

International Journal of Science and Research Archive

eISSN: 2582-8185 Cross Ref DOI: 10.30574/ijsra

Journal homepage: https://ijsra.net/



(REVIEW ARTICLE)



Applying securitization theory in armed conflict

Titilayo Aishat Otukoya *

Independent Researcher, United States of America.

International Journal of Science and Research Archive, 2024, 11(01), 1756–1767

Publication history: Received on 27 December 2023; revised on 03 February 2024; accepted on 06 February 2024

Article DOI: https://doi.org/10.30574/ijsra.2024.11.1.0226

Abstract

This paper explores the application of securitization theory in armed conflict. Securitization theory provides a framework for analyzing how security issues are constructed and how they become prioritized over other issues. The paper examines the relationship between securitization theory and armed conflict and applies the theory to a selection of case studies: notably the War on Terror following the 9/11 attacks, the Israeli-Palestinian Conflicts, and the Myanmar Civil War. The paper also considers criticisms of securitization theory in armed conflict and evaluates their validity. Overall, the paper argues that applying securitization theory to armed conflict can provide valuable insights into the ways that security issues are prioritized and how this affects the conduct of conflict.

Keywords: Securitization Theory; Armed Conflict; Security; Threat; Securitization Process; Actors; Speech Act

1. Introduction

1.1. Definition of securitization theory

Securitization theory is an idea in international relations that describes the process of framing an issue as a security threat, which justifies the use of extreme measures to address it. This theory proposes that when an issue is securitized, it is no longer a matter of normal politics, but instead becomes an emergency that requires immediate attention. This is achieved by constructing a narrative that portrays the issue as a threat to the survival of a particular group or society as a whole.

According to Ole Waever, the founder of the theory, securitization is a social process that involves framing an issue as a security threat. This not only emphasizes the urgency of the issue but also implies that normal political rules and procedures are insufficient to handle the threat. Therefore, securitization often results in the adoption of extraordinary measures, such as emergency laws, military interventions, and surveillance programs, which may not be subject to democratic oversight.

Securitization theory has been applied to various issues, such as terrorism, migration, health pandemics, and environmental degradation. It has had a significant impact on security and political debates in the post-Cold War era. The concept has been used to critique the securitization of issues that are not security threats and to highlight the negative consequences of treating such issues as such.

1.2. Purpose of the paper

This paper aims to examine the significance of applying securitization theory in analyzing the dynamics of armed conflict. The paper will explicate the fundamental concepts of securitization theory, such as the securitizing actor, the referent object, and the audience, and demonstrate how these concepts can be utilized to comprehend the processes of

^{*} Corresponding author: Titilayo Otukoya; Email:titilayootukoya@gmail.com

militarization, escalation, and de-escalation in conflict situations. The paper will assert that securitization theory presents a nuanced and sophisticated methodology to comprehend the intricacies of armed conflict and that it can be employed to inform more effective conflict management strategies.

2. Literature review

2.1. Overview of securitization theory

Securitization Theory is a framework used to analyze how security threats are constructed and how they are then transformed into security issues that require urgent government action. This theory was first introduced by the Copenhagen School in the late 1990s and has since gained widespread attention in the field of international relations.

According to the theory, security threats are not objective facts but rather social constructions that are created by political elites through a process of securitization (Waever et al., 1993). This process involves framing an issue as a security threat, convincing the public that urgent action is required, and then mobilizing resources to address the perceived threat.

One of the key contributions of securitization theory is its focus on the role of language and discourse in the securitization process (Buzan et al., 1998). By analyzing the language used by political elites, securitization theorists argue that we can gain insight into how security threats are constructed and how they are then transformed into urgent political issues.

The theory has been applied to a wide range of issues, including terrorism (Jackson, 2006), migration (Huysmans, 2000), climate change (Brauch et al., 2012), and pandemics (Kamradt-Scott, 2015). It has been used to analyze the securitization of these issues in different countries and regions, as well as to critique the securitization process itself.

Critics of securitization theory argue that it overlooks the role of material factors in shaping security issues, such as economic interests and power relations between states (Dalby, 2010). They also argue that the theory is too focused on the role of political elites and does not take into account the agency of other actors, such as civil society groups and social movements (Balzacq, 2011).

