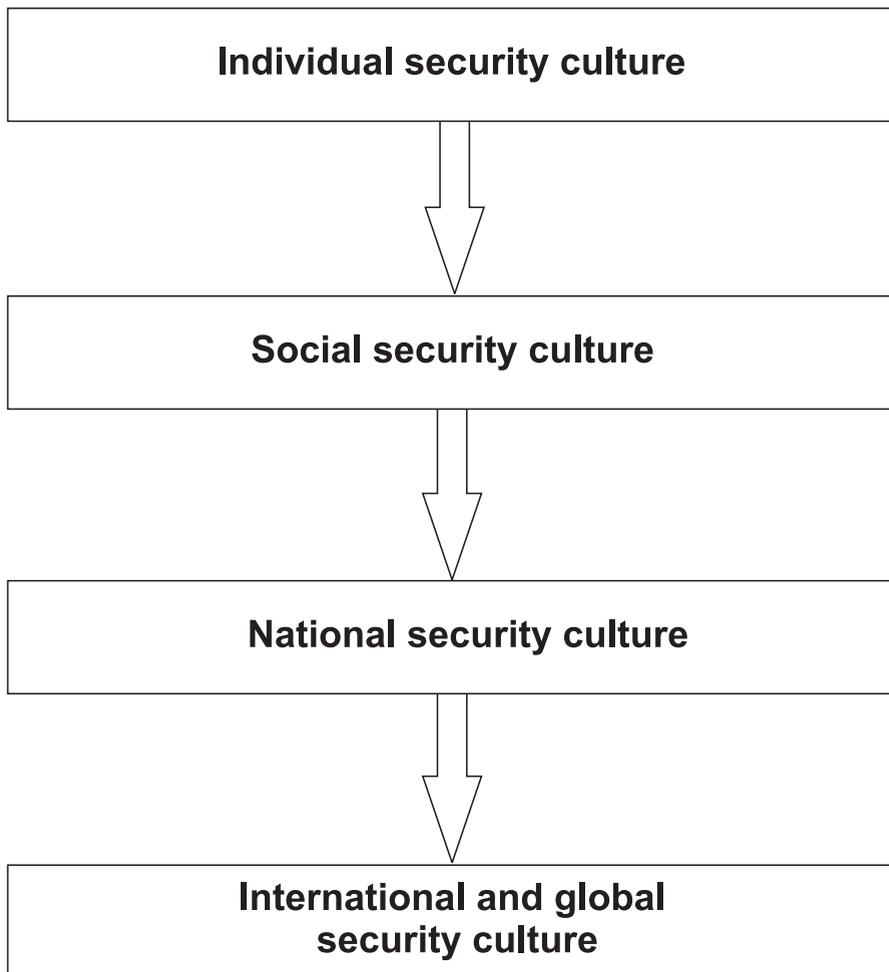


Figure 6. Security Culture Levels

Apart from the abovementioned, it must be emphasized that, in the comparative literature and practice, there is an increased usage of syntagmas derived from the term “security culture”. So, there is a frequent occurrence of the phrases such as: *nuclear security culture, health security culture, traffic security culture, police and military security culture, environmental security culture, etc.*

From the perspective of security in general, i.e. the values and interests of individuals, social groups, states, international community, and global society, and from the perspective of the social life sphere in which it is used, security culture is an absolutely positive category.

At the same time, since it is to a great extent the result of social and historical heritage, the standards of security culture differ in different surroundings, societies, and states. However, its innovative and creative relevance in solving problems on all security levels cannot be denied.

Finally, although it is absolutely positive, security culture theory, as well as all other listed security theories, is not sufficient to explain and control the processes of security and endangering security. Its foundation on human readiness and dexterity in facing security threats gives it an excellent reputation from the aspect of responding to all kinds of threatening phenomena, but it limits it in respect to preventing the security being endangered by the phenomena of natural or technical and technological origin.

7. The Significance of Security Theories

The development and the range of security theories are the basic conditions of the development and survival of security as a scientific field. Thus, the significance of a security theory is primarily related to the scientific positioning of security studies and the creation of scientific identity.

The significance of a security theory is unequivocally connected to the security practice. To be precise, the efficiency in solving security issues is conditioned to a great extent by the results of scientific and research work: successful protection of social values and interests, i.e. the efficient prevention and suppression of security threatening phenomena and repairing of destructive consequences is the resultant of the conclusions of the scientific examination of their etiological, phenomenological, and consequential features, and scientifically projected and, thus normatively defined, social reaction to the threatening phenomena.

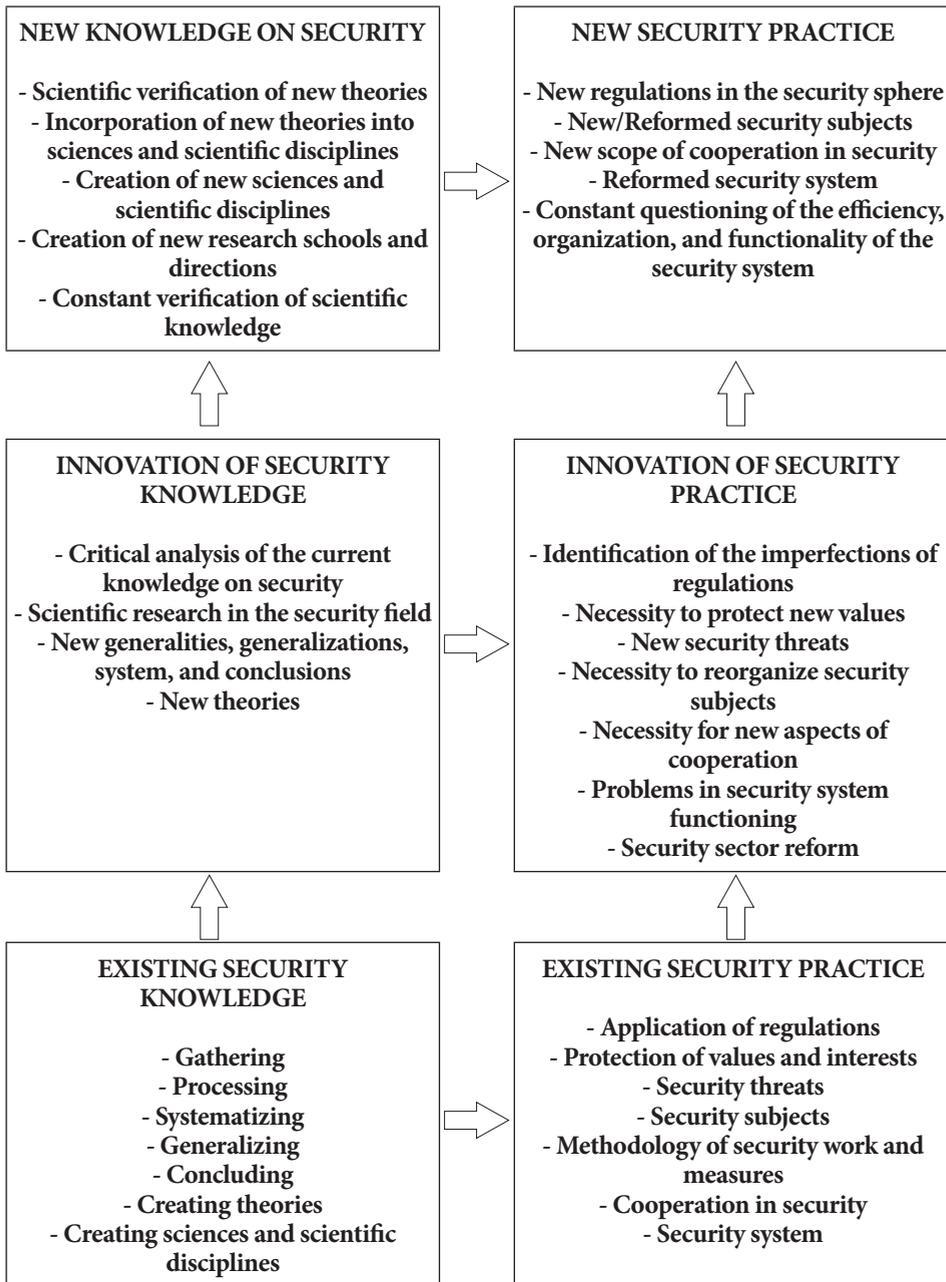


Figure 7. The Matrix of the Relation between the Security Theory and Practice

Therefore, the strategic aim of the security theory is to find suitable and efficient security strategies, policies, and methodologies of the vital social values and interests, applying the rules of scientific research methodology. It can be concluded from this that the significance of the security theory is threefold:

- *scientific*, reflecting in the continuous development of the fund of scientific knowledge in the security field;
- *practical*, reflecting in finding models for solving specific security issues, improvement of security practice, and reaching optimum security state;
- *pedagogical significance*, as their link, reflecting in educating of future and current representatives of the security system to solve specific issues and improve the security practice, applying the theory, and sending the feedback that enhances the theory, but also reflecting in the education of citizens by developing their security culture.

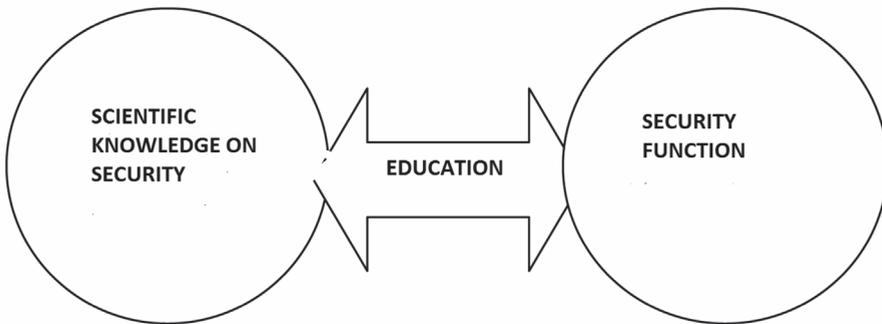


Figure 8. The Pedagogical Significance of the Security Theory

Due to the continuously worrying dynamics of security reality, security theory faces a serious mission of continuous research of: numerous security threatening phenomena having a complex, multicausal origin, which requires the so-called *local* research approach which respects the dynamics of the local socio-cultural environment and its dialectic relation with the global security context; phenomenological dimensions of security phenomena that are multi-manifest, with the complex realization process, and the tendency of constant metamorphosis; the quantity and quality of the consequences of security threatening phenomena; interaction and cumulative action of various security threatening phenomena; tendencies of abusing contemporary scientific achievements during the attack on the protected values and interests; possibility of conceiving and innovating Security Strategy and other special and individual, primarily, preventive security strategies; directions of the security strategy

reform, possibility of replacing traditional methods with contemporary methods and means, and the improvement of the staff professional development model; manners of eradication of illegal actions of security subjects; directions of improvement of cooperation of security subjects on national and supranational level, etc.

The tendencies of the development of security theory are simultaneously focused on two directions: on the integration of scientific knowledge within the unique and independent teaching and scientific field and on the particularization into the theories of a larger number of different disciplines which study specific parts of theory and the subject of security studies.

The significance of the first tendency is in the serious establishment of a new scientific field that has its own subject, theory, language, and method, while the justification of the other tendency is in the need to form more specific and comprehensive scientific knowledge funds that are in the function of specialization of security subjects for solving specific aspects of contemporary security issues.

1. The Methods of Researching Security Phenomena

A *method* is the manner of doing something and the manner of reaching a desired goal. It involves the instruments of work and the technique of their application. A *scientific method* is the manner for acquiring, verifying, and developing a scientific finding. Scientific knowledge is all knowledge that is general, true, objective, precise, systematic, verifiable, and the element of the system of knowledge of a science. The basic functions of a scientific method encompass the discovering and proving new scientific claims, practical verifying and marking of scientific knowledge, self-correcting (abandoning or altering) of science claims, and directing a researcher in relation to the objects of the studied reality.¹²²

A *scientific research* is a systematic, objective, critical, controlled, and replicative process of acquiring new information necessary for the identification and solving of problems in science and other fields of human work. The methodology of (scientific) research deals with the appearance, development, and learning value of knowledge methods and technical procedures of a scientific research, as well as with studying components of a scientific research and the structure of scientific knowledge.¹²³

The methodology of researching security phenomena uses general research methods, primarily the general logical operations of judging and concluding, i.e. induction, deduction, analysis, synthesis, analogy, generalization, as well as the principles of formal logics (principles of identity, non-contradiction, excluded middle) in order to reach certain scientific descriptions, scientific classifications, scientific explanations, science laws, and potential scientific predictions.¹²⁴

122 Ristić, Ž.: *op.cit.*, pp. 91–96.

123 *Ibid.*, pp. 100, 99.

124 More about this in: Mijalković, S.: O metodologiji istraživanja u oblasti bezbednosnih nauka, *Bezbednost – policija – građani*, br. 3–4, Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova Republike Srpske, Banja Luka, 2010, pp. 361–371. Security theory often emphasizes that scientific aims are descriptive, analytical (the analysis of the problem sui generis), and prescriptive (finding the solution to a problem relying to predicting). Prins, G.: Notes toward the Definition of Global Security, *American Behavioral Scientist*, No. 6, May 1995, p. 821.

In addition, the methods of primarily social sciences are used, because most security phenomena are comprised of social occurrences. To a lesser extent, the methods of natural and technical and technological sciences are used in situations when it is necessary to research into the security phenomena of such a nature. Of course, these methods are adapted to the needs of security studies and the nature of security phenomena.

In general, these methods can be divided into quantitative and qualitative. Whether a quantitative, qualitative or the combined application of these two methods should be used for conducting a research primarily depends on the research type and the nature of the data expected to be obtained by that research. Qualitative methods are most frequently connected to the interpretivist epistemology and they are used when we need opinions, beliefs, ideas, values, and information on the subjective experiences of people. Qualitative methods lead to the findings on the processes of thinking. Using them, the attitudes and opinions of the interviewees are placed in a specific context. Thus, qualitative researchers are not just interested in the frequency, numerical representation, etc. but in the meaning of a specific practice. Unlike them, quantitative researchers base their work on observing and measuring the occurrences of a specific phenomenon and establishing the cause and effect relation among variables. A variable is defined as “a feature of an object, person, condition, process, which (under the influence of certain factors) can take any value from a specific set of values”.¹²⁵

Variables are divided into dependent variables and independent variables. An independent variable is the one measured by a researcher in order to establish its effect on a phenomenon, i.e. it is what is used for providing an explanation. A dependent variable is a variable that is observed and what is measured here is the effect that an independent variable has on it, i.e. it is what is explained.¹²⁶

During the research of security phenomena, it is possible, desirable, and most frequent, that more than one scientific method is used. Therefore, the following text will present the ones that are most suitable, for various reasons, and they mostly belong to the group of qualitative methods of data gathering.

The method of *insight into the existing written sources* (the so-called, *content analysis*) is unavoidable in studying every scientific issue. Scientific methodology, data, knowledge, and conclusions of earlier researches of comparable issues are particularly significant. Applying this method, a researcher gets acquainted with the relevance of his/her subject and the field of interest, and the existing scientific contribution achieved in that field. The aim of this research procedure is to study the social written communication and it mostly refers to the content of specific messages. On the basis of the messages content analysis, the conclusions are

125 Ristić, Ž.: *op.cit.*, p. 142.

126 *Ibid.*, pp. 142–143; Marsh, D.; Stoker, G.: *op.cit.*, pp. 191–224.

drawn on the opinions, attitudes, values, and intentions of the message sender, on his/her relation to other social groups and organizations, propaganda is identified, etc.¹²⁷

Content analysis can be quantitative or qualitative, depending on whether we are interested in the distribution of a phenomenon (quantitative) or in its content and meaning in a specific context (qualitative). Content analysis in security studies is used, for instance, when it is necessary to review how a certain issue (e.g. LGBT events organized in the local community) is presented in the daily press (several most relevant daily papers during a specific period). The units of the analyses that need to be determined can be specific words or phrases, so their frequency can be observed, as well as whether they are mentioned in a positive or negative context. The limitations in the application of this model are connected with few written sources on numerous security phenomena (that are frequently labelled confidential and are neither available to the general public nor to the scientific and professional one), as well as with the potential subjectivity of researchers.

The method of *secondary analysis* is suitable for observing the scope, structure, and often qualitative features (consequences in the form of material damage, endangering people's health, etc.) of the so-called mass security-interesting phenomena that have already been researched. In that sense, it is suitable to use the *statistical method*, primarily for quantitative observation of the threatening phenomena according to their elements (aspect and form of manifestation, consequence, the threat carrier, motive, etc.), respecting certain time and space parameters.

Statistical methods collect quantitative data on the widespreadness of a phenomenon and the tendencies of its movements, and statistical analysis discovers the structure of the phenomenon and the mutual effects of the factors of its structure.¹²⁸

On the basis of the research results, the so-called "neuralgic points" (the territorial distribution of phenomena) can be identified or "neuralgic concepts" (the time distribution of phenomena) in which the endangering of security is more intensive, according to its scope or certain contents. A research that requires the application of the statistical method is realized by using some of the programmes for statistical data processing, such as STATISTICA, EDUSTAT, S-PLUS, and SPSS, the most frequently used programme specialized for researches in the field of social sciences.

However, the application of this method is fraught with some difficulties. First of all, it can only observe the endangering phenomena that are known and the consequence of which is visible; the degree of the "dark figure" is much higher.

127 Milić, V.: *Sociološki metod*, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva, Beograd, 1996, p. 572.

128 Marković, Ž. D.: *Opšta sociologija*, Savremena administracija, Beograd, 2003, p. 95.

Moreover, it can only observe the registered phenomena. Frequently, there are no special records on numerous phenomena, and where there are some, they usually are not updated. Some of them are not centralized not only on the state level, but also on the local level. In the end, the usage of this method requires the existence of certain standardized criteria on the basis of which security phenomena would be classified.

The observation method is suitable for (in)direct sensory perception of specific elements of threatening phenomena. The observer is in the situation to monitor the course of the phenomenon development, and to detect its causes, actors, actors' behaviour, and consequences.

The participant observation method includes the participation of a researcher in the realization of the security issue. He/she is involved in the life and work of the environment they are researching, i.e. they have become its part by taking some of the roles or tasks realized in that environment. In that way, they are able to observe some behaviour that would not be available to them without the participation.

This method is suitable for observing the behaviour of participants in some mass phenomena (e.g. civil unrest, violence at sports events, etc.). The observer can record the phenomena (audio or audio-video) and to later analyse the content of the recording in many ways.

The observation and participant observation methods are typical for the so-called ethnographic researches, where it is of extreme importance for the researcher to directly, from the first-hand experience get familiar with the habits, way of life or work, functioning, cultural development, etc. of a social community. There are numerous advantages of participant observation. First, the sustained contact with the research subject helps the researcher build a relationship of trust and closeness with them. Second, the first-hand observation of what people do and direct decision-making on which of those activities will be recorded is far better than learning about that in a fragmentary fashion from documents or informant interviews.¹²⁹

Finally, participant observation is a particularly effective way of exploring the difference between the "frontstage" and "backstage" – between formal, idealized accounts of a culture and the messy divergences of actual practice.¹³⁰

The application of this method also involves certain limitations. Many phenomena cannot be observed because they occur in secrecy, without the presence of third persons. Moreover, in numerous situations the observer (especially if he/she is a member of the security system) will not permit the

129 To describe this in a picturesque manner, the comparison is made between "sitting in someone's living room with them and peeking in through a keyhole". Gusterson, H.: *Ethnographic Research*, in: Prakash, D.; Klotz, A. (eds.): *Qualitative Methods in International Relations: A Pluralist Guide*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2008, p. 100.

130 Gusterson, H.: *op.cit.*

occurrence of consequences just to be able to observe the phenomenon in its totality. In addition, the observer's field of vision is limited with the position from which they are observing. It can happen that the consequence of the threat is observed, but not the development of the phenomenon or vice versa. The reason for that is also the speed of the development of events.

Finally, what can at the same time be a hampering, but also a facilitating circumstance in ethnographic researches is the fact that researchers are inevitably marked in the field by their race, class, gender, education level, nationality, and other characteristics. Thus, the aspects of the researcher's own identity may play a facilitating role, but they may present an obstacle to the research.¹³¹

The questioning method is the most frequently applied qualitative method and it is suitable for both indirect and direct obtaining of information, data, value attitudes and judgements of one or more persons. Questioning includes the researcher asking questions and the respondent providing answers that can be done in writing or verbally. There are more research techniques within it: interviewing, surveying, and testing.

a) *Interviewing* is a direct verbal communication between the researcher and the person – source of information. It is used for obtaining information from the respondent who has knowledge on or is a direct participant in certain social processes that are the subject of interest. An interview can be non-directive (close to a casual conversation) and directive (according to a strictly planned and precise questions); individual (one interviewer, one interviewee), group (one or more interviewers, more than one interviewee), and collective (the interviewee is a collective).¹³² For obtaining the most objective data, the so-called *in-depth interview*, a more detailed and comprehensive conversation is used. Such interviews are frequently conducted with certain focus groups (*focus group interview*) which are “connected” by similar subjective experience with the security phenomena (actors, victims, or observers).

b) *Surveying* is gathering data from a large number of people who respond to a number of specific questions in writing or verbally. They can be formulated to require the respondents to give their answer to a question, complete the started statement, choose one of several offered answers, or to mark on a scale with a specific scope the level of correctness of a statement or the quality of a phenomenon. Questionnaires, or the scales, must be created in such a manner that the obtained data can provide the complete picture on the research subject as much as it is possible. The usage of scales is suitable for evaluating interpersonal relations in security services or between them

131 *Ibid.*, p. 96.

132 Milošević, N., Milojević, S.: *Osnovi metodologije bezbednosnih nauka*, Policijska akademija, Beograd, 2001, str. 240.

and citizens (*the sociometric method*) and the quality and intensity of their relation towards the threatening phenomena. *Scaling*¹³³, which can be a variation of the combination of methods of measuring and questioning with the surveying technique can measure (by counting, ranking, ranking with determination of the difference among scale values) some contents from the field of creating and endangering security (e.g. ranking of methods that solve a security issue on the basis of the degree of their efficiency).

- c) *Testing* people can be used for checking specific knowledge of respondents on security endangering phenomena and their ability to properly react in specific situations in order to prevent or suppress them. This technique can determine the level of expertise and training of the people and their security culture. If the testing is followed by a training of the people, it is desirable to repeat the testing. Comparing the results will provide conclusions on the effects of the training and the directions of its improvement.

The questioning method can collect valuable data. In some situations, that is the only manner of learning about a security phenomenon. However, the usage of each of the listed techniques involves certain limitations. It is possible that the interviewed or surveyed person is not objective, or that they fail to mention certain knowledge for fear of punishment or labelling or “retribution”. Owing to that, a survey, if anonymous, should be a source of more objective data. Using these techniques, the level of expertise and security culture of people is just partially observed.

The separate types of questioning are the studies of self-accusation and the studies on victims. *The studies of self-accusation* are the questionings of respondents on their participation in the execution of criminal and other punishable acts, usually during a specific period. Those questionings are particularly suitable for researching the “dark figure” of crime. *The studies on victims* are conducted in order to establish the officially not registered victimization of the surveyed individuals, that is, to establish whether specific individuals, usually during a specific period, were the victims of a threatening phenomenon.¹³⁴

For studying some security issues, it is suitable to use *the case method* (better known as *the case study*). The most suitable are the so-called *live cases* (*cases in progress*) while the analysis of the *past (completed) case* is the reconstruction of the situation.¹³⁵ By collecting all the relevant and available data, it is possible to observe comprehensively and from all sides all the security phenomena, their significant elements, and developmental dimension. The relevance of

133 Goode, W. J., Hatt, P. K.: *Metodi socijalnog istraživanja*, Jugoslovenski zavod za proučavanje školskih i prosvetnih pitanja, Beograd, 1966, pp. 219–278.

134 Ignjatović, Đ.: *Kriminologija*, Nomos, Beograd, 1998, p. 92–96.

135 Milosavljević, S., Radosavljević, I.: *Repetitorijum iz metodologije društvenih istraživanja*, Beograd, 1988, pp. 200–205.

this method rests on the assumption of the repetition of certain segments of the threatening phenomena development. Owing to that, it is the best option to apply *the multiple-case method*. One of the variants of this method is *the longitudinal research*, i.e. the research of a specific security phenomenon during a longer period of time.

The case study process starts with the selection of a case, which depends on the question we want to provide an answer to. In choosing a case, the selection is also done in relation to the number of cases that will be analysed and compared, as well as to the logics of comparison of those cases: whether the case(s) study will test the theory, whether the claims are based on the positivistic determination of cause and effect relations or the reflexive determination of influences, etc. The case selection is crucial for choosing the methodology: if several cases of a phenomenon are taken, it is usually the qualitative research, and if the number of cases is large, then it is the qualitative analysis.¹³⁶

The comparative method or comparison is one of the fundamental tools of the analysis, using which we determine the similarities and differences between cases, thus contributing to easier and more precise formulation of specific concepts. Comparison is routinely used in testing hypothesis, but also in the induction of new hypothesis and theory-building.¹³⁷

When it comes to the significance of this method for security studies, it enables comparative reviewing of security phenomena from a specific time and/or space distance. Thus, it can compare the security state of one country in different period (*the historical comparative method*); the security states in different geo-regions of one or more countries (*the space comparative method*), etc.

The term “comparative method” is used for an approach within comparative analysis that provides an alternative to the statistical method. When the number of cases is too low for statistical method, the researcher approximates it by systematic comparative illustration, though without the same degree of confidence. The comparative method then adopts the same logics as the statistical method, adapting it to those situations in which we deal with complex phenomena without the large number of cases necessary for a statistical analysis.¹³⁸

The use of historiographical data (historical method) is used in security studies especially when the research subject is connected with a specific contemporary form or aspect of endangering security. It is a kind of a “hybrid” of the content analysis method, case study, and the comparative method.

136 Klotz, A.: Case Selection, in: Shepherd, L. (ed.): *Critical Approaches to Security: An introduction to theories and methods*, Routledge, London and New York, 2013, pp. 43–58.

137 Collier, D.: The Comparative Method, in: Finifter, W. A. (ed.): *Political Science: The State of the Discipline II*, American Political Science Association, Washington, D. C., 1993, p. 105.

138 Della Porta, D.: Comparative analysis: case-oriented versus variable-oriented research, in: Della Porta, D., Keating, M.: *Approaches and Methodologies in the Social Sciences: A Pluralist Perspective*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2008, p. 201.

The fact is that it is sometimes impossible to scientifically explain a phenomenon or its tendencies, unless its development is known, which is impossible without relying on the historical works and historical experience. Considering the fact that it is the research of a social phenomenon, it is significant to bear in mind that the real content of an object does not need to match the awareness of that object. Therefore, it is important that the researcher explores the manner and ways of perceiving the phenomenon in a specific period and through time. For instance, in case of the conflict between Israel and Palestine, in order to understand the current circumstances, it is significant to be acquainted with the historical context of the beginning of the conflict, as well as with the way it has developed throughout history until today.

The historical exploration consists of three segments. The first is finding the adequate historical source, which is the initial phase in which the researcher gets acquainted with the historical material and informs on the objects, phenomena, or processes that are the subject of his/her research. The second segment consists of the interpretation of the meaning and critical analysis of the source. The third phase involves the process of the synthesis of historical facts for creating a reconstruction of a historical event, activity, period, process, etc. Difficulties that may arise with the application of this method are related to the fact that historical data were created by people and that they are, therefore, burdened by their ideology, beliefs, etc., as well as to the fact that historical sources are sometimes unavailable, incomplete, and that they deteriorate over time.¹³⁹

Apart from that, the pitfalls the researches warn about when uncovering historical facts are numerous. They primarily refer to the impossibility of taking unambiguous lessons from history and straightforward, unambiguous conclusions from the past are usually the hallmark of sloppy historical research. This is the result of the fact that the mutual interrelation between human emotion, modes of reasoning, cultural values, and ever evolving historical narratives is so complex that any attempt to venture into the predictive possibilities of historical case studies is usually a fool's errand. Secondly, these pitfalls are present in the form of making assumptions simply on the basis of current theories and concepts, because interpreting history through the lens of current approach only, can create historical misconceptions. The third pitfall to be avoided during historical researches is the assumption of unambiguous narratives, because the story a researcher should tell about the past is not simple. If we adhere to the contours of an already sketched story, we will miss significant facts and details and automatically discard the facts that do not fit the narrative we are creating. That is why it is necessary to reject the designed stories and delve more into the factual details of the events which will provide that even the most distant details

139 More about that in: Milić, V.: *op.cit.* pp. 531–570.

enrich and deepen our study. Finally, the fourth pitfall that is pointed at is the pitfall of the value neutrality of a narrative and the belief that a narrative does not depend on the context and system of values. However, facts actually get their meaning in a specific context and when they are put in a specific value frame, considering that narratives are created for someone and by someone and not by themselves.¹⁴⁰

The usage of the *experiment* as a method of observation of phenomena and processes in the controlled conditions of an artificially caused condition is limited to the research of the process of creating and endangering security.¹⁴¹

Some phenomena can be artificially caused, like, for instance, the military mobilization of population in order to determine the motivation, speed, and efficiency in the participation in the country's defence; sounding the fire alarm in order to test the readiness of a group to behave in emergency situations; checking the correctness and efficiency of protective (bulletproof) vests, helmets, live-fire exercises in controlled conditions. However, some phenomena cannot be artificially caused and, even when they can, they would not develop as if they spontaneously occurred. Besides, experimenting is illegal, inhumane, and unethical in case of some phenomena (e.g. terrorist attack, armed aggression, etc.).

The additional problems that occur regarding the use of experiments in security studies (and social sciences in general) are numerous, particularly because the subject of the experiment is usually not an object, but a human being that behaves differently when they know they are experiment subjects. In addition, it is sometimes difficult to separate the factors and examine the effect of one independently of the others.

The increasing complexity and secrecy of threatening phenomena, but also of the security methods and actions prevent or limit the application of many of the listed research methods. That is why it is necessary to combine several methods and engage teams of experts of various profiles. That would increase the objectivity and accuracy of scientific findings. In that respect, the researching of security phenomena requires *multi-sectoral* (multi-disciplinary and inter-disciplinary) and *systemic-structural approach*.

The list of scientific methods and techniques of researching (in)security phenomena is certainly not final. Considering the limited financial resources of our researchers, these methods are maybe the most suitable ones and, considering the poor practice of these scientific researches, the most adequate.

140 Froese, M.: Archival research and document analysis, in: Shepherd, L. (ed.): *Critical Approaches to Security: An introduction to theories and methods*, Routledge, London and New York, 2013, pp. 126–127.

141 Compare: Šušnjić, Đ.: *Kritika sociološke metode – Uvod u metodologiju društvenih nauka*, Gradina, 1973, pp. 65–68.

2. The Scientific Research within Security Studies

The scientific researching of security phenomena is the process of objective reviewing their developmental, manifest, and consequential dimensions by applying the rules of scientific research methodology. Generally, two types of researches are conducted in the security sector, the operational and analytic and the scientific research.¹⁴²

Operational researches are conducted by expert bodies in the security service as a part of the regular analytics work or with the aim of solving specific security issues. Even though they are frequently conducted by specific scientific methods, they are not done for scientific purposes.

Scientific researches are conducted within scientific projects for the improvement of the security state or with the aim of removing specific negative phenomena in a specific area, and they are based on the scientific research methodology.

It is a complex process that involves identifying a specific scientific issue, defining the research issue, hypothesizing, deducing the logical consequences of the hypotheses, choosing the research strategy and draft, developing measuring and other research instruments, determining the population and choosing a sample, conducting the research and collecting data, processing and analysing of the collected data, interpreting the research results and making conclusions, writing reports on the research.¹⁴³ The review of the crucial parts and stages of the scientific research ensues.

The research subject is every phenomenon, process, and condition towards which the researcher's subject is directed. Those are often the causes of threats and the conditions suitable for their development, the carriers of threats, forms of threats, attacked values, and the results of the threats, as well as the mechanisms of protection (subjects, strengths, activities, measures, and security activities) of values and interests.

The research issue is the question (lack of knowledge) the answer to which (research results) would fill the missing gap in the scientific knowledge system. Those are usually polemical correlations (relationship, influence) of specific factors in the process of creating or endangering security.

The research hypothesis is the hypothesized clear, precise, unambiguous, probable, and verifiable answer to the research issue. It is a trial (hypothetical) solution of the properly perceived, positioned, and formulated research issue.

142 See: *Izvori, tehnike i tehnologije prikupljanja informacija za potrebe korisnika obaveštajnih podataka*, Obrazovno-istraživački centar Bezbednosno-informativne agencije, Beograd, 2004.

143 Ristić, Ž.: *op.cit.*, pp. 100–120.

The research goals are theoretical (improvement of the knowledge fund) and/or practical (solving a practical security issue).

The processing of the data and information collected using scientific methods involves their analysis, synthesis, induction, deduction, generalization, and crossing with the aim of drawing conclusions on their correlation and interinfluence, and the most suitable manner of solving the scientific issue.

The research results are the conclusions reached by processing the data collected by specific research methods. They can confirm, dispute, or fail to provide answer to the set hypothesis.

Scientific research is quite significant for solving the problem of security. However, in our region there is the attitude that “theory should be the job of theoreticians, and practice of practitioners and that theory often does not have much to do with practice”. It is a prejudice the consequences of which to security are often serious and long-lasting, because the security theory and practice are in a relation of interinfluence and interdependence, and they complement and improve each other. The need to “apply the science in the security practice” is undeniable and obvious.

Many current security issues have followed the society since its beginnings. At the same time, there is the appearance of modified threats (e.g. transnational organized crime), completely new threats (e.g. the proliferation of mass destruction weapons, high-tech crime, genetic material smuggling, etc.), and there is also “the renaissance” of the threatening phenomena that used to be considered “the relics of the past” (e.g. human trafficking). It is obvious that the endangering of human security is a constant and that it is impossible to reach the state of ideal security, but also that security challenges and threats can be controlled to an extent. One of the conditions for that is their comprehensive understanding, as well as the identification of the mechanisms that could control them, which is one of the goals of security sciences.

Moreover, the security enhancement is extremely complex. No model or strategy of solving security issues is absolutely or permanently efficient. Solving multi-causal security issues that have existed for years or even centuries is a slow and long process that requires the fundamental reform of national and supranational security mechanisms, as well as new capacities and security culture, efficient models of which are obtained through scientific research. In addition, the formulation of universal patterns of efficient security problem solving is impossible. This is primarily because the security problems are to a great extent the reflection of the state and changes in a society, i.e. the political, normative, moral, economic, social, and overall state of security in the country and surroundings. At the same time, the security problems differ from one country to another and sometimes it is not even close to being uniform in several

parts of one country. The foundation for overcoming such issues lays in the results of scientific researches.

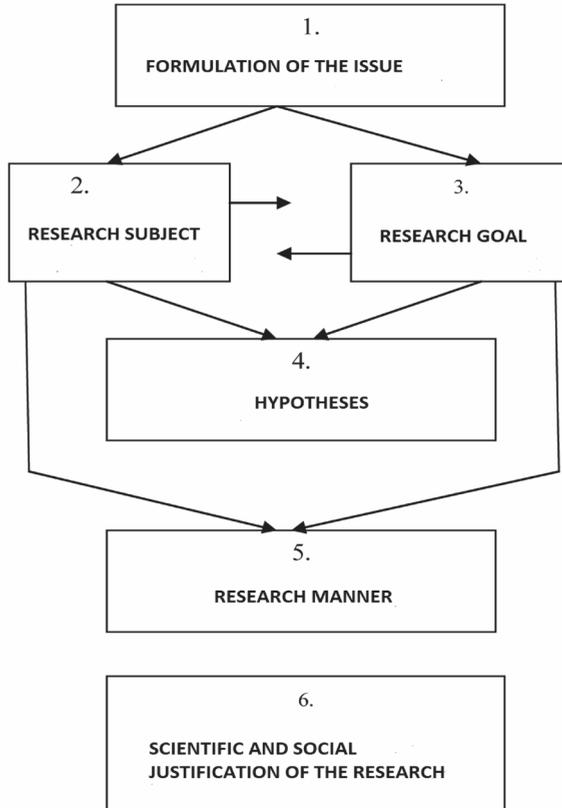


Figure 9. The Research Project as a Scientific Document
(The Main Elements of the Scientific Idea)¹⁴⁴

Finally, the model that provided optimum security and successful solving of security issues at one point will certainly not forever be equally efficient. It is necessary that it should be continuously revised in accordance with new security needs, determined by scientific methods.

The contribution of science to solving security issues is visible in numerous master theses, PhD dissertations, monographs, studies, collections of works, scientific and expert journals, documentaries, lectures, seminars, science conferences, and similar scientific and educational activities.

¹⁴⁴ Milosavljević, S, Radosavljević, I: *op.cit.*, p.32.

A particular significance rests in the scientific projects realized at some institutes, higher education institutions, governmental and non-governmental organizations. Many of these projects are usually financed by the ministry responsible for science, state security sector, and international organizations. The holders of the highest scientific titles and positions often participate in their realization and reviewing, which provides a particular legitimacy to the research results.

The contribution of science reflects in the activities of scientists in relation to solving the specific social and state issues. That is done through their participation in drafting laws, strategies, action plans, and through overall analytical and critical review of practical problems.

However, the results of the abovementioned researches are, unfortunately, hardly ever seriously considered, and even less frequently implemented in the legal system and security practice. In that way, their social significance and realization justification are ignored. That practice is superficial and, unfortunately, quite present in our country, and all of us have the obligation to make an effort to change it.

3. The Sources of Data on Security Phenomena

Various sources of data are used when researching security phenomena. The sources involve all subjects and contents which can potentially provide data and information significant for the research subject. Thus, such contents can be of material and non-material nature and their usability depends on several factors. First of all, it depends on whether the phenomenon is known or not yet discovered; whether there is written evidence on it; whether the active and/or passive actors of the phenomenon, or the witnesses who saw or heard it, are ready to cooperate with the researcher; whether professional services of the national security system are authorized to issue statements and copies of their records; whether the members of the security sector are ready to cooperate with the researcher; if they are ready, whether they have the duty of confidentiality. Moreover, there are the problems with conspirativeness in relation to the systematization of work, tasks, employee structure, and current tasks; availability of databases of foreign services and international organizations; the influence of politics on the work of security services and scientific and research institutions, etc.

Due to the complexity of the researched issues, it is necessary to complementary use a large number of sources, both the existing ones, and the ones created for the needs of the research.

The existing sources refer to all the contents available to the researcher as the product of the experience and practice of other subjects. Those sources do not

always need to be the results of scientific researches, but they can be expert papers and legal regulations. The most suitable of the existing sources are:

- the regulations of the international, national, and comparative law, as well as the by-laws of the security system subjects;
- expert and scientific papers on security phenomena explored from the security aspect, but also from the aspect of other disciplines (criminology, criminal law, international law, international relations, military sciences, criminalistics, etc.);
- the contents of electronic and written media, particularly official public announcements of a state and other bodies and institutions, and the results of the investigative journalism; there is a great significance of documentaries and feature films based on true events, i.e. on historiographical and (auto) biographical written materials, as well as the testimonies (interviews) of the actors of the specific security phenomena;
- institutional data created by the society independently of the scientific interests, referring to:
- quantitative monitoring of the phenomena significant for security, primarily records and statistical reports of state bodies (government, parliament, police, intelligence services, army, justice bodies, etc.), non-governmental organizations, bodies of other states and international organizations, and
- documents from the archives of the abovementioned state institutions, international, non-governmental, and other vocational organizations.

The sources of data that are *directly created* for the needs of the research would be broader empirical records that are not drawn from the existing sources, but created by the direct engagement of the researcher in the process of scientific researching, applying the scientific methodology. First of all, it is the collection of information from the subjects who possess certain knowledge and experience or whose subjective notion of the specific phenomenon or process is significant for the research subject. Those are the following subjects:

- citizens, primarily those who had a personal or indirect experience in relation to a security phenomenon;
- employees of the state bodies and local self-government bodies;
- political elite, particularly in relation to the issues with strategic significance for security (security system development, international security cooperation, security policies and strategies, etc.);
- officials in international organizations;
- members of security services of other countries;
- members of the non-state security sector (as well as the recordings from security cameras or devices for audio surveillance of space);
- non-governmental organizations activists;

- media workers, especially if they deal with the investigative journalism;
- scientific workers (employees of higher education institutions, scientific institutes, state bodies, non-governmental organizations, independent researchers) and other sources.

The reliability of data and scientific sources is different, particularly considering the reflexive nature of most researches in the field of social sciences. In the same manner, frequently, the data on the same phenomena differ if they are obtained from different sources or using different methods. The research results will be more reliable if the data are obtained from a large number of sources using different methods.

4. The Most Frequent Problems in Researching Security Phenomena

Researching security phenomena, due to their complex nature, is fraught with difficulties. The most frequent problems hampering the research efforts are:

- insufficient scientific knowledge on some security endangering phenomena and mechanisms for confronting those phenomena;
- scarcity of reference literature (especially in the Serbian language) as the consequence of the previous problem;
- confusion in defining and the multiplicity of standards in the qualification of security phenomena, which is partly the consequence of the shortcomings of conceptual-categorical apparatus, but also of the lack of professionalism, and of the influence of political factors on the work of national and supranational security mechanisms;
- the limitation of sources and data availability, mostly of the official records of governmental, inter-governmental, and non-governmental organizations, i.e. of the existing, modest literature;
- the imprecision of the existing empirical data due to a high dark figure and underdevelopment of the mechanisms and standards of analytical researching of security phenomena;
- the differences, and even contradictions, of data on some security phenomena coming from different sources;
- confidential nature of most of the data;
- unnecessary mystification (“veil of secrecy”) of security services activities as the consequence of conspirativeness in their work, as well as of their sensationalism in media and popular literature;
- inability to observe some security phenomena independently of other phenomena, because of their interaction and dynamic nature;

- impossibility of the manifestation of security phenomena in the absolutely identical manner, which makes their description and explanation more difficult and requires studying more events during a longer period;
- underdeveloped methodology of scientific research of security phenomena, few realized researches, and even fewer publications that provide methodological framework of the conducted researches;
- non-existence of methodology for precise evaluation of the effects of the undertaken security measures, works, and activities, particularly the preventive ones;
- insufficient financial investment in scientific and research work;
- noticeable intolerance and unfounded underestimating of other people's scientific and research work in security "science and practice";
- potential threat to personal security of the researcher, and many others.

In the end, a specific issue in social researches, and thus in security studies as well, is the *research ethics*. Nowadays, when security studies have increased their scope, and when individuals and vulnerable social groups can be researched as analysis units, research ethics gets its full meaning. Considering the fact that it is the research of human beings, each researcher must be very careful with the methods they would use for collecting data, as well as with the potential impact the results of that research could have on others.

When it comes to data collecting, ethical requirements are the highest when the research is conducted by collecting data from primary sources especially when using observation, participant observation, and interview. Then, it is necessary to adhere to specific minimum standards and rules such as the protection of the person's privacy rights and the right to personal data protection. This ensures the protection of personal data that can be misused for various unlawful purposes. Thus, it is necessary to abide by certain standards in data collection, such as:

- transparency regarding the research intentions, motives, research issue, and the manner those results can potentially be used, so that the participant could have a choice whether they want to participate in the research or not;
- avoiding endangering the participant the data are obtained from, i.e. the source of information. Such is the case with vulnerable groups, victims of violence, or when the contact with the researcher poses a risk for the source of information (if the source is a member of a sect, criminal group, etc., and can therefore suffer a retribution), and
- avoiding exploitation of the source of information, which involves the researcher avoiding the creation of the relation of authority over the interviewee and making an effort in each research phase to create the relationship of trust and respect for the shown interest and the assistance of the interviewee (source of information).¹⁴⁵

145 On research ethics, see: Jarvis, L.: The process, practice and ethics of research, in: Shepherd, L. (ed.): *Critical Approaches to Security: An introduction to theories and methods*, Routledge, London and New York, 2013, p. 244.

