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THE COMPLEXITY OF SECURITY PERCEPTION

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Abstract

The contemporary international security environment can be described as a rapid and fundamentally changing environment, which is subject to unpredictable changes with global dimensions. The consequences of globalization processes and their responses have further on increased its coherence, complexity and uncertainty. Due to the emergence of various forms of rivalry between large and regional powers, its multipolar character is globally strengthened. In the modern security paradigm, the synergistic links between many risks and threats, which can grow from completely non-hazardous and locally isolated and irreconcilable to purely realistic, are not negligible, mainly due to their abundance and general globalization trends. As a rule, their bearers are non-state actors, however they are complex in nature, often difficult to predict and can have multiple characters and effects.

In such an interdependent, complex and conflicting international environment, today, no country can guarantee its national security on its own. Multinational partnerships, regional cooperation, response within the international rules-based and multilateralism system are one of the key factors in responding to the challenges of globalized security.

The EU is also contributing its share of approaches to global challenges through its global strategy. In addition to its traditional soft power, it highlights other priorities in terms of policies and instruments.

Keywords: Globalizing Security, Contemporary Security Paradigm, Multilateralism, European Union.

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Globalization and Security

Globalization, or the global system, is a set of changes in society, politics, and the economic system that result from widespread trade and cultural exchanges globally. In this process, which is embracing more and more parts of the world, integration and connection between these parts of the world, or between people, resources, goods and services, are increasing. Lechner (2009: 15–16) states that globalization is «a process in which more and more people connect in a wide variety of ways over long distances. It refers to transplanetary and, more recently, super-territorial connections between people, which includes reducing borders to trans-world social contacts. «

From a temporal dimension, globalization can be defined as a historical process, which is result of conscious political and economic decisions of nation-states, but on the other, the result of knowledge, scientific and technological progress and human innovation, which have led to increasing interconnectedness and dependency of nation-states at transnational, supranational or global level. Globalization also affects the individual or the individual level, the local community, the state or the national level as well as the regional level (Frost, 2002: 39-41).

In addition to the spatial dimension, globalization has a content dimension as it is reflected in more and more different fields. In addition to economics, Beck (2003: 37) also mentions the political, financial, communication-technical, scientific-technological, social, health, educational, ecological, organizational, cultural, civil society, security, etc. dimensions of globalization.

According to Leander (2001), the greatest impact of the globalization processes on security is reflected in the changing conditions for securing state monopoly in the legitimate use of force. These revised conditions are aimed at reducing the ability of existing political processes to effectively address political challenges, which significantly affect the legitimacy of political power. The second aspect is the rise of international institutions and organizations to which the state delegates part of its sovereignty, resulting in a decrease in the country's ability to maintain and exercise its legitimate powers over the use of force. In this sense, especially from the perspective of the state, we can talk about the asymmetry of sources of threat or the asymmetry of the use of force, where factors and actors at different organizational levels and institutional forms are confronted. Through the channels of global trade, transport, technology and communication, even if one has a minimal use of force, every actor can seriously jeopardize the national interests and goals of a still powerful country (Kay, 2006: 8).

The need for cooperation, collective action and for responding to the security challenges of the contemporary environment stems from an increasing awareness of global challenges such as interdependence, the key factors at the local level becoming more interregional and intercontinental, connectivity and relationships between different actors within and between countries has significantly increased. As well as that the processes of globalization reflect the relativization of the importance of countries compared to other actors in the community (Kay, 2006: 2).

All the above facts represent a security challenge for nation states based on both cosmopolitanism (Worthington, 2001: 4), which mentions the international community as a key factor in maintaining peace and security after the end of the Cold War and greater interconnectivity, such as the creation of global institutions and common values, as well as anti-cosmopolitanism (Worthington, 2001: 6), which sees globalization processes as a threat to the nation-state, identity, political sovereignty and national economic interests. Instead of opposing global forces and processes in terms of their direction and control, the solution sees a return to national borders.