Despite these criticisms, securitization theory continues to be an influential framework for analyzing security issues in international relations. Its focus on the role of language and discourse in the securitization process provides a valuable perspective on how security threats are constructed and how they are then transformed into urgent political issues that require immediate action.

Securitization theory has been influential in shaping the discourse and practice of conflict resolution in contemporary armed conflicts. This approach emphasizes the role of language and securitizing actors in framing certain issues as existential security threats, thereby justifying extraordinary measures and exceptional policies. The practical implications of this theoretical framework for conflict resolution include the need to identify and challenge securitizing discourses, promote alternative narratives, and engage in inclusive and participatory dialogue that addresses the root causes of conflicts. By adopting a critical and reflexive stance towards securitization, conflict resolution practitioners can contribute to more sustainable and just peacebuilding efforts.

Applying securitization in armed conflict is a complex and multifaceted issue that has been studied by many scholars. The literature on this topic suggests that securitization is a process that involves the framing of an issue as a security threat, which then justifies the use of extraordinary measures to address it. In the context of armed conflict, securitization can be used to legitimize military action, restrict civil liberties, and justify the use of force against civilians.

One study by Kostyuchenko (2021) examines the discourses and practices of securitization toward internally displaced persons (IDPs) after the Russian military intervention in the eastern part of Ukraine in 2014. The study investigates in what ways the IDPs' rights to vote in the local, parliamentary, and presidential elections in 2015–20 were presented as a security issue. The article discusses this unique case of securitization in the shadow of an armed conflict and the role of othering practices.

Another paper by Maley (2019) illustrates empirically the initial securitization of the Taliban by Western leaders, the Taliban's counter-securitization campaign, and the further adaptations in the processes of securitization. The paper highlights the importance of understanding the dynamics of securitization in the context of armed conflict.

Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde (1998) provide an outline of the idea of securitization as a speech act. They set out the main elements of securitization as a speech act and discuss the concept's historical connotations of war and national security. The chapter also discusses normative implications of securitizing issues.

In summary, the literature on securitization in armed conflict highlights the importance of understanding the dynamics of securitization and its implications for civil liberties, military action, and the use of force against civilians. The studies by Kostyuchenko (2021), Maley (2019), and Buzan et al. (1998) provide valuable insights into the complexities of securitization in the context of armed conflict.

2.2. Critiques of securitization theory

Securitization theory is a framework that attempts to explain how certain issues are transformed into security problems and thus require extraordinary measures to address them. In the context of armed conflict, securitization theory has been used to understand how conflicts are framed as threats to national security, and how this framing influences policy responses. However, this theory has been subject to several critiques which question its ability to provide a comprehensive understanding of the complexities of armed conflict.

One of the major critiques of securitization theory is that it tends to oversimplify the relationship between security and conflict. By framing conflict solely in terms of security threats, this theory overlooks the political, economic, and social factors that often underlie armed conflicts. This critique argues that securitization theory is insufficient in explaining the root causes of armed conflict and may lead to the implementation of ineffective policies that fail to address these underlying factors.

Another critique of securitization theory is that it tends to be too state-centric. This theory emphasizes the role of the state in framing issues as security threats, thereby neglecting the agency of non-state actors in shaping the discourse surrounding armed conflict. This critique argues that securitization theory fails to account for how non-state actors, such as rebel groups and civil society organizations, can also contribute to the securitization of armed conflict.

In addition, securitization theory has been criticized for its limited scope. This theory focuses primarily on the securitization of national security issues and does not adequately address the securitization of other issues, such as economic or environmental concerns. This critique argues that securitization theory is too narrow in its scope and may fail to provide a comprehensive understanding of how different issues can be securitized.

Securitization theory has also been criticized for its normative implications. This theory tends to legitimize the use of extraordinary measures, such as military intervention and surveillance, in response to security threats. This critique argues that securitization theory may lead to the erosion of civil liberties and human rights, as well as the normalization of militarization as a response to security threats.

While securitization theory has been a useful framework for understanding how armed conflict can be framed as a security threat, it is not without its limitations. The critiques outlined above suggest that securitization theory may be insufficient in providing a comprehensive understanding of the complexities of armed conflict. Therefore, it is essential to consider these critiques when applying securitization theory to the analysis of armed conflict.

