



SECURITY IN TRANSITION

AN INTERDISCIPLINARY INVESTIGATION
INTO THE SECURITY GAP

NEWSLETTER 2014/15

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NEWS

The Meaning of Security Cultures by Mary Kaldor

A major breakthrough in the programme has been the application of the concept of 'security cultures' as a way of framing our research. Whether it is because of the end of the Cold War or because of dramatic changes in technology or because of changes in the character of violence, we are in the midst of a profound transition in both the way security policy is conducted and experienced. But there is no pathway which can be defined to help us navigate this transition. Instead we are faced with a plethora of concepts, practices, norms and ideas. The term 'culture' is adopted to help us make sense of this transition and to identify different pathways. This is useful in three respects.

First, the concept starts from the premise that the term 'security' is ambiguous. On the one hand, it means safety, on the other it refers to the security apparatus, to an official practice of security consisting of military, police, and intelligence agencies, that is embedded in notions of political authority. A security culture thus embraces

both a set of specific ideas about who or what is to be protected – the objective of security – and a set of related and relevant practices (organisation, funding, equipment, tactics) that shape ideas and are shaped by them. At the same time, security cultures are infused with power relations or constitute an expression of power relations.

Secondly, the concept of security culture breaks with the idea of national security communities. A security culture is based on transnational security communities, which are characterised by groups of shared ideas and practices. We distinguish four broad categories – 'geo-politics', 'new wars', the 'war on terror', and the 'liberal peace'. These are overlapping, constantly changing, and include a variety of sub cultures. The realists, who people the 'geo-political' model of security culture, whether in the Pentagon or the Russian Ministry of Defence share more in common in terms of ideas and ways of doing things than the peace-keeper or humanitarian aid worker who people the 'liberal peace' version. The realists engage with each other through studying and watching and even meeting their opposite numbers in equivalent positions in different countries or collective security arrangements; what they do in terms of acquiring arms or military exercises profoundly affects what others do within the same culture. Those involved in the liberal peace work together in multinational agencies or NGOs and have developed a common body of knowledge and understanding of how they understand best practice.

Thirdly and perhaps most importantly, a security culture is not

a static concept. It is continually produced and reproduced. Depending on the mechanisms for reproduction, nodal points where change is possible can be identified. Mechanisms like the market, which affects the supply of equipment or people; war and violent events, which affect both understandings and interpretations of security as well as practices; and politics involving elections and public debates are all examples of the mechanisms of change. Conservatism is perhaps better explained by the difficulty of bringing about institutional change, in for example armies or navies, in the absence of major political or military upheavals and the way in which these institutions reproduce tradition. Understanding the mechanisms through which cultures are constructed enables us to identify openings and closures – points at which policy innovations are possible. Thus the idea of culture is associated with ideas of path dependence. The aim is to identify security cultures and the ways in which they are constructed so as to understand their differing internal logics.

SiT 'Rules' Conferences: Nairobi and London

Security in Transition convened two international conferences in May and June this year, as part of the 'rules' component of the programme.

The Civil Society Dialogue on Transitional Justice in East Africa and the Balkans took place in Nairobi, hosted by the British Institute in East Africa and funded by MacArthur Foundation and the

European Research Council. It brought together activists working on atrocity crimes from Kenya, Uganda and the former Yugoslavia. The dialogue explored the role of civil society in responding to ongoing human rights violations; triggering debates over justice in the public sphere; engaging with transitional justice processes and mechanisms; and creating autonomous spaces for debate and activism outside formal justice processes. [The Conference Report is available here.](#)

The second conference, entitled Law, Justice and the Security Gap, took place at the London School of Economics. It provided a forum to engage academics and practitioners in a discussion that interrogates security-related law and legal instruments and their relationship to contemporary forms of insecurity. The main themes of the conference included novel instruments of international justice and transitional justice, internalization and domestication of international law, rule of law in conflict settings, contemporary violence and human security. Some of the participants will contribute to a forthcoming publication on these issues.

Professor Mary Kaldor at the Munich Security Conference

Professor Mary Kaldor participated in the 50th Munich Security Conference (MSC) that took place from January 31st to February 2nd, 2014. It was an opportunity to engage with some of the key actors in the security field and make contacts that can develop our research and impact. Seminars included: a dialogue between the Serbian and Kosovar Prime Ministers, chaired by Cathy Ashton; a panel that included Vitali Klychko, the Ukrainian boxer and leader of the democratic opposition as well as the Ukrainian foreign minister; a historic session with Henry Kissinger, Helmut Schmidt, Egon Bahr and Valerie

Giscard d'Estaing; other sessions involved John Kerry, Chuck Hagel, the Iranian foreign minister, as well as the UN's former negotiator on Syria Lakhdar Brahimi.

RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS

Projects about Syria

Perhaps the most tragic episode of the Arab Spring has been the uprising in Syria to topple Assad's rule. What began as a peaceful protest movement has evolved into a fragmented regional proxy war. Armed groups have proliferated across the country. It now appears that a political economy of war has emerged in Syria which may be contributing to the persistence of violence.

Networks of actors, some armed, profit from the continuation of the war. A [recent study about local ceasefires](#) whose authors included members of the SiT team, showed one case where a militia sabotaged a ceasefire agreement because it was profiting so much from smuggling individuals out of a besieged neighbourhood.

Our research investigates drivers and dynamics of the political economy of war in Syria, looking to identify the different actors profiting from the war, and the extent to which these networks are new or continuations of existing systems. The research also seeks to identify ways of engaging with the political economy of war, offering recommendations to those seeking an end to the war.

A second project involves the creation of a database of instances of violence and peace-making in Syria, through crowd-seeding, utilising a network of trusted participants in Syria to report instances as and when they happen. We are grateful to have received an ESRC grant for this work, which has the potential to uncover new knowledge. This individual-level data will be used

to inform themes such as the war economy in Syria. For example by answering the question: is it more difficult to make peace and/or is there more violence in areas where there is more scope for a war economy?

ESRC Project Technology and Security

The Civil Society and Human Security Research Unit (CSHS) has been collaborating with the Science Policy Research Unit at the University of Sussex, on a programme called Strategic Governance of Science and Technology Pathways to Security, which is part of the wider RCUK Global Uncertainties programme. This will contribute to SiT's investigation of post-Cold War changes in the way that security is understood and practised. It focuses on investigating the relationship between pathways of contemporary technological change and security discourses.

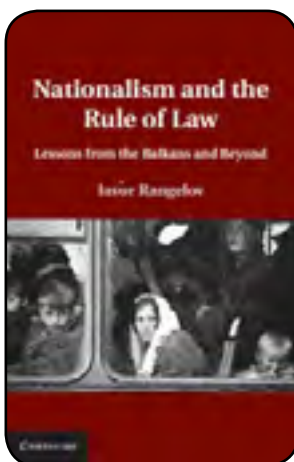
We have been exploring this through a series of case studies, these contribute to showing how specific technologies, and the pathways of social and technological development associated with them, enable and constrain specific security cultures; traditional state-centric forms of war and warfare, Jihadi backed insurgencies and civil wars, humanitarian focused interventions, and counter-terror and counter-insurgency interventions. The case studies were presented at a conference in June and we envisage several outputs from the programme, including published articles and an edited volume which will be announced on our website.

Book: Nationalism and the Rule of Law: Lessons from the Balkans and Beyond

Dr Iavor Rangelov provides the first systematic account of the relationship between nationalism and the rule of law by focusing on

the domains of citizenship, transitional justice, and international justice. *Nationalism and the Rule of Law* engages these insights further in a detailed empirical analysis of three case studies from the former Yugoslavia. He argues that while the tensions and contradictions between nationalism and the rule of law have become more apparent in the post-Cold War era, they can also be harnessed for productive purposes.

In exploring the role of law in managing and transforming nationalism, Rangelov emphasises the deliberative character of legal processes and offers an original perspective on the power of international law to reshape public discourse, politics, and legal orders.



Book: The Handbook of Global Security Policy

The Handbook of Global Security Policy edited by Mary Kaldor and Javier Rangelov was published by Wiley Blackwell in 2014. The volume embraces a broad new definition of security and examines the risks and challenges posed by new forms of violence and insecurity. Organised around the key concepts of risk, policy tools and global security actors, it brings together twenty eight essays covering essential aspects of global security research and practice.

The book combines the work of leaders in security scholarship and practice from around the world to discuss the most pressing contemporary issues, including terrorism, disarmament, genocide, civilian protection, diplomacy and mediation, international peacekeeping, state-building, transnational crime, water security and transitional justice.

Book: Illegality, Inc. Clandestine Migration and the Business of Bordering Europe

What has gone wrong at Europe's frontiers – and who is responsible for the mess? Asks the anthropologist Ruben Andersson in his new book, *Illegality, Inc. Clandestine migration and the business of bordering Europe*.

The book gives a rare ethnographic account of Europe's border control landscape, showing how the 'fight against illegal migration' has created absurd incentives and devastating consequences. At the continent's southern frontiers, an 'illegality industry' has emerged, involving a large number of sectors: European and African border forces, defence conglomerates and intelligence agencies, international and humanitarian organisations, research institutes and media outlets. But the illegality industry is not the 'solution' to the crisis at the borders, the book argues, it is a fundamental part of the problem.