The synergy of the consequences of globalization processes, the green transformation, the information revolution, digitization and modern sources of threat and risk has led to the fact that security in the modern world has evolved into a process of institutionalizing international security.

Today, the modern international security environment can be described as a rapid and fundamentally changing environment, subject to unpredictable changes that have a global dimension. The consequences of globalization processes and their responses have further increased its coherence, complexity and uncertainty.

The appearance of new and resurgent old-world power centers, and the consequent emergence of various forms of rivalry between major and regional powers, reinforces its multipolar character at the geopolitical and geostrategic level, causing long-term changes in the balance of economic and military forces.

The challenges of contemporary security and the accompanying variety of modern sources of fire and security risks are complex, often difficult to predict and often have a multiplicative character and impact. Due to their complexity and appearance, it is difficult to distinguish them into global, transnational and national ones. Steele (2002, IV) therefore characterizes them as an asymmetric threat.

Multipolarity and a wide range of threats, risks, and threats, with the increasingly prominent role of non-state actors, have an important role in challenges. Furthermore, the changing international security environment, especially at the global level, will continue to be significantly affected by climate change and environmental degradation, the limited nature, renewable and other strategic sources, existential and institutional crises, unfavorable global economic, financial, demographic, health and social movements, international terrorism and crime, the existence of crisis hot spots, and the emergence by nature of new conflicts related to rapid technological advances and the various effects of globalization processes.

All this diversity of processes and the accompanying effects, including the security risks posed by sudden changes in society, as well as new opportunities and challenges, have triggered a number of irresistible processes within existing national security systems in the wake of the new, modern security paradigm, changing the role of the state in ensuring the safety of its citizens or residents (Garb, 2014: 88).

A modern national security system capable of responding to security challenges is becoming an increasingly crucial element in ensuring the conditions and capabilities of political, economic, scientific, technological, etc. development with a common goal, to become a highly developed society. In this way, a complex interaction is established between the national security system of the country and its surroundings, which guarantees the system its legitimacy and existence. As a rule, countries cannot solve contemporary complex and multifaceted challenges other than in close cooperation with the rest of the international community. This implies that the security issue is being internationalized and, a view of the possible consequences of not properly addressing the security issue, is also being globalized.

Each country, with its national security system, responds differently to the challenges of the modern security environment, taking into account its national strategic and, last but not least, life interests. However, each country, individually, is aware that it does not have the strength and resources to tackle these challenges on its own, so multinational partnerships, interregional cooperation and actions under the existing international rules-based and multilateralism-based international system are crucial.

Challenges of how to handle global pressures and local dynamics, how to deal with super-powers as well as with increasingly fractured identities, encourages the EU to upgrade its geopolitical approach of

»soft power« with policies and instruments which will provide them a more appropriate and more autonomous approach to respond at a strategic level.

Instability and insecurity across the EU, the existential and institutional crisis inside and outside the EU, the political crisis and internal disagreements and BREXIT are key factors facing the EU, which represent the necessity to redefine the way in which the EU is established in order to promote, and ensure common principles, values, objectives, and interests.

In order to take a comprehensive approach and address the challenges it faces, in 2016 the EU adopted a Global Strategy for EU's Foreign and Security Policy (EUGS, 2016). It details shared interests, principles, and priorities, which are fundamental guidelines for a holistic approach to fulfilling the challenges of the modern world. Within priorities, special mention should be made of The Security of EU, State and Societal Resilience to EU's East and South, An Integrated Approach to Conflicts and Crises, Cooperative Regional Orders and Global Governance for the 21st Century.

Aware of its weaknesses in the face of contemporary challenges, the EU is even more actively calling for a coherent and coordinated investment in a credible, responsive and joined-up Union.

In today's increasingly globalised world, Contemporary threats and those that threaten security are multiple dimensioned and increasingly transnational in significance. Pursuit of a multi-phased approach, acting at all stages of the threat cycle, and implementing a multi-dimensional approach through the use of all available policies and instruments aimed at threat prevention, management and resolution, is essential for human security through an integrated approach.