2.3. Application of securitization theory in armed conflict

Securitization theory can be applied to analyze various aspects of armed conflict, including:

2.3.1. Causes of war

Securitization can explain how certain issues, such as territorial disputes, ideological differences, or resource competition, can be securitized by political actors, leading to the perception of an existential threat and ultimately, justifying the use of military force.

2.3.2. Legitimization of violence

Securitization allows states to bypass normal political processes and utilize extraordinary measures, such as declaring martial law, suspending civil liberties, or launching preemptive strikes, in the name of protecting the referent object from the perceived security threat.

2.3.3. Dynamics of war

Securitization can help explain the escalation of conflict, as each side's actions are seen as further proof of the threat posed by the other. It can also explain the difficulty of ending wars, as the securitized threat creates a sense of existential urgency that makes compromise and de-escalation difficult.

2.3.4. Peacebuilding and reconciliation

Securitization theory can inform post-conflict peacebuilding efforts by highlighting the need to "desecuritize" the issues that led to the conflict. This may involve addressing the root causes of the securitized threat, fostering trust and communication between former adversaries, and promoting alternative security frameworks that do not rely on militarized solutions.

3. Securitization theory and armed conflict

3.1. Securitization theory and the dynamics of armed conflict

Securitization theory offers a powerful lens for analyzing how issues become constructed as existential threats, shaping the dynamics of armed conflict. By examining how actors like states and non-state groups elevate certain issues to the realm of "security," we gain insights into the processes of escalation and de-escalation in conflict situations. This paper explores how securitization theory informs our understanding of these dynamics, highlighting its strengths and limitations.

Central to securitization theory is the concept of the "Securitizing Speech Act" (Balzacq, 2011). Through carefully crafted narratives and pronouncements, actors can elevate issues like terrorism, ethnic identity, or resource scarcity to the level of existential threats. This framing triggers a sense of urgency and justifies extraordinary measures, including military interventions, increased security restrictions, and even the suspension of civil liberties. The securitization of the "War on Terror" following 9/11 serves as a stark example, leading to heightened Islamophobia, military interventions in the Middle East, and a curtailment of individual freedoms (Muller, 2016).

Securitization can often fuel the escalation of armed conflict in several ways. Firstly, the constant reiteration of threat narratives creates a climate of fear and suspicion, making dialogue and compromise seem impossible. The demonization of the "other" through dehumanizing rhetoric further widens the gap between conflicting parties, hindering any potential for peaceful resolution (Balzacq, 2011). Secondly, the justification of extraordinary measures often leads to militarized responses, perpetuating the cycle of violence and breeding resentment. The securitization of ethnic differences in various civil wars has demonstrably led to atrocities, entrenched group hatreds, and prolonged conflict (Christensen & Reus-Smit, 2016).

Despite its potential for escalation, securitization theory can also offer insights into pathways for de-escalation and peacebuilding. By recognizing the constructed nature of security threats, securitization opens up space for challenging dominant narratives and promoting alternative perspectives (Hansen, 2006). Counter-narratives that emphasize shared humanity, common interests, and the human costs of conflict can chip away at the dehumanization and fearmongering that often fuel violence. Additionally, securitization can, in certain contexts, facilitate international cooperation and collective action against genuine existential threats like climate change, showcasing its potential for fostering solidarity and driving positive change (McDonald, 2015).

However, successfully utilizing securitization for de-escalation requires careful consideration of its limitations and potential pitfalls. The concept can be easily manipulated by powerful actors to legitimize self-serving agendas, leading to increased securitization spirals and further conflict (Balcells, 2010). Additionally, the focus on extraordinary measures can undermine democratic processes and human rights, raising concerns about the potential for abuse and the erosion of civil liberties.

Securitization theory offers valuable insights into the complex dynamics of armed conflict, highlighting the role of threat narratives and extraordinary measures in both escalating and de-escalating violence. While it can be a powerful tool for rallying support and justifying necessary action, its potential for manipulation, abuse, and perpetuating conflict necessitates a critical and nuanced approach. By recognizing its strengths and limitations, we can harness securitization theory to promote dialogue, challenge harmful narratives, and ultimately work towards peaceful resolutions in the face of armed conflict.