Similarly, when it comes to the ethics of the result presentation, it is necessary to take care of:

- protecting the source of information in order to save their anonymity and hide their identity;
- preserving academic integrity in presenting results, which involves using citations and auto-citations in order to avoid plagiarising and damaging the academic dignity;
- proper interpreting of results of previous researches, so that they are not manipulated in order to support own argumentation that seems most acceptable, but objectively observed, and
- the impact the results of a research will have on the society in a wide sense, i.e. on the overall social dynamics. In that sense, the research result must not justify discriminations, violence, racist and extremist opinions, etc.¹⁴⁶

Only the essential difficulties in researching security phenomena have been listed among the abovementioned problems. There are certainly others, as well, but it is also realistic to expect the new problems because of the exceptional dynamics of security.

5. The Conceptual-Categorical Apparatus of Security Studies

The conceptual-categorical apparatus was developed for clear, accurate, and precise scientific and expert communicating within security studies. It consists of a *vocational language* and terms from the languages of complementary disciplines.

Namely, security studies have, if not completely “rounded”, then to a great extent developed conceptual-categorical apparatus that is characteristic for them (*specified – vocational language*). It is, certainly, a component of their identity. On this occasion, some of them will just be mentioned and they will later be elaborated in more detail: security, security theory, security state, security organization, security function, security system, security subjects, security forces, security works, security tasks, security measures, security activities, endangering security, the sources of endangering security, the carriers of endangering security, the aspect and form of endangering security, the object of endangering security, the consequences of endangering security, referent values, referent interests, security challenge, security risk, security threats, security concepts, individual security, human security, societal security, national security, international security, regional security, global security, economic security, environmental

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

security, energetic security, military security, political security, food security, health security, etc.

At the same time, the fields of security theory and practice are so wide, interdisciplinary, and multidisciplinary that it is sometimes difficult to clearly differentiate them from other scientific fields, such as criminology, law, military, political sciences, etc. In that sense, security studies use the language, professional terminology, and conceptual definitions from criminalistics, criminology, law, international relations, but also from chemistry, biology, and physics when talking about biological, chemical, radiological, and nuclear terrorism, security in emergency situations, etc.

As the security field is quite dynamic, the language of security studies is characterized by constant appearance of new and “hybrid” (modification of some and combinations of the existing) concepts, as well as by the continuous need for reviewing and amending. For instance, nowadays, more attention is paid to the cyber-space security because it is frequently the place of conducting certain criminal acts. Scientific, technological, social, and other changes are followed by the appearance of new terms and concepts.

Using the security studies language frequently leads to certain problems. Namely, even though most of the concepts from the security theory are defined in international law, national legislation, domestic and foreign scientific and expert works, and conventionally determined by the security sector practice, and even in some lexicons¹⁴⁷, we can freely speak about certain terminological confusion, disagreements, or mutual convergence. Thus, it is a usual practice to label the same phenomena using different terms, to label different phenomena using the same terms, to create unnecessary synonyms and homonyms, and use the unscientific conceptual-categorical apparatus.

Thus, there is a justified need to define and distance the meanings of the terms that can be found in security theory and practice. Along that way, it is necessary to establish etiological and phenomenological nature of categories that are defined, etymological meaning of the terms and phrases used for their denotation and to clarify the dilemmas around significant differences of similar security phenomena and their terminological shaping.

The clear and unambiguous terminology is the only condition of research work in any scientific field. Within security studies, that need is particularly emphasized, considering their multidisciplinary nature and relying on the knowledge and experiences of other disciplines. Considering the fact that some

¹⁴⁷ Pioneering and, for the time being, the only attempts for creating security lexicons in our country has been done in: Đorđević, O.: *Leksikon bezbednosti*, Privreda publik, Beograd, 1989 and Radulović, R. B.: *Leksikon bezbednosti i zaštite*, Pravni fakultet, Novi Sad, 1994.

terms can change their meaning while being transferred from one discipline into another, the first and foremost task of security researchers during every research work is to define and specify their conceptual-categorical apparatus.

The science language has a great significance for security practice. The confusion that occurs with improper terminological denotation of security phenomena distorts the picture of the real state and issues, prevents realistic observation of their trends and reduces the efficiency of the security system. Knowing and properly using the conceptual-categorical apparatus is necessary for basic and unambiguous communication and the avoidance of confusions, misconceptions, and multiple standards when treating security phenomena and it also reflects the development of security culture.

1. Security as a term

1.1. Security Logic and Philosophy

Humanity is “occupied with security” and “obsessed with seeking its improvement”. Even though the mechanisms for the protection of security have never been more developed, the society has never felt more vulnerable. There is the frequently asked question: what is security and what does it mean to be secure? Even more frequently we wonder whether we should even ask these questions because many things are self-evident. However, is that really the case?

Security logic rests on the protection of values that are significant for different referent objects and that enable their survival and development. However, how much security is necessary and what it means for each referent object to be secure, as well as who can put a limit on the list of referent values is the subject of constant and continuous, almost endless deliberations. As much as it is open and unfathomable how much security we need, who should be protected, what means and in what manner should be used, that much is the security concept open and polysemous.

It is undeniable that security is one of the fundamental human needs: an irrefutable guarantee of survival, progress and well-being, economic assurance and possibility, humanity and order; of a life lived freely without fear or hardship; a universal good everyone is entitled to, but also a solemn pledge of political leaders, to whom their people’s security is “the first duty”, the overriding goal of domestic and international policy making; a readiness to establish a powerful path between an individual and the world, a state and a citizen, to overcome the fears and insecurities of everyday life, as well as the enormous spatial, cultural, economic, and geopolitical complexities of contemporary humanity. In short, it is “one of modernity’s most stubborn and enduring dreams, because it is not a stable phenomenon and it rests on insecurity and suffering”.¹⁴⁸

However, the obsession with security is not the product of modern society. Ever since they were “cast out of Heaven”, humans had to provide for themselves

¹⁴⁸ Burke, A.: *Aporias of Security*, p. 1.

the conditions for living, i.e. for survival and procreation, in the conditions that were often extremely severe (according to the principle – *no one will protect you unless you protect yourself*). Satisfying the instinct for self-preservation, at first instinctively (*biological programming of an individual*), and later rationally, humans had to acquire and develop certain skills and join efforts with others, but they also started behaving in a manner that jeopardized the survival of the others. That means that humans, striving to increase their own security, jeopardized or threatened to jeopardize the security of others, creating the so-called “security dilemma”.

Thus, pursuit of security which started with *an instinct (urge)*, which is a biological category, became a targeted and purposeful “conscious” psychological and material phenomenon, i.e. individual and collective work, function, organized activity, profession. By becoming civilization and cultural heritage, it also became competitive to the opposite goals in relation to other individuals and collectives. The pursuit of security is a continuous and endless process, and security is a cognitive phenomenon, an undeniable and universal necessity. That is the goal human beings aspire to, and in metaphysical sense – so do flora and fauna, as well.

The essence and philosophy of security have always been the same, just the nature and forms of threats changed, as well as the strategies of human reactions to them. In the past, those were just the phenomena of natural origin, such as famine, drought, floods, earthquakes, dangerous animals, epidemics of contagious and deadly diseases, etc. Through time, the biggest threat to humans started being other humans who waged wars, conquered, and exploited others, killed them, etc. Today, there are also the consequences of technical and technological development: environment pollution, technological accidents, artificially generated contagious and deadly diseases, mass destruction weapons, geophysical weapons, etc. It is indisputable that the opposite phenomena of security and endangering security are the most loyal historical companions of humans and that they are as old as humankind.

The development of security went alongside the development of society, science, technology, and culture. Thus, security must be observed in the context of the wide range of other economic, political, technological, philosophic, and scientific developments as one of the central constitutive events of our modernity and it remains one of its essential underpinnings.¹⁴⁹

Security is considered an intersubjective creation and the result of the social and political consensus. What is constantly emphasized is its non-objective foundation that highlights that security, apart from the socially and politically created objective foundation, also has the subjective dimension. That subjective

149 Burke A.: *Beyond Security, Ethics and Violence: War against the Other*, Routledge, London and New York, 2007, p. 31.

dimension has become extremely significant in contemporary security studies. The manner the protection objects would experience security, i.e. the way the security threats would be perceived today, becomes important for the determination of the security concept. In that manner, in the agenda of security studies there are threats to humans and their physical survival, economic wellbeing, and other issues significant for society and states, but without definite specification of the security concept and giving that concept a permanent framework. A significant reason for this openness of the concept can be considered to be the different level of danger nations and individuals face, and therefore there is no uniform pattern of security.¹⁵⁰

The inter-subjective understanding of security is connected with the concept of *ontological security*. Unlike physical security, it involves the “security of self” and the feeling of security is accomplished by routinized relationships with significant “others” that represent a threat in any segment of our own security and actors become connected with these relations when perceiving security threats. For instance, the resistance the citizens of the Republic of Serbia frequently have in relation to joining NATO is the consequence of the absence of ontological security, i.e. perceiving NATO as a threat to national integrity, considering the historical experience and meaning related to NATO when it comes to our country. On the other hand, there are many countries that do not have such image of NATO, but quite the opposite.

Therefore, the conclusion is that the determination of security is multi-defining and non-universal. Everyone understands or visualizes its meaning, but few can concisely present and explain it. It is undeniable that, in its most general meaning, *security exists when there are valuable and significant things (for us) and when it is freely manifested (it is reached, developed, and improved, it can be enjoyed), and when such state is obvious, certain, predictable,¹⁵¹ and controlled, which involves (our) capability to protect it from undesirable impacts.*

Therefore, security can be considered a process, and, first of all, the (desired) result of that process – a state. Being secure means being protected from the influences of undesirable impacts, and feeling protected (safe, without fear) in a predictable and controlled environment. Security is a resultant of the relationship – the balance between the real and potential threats of referent values and interests and current capacities (human, material, organizational, and functional) that protect them. Absolute security is an ideal category. In one word, security is a symbiosis of non-

150 Wolfers, A.: National Security as an Ambiguous Symbol, in: Hughes W. C., Meng, Y. L. (eds.): *Security Studies: A Reader*, Routledge, London and New York, 2011, p. 6.

151 “The need for security is based on the tendency towards predictability, certainty in relation to the fate of the most important goods and valuables that a person and a narrow or wide community have or aspire to.” Dimitrijević, V.: *Bezbednost i politička zajednica, Pojam bezbednosti u međunarodnim odnosima, Savez udruženja pravnika Jugoslavije*, Beograd, 1973, pp. 7–38, in: *Reforma sektora bezbednosti* (ed. Hadžić, M.), Institut G 17 plus i CCVO, Beograd, 2003, p. 19.

danger (absence of threats) and safety (absence of fear) in relation to specific values and interests.

The phrase “endangering security” is used in the same scope. Even though its definition is opposite to the concept of security (and its understanding is therefore conditioned by understanding security), it seems clearer. Generally, *endangering security exists whenever the existence, manifestation, and enjoying what is (for us) valuable and significant comes into question, or when referent values undergo or might undergo unwanted changes or they cannot be (partially or completely) smoothly enjoyed. Thus, endangering security is also a process (demolition, destruction of values) and a state that is its consequence (insecurity, vulnerability, unsafety).*

According to the presented logic, *security is firstly a need, a process – an activity and function, then a state, an organization, and finally, the absence of threatening phenomena and fear (non-danger and safety), and specific values and interests are in its core.*

However, the first dilemma we come across is regarding whose security, whose, which and what kind of values and interests we are talking about, as well as which and what kind of endangering phenomena it is about and whose duty is to confront them. Without being pretentious to provide revolutionary and universal answers to these questions, we will try to analytically present the existing theoretical achievements in understanding security and explain security concepts.

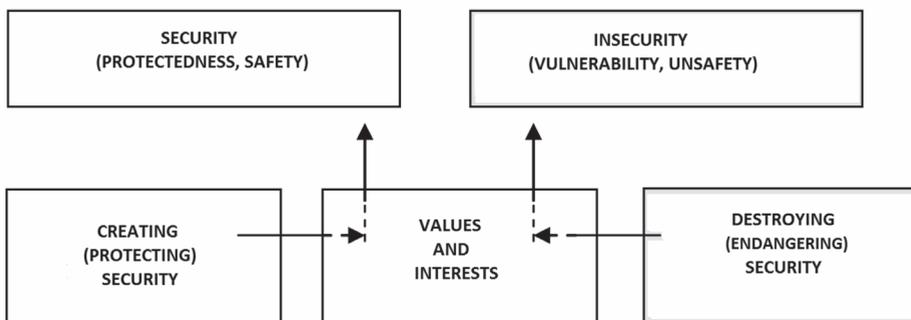


Figure 10. Protecting and Endangering Security – Security and Insecurity

1.2. Security Etymology

Security practices are as old as the civilization. However, the first use of this term, i.e. its root, is connected with the appearance of the Latin and Ancient Greek language. Those languages recorded the first expressions which are considered the roots of the term security and its related terms.

It is assumed that the word “security”, the meaning of which is “polysemous and elastic”¹⁵² has its roots in the Greek expression *asphaleia* (ΑΣΦΑΛΕΙΑ), which is actually the negation of the word *sphallo*, which means – a mistake, cause of failure, devastation, tripping, defeat, confusion, disappointment. Thus, *asphaleia* means avoiding a mistake, (a cause of) failure, defeat, disappointment¹⁵³, which metaphorically represents being in charge of the situation, preventing failure, certainty of victory, victory, prosperity, soberness, luck, etc. This word primarily signifies the *behaviour, activity, function* of humans which create the desired state in their environment. This word is in the basis of the term “asphaliology” that is used to label the security sciences.¹⁵⁴

At the same time, in the Latin language security was denoted by the term *securitas, securus, securatis* derived from the coinage *sine cura* (*sine* – without and *cura/curio* – trouble, worry, caution, attention, suffering, pain, anxiety, grief, sadness). Thus, the coinage *sine cura* (*sinecure*) means: without worry, freedom from (absence of) concern, without trouble, calmness, peace. At the same time, the expression *securus* means secure, carefree, reliable, fearless, convinced, constant, firm, loyal, true (*se cura* – *without pain*). The word *securitas* signifies carefreeness, freedom from (absence of) danger, composure, absence of mental disturbance, calmness or the calmness of mind, tranquillity, but also safeness, certainty, self-confidence, fearlessness, protection.¹⁵⁵ Thus, the Latin root of the word “security” at the same time signifies the *state* of human inner peace (*subjective dimension*), but also the *state* of the desired human environment which brings them that inner peace (*objective dimension of security*).

The terms for security in many languages were derived from the abovementioned Latin words. Certainly, the most present ones are the terms *secure* and *safe*, and *security* and *safety* from the English language. Even though they are considered synonyms, the word *security* refers to the function, organization, subject-system, and the state of security (certainty, the feeling of being certain, security profession, and the subject performing it), while the word

152 *The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1993, pp. 820–821.

153 Dillon, M.: *op. cit.*, pp. 123–128; the wider interpretation of this thesis can be seen in: Bajagić, M.: *Osnovi bezbednosti*, Kriminalističko-policijska akademija, Beograd, 2007, p. 10.

154 See: Мојаноски, Ц.: Дилеми во дефинирањето на методологијата на асфалиологијата, *Безбедност, еколошка безбедност и предизвиците на Република Македонија*, Факултет за безбедност, Скопје, 2010, p. 15.

155 Compare: Dillon, M.: *op. cit.*, pp. 125–128; Bajagić, M.: *op. cit.*; Masleša, R.: *Teorije i sistemi sigurnosti*, Magistrat, Sarajevo, 2001, p. 4.

secure, apart from the state (the feeling of security and certainty) also represents the function – the *objective dimension* of security (to ensure, to guarantee). The terms *safe* (a strongbox, certain, sound, careful, the feeling of safety) and *safety* (assurance, safeness, protective) are primarily used to signify the state of safety, i.e. the *subjective experience of security*.¹⁵⁶ Many security services around the world use the word *security* in their titles and official translations to English language.

It is similar with denoting security in the French language where the words *sécurité* and *sûreté* are used, and in German - *sicher* and *sicherheit*, which also signify reliability, certainty, and absence of danger, in Romanian *securitate*, Albanian *siguri*, in Spanish *seguridad*, and Italian *sicurezza*. The Russian and Bulgarian languages use the words *безопасност* and *сигурност*. In Croatian and Bosnian speaking areas, the term *sigurnost* is used. It should be the equivalent to Serbian *bezbednost*. However, *sigurnost* and *bezbednost* are not absolute synonyms in the Serbian language.

During an etymological interpretation, the principles of scientific research teach us to critically accept the meaning of a term that represents a phenomenon in other languages. Therefore, the presented denotations of the term security in Greek and Latin must not be uncritically and unambiguously connected with the word *bezbednost* in the Serbian language, because languages frequently develop independently from one another. These interpretations are more suitable for the Germanic and Romance language groups, which are more related to Latin.

However, it is justified to apply the logic of the appearance of the word security in Greek and Latin to the analysis of that word in the Serbian language. Apart from the word for security (*bezbednost*), the terms that are closely related to it and that security is frequently identified with will be the object of deliberations in the following part of the text.

The term *sigurnost* (safety) is used in Serbian principally to signify the state of security, and primarily the subjective experience of the protection of an individual, environment, personal, and social values from the endangering phenomena. It is usually used for representing subjective dimension of security, i.e. for the projection of an objective state to the psychological dimension of personality. It denotes the state of mental peace, tranquillity, satisfaction, and happiness of an individual and a collective, as the consequence of objective facts and circumstances that are favourable for vital values. Thus, an individual can feel more or less *safe* (*siguran*) or *unsafe* (*nesiguran*), depending on whether they consider that the values significant for the society, and indirectly for them, are safe or unsafe.

Safety is closely connected with freedom, in the sense of tranquillity due to the *certainty* (*izvesnost*) of reaching and enjoying values: “safety is the basic

¹⁵⁶ Benson, M.: *An English-Serbo-Croatian Dictionary*, Prosveta, Beograd, 1993, pp. 559, 546.

and elementary need that refers to tranquillity and carefreeness, or what Cicero termed as the absence of anxiety upon which the fulfilled life depends". Safety has always been the main tool of freedom, which is confirmed by the thesis of Benjamin Franklin that "those who give up their personal liberty for increased security deserve neither"¹⁵⁷.

Certainty, as a determinant of safety, is conditioned by the correlation of psychological and material components of security: "security is connected with the feeling of uncertainty of life and identity and the aspiration to provide them, so it obviously has psychological and mental implications. At the same time, security is connected with protection of the acquired material goods. It is a "natural" process that begins with the prediction of possible problems, creation of conditions for overcoming them if they occur, and goes to specific prevention of any other possible real or assumed risk. The processes of creation and prevention of destroying security are rooted in the fear of an individual and the anxiety of dying."¹⁵⁸

Safety is the resultant of the objective and subjective dimensions of security. The objective state of security can differ from subjective experience of an individual: the presence or absence of a threatening phenomenon does not have to be real, but it can be imaginary; namely, in the same life situation, on person can feel secure, and another insecure, which depends on the personal attitude toward the situation.¹⁵⁹

However, there is the attitude that considers the word safety much wider than the term security, because only one part of it coincides with security. Besides, it signifies "many other characteristics and values of people – assurance, confidence, decisiveness and firmness, clarity, determination, and many more."¹⁶⁰

Therefore, *safety is certainty and predictability, self-confidence and a degree of objective probability (confidence) that guarantee the occurrence of the desired state in relation to certain values, i.e. being in control of the situation that neutralizes fear.*

The word *protection (zaštita)* also has a frequent theoretical and operational usage. It primarily signifies the activity that prevents and suppresses the destruction of specific values. That condition that occurs as the product of protection is *protectedness*, which is a partial synonym to security. This is because,

157 "Both processes can reach even dysfunctional, counterproductive, and pathological levels. Both processes intertwine and cross in various ratios within each specific person, culture and situation." Liotta, P. H., Oven, T.: Smisao i simbolizam: Evropa preuzima ljudsku bezbednost, *Ljudska bezbednost*, broj 1, Fakultet bezbednosti, Beograd, 2007, pp. 10, 12.

158 Tullio, F.: Ljudska bezbednost: skriveni psiho-socijalni koreni terorizma i nuklearna pretnja, *Ljudska bezbednost*, broj 1, Fakultet bezbednosti, Beograd, 2007, p. 35.

159 This thesis is confirmed by *psychological sciences*: "safety is, first of all, a feeling of emotional safety that partially depends on objective circumstances, and more on the subjective state of an individual and their environment." Krstić, D.: *Psihološki rečnik*, Savremena administracija, Beograd, 1996, p. 592.

160 Ilić, P.: Semantičko-leksikografski aspekti pojma bezbednosti, *Vojno delo*, br.3, Beograd, 2011 p. 90.

apart from the protectedness, security includes reaching, improving, and enjoying values. Nowadays, this term signifies specific subsystems and activities of the national security system that take care of the security of citizens, property, and environment in the situations of natural, technical and technological, and war destructions. Those are services and functions of civil protection, services for protection and rescue of people and property, services for physical and technical protection of people and property, services for the protection (of security and health) at work, etc.

The theory and practice of security studies in the wide sense also use words: “defence”, “peace”, “freedom”, and “stability”. According to the traditional view, “security has two dimensions: avoiding war (*its negative dimension*) and building peace (*its positive dimension*).”¹⁶¹ Thus, defence and peace are unequivocally connected to security.

The word *defence* (*odbrana*) signifies the sub-system of the national security system that includes the subjects of governmental and non-governmental, military and civil sector that protect social values from armed – military threats and attacks, but also the sub-function of the national security they perform. Apart from that, there are supranational mechanisms – military alliances, intended for the defence of member states (*collective defence*). Defence is the function, organization, and the system of protection of vital social values (primarily people, constitutional order, sovereignty and territorial integrity) using armed or unarmed means (military and civil defence) against the military threats. Thus, defence is a subcategory of security.

Many security theoreticians represent the thesis according to which security is actually just the product of protection and defence of referent values, expressing it using the formula *protection + defence = security*. This view is partially correct, owing to the limitations arising from the abovementioned differences among security and protection and defence. This thesis is the basis for the creation of a new scientific and theoretic approach to the synthetic examination of these three phenomena within *Defendology*, the science on protection, security, and defence.¹⁶²

161 Hyde-Price, A.: „Beware the Jabberwock!”: Security Studies in the Twenty-First Century, *Europe’s New Security Challenges* (eds. Gartner, H., Hyde-Price, A., Reiter, E.), Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, London, 2001. pp. 27–54 in *Reforma sektora bezbednosti* (ed. Hadžić, M.), Institut G 17 plus i CCVO, Beograd, 2003, p. 114.

162 From Latin *defendo, defendere, defendi, defensum* – defend, prevent, guard, protect, and *logos* – science. *Phylactology* is a synonym to defendology (Greek: *phylax, phylaktos*), but it is more typical for the medicine (*prophylaxis* – prevention). There are already first course books written in the field of defendology on the Balkans: Vejnović, D., Šikman, M.: *Defendologija – društveni aspekti bezbjednosti moderne države*, Visoka škola unutrašnjih poslova, Banja Luka, 2007 (see pages 11 and 17); Спасески, Ј., Аслимовски, П.: *Дефендологија – учење за безбедноста, заштитата, одбраната и мирот*, Педагошки факултет Универзитет „Св. Климент Охридски“ – Битола, Битола, 2002; Котовчевски, М.: *Национална безбедност на Република Македонија (I, II и III)*, Македонска цивилизација, Скопје, 2000.

The word *peace* (*mir*) traditionally denotes the state of non-existence of war and war dangers, but also the state of absence of other security threats, such as armed rebellions, terrorism of mass proportions or serious social upheavals and conflicts. Even though it will be discussed later on, we will emphasize that peace is the product (security as a state) of a harmonious life of a society and the coexistence of states, but also the avoidance of war, usage of preventive diplomacy and other non-violent means in conflicting and potentially conflicting situations, of maintenance, creation and/or building peace using military and non-military means (security as a function) by citizens, social groups, countries, international organizations, and other mechanisms of international community (security as an organization and system).

Contemporary concept of peace is narrower than the concept of security and it is understood as the positive and democratic peace. *Positive peace* is the absence of violence within countries and among them, the ideal order without structural violence which influences poverty, inequality, dependence, and vulnerability. *Democratic peace* is the tendency of a country in which there is the democratic rule of law and the civil control of army to make compromises in domestic and foreign policies, i.e. to resolve conflicts in a peaceful manner. As such, it is the link between the internal and external security of a country.¹⁶³ Therefore, "peace is more than the absence of war: it is also the absence of fear, but also the respect for all human needs as well as the condition that force, in all its forms, is not an instrument of national or international policy."¹⁶⁴

Freedom (*sloboda*) is the possibility of unhindered and independent realization of biological, material, and psychological needs and recognition of individuals and collectives. The antipode to freedom is slavery in its widest sense, which limits or excludes these possibilities. It is evident that both defence and protection are in the function of peace, and that their product is freedom. It is, therefore, one of the sub-categories and conditions of security: "states, like people, are insecure in proportion to the extent of their freedom. If freedom is wanted, insecurity must be accepted."¹⁶⁵

Freedom is a complex concept that definitely has more dimensions and a number of conditions that must be met in order to realize and enjoy freedom. Dragan Simeunović lists five necessary conditions for the existence of freedom: objective existence of more possibilities (alternatives) among which a subject can choose; the existence of the awareness of the open possibilities; the autonomous choice on the basis of independently defined or voluntarily accepted principles

163 Tanner, F.: Semantika u bezbednosti: iste reči – različito značenje, *Ljudska bezbednost 1* (ed. Dulić, D.), Fond za otvoreno društvo, Beograd, 2006, pp. 26–27.

164 Boyd, R.: Rod i pitanja ljudske bezbednosti: izgrađivanje programa istraživačke akcije, *Ljudska bezbednost*, broj 2, Fakultet civilne odbrane, Beograd, 2005, p. 41.

165 Waltz, K. N.: *Theory of International Politics*, Addison Wesley, Reading, 1979, pp. 112–113.

and criteria; acting on the autonomous choice, and the absence of coercion and control over the environment.¹⁶⁶

The term freedom in its wider meaning can be connected to the concept of emancipation, so, in that context, it signifies the freedom of a person to behave without any limitations of material or psychological nature that hinder them. Those limitations do not originate just from a physical, armed attack, but also from the absence of elementary existential and psychological needs of a person, such as food, water, health protection, education, etc. As we have already discussed the view of security as emancipation within the Welsh School of Security Studies, then both security and freedom have, or should have, the same meaning, which is *the absence of limitations of material and immaterial nature that enable humans to develop and advance*.

The term *stability (stabilnost)* denotes, first of all, the (regular, optimal, desired) security state, i.e. the balance and harmony, the product of protection, regular functioning, and the realization of the desired and planned state and the development of specific social values such as economy (economic stability), finances (financial stability), politics (political stability), energetics (energetic stability), international politics and relations (international – regional stability), etc., but also the harmony within specific collectives (e.g. stable family, local community, interethnic and interreligious relations, etc.).

Instability is the undermined stability of referent values. It is neutralized by the activities of specific subjects (*stabilization, normalization*) that frequently are not security subjects in the narrow sense (e.g. economic, financial, energetic subjects). The subjects which the stability of certain values depends on are also called *stability factors*. Stability and security are partial synonyms: stability is the instrumental subcategory of security, but also its final product.

Finally, we have reached the word *security (bezbednost)*. In the Republic of Serbia, there is not a unique understanding of the concept security or of the origin and meaning of this term. It is obvious that the word “bezbednost” is a compound noun the roots of which are *bez* and *bednost – bedno*. *Bez* (without) signifies the absence, the negation of the phenomenon that is marked by the following part of the compound. The root of the second part of this compound is “beda” which, in its widest sense in the Serbian language, denotes poverty, scarcity, illness, adversity, disaster, defeat, hardship, damage, sadness, hopelessness, disability, war, slavery, oppression, violence, evil, fear, etc. Therefore, “negating the negation” we can conclude that *bezbednost* implies survival, development,

166 Simeunović, D.: *Uvod u političku teoriju*, Institut za političke studije, Beograd, 2009, p. 169.

prosperity, health, satiety, victory, the realization of goals, happiness, peace, freedom, justice, moral, culture, inviolability, domination, being in charge of the situation, (self)confidence, absence of fear – *safety*, and absence of dangers that question their realization and existence – *non-danger*. In the contemporary Serbian slang, the word “bedak” denotes the undesirable state as a consequence of an issue directed against personal values or interests.

The denotation of concepts of security, insecurity, and protection in the Church Slavic language is interesting. Namely, all Orthodox prayers (as an example we took the end of “The Great Ectenia” in the liturgy from *Serbian Orthodox Church Prayer Book*) contain prayers to the God for protection against all kinds of evil. In the Serbian (Macedonian and Bulgarian) version of the prayer, priests say: “...*izbavi njega i nas od svake žalosti, gneva, bede i nužde*” (Translator’s note: “...*rescue him and us from every grief, rage, misery and necessity*”). Some priests instead of *žalosti* (grief), and the others instead of *bede* (misery), use *opasnosti* (danger), which would be their synonym. In addition, instead of the word *izbavi* (rescue), the words *zaštiti* (protect) or *spasi* (save) are used.

Furthermore, the Lord’s Prayer (Pater Noster) ends in the sentence “...and do not bring us to the time of trial, but rescue us from the evil one.” The Church Slavic version mentions also *лукаваго* – cunningness, cunning, evil. It denotes the devil, that is, everything bad, evil, which comes from the devil that causes wars, earthquakes, floods, fires, (mortal) sins, and other human misfortunes and dangers.

The mission of all religions is to protect people from themselves, from other people, and the dangers that exist in the world by directing them towards the sinless life, pointing at what is good and what is bad, in order to “prepare them for the eternal afterlife”. Therefore, it can be freely said that (metaphysically and metaphorically) the main idea of the religion is actually *the development of certain security culture*, and its goal – *the security of human soul*.

It can be concluded from the presented logical and etymological analysis that *security is unhindered (unorganized and/or organized, planned and/or spontaneous) reaching, developing, and enjoying certain values and interests, the absence of phenomena that would question that (protectedness and non-danger), and the absence of fear that it will happen (tranquillity, safety), as a product of predictability, certainty, and organizational and functional capabilities to control the development of phenomena that are constructive or destructive for referent values and interests*. Thus, values and interests are evidently the central category of security, but also the parameters of its defining.

1.3. Referent Values

*Values*¹⁶⁷ are ideal properties of specific objects, social phenomena, processes, and the content of consciousness the people (individually and/or collectively) attribute to them, making them desirable, because they enable the satisfaction of needs, improve life, and can be enjoyed.

Reaching and enjoying values is pursued, although some of them often cannot be reached or they are not accepted, but rejected. Values can be material and spiritual. They are relatively permanent and mostly static phenomena, conditioned by historical, cultural, religious, ideological, geographical, temporal, and other criteria, which makes them different in different countries and social groups (*value systems*).¹⁶⁸

The changes of value systems frequently require radical transformations of complete societies and states. It is a long-lasting process, sometimes taking even centuries, but in certain situations, it can be the consequence of revolutionary changes of political and socio-economic system of a country (e.g. after revolutions, states replaced their feudal systems with capitalist or socialist order). However, through time, certain changes can be achieved in the value system of societies, so certain values get rejected, changed, or the new ones accepted, i.e. changes in the hierarchy of interests can occur.

Apart from the obvious plurality and differences, some *universal values* can be distinguished, characteristic for the majority of humankind. The values that have relatively permanent and great significance for a human as an individual or collective are called *social values*.

A *vital social value* is the one which has the crucial importance for the survival and development of certain referent objects of security. In order not to further dilute security studies by adding new values, “the threshold of value framework” is comprised precisely of vital values, because, without them, some objects of protection (individual, collective, state) would risk their physical survival.

Social values and interests characteristic for certain security objects, i.e. the levels of security analysis (individual, social groups and society, state, international community, humanity, and the planet) are called *referent values and interests*. Therefore, they can conditionally be divided into individual, social, state, and national, international and global – humanity values.

Individual values are the values attributed to an individual as a biological and social unit. They are related to the unhampered satisfaction of basic life and

167 Inspired by the text: Stajić, L.J., Mijalković, S., Stanarević, S.: *Bezbednosna kultura mladih*, pp. 17–20. The author of the text is Mijalković, S.

168 “Secure is considered to be the owner of a short list of significant values which they cannot possibly lose, especially if they are prone to believe that there are few subjects who want to threaten them. Insecure is the one who is entitled to many superior values and is suspicious of the world surrounding them.” Dimitrijević, V.: *op. cit.* pp. 37–38.

biological needs, the possibility of unhampered provision of conditions and means for life, inviolability of mental and physical integrity, dignity, and personal property, as well as the free expression of will, spirit, and self-recognition of an individual.

The values of an individual are generally expressed through the concept of human rights. It is “a set of principles, standards, and norms the aim of which is the protection of humans, their dignity, and the provision of living conditions that enable them to satisfy and develop their social and biological needs.” They represent a special type of natural rights because they are derived from the natural state. At the same time, they rest on the moral vision of human nature and arise from the innate dignity of human personality. Human rights are: *universal* (everyone has them and they apply everywhere in the world); *inalienable* (cannot be taken away or limited, except in cases envisaged by the law, i.e. they are limited by the rights of other members of society), and they are *acquired at birth*.¹⁶⁹

It is the minimum of general assumptions necessary to be fulfilled in order to provide personal security to every human being. As human rights are in strong correlation with survival, life and the quality of living, human security could be determined as the protectedness from threats to their human rights and freedoms.¹⁷⁰

Collective (group) values are characteristic for particular social groups, namely minorities such as national and ethnical groups and minorities, refugees, internally displaced people, the people with disabilities, gender, professional, sexual, and other minorities. Each group has its specific values that are, generally and collectively, named *identity*.

With the operationalization of identity, we get the specific values such as language, culture, religion, religious rituals, folk customs and beliefs, forms of associations according to ethnical, racial, gender, political, or geographical criteria or sexual orientation, etc. that differentiates them from other collectives. Owing to that, their members (individually or collectively) often become the targets of various threats by the holders of other identities.

National values are the values significant for the whole society and state, as well as for the survival of the nation that rests on the awareness of nationality. In the widest sense, they can be identified with their security. In the narrow sense, they are:

- the survival of the state and nation, primarily the maintenance of their constituent elements and beings;
- the quality of life of people and nation and their social wellbeing;
- constitutional and legal order of the state, i.e. the system of legal regulations regulating the state and social life, processes and relations;

169 Avramov, S., Kreća, M.: Međunarodno javno pravo, Savremena administracija, Beograd, 1999, p. 305.

170 At the same time, individual security implies their protectedness from the natural and technical and technological endangering phenomena, which are not covered by the concept of human rights.

- public system, order, and peace, protecting public and personal interests and values and creating harmonious (co)living of individuals, groups, and minorities;
- economic prosperity, energetic stability, and information resources, which are the basis of the quality of life, the functioning of society and state apparatus, and the survival of the state and nation;
- political stability and national unity, i.e. legal and legitimate government, the absence of political turbulences that can endanger the values and interests and the unity of people and nation in deciding on matters relevant for national values and interests;
- territorial integrity according to which all administrative areas of the state function as a whole, excluding the possibility of illegal or illegitimate secession of a part of the territory;
- sovereignty, using which the state, on its territory, freely regulates its internal order and performs legislative, executive, and judicial government, without the influences of political, economic, or military power centres inside or outside its territory and independently decides on its future and the role in international community;
- national pride and dignity, i.e. honour and reputation the state draws from its history, tradition, and international law;
- national identity, i.e. the particularities that differentiate states from one another;
- healthy environment and other values.

International values are characteristic for the international system and order. They are advocated by the states within international community, through international organizations and alliances. Individual values, group values and national values are at the same time the values of the international community, because it promotes and guarantees them and intervenes if they are endangered using many international documents and acts. The most significant international values are:

- international peace and security, and the survival of humankind;
- international friendship, i.e. the honest cooperation and (overall) friendly interstate and international political, economic, cultural, social, humanitarian, military, and other relations;
- honest international help to states and people in need;
- interstate and international tolerance and respect, as well as the respect of the differences, rights, honour, reputation, dignity, and other values of others;

- international law, standards, and principles that define the values of individuals, states, and international community, as well as the manners of their protection and improvement;
- international justice that protects the international legal order from overall threats, which guarantees the realization of international and other values;
- international order, based on the system of listed values, etc.

Finally, *global (human, planetary) values* are significant for the survival of the humanity as we know it today. They primarily include all those values that are significant for an individual, the state, international community, but also more than that. They include the values that may potentially be contrary to certain values of the state, such as economic prosperity, economic growth, etc., because the realization of these values can mean endangering some global values such as, for instance, healthy environment. Therefore, apart from the abovementioned values of lower levels of security analysis, global values also encompass:

- the survival of human species, demographic stability, and rejuvenation of humanity;
- the quality of life and health of global population, more and more threatened by the deficiency of food and water, as well as by new illnesses (AIDS, Avian flu, Anthrax, SARS, Swine flu);
- healthy environment and new (renewable) sources of energy;
- security of cosmic space, primarily from irrational usage, misuse for military purposes, and pollution;
- stable and progressive world economy, based on non-discrimination, non-exploitation, and equal geographical distribution and development;
- the control of proliferation of mass destruction weapons and phenomena that present mass threats to the security of people (NBC terrorism);
- global security culture and ethics based on the compromisingly defined universal values, peaceful coexistence and tolerance, and others.

The abovementioned values are in the relation of dependence and complementarity: the values of higher level of analysis consume the values of lower levels and the state of the values of lower levels reflects on the quality of the values of higher levels, and vice versa. For instance, if peace has been broken by war in a specific international region, then national values are endangered, as well, which definitely reflects in the protection of values of groups and rights of individuals, and vice versa: by violating individual freedom and rights in a region, the state gets destabilized and, thereby, the international region it belongs to, does as well. Security on these levels of analysis is endangered whenever there is a threat to some of the presented values from their focus.

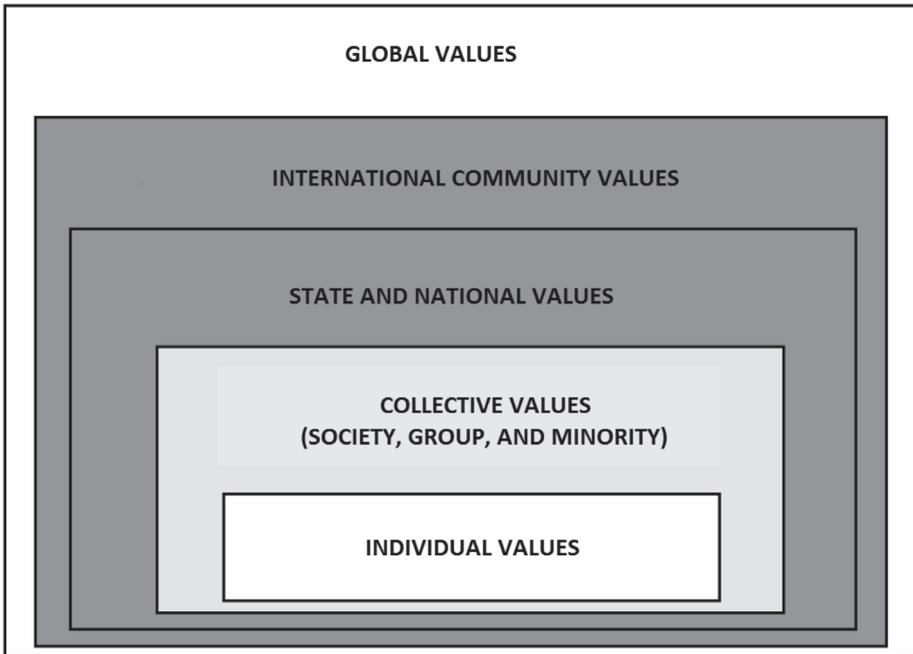


Figure 11. The Classification of Vital Values – Levels of Security Analysis

1.4. Referent Interests

Interest is in the focus of deliberations on individuals and social groups, but also on the creation, nature, and the function of a state. Latin root of this word (*interesum, interese*) means to participate in something, to be interested in something. The modern, expanded understanding of interests involves the categories such as values, attitudes, expectations, and aspirations; in one word, interest is a motivational factor, the regulator of individual and collective behaviour, the synonym for a necessity and it is closely linked to values. When determining interests, it is necessary to start from the needs and goals of the one whose interests are discussed. The defining of interests and priorities depends on the predominant awareness, value system, and ideas. At the same time, interests initiate the social behaviour, but, as a reverse process, they also redefine the system of values and ideas.¹⁷¹

Thus, interests are the reflection of projected needs for reaching, enjoying, and improving specific values, which determine them and what they are used for. In general, an interest is the aspiration towards reaching and realizing specific

¹⁷¹ Živković, M.: *Uvod u pravo*, Kriminalističko-policijska akademija, Beograd, 2006.

goals, plans, ideas, which generate new interests. For instance, the vital goal of a social group can be the secession of the part of the territory where they live and the proclamation of independence or joining the third country. The realization of that interest generates the goals of reaching, protecting, and improving the values characteristic for a state, etc.

The protection and improvement of vital values is one of the dominant interests of each reference security object. However, the “list of interests” is frequently much wider.

The relation between values and interests is causal, but not always two-directional. Basically, the interests of a state can be endangered, while, at the same time, its vital values are not, and vice versa. For instance, economic and energetic interest of one country is to expand the list of countries which it supplies with energy. If it fails, its interests are at risk, but not its vital values. However, if the increase of GDP depends on new arrangements and, accordingly, on the political position in the international region, the strengthening of the economic power of the country and on the improvement of the standard of living, then the failure to fulfil this interest represents a risk to its national security.

At the same time, subjects create the hierarchy of priorities and relevance to personal interests. Thus, on the way of achieving the major interests, the detriment to them, caused by other interests, is consciously accepted. That, for example, happens in the situation when signing a harmful or insufficiently useful energetic agreement with a state that would provide us with the necessary support for the urgent realization of our vital political interests on the international scene.

Finally, it is not a rare case that individuals or interest groups present their personal interests as general. That can, for instance, be the case when a state signs a harmful or insufficiently useful energetic agreement with a foreign company the co-owner of which is the statesman that initiates the signing of the agreement. In the end, national interests are often the projection of the governing social group, i.e. the holders of political power, and they do not always match the general interests of the people.

Thus, interests and values can, but do not have to match. In general, the concept of interests is narrower in scope than the concept of values when it implies benefit, the gain that improves the quality of the existing, but it can have a wider scope when it is used for the creating new values. In addition, vital values are the basis from which the potentials for the realization of interests are drawn. Even if they do not match, they are complementary categories.

Social values and interests preserve groups, society, and state as a whole, make them more stable, compact, and guide their activities towards the common progress. The desired values and interests can be a powerful factor of changes.

1.5. The Security Phenomenon

The security phenomenon is the focus of security studies. Therefore, the non-existence of the comprehensive and contemporary definition of its concept is illogical, but unfortunately quite common in the domestic theory. The existing efforts to define it are not comprehensive and are primarily human-centred.¹⁷²

However, contemporary security practice shows the increasing presence of security endangering phenomena which are more and more often caused by natural phenomena and/or the dysfunction of the technical and technological system. The fact is that the USA, the superpower with the most developed security system did not manage to prevent and curb the strike of a series of destructive hurricanes (named *Katrina*) that devastated the country at the end of August 2005 and ravaged Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, and Mississippi. A high number of human casualties, material damage, expansion of crime, and inefficiency of authorities of formal social control resulted in declaring a state of emergency situation and engaging the army and National Guard to restore public order. The similar situation occurred in the summer of 2011 (hurricane *Irene*). Furthermore, the explosion of the nuclear plant in Chernobyl in 1986, apart from causing enormous material damage, resulted in mass migrations, deaths and illnesses of the population, as well as in permanent degradation of the USSR environment, while the environment pollution of occurred in almost all the Euro-Asian countries. The elimination of the consequences of that technical and technological accident engaged the complete security system of the superpower, which had proven to be efficient in waging the Cold War, i.e. in defending the country from an armed attack, special war, and internal enemy. A similar situation happened with the series of earthquakes and the tsunami that struck Japan in 2011, causing significant human losses, material damage, and a damage on the *Fukushima* power plant.

At the same time, many phenomena of human, natural, and technical and technological origin make a significant contribution to reaching, enjoying, developing, and protecting specific values and interests.