Globalizing Security

There are more and more threatening phenomena in today's security environment, and their interconnectivity, multiplied effects and transnationality are increasing. Steele (2002) calls such a non-traditional, modern conception of security threats² a new paradigm of threat. So far, so-called the old paradigm of threat, based on the concept of threat from the superpower, its allies, the size of conventional forces

²People see and perceive threats differently, depending on where they are and what their individual situation is. In addition to the spatial-geographical dimension, the time dimension plays an important role as well.

and the importance of the role of nuclear weapons, was replaced by the new threat paradigm, which primarily exposes modern sources of threat, following the collapse of the bipolar system in the early 1990s and consequently, new forms of risk to existing national security systems.

Changes in the concept of security are the results of changed (new, modern) sources of threat, as well as of new actors in security, and the changes were equally influenced by the perception of actual sources of threat. Security concerns have always been determined by three key theoretical approaches: realism, liberalism and constructivism. Especially on the basis of the last two theoretical assumptions, security began to be considered in a broader social context, and at the same time non-state social entities were included as reference objects. The aforementioned expansion and development of security considerations are one of the essential steps in the study of current social changes, attitudes and processes.

Modern security discussions follow a changed security environment that also affects changes to security reference beneficiaries. Instead of the state, individuals, society, ecosystems, critical infrastructure, etc., so-called Non-State actors are becoming more urgent, but given the near-precise number of modern sources of threats, it would be completely unacceptable and misleading to press on backgrounds and other reference items in terms of security, treating them as the only and most important. Therefore, modern security approaches place human security at the forefront, where the subject of reference is primarily the individual, whose primary goal is security, protection, prosperity, and the values protected by human security are personal security and freedom (Bajpai, 2000: 38-39).

Thus, in the last decades, there have been two approaches to defining security. In the traditional concept of security, interests, needs, rights of individuals and social groups are subordinated to the interests of the state, and contemporary professional discussions on security follow the changed security environment, which also influences changes in reference security facilities. Instead of the state, individuals, society, environment, critical infrastructure, etc., so-called Non-State actors are becoming increasingly necessary, but given the near-precise number of modern threat sources, it would be totally unacceptable and wrong to put pressure on background countries and other reference capabilities from a security perspective which we understand to be the only one and most important. Therefore, the contemporary security debate is focused on, or based primarily on, reference beneficiaries, sources of threats, and

security mechanisms to ensure security, or what sort of instruments are available to achieve security.

A large number of reference beneficiaries may lead us to conclude that in modern security studies we cannot speak of a consensus as to who the reference beneficiaries are, as there is too much interplay and interdependence between them, and we cannot identify the sources of threat to a specific reference beneficiary alone. In addition, it should be borne in mind that reference beneficiary may not only be an endangered beneficiary but may also be potential sources of threat to other reference beneficiaries. So, we can conclude that this period is marked by an increase in the number of non-military sources of threat and at the same time an increase in the number of reference beneficiaries that are potentially at risk. As we follow this analogy, new understandings of security and its threats will only be possible in the future to emerge from an increase in the number of reference beneficiaries and not so much from sources of threat, whether real or perceived (Garb, 2014: 93).

The imperative of central discussions on security issues is no longer the military source of threat to nation-states, but the security challenges from environments that were marginalized by the time, mainly due to political and economic preoccupation with ensuring a strategic balance between conflicting systems, have come to the fore. Current and future security risks and threats to modern security are relatively difficult to identify and encompass a wide range of threats (social, economic, ethnic, environmental, military, etc).

The set of security risks and threats is constantly changing, both structurally and in terms of intensity of occurrence, with their abundance increasing. Their interdependence and the synergistic effects of seemingly unrelated security risks and threats are also negligible. At the same time, modern sources of threat are not only appearing objectively but even in the most developed countries, there is even a process of the committed search for "new sources of threat", which should legitimize the maintenance of the current range of defense systems or at least prevent a significant rationalization of existing military capabilities. Multidimensionality, interconnectivity, and transnationality of threats can, therefore, be termed as the common term, the complexity of security threats.