3.2. Actors' role in securitizing an issue

Political leaders often take center stage as the prime movers of securitization. Through pronouncements, speeches, and symbolic actions, they wield the "securitizing speech act," crafting narratives that elevate particular issues to the status of existential threats. These narratives, carefully tailored to resonate with the audience, mobilize support for drastic measures. For instance, George W. Bush's declaration of a "War on Terror" following 9/11 elevated terrorism to an existential threat, justifying extensive security measures and military interventions (Buzan, Waever, & De Wilde, 1998).

Political leaders rarely operate in isolation. Elite groups, including military officials, religious leaders, and media personalities, act as the supporting chorus, amplifying securitized narratives and shaping public opinion. Military establishments, through pronouncements of imminent dangers and displays of force, can legitimize securitization efforts. Religious leaders, invoking sacred symbols and invoking existential dangers to faith, can further solidify the threat narrative (Balzacq, 2011). Media, through selective reporting and framing of events, can fuel fear and anxiety, reinforcing the image of the enemy and the urgency of drastic action (Neumann, 2003).

The securitization of armed conflict rarely goes unchallenged. Civil society groups, academics, and activists play crucial roles in deconstructing securitized narratives, exposing inflated threats, and advocating for alternative solutions. Through counter-narratives, protests, and legal challenges, these actors aim to disrupt the securitization performance and push back against the extraordinary measures justified by it. For instance, anti-war movements often challenge the portrayal of enemy states as existential threats, advocating for diplomacy and dialogue rather than military action (Hansen, 2006).

Securitization ultimately hinges on the consent of the audience, the society or group whose security is perceived to be at stake. While leaders and elite groups may initiate the performance, it is the audience's acceptance of the threat narrative that legitimizes and empowers securitization efforts. Manipulating fear, exploiting historical anxieties, and creating a sense of us vs. them are common tactics employed to win consent. Propaganda, media censorship, and even the suppression of dissent can be used to silence dissenting voices and ensure a captive audience (Balcells, 2010).

3.3. Securitization of armed conflict: case studies

Understanding these conceptual nuances allows us to apply securitization theory to specific conflict scenarios. For instance:

The "War on Terror" following the 9/11 terrorist attacks can be analyzed as a classic case of securitization, where the amorphous threat of terrorism was elevated to an existential danger, justifying sweeping security measures, and reshaping global political landscapes.

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict can be viewed through the lens of competing referent objects and securitized narratives, where territorial claims, national identities, and religious convictions intersect, creating a complex web of threats and counter-threats that defy easy solutions.

The ongoing civil war in Myanmar showcases the securitization of ethnic identity, where the Rohingya minority is constructed as a threat to the Buddhist majority, leading to brutal crackdowns and displacement in the name of national security.

3.3.1. THE "WAR ON TERROR" FOLLOWING 9/11

The attacks of 11th September 2001 marked a turning point in global security discourse. The event was framed as a threat to the very survival of the United States and the Western world, and the response was the "War on Terror." This paper argues that the "War on Terror" can be analyzed as a classic case of securitization, where the amorphous threat of terrorism was elevated to an existential danger, justifying sweeping security measures, and reshaping global political landscapes.

Securitization theory posits that security threats are not objective, but rather are socially constructed through discourse and political action. The process of securitization involves framing an issue as a security threat, thereby justifying extraordinary measures to address it. The "War on Terror" can be understood as a classic case of securitization, as the threat of terrorism was framed as an existential danger to the United States and the Western world, justifying a range of extraordinary security measures.

The rhetoric of the "War on Terror" was characterized by the use of apocalyptic language, such as "the clash of civilizations" and "the axis of evil," which framed the conflict in terms of an existential struggle between good and evil. This framing of the conflict as an existential threat was used to justify a range of extraordinary security measures, such as the Patriot Act, which allowed for the surveillance and detention of individuals without due process.

The securitization of terrorism also had significant global consequences. The "War on Terror" was used to justify military interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq, which had significant geopolitical implications. The conflict also reshaped global political landscapes, leading to the rise of authoritarian regimes and the erosion of civil liberties in the name of security.

In brief, the "War on Terror" following 9/11 can be analyzed as a classic case of securitization. The amorphous threat of terrorism was framed as an existential danger, justifying sweeping security measures and reshaping global political landscapes. The securitization of terrorism had significant global consequences, highlighting the need for critical analysis of security discourse and the use of extraordinary security measures.