It can be concluded from these examples that the scope of the concept of security phenomenon has necessarily expanded with new contents, encompassing all aspects of contemporary understanding of security, respecting the endangering phenomena, but also the phenomena that contribute to the protection and improvement of security. Thus, *a security phenomenon is every phenomenon (subject, action, event and/or state) that has positive or negative*

172 "The security phenomenon is a dynamic set of relations and processes in the country which provides human safety and unhindered realization of voluntary activity of citizens, i.e. the creation of material and social values." Radulović, R. B.: *op. cit.*, pp. 46–47 This definition has a narrow scope, first of all of the phenomena of human origin placed in (nowadays quite narrow) national frameworks or in the function of security of people and their economic and spiritual development. At that moment, that understanding was generally accepted, considering the socialist organization of the state and the governing ideology.

influence on security, i.e. on the protectedness of referent values of an individual, society, state, and/or international community.

Therefore, all security phenomena can be classified into two groups:

- security creating phenomena and
- security destructing phenomena.¹⁷³

There is the undeniable division into *security-constructive* phenomena, the phenomena of reaching, protecting, and promoting security, and *security-destructive*, i.e. the security endangering phenomena.

However, certain phenomena cannot be classified as exclusively being the security-creating or security-endangering phenomena. Those phenomena have the *combined character* because they are at the same time both constructive and destructive.

For instance, building a nuclear power plant ensures energetic security, i.e. longer-lasting and more efficient supplying of energy to citizens and economy, at an affordable price. However, the work of a nuclear power plant is fraught with certain risks of environment pollution and threats to human health, and, in case of more serious damages, with the risks of endangering international and global security. Thus, there are evident opposite streams “for” and “against” the nuclear energy, both having, to a great extent, justified arguments.

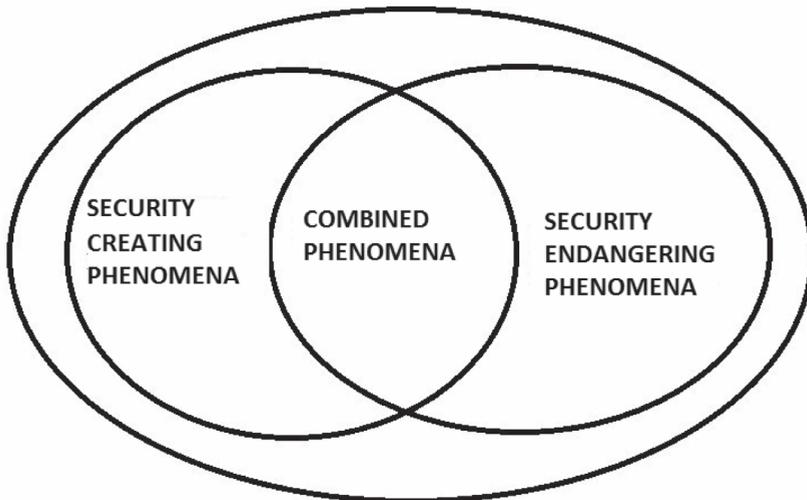


Figure 12. The Ratio of Security-creating and Security-endangering Phenomena

¹⁷³ Compare with – Radulović, R. B.: *op. cit.*; Kovačević, S.: *Osnovi bezbednosti i odbrane – odabrana predavanja*, Viša škola unutrašnjih poslova, Beograd, 1996, pp. 60–61.

Besides, certain security phenomena are tendentiously interpreted, and thus, by applying “double standards”, they are considered either constructive or destructive. Those are the phenomena that are treated differently by different subjects due to the non-existence of uniform standards in the treatment of phenomena and processes or due to the realization of personal interests of the interpreter of the phenomenon.

Thus, certain subjects perceive a phenomenon as positive, while others as threatening. That can be seen in the example of the self-proclaimed “Republic of Kosovo”. According to the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija is considered an integral part of the Republic of Serbia and according to the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Serbia, the secession of this territory part is considered a threat to human, national, and international security. At the same time, other subjects of the international community perceive this as a necessary resolution of the crisis situation, referring to (in this case misused and tendentiously interpreted) right of people to self-determination.

Generally, security phenomena are observed in the correlation of security facts, situations, and environments they are closely connected with, but from which they differ conceptually.

Security facts are the evaluations of the determined and objective security state, i.e. the security threats. They determine the quality and effects of the security phenomena, which can be positive or negative for the security state. They are different from the *indicators of security phenomena*, since the indicators are visible labels or symbols in the process of security realization¹⁷⁴, which means they establish the existence and quality of the security phenomena. In order to perceive, evaluate, and qualify security facts, it is necessary to rely on the security theory which is, on the other hand, supplemented by experiential findings. According to that, a security fact is narrower than a security phenomenon and points at the quality, significance, and influence of the security phenomenon on the referent values.

Security situation is a set of threatening elements that individually or collectively reflect on the security state in the specific time and space.¹⁷⁵ It consists of all sources, carriers, forms, and consequences of different security threats, limited with specific time and space borders. It can refer to protectedness/vulnerability of specific environment, group, or all the values. According to that, security situation is a security category that is wider than security phenomena and that involves the existence and acting of several security phenomena whose resultant, i.e. product, is that security situation.

174 Compare with – Radulović, R. B.: *op. cit.*, p. 47.

175 For the traditional understanding of the security situation, see: Djordjević, O.: *op.cit.*, p. 32.

Finally, *security environment* is the entirety of specific geo-territory and its cultural, political, military, economic, and other circumstances, significant for the protection of certain values and goods because they contribute to creating or endangering security. Thus, some environments can be characterized as *harmonious*, others as *neuralgic* (conflicting or potentially conflicting), *environmentally insecure* (polluted environment, seismic vulnerability, proneness to floods or landslides, etc.), etc. Security environment also has a wider scope and content than security phenomena.

Security creating phenomena are observed through the prism of security system and culture whose function is to organize and conduct the protection of referent values from numerous *security endangering phenomena* that strive to destroy them.

2. The Predominant Determinations of Security

The theory of security studies and the literature of related sciences do not provide the uniform determination of security. Traditionally, domestic doctrine and theory define security as “the state, function, organization, and system, namely, all of them together”.¹⁷⁶ This definition comes from the common belief that the concepts of security and secure are related to certain activities performed by specialized subjects in order to reach the desired state of protectedness of certain referent values.

Security is frequently determined as *values, needs, and interests*. Understanding security as a value is correct to a great extent, but only when security is observed in ontological – metaphysical sense, as an ideal category, as universal, sublime, “the value of all values”. This is because, practically, security cannot be observed independently of specific values, since it involves the state of their protectedness: security is the highest goal; only if their survival is provided, will individuals, groups, societies, and states realize their other values and goals.

This determination belongs to the past: “definition of security as one of the vital values was typical for the period after the World War II. Security was viewed not as the primary goal of all states at all times, but rather as one among several values, the relative importance of which varies from one state to another and from one historical context to another. However, later, security was interpreted as the value that arises from and has sense only when in the function of other values that are significant to be preserved and protected from threats.”¹⁷⁷

At the same time, that means that security is not an individual *interest*: an interest can be considered to be reaching and improving security, i.e. the protectedness of specific referent values.

176 Stajić, Lj.: *Osnovi bezbednosti*, Policijska akademija, Beograd, 2003, p. 22.

177 Baldwin, D. A.: Security Studies and the End of the Cold War, *World Politics*, Vol. 48, No 1, 1996, pp. 127, 121.

Finally, it is undeniable that security is one of the basic, innate, instinctive *needs* of an individual and collective, and failing to meet it makes survival impossible. It emphasizes subjective – psychological dimension of security, i.e. the personal significance of certain values and motivation for reaching, protecting, and enjoying them.

2.1. Security as a State

As a *state*, security is the objective absence of danger towards referent values and interests, but also the presence of conditions for their unhindered achievement, development, and enjoyment. It is most frequently (but not necessarily) the result of the security function, organization, and system.

The ideal state of protectedness and realization of values and interests is impossible, which does not exclude the need for incessant aspiration for reaching it. This is due to the constant acting of certain dangers, even if they are the ones that do not question the survival of values, but limit or obstruct their unhindered enjoyment. Thus, the absolute security, as the state of ideally controlled danger towards referent subjects and values, is fiction.

In that sense, security can be observed in the range “from ideal security to ideal insecurity”, i.e. from ideal protectedness of referent values to their destruction or complete negation. Those are the two inversely proportional and complementary dimensions of one imaginary unit: the higher the security, the lower the insecurity, and vice versa.

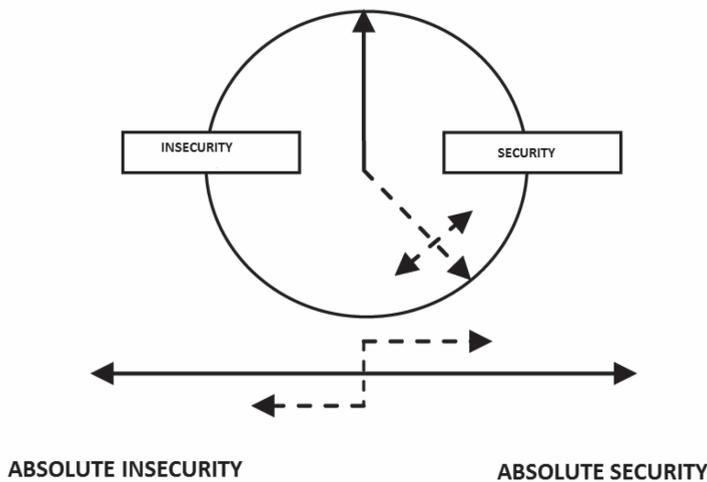


Figure 13. Security State

Security state is a relative and dynamic phenomenon that is determined by certain *security standards* which are different with respect to time and space distance. The phenomena that used to be considered threatening are not believed to be such today (e.g. homosexuality) and vice versa (e.g. blood feud); or the same phenomena are considered destructive in some countries and not in others (e.g. prostitution). The “treatment” of specific phenomena depends on security standards that are the result of tradition, practice, culture, law, etc., but also of the attitudes of individuals or collectives. This “multiplication of security standards” just confirms the complexity of the security concept and its content, and thus, the impossibility of reaching the absolute security.

As a state, security is expressed in a descriptive manner, using words, such as: “stable”, “unstable”, “satisfactory”, “unsatisfactory”, “favourable”, “unfavourable”, “endangered”, “risky”, “complex”, “obscure”, etc. That also requires the existence of certain standards, i.e. criteria and indicators on the basis of which the specific security state levels in a society or a country are descriptively determined. Depending on their quality, concrete security measures and activities on the protection of social values are undertaken. However, in most countries, including ours, there are no precise standards of this kind. They are usually general, often subjective and changeable and based on experiential security estimations and scientific analyses of expert, authorized, and responsible persons, so “double standards” in this sphere are not uncommon.

Therefore, security is *non-danger and the favourable (optimum) qualitative status of referent values and interests*. Even though it is correct, this definition is not comprehensive because it focuses on the protectedness of values and interests as a product, but not on the subjects and processes that precede it. Finally, for security it is not enough to have the absence of danger, but also the presence of the feeling of security.¹⁷⁸

2.2. Security as a Function

Security is an activity, operation, work, process, and behaviour directed towards reaching, protecting, and improving referent values and interests. In that sense, security is legitimate and legal (self)protective mission of an individual, society, state, and international community, based on their personal needs for survival and development. Significant components of the security function are security goals, security operations, and effects of actions, and its philosophy – setting specific values and interests as goals that are reached by specific behaviour.

178 Snow, D. M.: *National Security for a New Era – Globalization and Geopolitics After Iraq*, Pearson-Longman, New York, 2008, p. 167.

Everyone has an instinctive need to independently, using their own behaviour and actions, take care of their personal security. In addition, they have natural, moral, and legal obligation to take care of their offspring. Finally, everyone should take care of the security of others and not obstruct the enjoyment of values and the realization of their interests.

Apart from that, every citizen is obliged to take care of the security of the state. In certain situations, they are legally obliged to personally *get actively engaged* in that (e.g. country defence) or to *passively contribute* to that (avoiding cooperation with the country's enemy, with the occupying forces, etc.). In addition, no one has the right to accept foreign government on the territory of their country, capitulation of the country, secession of a part of the territory, etc.

In certain situations, the legislator enables citizens to decide on their own whether they will personally engage in the realization of a security function, counting on their moral, (self)awareness, patriotism, security culture (e.g. taking part in a referendum deciding on the matters of direct significance for the security of the society and state, such as the secession of a part of the territory, unification with another country, entering certain military, economic, and similar alliances and unions; reporting the perpetrator of a criminal act for which there is no legal obligation for citizens to report, etc.).

Moreover, the realization and protection of security is one of the main functions of every country, which is one of the ideas of its creation. Unlike citizens who in certain situations decide on their own whether they will engage in the protection of specific values and interests, a country has a legal obligation to incessantly perform the security function. It is generally prescribed by the country's constitutional act, and then, by the series of laws. Those acts envisage the following functions of a country: "providing and protecting state sovereignty, providing and protecting independence and territorial integrity, leading international politics and international relations, and realizing and fundamentally protecting citizens' freedom and rights."¹⁷⁹

A country also establishes the bodies specialized for the fulfilling the security function. It is here that two opposite tendencies occur: the creation of uniform security function versus the differentiation of numerous sub-functions according to the criteria of expertise and specialization in performing certain security activities. More state sub-functions that are in the function of different security levels can be identified, e.g. political, economic, financial, educational, traffic, health, technical (public services), informative, normative, executive, judicial, defensive, police, foreign policy, etc. Finally, there is the evident ("non-uniform") function of international and global security that is, according to the similar "pattern", realized by states, international community, and often individuals and social collectives.

179 Stajić. Lj.: *Osnovi sistema bezbednosti sa osnovama istraživanja bezbednosnih pojava*, p. 16.

Apart from the bodies of the state government, the security function is indirectly performed by public services, as well (e.g. health, traffic, electricity providers, economy, etc.), but also by many non-governmental subjects (NGOs, companies, associations, etc.), and citizens. Their operation is mostly regulated by laws and subjected to the supervision of the bodies of executive and judicial authorities.

Thus, *security is reaching the state of predictability and control over the phenomena and processes that are directed towards referent values and interests, at the expense of uncertainty and unwanted events.* This view is also correct, but not comprehensive because it emphasizes the dynamic component of security. Observing it in material, action sense, the fact is neglected that the optimum security does not have to be the product of targeted human actions, but of simple absence of danger, including those that come from the nature and which can hardly be controlled by humans.

2.3. Security as an Organization

Security is both an organized subject that protects certain values and interests in an organized manner and confronts the threatening phenomena in an organized manner. This approach relies on perceiving security as a function: an organization is created in order to perform a function, i.e. an activity.¹⁸⁰

At the same time, function is a phenomenon of a wider scope, because it can be realized independently of an organization. The main reason of organizing in the field of security is the impossibility of an individual to solve security issues independently.

An organization is a collective, synchronized activity of more individuals and groups, having vertical and horizontal structure, division of responsibilities, jobs, and tasks, formed in order to realize specific goals according to predefined rules. In its focus is a *person*, i.e. *people* who perform certain activities. It has a specific *structure*, as a relatively stable relationship among the elements of the whole, i.e. the *order* that is most suitable for reaching its goals. It is also characterized by *collective awareness* of common values and interests that are jointly protected, which is determined with specific (written and unwritten; non-legal, legal, and ethical) *rules of conduct*. The existence of collective organizational awareness has a role of a cohesive factor. In that sense, its main task is to reach a higher degree of togetherness and, with that, a higher efficiency in the protection of referent values than it would be the case with individual acting.

¹⁸⁰ For instance, in our country, intelligence service is traditionally understood in material sense, as a security function – *an intelligence activity* and, in a formal sense, as a security organization – *a specialized security service*. Milošević, M.: *Sistem državne bezbednosti*, Policijska akademija, Beograd, 2001, p. 22.

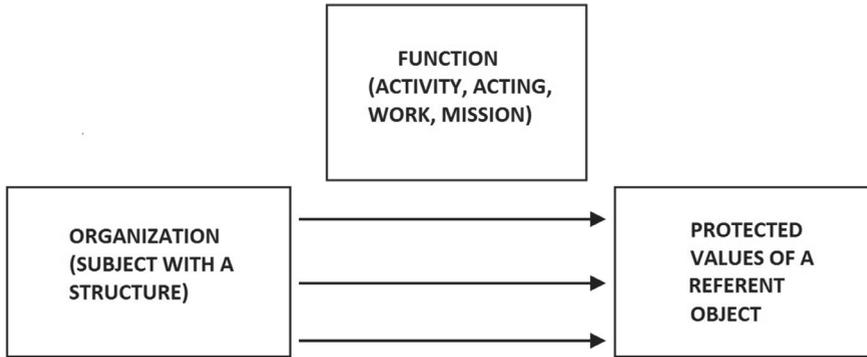


Figure 14. Security Organization and Function

A significant determinant of this view is the *structure of security function*, i.e. the horizontal and vertical distancing of different types of activities within a function of an organization. It is the so-called division of labour among the individual parts of the organization, i.e. the particularization and specialization of the security function (*security sub-functions*).

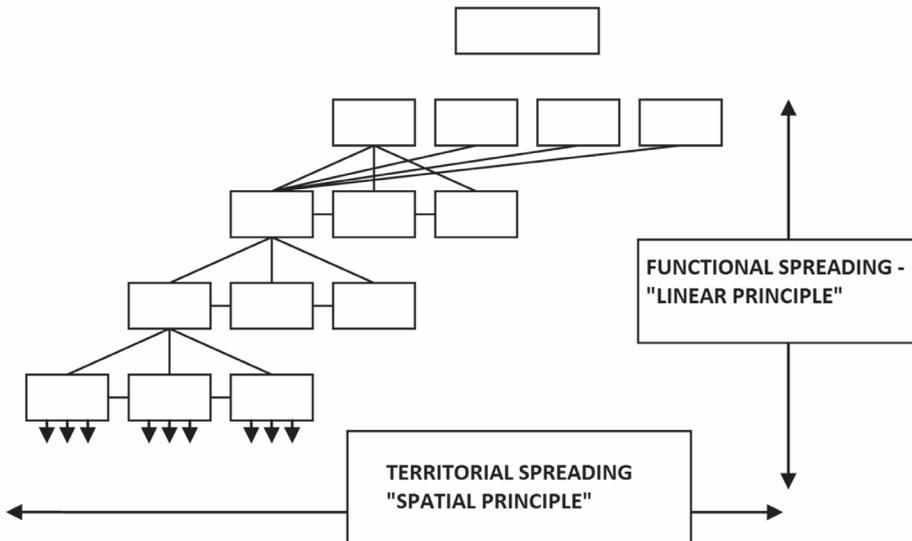


Figure 15. The Architecture (Spreading) of Security Organization

Apart from the traditional specialization in security (army, police, intelligence services), the forming of new, specialized organizations can be noticed, performing various security jobs, as well as new professions and even the “privatization” of some security sub-functions by non-governmental subjects. The motives for that have an economic aspect: acquiring gain by providing protection and other security services to the interested referent objects (*private security, security industry*).

Finally, there are various forms of organizing of states and non-governmental subjects for performing the security function on the international level, for instance, military organizations and blocks, various forms of police cooperation, transnational security companies and agencies, international associations of national non-governmental security sectors, etc.

The United Nations is a universal global organization that acts in accordance with the norms of international law and has a body specialized in maintaining international peace and security – the United Nations Security Council. It is a specific international forum that discusses the resolution of burning issues of international and national security. Apart from the United Nations, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is an organization with a global reach, but only in the field of defence (as it is envisaged by its founding act), even though, in the last couple of decades, its activity has been expanding on the fields that are not traditionally in its focus (alleged humanitarian interventions, humanitarian aid, resolving crises and conflicts caused by human or natural factors, which often conceal aggressive and neo-colonialist motives).

The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) is a regional security organization specialized in the preventive activity in the field of conflict prevention and post-conflict establishing of state institutions. Apart from its headquarters, OSCE realizes its activity through missions, offices and centres in the recipient countries and its activity ends with the creation of democratic institutions, stability of the civil society, and termination of tensions. The countries that have become the part of the European Union no longer have the OSCE missions and this shows the time-limited nature of the operations of this organization with one clear goal – the establishment of a favourable security situation in a country that went through a crisis or a conflict.

Finally, *the European Union* is an organization that has the questions of both security and defence in its domain, within the so-called second pillar, i.e. common foreign and security policy. Common defence and security policy is a significant segment of foreign and security policy. In that field, the European Union mostly relies on the capacities of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, when military missions are involved, but the European Union today realizes

more civil missions, by which it is far more recognizable. Currently, there are sixteen missions and operations in progress, of which six military and ten civil.¹⁸¹

This definition of security is correct, but not comprehensive: an organization does not need to be efficient and produce the desired security state; a security organization can also produce non-security.¹⁸²

2.4. Security as a System

Security can be most comprehensively determined as a *system*. This view is the most acceptable and complete, because the security state, function, and organization cannot be observed independently. Namely, it is always desirable that certain functions, activities, and operations are performed by the subjects that are organized, in order to reach the final goal of protectedness of the vital values in a more efficient and effective manner.

Therefore, as a system, security is considered a harmonious unit capable of functioning independently in a time and space environment, comprised of numerous horizontally, vertically, and diagonally connected sub-units (subsystems and microsystems – *security organizations*), which perform specific activities (*security functions*) whose aggregate resultant aims towards unhindered reaching, enjoying, and overall protectedness of the values and interests from threats (*security state*).

In other words, security system is a coherent operation of more security organizations that perform specific (sub)functions of security, which results in a specific security state. Thus, this approach is based on the collective understanding of security as a function, an organization, and a state. What is more, function and organization comprise the methodological (action) security level (subjects, activities, and instruments – the answer to the question *who acts, in what manner, using which instruments, to what end*) and the security state is its product (the answer to the question *what have we obtained, did we want that, what have we lost*).

The architecture of the security system is similar to a pyramid and is comprised of more subsystems and microsystems – organizations. They realize the security function according to the spatial criterion (*territorial principle*), the type of (sub)function criterion – security jobs (*linear principle*), and their combination. Basically, the elements of the security system in the wide sense are subjects and strengths, security function, jobs, activities and measures. All the elements of

181 Overview of the current EU mission and operations, https://eeas.europa.eu/topics/military-and-civilian-missions-and-operations/430/military-and-civilian-missions-and-operations_en, accessed on 6th June 2018.

182 For example, police, intelligence services, judicial bodies, and army in totalitarian states carry out terror over the population and the opponents of the regime; Subjects from the non-governmental sector can “racketeer” citizens and companies and perform extortion (“racketeering”).

the security system are devoted to reaching, protecting, and improving referent values, i.e. to pursuing a specific favourable and positive security state.

Just like organizations, security systems can be formed by citizens and other subjects of non-governmental sector, countries on the national level (national security system) and supranational level (supranational security systems and mechanisms).

In order to be considered a system, every system, including the security one, must be functional, i.e. realize the purpose of its existence (*to work and produce the desired results*). Security systems are complex and generally consist of numerous systemic and organizational and functional components.

The systemic level involves *the declarative component* that defines the need of establishing, the purpose, goals, and activities of the system; *the project component* that designs and organizes the system; *the personnel component*; *material and technical component*, i.e. financial and technical instruments and equipment; *normative and legal and cultural component* that regulates other components and *the corrective and innovative component* that improves the elements of the security system.

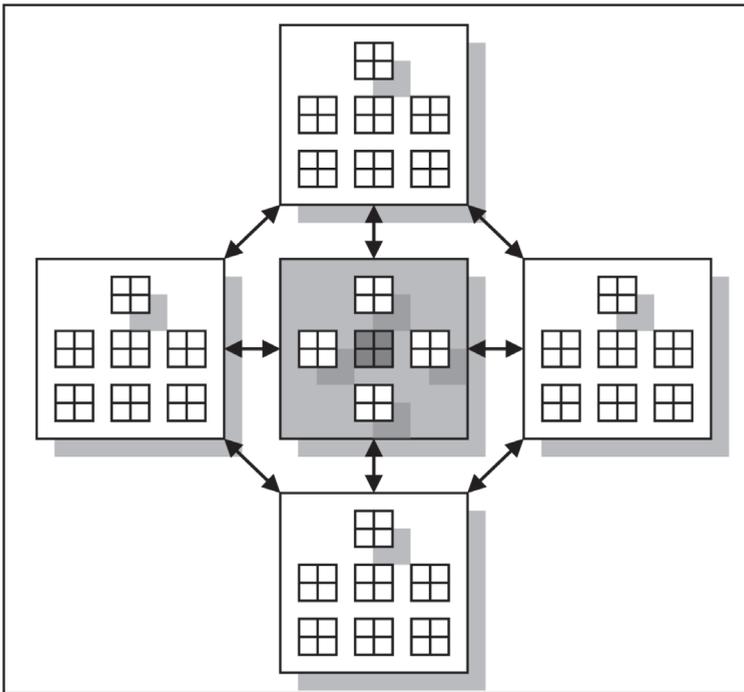


Figure 16. The Idealized Scheme of the Security System – Networked Subsystems and Microsystems (Organizations)

The organizational and functional level involves *the nominative component* that instructs specific security subsystems, within the assigned sub-functions, to perform specific jobs and tasks; *the methodological component* (in the narrow sense) which performs the selection of the existing and the construction of new preventive and repressive strategies and tactics of the realization of the security function; *the work component* which directly realizes the security function; *the analytical and prognostic component* that supports all other sub-functions of security, and *the control component* that controls the work of the security system “within and without”.

Understanding security as a system is correct and comprehensive because it unifies all the previous determinations.

3. The Approaches to Defining the Security Concept

Owing to the complexity of the concept of security and the impossibility to find a general and most acceptable definition, there are numerous determinations in theory and practice. Those determinations deal with various aspects of security and they are the result of different perceptions of security.

These numerous approaches and positions can be differently classified. The first division is into:

- *instrumentalist approaches*, which define security as a function, organization, and a system, i.e. all those things together;
- *status approaches*, which define security as a state (status) of protectedness of referent values and interests¹⁸³, and
- *instrumentalist and status approaches* that are based on the combination of the previous two approaches.

The next division is into:

- *subjectivist (behavioural) approaches*, which define security as a subjective projection (evaluation, experience, state of personal peace of mind, calmness, and satisfaction because) of the feasibility and protectedness of values and interests, which does not need to be correct due to the subjectivity of the estimator¹⁸⁴ or due to the “dark figure” of endangering phenomena (absence of the evidence on the existence of a threat is not the proof of its non-existence);

183 “Security is a condition in which states consider that there is no danger of military attack, political pressure or economic coercion, so that they are able to pursue freely their own development and progress.” The UN definition from 1986 in: *Conception de la sécurité, Série d'études 14, Publication des Nations Unies, 1986, A/40/553*. Referenced by: Stajić, Lj.: *Osnovi bezbednosti*, p. 25.

184 “The presence or absence of security is mainly a subjective experience of the people involved.” Lammers, E.: *Refugees, Gender and Human Security – A Theoretical Introduction and Annotated Bibliography*, International Books, Utrecht, 1999, p. 49.

- *objectivist (material) approaches*, which define security as an objective state of absence of danger towards values and interests, so that they can realize and develop without any hindrance;
- *subjectivist-objectivist approaches*, because of the incomprehensiveness of the previous two. Namely, the subjective perception of security is an experiential category based on the cognition of reality. Thus, it can be different with different individuals and groups: what is a value and interest for ones does not have to be that for the others; subjective criteria according to which individuals evaluate the security state can also be different; the subjective experience of an individual does not at all need to be the same as the objective state of reality, so someone can feel insecure when the situation is stable and controlled; finally, observing the state of protectedness of reference values and interests is possible only through subjective experience and evaluation. The combination of these two approaches respects both the state of reality and its subjective experience: “security, in an objective sense, is the absence of threats to the acquired values, and in a subjective sense, it is the absence of fear that such values will be attacked”.¹⁸⁵ and
- *discursive approach*, based on the disadvantages of the subjectivist-objectivist approach, i.e. on the possible mismatch between the objective reality and subjective experiences, which is the reason why it is necessary to have an intersubjective estimation of state officials that will determine what security is, and through “securitization”, what endangering security is.¹⁸⁶ Discursive approach to security, thus, comes from the assumption that security is constructed as a result of experience, knowledge, and interaction with the suitable environment. As a result of that, the “security speech” of “security discourse” is created, which is the possibility of certain subjects that possess a certain social capital to discursively create the security concept.

Furthermore, all approaches to security can be divided into:

- *positivistic (optimistic) approaches*, which define “what security is”, i.e. the desired state of values;
- *negativistic (pessimistic) approaches*, which define “what security is not” and which, according to the eliminatory and nomenclature principle, emphasize the necessity of the absence of dangers to certain values and interests, and
- *positivistic- negativistic approaches*, which are unnecessary, so the advantage is given to positivistic approaches, while negativistic approaches are suitable for their explanation and amendment.

The stands on security can also be divided into:

185 Wolfers, A.: *National Security as an ambiguous symbol, Discord and Collaboration*, op. cit. Referenced in: Tatalović, S.: *Nacionalna i međunarodna sigurnost*, Politička kultura, Zagreb, 2006, p. 11.

186 Buzan, B., Hansen, L.: *op. cit.*, pp. 32–35.

- *militaristic stands* (which are also called traditional, state-centred understandings), where the central place is taken by the use of military forces, instruments, and methods in the protection of the vital values of society from armed (military) threats and dangers, but also the protection of armed forces from various dangers (the so-called *military security*)¹⁸⁷, and
- *post-militaristic stands*, which, apart from the military powers, emphasize the significance of citizens, non-military and non-governmental security sector, both in the state and within the international community, in the protection of security from overall, even non-military threats.

Even though they were first mentioned, traditional approaches to security in contemporary conditions are generally outdated, but they are still considered unavoidable – *ultima ratio* strategies of protection of the vital state values. The second mentioned approaches are the reflection of “privatisation” of the security function and the activation of an individual as well as of non-state actors in its realization.

There are also security approaches that operationalize the previous definitions. Those are the definitions of:

- *narrow security context*, as: having state-centred character, where the central place is taken by traditional state values that are protected from military threats of other states, and having international character, which promote the values of international community and the security of international region, and which decide which countries are protected from military threats through international relations, cooperation or certain international organizations;
- *expanded security context*, within which human, national, and international security is additionally protected from non-military threats and non-governmental security endangering actors, i.e. within which security is expanded towards new sectors, such as economic, ecological, political, and societal, and the potential for the development of the information security sector is a frequent topic, and
- *deepened security context*, which promote values and interests of other security levels above and below the state: of individual, social groups and minorities, nations, global society, and generally other values that are different from the traditional ones: physical and mental integrity, education

¹⁸⁷ Military security is perceived or actual freedom from military threats and the use of organized military violence for political purposes. The subjects of military security are states or aspirants –challengers to state power (e.g. insurgents). Military security is achieved in several ways: by deterring, defending, balancing, bandwagoning, promoting peaceful ideas, resolving conflicts (positive peace), with treaties, imperial and neo-imperial dominance, and even ethnic cleansing and genocide. Herring, E.: *Vojna sigurnost, Suvremene sigurnosne studije* (translation, ed. Collins, A.), Politička kultura, Zagreb, 2010, pp. 154–155. In the narrow sense, it implies security (intelligence and security protection) of armed forces from overall threats.

and health of individuals, culture, identity, national unity, economy, energy, quality of life, healthy environment, survival of the life on the planet, etc.¹⁸⁸

The first two approaches are classified as the so-called traditional security approaches, on which traditional concepts of *national and international security* were based. Over time, their vertical and horizontal expanding occurred and this conditioned the appearance of new, contemporary security concepts.

Finally, all definitions of security can be divided into *doctrinal (theoretic), normative*, contained in certain documents of international and national significance, and *operative approaches*, represented by the members of certain security subjects.

In order to illustrate these statements, we present some of numerous definitions of the security concept:

- Security is a property of a real social, natural, or technical subject (being, creation, or object) manifested as an established, maintained, and improved state and/(or) value expressed through the fulfilment of the minimum of specific (security) standards characteristic for that subject, providing it a real basis for creation, growth, and development regardless of the carriers, forms, time, and place of threats.¹⁸⁹
- *Security* is the protection against something bad that might happen in the future as well as a state of feeling happy, secure, and free from worry.¹⁹⁰
- Security is the absence of threats and the capacity to deter a threat.¹⁹¹
- Security is a general state where individual citizens live in freedom, peace, and safety; completely participate in the governing process: enjoy the protection of fundamental rights; have access to resources and basic life necessities, and inhabit the environment that is not harmful to their health and well-being.¹⁹²
- Security is the freedom from threats. In the international system, security is the capacity of states and societies to preserve independent self-relevance and functional integrity.¹⁹³
- Security is the removal of all the activities and omissions that threaten people, public order, objects, or the given space. Considering the protected goods and values, we differentiate: personal security (realized through personal freedoms and rights and economic security), state security (values of a state and public order), traffic security (on roads, in the air, on rivers

188 Compare: Hough, P.: *Understanding Global Security*, Routledge, London–New York, 2008, pp. 6–12.

189 Stajić, Lj.: *Osnovi sistema bezbednosti sa osnovama istraživanja bezbednosnih pojava*, op. cit., p. 28.

190 Oberleitner, G.: *Ljudska prava i bezbednost – dve kule?*, *Ljudska bezbednost*, No. 2, Fond za otvoreno društvo, Beograd, 2006, p. 14.

191 Simić, R. D.: *op. cit.*, p. 25.

192 Hank, D.: *Ljudska bezbednost: važnost i implikacije*, *Ljudska bezbednost*, No. 1, Fakultet civilne odbrane, Beograd, 2005, p. 35.

193 Buzan, B.: *People, States & Fear – An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era*, op. cit., pp. 18–19.

and seas), security of objects (the objects significant for state and citizens are defined by law), space security (legal protection of parts of the territory of special importance – forbidden zones), and data security (the type of protected data, as well as the manner and degree of their protection is defined by law). Security can be interpreted as the function performed by the bodies and subjects authorized by law; as a state, the degree of threat is determined on the basis of data, on the activities of the carriers of endangering activities, and as a service, organization (bodies) whose duty is to, performing jobs from their jurisdiction and applying appropriate methods and measures, remove the activities that threaten the system.¹⁹⁴

- *Security* in the widest political and legal sense involves the measures and activities of preserving and protecting from threats towards the independence and integrity of a country (state, nation) and its internal constitutional and legal order. In the first case, it is external, and in the second case, it is the internal security. According to the object of protection, the difference can be made among: the state security; general (public), collective, personal security; security of property. Sometimes the term “security” is identified with the term “safety”, but they are not the same, and in some languages there are no two terms, but only one (*security, securité, (TN: sigurnost)*).¹⁹⁵
- *Security* or *safety* is a state of the one that is ensured and secured from danger. That can refer to a person or any social unit, including natural environment and instruments people are daily in touch with in the process of living and working. *Security* is also the desired state of the system that is achieved by eliminating threats and risks that come from within the system and outside it. In the most general sense, it signifies the freedom from fear, threats, and physical violence. However, security also involves moral, ideological, and normative elements. It is a socially constructed concept that acquires specific meaning just within the given social context. *The security of a state* is the expression of its defence capacity to protect the highest state and national values, interests, and goals. It is the activity which, on legal and political foundations, organizes the implementation of measures and functioning of the state in order to protect its independence, sovereignty, integrity, constitutional order, and personal and property safety of citizens. It is a regular function of the social order and a special area of social division of labour. (*National*) *security* involves the protection of a state and its citizens from all forms of non-armed and armed threats, as well as the creation of favourable conditions for the realization of national

194 Djordjević, O.: *op. cit.*, p. 34.

195 *Mala politička enciklopedija* (group of authors), Savremena administracija, Beograd, 1966, p. 96.

values and interests. The absence of war and military conflicts *per se* does not ensure the international peace and security. Non-military sources, instability in economy, social, humanitarian, and environmental sphere have become a threat to peace and security.¹⁹⁶

A difference should be made between the security of a state and the security of a society, emphasizing that the main criterion of their distinction is the sovereignty of a state versus the identity of a society. The essence of both phenomena consists of existence or survival: the state that loses its sovereignty stops being a state, the society that loses its identity stops existing as a sovereign unit. Separating the state and social security should be understood in the sense of two organizational security centres, but the epicentre of the dilemma remains to be the state, whether it is the social aspect of security or the international. The state provides the legitimacy and protection of societies, but it is the key link in the approach to security as a supranational phenomenon.¹⁹⁷

State security is the application and usage of methods, measures, and activities of authorities, services, and political subjects that prevent, disable, or defuse the carriers of the activities that threaten the state, as well as the institutions that are directly engaged in the state protection (security services).¹⁹⁸ State security most frequently refers to the prevention of the so-called political criminal acts, revealing their preparation and the prevention of their execution, then revealing the executed acts of this type and catching and prosecuting their perpetrators, including all kinds of activities and measures to fulfil the listed goals. According to the place from which the threats come, state security is divided into external and internal, but the external security can be endangered by the activities of physical or other attacks that come from the outside.¹⁹⁹

National security is the activity of national states which they use, in accordance with their social capacities in present and future, considering global changes and development, to protect their own identity, survival, and interests.²⁰⁰ Unlike the state security, the concept of national security moves from military and national sector towards the sectors significant for the survival of the society and the awareness of ethnicity.

The general security involves the protection of personal, property, political, and other rights and freedoms of people and citizens from criminal denials of their usage. Personal freedoms and rights encompass the protection of life, integrity, and inviolability of personality, then the inviolability of place of residence, secrecy of written correspondence, and other means of communication, freedom

196 Kovač, M.: *Strategijska i doktrinarna dokumenta nacionalne bezbednosti – Teorijske osnove*, Svet knjige, Beograd, 2003, pp. 39, 69–70, 10, 14.

197 Avramov, S.: *Bezbednost u XXI veku, Zbornik radova SIMVON*, Beograd, 2001, p. 432.

198 Djordjević, O.: *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87.

199 *Mala politička enciklopedija*, p. 96.

200 Definition by Hewedy, A. Referenced in: Simić, D. R.: *op. cit.*, p. 30.

of movement and settlement, and other personal and political rights. The protection of property rights represent the ensuring of the existing property and legal relations, protection of citizens' property rights from theft, robbery, and various self-proclaimed property acquisition rights, as well as every infringement of property rights of an individual.²⁰¹

Human security involves the provision of life core i.e. the state of minimum set of living conditions. People whose living conditions are above the minimum degree can live in relatively undeveloped conditions, but they even then have the minimum level of security that enables them to plan and work for the better future. The minimum set of conditions for secure life can be objectively determined by setting "thresholds" (standards) for the agreed indicators in each of the selected fields of human security. A person is secure if their living conditions are above the threshold in every field. And vice versa, falling below the threshold, in any field, puts the state in the state of insecurity. Thresholds, i.e. minimums of security standards, can change through time and increase or decrease.²⁰²

The efforts to define security in a universal way are hard to achieve, which is confirmed by the non-existence of the generally accepted definition. The plurality of approaches in defining security confirms that, although they are all correct, they are individually not enough for its comprehensive understanding.

At the same time, new ideas and views are created as the product of needs for the more comprehensive protection of new values and spheres of social life that previously were not the subject of serious protection or the protection of traditional values using new methods by new actors. The development of theoretic thought of scientific disciplines that traditionally did not deal with security certainly contributes to that.

201 *Mala politička enciklopedija*, p. 96.

202 King, G., Murray, C. J. L.: Rethinking Human Security, *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 116, No. 4, The Academy of Political Science, New York, 2001/2002, pp. 585–610.

1. The Idea and Classification of Security Concepts

Security concepts are theoretic and practical models of protecting and improving referent values and interests of specific categories of security objects.

Security is a dynamic phenomenon, so the conceptual orientations in relation to values, dangers that threaten them, as well as subjects and the manner and means of their protection are also changing. For instance, the focus of *the Cold War* (state-centred and Westphalian) *security* is on: the state territory and borders; beyond-borders security of a state; military security factor; human factor; West-East relation; state readiness for action, and the central role of a state in security. The centre of *the post-Cold War security* is: individuals and communities; inner security of a state and transnational security; multidimensional security factors; natural and environmental factors; global security; preventive and revitalizing role of a state, with the appearance of non-governmental security subjects.²⁰³

Security concepts appeared on the basis of the relevant security practice, in order to improve it. In addition, there was the need to remove numerous deficiencies and incompleteness in defining the security concept. Therefore, security concepts are the product, but also the instrument of security theory and practice, and their value is *conceptually innovative* and *instrumental*. They are also called the *levels of security (analysis)*.

The efforts to universally define security as “the absence of threats to the acquired values, i.e. the absence of fear that those values can be attacked” impose certain dilemmas: whose values can be threatened; what are those values; who could attack them; whose fear should be calculated; how to differentiate between the true (though maybe unfounded) and the false fear and whether the absence of threats and/or fear should be understood in the absolute or relative sense?²⁰⁴

²⁰³ Law, D. M.: Ljudska bezbednost i reforma sektora bezbednosti, deset godina posle, *Ljudska bezbednost*, broj 2, Fakultet civilne odbrane, Beograd, 2004, p. 96.

²⁰⁴ Møller, B.: Nacionalna, socijetalna i ljudska bezbednost – Opšta razmatranja sa prikazom balkanskog slučaja, *Ljudska bezbednost*, broj 1, Fakultet civilne odbrane, Beograd, 2003, p. 37.

The matter of “correct” defining and building of an “essentially confirmed concept” of security is probably futile. Rather, the discussion could be on theoretic constructions that are more or less useful or relevant, but that can neither be completely correct nor completely incorrect. At the same time, it is futile and impossible to observe particular security levels independently of others, because they are inter-influential and interdependent. Generally, security concept can be defined and expanded along the various “axes”, by providing answers to the given questions and by their concentrating into specific logically rounded and coherent thought unities. First of all, the questions are the following:

- *whose security?*, which identifies the referent objects of security, which can be individuals, social groups, state, international system, and humankind with the planet;
- *security of what?*, which points at the values and interests of referent objects that are the objects of protection due to their potential or real vulnerability;
- *security from whom/what*, which identifies the sources, carriers, and forms of threats of referent objects values, which can have natural, human, and technical and technological origin. Principally, the same values can be threatened by different phenomena, and vice versa: one type of phenomena usually threatens more several different values of one or more referent objects;
- *who provides security?*, which points at the security subjects that protect the values and interests of referent objects, and
- *how is security provided/realized?*, which identifies general methodologies (methods, instruments, activities) of the protection of referent values and interests.²⁰⁵

By analysing the listed questions and their wider versions (e.g. *security for whom, security for which values, how much security, security from what threats, by what means, at what costs, for how long*)²⁰⁶, we conclude that the concepts are actually the collective interpretation of security as a function (*how is security provided/realized*), an organization and a system (*who provides security*), focused on the state of feasibility and protectedness of values of the specific security objects (*whose security, security of what, security from whom/what*).

205 Adapted from: Møller, B.: *op. cit.*, p. 39, 41–42; Kolodziej, E. A.: *op. cit.*, pp. 16–22.

206 Baldwin, D. A.: The Concept of Security, *Review of International Studies*, No 23, British International Studies Association, 1997, pp. 12–17.

