DYNAMICS OF SECURITIZATION IN SECURITY POLICY MAKING: A STUDY ON THE ROLE OF GLOBAL ADVOCACY NETWORKS

BENAZZOUZ ABDERRAHMANE
Academic Rank: Lecturer
University of Constantine 3, Algeria
E-mail :abderrahmane.benazzouz@univ-constantine3.dz

Abstract

Securitization theory has contributed to a paradigm shift in international security studies by framing security as a perceptual concept and offering a renewed understanding of the traditional relationship between threat and reality as influenced by acts of speech. This theory is credited to the Copenhagen School, which emerged from the collective research agenda of several scholars at the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute in Denmark, particularly the works of Jaap de Wilde, Barry Buzan, and Ole Wæver. Their collective efforts culminated in the 1998 publication of Security: A New Framework for Analysis, in which they posed critical questions regarding how security functions in global politics and how it derives meaning through intersubjective processes that seek to incorporate a wide range of neglected or marginalized concerns. Their collective efforts culminated in the 1998 publication of security named A New Framework for Analysis, where they posed critical questions regarding how security functions in global politics and how it derives meaning through intersubjective processes that seek to incorporate a wide range of neglected or marginalized concerns. These pressing issues, such as environmental change, poverty, and human rights, have increasingly influenced the international security agenda. This study aims to explore the construction of security policies and the formulation of priority issue agendas by employing the logic of security as a speech act that targets the perceptions of individuals and decision-makers regarding challenges, thereby designating them as urgent matters. Additionally, it seeks to highlight the involvement of global advocacy networks in shaping global security policies and articulating common human interests, given their role as mediators between grassroots movements and decision-making circles.

Keywords: securitization, global advocacy networks, act of speech, threat perception, agenda formulation

INTRODUCTION:

Public policy reflects a space for continuous interaction between actors wielding decision-making power and those advocating for changes in public policies and their prioritization. Establishing foundations of stability and security perceptions in their broadest sense is central to public policy objectives. The issue of security threats requires prioritization over other issues, granting decision-makers the authority to claim their right to address these threats using extraordinary means. This is often justified under the pretext that an urgent existential threat enables securitizing decision-makers to circumvent standard, typically binding procedures and rules. As described by the Copenhagen School, this dynamic includes the public, which plays a crucial role. Influenced by securitizing discourses, the public becomes convinced that specific issues threaten shared values. This perception, in turn, grants decision-makers the latitude to adopt legal and illegal measures to resolve these issues, aligning them with the state's internal priorities and commitments to achieving sustainable security governance programs.

Conversely, the effort to safeguard security in its various dimensions has transcended national borders, evolving into a global concern that necessitates cooperative responses from multiple actors. This transformation has facilitated the involvement of various non-state or informal actors in shaping the priorities of the global security policy agenda, particularly with the emergence of

new security threats capable of transcending national boundaries and evading state control, such as terrorism, organized crime, pollution, and epidemics.

This study encompasses three main axes:

1.   **Securitization: A Cognitive Approach**
2.   **The Dynamics of Securitization in Security Policy Making: Between Discursive Securitization and Institutional Securitization**
3.   **The Role of Global Advocacy Networks in Global Security Policy-Making**

Problem Statement: This study seeks to address the question: How does securitization contribute to prioritizing the security policy agenda of states?

First Axis: Securitization: A Cognitive Approach

Securitization is understood as a concept involving a linguistic speech act that targets the perceptions of individuals and decision-makers regarding the challenges posed by emerging security threats. This act amplifies the risks associated with these threats, categorizing them as urgent issues and rendering human security a vital concern. The development of this theory is attributed to the Copenhagen School, which emerged from a collective research agenda at the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute, primarily associated with the works of Jaap de Wilde, Barry Buzan, and Ole Wæver. Their 1998 publication, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*, posed critical questions about the functioning of security in global politics and the meanings derived through intersubjective processes encompassing a wide array of neglected or marginalized concerns, including pressing issues such as environmental change, poverty, and human rights.