The impact of globalization, digitization, and universalization also has an impact on changing priorities in delivering security concerns. It is increasingly evident that the well-established state-centered position, understanding of security threats and the response of the military to

them can no longer meet the security needs of modern society. In the modern security paradigm, we can see a double deviation from the national security perspective, we face transnational security, and on the other hand, there is an increasing tendency to provide individual (human) security or a deviation toward the concepts of ensuring the security of the individual. Thus, security is becoming a fundamental civil right requiring the synthesis of a wide range of national and social policies, thereby overriding the fundamental function of the national security system in the field of protection against external and internal threats.

The modern concept of conception of security requires the establishment of a modern security policy that takes into account modern sources of security threats. The definition of security in modern society means security, which aims to become global in the process of globalization, and will be based on an overall effort to live together. To say that security is already global would mean that the whole world community understands and perceives the concept of security in a unified way and, of course, under the same conditions. This would mean that all inhabitants³, regardless of their temporal and spatial dimension, perceive the same sources of threat, evaluate them uniquely in terms of risk, and at the same time also uniformly oppose their functioning. A key challenge of a shared risk society stems from the fact that global society is created by the perception of individuals and civil society institutions that we live in a common social space with other people around us.

In support to the fact that the process of globalization of security is undoubtedly underway, based on events, which are local in nature but affect the wider social community⁴ or the wider social community

³What is perceived and regarded as an extraordinary security challenge in some societies can be understood as interfering with their internal affairs, pursuing intervention policies and directly threatening their national interests in other societies and cultures.

⁴The most high-profile events of the last decade:

- Crisis and instability in the region of the Middle East and Arabian Peninsula Fertile Crescent.
- »Arab Spring« caused a series of anti-government protests, uprisings, and armed rebellions that spread across much of the Arab world in the early 2010s.
- Instability and local clashes in the region of Northern Africa and Sahel as a result of political, economic and environmental risk factors.
- Disputes in the South China Sea region.
- Disagreements and frictions in the region of the Indian Subcontinent.
- Mass migration towards Europe as a result of various factors.
- Hybrid and Cyber Threats, Terrorism, Violence and Extremism.
- Difficulties in controlling the outbreak of infectious diseases such as SARS-02, A(H1N1)-09, EBOLA-14 and COVID-19.
- Climate change including devastating environmental phenomena.

indirectly involved in local security issues for the sake of subjective or other interests, including strategic.

All this has led to the emergence of the term of global or world security in professional circles, primarily at a conceptual level, based on the increasing interdependence of various actors in the international community. Nowadays, all debate about global security is premature because of the differing views of the broader professional public on the definition as well as essential security issues, such as common global values related to security, implications of modern sources of threat, and the relationships and relationships between different emerging actors, in the security field.

Bearing in mind that globalization processes, including the security dimension, represent and form a network of interdependence across intercontinental distances, I join the views of various authors on the inadequacy of the term international security in meeting the challenges of the contemporary environment. Thus, it is better to use the term globalizing security or global security, but the latter exclusively at the conceptual level. To further substantiate my thinking, I should add the fact that globalization, universalization and the information revolution, and consequently the high degree of interdependence with the accompanying processes, also bring all the risks, or increase their impact on the level of security and consequently on the price demanded by it.

Therefore, the greater are the effects and consequences of globalization processes, the greater are the variety and impact of modern security risks and threats on the security of various reference facilities. However, the synergic connections between them, which can grow from completely non-hazardous and locally isolated and irreconcilable ones into purely realistic ones, are not negligible, mainly due to their abundance and general globalization trends. From this I can conclude that globalization and security are interdependent and cross-proportional. In other words, the higher the risk and threat, the higher the price of the security, which means that not only financially but also geo-strategically, security is increasingly globalized and becoming globalizing security.