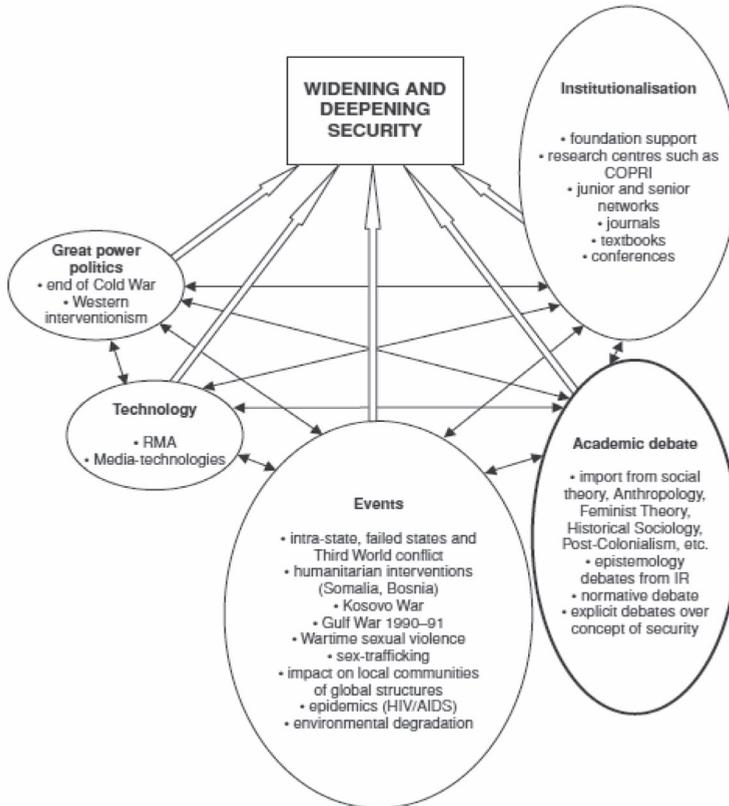


Figure 17. The Main Drivers behind the Widening-Deepening Approaches²⁰⁷

In the traditional sense, the security concept was narrower than today. It involved significantly fewer sectors (of which the military one was the most dominant) and just the state level. However, the process of widening and deepening of the security concept, which occurred simultaneously on the theoretic and practical level, made the security concept deeper, wider, and according to many, more diluted.

The process of widening and deepening of the security concept was influenced primarily by the political decisions and political moves of the great powers, the development of technology, and the dynamics of security in the developed countries and the Third World countries (civil wars, humanitarian interventions, epidemics, environmental pollution, illegal migrations and human trafficking that is tightly linked with them, etc.), but also by the increasing frequency of technical and technological dangers.

²⁰⁷ Buzan, B., Hensen, L.: *op. cit.*, p. 225.

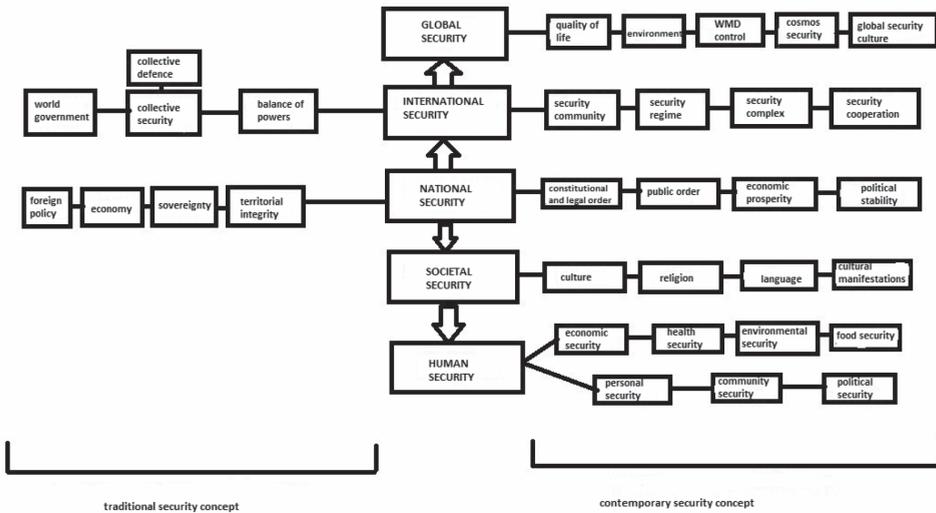


Figure 18. Widening and Deepening of the Security Concept

In the theoretic sense, the development of the security concept was influenced by the changes in the aspect of institutionalization of security through various institutes, research projects, publications, etc. In addition, the development of the security concept was influenced by the inflow of theoretic ideas from other scientific disciplines and the academic debates that have been present in security studies since the '90s.

Nowadays, logically, the focus of security is on the person as an individual and a collective, a state, the international community and humankind with the planet Earth. Therefore, we can speak about the security of people, state, and international and global security. These levels of analysis are in a correlation, so they are all, in their own way, significant for the maintenance, protection, and improvement of national security they are all derived from. Finally, neither of them negates the others nor the values and interests promoted within them.

2. Human Security

A human (an individual) is the lowest and the most significant level of the security studies analysis. Even the ideas of other security concepts are, at least indirectly, directed towards the security of an individual. This is because an individual exists in certain social, state, and international environment. That is why the security of an individual is the condition of the security of the society and state, but also of the humanity, i.e. of national and global security.

The idea of the individual level of analysis appeared with the theoreticians of alternative approaches at the end of the Cold War and it particularly developed after its end. The basis on which the concept of individual security is developed is the stand that the state, as an analysis level, is given irrationally great attention, which results in practical issues, such as the tendency towards the increase of the power of a state. It is precisely that tendency towards the increase of a state power that can become a threat to other levels of analysis, particularly the individual one. It is concluded that “the relevance of individual security rests in the networks of connections and contradictions between the personal security and state security.”²⁰⁸

This value shift in security studies from a state to an individual, however, still does not mean that the individual level should replace the state one. A state needs an individual, but the individual also needs the state, so this only points at the relation of these two objects: the state in that constellation should be a means, not an end. The reason the individual cannot take the role of the state as the reference point of security studies lies in the operationalization: the security idea is more easily applied to things and objects than directly to humans.²⁰⁹

Namely, for individuals, unlike the state, apart from the objective security (that is greatly a matter of political consensus), there is a particular significance of subjective security (the personal feeling of security and the absence of fear and doubt). Therefore, it is harder to precisely define the security of an individual.²¹⁰

In addition, the values of an individual are harder to identify because there are numerous values that are referent for them, which “dilutes” the coherence of security in the scientific sense. Considering the fact that humans are both natural and social beings, we can differentiate two terms that are generally used when it comes to this security level:

- *individual security*, which is usually related to an individual as a biological unit and his/her physical survival, i.e. the mechanisms of protection of an individual from physical and other forms of violence. The values distinguished in this sense are connected with the physical integrity of people.
- *personal security*, on the other hand, is related to an individual as a part of a social context. Namely, everyone can be said to be an individual, i.e. an individual representative of human kind, but a person is “the individual that in the interaction with other individuals and the society develops certain personal traits that differentiate them from other individuals”.²¹¹

In that social context, an individual and his/her physical survival is a core, the assumption of human presence in the society and the assumption for building

208 Buzan, B.: *People, States & Fear*, p. 35.

209 *Ibid.*

210 *Ibid.*, p. 35-36.

211 Marković, Ž. D.: *Ibid.*, p. 196.

and realizing other values that are significant for a human as a social being. The values that are distinguished in this sense are connected with the psychological and spiritual integrity of people.

Considering the fact that individual security level brings a shift in relation to the state-centred approach to security studies, the individual has become a security subject together with the state. The essence of this shift is in the personalization of security which points out that the interests of individual human beings are sometimes different than the state interests, even mutually conflicting.²¹² That means that the state can often have a role of the carrier of threats to human security.

The focus of the concept of *the security of an individual* or *individual security* is a human – an individual. That is why it is also called “humanocentric” concept. A human is a natural, social, and reasonable being, so they have a wide scope of personal needs, values, and interest that require continuous protection.²¹³ At the same time, the individual is the lowest – basic level of security analysis without which the other, higher levels of analysis are pointless.²¹⁴

The security of an individual implies the certainty of meeting his/her needs, realizing and protecting personal, but also referent values of other levels of analysis, and the feeling of personal safety. It is, first of all, the possibility of unhindered fulfilment of basic physiological needs (nourishment, movement, rest, health, biological reproduction, which are usually conditioned by working and acquiring livelihood), inviolability of mental and physical integrity and personal property, freedom to decide, behave, and express the spirit and self-recognition. It is the product of instinctive needs, acquired reflexes, and empirical experiences. Individual security must include the protection of all the vital values that are significant for an individual as a biological, but also a social unit.

In short, it is the state of *personal* (physical, mental, and health) integrity and *material and existential* (property, economic, and social) *status* of an individual and his/her family, i.e. the protectedness of the “identity and sovereignty of an individual”. It can be observed on at least two levels: as the absence of fear from threats and as the absence of natural, social, or technical and technological dangers. There are four possible combinations of presence and absence of danger and fear, and their results are security, insecurity, and two polemical situations.

212 Hampson, F. O.: Višeznačnost pojma ljudske bezbednosti, in: Dulić, D. (ed.): *Ljudska bezbednost, zbornik tekstova I*, Fond za otvoreno društvo, Beograd, 2003, p. 53.

213 That is symbolically confirmed by the well-known Rousseau’s sentence, according to which “man is born free and is in chains everywhere”. Rousseau, J-J.: *The Social Contract*, E. P. Dutton, New York, 1950, p. 3.

214 Buzan, B.: *op. cit.*, p. 49.

Table 2. Security State of an Individual

DANGER (OBJECTIVE DIMENSION OF SECURITY)	FEAR (SUBJECTIVE DIMENSION OF SECURITY)	STATE OF THE SECURITY OF AN INDIVIDUAL
+	+	SECURE
+	-	FEELS SECURE EVEN THOUGH THEY ARE OBJECTIVELY INSECURE
-	+	FEELS INSECURE EVEN THOUGH THEY ARE OBJECTIVELY SECURE
-	-	INSECURE

Human security is the state of protectedness of a human from dangers, threats, and violations of their personality, rights, and property. Thus, individual security is the certainty of realizing citizens' freedoms and rights. Without security, there is no individual human freedom, and vice versa.²¹⁵

It is obvious that the concept of individual security is determined by human freedoms and rights. Those are legal rights that every person, as a being, possesses. They are universal and belong to everyone, regardless of the differences in race, gender, religion, ethnicity, and beliefs. The usage of those rights has no limitations apart from the ones that provide the same rights to other society members and those that are exclusively determined by the constitution and laws. The concept of human rights strives to comprehensiveness, i.e. to the regulation of freedoms and rights in almost all spheres of human life.

Generally, according to the historical development and content, the fundamental human rights are divided into: *fundamental civil and political rights*, *fundamental economic, social, and cultural rights*, and *solidarity rights*. Apart

215 Miletić, S.: *Pojmovnik policijskog prava*, Službeni glasnik, Beograd, 2001, pp. 1–3.

from that, in relation to their carrier, human rights are divided into *individual rights*, which exclusively belong to an individual, and *collective rights* that belong to certain national, ethnic, religious, and other groups and minorities.²¹⁶

Finally, *the international war and humanitarian law* is applied in armed conflicts. It is the so-called Law of the Hague, which regulates the usage of armed forces and weapons in war actions and the so-called Law of Geneva, which regulates the rights and the manner armed forces treat the civilian population, and the shipwrecked, wounded, and sick, prisoners of war, medical and religious staff, as well as cultural and religious buildings.

Thus, *human rights do not imply anything but the specific standard, i.e. the minimum of general assumptions necessary to be met in order to provide the minimum of human security to every human being*. At the same time, the connection between the endangering of individual security and infringement of human rights is apparent: personal security of an individual exists when their life, physical integrity, dignity, health, political, social, and economic position in the society, legal security, freedom of speech, thoughts, and beliefs, but also the other relevant factors are protected in that degree that human being can develop and freely express their personality.²¹⁷

The security of an individual and the realization of his/her rights are conditioned by the security of the state and the group they belong to, as well as the legal order, rule of law, and security function. Without the assistance of the state, people cannot ensure the satisfactory level of security to themselves. The protection of human rights requires the state activity on the prevention of conflicts between people and the maintenance of security, because of the different and conflicting interests of individuals. The state standardizes social processes and relations and controls their performance, protecting vital values of individuals. Individual and state securities are integral components of national security nowadays and the protection of human security is one of the sub-functions of national security.

In addition, it is also the subject of self-protection, which means that the individual is obliged to be responsible for it him/herself. Moreover, other individuals also take the responsibility for his/her security and they do it *actively*, contributing to the protection of his/her values and *passively*, refraining from

216 Stajić, Lj.: *Osnovi sistema bezbednosti sa osnovama istraživanja bezbednosnih pojava*, op. cit., pp. 328–329. See: *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)*, the United Nations, on 10th December 1948; European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, Protocol No. 11, Rome, 4th November 1950; International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, *the Official Journal of the SFRY*, No. 17/1971; International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, *the Official Journal of the SFRY*, No. 17/1981, and other sources of human rights.

217 Stajić, Lj.: *Osnovi sistema bezbednosti sa osnovama istraživanja bezbednosnih pojava*, op. cit., p. 323

threatening them. Thus, individual security is directly proportional to the degree of development of security culture in the society.

Finally, the international community takes care of the security of an individual, prescribing international standards of the realization and protection of human rights and intervening in situations when the state violates them or when it is not able to protect them (by diplomatic instruments; by the instruments of political, economic, and military coercion, and by legal instruments). In that sense, the protection of the rights of an individual is ensured by international mechanisms, such as international courts.

The individual security approach based on the freedoms and rights creates certain dilemmas in the “individual – society – state – international community quadruple”: widening of freedoms and rights of individuals is limited by the freedoms and rights of the others; the state is obliged to enable individuals to enjoy freedoms and rights; performing the security function, state necessarily encroaches on them; human freedoms and rights are guaranteed by international law. At least three dilemmas arise here: how to enable an individual to enjoy his/her rights and prevent them from threatening the freedoms and rights of the others; how can the state realize protective function, without illegitimately encroaching upon the freedoms and rights of people, and can the state perceive and sanction all the cases of endangering individual security? The answer is: a democratic state aspires to that through its legal system, rule of law, and security system. However, who guarantees that the state will adhere to its legal system, that the national security system will strive to the optimization of its function, and that international organizations and community will perceive, and react to, the systematic or individual violation of human rights? It is undeniable only that the state creates security, but also the insecurity, for the individual.

It also cannot be denied that various endangering phenomena violate numerous human rights. What is more, violation of some of them causes new endangering phenomena, but also results in destructive reactions of the threatened individuals. We can rightly say that the violation of human rights is the cause and consequence of endangering security. The fact is that “one of the greatest current problems in the human security sphere is the inability to mobilize total world public in supporting and improving human rights”²¹⁸ which creates a new concern: passivity in the protection of human rights contributes to their violation and to the endangering of individual and collective security.

218 Ogura, K.: A Pacific Perspective, *The New Challenges to International, National and Human Security Policy*, The Trilateral Commission, Warsaw, 2004, p. 59.

In the end, there is no sign of equality between human rights and human security, because human rights, unlike human security, rely on the correlative duties. Human security is a wider phenomenon that involves human rights, but also the relation towards threats that human rights do not primarily deal with (e.g. natural disasters, illnesses, hunger, poverty). Thus, human rights are a normative framework of human security, but not its exclusive component.

In short, the fulfilment of human rights is a necessary, but not sufficient condition of individual security. In order to have human security on the satisfactory level, it has to be the resultant of all the security levels, but also the synergy of the feasibility of human freedoms and rights and the fulfilment of legal duties of every individual.

The significance of this concept is twofold: theoretical and practical. In the theoretic sense, deepening the security concept towards the individual level of analysis caused a tectonic movement within security studies. It shifts the focus from the state to the human and that is a significant change for the analytical part of security studies. In the practical sense, turning to the human and his/her security needs meant new, more human security policies and the change of state-centred military practices.

2.1. The Concept of Human Security

The concept of *people's – human security* is a new analytical framework of security studies that appeared in the Post-Cold War period. However, the characteristic that makes this concept recognizable is not its analytical value, nor do security studies accept it without “disapproval” and controversy. Hence, what makes human security recognizable is still the fact that it is the concept of practical policy that has an individual and the concept of individual security in its focus, i.e. core.

Human security is usually understood in the spirit of the United Nations Development Program's *Human Development Report* from 1994 where it is defined as “the human survival and dignity through *freedom from fear (violence)* and *freedom from want (poverty)*” and as “human security from all possible forms of threats, primarily threats to life, health, earning, personal security, and human dignity”. In that sense, it consists of at least two attributes: freedom from chronic threats to security, such as famine, disease, repression, and the protection from

sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life (at work, home or in the neighbourhood).²¹⁹

The focus of human security contains individuals and collectives that are exposed to (primarily non-military) direct or indirect threats that come from governmental or non-governmental actors. The concept of human security is characterized by three directions.²²⁰

According to the first one, human security is the realization of the wide range of different human rights. This approach is founded on the rule of law and it strives to strengthen the normative international and national framework, judicial system, and the influence of international organizations in defining human rights standard and imposing it to countries. Human security is protected by criminal courts, i.e. the International Criminal Court. According to this stand, human security is reduced to the protection of human rights, which is not enough for the existence of comprehensive human security. Human rights are a social construction that protects people exclusively from the threats of human origin, but not from the threats that come from nature or as the consequence of malfunction of technical and technological systems.

The other approach is based on the humanitarian foundations, so the safety of people (absence of fear), i.e. fundamental personal rights, including the right to survival, is the highest goal of international interventions. War is the biggest threat to humans, affecting mostly “non-fighters” who should be protected from violence by international community. The approach was later expanded (*the integral approach to human security*) by accepting, apart from conflicting and emergency situations, “economic misery, social injustice, and political pressures” as threats to people. It was “rounded up” by the United Nations taking a stand that “non-military sources of instability in the field of economy, society, humanitarian work, and ecology have become threats to peace and thereby to security”. The goals and protection of human security are related to military intervention, humanitarian aid, and emergency situations aid, post-conflict creation of peace, and conflict prevention.

In order to limit human security to an acceptable and useful analytical framework, this concept was advocated by most researchers of security studies. However, this approach is also narrow and provides the protection to people

219 United Nations Development Program, *Human Development Report*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1994, pp. 25–33.

220 Listed according to: Hampson, F. O.: Višeznačnost pojma ljudske bezbednosti, *op. cit.*, p. 12–13, 29; see also: Hampson, F. O.: *Human Security, Security Studies – An Introduction* (ed. Williams, P.), Routledge, London–New York, 2008, pp. 229–243.

just from physical violence and the consequences of violent conflicts. This omits the core of what makes human security different from other, state-centred approaches from the agenda of human security. It is the protection from material, existential and spiritual limitations, such as the poverty, unemployment, famine, disease, lack of education, etc.

The third, and the widest, understanding of human security perceives it as “the sustainable human development”, i.e. the realization, protection, and improvement of economic, social, and environmental rights. However, “human development is a broader concept and it involves the process of widening of the range of people’s choices (*freedom from want*), and human security means that people can exercise these choices in safety and freedom (*freedom from fear*)”.

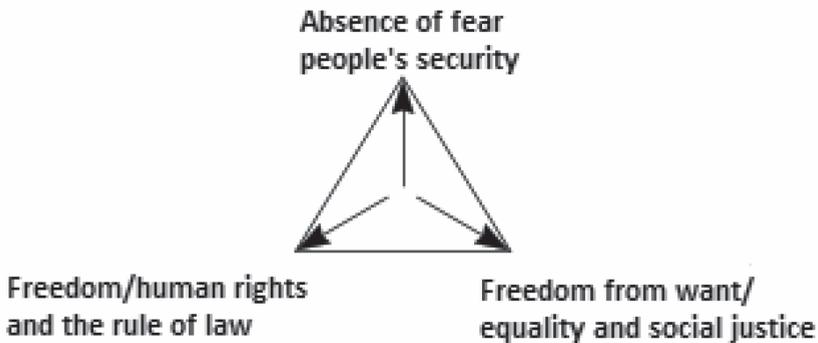


Figure 19. Three Dimensions of Human Security²²¹

The greatest threats to humans are considered to be illnesses like AIDS, drug trafficking, terrorism, global poverty, and degraded environment. These problems are not local or state, but global, and they mostly originate from economic and social inequality and the lack of social justice in international relations. Human security is protected with measures of redistribution of wealth and incomes between the rich and the poor and with new participatory structures of government on the local, state, and global level.

The significant determinants of human security are: economy, environment, and society, and its spheres are:

- *economic security*, i.e. sufficient and predictable income, predictable employment, work security and health, freedom of union organizing,

²²¹ Hampson, F. O.: Višeznačnost pojma ljudske bezbednosti, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

social insurance, satisfaction with the level of income, disparity of income, and competitiveness;

- *health security*, i.e. people's protection from disease and infections, availability and quality of health protection, people's health state, development of the health protection system;
- *environmental security*, i.e. its protection from pollution and degradation, as well as free access to sanitary water, clean air, and unpolluted land ecosystem;
- *food security*, through physical and economic availability of food and water, i.e. the availability and quality of food items and purchasing power;
- *personal security*, i.e. the absence of violence and abuse that may come from the people's own state, other states, groups of people (criminal groups, other ethnic, religious, national groups), protectedness of people from auto-destructive phenomena, security of participating in traffic, etc.,
- *community security*, which involves family stability, quality of housing, quality of life in the local community, security of cultural identity, effects of ethical codex of communities,
- *political security*, which involves the development and protectedness of human rights, influence of politics on the citizens' quality of life and the influence of formal social control bodies (primarily military and police forces, intelligence services, and judicial system) on the security of people, the development and freedom of media and communication, prevention of control of ideas and information by the holders of power.²²²

On the basis of these indicators, the *Human Development Index* (UNDP HDI) was developed for measuring the capacities of countries to ensure security to their citizens, i.e. citizens' security: health and lifespan, the degree of education, and the level of life standard. That makes this concept practically applicable and socially useful.

Generally, human security is the resultant of the concepts of individual, social, and global security. Even though it is frequently denied and considered "an artificial hybrid" of the components of other security concepts, it faced numerous positive reviews by scientific institutions, governments, non-governmental and intergovernmental organizations, which apply it in practice.²²³

222 *Indikatori ljudske bezbednosti u Srbiji – Izveštaj za 2004*, Fakultet civilne odbrane, Beograd, 2005, pp. 11–12.

223 See: Đorđević, I.: Realizacija koncepta ljudske bezbednosti u praksi, *Ljudska bezbednost*, broj 1, Fakultet civilne odbrane, Beograd, 2004, pp. 115–122; Bähr, K.: *Redefining Security in a World of Global Threats – An Outline of the Debate about Three Different Concepts: Traditional Security, Broadened Security and Human Security*, Heinrich Böll Foundation North America, Policy Paper 22, Washington, 2003, pp. 8–12.

Table 3. Two Approaches to the Concept of Human Security and Their Differences²²⁴

	FREEDOM FROM WANT	FREEDOM FROM FEAR
PROPONENTS	Development economists, Mahabub ul Haq, Amartya Sen	Western governments (Canada, Norway)
MAIN STIMULUS	Dissatisfaction over orthodox growth-oriented development models; “guns versus butter” model of national investments	End of the cold war; rise of complex emergencies, ethnic strife, state failure, humanitarian intervention
TYPES OF THREATS	Non-military and non-traditional, environmental degradation, disease	Armed conflicts, violence against individuals
MAIN POLICY GOALS	Promoting human development, defined as “building human capabilities – the range of things that people can do, and what they can be. ... The most basic capabilities for human development are leading a long and healthy life, being educated and having adequate resources for a decent standard of living ... [and] social and political participation in society”. These capabilities are undermined by poverty, disease and ill-health, illiteracy, discrimination, threat of violent conflict, and denial of political and civil liberties. (UNDP 2005: 18–19)	Protecting people in conflict zones; reducing the human costs of conflict through a ban on landmines and child soldiers; protecting human rights; developing peace-building mechanisms.

224 Acharya, A.: Human Security, in: Baylis, J, Smith, S, Owens, P. (eds): *Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, 4e, Oxford University Press, New York, 2008, p. 495.

The fact is, there are numerous reasons why human security is useful and necessary in national and international politics nowadays: human security complements state security and promotes human rights and gender equality, develops norms and standards related to conflict situations, reduces costs of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and military costs, deals with the migration problem and restoring of countries devastated in conflicts, foregrounds the poverty reduction politics, advocates for the issues related to the health and education of population.²²⁵ Its constructivism, humane idea, and practical dimension cannot be denied.

Practically, human security, apart from the field of human development, found its place in the agendas of international organizations and foreign policy strategies of the countries such as Canada, Japan, etc. Its practical significance reflects in the usage of the human security narrative for the placement of certain foreign policies, so Canada adopted the foreign policy approach to human security based on the “freedom from fear” that has become the basis of humanitarian interventionism. In this context, human security refers just to the protection of people from armed violence.

Unlike Canada, Japan adopted the foreign policy strategy based on the “freedom from want”. Japanese approach to the realization of the human security concept in practice is non-militaristic, based on the economic, health, and educational strengthening of individuals and groups. Japan perceives threats to human security differently than Canada, so instead of focusing on the protection of people solely from armed violence, it shifts that focus to the conditions in which humans live on daily basis, as well as to the threats that endanger not just physical integrity, but the survival and dignity of a person in everyday life. The devotion of states and international organizations to the concept of human security indicates that they perceive their roles in international community in a different manner. Moving from traditional policies of self-help towards the more open and cooperative policies implies the acceptance of the wide spectre of shared political responsibilities and those responsibilities are focused around common values that are operationalized through the concept of human security.²²⁶

However, it should not be forgotten that the concept of human security has been misused several times: the instrumentalized NATO performed an armed attack on a number of sovereign states (e.g. Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) under the “mask of humanitarian militarist interventionism”. The armed aggression was presented as “a fight for human security” and justified by the concept of international cooperative security.

225 Taylor, V.: Putting the human security to the top agenda, in: Dulić, D. (ed.): *Human Security 2*, Faculty of Civil Defence, Belgrade, 2006, pp. 137–146.

226 Popović M.: Introducing Human Security Discourse in Serbian Foreign Policy: The Way Towards European Values and Practices, in: Djordjevic I., Glamotchak M., Stanarevic S., Gacic J. (eds): *Twenty Years of Human Security: Theoretical Foundations and Practical Applications*, University of Belgrade – Faculty of Security Studies, Institut Français de Géopolitique Université Paris 8, Belgrade, 2015, pp. 425–426.

Hence there is scepticism towards this concept in practical sense and it is particularly visible in the countries that are traditionally considered small, problematic, and unsuccessful. Their privacy, sovereignty, integrity, and sometimes even national identity are encroached upon by the interventions under the cloak of “the protection of human rights and human security”.

Apart from the undeniable practical significance of human security that provides acceptable narratives for political decision-makers, as well as the basis for dealing with the issues that are significant for human survival and development, human security has another significant component. That is the theoretic component and it refers to the position of human security as the concept of contemporary security studies. The work of Barry Buzan on the individual level of analysis is the first theoretic approach to this problem, even though Buzan has a sceptical attitude to the concept of human security as an analytical concept. He claims that it is a political, practical concept that, in the analytical sense, leads to the “reductionist understanding of international security”.²²⁷

The intellectual foundation of the human security concept is comprised of critical approaches within security studies, especially the work of the already mentioned *Welsh School of Security Studies*. Apart from advocating for the deepening of security concept so that it could include lower levels of analysis, Welsh School paved the way to the conceptualization of human security through the concepts of emancipation and politicization, as opposed to securitization and the use of emergency measures, which is extremely relevant for human security. The whole logic of the concept of human security rests on the strengthening of people (emancipation) and investing in the protection of their values in order not to apply emergency measures. There are four manners the critical school deals with the concept of human security: the broadening and deepening of security discourses, the feminist analysis of security and international relations, emancipation, and ethic-political approach to security.²²⁸

However, there is also the fifth manner and that is the one where critical studies deal with the *biopolitics of human security*. In this manner, theoreticians have a critical attitude towards the purposefulness of the concept because, dealing with the manners of governing the modern world and practices that governance involves, they point at the specificities of the interaction between the North and South, i.e. using the rhetoric of human security in order to influence the politics in the countries of the global South.²²⁹

227 Buzan, B.: A Reductionist, Idealistic Notion That Adds Little Analytical Value, *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 35, No. 3, 2004, p. 369.

228 Ryerson, C.: Critical Voices and Human Security: To Endure, To Engage or To Critique?, *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 41, No. 2, 2010, p. 169.

229 *Ibid*, pp.169–190.

However, the concept of human security is polemic for the scientific community. The subject of most criticisms is its overly wide definition, by which human security implies everything that can be a current and potential threat to an individual, which makes it lose its analytical point. In that sense, the human security agenda, especially when understood in its broad sense, is compared to a “shopping list” that contains a wide range of issues that do not need to be mutually related. Therefore, human security becomes a loose synonym for “bad things that can happen” and it then loses all the utility to policymakers, because it makes it difficult for them to set priorities.²³⁰

The solution to this problem is seen in the usage of concepts as a common designation for the wider category of research within security studies that primarily deals with non-military threats to security of societies, groups, and individuals.²³¹

There are numerous suggestions to narrow down this concept to the threats that are life-threatening, without using the quantitative criterion (number of deaths, material costs, etc.), but drawing the line on the basis of political consensus – political priorities, capabilities, and will.²³²

The impossibility of determining cause and effect relation between variables when researching human security is yet another frequent criticism that comes from proponents of positivistic epistemology. Namely, they point out that when it comes to the problem of human security, it is hard to determine what their cause is and what their consequence (e.g. whether poverty is the cause of the lack of education or the lack of education is the cause of poverty). However, for postmodernist, this criticism does not have a great significance since they depart from the positivist methodology and deal with the discursive nature of threats. In addition, the defence of human security as a contemporary concept is also the fact that traditional security concepts are not immune from such criticisms, like, for example, espionage that can be both a cause and a consequence of state insecurity.²³³

Apart from the criticism, the potential of the human security concept is also positively evaluated in academic circles. Thus, it is considered that it deserves theoretic attention just by the fact that, in spite of the criticisms, it is present in almost every political agenda and it is even more successfully institutionalized and the new transnational space is created around it (coalitions, platforms, networks).

230 Krause, K.: The Key to a Powerful Agenda, if Properly Delimited, *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 35, No. 3, 2004, pp. 367–368.

231 See: Paris, R.: Human Security, in: Hughes, W. Christopher; Meng, Lai Yew (ed.) (2011): *Security Studies: A reader*, Routledge, London and New York, p. 74.

232 Owen, T.: Human Security – Conflict, Critique and Consensus: Colloquium Remarks and a Proposal for a Threshold-Based Definition, *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 35, No. 3, 2004, pp. 383–384.

233 *Ibid*, p. 380.

In that sense, human security can be perceived in the theoretical sense as the so-called boundary object that does not need to have a precise analytical framework (content) but can create its content contextually, with the interaction of various fields of practice and different actors that all, from their angles, deal with human security.²³⁴

The openness of the concept and its critical potential (that is generally the subject of criticism) can also be considered an advantage, because that is the only way to prevent the mistake of realistic, traditional concepts of security that created the hegemonic security concept. Human security gives the opportunity to correct the mistakes the post-colonialists point at, because the openness of that concept leaves space for taking into account the security dynamics of the Third World. In this way, the other communities from the sphere of security were given voice in the creation of the security discourse (communities that do not belong to the Global West, transnational, and local actors, etc.). Therefore, the strength of human security rests precisely in this indeterminacy, because it thus prevents assuming the attitude of superiority of a certain set of values at the expense of neglecting the others, and creates the hegemonic, unilateral security concept.²³⁵

Finally, in order to defend the concept of human security and provide the contribution to its analytical precision, there were attempts to create the research (heuristic) model of human security. In one model of that kind, the key factor is the perception of security or the subjective dimension of security. It is the reflection of the experience with the objective structural conditions on the global, national, community, and personal (individual) level. In that sense, the perception of insecurity is more emphasized among the people who live in a war environment, who confront natural disasters, live in a risky environment or belong to some of the vulnerable groups: the old, poor, women, less educated.

The perception of security is conditioned with the networks that deal with the protection of social security (those networks are created by family, local community, the welfare state), because they can reduce the risk with favourable effect and the provision of support. Security perceptions are also influenced by the manners the means of mass communication create the ideas of threats and dangers. Finally, security perceptions are important because they shape a wide range of cultural values, including the feeling of wellbeing and happiness, social trust, tolerance, strengthening of religious and political beliefs, gender equality, and sexual freedoms.²³⁶

234 On human security as a boundary object see: Buger C.: Human Security – What's the Use of It? Human Security – What's the use of it? On boundary objects and the constitution of new global spaces, In: *Paper prepared for presentation at the 49th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association*, San Francisco, CA, March 26-29, 2008.

235 *Ibid.*

236 Inglehart, F. R., Norris, P.: The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse: Understanding Human Security, *Scandinavian Political Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 1, 2012, pp. 77, 78.

The human security concept certainly deserves the attention of the academic community. Regardless of the criticism directed to the analytical limits of the human security, this concept presents a new value framework that has no alternative. Apart from that, the concept of human security has proven to be an extremely useful concept of practical politics.²³⁷ Hence, this concept is the instrument of political actions of various subjects from the security sphere. Considering that, it necessarily has to be a part of theoretic debates.

Human security is the central concept of security all other concepts are focused on and subordinated to. Both state and international community present the means for reaching, protecting, and improving human security.

Thus, unlike traditional approaches, human security has a person for its goal, and not a state. That is why the concept of human security drafted by the United Nations is considered one of the most humane ideas of the world politics.

2.2. The Concept of Societal Security

The concept of *social* or the so-called *societal security* has social groups as protection objects, i.e. human collectives that are characterized by common identity, values, and interests. It was created on the “deficiencies and inconsistencies” of national security concepts which did not devote the deserved attention to *non-governmental actors*.

Societal or social security is a link, a transition from traditional state-centred security to (human-centred) security of an individual. The framework for the analysis of the relation between identity and security was developed under the *Copenhagen School of Security Studies*, within sector analysis, which distinguishes the societal sector as one of new security sectors, apart from the military one. Traditional studies neglected the fact that numerous threats to national security are at the same time a threat to the security of society. On the other hand, security of states is inseparable from sovereignty, and security of societies from their identity. The survival of a state is the matter of maintaining sovereignty and the survival of a society is the matter of the survival of identity. When it loses its sovereignty, a state vanishes, and when it loses its identity, society ceases to exist. Thus, identity has reasonably become a security issue, the matter of high politics that constructed the concept of societal security.²³⁸

237 Popović, M: *Ljudska bezbednost u Evropskoj uniji: analitički precizan koncept ili deo političkog narativa, Tranzicija i ekonomski kriminal*, Kriminalističko-policijska akademija, Beograd, 2014, str. 208.

238 Weaver, O.: *European Security Identities 2000, European Security Identities* (eds. Burgess, P., Tunander, O.), PRIO Report 2/2000, Oslo, pp. 29–55, in: *Reforma sektora bezbednosti*, (ur. Hadžić, M.), Institut G 17 plus and CCVO, Beograd, 2003, p. 366, 368; also see – Monahan, T.: *Surveillance and Security*, Routledge, London, 2008; Gough, S., Stables, A.: *Sustainability and Security within Liberal Societies*, Routledge, London, 2008; McSweeney, B.: *Security, Identity and Interests – A Sociology of International Relations*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999

At the same time, “the twin processes of integration and fragmentation, according to economic, regional, ethnic, and religious criteria that characterize the contemporary world, point at the need to devote more attention to the concept of societal security, and even its placing in the centre of security analyses not just on the ethno-national, but on the level of global society.”²³⁹

Societal security rests on *identity*, as the vital value of human collectives. That is the identity in relevant, determining properties. In personality psychology, identity is the conscious or unconscious experience of essential self-identity and the continuity of the *self* during a longer period, regardless of its phases in various periods and circumstances. *The feeling of personal identity* is based on two simultaneous observations: the observations of self-identity and continuity of human existence in time and space and the observation of the fact that other people notice and acknowledge that. That is the understanding of essential self-identity, the invariability of an amount or set regardless of the change of its form or the distribution of its members.²⁴⁰

Therefore, *societal security is the security of human collectives that are determined by common identity (the narrow determination), the national identity and unity (the wide determination), because of which individuals and collectives are threatened by other individuals and collectives characterized with different identity*. It involves “the ability of a society to persist in its essential character under changing conditions and possible or actual threats. More specifically, it is about the sustainability, within acceptable conditions for evolution, of traditional patterns of language, culture, association, and religious and national identity and customs.”²⁴¹

Societal security, in short, signifies the ability of the survival of the identity of a community. As it can be seen, it also has an objective and a subjective dimension. Objectively, societal security pertains to the preservation of social markers, such as the language, customs, and manifestations of culture. In the subjective sense, it entails the community’s survival as a locus of identification for its members.²⁴²

The subjective dimension is even considered more significant than the objective one because, quite often, even though there are objective threats to some elements of identity, the fear it will be threatened is not visible. For instance, the substitution of traditional customs with western cultural patterns does not meet

239 Baylis, J.: *International and Global Security in the Post-Cold War Era*, *op. cit.*, p. 71–72.

240 Identity (Latin *identitas* – identity, sameness, congruence, equality) represents an answer to the key question to self – who am I? The different subjects can be identical if they have equal defining characteristics. Identity is developed through more stages and it is susceptible to changes. Trebješanin, Ž.: *Rečnik psihologije*, Stubovi kulture, Beograd, 2001, p. 179, 226–227.

241 Møller, B.: *op. cit.*, p. 52; Also see – Škorić, M., Sokolovska, V., Lazar, Ž.: *Tradicija – jezik – identitet*, Filozofski fakultet Univerziteta u Novom Sadu, Novi Sad, 2008; Divjak, S.: *Problem identiteta: kulturno, etničko, nacionalno i individualno*, Službeni glasnik, Beograd, 2006

242 Theiler, T.: Societal Security, in: Dunn Caveltly, M., Mauer, V. (eds.): *The Routledge Handbook of Security Studies*, Routledge, London and New York, 2010, p. 106.

much resistance of population of most of the countries or they feel threatened by that in the sense of their identity. We are the witnesses of the “Cocacalization” and “McDonaldization” of the world, but it has never happened that a McDonald’s restaurant gets demonstratively burned, which is the case with, let’s say, the flags of other countries.

The identity markers are nationality, ethnicity, religion, affiliation to social groups and layers, political orientation, geographical criteria (place of origin and residence), etc. Lately, the questions have been raised regarding the security of members of sexual minorities, as well as regarding the gender based insecurity.²⁴³ Hence, identities can be *traditional* and *newly-constructed* (newly-created), which points at the changeability of the societal security content.

The legal framework of societal security, inter alia, can be found in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*:

- Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance;
- Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers;
- Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association; no one may be compelled to belong to an association.²⁴⁴

One of the most recognizable markers of identity is the cultural heritage and it is, therefore, attached significance not just in national, but also in international legal frameworks. From the recent documents, we should mention the *Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society* where signatory states agreed to improve the common heritage of Europe which consists of:

- all forms of cultural heritage in Europe which together constitute a shared source of remembrance, understanding, identity, cohesion and creativity;
- the ideals, principles and values, derived from the experience gained through progress and past conflicts, which foster the development of a peaceful and stable society, founded on respect for human rights, democracy and the rule of law.

243 More about that in: Kennedy-Pipe, C.: *Rod i sigurnost, Suvremene sigurnosne studije* (translation, ed. Collins, A.), *Politička kultura*, Zagreb, 2010, pp. 97–113.

244 Articles 18 – 20. The text of the Declaration given in: Hadži-Vidanović, V., Milanović, M.: *Međunarodno javno pravo – zbirka dokumenata*, Beogradski centar za ljudska prava, Beograd, 2005, pp. 102–105.

In this regard, the Parties recognise that:

- everyone, alone or collectively, has the right to benefit from the cultural heritage and to contribute towards its enrichment;
- everyone, alone or collectively, has the responsibility to respect the cultural heritage of others as much as their own heritage, and consequently the common heritage of Europe;
- exercise of the right to cultural heritage may be subject only to those restrictions which are necessary in a democratic society for the protection of the public interest and the rights and freedoms of others.²⁴⁵

The Constitution of the Republic of Serbia²⁴⁶ follows international norms and standards in this part. Namely, it guarantees (Article 43) the freedom of thought, conscience, beliefs and religion, as well as the right to stand by one's belief or religion or change them by choice. In addition, the Constitution (Articles 78-79) prohibits the forced assimilation of members of national minorities, as well as artificial changes in the ethnic structure of population in the areas where members of national minorities live traditionally and in large numbers. Furthermore, the Constitution (Articles 47-49) guarantees the freedom and right of expressing national affiliation. Finally, any inciting of racial, ethnic, religious or other inequality or hatred is prohibited and punishable.

Threats to societal security are manifested in three ways, as:

- *threats to identity* (e.g. denying rights to freedom of religion);
- *threats to manifestations of identity* (e.g. demolition of religious and cultural buildings and historical monuments), and
- *threats to individuals and collective due to their identity* (e.g. discrimination, physical violence, terrorism or war against the members of other ethnic or religious group).

Societal security is connected with a number of theories, such as biological, clash of civilizations, cultural imperialism, cultural predominance, new world order, etc. It is related to numerous threatening phenomena, such as apartheid, segregation, (neo)racism, and xenophobia, ethnic and religious conflicts; demographic explosions and implosions; voluntary and forced – legal and illegal migrations; “ethnic cleansing” and genocide; politicide; culturocide; ethnocide; urbicide; violent assimilation of minority population, migrants, or national

245 “Cultural heritage” is a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions. It includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time; “a heritage community” consists of people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations. See Articles 2-4 of the Council of Europe *Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society*, Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia, No. 1/2010. Also see: Stojković, B.: *Evropski kulturni identitet*, Službeni glasnik, Beograd, 2008; Mejer, T.: *Identitet Evrope – jedinstvena duša Evropske unije?* (translated by: Pržulj, J.), Albatros plus and Službeni glasnik, Beograd, 2009.

246 The Constitution of the Republic of Serbia, *Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia*, No. 83/2006.

minorities; religious and ideological fanaticism and extremism; nationalistic extremism and separatism; economic racism; neo-colonialism and pretensions towards the territories of other states; discrimination and violence against gender and sex minorities, etc.

Endangering societal security is usually connected with *national identity*. Threats to national identity are differently perceived in Eastern and Western Europe. Through the process of European integrations, the West managed to separate the concepts of state and nation, while in Eastern Europe the ethnic concept of nation dominates in which there is a connection between nation and state. That causes conflicts and problems with secessionism. The example of Kosovo and Metohija shows that the holders of political power in Serbia perceive the self-proclaimed independence as a threat to the identity of Serbia as a political community. In this case, it is noticeable that the main referent objects are no longer only the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Serbia as the state, but also the identity of Serbian community.²⁴⁷

One of the largest issues of societal security is the surge of nationalist forces that lead to the discord among ethnic, religious, and cultural groups. If it results in violence or another aspect of severe threats, *the societal security dilemma* is created in which “the security of one group is turned into the endangering of security of the other group”. Unlike the traditional security dilemma, where the main conditions to security involved the preservation of sovereignty, it is important to emphasize that the societal security dilemma involves certain conditions of security that cannot be universal, but contextual. In some cases they are primarily the conditions of preservation of the own language, in others those are religious symbols, or historical concept of homeland. Thus, sometimes, the ethnic autonomy is more important, and sometimes the cultural one.²⁴⁸

The examples of threats to the identity of another group for the preservation of their own identity can be found in our surroundings, such as demonstrative removal of Cyrillic signs in Vukovar, writing slogans “Za dom spremni” (lit. “For home(land) - ready!”), celebrating “Oluja” (Operation Storm), etc.

The societal security dilemma implies the existence of majority and minority, where the majority dominates, while minority groups struggle to maintain or improve their position within the state. From the perspective of minorities, the maintenance of identity is often tied to the control over those institutions responsible for cultural reproduction, and/or over the territory to which societal identity is bound. For the majority group, societal security is usually achieved

247 Panić, B.: Societal Security – security and identity, *Western Balkans Security Observer*, No. 31, April – June 2009, p. 33.

248 Roe, P.: *Ethnic Violence and the Societal Security Dilemma*, Routledge, London and New York, 2005, p. 72.

through the preservation of its privileged (political) status and the maintenance of “national unity”.²⁴⁹

The product of such state is often ethnic cleansing, genocide, and urbicide (the destruction of cities). If that state results in a secession fight, it threatens to grow into the question of political security, state systems, and national security. The threats are greater in the situations of the so-called *matryoshka effect* (the fragmentation of large territorial and political units) that produces tendencies towards even greater fragmentation down to very small, and often not survivable, political entities. The problems of communal strife often have a propensity for internationalization, especially in those cases where a suppressed or disadvantaged ethnic group seeks the assistance and the support of its “paternal” state or international community. That actualizes numerous unresolved territorial disputes, which can incite invading wars, ethnic cleansing, and genocide.²⁵⁰

As one part of the societal security problem, there is the prominent problem of *culturocide*, the so-called *cultural cleansing*, a crime against the cohesion of a group that is characterized by a culture, in order to destroy their social identity.²⁵¹ It is also called *ethnocide* (the destruction of ethnic identity). The goal of that can be the conversion of members of one nation into another (*assimilation*) or the conversion of members of one religion into another (*proselytism*) or their displacement from a territory which, if combined with mass killings of those who do not want to be displaced or assimilated (*genocide*), turns into *ethnic cleansing*. Similarly, some social groups realize general dominance (predominance) over other groups, with pronounced national inequality and the privileged position in relation to them (*hegemony*).