Building on Ole Wæver's contributions in his article "Securitization and Desecuritization," securitization is characterized as a "discursive process" whereby an issue emerges as an existential threat, necessitating emergency measures and justifying actions beyond the normal boundaries of political processes. This process allows an actor to declare a specific issue, dynamic, or actor as a 'present threat' to a reference point. If accepted by the relevant audiences, this declaration facilitates the suspension of typical policies and the implementation of emergency measures to address the perceived crisis, elevating the security threat above other concerns.

While the emergence of securitization is typically framed within a European context, its application has often been restricted to this region. This limitation is evident in the works of Jean Jahn and Ole Wæver, which focus on European security dynamics. Scholars like Barry Buzan have noted that much of the Copenhagen School's analysis has benefitted from the European security landscape, reinforcing its Eurocentric perspective. In this regard, Wilkinson raises a significant question: Can the securitization theory be effectively applied outside the European context? He argues that applying the concept of securitization, as initially framed in the security discourse, may be challenging in regions with differing Westphalian understandings of state and society.

However, integrating key themes and assumptions within the concept of securitization involves three central elements:

•   **Central Audience:** The audience must be convinced that the situation is dire and requires an urgent approach that transcends the normal boundaries of political processes.

•   **Interdependence among Agency, Context, and Institutional Mechanisms:** This relationship is underscored by a threat and a person or entity being threatened.

•   **Tools and Practices:** These facilitate the activation of the logic of security and enable the application of securitization as an analytical framework for understanding security discourse and its role in state policymaking.

Moreover, identifying the nature of threats that embody security issues, the target audience and the actor responsible for securitizing these issues is crucial. The actor must possess the means necessary to deploy emergency measures outside of standard policy responses, particularly in the face of urgent global challenges such as organized crime networks and threats to human security, which manifest in the daily lives of individuals. These issues can be securitized according to a specific logic that transcends mere rhetorical methods or discursive practices, encompassing both empirical securitizing practices and operational securitization in action.

Second Axis: The Dynamics of Securitization in Security Policy Making: Between Discursive Securitization and Institutional Securitization

For the Copenhagen School, security threats take precedence over other issues, granting decision-makers the authority to address these concerns through extraordinary means. This justification often arises from the perception of an urgent existential threat, which allows decision-makers to circumvent established procedures and rules. However, Buzan, Wæver, and de Wilde contend that securitization is not solely the purview of decision-makers; the public plays a significant role in this process. As a result of securitizing discourses, the public may perceive specific issues as existential threats to shared values, justifying decision-makers to take various legal and illegal measures to address these concerns.

Two types of securitizations have been identified:

1. **Institutionalized Securitization:** This occurs due to continuous and repeated security threats, compelling military or civilian institutions, which possess a degree of legitimacy, to operate without public approval. Operation Desert Fox, conducted by the Blair government against Iraq on January 16, 1998, serves as a case of institutional securitization.

2. **Rhetorical Securitization:** This type emphasizes values and legitimizes the actions of securitizing agencies. Robert argues that it is not surprising to observe a range of rhetoric emanating from international organizations such as the World Health Organization (WHO) and the UN Development Program (UNDP) to justify specific policies or enhance their resource allocation.

Theoretically, Ronald Krebs and Patrick Jackson outline two stages of the securitization process:

- **Identification Stage:** This involves employing security discourse to identify issues.

- **Filling Stage:** In this phase, the securitization process is influenced by rhetorical habits that contribute to increased financial allocations for related programs, such as those addressing AIDS and malaria.

Third Axis: The Role of Global Advocacy Networks in Global Security Policy Making

The end of the Cold War precipitated a series of profound and rapid changes, necessitating the transition from a model of international politics to one of world politics. The foundations of this new model have been strengthened by global challenges and stakes produced by globalization, rendering states incapable of managing these challenges independently. This shift has paved the way for civil action and the growing role of non-state actors, including international non-governmental organizations, multinational corporations, and think tanks, within a comprehensive framework that seeks to integrate both official and unofficial activities.