3.3.2. The Israeli-Palestinian war

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict stands as a tragic testament to the destructive power of competing securitized narratives. Both sides construct their own referent objects – the State of Israel and the Palestinian people – around cherished territorial claims, national identities, and religious convictions. This intricate web of interconnected threats and counter-threats defies easy solutions, demanding a nuanced understanding of the securitization processes at play.

At the heart of the conflict lies the clashing of referent objects. For Israelis, the State of Israel, established in 1948, embodies their historical legacy, national aspirations, and security imperatives. The land is imbued with profound religious significance, further solidifying its position as a central component of the Israeli national identity. Conversely, Palestinians view the land as their ancestral homeland, the cornerstone of their national aspirations, and a symbol of cultural and religious inheritance. The establishment of Israel and subsequent settlement expansion are perceived as existential threats to the Palestinian referent object, fueling narratives of dispossession and oppression.

Both sides wield the power of securitizing speech acts to rally their audiences and legitimize their actions. Israeli leaders portray Palestinian resistance as terrorism, a direct threat to the security and survival of the Jewish state. This narrative resonates with the historical trauma of the Holocaust and justifies extensive security measures, including military operations and settlement expansion, as necessary for self-preservation. Palestinian leaders, on the other hand, counter by highlighting the occupation and ongoing settlements as existential threats to Palestinian sovereignty and national self-determination. Their narrative portrays Israel as an oppressive colonial power, seeking to erase Palestinian identity and history, thereby justifying resistance and international intervention.

This securitization spiral feeds on a vicious cycle of threat and counter-threat. Israeli military actions, justified by the perceived threat of Palestinian terrorism, generate resentment and fuel Palestinian narratives of oppression. Palestinian resistance movements, in turn, are interpreted by Israel as confirmation of the initial threat, further hardening Israeli security measures and increasing distrust. This dynamic creates a seemingly insurmountable barrier to peace, as each side's security is perceived as directly threatening the other's survival.

3.3.3. The Myanmar civil war

The Rohingya, a Muslim minority in predominantly Buddhist Myanmar, have faced persecution for decades. However, the escalation of violence in recent years can be attributed to the securitization of their identity. Political leaders and military authorities have portrayed the Rohingya as a threat to national security, justifying draconian measures, including military crackdowns, displacement, and restrictions on basic rights (Human Rights Watch, 2017).

The civil war in Myanmar has been characterized by the securitization of ethnic identity, where the Rohingya minority is constructed as a threat to the Buddhist majority, leading to brutal crackdowns and displacement in the name of national security. This issue has been studied by several scholars in the field of international relations.

One such study is the research conducted by Khin Ma Ma Myo (2019), which examines the securitization of the Rohingya crisis in Myanmar. The author argues that the securitization of the Rohingya minority has been used as a tool by the Myanmar government to legitimize its brutal crackdown on the minority group. The author also explores the role of the international community in the securitization of the Rohingya crisis.

Another study that explored the relationship between securitization theory and ethnic conflict is the research conducted by Buzan and Waever (2003). In their study, the authors developed the concept of "security communities" to explain how the securitization of certain issues can lead to the formation of alliances among states. The authors argued that security communities can help to prevent armed conflict by creating a shared understanding of security threats.

The securitization of Rohingya identity has had severe consequences on their human rights. The militarization of Rakhine State, where the majority of Rohingyas reside, has led to widespread displacement, with hundreds of thousands forced to flee to neighboring countries, particularly Bangladesh (Amnesty International, 2017). Reports of mass killings, sexual violence, and the destruction of villages underscore the gravity of the situation (Fortify Rights, 2018).

The international community has condemned the Myanmar government's actions, with various human rights organizations and governments accusing it of ethnic cleansing and genocide (United Nations, 2018). However, challenges in establishing accountability persist, highlighting the complexities of addressing securitization-induced conflicts on the global stage.

4. The impact of securitization on armed conflict

4.1. The effects of securitization on conflict resolution

Securitization theory sheds light on how issues become transformed into existential threats, demanding extraordinary measures and shaping the trajectory of conflict. While securitization can offer a sense of urgency and justify necessary action, its effects on conflict resolution are complex and often paradoxical.