The criticism directed towards this concept is mostly developed on the theoretic level, between constructivists and realists. Realists discredit other concepts, apart from the concept of national and international security, aspiring to preserve the solidity of the discipline and prevent its scattering to other issues that are not the fight for power and national interest.

However, among constructivists there are criticisms and divergences, mostly in relation to the manner of the creation of identity, whether it has an objective basis, i.e. whether it is a permanent and stable construct or it changes and shapes. Regarding its theoretic significance, the concept of societal security must be ready to answer the crucial questions if it strives to a scientific position within

249 *Ibid.*

250 Møller, B.: *op. cit.*, pp. 54–55. Also see – Herman, E., S., Peterson, D.: *Politika genocida*, Vesna Info, Beograd, 2010; Roe, P.: *op. cit.*

251 It is not conducted against a social group by displacement, assimilation, and killing, but against the manifestatinos of a social culture, e.g. by destroying religious buildings, cultural monuments, libraries, museums, cemeteries, etc. Roe, P.: *Društvena sigurnost, Suvremene sigurnosne studije* (translation, ed. Collins, A.), Politička kultura, Zagreb, 2010, p. 197.

security studies, and critics claim that these questions mostly have not been (or have not been completely) replied to.

There are five main questions that are crucial for the concept of societal security:

- the first one refers to the origin of the aspiration towards societal security and the protection of identity and the answer to this question is significant for the theoretical credibility of the concept, since it is used as the basis of the explanations of numerous phenomena (anti-EU and anti-immigration movements, etc.). Hence, researchers should focus on the motives of the securitization of identity;
- the second question refers to how, in what manner, and why particular securitizing discourses emerge; more precisely, why certain issues significant for someone's identity become security issues, and others do not;
- the third question is who securitizes certain questions related to identity, and the answer should be looked for in securitizing elites and their motives and reasons;
- the fourth question refers to the social and material context in which securitization occurs: particularly to the reciprocal link between securitization, group consolidation, and the status of securitizing elites in the group. This refers to the performative process of the identity creation in which the securitizing actor strengthens his/her position in the group by having power to create security using the speech act, at the same time consolidating the group gathered around the common mission – to protect itself from the threat he/she securitizes, and
- the fifth question (that is emphasized) refers to the possibility of desecuritization, i.e. the opposite process that returns an identity question into the domain of regular politics, by convincing the audience that what is believed to threaten the identity does not actually exist. The researchers have not dealt with the analysis of the opposite process to the process of identity securitization. This would analyse the conditions in which people do not any longer interpret certain issues as significant for the preservation of their identity. Desecuritization of identity would reduce numerous social tensions. Therefore, the focus of researchers should be on how certain symbols and meanings are connected with and how they separate from social boundaries that are set as a foundation of identity building.²⁵²

The problem of societal security is becoming increasingly prominent in Europe. "The nations in post-Cold War Europe are left with a new vulnerability. If a nation or a culture group in "the old days" felt threatened (by immigration,

²⁵² See: Theiler, T.: *op. cit.*, pp. 108–112.

foreign products, ideas, international cooperation), it could call on its state for assistance: have the border closed for immigration, conduct a protectionist economic policy and withdraw from unwanted co-operation. Nowadays, that deviates from the rules and ideas of the European Union²⁵³, which results in new security challenges and threats that focus around the identity. Those are: the fear that the European future will become like the European past in which integrations would be suppressed by renationalization and balance of power; fear from integrations and the need to defend national identity; globalization and immigrants as threats to national identity; ethnic conflicts that would lead to disintegration of Europe and the issue of traditional state security. Thus, cultures can defend themselves today only with culture. If it is considered that identity is threatened by internationalization and Europeanization, the national expression has to be strengthened. Culture has become a security policy.”²⁵⁴

Finally, societal security will receive new forms and manners of manifestation in the future. The tensions that are related to identity are becoming more current, considering the increasing migrant refugee crisis and “the clash of civilizations” that is already happening in Western Europe.

3. National Security

National security has long been the only and the main framework of security studies. The state as the basic unit of the international system is still, according to many, the supreme referent object, but the nature of threats to national security has changed to a great extent.

National security today is discussed as an instrument for providing the necessary institutional assistance to other levels of analysis for the protection of vital values and interests. The central concept of a state, the concept of state sovereignty can freely be called diluted in relation to traditional sovereignty, in spite of the fact that states occasionally shut in the cocoon of the traditional state-centred security, as was the case with closing borders for Middle East refugees by some of the European Union countries, like Hungary.

The most important reasons for the change of the national security concept are globalization and the tendency towards the unification of humanity, which, for now, has its operationalization just in regional forms. From the moment of spinning the wheel of globalization, the world has become aware that the state and international community will no longer be the same.

253 Border control and, partially, economic policy are nowadays the functions of the European Union, while many other interactions have become harder to stop. Thus, nations have no longer a possibility to seek from the state to solve such issues, because the state does not control them – unless the nation demands that the state conducts more drastic measures that violate the current rights of the EU and backward the integrations.

254 Weaver, O.: *European Security Identities 2000*, pp. 371–372, 384–385.

The concept of national security appears as traditional or contemporary. The traditional one refers to the Westphalian system in which the state is the main and only referent object of protection and the threats come from the outside and they are of military type. It is also called the state-centred (orthodox) concept of security.

The contemporary concept of national security refers to the post-Cold War system in which the multipolar structure and altered power relations create conditions for new referent objects, new threats (of both military and non-military type), and the respect of the human factor in the conception of national security.

3.1. The Traditional Concept of National Security

State security, i.e. the concept of national security, is classified as the so-called *traditional approach to security*. Its focus is on the “survival” of the sovereign state, i.e. its territory and independence that are protected by military capacities and capability to deter military aggression or to provide a successful response to it.²⁵⁵

The national security concept is founded upon the *Doctrine on the Inviolability of Sovereignty* dating back to the Augsburg Peace in 1555, which gave the right to a sovereign to decide on the religion in his country (*cuius regio, eius religio* – whose country, his religion). This right was confirmed and revised by the Prague Peace in 1635 and the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, which put an end to the *Thirty Years’ Religious War* in Europe between the Catholics and the Protestants. The conflict over religion and supremacy of the Holy Roman Empire and the Pope as the supreme sovereign who ruled on the basis of the *divine right*, caused a civil war in Bohemia in 1618 which later spread throughout Europe. It was the last feudal war and the first war involving a sovereign country.

After it, the European rulers refused to recognize the secular authority of the Roman Catholic Church, replacing the mediaeval system of papal authority by separate states - in terms of geography and politics, which did not recognize any supreme authority. Newly liberated countries were given the same legal rights: the territories under their exclusive control, unlimited control concerning the issues of internal politics and the freedom in foreign affairs and in concluding treaties with other states. Secular leaders of Catholic states could ignore the papal call to military counter-reformist policies. The concept of state sovereignty according to which no one is above the state implies political authority which is based on territory and autonomy. *Territoriality* is the right of an exclusive political

²⁵⁵ About the development of the national security concept in more detail in: Mijalković, S.: Nacionalna bezbednost – od vestfalskog do posthladnoratovskog koncepta, *Vojno delo*, broj 2, Ministarstvo odbrane Republike Srbije, Beograd, 2009, pp. 55–73.

authority over a particular geographic area (internal sovereignty) and *autonomy* means that no external factor – such as another state – has the authority within the borders of a defined state (external sovereignty).²⁵⁶

This security concept presupposes sovereign states as exclusive actors and “providers” of security on the state and international level. Thus, it is also called *state-centred* and *orthodox* concept or the concept of state security.

The focus of the traditional concept of national security is on the vital *state values* (sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence, survival of the state, and national unity) and *state interests* in the anarchic (unstable and conflicting) foreign policy which are usually opposite to the interests of other states and which need to be protected from direct military and subversive or even nuclear threats (the so-called *concept of national values and foreign policy interests*).

The greatest threats and dangers to national security are the armed conflicts from the outside and various forms of “subversions from the inside, assisted from the outside” (and vice versa) and not economic, social, environmental, educational, health, food, physical security issues, nor any other human issues. In that sense, security was identified with *the external security of the state* and the citizens were the instruments in the function of security, i.e. in the state defence.

Diplomacy, intelligence, and military-defence activities were the primary functions of the national security. That is why the largest part of national organizational, personnel, technical, and material resources was in the function of intelligence services and armed forces. Social values were protected by aggressive intelligence, decisive counterintelligence, and perfidious subversive activities, i.e. the readiness to use, threat to use, and the use of army and specialized armed forces. This was particularly true during the Cold War, when the USA, USSR, and their coalitions aspired to military surpass the opponent, promote and impose on the world their own social and economic organizations and values.²⁵⁷

The primary means of the protection of states is their power. It is generally reduced to military and intelligence power, then to economic power, as well as to the accession of the state to certain alliances by which the acquired power would overcome the greatness and destructivity of potential and active threats to it (*the deterrence strategy*) or its allies (*the extended deterrence strategy*). Security was equalled with “sufficient military capability and combat readiness” using which the state would win in a potential war for the protection of its values and interests. The increase of military power and the realization of national interests of the

256 See: Nye J. S. Jr.: *Understanding International Conflicts: An Introduction to Theory and History*, Longman, New York, 1999, p. 207; Kegli, Č. V., Vitkof, J. R.: *Svetska politika – trend i transformacija*, Centar za studije Jugoistočne Evrope, Fakultet političkih nauka i Diplomatska akademija MSP SCG, Beograd, 2006, p. 121; Holsti, K. J.: States and Statehood, *Perspectives on World Politics* (eds. Little, R., Smith, M.), Routledge, London–New York, 2006, pp. 17–23; Heywood, A.: *Political Ideas and Concepts – An Introduction*, MacMillan Press LTD, London, 1994, p. 49; Buzan, B., Hansen, L.: *op. cit.*, pp. 23–26.

257 More about this in: Mijalković, S.; Milošević, M.: *Savremene obavještajne službe: organizacija i metodika obavještajnog, bezbjednosnog i subverzivnog djelovanja*, Visoka škola unutrašnjih poslova, Banja Luka, 2013, p. 20–25.

opponent state were considered a direct threat to their own values, interests, and security. The state that can be in short described by the old adage: “the best peace is the preparation for war”, created the so-called *security* and *defence dilemma*.

Security dilemma is the question of the purposefulness of the armament race: the increase of power of one state in order to insure against an attack, dominance, or destruction of the others, necessarily causes the other states to increase their power. Due to the mutual distrust and fear, that is what brings into question the justification of the continuous competition in armament of states with the aim to deter the potential attack and creates the feeling of insecurity. In addition, the dilemma is imposed with the questions: whether the military preparations are directed towards the defensive (increase of the security of a state in the uncertain world) or towards the offensive goals (the change of the current state with the aim to obtain certain advantage in the international community). While they are allegedly increasing their security with the armament race, states are creating the feeling of insecurity of other states and causing general insecurity. The armament race is the most obvious manifestation of the spiral of international insecurity that, in addition, makes security very expensive. The most expensive is the so-called *nuclear security dilemma* and the danger of “nuclear holocaust”. Security dilemma was overcome primarily with the concept of collective security, but also with the balance of powers that is due to the nuclear security dilemma also called *the balance of fear*.²⁵⁸

Defence dilemma arises from the armed force that is developed for securing and defending the territorial integrity and sovereignty of a state. The armament is favourable for the development of two threats: one comes from the fact of the weapons existence and it leads to the development of defence dilemma, while the other is generated by the fact that the weapons are owned by other states in the international community, which creates security dilemma. Defence dilemma is the fear from war, which is equalled with the fear from a defeat in the war that arises from the character of contemporary (long-range and mass-destruction) military means the action of which is not limited to military capacities, but it hits the whole society and civil infrastructure deep beyond the front line.²⁵⁹

Apart from the military, *the economic power* was an equal guarantee to national security: first, economic power is “changeable” to a great extent and can easily be transformed into military power – money buys weapons, workforce can be redirected from the civil sector to military industry and military service, so the wealth is equalled with the potential for military mobilization; secondly, economic power is a functional replacement for military power and can be

258 Tatalović, S.: *op.cit.*, pp. 232–233; Jervis, R.: *The Spiral of International Insecurity, Perspectives on World Politics* (eds. Little, R., Smith, M.), Routledge, London–New York, 2006, pp. 54–55. See also – Schwartz, D. N.: *NATO's Nuclear Dilemmas*, Brookings Institution, Washington DC, 1983; Jervis, R.: *The Utility of Nuclear Deterrence, The Use of Force – Military Power and International Politics*, (eds. Art, R. J., Waltz, K. N.), Rowman&Littlefield Publishers Inc., Oxford, 2004, pp. 94–100.

259 Tatalović, S.: *op. cit.*, pp. 233–234; Buzan, B.: *op. cit.*, pp. 271–276.

used for military attacks and defence. Economic wars, blockades, and sanctions are conducted in order to disable the economy of the opponent country, and indirectly its military potential; economic power in case of an economic war makes a state inviolable. That is why “economic self-sufficiency” (sufficiency of the own raw materials and production capacities and the sufficiency of its own market) is the means of a successful defence, i.e. national security.²⁶⁰

In some socialist countries, the panic from the “external” and the “internal enemy” conditioned the development of “overall spying”, totalitarian – dictatorial regimes, elimination of political opponents, distrust in international organizations and security mechanisms of international community, creation of military alliances and blocs. The idea and the concept of national security were often identified with the security of the ruling political oligarchy, i.e. the regime. In such situations, apart from the military powers, the pillar of national security was the *political police*, and the product of its action – *state repression* and *national depression*.

For the security of a state, the phrase “national security” is traditionally used regardless of the distinction between the concepts of state and nation. It is considered to be first used by Walter Lippman in 1943 in his book *U.S. Foreign Policy*²⁶¹, which became the standard name of this concept of security after the Second World War. However, it is interesting to mention that within the intelligence and security system of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the National Security Directorate operated as a part of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which refutes this claim.

Anyway, the usage of the term ‘national security’ was not completely right, considering the fact it signified the security of the state. Therefore, the name *state security* that was less frequently used, was actually more correct because it etymologically denoted the security of state values and interests, primarily the sovereignty, survival of the state and society, constitutional order and the system of government. This is due to the fact that the phenomenon of a nation usually has a wider (geographical) scope than the state and the fact that states do not need to be national, i.e. to territorially match the spreading of nations.

The characteristic of the traditional concept of national security is the *weakening of the public security mechanism*, i.e. the protection of the security of its citizens. Apart from the worry for the preservation of state borders and sovereign power, which was in the army’s hands, the attention of political and judicial systems was often generally directed towards the prevention and suppression of political crime and operations of the so-called internal state enemy. That definitely conditioned the development of crime of all sorts, primarily the economic and the organized one, which certainly reflected on the security of the state, but also of the individual. Human freedoms and rights were not only neglected in many

260 Møller, B.: *op. cit.*, pp. 44–45.

261 Tatalović, S.: *op. cit.*, p. 143.

countries, but they were the object of *structural violence*, i.e. the systematic and unscrupulous threats and violations. That is how the state security strengthened at the expense of human security.

While many states were strengthening their “external security”, they collapsed from within due to the accumulation of crises in all spheres of social life. Thus, the greatest threats to national security actually became: ethnic and religious nationalism, political turmoil, the increase in the volume of (organized) crime, social disunity, the expansion of environmental threats, economic and social contradictions and the crises that, unfortunately, often turned into ferocious armed conflicts. That resulted in civil wars, civil revolutions, violent changes of political power, and breakups of states. The examples that argument this thesis are fresh: USSR, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Albania, “the second and third Yugoslavia”, Serbia.

In our country, until the beginning of the third millennium, national security was identified with the external security of the state that needed to be protected by military and non-military means from armed attacks from the outside. The phrase “state security” was primarily used to imply the security of the constitutional order from political crime, state security from the external aggression and subversive actions, and the security of the regime and government order, and it also often involved the security of the ruling class. Thus, any attempt to attack or the attack of the governing regime and their interests was considered to endanger the state security. In that sense, the concept of state security had a significantly narrower scope and content than the contemporary understanding of national security, because it did not involve the categories of the security of individuals and social groups, their freedoms and human rights, life, and property, democratic institutions, or the non-governmental security sector, which were considered the sphere of the so-called *public security*. Nowadays, the national security concept encompasses both state and public security.

Public security is the state of protectedness of the public order, i.e. the interests and values of people in a state. The public order is the entirety of public interests guaranteed and protected by the legal system, regardless of their being public interests (public order and peace, etc.) or individual rights (personal freedoms, rights, property, etc.). In the first place, it is the security of citizens and foreigners on our territory, i.e. the protection of life, personal and property safety of people, public order and peace, the order of social and economic institutions, and human freedoms, as well as of the rights the violations of which are sanctioned as crimes, economic offences, and misdemeanours.²⁶²

The phrase “state security” is often the object of political malversations. To be precise, those who misuse it tend, as in the past, to identify the state with the ruling class. At the same time, even though it implied the state of protectedness of the so-called political crime directed to undermining of the constitutional order,

²⁶² Compare: Milošević, M.: *op. cit.* 4.

many people inextricably connect this term with our intelligence service. It is the Service (SDB) and later the State Security Service (RDB) that were preceded by the Department for People's Protection (OZNA) and the State Security Administration (UDBA). Today, that is the Security Information Agency (BIA), which is a contemporary intelligence service that legally and legitimately protects the values and interests of citizens, state, and international community.

In the past, apart from the protection of national values, it had certain attributes of political police, i.e. it protected the interests of the political oligarchy and violated the freedoms and rights of citizens and political opponents. Thus, many people shudder at the bare mentioning of state security. Today, national security is generally perceived as the security of citizens and the state, but also of all the spheres of state and social life.

In the era of globalization and all-dimensional international integrations, states are gradually losing some of their ontological symbols and functions. That questions the purpose of their existence and the justification of the traditional concept of national security. Even though the rise in hostility and conflicts is noticeable on the "third-millennium" international scene, we are the witnesses of the "abolition of borders" in Europe and the creation of a single market of production, capital, goods, and services, increasingly homogenous international and regional politics, the rise in tolerance among traditionally opposed peoples and states, the transfer of some traditionally exclusive state jurisdictions to supranational and non-governmental entities, the creation of common armed forces, the improvement of the model of police cooperation, increased cooperation in the security field, and the beginning of development of unique supranational security systems.

However, regardless of that, states will probably remain for a long time the primary aspects of organizing societies and the key factors of international security. The fact is that the survival of the state, supranational survival, the territory, political independence, and physical self-preservation are the key values that no state or nation will voluntarily completely renounce.

Therefore, it is realistic to expect that this concept, in its expanded and altered form, will continue to prevail and that the state will primarily define its values, interests, and security in national frameworks.

3.2. The Contemporary Concept of National Security

The turning point in the development of security studies and in the shaping of national security practice was the disappearance of the bipolar structure. That marked the breakup with the tradition according to which the main threat to the state is the armed force coming from the familiar enemy. With the end of the USSR, the national securities of the countries of the two blocs did not have a clear

vision of a security threat and the security dynamics was completely changed in the countries of the former Eastern Bloc.

The secession of the states that used to be the parts of the USSR created new security problems in that part of the world: ethnic conflicts, and as the consequence of that, illegal migrations, human trafficking, organized crime. Generally, the world suddenly and in a short time frame forgot about the nuclear threat and focused on the problems of everyday life that seemed much closer, more certain, and harder to the regular citizen than the former conflict of the great powers. Apart from the external component, national security in that moment started being relocated to the internal component and to the dangers that lurk inside the state.

As for the Western world that came out as the winner of the Cold War conflict, it also faced new security dynamics. The western civilization at that point insisted on the development of science, technology, expanding of capitalism and “the western model of democracy”, and it set the new standards of the protection of human rights. However, the security dynamics of the “defeated enemy” would turn out to be great threat to the West.

Namely, “the spillover effect” that was enabled thanks to the processes of globalization and the porosity of state borders would make security problems in the most distant parts of the world, and especially in the “neighbourhood” become a part of the common agenda. That is one of the key features of the contemporary concept of national security that would influence the overall conceptualization of the contemporary world security.

The flows of globalization significantly changed the position of a state towards its own national security. Thus, unlike the universal pattern of national security in the traditional sense, today, the national security involves various matters, depending on whether the states are strong or weak, i.e. failing. Weak states have different patterns of national security than the powerful states; they face different threats and have different manners of resolving security issues. To be precise, their capacity to independently take care of their security is frequently questioned. Weak countries are often not able to provide elementary prerequisites for the security of their citizens. Furthermore, the uneven influence of the globalization on the capacity of a state to protect its own national security has been frequently pointed at.²⁶³

In that sense, states in more stable regions are institutionally better prepared for the globalization challenges. They control globalization flows by adapting them to their own interests. Poor and institutionally weak states fight with the challenges of globalization by including non-governmental actors, as well as other states, in the resolving their problems, but, thus, they depart from the traditional approach to national security – from not interfering in the internal issues of another state. Poor and weak states are exposed and vulnerable to the

²⁶³ Ripsman, M. N., Paul, T. V.: *Globalization and the National Security State*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2010, p. 5.

pressures of international community and they are frequently the target of civil wars, humanitarian interventions, and other forms of endangering internal security of a state. Globalization has, therefore, altered the concept of national security making it more complex and problematic.

Another novelty the contemporary concept of national security introduces is the dynamics. Unlike the traditional concept of national security that was a stable and firm concept, the contemporary concept experiences constant changes whenever new circumstances in society, nature, and technological development require the provision of protection to new values that have become vital for the people and state. Theoretically, the changes in the form of new challenges, risks, and threats, mechanisms and subjects of protection are the consequence of the criticism directed to the weaknesses of the traditional concept. Namely, traditional concept did not adopt the numerous changes that ensued after the end of the Cold War.

The contemporary concept of national security, apart from the security of territory and sovereignty, now takes into consideration the needs of other constitutive state elements, and that is the security of people. The recognition of the human component of the state was contributed by the change of the overall social context, which implies the prohibition of war by international law, the bonding of economic interests of states, humanization of the security policy, etc. The human-centred approach to security actually becomes expressed when it is insisted on the security of the nation and not the state. Considering the fact that the contemporary concept of national security involves in its security agenda the threats to personal and collective values of the people that live on the territory of a state, it could be concluded that the nation actually implies the people.²⁶⁴ National security is considered almost identical to state security because “the fact that a specific country with its quite determined social content is defended in every moment is covered up with the escape into a transcendental community of the deceased, living, and the yet-to-be-born, which is usually the essence of nationalist slogans, interests, and goals”.²⁶⁵

The process of the creation of national states and nationalization in general are the processes that aspire to a greater cohesion of an ethnic group characterized by the common language, culture, tradition, dominant religious choice. Thus, a nation is nothing but people, with an exception that they do not necessarily need to live on the same territory. However, the terminological ambiguity that occurred with the introduction of the term “national” instead of “state” security just implies the value shift in security policies – from material elements of state, such as the territory, towards people who comprise it. That creates the increased belief that human values need to be equally important as the traditional state ones, and even more important than them. Concealing states under the veil

264 Popović, M: *Savremeni koncept nacionalne bezbednosti*, Zadužbina Andrejević, Beograd, 2013, p. 16.

265 Dimitrijević, V.: *Bezbednost i politička zajednica*, pp. 7–38.

of nation can also be explained by the fears of the increasing uncertainty that naturally leads people towards seeking permanent common values and beliefs that represent a shelter in turbulent times. The community that rests on the common identity, i.e. the consciousness of belonging to a collective sharing common beliefs and jointly protecting from threats, gives the feeling of devotion, stability, and firmness. National consciousness is the cornerstone of modern state communities.²⁶⁶

The contemporary concept of national security is based on a broader value framework than the traditional one. Apart from the territorial integrity and sovereignty, the values that require protection according to the contemporary concept are numerous and heterogeneous: national identity, national unity, national pride, human rights and freedoms, peace, democracy, integration of the state in relevant international structures, information resources, energetics and economy, healthy environment, natural resources, nation's health.²⁶⁷

The threats to contemporary national values are also heterogeneous and numerous. Apart from the always current and never completely suppressed and overcome civil wars, armed aggression, armed intervention and military pressures, national security today is threatened by organized crime, terrorism, possibility of production and proliferation of mass destruction weapons, climate changes, illegal migrations, ethnic conflicts.²⁶⁸

However, some atypical issues that the state did not deal with for a long time have again become the object of its interest and are considered threatening to national security, such as unemployment, domestic violence, spreading of infectious diseases, etc.

The National Security Strategy of the Republic of Serbia, apart from the mentioned threats common to many countries in Europe and the world, additionally recognizes the following as threats to national security: corruption, national and religious extremism, intelligence activity the foreign intelligence organizations conduct through illegal and concealed action in our country, unlawfully and unilaterally proclaimed independence of Kosovo, cyber crime, and threats to information and telecommunication systems.²⁶⁹

Power, as the main determinant of national security in the traditional concept, also experiences certain changes. The idea of power in the modern concept also has a new dimension. Apart from the military, the dimension of power that is frequently talked about is soft power. The soft aspect of power is visible when a state achieves that other countries desire the same as it does without using coercion or orders.²⁷⁰

266 Popović, M.: *op. cit.*

267 *Ibid.*, pp. 22–25.

268 More about that in: Mijalković, S.; Bajagić, M.: *Organizovani kriminal i terorizam*, Kriminalističko-policijska akademija, Beograd, 2012.

269 The National Security Strategy of the Republic of Serbia, *The Decision on the Adoption of the National Security Strategy of the Republic of Serbia*, Official Gazette of RS, No. 88/2009

270 Nye, J. S. Jr: *Soft Power*, Foreign Policy, No. 80, 1990, p.166.

Table 4. The Main Characteristics of the Traditional and Contemporary Concept of National Security²⁷¹

	THE TRADITIONAL CONCEPT OF NATIONAL SECURITY	THE CONTEMPORARY CONCEPT OF NATIONAL SECURITY
VITAL VALUES	The state and its values (sovereignty, territorial integrity, national identity, survival of the state, national unity)	The person and his/her values (human rights, health, information resources, healthy environment, etc.)
VITAL INTERESTS	Interests are narrow, internally oriented, confronted to the interests of other countries.	Constituted on the broader set of criteria, subordinate to global and international community interests
DOMINANT THREATS	Primarily directed against the state, territorial integrity and sovereignty; of military nature	Primarily directed against societies and individuals: of military and non-military nature
SECURITY SUBJECTS	States	States and non-state actors
SECURITY POLICY	Realized through military and defence policy	Foreign policy, defence policy, internal security policy, economic policy, social policy, and policies in the other fields of social life
DOMINANT STRATEGY OF VITAL VALUES AND INTERESTS	Strengthening military power, armament race, and entering into military alliances	Integration in the key international institutions, strengthening national institutional and legislative capacities in fighting against military and non-military threats to security
PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY	Relations between states have conflicting nature, force as a form of inter-state communication	Relations between states have cooperative nature, aspiration towards the protection of common values and preservation of international peace and order

271 The sources that inspired creation of the table: Kirchner, E. J.; Sperling, J. (eds.): *National Security Cultures – Patterns of Global Governance*, Routledge, London and New York, 2010, p. 4; The National Security Strategy of the Republic of Serbia, *op. cit.*

The basis of soft powers consists of attractive ideas that enable one country to shape the preferences of others using them, thus making their own power legitimate in the eyes of the others and providing the legitimacy to its actions that would otherwise meet a greater resistance. Considering the fact that *hard power* is not sufficient nowadays for the realization of long-term goals, the inclusion of soft power (that involves media rhetoric, aid programmes, holding diplomatic summits and designing legal rules, patterns of culture and the way of life in the international environment) today becomes the auxiliary and necessary means for the projection of power and influence of states.

Finally, in the contemporary concept of national security, there is the increasing usage of the concept of *smart power*, which represents the combination of hard and soft power. These two forms of power are nowadays necessary and complementary and smart power implies long-term goals that are achieved by attracting others to behave in the manner acceptable for the one who is designing their own rules, alongside short-term use of threat and force when necessary.²⁷²

The greatest milestone after the Cold War was the terrorist attack on 11th September (9/11) and the unfolding of the “Global War on Terrorism”. That includes a whole range of events, interventions, and (alleged) counter-terrorist activities that states planned in their political agendas prior to 9/11, but this event enabled them to accelerate their introduction and give legitimacy to their application across a wide set of areas and issues than it would otherwise have been possible.²⁷³

Owing to this, the concept of national security is even more closely linked with the concept of international security, considering the fact that the national security issues are now being internationalized in the international arena.

4. International Security

International security is the security of international order and community, i.e. the security in the relations between states and in international regions. The deliberations on this level of analysis are based on the need to stabilize and control anarchic inter-state relations, which are the product of the impossibility to control the development of power and application of force, i.e. the regulation inability of international institutions. It can be observed on the planetary (*planetary, global security*), continental (*continental security*), and the regional levels (*regional security*).²⁷⁴

272 Davis Cross, M.: Europe, a smart power?, *International Politics*, Vol. 48, No. 6, 2011, p. 698.

273 Buzan, B, Hensen, L.: *op. cit.*, p. 226.

274 More in: Mijalković, S.: Bezbednost države i koncepti međunarodne bezbednosti, *Defendologija*, broj 25–26, Defendologija centar, Banja Luka, 2009, pp. 69–83. See also: Keohane, R.: *Power and Governance in a Partially Globalized World*, Routledge, London–New York, 2002

The relations among states vary from cooperation, competition to a conflict, and, thus, international security has always been reached through two models: *conflictive* (personal security as the object the states compete for) and *cooperative* (personal security as the common goal of the states).²⁷⁵

Traditionally, the primary object of international relations, international law, and, thus, international security is the etiology and control of force as a form of international communication. This approach is justified by the impression that “almost as if according to some natural law, in every century there seems to emerge a country with the power, the will, and the intellectual and moral impetus to shape the entire international system in accordance with its own values, influence international relations, intervene in the domestic affairs of other states, assert its own values, and engage itself abroad”.²⁷⁶

Therefore, force is a constant of international relations; the only changeable things are its intensity and forms (*open* or *hidden*; *military*, *political* and/or *economic*; *direct* or *indirect* – using third parties or on the territory of third countries; *legitimate* or *illegitimate*, i.e. *legal* or *illegal*, etc.). Frequently, “powerful states” misuse disputable situations in international relations “turning a blind eye on the arguments and concessions of the weak” in order to find a cause to realize their own interests using force. Feeling responsible to take care of the security of the international order, they instrumentalize and bypass international organizations and international law, and applying force allegedly prevent humanitarian disasters caused by the so-called non-democratic regimes. That is how they realize exploitative economic dominance over weak countries that are losing their “economic sovereignty” (the so-called *(neo)imperialism*), but they also direct the attention of domestic population from the internal problems and increase the national unity (the so-called *diversionary theory of war*²⁷⁷).

Furthermore, guided by the idea of realization of their interests at any cost or fearing for their survival, states often neglect the significance of non-violent methods of international communication. Finally, the use of force as *ultima ratio* means for defending national values from threats is legal and legitimate. Therefore, “the state power” can have hegemonic (*conquering*, *subversive*, *aggressive*), but also preventive (*detering*), reactive (*defensive*, *protective*), and repressive (*punishing*) significance.

It is obvious that the level of international security necessarily relies and upgrades on the level of national security. However, international security is not a simple sum of securities of states as main subjects of international community. It requires the creation of a certain system of international values that will be respected by states and other international actors.

275 Tatalović, S.: *op. cit.*, p. 228.

276 Kissinger, H.: *Diplomatija I*, Verzal Pres, Beograd, 1999, p. 5.

277 More about this theory in: Kegli, Č. V., Vitkof, J. R.: *op. cit.*, p. 131.

The fact that the application of force in international relations was a constant in the past, leads us to conclude that it will remain to be so in the future. Being aware of that, states strived to prevent and control it, sometimes by the so-called traditional and nowadays by contemporary concepts of international security.

Traditional concepts are basically conflictive and pessimistic in relation to the potential of elimination of distrust among states. Contemporary concepts are optimistic regarding the overcoming of security dilemma and creating trust, which is the basis of peaceful resolution of disagreements. Apart from that, contemporary concepts are based on the belief that states that are connected with common interest do not think about absolute gains, but about the increase of well-being and the mechanisms of curbing isolationist behaviour.

4.1. Traditional Concepts of International Security

4.1.1. *The Balance of Power*

The power of a state is a traditional instrument of preserving and protecting state values and interests. Since the increase of power of one state reduces the security of the other, the “key” to international security is found in *the balance of power*, i.e. in the establishment of approximately equal ratio of power between the opposed states or groups of states.

One of the ways of establishing that balance is to ensure the states have the same military power. However, considering the fact that states feel weaker individually, the best way of achieving that balance is to join alliances. In that manner, a state in its competition with other states or alliance of states can always rely on the power of the alliance it belongs to and not just on its own. Alliances provide states with a capacity for flexibility and rapid reaction to threats which they could hardly have simply by relying on their own resources. States, therefore, join alliances to protect themselves from states or alliances whose superior resources could pose a threat.²⁷⁸

Guided by the idea that “peace and stability will most probably be maintained when the military power is distributed in that manner that no power or bloc can dominate the others”²⁷⁹, this concept was popular until the First World War and, during the Cold War, it prevented the breakout of the Third World War. However, even though the balance of power is related to European security,

278 Sheehan, M.: *The Balance of Power: History and Theory*, Routledge, London and New York, 1996, p. 55.

279 *Mala politička enciklopedija*, p. 1022. See also – Giplin, R.: *War and Change in World Politics*, Princeton University Press, Princeton-New York, 1981; Holsti, K. J.: *Peace and War – Armed Conflicts and International Order from 1648 to 1989*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1991; Avramović, N.: NATO, međunarodni poredak i interesi, *Pravni život – časopis za pravnu teoriju i praksu*, broj 13, Udruženje pravnik Srbije, Beograd, 2009, pp. 1023–1037.

especially from 17th to 20th century, there are indications that such system also existed between 9th and 7th century B.C. between Assyria and Babylon. There are data on that from the files of the royal archive (mostly Assyrian) and the works of art where reliefs show the weapons these civilizations obtained through time, as well as written tactics of their usage. The balancing process consisted of making alliances and strengthening of Babylonian military power in order to prevent the invasion and predominance of Assyrians. Balancing in this period usually resulted in failure.²⁸⁰

Thus, the balance of power is based on a calculation according to which the power of one state or an alliance of states cannot be restrained by anything else but the power of other state or an alliance. The accumulated power will inevitably be used at the expense of others, regardless of possible contrary statements, even the honest intentions of its holder. A holder of disproportionately large power has on its disposal instruments to realize the widest circle of foreign policy goals. The availability of the instruments will also influence the expansion of those goals, so the values of other subjects will be endangered. The only way for this not to happen is to prevent the predominance by creating the appropriate amount of counter-power.²⁸¹

The idea of this concept is in establishing the structure of international community in which states would have approximately the same power, which would make the initiation of war pointless due to the great uncertainty regarding its outcome. It is a strategy of conflict prevention between states of approximately equal territories, demographic, military, and economic power, i.e. with approximately powerful allies. The models of balance of power are *bipolar* and *multipolar* and their goal is *to overcome the security dilemma*.

The question of the stability of a bipolar/multipolar system is frequently asked within security studies and many consider that states will always aspire to bipolarity as a more stable model. The existence of multipolarity will lead to dominant powers competing in order to check whether there is a threat of establishing hegemony by some of them (the expansion of advanced military, economic, and administrative techniques that enable the rivals to imitate innovations of potential hegemons; the states closer to the threat and the more powerful ones will more often turn to balancing than the weak states). That process is then continued with a relative decline in power of the dominant state and its capacities to provide superiority to itself. The imperial expansion motivates international system to generate new opponents of that expansion and thereby ensure the maintenance of the balance of power. Balancing will

280 See in: Kaufman, J. S.; Wohlforth, C. W.: Balancing and Balancing Failure in Biblical Times: Assyria and the Ancient Middle Eastern System, 900–600 BCE, in: Kaufman, J. S.; Little, R.; Wohlforth, C. W. (eds.): *The Balance of Power in World History*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2007, p. 26, 30.

281 Dimitrijević, V., Stojanović, R.: *Osnovi teorije međunarodnih odnosa*, Službeni list SFRJ, Beograd, 1977, p. 312.

more easily continue to reproduce in the systems characterized by units with strong group identities and cultural norms that valorise independence. Finally, democracies and republics as forms of government aspire to bonding and form more durable alliances in order to maintain the systemic balance.²⁸²

It is ironic, however, that the establishment of the balance of power was usually reached after wars, in order to prevent the renewal of hostility. Establishing the balance by increasing the power of some or weakening the power of others redrew the territories of some countries (increasing or decreasing them), some countries obtained the status of neutral in the conflict (*buffer states*), parts of territories were (de)militarized, military capacities of states were decreased or increased, military alliances were made and strengthened or broken and weakened, etc. That was often performed when making truces or on certain peace conferences, with the mediation of third states.

The Cold-War system was also based on the bipolar balance of power, i.e. on the *balance of fear* as the consequence of *nuclear security dilemma*. This order was also called *the balance of threats*, because its goal was not to make one state or alliance equally powerful to the opponent, but to make its power able to respond to threats and deter them. That contributed to the development of the programme of the so-called *crisis management* that, as a new mechanism of international security, is an adequate response to a number of challenges and threats.

NATO and the European Union have already supplemented collective defence with the mechanisms of *crisis management* to a great extent. Certain non-governmental actors participate in them, particularly in: early warning of dangers, preventing, and resolving conflicts; managing crises; peacebuilding and peacekeeping, as well as in the so-called post-conflict rehabilitation of the conflicting parties.²⁸³

With the collapse of the bipolar balance and the end of the Cold War (if it ended at all), Europe prepared for the return to the multipolar system that had created one conflict after the other ever since the Westphalian state. The worry for the international security created certain nostalgia for the Cold War that many started to miss.²⁸⁴

On the contrary, many considered the unipolar world peaceful, due to the impossibility of the outbreak of a great war between blocs.²⁸⁵ Finally, aspiring to overcome nuclear security dilemma through certain security regimes, world “superpowers” (the USA and the RF) did not renounce the balance of powers

282 Wohlforth, C. W.; Kaufman, J. S.; Little, R.: *op. cit.*, p. 19.

283 See: Fink, S.: *Crisis Management – Planning for the Inevitable*, iUniverse, Lincoln, 2002.

284 Mearsheimer, J. J.: Why We Will Soon Miss The Cold War, *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 226, No. 2, 1990, p. 35. See also: Mearsheimer, J.: *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, Norton, New York, 2001.

285 Wohlforth, W. C.: The Stability of a Unipolar World, *Perspectives on World Politics* (eds. Little, R., Smith, M.), Routledge, London–New York, 2006, p. 103.

even at the threshold of the third millennium. Today they call it *the balance of interests* that is reflected in the consensual limitation of nuclear military capacities with the aim of establishing as permanent peace as possible.

With the strengthening of states and alliances “the appetites grow” for international influence, which damages the established balances. Therefore, the practical application of this concept is not long-term, so the needs for more efficient mechanisms of international security are justified. Since the beginning of the previous century the balance of power has been frequently criticized and the collective security has been given increasing significance, particularly after the Second World War.

4.1.2. *Collective Security*

The concept of *collective security* is based on the expanded traditional concept of national security and certain international agreements: the security of the contracting states, whose traditional values are inviolable, is improved by peaceful settlement of disputes, collective (supranational) response to military attacks of some member states to the others by intimidating the aggressor country and defending the victim country, as well as by a collective response to other security issues the members cannot resolve on their own.

This concept rests on the notion of regulated, institutionalized reaction of “all against one” which provides more stability than unregulated balance of power predicated on the notion of “each for his own”. States are willing to abide by certain norms and rules to maintain international peace and stability and, when necessary, band together to stop the aggression.²⁸⁶

It is every joint, bilateral, or multilateral action of states for the defence of sovereignty and territorial integrity of one or more contracting parties against the common enemy, with the elimination of war as the means for resolving international disputes. Due to extremely harmful consequences of war, this institution of international law obtained universal character that reflects in general prohibition of war in international relations and in the creation of the world organization of states (the United Nations) for peaceful resolution of disputes and preservation of international peace.²⁸⁷

Collective security should be differentiated from *collective defence*. It is a military alliance of sovereign states that joined in order to defend its member states from external military attacks (armed aggression). Member states participate in the collective military response to an armed threat or an attack directed to any

286 Kupchan, C. A., Kupchan, C. A.: The Promise of Collective Security, *International Security*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 1995, pp. 52–53.

287 *Mala politička enciklopedija*, pp. 503–504.

member of the alliance. The best known mechanisms of collective defence are NATO and the Organization of American States. Thus, for instance, “every act of aggression by a state against the territorial integrity or political independence of an American State shall be considered an act of aggression against another American States. If the inviolability or the integrity of the territory or the sovereignty or political independence of any American State should be affected by an armed attack or by an act of aggression that is not an armed attack, or by an extra-continental conflict, or by a conflict between two or more American States, or by any other fact or situation that might endanger the peace of America, the American States, in furtherance of the principles of continental solidarity or collective self-defence, shall apply the measures and procedures established in the special treaties on the subject.”²⁸⁸

As opposed to military alliances that are directed against an external military threat, collective security is globally oriented toward the deterrence of states from aggression and the violation of international law. The states retain absolute control over their foreign policy. The current scope of cooperation for the realization of collective security is in the range from the so-called *universal arrangements* that include all world states to the *agreements* of main powers of today whose interest in preserving peace can be global or limited to individual regions. That is how the following organizations were formed: the Europe Agreement, the League of Nations, the United Nations, and multilateral diplomacy that is institutionalized in regional organizations (the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe).²⁸⁹

A number of conditions must be met for an ideal system of collective security to exist and function. Its members must accept the concept that peace is indivisible, i.e. that any aggression must be considered a threat to every state. Apart from that, they must be willing and able to support collective security by participating in the joint response to aggression, through military force if necessary, whenever and wherever the act of aggression occurs. The members must essentially accept the status quo in terms of territory and the norms of international relations. An ideal collective security system will function in a better way if there is some distribution of power internationally rather than a situation of unipolarity or hegemony. Finally, a mechanism or regime is necessary to formalize and operationalize the system of collective security, such as the UN Charter.²⁹⁰

288 Articles 28 and 29 of the Charter of the Organization of American States. Kreća, M.: *op. cit.*, pp. 145–146.

289 More about that in: Viotti, P. R., Kauppi, M. V.: *International Relations and World Politics – Security, Economy, Identity*, Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1997, pp. 186–195.

290 Newman, E.: *A Crisis in Global Institutions: Multilateralism and International Security*, Routledge, London and New York, 2007, p. 46.

The United Nations are the only existing universal mechanism of collective security. Its goal is to prevent security issues in international relations, to resolve them, and to mediate in their peaceful resolution, absolutely respecting the sovereign equality and national security of member states and the inviolability of their internal jurisdictions. Moreover, the organization should participate in resolving other, non-military problems, even when invited by member states.

More specifically, the goals of the United Nations are to: “maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace; to develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace; to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.”²⁹¹

The ideas of the collective response to military challenges and threats to national and international security was changed over time to resolving economic, social, and other security issues. The tendencies to establish the new international economic liberal order also bear the features of collective security.