The 1994 Human Development Report highlighted various threats to international peace amid a series of cross-border challenges, including increasing population growth, economic inequality, environmental degradation, and the HIV epidemic. This report underscored the necessity for a new framework for international cooperation to address these global threats effectively. This necessity has intensified due to severalfactors:

- There is an increasing awareness of the diverse nature of risks and negative disturbances facing human societies. At the same time, the traditional perspective on state security assumed that international risks stemmed from other states through military threats. Contemporary violent conflicts often manifest as civil wars or terrorism perpetrated by non-state actors. Additionally, human societies now confront severe epidemics such as HIV/AIDS and natural disasters like floods, droughts, and earthquakes.

- The sudden emergence of adverse risks, including natural disasters, has necessitated a new security perspective that emphasizes the need for human societies to develop collective capacities for risk mitigation and early warning systems.

- The limited role of the state in addressing these diverse and complex threats contrasted with the enhanced importance of non-state actors.

In this context, it becomes evident that the transitional nature of new security threats necessitates a similarly transitional response characterized by collaborative efforts encompassing a multi-actor network extending from state actors to supranational entities, including international governmental and non-governmental organizations. This comprehensive approach also operates on multiple
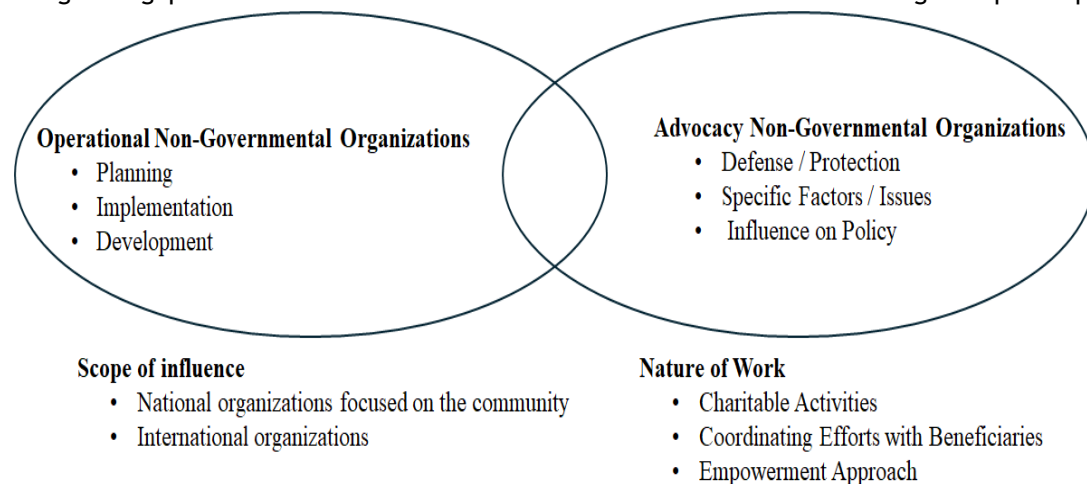
levels—local, national, regional, and global—where non-state actors, or what Mary Kaldor calls "horizontal transnational global networks," play a crucial role in comprehensive security solutions.

Networks in international relations are intricate systems comprising the relationships among multiple actors capable of action and interaction, shaped by the framing of specific issue areas (e.g., peace and security, human rights, international trade, economic development, and environmental concerns). Actors within a network may include states, sub-governments (such as ministries or regional governments), intergovernmental organizations, non-governmental organizations, transnational corporations, social movements, and individuals.

In this regard, networks provide a lens for analyzing situations where a particular policy cannot be accounted for through centrally coordinated activities toward common goals. Instead, networks in international relations emphasize the interactions among interconnected organizations that coordinate their actions by aligning their resources and interests while calculating the costs associated with specific strategies.

As for the nature of global advocacy networks, they can be described as a set of activities aimed at persuading decision-makers to design, adopt, and modify policies and practices to secure direct and lasting benefits for the individuals and groups they represent, thereby enhancing the capacity to influence the structural causes of poverty. The policies of these organizations encompass a range of mutually reinforcing activities, including advocacy, public campaigns, educational initiatives, and media outreach.

The mechanisms employed by these networks include a set of standards that enhance the effectiveness of their advocacy efforts, such as:

• Clarity of the issue and its linkage to normative content that resonates with human interests and can elicit empathy or moral outrage.

• A robust foundation based on logical causal analysis and field experience to understand how adopted policies impact individuals' lives.