Professor Mary Kaldor Wins the Ludwig Quidde Award

Professor Mary Kaldor was awarded the Ludwig Quidde Award by the German Foundation for Peace Research.

Professor Kaldor is only the second academic to win the prize, which recognises an individual whose outstanding academic achievements continue the life-work of the Ludwig Quidde, who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1927 and was an active member of the international peace movement before and after the First World War.

The panel said: "Professor Mary Kaldor has, over several decades, helped to shape the peace studies agenda. Her early work included the construction of the first arms trade statistics at SIPRI, her analysis of 'baroque' military technology and her interpretation of the Cold War as Imaginary War. In her pioneering recent work, Professor Kaldor has... gained broad recognition for her work on new human security conceptions embedding humanitarian aims into international security policies".

Her book *New and Old Wars in the Global Era* attracted attention both in the scientific world and in the public sphere, stated Prof. Dr. Jost Duelffer, University of Cologne, chairman of the jury.

EVENTS

The Struggle for Iraq's Future

7th May 2014, LSE

Zaid al-Ali launched his book *The Struggle for Iraq's Future* with a lecture and discussion chaired by Mary Kaldor. The author provided an insightful interpretation of Iraq's nation-building progress in the wake of the 2003 war. Al-Ali argued that the 2005 constitution is illegitimate and

established a system of government so extreme that it could never be implemented, creating a void that the country has been struggling to fill since. The people's trust, he contends, has been betrayed by all segments of Iraq's ruling elites who have negotiated the formation of government on the basis of personal self-interest, patronage and deceit. Al-Ali concluded that the solution lies in establishing a road map for reform that should be imposed on the ruling parties by all the major components of civil society.

Civil Society and the Struggle for Justice in Brazil

20th June 2014, LSE

The London Transitional Justice Network and Security in Transition jointly hosted a discussion on the civil society struggle for justice in Brazil with Marcelo Torelly, former director of Historical Memory at the Brazilian Ministry of Justice Amnesty Commission, and Professor Chandra Lekha Sriram, University of East London. The discussion explored the sustained mobilization around issues of truth, memory and justice over the past two decades, triggered by civil society efforts and the commissions on Dead and Disappearances (1995-2007) and Amnesty (2001-present). These efforts are critical for understanding dramatic recent developments in Brazil – the creation of a National Truth Commission and more than fifty local commissions engaged in investigating human rights violations from the period of military rule, as well as the initiation of the first criminal prosecutions of former military personnel.

'Secure the borders!' The Cost and Consequences of Europe's 'Fight Against Irregular Migration'

14th October 2014, LSE

This public event which took place

at the new Swee Saw Hock Student Centre LSE marked the launch of *Illegality, Inc.* The event took the form of a panel discussion with Mary Kaldor, Cecilia Malmström the EU commissioner for Home Affairs and Jeremy Harding, journalist and contributing author to the *London Review of Books*. A podcast of the discussion can be accessed here: www.lse.ac.uk.

PEOPLE

Dr Iavor Rangelov
Research Fellow



Iavor Rangelov runs the justice research stream of Security in Transition. He is Global Security Research Fellow at LSE and Co-Chair of the London Transitional Justice Network.

Iavor's interest in transitional justice – referring to a range of responses to serious human rights violations – goes back to his work in the Balkans a decade ago: "I found myself in the midst of the civil society struggle for justice shortly after the end of the Yugoslav wars. At that time the legacy of war crimes was still haunting the region and contestation over accountability was at the very heart of the politics of transition." He subsequently completed his doctoral studies at LSE. His dissertation, recently published as a book *Nationalism and the Rule of Law; Lessons from the Balkans and Beyond*, uses transitional justice as a lens into the relationship

between nationalism and the rule of law.

In the SiT programme, one aspect of Iavor's research examines international justice and transitional justice in relation to different 'security cultures': "Justice instruments challenge conventional security thinking and, at the same time, they are deeply affected by the dominant security practices and ideas in a particular context. My research on the Balkans and Afghanistan tries to understand how security cultures such as the Liberal Peace and the War on Terror shape justice and accountability outcomes."

The role of civil society in transitional justice is the other focus of Iavor's current research. It builds on direct engagement with actors, such as the Civil Society Dialogue on Transitional Justice in East Africa and the Balkans, which he convened earlier this year in Nairobi. The project starts from the insight that civil society engagement is crucial for transitional justice: "How civil society actors use, adapt, develop, and contest justice norms and structures is a key factor for their success or failure."

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