Namely, *the UN Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order* states that “the problem of raw materials and economic development in the world is possible to be resolved by the establishment of a New International Economic Order based on equity, sovereign equality, interdependence, common interest and cooperation among all States, irrespective of their economic and social systems. The goal is to correct inequalities and redress existing injustices and to make it possible to eliminate the widening gap between the developed and the developing countries and ensure steadily accelerating economic and social development and peace and justice for present and future generations.”²⁹²

“The existing international economic order was in a direct conflict with the existing development in the sphere of international political and economic relations, so it was necessary to improve it in accordance with the principles

291 Article 1 of the UN Charter, *Official Gazette of SFRY*, No. 69/1945.

292 This declaration is considered one of the most significant foundations for the establishment of economic relations among states and nations, within the United Nations and under its guardianship. Kreća, M.: *Praktikum za međunarodno javno pravo*, Policijska akademija, Beograd, 1997, pp. 147–148.

of: sovereign equality, the right to self-determination, inadmissibility of the acquisition of territories by force, the respect to territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States; the broadest co-operation of all the States members, based on equity; full and effective participation on the basis of equality of all countries in the solving of world economic problems, while devoting particular attention to poor and developing countries as well as those countries most seriously affected by economic crises and natural calamities; the freedom of every country to adopt the economic and social system that it deems the most appropriate and not to be subjected to discrimination of any kind as a result; the permanent sovereignty of every State over its natural resources and the sovereign right to regulate all economic activities on their territory in order to safeguard these resources from exhaustion; the restitution and full compensation to all States, territories and peoples under foreign occupation, alien and colonial domination or apartheid for the exploitation of and damages to natural resources and all other resources of those States, territories and peoples; the liberation of such States and the establishment of effective control over natural resources; the sovereign right of States to supervise the activities of transnational corporations that operate on their territory; the establishment of just and equitable relationship between the prices of raw materials, manufactured and semi-manufactured goods exported by developing countries and the prices of raw materials, manufactured and semi-manufactured goods and the production technology imported by them; extension of active assistance to developing countries by the whole international community, free of any political or military conditions; giving to the developing countries access to and transfer of the achievements of science and technology.²⁹³

The contribution of the universal system of collective security to the current maintaining of international peace and security is undeniable. However, the United Nations is in a serious crisis. Some great powers are systematically instrumentalizing, ignoring, and underestimating it, and the international justice that is its goal is frequently selective. One of the confirmations of this thesis is the unilateral military intervention of NATO against Serbia in 1999 which was, owing to the alleged prevention of humanitarian disaster, performed without the decision of the UN Security Council. In that way, by a gross violation of international law and interfering in the resolution of internal affairs, they actually performed an aggression over a sovereign state that has been a member of the United Nations since its foundation.

Furthermore, one of the serious problems for the implementation of the concept of collective security is the non-existence of the sufficient political will of states to subordinate their sovereign interests to collective action. Namely, states

²⁹³ *Ibid.*

maintain their right to view all the activities of the United Nations in terms of their national interest and, in accordance with that, to support or oppose the actions the United Nations plan to undertake. What is more, the overdependence of the UN Security Council on the assistance of member-governments is noticeable, particularly regarding the more influential states. In addition to that, the absence of representatives of countries from Africa in this body is also noticeable.²⁹⁴ That is why many countries advocate for its reorganization.

The system of collective security is considered a traditional concept of national security because, nowadays, it is not sufficient for resolving complex issues of international security. Today, collective security and collective defence are in a basis of a new, contemporary concept, which is cooperative security, “boosted” by individual security and the improvement and expansion of stability.

4.1.3. *World Government*

The question of peace and its preservation has always been in the focus of security studies and the theory on international relations. Therefore, the question of the factors of international conflicts has frequently been raised, as well as the question about the differences between internal and international scene. Thus, what is the thing in the internal state environment that enables peace which is hard to achieve in relations between states? The answer is in the state itself.²⁹⁵ That means that the existence of a consolidated state is a mechanism that prevents the emergence of conflicts, because there is no other sovereign government within that state the interests of which would be confronted to the state interests.

Thus, over time the conclusion was reached that the conflict in the international community cannot be resolved nor overcome until it consists of a large number of sovereign states that have their own independent power and among which there are anarchic relations. It was considered that that state of affairs should be replaced by forming a strong central institution, which would have a right to make necessary decisions and put them into practice. That would be *the government of the whole world, organized as a unique state*, and that is where the name of this system came from. According to a model, that would be achieved by the creation of *a world federation of the existing states* in which they would retain certain independence, but also acknowledge the supremacy of supranational institutions, primarily in the area of application of preventive measures and sanctions against the members which would not abide by the fundamental norm on the prohibition of violent imposing of the will of one state

294 Ebegebulem, C. J.: The Failure of Collective Security in the Post World Wars I and II International System, *Transcience*, Vol. 2, Issue 2, 2011, p. 27.

295 Morgenthau, H.: *op. cit.*, p. 483.

on another. The second model is the creation of a unique world state that would replace and surpass all the existing states and bring all the world citizens in a direct connection with the central government. That could be achieved by the imperialistic expansion of the control of one existing state on the whole world by its conquering or by voluntary unification of states.²⁹⁶

Even though this idea is progressive, it is highly unlikely that this concept will ever practically take off. First, people are used to national frameworks and the consciousness of nationality is embedded in their identity. The broadest form of social community in which people are used to living is the national society and they, therefore, created moral obligations only in relation to such society. Taking into consideration the current moral prerogatives of humanity, there are few of those who would accept the idea of cosmopolitanism, because it would have to include the absence of “otherness” in the creation of personal identity, and numerous conflicts of different religious, ethnic, and other groups show that humanity has not reached that level of awareness. Besides, there is the obvious problem of the representation in legislative bodies which would put the white race in inferior position because they are the minority of the world population. Therefore, under the current moral, social, and political conditions, there are practically no conditions for the establishment of the world government.²⁹⁷

Apart from the problems related to the establishment of the world state, this idea is fundamentally flawed. Even though it rests on the assumption that the disappearance of sovereign states would solve the problems of international conflicts, it provides no guarantees to the internal peace and order and, thus, it has no perspective in the contemporary security concept.

4.2. Contemporary Concepts of International Security

The idea of security alliances between states is much broader than the old adage: “if you can’t beat them, join them”. Its value is in the tendencies of states to jointly overcome the traditional rivalry in the archaic international relations and to, by reaching the security of the alliance they belong to, ensure their own security: by waiving or (self) limiting their own interests for the benefit of the common ones, the investments of states can return to them multiplied. That is the idea of common security.

Common security is a mechanism based on the purposefulness of the replacement of competitiveness of states for their own national security with the practice that promotes the security of all states. Security is more efficiently achieved in togetherness than by personal power outside it. The acceptance of

296 Dimitrijević, V., Stojanović, R.: *op. cit.*, pp. 326–327.

297 Morgenthau, H.: *op. cit.*, pp. 494–495.

common security as an organizational principle in aspirations to reduce the risk of war, limitations of the armament, and disarmament, mean that, in general, cooperation will replace confrontation in resolving conflicts of interests. That does not require the disappearance of differences among nations. The goal is to prevent conflicting situations from growing into a war or preparations for a war. Therefore, nations must realise the significance of the world peace and give it a greater priority than to the defence of their own ideological or political positions. This idea is the basis of the concepts of collective security and defence, but also of security community, regime, complex, and cooperative security.²⁹⁸

4.2.1. Security Community

Security community is based on the needs of states to establish a stable and peaceful cooperation and association, i.e. on the idea of the integration of states into a community in which they would eliminate the issue of “security dilemma” and wars as a way of resolving disputes and conflicts of interests by honest, tolerant, peaceful, and constructive international cooperation. Personal security is not achieved by the increase of military power but by associating in order to resolve issues and remove security threats.²⁹⁹

In a security community, states expect from other members not to use force and not to threaten to use it during the resolution of disputes. Such community is developed through comprehensive arrangement and agreement that helps and supports the consolidation of common norms and values. This incessant common action is strengthened by cooperation which further develops common norms and they, then, create mutual action in the positive feedback. The consequence of security community is cooperative security.³⁰⁰

Cooperation as a premise of security community points at the value turn in comparison with traditional models that rest on the belief in the inevitability of conflicts and personal strengthening in order to defend from the attacks of the others. Unlike some traditional models, security community is defined by three characteristics:

- first, members of a community have shared identities, values, and intersubjective meanings that are the basis of community;
- secondly, members of a community have many-sided and direct relations and their interaction is not indirect, but rather in a “face-to-face” form in

298 Baylis, J.: *op. cit.*, p. 80; Buzan, B., Hansen, L.: *op. cit.*, p. 102–103; Johansen, R. C.: Building World Security: The Need for Strengthened International Institutions, *World Security – Challenges for a New Century* (eds. Klare, M. T., Chandrani, Y.), St. Martin's Press, New York, 1998, p. 387.

299 Simić, D. R.: *op. cit.*, p. 45; See also: Adler, E.; Barnett, M.: *Security Communities*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998.

300 Cohen, R., Mihalka, M.: *Saradnja u bezbednosti: novi horizonti za medunarodni poredak*, Rasprave CDŽM broj 3, Udruženje diplomaca Centra Džordž Maršal SCG, Beograd, 2005, p. 31.

- numerous settings and domains, and
- thirdly, communities exhibit a reciprocity that expresses some degree of long-term interest and perhaps even altruism: the interest derives from the knowledge of those with whom one is interacting, and altruism can be understood as a sense of obligation and responsibility.³⁰¹

The essence of this concept is the feeling of togetherness, mutual likeness among peoples and the attachment to institutions and practice that are sufficiently strongly and widely accepted to enable long-term “peaceful exchanges” among peoples. The condition of accelerating integrative processes is the raising of awareness that enables common living in the community which is based on trust, closeness, and multi-dimensional association, overcoming the traditional anarchy of international relations and readiness to use force in order to protect national interests. It is considered that personal interests can be realized by abstaining from the use of force rather than by wars and conflicts and that peace within a community brings gain, particularly the economic one. These communities can be identified in the relations of Nordic countries and members of the European Union that renounced some of their sovereignty for the EU institutions that has one economy and common currency. At the same time, they are also noticeable in the relations of the USA, Canada, and Australia, and the USA and Western Europe, and the USA and Japan, as well as to a great extent among the members of ASEAN (the Association of Southeast Asian Nations), which replaced rivalry with cooperation for the benefit of regional cooperation.³⁰²

When talking about security community, a special challenge is to single out the conditions under which the development of community creates reliable expectations on peaceful resolution of conflicts. A model was presented which leads to the creation of peaceful cooperation and certainty of a peaceful approach to solving crises. This model is organized around three tiers and on each of them there is a certain change that leads to the community creation:³⁰³

- the first tier shows the technological, demographic, economic, and other changes, as well as the identified common threats in external environment that condition states to approach each other and coordinate their policies to their mutual advantage;
- the second tier presents the factors that lead to the development of mutual trust and collective identity, because frequent interaction leads to the transformation of possible roles of states. All of them can be classified in two large groups, comprised of structures and processes.

301 Adler, E.; Barnett, M.: *op. cit.*, p. 31.

302 Simić, D. R.: *op. cit.*, p. 68; Cohen, R., Mihalka, M.: *op. cit.*, p. 50; Bajagić, M.: *Osnovi bezbednosti, op. cit.*, pp. 85–86; Adler, E., Barnett, M.: A Framework for the Study of Security Communities, *Perspectives on World Politics* (eds. Little, R., Smith, M.), Routledge, London–New York, 2006, pp. 204–212.

303 Adler, E.; Barnett, M.: *op. cit.*, p. 38.

When it comes to structures, it is considered that power and knowledge are the pillars of the development of a security community because communities are more easily formed between powerful and advanced countries that later motivate the weaker ones to join that community because they hope that, by joining, they will enjoy security and other benefits of that community. The processes involve transactions between states, the activities of international organizations and institutions that facilitate the creation of communities, and finally, social learning, because that is the process of redefinition and reinterpretation of reality and the reflection of motivation of social actors to socially construct reality altering the beliefs of material and social world and altering their own identities;

- the third tier contains the necessary conditions for creating security community and peaceful cooperation that is the result of the above mentioned factors, and those are mutual trust and collective identity.³⁰⁴

It is possible to differentiate two types of security communities: *an amalgamated security community* where more states join by creation of common institutions and *a pluralistic security community*, as a looser form of a relation between states whose value systems are not mutually exclusive and common identity provides them with a high level of connections and cooperation, exchange of opinions and closeness in relations. Therefore, security community does not require the existence of formal alliances and the supporting institutional frameworks.³⁰⁵

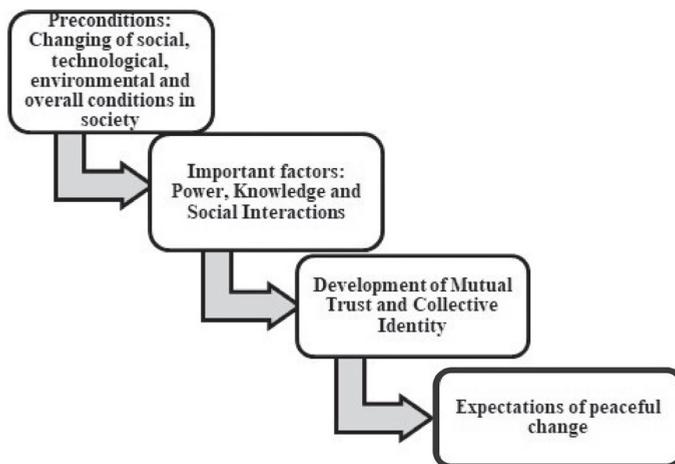


Figure 20. Development of Security Communities³⁰⁶

304 See: *Ibid.*, p. 37–48.

305 The insight of Deutch, K. Referenced by: Simić, D. R.: *op. cit.*, pp. 46–47.

306 The figure is inspired by text from: Adler, E.; Barnett, M.: *Security Communities*, op.cit, pp. 37–48.

It is highly unlikely that a security community of a large number of states would be functional: first, it is hard to persuade a large number of states to honest cooperation and self-limiting in the realization of personal interests; secondly, there is no guarantee that the most powerful states would renounce leadership in the community, and thirdly, there will always be security issues of international dimensions in the resolving of which certain members of community will not be interested. That points at the relativity of the sustainability of this concept, at the relativity of the equality of community members, and at the relativity of the security of community members. However, due to its undisputable progressiveness and productivity, this concept should continue developing.

4.2.2. Security Regime

Security, and even the existence of the world itself, inevitably depends on common actions of states and their mutual restraint, which would have the effects of *non-offensive (defensive, unprovocative) defence*. This aspect of “security partnership”, “mutual, reciprocal or cooperative security” as the strategy of common security was all called, aspired to create certain *security regimes* that would overcome *security dilemmas*.³⁰⁷

Generally, *regimes* are *norms* (the disposition of behaviours and sanctions in case of their violations), *rules* (general technical directions), and *procedures* (structured actions and formats of activities) of specific behaviour and acting, based on specific *principles* (general guidelines and rules that need to be followed in acting).

International regimes are the ones that regulate or harmonize the actions or participation of more participants in certain spheres of international life.

Security regimes are the ones with the purpose of enhancement of security of referent security subjects and objects.

Finally, *international security regimes* are international regimes with the purpose of enhancement of security states or other international actors that accepted them. The syntagma “security regime” here actually represents *international security regime*.

In this regard, security regimes are the regimes of states’ actions in the fields that are significant for national and international security, with limitations and in a manner by which the reaching of personal goals does not damage values and interests of other states, alliances or international organizations. It is common defining of certain norms, rules, procedures, and principles of behaviour in a certain sphere of international security (military, economic, environmental, police, judicial, etc.), usually through the form of international bilateral

³⁰⁷ Møller, B.: *op. cit.*, pp. 46–47.

or multilateral agreements, which will be respected by all the states which participated in their conceiving or which later voluntarily accepted them as an obligation.

Regimes are significant companions of globalization and the number of international regimes constantly increases. Even though security regimes are a recent phenomenon, they fit into a long tradition of theoretic thought of international law. The beginning of easing of tensions between the USSR and the USA, and the USA losing the status of a hegemon, shifts the focus to the questions of the survival of humanity and the health of the environment. Hence, social theoreticians get more “sensitivity” to theoretic deliberations on security regimes. When it comes to theoretic directions, it is important to point out that liberals and realists developed competitive and confronted approaches to the analysis of security regimes (for liberalists, regimes are a manner of overcoming the anarchy problem; for realists, the means of the preservation of hegemonic position that will enable the dominant power to promote its own long-term interests materialized through norms of international regimes).³⁰⁸

Practically, a regime is usually created when a group of states cooperates in managing controversial issues in order to avoid war, aspiring to reduce the security dilemma by taking into consideration the behaviour of others along with the simultaneous independent action.³⁰⁹

“The most worrying” motives of the development of this concept are taken from the so-called *theory of exterminism*, which warned about the real danger of the destruction of humanity and the planet with the use of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons that can occur by a mistake or an idea of a deranged mind. It promoted nuclear balance, limitations in respect to the development of nuclear projects, destruction of, and the symmetric reduction of mass destruction weapons, and the control of nuclear material and waste (*nuclear security*). In relation to that, a number of international agreements were adopted on the topic of control, non-proliferation, and destruction of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. Such is, for instance, the *Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies* signed in 1967 that, inter alia, prohibits taking nuclear and other mass destruction weapons to space, their placing on celestial bodies, as well as the creation of military bases and performing military exercises.³¹⁰

308 Little, R.: International Regimes, in: Baylis, J, Smith, S, Owens, P. (eds): *Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, 4e, Oxford University Press, New York, 2008, pp. 296–310.

309 Baylis, J.: International and Global Security in the Post-Cold War Era, p. 80; See also: Keohane, R. O.: *Cooperation and International Regimes, Perspectives on World Politics* (eds. Little, R., Smith, M.), Routledge, London–New York, 2006, pp. 81–89.

310 Miletić, A.: Rat, *Enciklopedija političke kulture* (grupa autora), Savremena administracija, Beograd, 1993, p. 959.

However, creating, maintaining, and developing of security regimes depend on certain circumstances and conditions. The most important precondition for the creation of regimes is considered to be the decisiveness and the desire of great powers to establish rules in an area. Thus, great powers need to aspire to preserve the status quo and the goals of the states connected by a common regime need to be compatible. Apart from the decisiveness of great powers, all participants need to believe that they share common values which they protect through common norms, rules, and procedures. For instance, a regime that aims to control the distribution of arms can hardly include the states prone to aggression and competition. In addition, the countries that consider expansion the best manner of preserving and protecting security can hardly be a part of a “peaceful” regime.

In any case, every individualistic and isolated tendency towards security and using war as an instrument to reach it must be considered an expensive and non-cost-effective venture by the states that are included in a security regime. A regime should be an obstacle to war and other forms of aggressive behaviour of states and states must have the awareness that the best manner of defence from threats is cooperation.³¹¹

There are numerous examples of security regimes and many of them are at the same time significant in a number of security spheres. Thus, the regimes within the jurisdiction of the International Atomic Energy Agency established “from the fear of global nuclearization of security dilemma” on the basis of numerous agreements on the prevention of proliferation of nuclear weapons and uncontrolled production and distribution of nuclear materials are extremely significant in the spheres of nuclear, energetic, economic, and environmental, and, thereby, national and international security. Such is a series of agreements on the reduction of strategic offensive (nuclear) weapons known as SALT and START.³¹²

The significance of this concept for national and international security cannot be denied. However, the numerosity of the problem and the complexity of international security require the establishment and consistent implementation of a number of security regimes, which has shown to be an illusion throughout the history. Numerous security regimes, such as the mentioned SALT and START remained a “dead letter”, which points at the weaknesses of international norms and their legally unbinding nature. International regimes, particularly those in the security sphere are, in most cases, the result of altruism rather than realistically achievable in practice. Apart from that, in spite of continuous negotiations and detailed agreements, there is no empirical evidence that regimes put the armament race under control because not even the great powers expected the others to give up developing new armament technologies.³¹³

311 Jervis, R.: Regimes, in: Hughes W. C., Meng, Y. L. (eds.): *Security Studies: A Reader*, Routledge, London and New York, 2011, pp. 334–338.

312 Kegli, Č. V., Vitkof, J. R.: *op. cit.*, p. 787; Viotti, P. R., Kauppi, M. V.: *op. cit.*, p. 195–214.

313 Little, R.: *op. cit.*, p. 301.

4.2.3. Security Complex

The reality of international security is frequently contradictory: states in certain regions are necessarily directed to various aspects of cooperation in “everyday life”; at the same time, there are frequent conflicts due to their contrary interests; in addition, a security issue of one state often becomes a threat to the international region; finally, states are usually connected by a common security interest or security threat. Such problems can be overcome to a great extent within security complex.

Security complex is an arrangement of a number of states of an international region in overcoming exclusive interests of their national security and creating security harmony with the states in their direct surroundings. It is the mechanism of the so-called *regional security* within which there is the tendency of overcoming stereotypes of historic animosity between neighbouring countries (territorial pretensions, problems with defining state borders; “collection of debts from past conflicts”; problems and separatist pretensions of ethnic minorities; problems with traffic, economy, environmental security, etc.) and creating security interdependence.³¹⁴

The regional security system, i.e. security complex, represents “a group of states whose primary security concerns are linked together sufficiently closely that their national securities cannot realistically be considered apart from one another”³¹⁵. Generally, security complex is a rule of economic factors on which military, political, and societal dimension of regional security rest. This is because contemporary security threats (security dilemma, first of all) often act on wider regional area, so security interaction with neighbours would have to have the highest priority.³¹⁶

Those are the models of overcoming security issues certain states face on the regional level and the idea of improving the managing of personal security. The actors of regional security are geographically and fate-related states in an international region (e.g. Sweden and Finland, the Arab League member states, the Maghreb states, etc.).³¹⁷

The main characteristic of regional complex is that a group of states that comprise a regional security complex possesses a capacity to manage the relations among its members, but also to influence how and whether the larger powers of that region would have any influence within that complex. The assumption is that

314 Compare: Buzan, B.: *op. cit.*, p. 187–190.

315 *Ibid.*, p. 190.

316 *Ibid.*, p. 201, 191.

317 Bajagić, M.: *Osnovi bezbednosti*, p. 94, 96.

when the situation is not such, security complexes are not present due to at least two reasons: first, in certain regions, local states do not have enough capacities to project power beyond their borders and therefore, there is insufficient interaction to generate a local complex; secondly, when there is a large presence of a great power that does not belong to that region, it prevents the normal development of security dynamics among the local states and that situation is called “overlay” as was the case with European colonialism in the Third World countries.³¹⁸

When it comes to the relation among states within a complex, security dynamics depends on the perception of the states and the patterns of friendship or hostility they have created. In that sense, if the behaviour pattern is hostile, the interdependence comes from fear and rivalry, then it is a conflictive complex form. If states are trying to overcome the rooted patterns of hostility through the creation of various security regimes or they have succeeded in overcoming their rivalry with creating trust or common identity, then it is the cooperative complex form.

Security complex, the same as in cases of balance of power, exists and functions regardless of being recognized by the participants. They definitely recognize certain threats to their security. At the same time, they are more aware of the threats that come from other states than the threats that they direct to them. However, they probably will not recognize nor completely understand the overall pattern they are an integral part of. If they recognize the complex, it will definitely influence the policies of participants by making them more aware of a broader relational context of their security issues and arrangements. Security complex can be of *lower level*, when it is comprised of local states the power of which does not extend beyond their local neighbours or it does not extend at all, and of *higher level*, when it involves great powers the power of which can extend much further than the borders of their immediate surroundings (e.g. the USA and the RF) or their power is sufficiently large to perform influence on several regions, which, due to their large geographical area, actually are their “local surroundings” (e.g. China and the RF).³¹⁹

This aspect of achieving international security directs states to *common resolving of common security issues*. By that, they overcome the existing (and even traditional) rivalries and some less “powerful states” can achieve the interests they would not be able to achieve on their own, and the powerful states, for the sake of peace in the region, agree to concessions “at the expense of efficiency of independent realization of national interests”.

318 Buzan, B., Weaver, O., Wilde, J. de.: *op. cit.*, p. 13.

319 *Ibid.*, pp. 94–96; Buzan, B., Hansen, L.: *op. cit.*, pp. 176–182.

4.2.4. Cooperative Security

Cooperative security is a new approach in reaching, preserving, and improving security using cooperation or through cooperation, at the expense of traditional competing of states in increasing their own power and actions according to the pattern of “security dilemma”. Even though cooperative security is not a new concept, it is used to differentiate this approach from the known forms of cooperation between states (alliances, pacts, balance of power, collective defence, collective security). Its basis is the closeness of values and interests and the awareness of the common future of the interested parties, the development of culture of mutual trust and long-term cooperation, voluntariness, benevolence, and transparency between the states.³²⁰

Cooperative security is a new model of reaching, protecting, and promoting security and it appeared after the end of the Cold War. That is a model that shows that a personal interest can be more easily protected through cooperation than through competition, explaining that the absence of cooperation in the contemporary world increases costs, i.e. it is not cost-effective for states. Waging a war is extremely expensive, therefore states strive to reduce conflicts and avoid unnecessary competitions that can lead to them.³²¹

There are several trends that made cooperative security become increasingly relevant. Among them is the dramatic decrease in the likelihood of a war, which is considered a consequence of changes in global distribution of power after the Cold War that made the USA a global superpower. However, the use of force in the concept of cooperative security is not completely eliminated and, regardless of contestations, it is justified when it is impossible, using other means, to protect human rights which have become an issue of international relevance. The support that the USA provide to the liberal economy and policy also stands out as a significant trend, because they have conditioned that states become less isolated, unlike the period when there was no free market, but the market was controlled by the state.³²²

Practically, cooperative security is the policy using which governments express their stands on previous opponents, as well as potential rivals in current and future inter-relations, and it aspires to adapting its own behaviour by less conflicting patterns. It is a policy of *developing mutual trust*, i.e. the peaceful behaviour by avoiding violence and threats, by active efforts towards negotiations, by seeking new practical solutions and committing to preventive measures. The

320 Simić, D. R.: *op. cit.*, p. 35, 83

321 Jervis, R.: From Balance to Concert: A Study of International Security Cooperation, *World Politics*, Vol. 38, No. 1 1985, pp. 58–79.

322 Mihalka, M.: Cooperative Security in the 21st Century, *PfP Consortium Quarterly Journal*, Winter 2005, pp. 113–122.

trust here implies “the belief in a good will of the party we are having the relation with, the capacity and reliability of one party to meet the expectations of the other party that trusts it”.³²³

Generally, there are two types of trust:³²⁴

- *the trust on the basis of reciprocity* by which states selectively develop a high level of reciprocal and incessant relations familiar in advance, guided by the idea that the party that helps and provides benefit should not be damaged and, due to that, they refrain from the actions that can harm it and they create the relation of trust, and
- *the trust based on the creation of common identity (identification)*, i.e. on the assumption that people who share common identities (origin, language, history, culture, religion, traditional friendship, etc.) generally have a pronounced understanding of mutual wishes and interests, which leads to the creation of strong trust and cooperation. Cordiality and loyalty lead to honest behaviour towards the other side, even to the overcoming of reciprocity requests, which makes these forms of trust deeper and broader than the ones from the first group. The process of building trust in the 21st century firstly requires the development of the trust on the basis of reciprocity, and then its gradual transformation and expansion to the trust based on the creation of common identity.

The structure of the cooperative security concept is made of “four rings”: *individual security, collective defence, collective security, and promoting stability* (the Cohen’s Rings). The Cohen’ Model of Cooperative Security is significant because it does not reject the traditional approaches to security (collective security and collective defence), but it completes them by contemporary forms of resolving security issues, such as the promotion and expanding of stability in the region and the ensuring of the security of people.

The centre of the concept is the need for respecting the security of people, both in the alliance-member states and in the other states. The endangering of individual security in one state is considered the endangering of security in other parts of the globalized world, which encourages states to intervene in order to protect the victims and punish the ones that threaten them. The second and the third ring have already been discussed: they are used by the member-states of the system to protect themselves from the threats to security that originates from inside the system or comes from the outside. Finally, the final ring shows that it is not enough to preserve and improve the internal security of member-

323 “When we trust someone, we believe that they are telling the truth; that they work to our benefit, and that they know we count on them; that they have the ability to meet their promises, and that there is consistency between their words and actions (the obligation to meet the expectations of the party that trusts them). Therefore, the stronger our confidence in each of these dimensions is, the stronger is the overall trust in the other party.” Bajagić, M.: *Novi koncept bezbednosti: saradnja u bezbednosti (Cooperative Security)*, *Bezbednost*, broj 6, MUP RS, Beograd, 2004, p. 822.

324 *Ibid.*, pp. 822–824.

states of the system, but that it is necessary to take an active relation to close and far surroundings in order to enhance and expand security. This is because the endangering of security in the surrounding can reflect to the security in member-states of the cooperative security system, so it is necessary to prevent and suppress all violence, respecting the principle of non-interference in the internal matters of sovereign states and under the supervision of the competent international organizations.³²⁵



Figure 21. Cohen's Model of Cooperative Security³²⁶

Cooperative security links collective security to the broad multidimensional approach towards security: it emphasises reassurance rather than deterrence; is inclusive rather than exclusive; is not restrictive in membership; favours multilateralism over bilateralism; does not privilege military solutions over non-military ones; assumes that states are the principal actors in the security system, but accepts that non-state actors may have an important role to play; does not require the creation of formal security institutions, but does not reject them either; and which, above all, stresses the value of creating habits of a dialogue on a multilateral basis.³²⁷

³²⁵ Cohen, R., Mihalka, M.: *op. cit.*, pp. 3–17. The last point was one of the excuses for the survival of NATO after the dissolving of the Warsaw Pact.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10

³²⁷ *Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector – Principles, mechanisms and practices*, DCAF–Inter-Parliamentary Union–CCMR, Belgrade, 2000, p. 17.

One of the modalities of this concept is known as *the indirect approach to state security*. Its essence is in the encouragement of interdependence of states, even to the point of integration by solving the issues of aggression motivation, exclusively by non-military means. That is why this strategy is classified in the sphere of *soft security*, as opposed to solving the issues of international and national security by military means (*hard security*). Thus, a network of mutual interdependence can serve as a powerful obstacle to war.

These networks of interdependence facilitate the cooperation and eliminate some of the most frequent obstacles for building trust between states, such as the fear that they will be deceived or exploited. Although something like that is not possible to completely eliminate, that fear is today alleviated, because cooperative security enables to keep the consequences of it within the limits of control, particularly because the other states that comprise the cooperative network would react to such behaviour.³²⁸

The excellent example of cooperative security is the European Union which, since its beginnings in the European Coal and Steel Community and in the European Economic Community, apart from the economic motives, has constantly strived to peace. Nowadays, the European Union is a stable security community in which traditional security worries of the member states are falling into oblivion, making it *a zone of stable peace*.³²⁹

On the basis of the degree of institutionalization of all rings that comprise the model of cooperative security, NATO is considered the most functional model of cooperative security dominated by military (defence) component and the principles of collective security and defence, with the promotion of individual, societal, and national security. Even though we do not completely agree, it is considered that “NATO successfully resolved a number of conflicts within the system (among member-states) and it participated in the resolution of conflicts between states that are not its members (in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Kosovo and Metohija); it enhanced the security in the surroundings by creating the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council, the Permanent Joint NATO-Russia Council, the NATO-Ukraine Commission, the Mediterranean Dialogue, the Partnership for Peace; by managing crises it realizes, maintains, and enhances the stability outside the territories of member states; it developed a programme for the prevention of proliferation of mass destruction weapons, etc.”³³⁰ NATO’s entering other fields, apart from collective defence, ensued after the Cold War and it was particularly intensified after the 9/11 terrorist attack in 2001. In that manner, NATO rhetorically and functionally

328 Jervis, R.: *From Balance to Concert: A Study of International Security Cooperation*, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

329 Møller, B.: *op. cit.*, p. 49.

330 Simić, D. R.: *op. cit.*, p. 99

became a political alliance with the intention to use military capacities in the context wider than the defensive one.³³¹

Furthermore, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe partly functions in accordance with the principle of cooperative security, primarily in the sphere of preventive diplomacy, peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding.³³²

Other international organizations (the UN, the EU) have created and developed some of the roles envisaged by the Cohen's Model of Cooperative Security, but not all of them. Cohen schematically represented whether and to which extent cooperative security is institutionalized within each of these institutions, "Yes?" indicating, at best, only partial effectiveness in the realization of a particular role.

Table 5. Institutionalizing Cooperative Security³³³

INSTITUTION	RING ONE: INDIVIDUAL SECURITY	RING TWO: COLLECTIVE SECURITY	RING THREE: COLLECTIVE DEFENCE	RING FOUR: PROMOTING STABILITY
UN	Yes?	Yes?	No	Yes?
OSCE	Yes?	Yes?	No	Yes?
EU	Yes	Yes	No	Yes?
NATO	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

It is highly unlikely that the concept of cooperative security will take off globally. There are numerous reasons for that: it is unlikely that the traditionally confronted states will build trust to that extent to have cooperative security; by increasing the number of participants in cooperation, the probability of consistent respect of security regimes is decreased; in the multi-ethnic, multicultural, and multi-confessional world, it is almost impossible to base trust on the identity; the United Nations crisis confirms that there is a low probability of creating a universal organization within which it is possible to have long-term honest cooperation of states; "the change of government" in many countries could

331 Popović, M.: Proširenje tradicionalnih uloga Severoatlantskog pakta: politika borbe protiv trgovine ljudima, u: *Suprotstavljanje savremenim oblicima kriminaliteta: analiza stanja, evropski standardi i mere za unapređenje, tom III*, Kriminalističko-policijska akademija, Fondacija Hans Zajdel, Beograd, 2015, p. 368.

332 The so-called 4P activities.

333 Cohen, R., Mihalka, M.: *op. cit.*, p. 15.

question the continuity of the established relations and cooperation; there is a possibility of a misuse of cooperative security mechanisms³³⁴, etc.

5. Global Security

The planet Earth has never been “smaller” and there is no doubt that it is getting “increasingly smaller” each day. The all-dimensional globalization turns an individual into “the citizen of a global village”. Societies and states have never been so dependent on and directed towards each other. Globalization has not bypassed the issue of security. It is maybe more accurate to say that the issue of security has not bypassed any sphere or any aspect of the global world: the globalization of the contemporary world is followed by the tendency to globalize security and with the obvious globalization of insecurity. In that context, it is logical to speak about *global security*.

Global security is the expanded concept of national and international security: it is the security of all humanity that every country and the whole international community needs to protect. This idea conditioned the development of *world interests*. As vital world interests, theory frequently mentions: : the survival of the human species; reduction in the amount of killing and other brutal treatment of human beings; provision of conditions for healthy subsistence to all people; protection of citizen rights; preservation of cultural diversity; preservation of the planet’s basic natural ecologies and environment; enhancement of accountability (accountable behaviour).³³⁵

World interests originated as a compromise between the inherited state-sovereign system and the increasing inter-dependence of people in the protection from the destruction of conditions of a civilized life on the planet, as well as the control and arbitration of national, subnational, and transnational conflicts that threaten to endanger the security of humanity. The question is just how much the real world interests will be the subject of honest and serious debate and how much the promoted world interests will truly be global and not just the national interests of powerful states projected on the global level.³³⁶

In the post-Cold-War understanding of global security there was no consensus on the agenda of security threats. It is obvious that not all the security issues are global, as well as that not all global issues are the security ones. However, it is undeniable that new security threats originated on the relations: human power-poverty-pollution-planet. It is obvious that they do not threaten national security

334 For instance, the armed aggression over the FRY for the alleged “protection of individual, human, and societal security, establishing and spreading of peace and stability in the region”.

335 Brown, S.: World Interests and the Changing Dimensions of Security, *World Security – Challenges for a New Century* (eds. Klare, M. T., Chandrani, Y.), St. Martin’s Press, New York, 1998, pp. 10–14.

336 *Ibid.*, pp. 11–14.

of a country, social security of a group or the security of a specific individual, but they threaten people, flora and fauna of international regions, continents, and the planet. Studies on global security finally saw the unity of the world in common vulnerability of humanity to its actions, particularly of the uncontrolled surge of technology. Dominant threats mean that humanity and the biosphere could be destroyed by a global nuclear war, the destruction of nuclear power plants and chemical facilities, application of dirty technology, but also by the explosion of population growth on the global level that causes the overpopulation of the planet, as well as by the deficiency of healthy food and water. These challenges and threats demand a common response of humanity. The first step towards that is definitely the creation of new global self-awareness, which is both intellectual and institutional, and without which humankind just guarantees to itself the *global insecurity*.³³⁷ It is apparent that they “have moved from the *dynamics* of the *old security dilemma* to encompass issues that will include a *new survival dilemma*.”³³⁸

Global security is the consequence of the operation of the process of globalization in international and national frameworks. That process greatly influenced social and economic sphere, and in the security sphere, it led to new tendencies in the behaviour of states within their borders, especially in relation to other states. The globalization of security marked the “blurring” of the border between internal and external security, which made traditional, isolationist behaviours and the creation of traditional patterns obsolete and of little use. In the security sphere, globalization is a drive power for spreading and developing security threats because weapons, technologies, and information have become easier to reach. Transnational actors, such as terrorist organizations and organized criminal groups have become a global threat owing to the globalization process. However, terrorism, organized crime, and corruption are at the same time considered a great obstacle to globalization because they challenge its power and ruin its authority, destroy the profit and prevent the supremacy of multinational companies from becoming more expressed, so the fight against these threats is the main task of the countries that are the carriers of globalization.³³⁹

Even though territorial integrity and sovereignty are still relevant objects of protection, globalization conditioned the appearance of non-material objects of protection, such as identity, information, and contemporary objects of technology. Since the objects of protection are different, the manner of responding to them requires a globalized approach, more precisely, a multilateral approach to security issues. However, the most far-reaching effect of globalization on security

337 See: Prins, G.: *op. cit.*, pp. 817–829.

338 Liotta, P. H.: Nove dileme, stare prepreke: budućnost ljudske bezbednosti, *Ljudska bezbednost*, broj 2, Fakultet civilne odbrane, Beograd, 2004, p. 31.

339 Simeunović, D.: *op. cit.*, p. 177.

is considered to be the increase in the complexity of the fundamental concept of threat. The concept of threat has become more complex and comprehensive first regarding its actors, i.e. the carriers of a threat, which have increased in numbers and which come from the inside and from the outside the state. Globalization influences the change of the scope of threats that nowadays surpass the state borders and require a joint global response.³⁴⁰

Generally, there has been the internationalization and globalization of the issues of individual, social, and national security. There are several reasons of that state.

First, it is evident that the operations of the carriers of security threats that traditionally “operated” on the national level have been internationalized by spreading their activities to the territories of other countries or by establishing a connection with their “colleagues” on those territories (e.g. organized crime, terrorism, cybercrime).

Secondly, the nature of some security issues is such that they know no national borders, i.e. they cannot be prevented and suppressed in the traditional manner – by military and police instruments. Those are, first of all:

- regional conflicts and wars, as well as numerous internal conflicts with negative repercussions to the international community. Globalization facilitated the “spillover” of these conflicts, so today they have become a common concern of not only one international region, but wider than that;
- global terrorism and trans-nationally organized crime, which survive and develop thanks to a wide network of actors and their activity on the global level;
- mass threats to human freedoms and rights of a part of global population, especially in the Third World countries and in some countries of the so-called former Eastern Bloc. Similarly as in regional conflicts, the violation of human rights becomes an issue of the international community regardless of the part of the world it happens in. This primarily happened due to common principles and beliefs that contemporary humanity rests on the respect and protection of human rights that are incorporated in the system of values of global humanity which we aspire to create;
- environmental degradation (pollution of land, water, and air, the occurrence of ozone holes, global warming, exhaustion of natural resources – raw materials, etc.), which causes the scarcity of healthy drinking water and food. Therefore, environment and natural resources are global, common values of the whole humanity and only by their protection and rational usage can the global and catastrophic consequences of threatening environment be avoided;

340 Cha, V.: Globalization and the Study of International Security, *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 37, No. 3, 2000, p. 393.

- economic development of the rich at the expense of impoverishment and environmental pollution of the underdeveloped (multinational companies frequently exploit resources, workforce, and pollute the environment of the poor – underdeveloped and developing countries that acquire minimum economic benefits. “Neo-colonialism” is a product of economic globalization);
- the expansion of threats to health security of global population and, first of all, the spreading of modern diseases and infections (e.g. AIDS, SARS, avian and swine flu, anthrax).³⁴¹ The development of technology and traffic has made distances shorter. However, in that way, the road of spreading security threats is also shortened and facilitated;
- increasingly destructive technological accidents and natural disasters (e.g. industrial disasters, nuclear accidents, droughts, floods, earthquakes, tsunamis, fires);
- contrasting problems of demographic development³⁴² (“demographic explosions” in poor countries and “demographic implosions” in rich countries, uncontrolled migrations and overpopulation of some territories, aging and dying of some ethnic groups, disproportion between the population numerosness and national resources for the existence of societies, etc.). Migration issues are becoming increasingly current because they generate other security issues such as poverty, unemployment, ethnic and religious disputes in new surroundings, modern forms of slavery and human trafficking, etc.³⁴³;
- expansion of world poverty and global polarization to “poor South and East” and “rich North and West”, between which there is growing animosity and intolerance;
- dangers of proliferation of mass destruction weapons (CBRN), uncontrolled trade of hazardous substances, “nuclear testing”, “nuclear war”, and “postmodern and *mega*” terrorism, and
- other security issues that can be *universal* (they affect the whole Earth and humankind and they can be resolved to an extent – e.g. the greenhouse effect) and *global* (they affect an increasing part of the world population and they are difficult to resolve – e.g. rainforest deforestation).

341 Modern diseases are not just threats to human, but to national and global security, as well. See: Elbe, S.: HIV/AIDS i sigurnost, *Suvremene sigurnosne studije* (translation, ed. Collins, A.), Politička kultura, Zagreb, 2010, pp. 376–391.

342 More about that in: Kenedi, P.: *Priprema za XXI vek*, Službeni list SRJ, Beograd, 1997, pp. 37–62.

343 See: Mijalković, S.: *Trgovina ljudima*, BeoSing, Beograd, 2005 and Mijalković, S.: *Suprotstavljanje trgovini ljudima i krijumčarenju migranata – mogućnosti unapređenja bezbednosno-kriminalističke prakse nacionalnog sistema bezbednosti*, Službeni glasnik and Institut za uporedno pravo, Beograd, 2009.

Moreover, the internationalization of destructive actions of certain informal social groups is evident (Masonic lodges, destructive sects, “new religions”, associations of rich and “powerful” entrepreneurs, associations of former politicians, and other secret societies). They are becoming serious lobbyist centres and informal centres of financial and political power that influence the decisions of governments, international organizations, national, and international economic, sport, cultural, scientific, and other subjects. Their interests are often opposite to the interests of humanity.

Along with the conquering of the planet, humans conquered the cosmic space. Apart from the insight in the occurrences on the Earth (GPS) and scientific and research motives, there are undeniable tendencies of certain great powers to “arm the space” by installing nuclear weapons on their satellites, cosmic ramps and stations. The presence of humans in the space polluted the universe. It is the matter of time when human activity in the universe and its (by)products will become an even greater danger for the life on the Earth. That justifies the tendency of the development of a new concept of *cosmic security*.

In addition, it should be expected that wars, territorial conquests, and information and economic subversions with the aim of controlling certain governments will be conducted in the future for the occupation of sources of drinking water, oil, and natural gas, ore, and other energy sources, clean air, cheap raw materials and workforce. We are the witnesses of the disputes of great powers over the right to presence and exploitation of natural resources beneath the permafrost of the Arctic and the Antarctic.

Thirdly, the interaction between many threatening phenomena is also noticeable and that creates new negative energy and produces new destructive effects many states cannot independently respond to, because they are not financially, organizationally, and functionally capable to do it. That requires a comprehensive cooperation of states, particularly in the field of security.

Finally, there is also noticeable globalization of the function (if not the system) of security within inter-governmental and non-governmental institutions, expert bodies and specialized associations and agencies. In that sense, it is necessary to build *global security culture* and *ethics*, based on the so-called *glocal approach*. It will respect the state and dynamics of the context of a local area and its dialectic cause and effect relation with the global world, according to the principle: *think globally – act locally*, i.e. *everything you do on the local level, reflects on the global level and vice versa*.