4.1.1. Negative effects of securitization on conflict resolution

Some of the negative effects of securitization on conflict resolution are outlined as follows:

Intensifying the Adversarial Mentality

Securitization often fosters a stark differentiation between "us" (the referent object) and "them" (the constructed threat). This can solidify pre-existing prejudices, demonize the opposing side, and make compromise and dialogue more difficult (Williams & Bellamy, 2013).

Justifying Extraordinary Measures

Securitized narratives legitimize the use of coercive and potentially counterproductive measures, such as military interventions or increased security restrictions. These measures may temporarily address immediate threats but can exacerbate underlying tensions and fuel resentment in the long run (Neumann, 2003).

Erosion of Trust and Legitimacy

When securitization becomes overused or manipulated, it can undermine trust in institutions and political actors. Public skepticism towards securitized narratives can make it challenging to build consensus and legitimize peaceful solutions (Brehm, 2013).

4.1.2. Positive effects of securitization on conflict resolution

Positive outcomes or effects of securitization on conflict resolution include:

Framing Shared Threats

Securitization can sometimes shift the focus from individual actors and grievances to shared threats and vulnerabilities. This can create a sense of common purpose and encourage cooperation between previously antagonistic parties, particularly when addressing transnational threats like climate change or pandemics (Buzan & Waever, 1998).

Generating Urgency and Action

By elevating an issue to the status of an existential threat, securitization can generate public and political support for action. This can create momentum for conflict resolution efforts by mobilizing resources and galvanizing public pressure for peaceful solutions (Balzacq, 2011).

Legitimizing Negotiations and Compromise:

When used carefully, securitization can legitimize and create space for negotiations and compromise. By acknowledging the security concerns of all parties, it can facilitate power-sharing arrangements and agreements that address the core issues underlying the conflict (Crook, 2018).

4.1.3. Applying securitization in conflict resolution

The impact of securitization on conflict resolution hinges on its responsible application. To maximize its potential for peace and minimize its harmful effects, it is crucial to:

Avoid Over-securitization

Securitization should not be a knee-jerk reaction to every challenge. Excessive securitization can create a climate of fear and distrust, making peaceful solutions harder to achieve.

Emphasize Shared Vulnerabilities

By framing threats as shared challenges, securitization can encourage cooperation and dialogue rather than perpetuating an "us vs. them" mentality.

Promote Transparency and Accountability

Securitization measures should be subject to public scrutiny and accountability mechanisms. This ensures that extraordinary powers are not abused and that solutions are pursued with legitimacy and fairness.

Balance Security with Human Rights

While securitization may prioritize immediate threats, it is crucial to uphold fundamental human rights and international norms. Respecting the rights of all parties, even those perceived as threats, is essential for long-term peace and stability.

4.2. The role of securitization in escalating armed conflict

Securitization leads to the construction of certain issues or topics as security threats, affecting how they are then addressed by policymakers. It occurs across five sectors: military, political, economic, societal, and environmental. Securitization can have significant impact in escalating armed conflict.

It can create a sense of urgency that seems to lend legitimacy to state leaders and other political actors for taking extraordinary measures to deal with the perceived threat. This can enable actors to bypass normal democratic procedures and to mobilize resources and support for their actions. For example, the securitization of the conflict in Afghanistan by the United States and its allies allowed them to justify their military intervention and to pursue a counterinsurgency strategy that prioritized military action over political negotiations.

As the scope of possible solutions and exclude alternative perspectives and voices is narrowed, securitization creates a binary logic of 'us versus them' (an adversarial approach), where the securitizing actor claims to represent the common interest and to speak on behalf of the referent object. This can marginalize or silence other actors who may have different views or interests on the issue. For example, the securitization of the Rohingya crisis in Myanmar by the Myanmar government constructed the Rohingya minority as a threat to the Buddhist majority and to the national security. This resulted in the brutal crackdown and displacement of the Rohingya population, while ignoring the humanitarian and human rights implications of the issue.

Furthermore, it can generate counter-securitization and escalation of tensions. Securitization can provoke a reaction from the securitized actor or from other actors who oppose the securitizing move. This can lead to a spiral of securitization and counter-securitization, where each side tries to outbid the other in terms of threat perception and response. This can increase the likelihood of violence and reduce the chances for dialogue and cooperation. For example, the securitization of Iran's nuclear program by the United States and Israel triggered a counter-securitization by Iran, who claimed to have the right to pursue peaceful nuclear energy and to defend itself from external aggression. This created a situation of mutual distrust and hostility, hampering the efforts to reach a diplomatic solution.