• Clear proposals and ideas for change that promise a positive impact on people's lives.

• Identification of targeted levels and institutions within the decision-making process, along with mechanisms for activating feedback.

• Formation of strategic alliances with diverse actors, including the private sector and media.

• Establish short-, medium-, and long-term objectives for implementing policies and tactics.

This approach offers new opportunities to emphasize the importance of addressing the challenges confronting human societies while framing these challenges within a security context. Moreover, in pursuing improved partnerships, these organizations strive to unify different stakeholders around a common agenda, aiming to diversify partnerships and actors involved in global advocacy efforts to bridge the gaps often observed in micro and macro social initiatives within global public policy.

Operational Non-Governmental Organizations
• Planning
• Implementation
• Development

Advocacy Non-Governmental Organizations
• Defense / Protection
• Specific Factors / Issues
• Influence on Policy

Scope of influence
• National organizations focused on the community
• International organizations

Nature of Work
• Charitable Activities
• Coordinating Efforts with Beneficiaries
• Empowerment Approach

Figure No. 1: Overlapping Activities of Global Advocacy Networks by Policy-Making Stage

Referring to the main theoretical explanations of the mechanisms underlying the role of these agents in global policymaking reveals the significance of both constructivist assumptions about

normative orientations and rational perspectives on resource exchange. If a particular issue is framed within an ethical context, advocacy networks depend on linguistic discourses to shape normative beliefs and primarily guide demands and advocacy efforts. Conversely, if the issue is framed as a technical or administrative challenge, the focus shifts toward resource exchange based on two models:

1.   **Normative Model:** This model assumes that global advocacy networks form alliances based on normative reasons, responding to the initiatives of states and international organizations. The constructive perspective posits that participation in such organizations is rooted in normative goals related to moral convictions and harm.

2.   **Rational Model Based on Resource Exchange:** From this perspective, global advocacy networks aim to provide goods and services or implement regulations that complement governmental capabilities. Resource exchange is a critical element of the literature on the mechanisms of influence governments utilize through these networks.

The following table illustrates the different mechanisms adopted by global advocacy networks in the securitization processes, considering the nature of the issues involved.

Table No. 1: The Relationship Between the Type of Issue and the Mechanisms of Action of Non-State Actors

Background Characteristics of the Problem/Issue Domain	First Pattern: Physical Harm/Human Misery	Second Pattern:Technical/Administrative Context
Claim/advocacy as a primary step	Some forms of co-organization	Limited Claim/Call
Delegation as a primary step	Some forms of co-organization	Restricted/Limited Authorization

To discuss the quantitative implications of the influence of global advocacy networks within the international arena, Thomas Risse highlights the importance of understanding the levels of influence wielded by non-state actors, particularly non-governmental organizations. He asserts that advocacy networks possess transnational influence over international decision-making processes. The outcomes often emphasize modifying decisions rather than merely affecting the formal decision-making stage. Neglecting other facets of the political process—such as agenda-setting, policy formulation, implementation, and compliance monitoring—can lead to a misunderstanding of the decision-making power and political influence that non-state actors exert throughout these stages.

In an article published in *Foreign Policy* magazine titled "Learning to Live With NGOs," PJ Simmons argues that global advocacy networks and other non-state actors impact the policy-making process in four key ways:

1.   **Agenda Setting:** These networks can influence and direct the attention of national leaders and decision-makers toward specific issues (such as environmental concerns and human rights), elevating them to top priorities. To achieve this, they often adopt the "logic of securitization" as a foundational element for multidimensional security discussions while simultaneously coordinating the security and political agendas to address the issues.

2.   **Impact on Negotiation Outcomes:** Advocacy networks can also shape and influence the outcomes of negotiation processes and decision-making.

3.   **Granting Legitimacy:** Global advocacy networks are crucial in conferring legitimacy to decisions and judgments, impacting public support and political backing.