Thus, *global security* is the security of humankind from increasingly destructive challenges, risks, and threats of planetary dimensions they are incessantly exposed to and which can be overcome only by constructive cooperation of states that will subordinate their national interests to the human – planetary ones. It

is a concept which has not been completely developed and shaped, but which puts the needs, values, and interests of humanity in the centre of its interest through the synthesis of international security and the universal level of human security, emphasizing the problems of contemporary economy, quality of life, environment, and mass destruction weapons. Unlike the economic sphere, the influence of globalization on security is harder to measure and identify, but there are several key variables that could be identified, such as the reduction of the number of inter-state wars, reduction in military costs and overall conventional arms, the increase of the number of international institutions and transnational actors, as well as the response to transnational terrorism.³⁴⁴

The system of protection of global security, however, is still not established, so states, national and international (inter-governmental and non-governmental) organizations and numerous international professional and expert bodies, as well as individuals and social groups are responsible for it. Therefore, the idea of security of humanity excludes and limits the operations of certain states from the position of power for selfish realization of national interests at any cost and it demands national tolerance, respecting international law and regime, honest political will, accountability, self-control, and concessions for the benefit of humanity, as well as the development of global security culture and ethics.

6. Non-Governmental Security Sector

Although it is not a concept, but one of the security sectors that protects (but also threatens) individual, social, national, and international and global security, it is necessary to devote it some attention.³⁴⁵

With the weakening of the state-centred concept of security, after the breakup of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) and with the simultaneous beginning of social and economic transition followed by an upsurge of the crime rate in the society, numerous companies, but also some wealthy citizens, criminals, “businessmen”, entertainers, public figures, and politicians started hiring professionals to protect them. The protection that had previously been exclusively provided by the state was replaced by the services of private companies

344 Ripsman, M. N., Paul, T. V.: *op. cit.*, pp. 36–53.

345 This security sector is quite developed around the world. Read more in: Mijalković, S.: O nedržavnom sektoru nacionalnog sistema bezbednosti – inostrana i domaća iskustva, *Strani pravni život*, broj 2, Institut za uporedno pravo, Beograd, 2010, pp. 251–270. See also: Nemeth, C.: *Private Security & the Investigative Process*, Butterworth-Heinemann, Woburn, 2000; Button, M.: *Private Policing*, Willan Publishing, Devon, 2002; Cunningham, W. C., Taylor, T. H.: *Private Security and Police in America – The Hallcrest Report*, Portland, 1985; Johnson, B. R.: *Principles of Security Management*, Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 2004; Brown, S. K.: *Private Investigating*, Alpha Books, Indianapolis, 2003; Chambers, C.: *The Private Investigator Handbook: The Do-It-Yourself Guide to Protect Yourself, Get Justice, or Get Even*, Penguin Group, New York, 2005; Tillman, N. M.: *Private Investigation 101 – How To Become A Private Investigator*, Norma Tillman Enterprises, Nashville 2006.

and agencies for physical and technical security, many of which worked illegally or under the title of private detective offices.

Furthermore, there was the expansion of threats the state traditionally did not devote the necessary attention to (e.g. human trafficking, domestic violence, workplace violence, gender-based and sexual violence, etc.), which conditioned the development of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that aspired to prevent and suppress them as well as to help the victims.

Around the world, there are several kinds of the listed subjects and, with their foundation, a new, *non-governmental sector of security* was created, which is frequently denoted by the term “private security”. It is a system (in Serbia it is just a *group*) of *profit* and *non-profit* entities founded by non-governmental actors that provide the requested security services to the interested parties.

6.1. Profit Entities of the Non-Governmental Security Sector

Profit entities of the non-governmental security sector are the entities that independently of governmental entities perform commercial services in the security sphere. In accordance with the principles of market economy, they provide security services in the domain of individual, human, public, state, and even international security, i.e. from the spheres of energetic, economic, information, environmental to military security. Those are *private security companies* (agencies, enterprises), i.e. business entities registered to offer security services to the interested natural or legal persons, state institutions, inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations. Therefore, those are the so-called non-governmental providers of security which, by commercial provision of security services, meet security needs of various categories of clients. They are also called *the security industry*.

The commercial provision of security services involves hiring “mercenaries”, military management and consulting; protection of the security of people and property; detective activity, private policing, and the provision of other security services.

Private companies for military management and services are the registered agencies that operate in the same way as other private economic companies, but relying on the military management. The employees, primarily managers, are usually former members of elite military and police forces that, after the end of their professional career, offered their knowledge, skills, and specialty to private companies. The first private military companies in the USA appeared during

the Vietnam War (1959-1975) and they were special organizational units within large corporations.³⁴⁶

They provide various services: from the training of the members of private services for providing security of persons, property, and operations in emergency situations (*training services*), production and distribution of weapons and military equipment (*production activity*), and supplying clients with the devices for personal protection and the protection of other persons, property, or buildings (*commercial services*), as well as providing security services in emergency situations (*security services*), to the direct participation in armed conflicts within official armed forces, paramilitary groups, for conducting special combat actions (*mercenary army*) and strategic consulting, designing and managing combat actions, social crises, conflicts, and violent overthrows (*mercenary military and crises headquarters*).

Private military companies frequently operate for states in crisis situations (e.g. in Iraq, Afghanistan). That is how traditional mercenary, and even paramilitary groups, which operate non-transparently, outside the law, and unsupervised, get “legalized”. The hiring of former “criminal soldiers” is justified by an increasing “necessity for privatization of violence” in resolving conflicting and high-risk situations. Around the world, the work of these companies is widely accepted and they deal with extremely complex activities, such as the projection of strategies of causing and realizing armed conflicts. These organizations act in the name of states in conflicting and high-risk situations. States in that way “legalize” the activities of mercenary and even paramilitary groups, by justifying that act with the necessity for the reduction of losing staff.³⁴⁷

The services of the protection of persons and property involve the physical and technical security of persons, property, and operations in regular and dangerous situations, but also on critical installations. The same agencies also perform training and issue licences for work in this sub-sector of the so-called private security, but they also provide protective equipment and devices. The scope of their engagement is narrower than the supervision of private companies for military management, consulting, and services.³⁴⁸ The mechanisms of protection of subjects of economic and energetic sector are called *corporative security*.

Furthermore, private security companies are potential protectors of freedoms and rights of clients that can be threatened by criminals, similar companies, or security services. Clients are provided with services of counterintelligence protection from unauthorized monitoring or intercepting of communication, removal of covert listening devices and monitoring video devices, protection

346 Vračević, N., Cvetković, V.: Uloga privatnih oružanih snaga u tradicionalnim konceptima bezbednosti, *Vojno delo*, proleće 2014, pp. 140–141.

347 Mijalković, S.: *op. cit.*

348 Savić, A., Stajić, Lj.: *Osnovi civilne bezbednosti*, USEE, Novi Sad, 2006, p. 53.

during moving and conducting business transactions, prevention of intrusive intelligence work directed towards them, etc.³⁴⁹

Detective – investigative activity involves the provision of some security services that are traditionally in the jurisdiction of police services, such as searching for missing persons, finding lost or stolen belongings, gathering information and notifications, security checks of persons, resolving criminal offenses prosecuted by a private lawsuit or ex officio, but also some (quite “sensitive” and often “illegal”) actions such as secret tracking, surveillance, and recording of persons, acquiring other people’s business, official, and economic secrets, etc.

In general, the work of private detective companies refers to finding and analysing information for the needs of their clients that can be natural or legal persons.³⁵⁰ All investigatory activities can be classified in “marital investigations, family investigations, lawsuit investigations, work discipline investigations, and insurance investigations. Specifically, those are the investigations of establishing extra-marital relationships, missing family members, following and monitoring children, establishing the contact of parents and children when that is banned by the court, investigative services within lawsuits, gathering evidence for the defence of the accused, investigating discipline at work, investigating the justification of claims for damages, establishing the real property status of persons, etc.”³⁵¹ The authorizations of private detectives, in the countries where that is legally regulated, are more restrictive than the authorizations of police.

In some countries, non-governmental security sector has the authorization to investigate certain security issues that are traditionally in the jurisdiction of the governmental security sector, such as: investigating frauds and suspicious financial transactions; criminal investigations and the investigations of the employees’ background; the employees’ health and security protection; prison service and transport of prisoners; prevention of crime against corporations; internal investigations; security of ports, airports, residential buildings, and commercial establishments; security of car parks; reacting in cases of burglar alarms; house patrols; monitoring traffic security; investigating traffic accidents; investigating thefts of motor vehicles, and other aspects of threats to property and persons for insurance companies; security of the transport of money, gold, and other valuables; fire protection; detective activities; electronic and video surveillance of buildings and open spaces; maintaining order at public gatherings (monitoring service), etc. Finally, many security companies provide services of security protection of diplomats and the highest representatives of

349 Fatić, A.: Privatne bezbednosne kompanije, *Revija za bezbednost – stručni časopis o korupciji i organizovanom kriminalu*, broj 4, Centar za bezbednosne studije, Beograd, 2007, p. 11.

350 Nikač, Ž, Pavlović, G.: *Pravo privatne bezbednosti*, Kriminalističko-policijska akademija, Beograd, 2012, p. 34.

351 Kesić, Z.: *Mesto i uloga nedržavnog sektora u kontroli kriminaliteta* (magistarska teza), Kriminalističko-policijska akademija, Beograd, 2008, pp. 61–63.

state authorities, they protect state borders, provide certain security services to ministries of defence, of interior, economy, energetics.³⁵²

The privatization of security is profitable and permanent work, but also a trend in the world where an increasing number of governments strive to reduce the risk of human losses and “political costs” by participating in war operations, by hiring maximally ready, motivated, equipped, and discrete companies. When such trend is in the sphere of military dimension of security, *they claim*, it is absolutely clear that it is on the global level at least as much unfaltering in *the soft security*, which refers to police and intelligence work.³⁵³

Non-governmental security sector entities are in an ideal position to participate in the realization of different strategies of security in local community through certain *police operations*, known as *policing*. It is a social function performed by numerous institutions, establishments, bodies, and associations aiming to ensure security and social order in a specific environment with measures and activities that are in accordance with the set goal. It is one of the aspects of social control that integrates surveillance systems, combined with the threat of sanctions in case of disrupting social order, with a primary goal to maintain social order secure from external and internal threats. That differentiates it from a much wider concept of formal and informal social control that involves almost everything that (directly or indirectly) contributes to the maintenance of social peace and order (from governmental security services and justice to schools, parents’ associations, church, youth clubs, media, etc.).³⁵⁴

Policing is divided into the so-called *public policing*, performed by the (state) police and *private policing*, conducted by non-governmental actors. The best-known aspect of public policing on the local level is “the work of police in a community” (the so-called *community policing*). The performance of security activities on the area of local community enables daily encounters with citizens and the exchange of intelligence information, which is the basis of preventive and proactive security and criminalistic activity in the function of individual, human, and national security.³⁵⁵

“Private policing” is defined in two ways. In the wider sense, it is the organized action of voluntary and commercially oriented non-governmental staff, whose primary activities include opposing to criminal behaviour. It is comprised of: *policing of citizens; private security and private investigative (detective) activity*. In

352 Maggio, E. J.: *Private Security in the 21st Century – Concepts and Applications*, Jones and Bartlett Publishers, Sudbury, 2009, pp. 40–41; Murray, T., McKim, E.: *Policija i sektor privatne bezbednosti: Šta donosi budućnost, Bezbednost*, broj 4, MUP RS, Beograd, 2003, pp. 635–646; Savić, A., Stajić, Lj.: *op. cit.* p. 53; See also: Collins, P. A., Ricks, T. A., Van Meter, C. W.: *Principles of Security and Crime Prevention*, Anderson Publishing Co., Cincinnati, 2000.

353 Fatić, A.: *op. cit.*, pp. 7–8; Avant, D. D.: *Private Security, Security Studies – An Introduction* (ed. Williams, P.), Routledge, London–New York, 2008, pp. 441–445; Maggio, E. J.: *op. cit.*, pp. 350–352.

354 Kesić, Z.: *op. cit.*, p. 29.

355 More about that in: Simonović, B.: *Rad policije u zajednici (Community Policing)*, Banja Luka, 2006; Vuković, S.: *Strategije delovanja policije u prevenciji kriminaliteta na području lokalne zajednice* (doktorska disertacija), Pravni fakultet Univerziteta u Beogradu, Beograd, 2008.

the narrow sense, that is a set of legally established activities of professional type, outside the scope of jurisdiction of state bodies, organized in order to provide specific services of protection of personal and property safety of citizens. They encompass: *contract security – the activities of private companies for providing services of physical and technical security on a contractual basis; internal (personal) security of private companies, and private investigative activity.*³⁵⁶

However, the weaknesses of private police operations are evident, first of all: neglecting public interests, threatening human rights (by violating privacy and exceeding and abusing authorizations), informal relations with certain destructive and potentially destructive social groups (organized crime, paramilitary movements, political structures), and limitations of activities on the international level.³⁵⁷

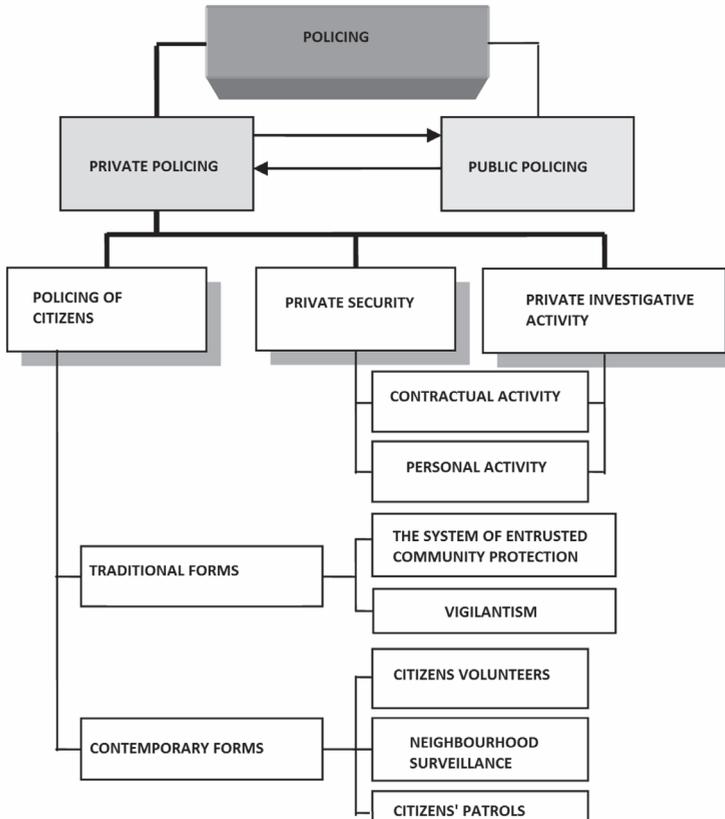


Figure 22. The Aspects of Private Policing³⁵⁸

356 Kesić, Z.: *op. cit.*
 357 *Ibid.*, pp. 94–101.
 358 *Ibid.*, p. 30.

Considering the fact that they are the entities that provide services of protection and security, the subject of debates is usually their right to use force. Many countries determined the regulatory framework of the work of private security sector, as well as the matter of possibility and conditions for the use of weapons, putting it thus under the jurisdiction of the state, which is the main precondition for the prevention of self-will and the violation of human rights by the private security sector.³⁵⁹

In the countries of the Global West and North, many security activities are entrusted to the governmental sector. Those are, first of all, the activities of providing security to persons, property, and businesses; doorkeeper services; technical protection; the control of access to buildings and moving inside them; protection of confidential data; private correctional facilities for the enforcement of criminal sanctions; application of local legislation on the basis of the contract with local authorities. The presented foreign trends in organizing and functioning of the non-governmental security sector are increasingly becoming a part of the security reality in Serbia. However, even though, since the beginning of the new millennium, the *Serbian Association of Entrepreneurs in Private Security* and the *Association of Professionals in the Field of Private Security* have been established within the Serbian Chamber of Commerce, our non-governmental security sector still does not function as a system. One of the main reasons for that is the insufficient legal regulation, considering the fact that the two laws that regulate the private security sector have just recently been passed³⁶⁰ and that much of the subordinate legislation has not been passed at all.

At the same time, this sector functions without much regulated connection with the governmental security sector, with which it does not have defined cooperation in the realization of the security function. That is discouraging, bearing in mind that the services of the non-governmental sector in the world are increasingly becoming an alternative to the public security sector in the protection of private, but also of public – governmental, even international and global interests and values.

6.2. Non-Profit Entities of the Non-Governmental Security Sector

Non-Profit Entities of the Non-Governmental Security Sector are various non-governmental organizations (NGOs): humanitarian organizations, scientific organizations, environmental organizations, religious organizations, associations

359 Popović, M.: *Savremeni koncept nacionalne bezbednosti*, p. 45.

360 The Law on Detective Activities, *Official Gazette of RS*, No. 104/2013 and the Law on Private Security, *Official Gazette of RS*, No. 104/2013

of citizens, voluntary professional associations, and similar entities that contribute to resolving of numerous security problems, primarily of individuals and social groups, whereby they *do not obtain any profit from the users of their services*.

Non-profit entities are therefore usually called “civil society”. In the theory, they are divided into the organizations that serve all members (public service organizations) and the organizations that serve the protection and promotion of certain group interests, i.e. they serve just the members of specific social groups (professionals, interest associations, clubs).³⁶¹

The reasons for the appearance of the non-profit sector are manifold, but the ones that are listed as potentially the most significant are: the failure of the market and the state to provide citizens certain products and services, the appearance of communitarianism and personal freedoms in modern societies, and, thus, the increased need for solidarity among people.³⁶²

The main characteristic of these entities is their non-lucrative nature and that the acquisition of profit is not their primary goal. The sources of their funding are numerous, starting from foreign states, international corporations, individuals and groups, etc. Their main task is to participate in the identification and resolving of security issues, in the capacity of supplementary entities, and to present a complementary mechanism to the state that does not always have sufficient resources and organization capacities to face all the security issues that surround humans. Generally, five key characteristics of non-profit entities of the non-governmental sector can be summarized. Those are:³⁶³

- *formal entities*, organizations that are institutionalized because they have regular meetings, official representatives, and the continuity of work;
- *private entities* because they are institutionally separate from government, even though they sometimes receive support from official institutions;
- *non-profit entities* that are not allowed to distribute capital, and in case of the surplus of assets, those assets cannot accrue to owners or directors (the so-called “non-distribution constraint”);
- *self-governing entities*, which enable them to independently control or independently manage their activities, and
- *voluntary entities* which, even when they do not have volunteering members, always have at least some degree of voluntary participation in managing and realizing of activities of this entity, such as in the form of a voluntary managing board.

361 Paunović, Ž.: Neprofitne organizacije – prilog pojmovnom razjašnjenju, *Godišnjak FPN*, br. 6, Fakultet političkih nauka, Beograd, 2011, pp. 251–262.

362 Paunović, Ž.: Promena u identitetu neprofitnog sektora u Srbiji, *Yearbook FPS (Godišnjak FPN)*, Vol. 08, 2012, p. 56.

363 Lewis, D.; Kanji, N.: *Non-Governmental Organizations and Development*, Routledge, London and New York, 2009, p. 10.

The activities of these entities are mostly of human-centric nature – focused on the protection of people and vulnerable groups. Citizens perceive them as organizations that aspire to change (enhance) political, economic, and social conditions in one or several countries, so they undoubtedly play a great role in the preservation of security in those states that are called “unsuccessful” or “weak”, which usually implies the states on the African continent.³⁶⁴

In the institutionally unprepared countries, crises and conflicts mostly affect the civil population, so in these situations, the activity of non-governmental humanitarian organizations becomes necessary, since it is often the only manner of resolving elementary problems of citizens, such as the lack of food, medicines, medical care, etc.

The problem that is usually related to NGOs, particularly to those that operate in such a sensitive field relevant to the state, such as the security field, is the issue of their independence. There is a widespread prejudice that every funding by a state leads to being controlled by that state. The sources of funding of NGOs are usually the most powerful and richest countries, as well as multinational and transnational corporations, therefore it is frequently suspected that it makes them “an instrument of those to which they have become interesting in order to establish dominance and realize goals that are related to the acquisition and multiplication of capital”³⁶⁵

Considering the fact that the operations of non-profit organizations are quite often related to social and political needs of Africa, critics consider that the non-governmental sector facilitated the sustaining and extending of neo-colonial relations in Africa. It is considered that non-profit organizations in Africa are burdened with external influences and that their leaders control financial resources that arrive from the West in a form of aid in order to build “patronage networks” and consolidate their political and economic influences in return for importing and projecting developmentalist ideas and rhetoric into African communities.³⁶⁶

Due to the manners of their funding, which are the most frequent subjects of controversy and debates, they are often denied credibility to deal with serious and sensitive issues such as the protection of human rights. Therefore, some NGOs, such as Amnesty International, introduced strict rules according to which there is no possibility of receiving direct help from governments and states for the realization of usual activities. However, these “traps” are impossible to avoid, because NGOs that deal with the issues of development and humanitarian aid

364 Popović, M: *Savremeni koncept nacionalne bezbednosti*, op. cit, p. 47.

365 *Ibid.*, p. 49.

366 Lewis, D.; Kanji, N.: *op. cit.*, p. 19.

need significant funds in order to realize their programmes, so most of them readily accept even that, official funding.³⁶⁷

When it comes to the Republic of Serbia, civil society has recently started developing, after “October 5 changes” and the first civil society organizations specialized for security issues were established in the second half of the 1990s.³⁶⁸

The development of civil society was encouraged precisely by political and security issues that were current issues in the 1990s in our country. The issues that are in most cases a part of the agenda of these organizations of civil society are concerned with the protection of human rights, minority rights, peaceful resolution of disputes and conflicts, the reform of the security sector, civil and military relations, and the relations of police towards citizens. The precise number of NGOs in Serbia varies. There are certain NGOs that are not registered, and most of the registered ones are not active...³⁶⁹

The development of civil society in the security field is a necessity. In the period when a state, whether powerful or not, cannot meet the increasing security needs of a society, non-profit entities of the non-governmental security sector present an obligatory and precious partner. Finally, a strong civil society is an indicator of the success of the development of democracy as a basic assumption of a regulated and secure society.

367 Willetts, P.: *What is a Non-Governmental Organization?*, Output from the Research Project on Civil Society Networks in Global Governance, Article 1.44.3.7, City University, London, 2002.

368 According to research from 2007, the number of non-governmental organizations identified to be dealing with security issues was 44, 13 of which stated that the matters from security field presented the centre of their activities. In addition to that, 286 organizations in their name or their mission mentions the topics related to the concept of human security. See in: Atanasović, Z.: Organizacije civilnog društva zainteresovane za bezbednost u Srbiji, *Western Balkans Security Observer (Bezbednost Zapadnog Balkana)*, Vol. 12, 2009, p. 4.

369 *Ibid.*, pp. 5–6

1. The Concept of Endangering Security

The problems of defining endangering security are similar to the problems of defining security, because they are complementary and diametric categories. Generally, endangering security (insecurity) is the opposite – antipode of security. Those are all the phenomena and processes that are destructive to referent values and interests because they prevent or hamper their achievement, existence (maintenance and survival), enjoyment, and development, as well as their consequences.

Endangering security is differently interpreted and defined in different sciences and spheres of natural and social reality. In the sociological and criminological sense, the phenomena of endangering security of human origin are determined as social deviations, crimes, and delinquency.

Social deviations involve the behaviour of people that significantly deviates from social norms and cause disapproval. A crime is an individual criminal behaviour that violates criminal law and manifests by action or omission. Delinquency includes all actions prohibited by the legal order – delicts (criminal acts, offences, economic offences, and disciplinary culpability).³⁷⁰

It is obvious that all deviant phenomena are not always crimes (e.g. forms of self-endangering, such as alcoholism, drug addiction, self-harming, suicide), and thus the concept of crime is narrower than the concept of delinquency. In addition, certain criminal and legal incriminations are not seen as deviant in some countries: although murder is incriminated as a criminal act in every modern state, blood feud is still a morally permissible and even obligatory means of social regulation in some areas. That makes it a legitimate, but not a legal act. Furthermore, the concept of endangering security of human origin is a broader concept than the concept of delinquency, because it involves the actions of persons that are not responsible (e.g. a murder committed by a mentally ill person), and also the destructions that have a much wider scope (e.g. political, economic, and military pressures on a state). Finally, this definition disregards the destruction that has natural or technical and technological origin.

³⁷⁰ Ignjatović, D.: *op.cit.*, p. 4.

A *criminal act* is an act set forth by the law as a criminal act, which is unlawful and committed with guilty mind. There is no criminal act without an unlawful act or culpability, notwithstanding the existence of all essential elements of a criminal act stipulated by law. It can be committed by an action (undertaking an action that is prohibited and that produces a harmful effect) and/or by an omission (failing to undertake a particular action defined by the law). A criminal act may also be committed by omission even if the law defines the act as an action, if elements of such criminal offence have materialised by the offender's failure to do what he was obliged to do.³⁷¹ Following global trends in criminal law, at the beginning of the third millennium the criminal liability of legal entities gets incriminated in Serbia, as well.³⁷²

Offences are the violations of the public order set forth by the law or other regulations, for which there are penalties and protective measures prescribed. These phenomena are socially harmful, because they disturb certain social discipline. They threaten public security, security of an individual and the society, and, to a certain extent, state security. The offender can be a natural person, legal entity, or the responsible person of a legal entity.

Economic offences are socially harmful violations of regulations on economic and financial operations that have caused or could cause severe consequences, and that are incriminated as economic offences by a regulation of the competent authority.³⁷³ The perpetrator of economic offences can be a legal entity and the responsible person of a legal entity. They threaten the economic security of the country, i.e. economic and financial relations of national and supranational subjects and, indirectly, the existential security of people.

Disciplinary culpability is the injury of internal regulations using which legal entities (organizations and institutions) regulate the rules of conduct of their employees. They are comprised of individuals who, due to that, bear disciplinary responsibility and disciplinary sanction.

The doctrine and theory of defence and civil protection classifies every endangerment of humans, material goods, and environment into:

- *natural* dangers and disasters that are divided into lithospheric (earthquakes and landslides), atmospheric (wind, hail, extremely heavy precipitation, snow, fog), hydrospheric (floods, sea waves – tsunamis, avalanches), and biospheric (droughts, epidemics);
- *technical and technological* dangers that manifest as phenomena followed by ionizing radiation, chemical contamination, and accidents in chemical

371 See Articles 14–25, 43, 64, 91, 94–95 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Serbia, *Official Gazette of the Republic of Serbia*, No. 85/2005, including its later amendments.

372 That overcomes the traditional principle according to which only a natural person can be criminally accountable. See: The Law on the Liability of Legal Entities for Criminal Offences, *Official Gazette of the RS*, No. 97/2008

373 Đorđević, Đ.: *Prekršajno pravo*, Policijska akademija, Beograd, 2004, pp. 27–29, 9.

- industry, fires, traffic accidents, and the accidents at work, and
- *war dangers and disasters*, which are manifested as armed actions from land, air, or sea, i.e. natural or technical and technological disasters caused by war actions.³⁷⁴ This determination apparently does not envisage delinquency.

In natural and technical sciences, all the endangering phenomena that originate from the actions of natural phenomena and technical and technological systems are called accidents, disasters, catastrophes, and cataclysms. They are sudden, predictable or unpredictable emergency situations that can cause smaller or larger consequences to the health of people, flora and fauna, material and cultural goods, and the environment: an accident is a calamity with one to one hundred human victims; a disaster is a calamity with the number of killed, hurt, or endangered ranging from one thousand to ten thousand. Disasters are certain emergency situations or a series of situations caused by a fire, explosion, or uncontrolled release, outpouring, or spreading of hazardous, liquid or solid substances that can endanger life and health of people and the environment. Considering the place of their origin and the scope of negative consequences, they are classified in six levels: the level of dangerous installations, the level of an industrial complex, municipal, regional, national, and international level. A catastrophe is a calamity where the number of killed, hurt, or endangered people is more than ten thousand. Finally, a cataclysm implies completely devastated areas without any survivors or with few surviving persons.³⁷⁵ This, as well as the definition that follows, does not foresee the destructions that are of human origin.

Every endangerment of human life and material goods in technical sciences is classified as: spontaneous, i.e. caused by natural forces (earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, a fall of meteors and comets, floods, landslides, etc.); caused, i.e. created by various accidental events in industry or surroundings (fires, explosions, outpour of hazardous chemicals, etc.), and artificial which is caused by people, i.e. politics (war, terrorism, sabotages, diversions, and other similar phenomena).³⁷⁶

As synonyms for endangering security, the theory and practice of security and health at work also use the terms “hazard” and “risk”. A hazard is everything that can cause damage to certain values (people, human creations, nature, state, and international community). A harmful effect is a disorder of quantitative and qualitative properties of values that questions their existence and functionality. A risk is a probability of a harmful effect in case of an exposure to hazards.

374 Jakovljević, V., Đarmati, Š.: *Civilna zaštita u Saveznoj Republici Jugoslaviji*, Studentski trg, Beograd, 1998, p. 49.
375 *Ibid.*, p. 51.

376 Karabasil, D., Lovreković, Z., Bilić, I.: *Osnovna pravila za preživljavanje*, Deseta Međunarodna konferencija zaštite od požara i eksplozija ZOP 2006 i ICFP, Viša tehnička škola – Institut za tehnologiju zaštite u Novom Sadu, Novi Sad, 2006, p. 495.

In the traditional security theory, the syntagma “emergency situations” denotes all cases of deterioration of life and health conditions of citizens, as well as causing damages to and endangering the environment, the removal of which and the normalization of the state require great human and material potentials, and which occurred due to:

- *natural disasters* (earthquake, flood, torrent, storm, heavy rainfall, electrical discharge and hail, drought, snow drift and avalanche, accumulation of ice on watercourses, rockslide and landslide);
- *technical and technological disasters* (fire, explosion, breakdown, traffic accident, accidents in mines and tunnels, damages on electric power plants, oil and gas plants, telecommunication and information systems) and
- *effects of hazardous substances* and other states of emergency (ionizing radiation, epidemics of infectious human, livestock, and plant diseases, the occurrence of pests, etc.). Dangerous substances can be poisonous (chemical weapons), infectious (biological weapons), and radioactive (nuclear and radiological weapons).³⁷⁷

The contemporary security and practice of security in emergency situations uses several terms to denote specific aspects and forms of endangering security³⁷⁸, which are:

- *emergency situation* – a situation when risks and threats or the consequences of catastrophes, emergencies and other dangers to population, environment and material goods, are of such scale and intensity that their occurrence or consequences cannot be prevented or eliminated through regular activities of competent authorities and services, and for the mitigation or elimination of which special measures, forces and means at higher operational regime are required;
- *emergency* – a disaster caused by natural and other disaster that may endanger health and lives of people and environment, the consequences of which may be prevented or removed through regular actions of relevant authorities and services;
- *natural disaster* – an event of hydro-meteorological, geological or biological origin, caused through the action of natural forces (earthquake, flood, torrent, storm, heavy rainfall, electric discharge, hail, drought, rockslides and landslides, snow drifts and avalanches, extreme air temperatures, accumulation of ice on watercourses, epidemics of infectious diseases, epidemics of livestock infectious diseases, pests and other large-scale natural phenomena) that may endanger life or health of people or cause a large-scale damage;

³⁷⁷ More about dangerous substances see: Cvetković, V.: *Interventno-spasilačke službe u vanrednim situacijama*, Zadužbina Andrejević, Beograd, 2013, pp. 18–21.

³⁷⁸ Law on Emergency Situations, *the Official Gazette of RS*, No. 111/2009

- *technical and technological accident* (disaster) – a sudden and uncontrolled event or a series of events that got out of control during the use of certain equipment and when handling hazardous substances in production, use, transport, traffic, processing, storing and warehousing, such as: fire, explosion, heavy damage, traffic accident in road, river, rail and air traffic, accidents in mines and tunnels, breakdown of cable cars for the transport of people, destruction of dams, breakdowns in electrical power plants, oil and gas plants, accidents in handling radioactive and nuclear substances, the consequences of which endanger life and health of people, material goods and the environment;
- *catastrophe* – a natural or other disaster and event that with its size, intensity, and unexpectedness endangers health and lives of a large number of people, material goods, and the environment, and the occurrence of which is not possible to prevent or remove by regular activities of competent services, government bodies, and self-government units, as well as the disasters caused by war destruction or an act of terrorism.

The presented definitions of the concept of endangering security are correct, but incomplete in their scope and content: they refer only to endangering certain aspects or types of values; they only mention etiological and/or consequential dimensions of certain forms and aspects of endangerment, i.e. their theoretic and practical treatment from the aspect of certain sciences or professions; none of them is comprehensive because they do not encompass all the phenomena of natural, technical and technological, and human origin.

It is undeniable that those are the phenomena that are opposite to the security system, its function, and the state it strives towards. In addition, observing new statements through the grammar of the Serbian language we conclude that the syntagma “ugrožavanje bezbednosti” (literal translation: endangering security) simultaneously denotes a noun, but also an action (verb) that a certain subject performs over an object, a process in an objective world that produces certain consequences, as well as the state of the grammatical object. In short, those are the actions, events, and processes of deterioration or destruction of values, and their consequences present a separate state of damaged security.

Generally, *endangering security presents a phenomenon of natural, human, or technical and technological origin that produces or can produce harmful effects to referent values and interests.*

Specifically, *the phenomena of endangering security are actions (human activities) and/or processes (natural phenomena and processes and/or the dysfunction of technical and technological systems) of such duration and intensity that they produce or can produce harmful effects to referent values and interests of individuals, society, state, and/or international community (states of damaged*

security).³⁷⁹ Those are phenomena that are actively or potentially destructive to values and interests because they prevent their unhindered reaching, enjoying, and developing. In addition, each value can be endangered by several different threats, but also one type of threats can endanger several different values.

The phenomena of endangering security usually occur and act independently of our awareness of their existence. Moreover, for many of them it is only their consequence that is visible, so the absence of the evidence on the existence of an endangering phenomenon is not the proof of its non-existence.

2. The Structure of Phenomena of Endangering Security

The phenomena of endangering security, generally, consist of more elements, i.e. they are characterised by: the source of endangering, the carrier of endangering, the aspect and the form of endangering, the object of endangering with the referent values that are attacked, the consequence and the feedback effect of the consequence to the source and the carrier of endangering.

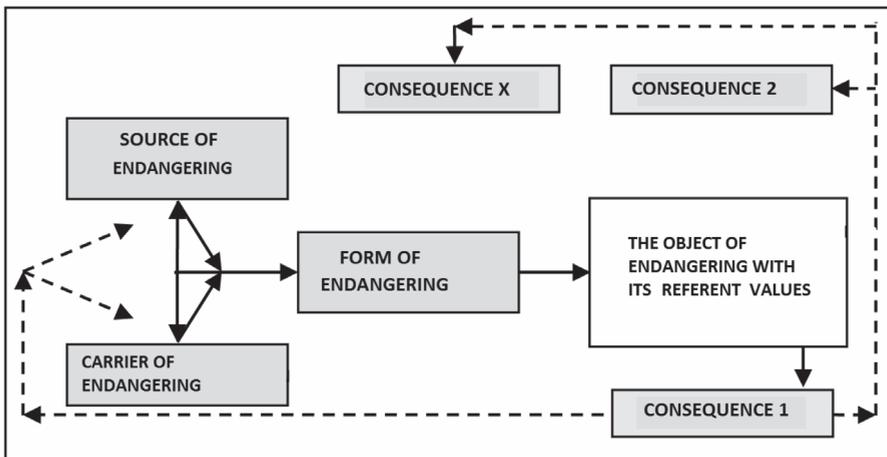


Figure 23. The Idealized Structure of Phenomena of Endangering Security

³⁷⁹ The inspiration for this definition is the opinion according to which "security endangering presents a social phenomenon or a behaviour that occurred by actions of humans (individually or collectively), nature, or technical systems during a longer period of time that have a significant scope and that cause or may cause harmful effects to human integrity, their freedom, property, and health, as well as to the integrity and subjectivity of the state and its institutions, values it protects, as well as the values of international community". Stajić, Lj.: *Osnovi sistema bezbednosti sa osnovama istraživanja bezbednosnih pojava*, p. 52.

2.1. The Sources of Endangering Security

The sources of endangering security are phenomena or processes that independently or in mutual combination and interaction lead to the occurrence and development of an endangering phenomenon. It is the so-called etiological dimension of security issues that needs to be observed from the aspect of necessary and sufficient conditions, i.e. factors.³⁸⁰

From the aspect of security studies, the difference should be made among causes, conditions, and reasons of endangering.

A *cause* of endangering security consists of phenomena or processes whose existence necessarily leads to endangering of protected goods or values. It can be sufficient when it directly causes an endangering phenomenon or insufficient when it creates endangering along with other causes, which is not the case if it acts independently. For instance, a cause of death of a person during a terrorist attack is the effect of an explosive device activated in their vicinity; for causing a diffuse explosion, it is necessary for the space to be closed, to have a source of the explosive gas, to achieve the explosive concentration of the gas and to have the initiator of the explosion. All of these are necessary conditions, but insufficient to independently produce an explosion.

Conditions are phenomena or processes that do not directly cause an endangering phenomenon, but they contribute to and they are favourable for its occurrence and development. Endangering phenomena would exist without these factors, but in their presence they more easily and quickly appear and develop. Those are all the circumstances, phenomena, processes, or conditions that have a role of “facilitating” or “accelerating” circumstances and that encourage the development of a destructive phenomenon. For instance, organized crime is a problem of every state. However, the favourable conditions for its development are: poverty, economic transition, social disorganization, etc.

Finally, a *reason* is an excuse for undertaking endangering phenomena of human origin. It justifies the alleged legality, i.e. legitimacy of destructive actions. For instance, the reason for the initiation of the First World War by the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1914 was the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo, i.e. the non-fulfilment of conditions from the ultimatum the Empire set to Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina in relation to its participation in the

³⁸⁰ A factor is a *necessary condition* for the occurrence and development of a phenomenon if that phenomenon never occurs unless that factor previously or simultaneously appears. A factor is a *sufficient condition* for the occurrence and development of a phenomenon if that phenomenon always occurs when the mentioned factor appears. Finally, a factor is a *necessary and sufficient condition* for the occurrence and development of a phenomenon if that phenomenon never appears without the previous or simultaneous appearance of the mentioned factor and it, at the same time, always appears whenever that factor appears. An etiological factor can be a necessary, but not a sufficient condition for a phenomenon in case that it is a part of a wider set of conditions on which the occurrence and development of that phenomena depends. On the other hand, an etiological factor can be a sufficient, but not a necessary condition for a phenomenon when the occurrence and the development of a phenomenon can be caused by the existence and action of another independent factor. See: Milić, V.: *op. cit.*, p. 319.

investigation of that crime, which would allow it to affect the sovereignty of Serbia. The true causes were completely different: territorial pretensions towards Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, i.e. the ideals of territorial expansion to the East and reaching the Aegean Sea. Incidentally, the idea of an armed conflict with Serbia originated back at the beginning of the 20th century at the Vienna court and the Austro-Hungarian Empire bitterly regretted having missed two strong reasons for it, namely, in 1906 during the Customs War and in 1908 when it conducted the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Soon upon that, a war of world proportions started involving thirty-three countries with around seventy-four million soldiers. It was used to resolve numerous global and European issues and Serbia got in the middle of the war which was waged about the goals that were not its.³⁸¹

The sources of endangering security can be natural, social, and technical and technological. Natural sources of endangering are climate, territory and/or geographic position of the habitat of a society or a state (in the narrow sense), i.e. harmful effects of degraded environment (in the wide sense, e.g. effects of acid rain, land erosion, cosmic radiation, and global meltdown due to the damaged ozone layer, etc.).

Destructive human behaviour is determined by the living conditions of the carrier of endangering, his/her conflicts with himself/herself, other people, and collectives. Usually, it is the result of conflicts of individual and social interests, of a discord between desires, needs, and possibilities of fulfilling them; it is the result of turbulence or a way out of a crisis, a negative resolution of a conflict or stressful situation, an act of thoughtlessness or of a projected disturbed imagination or hallucination.³⁸² Therefore, human destructivity is caused and conditioned by numerous *exogenous – objective factors* (factors of the external world, i.e. of narrow or broad social ambience) and *endogenous – subjective factors* (psychological traits, health, and personal system of values, needs, and interests).

Finally, *the malfunction of technical and technological systems* also causes and conditions much endangerment of protected values on all levels of security analysis. Here, a difference should be made between the malfunction of the system that appeared “on its own” (breakdown, damage, subsystem failure...) in comparison with the malfunction conditioned by a human factor (intentional or unintentional action) or by natural disasters.

Almost all phenomena and processes of human, natural, or technical and technological character, both constructive and destructive, have *multifactor – multi-causal origin*. That means that their appearance and development are almost always caused and conditioned by several different factors.

381 See: Vilić, G.: *Cerska bitka*, Centar za kulturu „Vuk Karadžić“, Loznica, 2005, pp. 5–14.

382 Jovanović, Lj.: *Krivično pravo I – Opšti deo*, Policijska akademija, Beograd, 1995, p. 89.

2.2. Carriers of Endangering Security

A *carrier of endangering security* is a subject that realizes an endangering phenomenon by his/her action or omission of an action. Even though it resembles a concept of a delinquent, it has a much wider scope and content. It denotes:

- *an individual* that independently undertakes an illegal action (e.g. a murder) or omits an action that he/she is obliged to undertake (e.g. a physician does not treat a patient, a mother does not feed a baby);
- *a group* (criminal or terrorist group, political movement, destructive sect, a ruinous mass in civil disorders, etc.);
- a legal entity or *an organization* (e.g. as a perpetrator of an offence, economic offence or criminal act);
- *a state*, when the endangerment is conducted by *the overall state administration* (e.g. by dictatorship, repressive legislation, terrorizing the population, violent displacement of people, discrimination of national minorities) or by *individual state bodies* (e.g. by the participation of special police and military forces in conducting terrorist acts on the territory of other states, by prejudiced or biased trials to the perpetrators of the criminal acts who are associates or opponents to the government, by non-providing the legal assistance to a citizen trialed abroad for a crime, etc.);
- *an international organization* and *international community* which take certain measures against individuals (e.g. unfounded trials and the conviction of innocent individuals for war crimes, exemption from liability and too lenient punishment of war criminals, non-provision of international legal protection to the person accused of a crime whose right to justice has been violated in his/her country, etc.), *social groups* (e.g. by not issuing visas for entering the country to the members of certain national groups or social layers, by not providing financial or other assistance to endangered people or the victims of some criminal acts), and states (e.g. by political, military, and economic pressures, recognizing the country status to territories under the control of separatists, interfering in the work of state bodies, conducting destructive psychological and propaganda activity, military interventions or aggression, etc.).

Carriers of endangering security are mentioned in the context of endangering security of human origin. Even when the carrier of endangering is an abstract subject such as the state or international community, there are always the executors of human origin who represent the state or international organization. They can be *former*, *active* (current), and *potential* (future).

2.3. Forms and Aspects of Endangering Security

These are the manifestation forms of endangering phenomena. A *form of endangering security* is a manifestation of a destructive phenomenon that, by its characteristics and specificities (on the basis of which it is identified and qualified – *indications and indicators*) differs from other, even similar phenomena (e.g. it differs terrorism from rape, technical and technological accident, diversion, and sabotage). Its manifestations can also differ from one another (e.g. terrorism by killing, activating an explosive device, kidnapping a diplomat, using a “letter bomb”, etc.).

An *aspect of endangering security* is a set of more different forms of endangering security that have common dominant features. Thus, for instance, organized human trafficking, organized smuggling of migrants, narcotics, and vehicles are all forms of organized crime; furthermore, organized, situational, conventional, white-collar crime and corporate crime are all aspects of property crime; property, political, economic, and environmental crime are the most general aspects of crime. The aspects of endangering security of the widest scope are: military and non-military endangering; endangering of natural, human, or technical and technological origin; external and internal endangering; challenges, risks, and threats to security, etc.



Figure 24. The Ratio of Aspects and Forms of Endangering Security

Certain endangerments are hard to identify because they are often “invisible”. At the same time, the phenomenon that was identified as endangering does not have to be such, even if the created consequences can be, at first glance, related to it.³⁸³ For example, the death of a person that participated in a traffic accident is not the consequence of the accident, but the accident happened because the driver died of a heart attack while operating the motor vehicle.