Conclusion

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- Anthropogenic damage and Natural disasters such as floods, devastating fire, hurricanes, tornadoes, volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, tsunamis, storms, and other geologic processes.

Globalization, universalisation, green transformation and the information revolution in connection with digitalisation and, consequently, a high degree of interdependence with the accompanying processes bring with them all the risks or increase their influence on the level of security and also on the price demanded by it. Therefore, the greater the effects and consequences of globalization processes, the greater the variety and impact of contemporary security risks and threats on the security of various reference facilities. Synergistic links between them, which, due to their abundance and general globalization trends, can turn from completely non-dangerous and locally isolated and irreconcilable into completely realistic are not negligible. It follows that globalization and security are interdependent and mutually proportional or, in other words, the higher the risk and threat, the higher is the price of security, which means that security, not only in financial but also in geostrategic sense, is increasingly globalized and becoming globalizing security.

The need for cooperation and collective action and for responding to the security challenges of the contemporary environment thus arises from an increasing awareness of global challenges such as interdependence, interconnectedness, interregionalism and intercontinental political, social and economic factors, increasing connectivity and relationships between different actors within the country and between countries and, last but not least, globalization processes that reflect the relativization of the importance of countries in comparison to other actors in the international and transnational community.

The diversity of processes in the contemporary international environment and the accompanying effects, including the security risks posed by abrupt changes in society, as well as new opportunities and challenges, have triggered many irresistible processes within existing national security systems in the wake of the new, modern security paradigm, which change the role of the state in ensuring the security of its citizens or residents. Consequently, today's notion of security, which has begun to be considered in a broader social context, and has at the same time been considered Non-State social entities as reference beneficiaries, must be understood and examined as multifaceted and comprehensive.

As already stated, changes in the concept of security are mainly the result of changed (new, modern) sources of threat, as well as of new actors in security, and changes were equally influenced by the perception of actual sources of threat.

The imperative of central debates on security issues is no longer the military source of threat to nation-states, but the security challenges of environments that were marginalized by the time, mainly due to political and economic preoccupation with ensuring a strategic balance between conflicting systems, have come to the fore. The fundamental feature of contemporary security threats and risks is, in essence, their non-military character, which means that traditional national interests do not endanger the way in which the country could respond with existing military force. At the same time, these are complex and multifaceted challenges that, as a rule, cannot be addressed by countries other than in close cooperation with the rest of the international community. It follows that the security issue is internationalized and globalized, given the possible consequences of failing to properly address the security issue.

Based on current trends, we can assume that globalization will continue to prevail in the future, characterized by chronic financial dispersion, greater economic inequality and backwardness, lack of identity and loss of values, political instability and cultural alienation that will foster extreme movements and the general violence that often accompanies them. In close connection with it, the trend of globalization of security challenges in various fields will continue, on which the price of security will depend.

In addition to multipolarity and a wide range of threats, risks and threats, with the increasingly prominent role of non-state actors, the changing international security environment, especially at the global level, will continue to be critically affected by climate change and environmental degradation, limited natural, renewable and other strategic sources, existential crises, adverse global economic, financial, demographic, health and social movements, international terrorism and crime, the existence of crisis hotspots and the emergence in the form and nature of new conflicts related to rapid technological advances and the various effects of globalization processes.

In such an interdependent, complex and conflicting international environment, considering only its own sources of livelihood, today, no country can guarantee its national security on its own. Multinational partnerships, regional co-operation and response within the international rules-based and multilateralism system are one of the key factors in responding to the challenges of globalized security.

The EU is also contributing its share of approaches to global challenges through its global strategy, which in addition to its traditional soft power

highlights other priorities in terms of policies and instruments. Dynamics, vitality and sovereignty of efficiency, however, are factors for establishing strategic autonomy of it, to respond to the contemporary challenges and return the EU as one of the key players at the geopolitical and geostrategic level.

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