4.   **Implementing Solutions:** These networks monitor state compliance with their obligations and issue reports reflecting adherence to international agreements, translating these obligations into domestic realities.
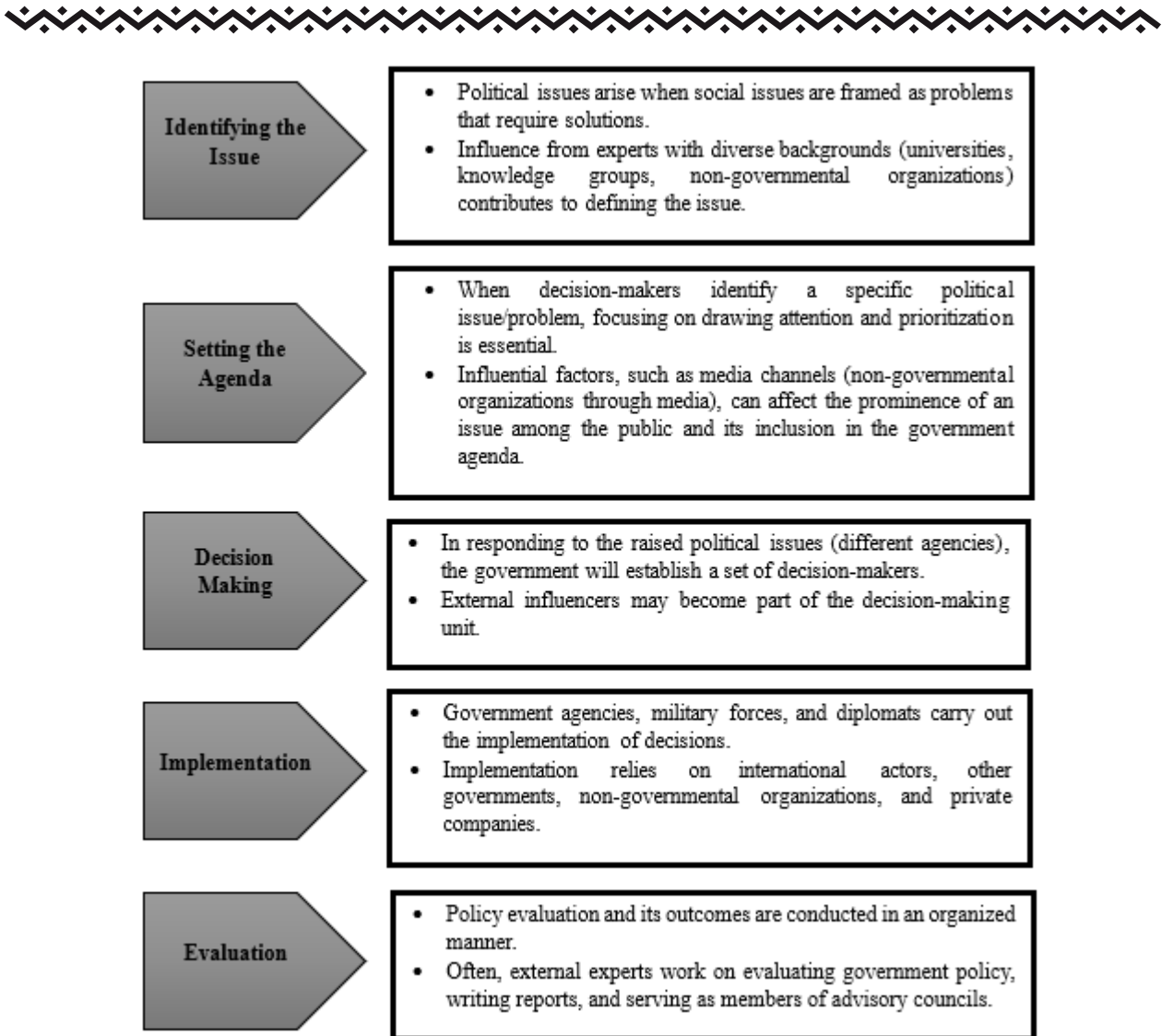
| Identifying the Issue | • Political issues arise when social issues are framed as problems that require solutions.
• Influence from experts with diverse backgrounds (universities, knowledge groups, non-governmental organizations) contributes to defining the issue. |

| Setting the Agenda | • When decision-makers identify a specific political issue/problem, focusing on drawing attention and prioritization is essential.
• Influential factors, such as media channels (non-governmental organizations through media), can affect the prominence of an issue among the public and its inclusion in the government agenda. |

| Decision Making | • In responding to the raised political issues (different agencies), the government will establish a set of decision-makers.
• External influencers may become part of the decision-making unit. |

| Implementation | • Government agencies, military forces, and diplomats carry out the implementation of decisions.
• Implementation relies on international actors, other governments, non-governmental organizations, and private companies. |

| Evaluation | • Policy evaluation and its outcomes are conducted in an organized manner.
• Often, external experts work on evaluating government policy, writing reports, and serving as members of advisory councils. |