Finally, the consequence of endangering security can be a product of another, and not the destructive phenomenon it is related to. For example, a cause of death of a person found at the bottom of a lake is not drowning, but a murder by suffocation or strangling, after which the body was dumped into the water.

2.4. The Object of Endangering Security and Its Values

The object of endangering security is a referent object towards which, in the specific case, destruction is directed to or against which the endangering process is conducted (*direct*), as well as the object or value that “suffers” its consequences (*indirect*). For instance, a direct object endangered during espionage are secret documents, while indirectly it threatens the people, planned activities, secret assignments, economic secrets mentioned in them; or paying using counterfeit money directly endangers the salesperson, while, indirectly, it affects the financial system of a country; if a president or prime minister dies in a traffic accident, apart from the life and body as values of an individual, national security is also endangered.

In addition, the endangered object can be *targeted* (*selected, chosen*) and *accidental* (*not selected, random* – e.g. setting an explosive device on a public place kills random passers-by; *collateral*, that gets destroyed/killed together with the direct object of threat – e.g. when killing a protected person, his/her bodyguard gets killed, or when a value the attack is not directed to gets destroyed – e.g. during an armed robbery, apart from property and life, the health of a victim is also endangered).

A referent object is a changeable category. In the traditional concept, the only referent object was a state and it is threatened by attacking its territorial integrity and sovereignty. Nowadays, scientists vehemently discuss the possibility of replacing the state as a referent object and that idea meets approval, at least rhetorically. Namely, both theoreticians and practitioners of security consider that state should be an instrument for the protection of other objects and their values from endangerment, such as human and social groups, i.e. their vital material and spiritual values.

383 Compare: Buzan, B.: *Societal Security, State Security and Internationalisation, Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe*, Pinter Publishers, London, 1993, p. 43.

The choice of the object of endangering depends on the intentions and goals of the carrier of the threat. Principally, endangering security occurs on the relations: individual to him/herself (self-endangerment, auto-destruction), individual – individual, individual – social groups, individual – state, individual – international organization or community, social groups – social groups, social groups – state, social groups – international organization or community, state – state, state – international organization or community, international organization – international organization, and all modalities of the mentioned relations observed in the opposite direction, as well as their combinations. Finally, all of them can be endangered by the phenomena of natural and technical and technological origin.

2.5. The Consequences of Endangering Security

The consequences of endangering security are the results of actions of an endangering phenomenon towards a referent object. Those are quantitative and qualitative changes of referent objects and their values, as well as psychological and mental reactions of humans that occurred due to the effect of the endangering phenomenon.

In criminal and legal sense³⁸⁴, the consequences of a criminal act can be *violations* and *endangerments*. *Consequences of a violation* consist of a destruction or damage of goods, and *consequences of an endangerment* of the creation of danger for the goods. That danger can be *specific* (if the danger to the goods really occurred, i.e. if the probability of the occurrence of the violation was so high that there was a possibility of its occurrence) and/or *abstract* (when the danger to the goods did not occur but there was a certain probability of its occurrence). A consequence can be *main*, the causing of which is the performed action directed to, and/or *incidental*, which occurs incidentally, together with the main consequence owing to the connection with the object of the attack or their close relation (e.g. the consequence of the assassination of Falcone, the most renowned judge in the process against Italian mafia was the death of the people from his entourage; in the terrorist attack against the president of Macedonia, Kiro Gligorov, a person from his entourage was killed; in the assassination of the Prime Minister of Serbia Zoran Đinđić, PhD, his bodyguard was wounded). A consequence can also be *preceding*, which precedes the main consequence and is a necessary condition of its occurrence (e.g. it is assumed that the preceding underwater nuclear testing led to the series of strong earthquakes which caused the tsunami that hit the countries of the Southern Asia at the end of 2004; in order to blackmail state authorities, terrorists kidnap a person) and/

³⁸⁴ Jovanović, Lj.: *op. cit.*, pp. 116–117.

or *succeeding*, as a result of the main consequence (e.g. one of the consequences of the signing of Kumanovo Agreement was the withdrawal of Serbian security forces from Kosovo and Metohija. The consequence of that is that the function of maintaining public order was undertaken by the international security forces, which led to the thriving of all types of crime, primarily the organized one, but it also created conditions for the illegal proclamation of the so-called Republic of Kosovo).

In addition, consequences can be *primary* which reflect in damaging the values that are directly attacked and *secondary* which indirectly endanger some “higher values”. For instance, in a terrorist attack on civilians, the life and property of citizens are primarily endangered, but secondarily it endangers the constitutional order and security of the state. Finally, secondary consequences can be manifested as the so-called feedback effect of the consequence to the source and the carrier of the endangerment.

It is not uncommon that different forms of endangering security produce the same consequences and effects (e.g. material damage and the citizens’ fear as the consequence of a terrorist attack, diversion, or sabotage). In addition, the same consequence can be a product of a different manner of realizing certain endangering phenomena (e.g. sabotage on an energy or production system can be the consequence of its mechanical damage, improper power supply, disregard of the rules for the regime of its rest periods, etc.).

2.6. The Feedback effect of the Consequence to the Source and Carrier of Endangering

The phenomenon of endangering security, i.e. its consequences, has a certain effect on the source and the carrier of endangerment. This correlation is visible at two levels at least.

If the damaging consequence does not occur, the endangerment will most probably repeat since the motives of the carriers of endangering have not been fulfilled. With the occurrence of the consequence, the needs, efforts, and motives get fulfilled, i.e. the goals of the carriers of endangering are partially or completely realized. That condition can be an identical, modified, or completely new source of future endangering phenomena.

For example, a terrorist group performed a series of terrorist attacks in order to realize their secessionist goals. Since their requests have not been fulfilled, the group will continue with terrorist activities until it realizes its goals; or, the fulfilled requests for the secession of a part of the territory encourage the terrorist group to continue with the same activities, with the same goal, against

the government of the neighbouring country on the territory of which there is the population of the same ethnic origin as the terrorists; and, on the territory that seceded from the home country due to extreme secessionism, the terrorist organization takes over the power and the “new country becomes a realm of organized crime”. In that way, “the ideology for getting an independent state” gets replaced by “the ideology of unlawful profit” which is the cause of the creation and the condition of the development of many organized criminal activities. This aspect of the feedback effect of a consequence to the source refers exclusively to the endangering phenomena of human origin.

At the same time, the “feedback effect” is the consequence of the reaction of the society to the endangering phenomenon. Informal, and, first of all, formal social reaction to a crime aims to remove the source of endangerment or at least to control them.

Formal types of reaction to the endangering phenomenon are most frequently considered to be the reactions of the bodies of *legislative* (passing new laws and other regulations, tightening legal penalties, adopting restrictive policies, etc.), *executive* (preventing and suppressing different forms and aspects of endangering security by the army, police, and other, primarily conventional entities of the security system), and *judicial* authority (processing and sanctioning for the conducted violations of law and regulations through which the endangering phenomenon is realized).

Informal types of reaction are considered to be the reactions of citizens to endangering phenomena and their self-organization with the aim to prevent the occurrence of an endangering phenomenon or with the aim to reduce the harmful consequences if the endangering phenomenon has already been realized. The networks of citizens in a local community in the form of “neighbourhood watch” programme are one of the examples of this type of reaction, as well as organized provision of assistance and support in case of natural disasters, accidents, etc. Organizing protests and expressing overall dissatisfaction with a certain state of the reaction of formal bodies to an endangering phenomenon is also considered a type of informal reaction to the endangering phenomenon.

Since the security system aspires to prevent the occurrence of destructive phenomena, the carriers of endangering change their methods, increasing the degree of their organization and secrecy of operation. Inefficiency of the security system incites and encourages the carriers of endangering.

There are numerous examples of feedback effects. For example, terrorist attacks against civilian population conditioned a harsh reaction of the security system during which a number of terrorists were arrested and killed. The organization continues with the attacks on embassies, so it acts on the territories of countries that are the allies of the endangered state in the fight against terrorism. There, it

attacks the population, state bodies, and business facilities. At the beginning of the series of attacks, terrorist acts were less destructive and without “self-sacrificing” of terrorists, while over time, they have become more destructive, with a higher number of civilian victims and greater material damage, during which a higher number of “suicide” terrorists lost their lives; after multiple pollution of the environment, deficiencies and irregularities on the production, the systems of chemical industry were removed in order to prevent the new release of harmful substances; after floods due to a river flooding, defensive embankments were built.

3. The Characteristics of Contemporary Security Endangering Phenomena

Contemporary security endangering phenomena have numerous characteristics. Some of them are typical for a large number of endangering phenomena: unlawfulness, immorality, multi-causality, multi-manifestation, indicativeness, individuality, dynamics, elasticity, interaction, (im)measurability, (un)predictability, multitude of standards of qualifying and treating, destructiveness, complexity, and insufficient research.

Unlawfulness is the opposition to the legal norms of positive international and internal law, and illegality is the opposition to the norms of legal regulations. Many destructive phenomena are incriminated as criminal acts, offences, or economic offences that protect certain social values. This characteristic is, as well as immorality, typical for the endangering phenomena of human origin.

The security endangering phenomena are usually of *multi-causal* and *multi-factor* nature, which is one of the reasons of their “immunity” to the reaction of society and the security system. The impossibility of the absolute removal of the cause and conditions of endangering phenomena is proven by the fact that many of them are faithful companions of society through all stages of its development. Contemporary security endangering phenomena are more complex due to the multiplicity of their causes and conditions.

Multi-manifestation involves the presence of numerous endangering phenomena, as well as the multi-variety of their expression. That is why they are classified in certain forms and aspects, in order to identify and qualify them more easily. Indicativeness is closely related to the manifestation of endangering and they are both in the function of estimation and forecast of the security state.

Indicativeness is the possibility of identification and qualification of that phenomenon, its differentiation from other endangering phenomena, even when they are of the same type. It is comprised of a set of important indicators (indications) that carry certain features (characteristics, traits) characteristic for

each of them. For instance, depending on the motive, the murder of the president or the prime minister of a country can have a significance of domestic violence, violence against the highest representative of a state government, (international) terrorism, manslaughter, etc. In the material sense, the consequence is the same – the death of a person. However, in the security sense, these cases are different and they produce different consequences to national security.

Individuality is the impossibility of the repetition of a phenomenon in its absolute exactness, even under the same conditions and circumstances; each phenomenon differs from any other phenomenon even if it is of the same type. It is the consequence of specificities of its constituent elements, but also of the factors from its surroundings. Those differences are fewer among the endangering phenomena of the same type of natural and technical and technological origin. For example, almost all the earthquakes produce harmful consequences of the same type, they just differ by their intensity; that also refers to all accidents in oil industry (human victims, material damage, degradation of the environment). However, when it comes to, for example, performance of terrorist acts – the actors and consequences can be quite different.

Dynamics of endangering is the consequence of the dynamics of the society, but also of the feedback effect of the consequence to the sources and carriers of endangering. For example, one of the consequences of the development of information technologies is the appearance of cybercrime, which was an unknown issue in recent past; “global trends” in terrorism are constantly changing, from the attacks with explosive devices, kidnapping of politicians and hijacking by a few terrorists, to cyber-terrorism, mega terrorism, and engaging several dozens of thousands terrorists organized in (para)military formations. Terrorists are more frequently wearing uniforms, have ranks and military insignia, they use formation military weapons and equipment, they have military chain of management and command, they use words such as “military” or “army” in their names (e.g. the Kosovo Liberation Army – KLA, the Albanian National Army – ANA), they threaten to use mass destruction weapons, etc.

Elasticity is the other side of the dynamics of endangering. It involves the possibility of their adaptation to the state of current phenomena and changes, which contributes to their survival and development, in spite of the efforts of the security system to neutralize them. This characteristic enables the phenomena to develop and survive regardless of the counter-intentions and it shows the transformative capacity of contemporary security-destructive phenomena. For instance, the victims of human trafficking at the end of 1990s and at the beginning of the new millennium in our country were mostly sexually exploited, through prostitution and pornography in brothels and striptease bars. The efficiency of state authorities in the control of this phenomenon was low, which

led to its expansion. The reorganization and specialization of some security subjects resulted in drastic reduction of the scope of these phenomena. However, the efficiency was an illusion because the exploitation of victims was moved from public facilities to private apartments and houses, and the new aspects of exploitation began (trafficking of children for adoption, sexual exploitation, or begging; trafficking of women for marriage).

Security endangering phenomena are in a certain relation of *interaction* and *combination* with other similar phenomena or the phenomena of the same type. Therefore, it is often hard to differentiate between the consequence of one phenomenon to the protected values and the consequences that occur due to the impacts of other phenomena. This relation is *multi-variant* and it can be the so-called zero relation, parallel, and direct.

With the *zero relation*, there is no connection among the security endangering phenomena. They operate independently and do not influence each other.

The parallel relation exists when a number of phenomena develop in parallel, at the same time, and by the same carrier, but the realization of one does not depend on the realization of other phenomena (e.g. an organized criminal group smuggles illegal migrants and in parallel with that, at the same time, and through the same channels, it also smuggles weapons and narcotics).

The direct relation of endangering phenomena exists in the situations when one phenomenon is in the direct function of the creation and development of the other phenomenon. That relation can be “loose” or “firm”, independent, and dependent. *The independent relation* exists in the situations when one phenomenon is in the function of the other phenomenon, but that relation is not necessary for the existence of the other phenomenon. For instance, the unlawfully acquired profit of human trafficking is used to finance terrorist groups, but they are more often financed from numerous other sources, which does not make terrorism dependent on human trafficking. *The dependent relation* exists when one endangering phenomenon is in the causal relation with another endangering phenomenon. For instance, smuggling of people causes illegal residence of people on the territory of another state, human trafficking causes violations of a number of human rights; falsification of documents is in the function of illegal migrations, etc.

The *destructiveness* (harmfulness) of endangering phenomena has already been discussed. We will take another look at their intensity and duration, as well as the conditions/parameters that make them destructive. To be precise, an endangering phenomenon must have certain intensity in order for a harmful consequence to occur. For example, an earthquake can be weak and not cause any human or property losses. At the same time, destructiveness sometimes requires certain duration of the phenomena. For example, rain is beneficial for

agriculture and environment. However, if it rains for days, the consequences can be catastrophic. These parameters primarily refer to the phenomena of natural and/or technical and technological origin. On the other hand, the occurrence of a harmful consequence is not a condition of the existence of endangerment of human origin. For example, if at the moment of activation of an explosive device in a public place, there were no people present, and, thus, there were no human victims or material damage, in the criminal and legal sense, it is considered that the criminal act of terrorism was committed as if there had been casualties. The intensity and duration of the phenomena influence the degree of its destructivity, and not its existence. However, when contemporary weapons are involved, such as chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons, the intensity does not need to be proportionate to the probability of occurrence and destructiveness. Then, even small amounts and minimum intensity of action can cause mass and immense consequences.

(Im)measurability of endangering phenomena is the (im)possibility of objective assessment of their scope, content, and effects. This feature is not typical for every phenomenon and it can be complete, partial, and impossible. Complete measurability involves the existence of a methodology using which, on the basis of precisely determined and observable indicators, the scope, content, and effects of endangering phenomena can be assessed. For instance, a methodology has been developed for following the trends of some natural phenomena or technical and technological accidents, disclosed criminal acts, offences, economic offences, etc. However, the effects of many phenomena are quite difficult to perceive. For instance, it is almost impossible to completely perceive all the consequences of the economic blockade and military aggression over the FRY, the effects of a real state of crime, etc.

(Un)predictability is the (im)possibility of perceiving the development of the scope and content of specific aspects and forms of endangering security in future time and space dimension. In some situations, phenomena can be predicted, with a high degree of certainty of their occurrence. For instance, mechanisms have been developed for monitoring some natural phenomena such as hurricanes, earthquakes, and global warming. The endangering phenomena of human origin can be predicted to an extent, e.g. civil unrest of fans crowds during high-risk sports events and political rallies, armed aggression, armed insurrection, etc. However, the possibility of estimating and predicting the methods, instruments, and actions of individuals or criminal groups in the realization of their destructive operations is significantly limited. For example, even though the members of a criminal group, their criminal activities, and *modus operandi* are known, it is hard to predict the time and place of their committing a criminal act. Apart from that, the activities of the so-called irrational actors, such as terrorist groups,

religious sects, etc. cannot be easily predicted, because their goal is to act covertly until the occurrence of the harmful consequence.

One of the significant characteristics of the treatment of contemporary endangering phenomena is the *multiplicity of standards of their qualifying*. This is not about the properties of phenomena, but about the characteristic of the relation of society towards them. Namely, many individuals, and even collectives, mistakenly interpret and qualify an endangering phenomenon, due to their ignorance or incompetence, lack of knowledge on the facts necessary for their qualifying, or due to their intentional lack of objectivity. It is not a rare occasion to have the application of double standards in relation to identical phenomena. For example, some countries consider the Irish Republican Army (IRA) a terrorist organization and its activities terrorism; at the same time, they consider the Kosovo Liberation Army a movement for national freedom and their activities the fight for the rights of endangered, repressed, and disenfranchised Albanian national minority. In addition, there is the frequent identification of different endangering phenomena. For example, at the beginning of the third millennium, many people did not differentiate human trafficking from smuggling migrants and prostitution, even though the differences were obvious.

The listed characteristics show the *complexity* of contemporary endangering phenomena. The consequence of that is the difficulty in identifying the principles in their development which, at the same time, hampers the efforts of security systems in their prevention and suppression. Finally, one of significant features of many security phenomena is the *insufficient research* on them. It is also the consequence of the dynamics of contemporary security phenomena, which frequently change their phenomenological features.

Apart from the above listed, the following properties of most contemporary endangering phenomena can also be noticed:

- *Organization*, as the increasingly organized operations of several carriers of endangering. It is evident in the stages of the preparation of destructive activities, in their conducting, and after that, in order to exploit the generated consequences or for personal protection from revealing or sanctioning.
- *Large scale*. There is a noticeable trend according to which the large scale of endangering phenomena is inversely proportional to the degree of their destructivity: the largest-scale phenomena are the ones with lower degree of harmfulness, while the most destructive phenomena are, fortunately, the least large-scale. At the same time, the overall effects of phenomena that are larger-scale ones are not necessarily more destructive than the effects of the less large-scale phenomena (e.g. the ratio of harmful effects of property crime in a region in the world and an accident on a nuclear power plant).

- *Constant increase in the scope and content of endangering phenomena*, as well as the number of their carriers. It is a characteristic typical for the endangering phenomena of human origin, but also increasingly for natural and technical and technological endangering. Apart from that, there is a constant appearance of new forms of endangering (e.g. smuggling genetic or nuclear material, avian or swine flu, SARS, etc.), as well as the restitution of long-forgotten destructions (e.g. human trafficking).
- *Widespreadness*. There is no state or society that does not face some endangering of natural, social, or technical and technological nature. These phenomena are not equally geographically present. For example, in some Central Asian countries terrorism is a “daily” phenomenon, while, for example, in the countries of Central Europe, it is significantly less widespread.
- *Internationality*. The growing number of endangering phenomena is prepared in one and realized in another state; the carriers of endangering are individuals from several countries or from one country, but they operate on the territory of several countries; the values that are attacked are on the territory of a foreign country or they belong to another country or international organization, the consequences occur on the territory of several countries, etc. There are numerous natural and technical and technological phenomena that endanger the whole international regions. Globalization made security-destructive phenomena difficult to control, so for their successful overcoming it is necessary to internationalize the response to these phenomena.
- *Mobility*, which reflects in easy and quick spatial movement of carriers of endangering that have contemporary traffic and telecommunication means available. Thus, for example, an individual can, by using a computer, from his/her bedroom, transfer money from another person’s account in a foreign bank on his/her account in a bank of the third country and withdraw money on the same day in the fourth country. As the consequences of mobility, there are latency and dark figure of crime.
- *High profitability* of the unlawful obtaining of enormous assets. That is how organized crime became the informal centre of transnational financial power. Then, the main profiteers of globalization and “preventive and humanitarian” interventions of military powers are certain multinational corporations. There are many other evident financial malversations of heads of international organizations, etc.
- *The increase of destructivity*, i.e. increasing harmful consequences to the security of international community, states, societies, and individuals. For instance, targets of terrorist attacks in the 20th century were usually

individuals (representatives of state authorities) or groups (police, army, civilians), while nowadays they are mostly collectives (the attack on the World Trade Center, the terrorism of mass proportions in Kosovo and Metohija where the entire population and administration is attacked, etc.).

- *Violence*, closely related to destructiveness, refers primarily to increasingly brutal realization of endangering. It involves the rise in violent crimes (domestic violence, street violence, violence at work, but also some increasingly ferocious criminal acts such as robberies, mugging, sexual and political delicts, etc.) and more extensive use of violent methods in resolving social conflicts (rise in violence based on nationality, ethnicity, religion, or race, as well as the use of force in international relations).
- *Latency*, the secrecy of the operations of carriers of security endangering that leads to their “invisibility” and the creation of illusion that they do not exist.
- *Large dark figure* of crime that, as a consequence of latency, means that a large number of threatening phenomena remains unknown to security subjects. Some phenomena can be included in the field of dark figure without being latent. For example, the cases of domestic violence are often familiar to relatives, friends, and neighbours of the victim and there is no reaction of the formal social control bodies because no one has reported the violence.
- *Insufficient efficiency* of national and international informal and formal social reaction that occurs as a consequence of the listed characteristics, and others.

The abovementioned properties are significant from the aspect of security sciences. They do not exhaust the possibilities of defining other characteristics of contemporary endangering phenomena.

4. The Classification of Security Endangering Phenomena

On the basis of dominant etiological, phenomenological, and consequential properties, it is possible to classify endangering phenomena into certain aspects (groups). The justification of the classification is manifold and it reflects in: distancing endangering phenomena among themselves; more efficient identification and prediction of security endangerment; more successful identification of the cause and effect relations of some endangering phenomena; enabling the conception of strategies for confronting endangering phenomena, but in greater economy as well because one comprehensive strategy can resolve

a number of security issues of the same type; improving management in security systems and, first of all, organizational and functional specialization of subsystems and microsystems of security for resolving specific groups of security issues, etc.

Endangering phenomena can be classified on the basis of several criteria. Generally, according to the etiological dimension (origin), there are:

- endangering phenomena of natural origin;
- endangering phenomena of human origin;
- endangering phenomena of technical and technological origin, and
- endangering phenomena of combined origin.

The place of origin is closely connected with the etiology, so in that sense, the difference should be made between:

- endangering phenomena that originated inside the state;
- endangering phenomena that originated outside the state.

According to the object – target of threat, it is possible to differentiate:

- endangering the security of an individual;
- endangering the security of human collectives and societies;
- endangering national security;
- endangering international security;
- endangering global security, and
- phenomena of multiple (combined) endangering effect.

If the relation between the carrier and object of endangerment is taken as the criterion of classification, it is possible to divide them into:

- auto-destructive (self-endangering) phenomena, and
- destructive (endangering) phenomena.

According to the criterion of awareness and will of the carrier of endangering activities, both aspects of the mentioned phenomena can be manifested as:

- phenomena of unintentional (accidental, random) (auto-)destruction and
- phenomena of intentional (auto-)destruction that can also be:
- planned and
- unplanned (spontaneous, situational, affective).

Considering the mass usage of military weapons and material and technical instruments, it is possible to make a difference between:

- security endangering phenomena of military (armed) character and
- security endangering phenomena of non-military (unarmed) character.

According to the scope (extent) of the carrier and the object of a threat, it is possible to differentiate:

- phenomena of individual endangering and
- phenomena of mass (group, place, and collective) endangering.

According to the specificity of the object of endangering, i.e. the orientation of the destruction towards the target, it is possible to distinguish:

- phenomena of selective (oriented) endangering and
- phenomena of non-selective (random or collateral) endangering.

Considering the possibility of overcoming the resulting consequence, it is possible to make a difference among:

- endangering with reparable consequences;
- endangering with partially reparable consequences, and
- endangering with irreparable consequences.

According to the certainty of their occurrence, all endangering phenomena can be divided into:

- certain security endangering and
- potential security endangering.

According to their duration into:

- current (temporary) endangering and
- permanent (longitudinal, prolonged) security endangering.

According to their goal, all security endangering phenomena can be divided into:

- security endangering with an open (unambiguous, clear) goal;
- security endangering with a covert goal (simulated endangering), and according to the openness of their expression into:
- openly expressed security endangering and
- covert security endangering.

Considering the correlation between the intention of the carrier of endangering and the target – object of endangering, there are:

- direct endangering (the target of endangering is the ultimate goal of the carrier of endangering) and
- indirect endangering (attacking the target of endangering indirectly attacks another value, e.g. during a sabotage there is a direct attack on industrial facilities and indirectly on the state) and other divisions.

4.1. Security Challenges, Risks, and Threats

Even though it is just one of possible classifications coming from Anglo-Saxon security theory and practice, it has become quite common in our country replacing other, even the traditional divisions of endangering phenomena to armed and unarmed, external and internal ones. It is the classification to challenges, risks, and threats to security.

This typology has no practical justification unless it is defined in nomenclatural and precise manner by an official regulation of the national security system. Additionally, threats are graded *in accordance with the criteria of intensity of destructivity and certainty of occurrence*. Specifically:

- *security challenges* are the phenomena whose harmfulness and certainty of occurrence are real, but on the listed scale of phenomena, the least likely. Those are natural phenomena, social relations, and technical and technological processes the existence of which is destructive (on its own). It is within the limits of tolerant acceptability because it does not seriously endanger vital values, but it is likely that, in the future, it could produce (cause or contribute to) the security endangering phenomena with considerably significant and severe consequences. Those are the endangering phenomena with the highest degree of generality and the lowest intensity of direct destructivity.

In the security context, the term “challenge” is usually used when discussing a phenomenon or a process that does not have a direct negative influence, but it is a “warning” that there must be adequate preparation and reaction to that phenomenon or process, so that it would not lead to the creation of security risks and threats. A challenge does not need to have negative consequences, but it can be understood as an opportunity to timely influence certain phenomena, processes, and circumstances to make them move in the desired direction.

Since they represent the so-called *abstract danger*, these phenomena are, according to their nature, actually the *sources of endangering security*. Thus, there are frequent discussions on: demographic challenges, environmental challenges, poverty challenges, challenges of ethnic, religious, racial, and cultural identity, challenges of socio-economic and political transitions, globalization challenges, migration challenges, challenges of security sector reforms, traffic security challenges, etc. The fact that of all the listed levels of endangering phenomena they develop with the lowest velocity indicates that they are easier to be timely identified and prevented, i.e. controlled.

Security challenges cannot be eliminated by traditional instruments and they require systematic efforts of states, international community, and usually of individuals, as well, in order to be treated adequately, i.e. put under a certain level of control and predictability. Some of the greatest challenges of security are the growth of world population, poverty in the majority of the world, environmental problems, production, and proliferation of nuclear weapons, civilizational intolerance, etc. Thus, a security challenge will not cause a direct and immediate consequence to security at any level, but if a challenge gets neglected, there is a probability it would escalate in a series of security threats;

- *security risks* (Italian *risico* – danger, exposure to danger) are more specific security phenomena and their reality and certainty of occurrence is higher. It is a set of natural, social, and/or technical and technological factors, circumstances, processes, and relations which, independently or in the interaction, can, but do not need to lead to the processes and consequence

of endangering security. Those are endangering phenomena with a lower degree of generality and a higher level of destructivity than security challenges. Since they present a more specific danger, they can be described as a link, i.e. *metamorphosis of challenges into security threats*.

Risks include a significantly wider scope of security issues than the traditional threats, or even much more general concept of challenges. That is everything that is not a challenge or a threat to security. A risk involves situations of uncertainty and incertitude and it is connected with the likelihood of exposure to physical/material and psychological/immaterial damage and injury, as a special form of danger and hazard (exposure to danger) to an individual, collectives, and referent values. It is closely connected with dangers, exposure to dangers, likelihood, possibility, and coincidence on one side, and loss and damage (or gain) on the other. In the modern society, a risk is a multidimensional continuum, connected with the situations ranging from absolutely acceptable to the absolutely unacceptable ones.³⁸⁵ Therefore, every exposure to danger that carries a great likelihood of the occurrence of a consequence presents a risk. It differs from challenges by being more direct and by always creating either a specific danger or at least fear from danger.

The most widespread risks are considered to be the following: usage of obsolete and dirty industrial technology, unstable nuclear power plants, transportation of dangerous substances, porosity of state borders, appearance of new diseases and epidemic infections of people, plants, and animals, mass import and usage of outdated motor vehicles, economic and energetic dependence of a state, political organizing of extremely oriented opportunists of government policy and the support they get from other like-minded states, climate changes, imperfections of the mechanism of controlled trade of nuclear, chemical, and biological substances, etc.;

- *security threats* are specific phenomena the occurrence of which is the least uncertain and their harmful effects are undeniable and, on the scale of the observed phenomena, they are the highest. It is a wide range of phenomena which present the reality of contemporary everyday life, in which a specific carrier of endangering security attacks the values of specific object of endangering.

A threat is the most difficult to avoid and it represents the placement of the protected value in a situation when a harmful consequence will definitely occur and perform a negative influence on it. The most dangerous are, certainly, the threats that originate from the violence with the use of weapons, such as armed aggression, military intervention, terrorism, and organized crime.

³⁸⁵ Denney, D.: *Risk and Society*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, London–New Delhi, 2005, pp. 9–10.

Those are endangering phenomena of the lowest degree of generality and the highest degree of destructivity. Since they present the so-called *concrete danger* and they are characterized by special properties they are identified by *a security threat is actually a form of endangering security*.

In security theory and practice, specific endangering phenomena are usually marked by combining two or more listed criteria of classification. Hence, in operational usage, there are syntagmas: “internal non-military challenges”, “external military threats”, “security risks and threats”, “challenges of individual security”, etc.

4.2. The Agenda of Security Challenges, Risks, and Threats

The agenda of security challenges, risks and threats is a “list” of security endangering phenomena that are (potentially or really) directed to a specific referent object. In that sense, it is possible to distinguish: the agenda of challenges, risks, and threats to security of an individual, human security, social security, national security, international security, and global security. In addition to that, agendas of security challenges, risks, and threats can refer to specific governmental and non-governmental actors – institutions, state authorities, security services, geographical regions, social (ethnic, religious, professional, gender, etc.) groups, economic companies, private companies, associations of citizens, individuals, etc.³⁸⁶

The “list” of challenges, risks, and threats is comprised of the phenomena that endanger, or may endanger, certain values and interests of specific referent objects. They are generally classified according to two dominant criteria:

- according to the certainty of their occurrence, and
- according to the seriousness of the consequences they can produce.

However, criteria can be different (place of origin of the endangering phenomena in relation to the object of protection (external – internal); the carrier of the endangering phenomena (known – unknown; individual – collective; recidivist – beginner); possibility of resolving a security issue (possible to resolve, impossible to resolve without assistance, impossible to resolve); predictability of the occurrence of endangering security (predictable – unpredictable), etc.).

The agendas of security threats are dynamic, i.e. susceptible to changes. They usually depend on:

- a change of security reality, both within the object of protection and in its surroundings (e.g. the appearance of new security threats – expansion of

³⁸⁶ More in: Mijalković, S.; Bajagić, M.: *Pojmovno distanciranje bezbednosnih izazova, rizika i pretnji – prilog standardizaciji savremene terminologije i metodologije istraživanja bezbednosnih nauka, Suprotstavljanje savremenom organizovanom kriminalu i terorizmu III*, Kriminalističko-policijska akademija, Beograd, 2012, pp. 335–353.

cybercrime, a war in a neighbouring state, environmental disaster in the international region);

- changes of the agendas of national interests (e.g. the new government and the parliament have different perceptions of national needs and priorities), and
- changes of attitudes and choices of the creator of the agenda or the instructor of its creation (e.g. change of multidisciplinary team that creates the national security strategy).

Agendas are often made in a form of documents. They are usually presented in a form of a text and often include tables, graphs, diagrams, and cartographic or similar representations. Depending on who made them and the referent object they refer to, they can have different forms. If they refer to the security of non-governmental actors, they are usually made in the form of security assessment that is usually an integral part of a plan of the referent object security protection (e.g. the assessment of endangerment of a bank with a plan of protection of employees, property, and operations).

If they refer to the security of subjects that government bodies take care of, agendas are made in the form of security assessments (e.g. the assessment of the state of security at a public gathering or in the security sector of the police station) or reports on the security state (e.g. reports of directors of security and intelligence agencies of the Republic of Serbia on the state of national security), which are also compatible to specific plans of security protection (a plan for securing a public gathering, a plan of the work of a police station).

Rarely, when it is required by the reasons of special endangerment of a referent object of protection, the agenda of security threats will be made in the form of a (security, intelligence) study.

However, if it concerns the state security, then the agendas of security challenges, risks, and threats are comprised by: security services, in the form of security assessments and reports on the security state, and less frequently in the form of statistical reviews of trends, bulletins, or studies; specialized multidisciplinary bodies in the forms of national security strategies, adopted by the government and parliament of the state or an international expert group (bodies of international – intergovernmental and governmental organizations – e.g. a Special Envoy of the UN Secretary General, the International Crisis Group, etc.) in the form of a report or expertise. Finally, if it concerns the security of international community and security of humanity, the agendas of security challenges, risks, and threats are usually made by specialized bodies of international civil (the UN, OSCE, CEI, etc.) and military (NATO) organizations and by expert bodies of specialized international agencies, usually in the form of international assessments, reports, strategies, resolutions, declarations, and charters. It is not rare that these documents are actually named “the agenda”.

5. Dominant Phenomena of Endangering Security

The “repertoire” of endangering phenomena is quite dynamic. It used to be comprised mostly of the phenomena of natural origin such as fire, earthquake, flood, extreme cold or heat. Then, the greatest enemy to a human became another human who aspires to enslave them, take their land and property, wage wars, and kill. Finally, with the development of technics and technology, the purpose of which is the prosperity and improvement of the quality of life of a contemporary human, the malfunction of technical and technological systems appeared and they pollute the environment and make it impossible for life, cause diseases and deaths of people, plants, and animals, and destroy the property and lives of people in catastrophic accidents. Therefore, it is clear why the criterion of origin (natural, human, and technical and technological) is one of the most frequent in the classification of dominant phenomena of endangering security.

At the same time, humans are most afraid of wars and other suffering in the situations of mass use of weapons. Even though they often have similar consequences (e.g. apocalyptic earthquake and bombardment of urban areas), it cannot be said that people prefer them, but it can be said that they will more easily handle a natural disaster than a war. That conditioned distancing of phenomena of endangering security that are realized with the threat of use or mass use of conventional weapons or even mass destruction weapons. Therefore, they are called armed or military security threats.

Armed forms of endangering security are manifested as:

- armed aggression;
- armed intervention;
- armed pressures;
- armed rebellion, and
- civil war.

The first three phenomena of endangering security are directed against states or groups of states (regions, alliances) and they are primarily conducted by third states (individually or alliances). The last two phenomena of endangering security are directed against the opposing social group, constitutional order, and the state, and they occur inside the state (which does not exclude various kinds of foreign assistance to the opposed parties). All these phenomena are, of course, of human origin.

The phenomena of endangering security that are not characterized by mass usage of weapons nor the threat of using them are called unarmed, i.e. non-military endangering security. Even though some of them are conducted with weapons, such usage is not mass and not directed against the entire or majority of population. These phenomena of endangering security can have the mentioned

natural, technical and technological, and human origin. Generally, they can occur inside a state (internal endangering), they can come from outside the state (external endangering) or they can occur in a combined manner.

Generally, among the endangering phenomena of natural origin, there is the dominance of:³⁸⁷

- *seismologic* dangers, which are the consequences of direct changes of the structure of the Earth's crust and soil (earthquakes, landslides);
- *atmospheric* – meteorological disasters (hurricane gusts, hail, intensive electrical discharges, extremely high amount of precipitation, heavy fog, strong inversions, ice);
- *hydrospheric* disasters (floods);
- *biospheric* disasters (epidemics, epizooties, droughts), and
- *dangers from space* (cosmic radiation, a meteor fall, or a danger from the impact of the Planet with an asteroid).

The phenomena of endangering security of human origin are the most numerous and it is almost impossible to list all of them. However, the following can be distinguished as dominant:

- *main aspects and forms of crime*, i.e. criminal acts, specifically :
 - *Classic crime* (property, violence, etc.);
 - *Economic and financial crime* (unauthorized trade, smuggling, tax evasion, money laundering, abuse of public procurement procedure and of privatization of public companies, corruption, etc.)
 - *Political crime* (terrorism, espionage, diversion, sabotage, etc.)
 - *Environmental crime* (illegal storage of waste and hazardous waste, environment pollution, smuggling rare plant and animal species, etc.)
 - *Traffic crime* (endangering public traffic, endangering security of air traffic, not providing assistance to a person injured in a traffic accident, etc.)
 - *cybercrime* (unauthorized entering someone else's information system, data theft, computer fraud, computer vandalism, computer sabotage, etc.), and
 - *organized crime*, which represents the organized approach in the performance of all the listed aspects of crime (apart from the political crime);
- *Different aspects and forms of offences* (against: public order and peace, traffic security, financial operations, environment, etc.)
- *Different aspects and forms of economic offences* (in the field of: foreign exchange operations, foreign trade operations, customs operations, etc.);
- *certain aspect of coercion* in international relations:
- *Political pressures* (interfering in the internal matters of states, political

³⁸⁷ Jakovljević, V., Đarmati, Š.: *op. cit.*, pp. 59–94.

conditioning, excluding a state from international organizations, “precedent policy”, “carrot and stick” policy, etc.);

- *Destructive propaganda* (lobbying, spinning, etc.)
- Economic coercion measures (boycott, sanctions, economic blockage), etc.

Finally, the phenomena of endangering security of technical and technological origin can be manifested as:³⁸⁸

- *technical and technological dangers accompanied with ionizing radiation and sources of radiation of natural and artificial origin;*
- *chemical contamination of water, air, and soil;*
- *disasters in chemical industry;*
- *improper disposal of solid waste;*
- *fire;*
- *traffic accidents, and*
- *mining accidents.*

The phenomenology of endangering security is very dynamic and often quite different in relation to the dimension of time and space. However, in contemporary security studies, there is a consensus that nowadays there is the dominance of:

- *Political threats* (internal instability, “unsuccessful states”, terrorism, violation of human rights, etc.);
- *Economic threats* (poverty, the increasing gap between the poor and the rich, international financial recession, influence of informal centres of financial power, piracy, etc.);
- *Man-created environmental threats* (nuclear disasters, planetary environmental problems, degradation of soil and water, lack of food and other natural resources, etc.), and
- *Social threats* (conflict of minority and majority, overpopulation, organized crime, illegal migrations, infectious diseases and contagions, etc.).³⁸⁹

Finally, it is realistic to expect that the further development of human society, technological development, and climate changes will contribute to the appearance of new forms of endangering security.

388 Jakovljević, V., Đarmati, Š.: *op. cit.*, pp. 95–135; Hough, P.: *op. cit.*, pp. 211–227.

389 *Parliamentary Oversight of the Security Sector – Principles, mechanisms and practices*, p. 16.

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- aspect of endangering security 77, 212, 242
 autonomy 30, 149, 153–154, 242
 balance of powers 33, 155, 167, 242
 carriers of endangering 87, 124–216, 218, 221–222, 243
 collective defence 98, 167–169, 172, 182–183, 185, 243
 collective security 14, 135, 155, 168–172, 174, 182–185, 243
 consequences of endangering 87, 214, 243
 cooperative security 141, 172, 174, 177, 182–187, 243
 Copenhagen School 5, 21, 38, 40–41, 44, 145, 243
 emancipation 39, 40, 100, 142, 233, 243
 endangering security 14, 22, 66, 76–77, 79, 80, 87, 92, 94, 111, 121, 135, 203, 205–216, 220, 226–228, 230–232, 242, 243
 feminism 50, 243
 form of endangering security 87, 212, 228, 243
 freedom 13, 22, 95–101, 105, 114, 122–125, 132–134, 136, 138, 139, 141, 147, 148, 153, 171, 208, 221, 243
 global security 27, 36, 55, 63, 65, 68, 87, 105, 109, 114, 127, 130, 139, 163, 187, 188, 190–192, 224, 228, 243
 human rights 16, 40, 41, 56, 103, 133–137, 139, 140–142, 147, 157, 159, 161–162, 170, 182, 189, 197, 198, 200, 201, 219, 232, 243
 human security 39, 81, 87, 103, 126, 132, 134–139, 141–145, 157, 192, 201, 228, 240, 243
 identity 25, 44, 45, 51–52, 55, 63, 64–66, 71, 75, 87, 97, 103–104, 123, 125, 132, 139, 142, 145–152, 161–162, 173, 175–176, 181, 183, 186, 188, 226, 239, 243
 interest 16, 18, 29, 30, 35, 44, 49, 72, 75, 86, 106–107, 111, 121, 132, 148, 150, 161, 165, 169, 170, 172, 175, 180, 182, 192, 199, 243
 international security 20, 24–25, 64, 84, 87, 110, 122–123, 142, 150, 158, 163, 164–165, 167, 168, 170, 172, 177, 179–181, 187, 192–193, 215, 224, 228, 243
 Liberalism 5, 28, 29, 34, 37, 243
 national security 9, 17, 22, 25, 45, 46, 57, 59, 63, 64, 65, 83, 87, 98, 107, 117, 119, 125, 130–135, 145, 150, 152–164, 168, 170, 172–173, 180, 185, 187, 189, 196, 213, 218, 224–225, 228–229, 243
 non-governmental organizations 83–85, 193, 198, 201, 243
 nuclear weapons 16, 17, 22, 53, 179, 191, 220, 226, 243
 object of endangering 87, 208, 213–214, 224–225, 227, 243
 organization of security 243
 peace 12–14, 16, 35–37, 48, 50, 95–96, 98–99, 101, 104–105, 117, 120, 122–123, 125, 137, 140, 155, 157, 161–162, 165, 167, 168–169, 170–175, 181, 185, 187, 196, 231, 234, 243
 postmodernism 51, 243
 private security 49, 117, 193–194, 196, 198, 243
 Realism 5, 28, 29, 30–33, 240, 241, 243
 referent values 12, 21, 64, 87, 91, 93, 94, 98, 100–102, 109–113, 115, 119, 120, 127–128, 132, 203, 207, 208, 227, 243
 safety 19, 64, 94–97, 101, 108, 123–124, 132, 137–138, 157, 197, 243
 security 9–25, 27–77, 79–89, 91–105, 107–139, 141–201, 203–233, 236, 239, 240, 243
 security challenges, risks, and threats 23, 228–229, 243
 security community 174–177, 185, 243
 security complex 21, 40, 41, 45–46, 180, 243
 security concept 28, 39, 45, 91, 93, 113, 121, 123, 127–130, 136, 141–145, 152–154, 157, 173, 183, 243
 security culture 14, 57, 59, 60–64, 66, 68, 76, 81, 89, 101, 105, 114, 135, 191–192, 243
 security dilemma 13, 29, 34–35, 92, 149, 155, 165–167, 174, 178–179, 180, 182, 188, 243
 security function 27, 58, 87, 112–118, 120, 122, 134–135, 198, 243
 security of an individual 14, 130–135, 145, 204, 224, 228, 243
 security phenomenon 76–77, 84, 108, 110, 243
 security policy 117, 152, 160, 162, 243
 security regime 177, 179, 243
 security state 60, 68, 77, 80, 87, 100, 110, 113, 118–119, 121, 217, 229, 243
 security system 22–24, 27, 57, 59, 64, 67–68, 74, 83–84, 87, 89, 98, 108, 111, 118–120, 135, 156, 169, 180, 184, 207, 216–218, 225, 243
 security theory 14–15, 18, 24, 27, 66, 68–69, 81, 87–88, 110, 127, 206, 225, 228, 243
 Social Constructivism 5, 47, 243
 societal security 87, 145–152, 187, 243
 sources of endangering 87, 209–210, 226, 243
 stability 53–54, 64, 98, 100, 104–105, 117, 139, 161, 165–166, 168, 172, 183, 185, 187, 243
 terrorism 10, 19, 23, 54, 88, 99, 105, 138, 148, 161, 188–189, 190, 192, 205, 207, 212, 216, 218, 219, 220, 221–223, 227, 231–232, 243
 Welsh School 5, 38–39, 40, 47, 100, 142–243
 world government 173, 243

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