Figure No. 2: The Policy-Making Process: From Issue Identification to Evaluation

CONCLUSION

This study highlighted the dynamics of employing the securitization logic within the security policy-making process. Recognizing the importance of security as a vital sector in light of the growing new security threats that jeopardize humanity's survival is essential. The study underscores the role of rhetorical acts or linguistic processes in assigning a security character to issues previously deemed ordinary and influencing decision-makers perceptions. This influence attracts diverse actors to engage in policy-making, expanding the range of viewpoints considered while analyzing scientific, technical, and legal evidence used to assess the severity of emerging issues.

Understanding the dynamics of the security policy-making process and identifying the involved actors opens the door to acknowledging the significant roles of non-state actors alongside the state. Achieving integrated responses to confront security threats necessitates an international response encompassing multiple actors, realistic and practical mechanisms, and objectives centered on linking the security agenda with the nature of state public policies. Advocacy networks often support these efforts as scientific advisors or information gatherers when identifying risks or diagnosing problems. Moreover, these networks can mobilize public opinion domestically and globally to pressure state leaders to prioritize specific issues within the political agenda.

The roles of non-state actors vary, with global advocacy networks operating within a spectrum ranging from monitoring policy implementation to influencing political discourse. Given the limits and possibilities of employing the logic of securitization in various fields, especially those bearing

ethical dimensions, there is a pressing need for heightened awareness among individuals regarding the implications for state security, individual security, and international security in a broader context.

Bibliography:

[1] Abdel Nour Ben Antar, "The Mediterranean Dimension of Algerian Security: Algeria, Europe, and NATO" (Algeria: Modern Library for Publishing, 2005).

[2] Aline Leboeuf, Emma Broughton, "Securitization of Health and Environmental Issues: Process and Effects," IFRI, Brussels, (2008), (accessed October 28, 2011).

[3] Anja P. Jakobi, "Non-state Actors and Global Crime Governance: Explaining the Variance of Public-Private Interaction," *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, Vol. 18(1), (2016).

[4] Blazacq T., "The Three Faces of Securitization: Political Agency, Audience, and Context," *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 11, no. 2, (2005).

[5] David Roberts, "Global Governance and Biopolitics: Regulating Human Security" (New York: Zed Books, 2010).

[6] Kahler, Miles, *Networked Politics: Agency, Power, and Governance* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009).

[7] McDonald, M., "Securitization and the Construction of Security," *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 14, no. 4, (2008).

[8] Paul Roe, "Actor, Audience(s), and Emergency Measures: Securitization and the UK's Decision to Invade Iraq" (Central European University, Budapest, Hungary, 2008).

[9] Saad Haqi Tawfiq, "Principles of International Relations" (Amman: Wael Publishing and Distribution House, 2000).

[10] Sarah Michael, "The Role of NGOs in Human Security," (Working Paper #12, November 2002), (The Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations and The Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University), (accessed September 11, 2010).

[11] Sherri Roff, "Non-governmental Organizations: The Strengths Perspective at Work," *International Social Work*, vol. 47, (2004).

[12] Simmons, P. J., "Learning to Live with NGOs," *Foreign Policy*, Fall 1998.

[13] Tanja A. Börzel, "What is So Special About Policy Networks? An Exploration of the Concept and Its Usefulness in Studying European Governance," *European Integration Online Papers (EIoP)* Vol. 1 (1997) N° 01.

[14] Wilkinson, C., "The Copenhagen School on Tour in Kyrgyzstan: Is Securitization Theory Usable Outside Europe?" *Security Dialogue*, vol. 38, no. 1, (2007).