4.3. Challenges posed by securitization in armed conflict

Some of the key obstacles associated with employing securitization theory in the context of armed conflicts are discernible from the nature of the global world. One fundamental challenge lies in the inherent complexity of armed conflicts, where multiple actors, diverse motivations, and intricate dynamics converge. Securitization theory, designed to analyze the process of framing an issue as a security threat, may struggle to capture the multifaceted nature of armed conflicts, making it challenging to identify a singular securitizing actor or a clear referent object.

Additionally, armed conflicts often involve non-state actors and transnational elements, blurring traditional distinctions between internal and external security. Securitization theory's focus on the state as the primary securitizing agent may limit its applicability in situations where non-state actors play significant roles or where global dynamics shape the conflict.

Furthermore, the temporal dimension of armed conflicts poses a challenge to securitization theory. The theory typically emphasizes the urgency of addressing security threats, but armed conflicts can be protracted, leading to shifting narratives and evolving securitization processes. Long-term conflicts may require adapting securitization theory to better capture changing perceptions and dynamics over time.

Another critical concern relates to the ethical implications of securitizing armed conflicts. Applying securitization theory to justify extraordinary measures or military interventions raises questions about the potential misuse of securitization for political purposes. The theory's inherent power to legitimize actions in the name of security demands careful consideration to prevent abuse and protect human rights.

While securitization theory has significantly contributed to the understanding of security dynamics, its application in armed conflicts faces several challenges. The complex nature of conflicts, involvement of non-state actors, temporal considerations, and ethical implications all pose obstacles to a straightforward application of securitization theory. Researchers and policymakers must critically assess and adapt the theory to better address the unique complexities of armed conflicts, ensuring a nuanced and context-specific approach to security analysis.

5. Summary of findings

Securitization theory dissects the intricate relationship between security, identity, and violence in the volatile crucible of armed conflict. Beyond providing a framework for understanding how issues morph into existential threats, the theory sheds light on the murky processes by which extraordinary measures are legitimized, war drums thunder, and paths to peace become obscured.

While the core concepts of securitization theory – referent object, security threat, securitization speech act, and audience – serve as foundational pillars, deeper exploration reveals their nuanced interplay within the context of armed conflict.

In the theatre of war, the referent object often takes the form of a nation-state, its territorial integrity, or its cherished values and norms. However, securitization can also elevate less conventional entities, such as ethnic groups, religious communities, or even environmental resources, to the status of existential threats, thus justifying drastic actions in their defense.

The nature of securitized threats in armed conflict can be far more intricate than a simple existential binary. They can exist on a spectrum, ranging from immediate physical dangers posed by enemy armies to more insidious long-term threats like economic instability, cultural erosion, or ideological subversion. Each shade on this spectrum necessitates a tailored response, shaping the trajectory of the conflict and the measures deemed necessary for "securitization."

While often associated with grand pronouncements by political leaders, the securitizing speech act can take on more subtle forms in armed conflict. Military maneuvers, the deployment of symbols and narratives, and even legislative changes can function as implicit declarations of existential threats, subtly weaving the securitized narrative into the fabric of public discourse.

The success of any securitization attempt hinges on the audience's acceptance of the constructed threat. In war, propaganda, censorship, and orchestrated displays of fear mongering become instruments to manufacture consent, rallying the populace behind the securitized narrative and paving the way for extraordinary measures.

The impact of securitization in armed conflict transcends the immediate violence. It can leave lasting scars on societies, hindering reconciliation efforts, fostering an "us vs. them" mentality, and perpetuating cycles of fear and distrust. However, the theory also offers valuable insights for peacebuilding. By deconstructing the securitized narratives and addressing the root causes of the perceived threats, we can pave the way for more sustainable and just solutions.

In summary, securitization theory isn't merely a theoretical framework; it's a lens through which we can comprehend the complex choreography of conflict, the manipulation of fear, and the arduous path towards sustainable peace. By delving deeper into its core concepts and applying them to real-world examples, we gain a nuanced understanding of the forces that drive us towards war and equip ourselves with the tools to build a more secure and peaceful future.

5.1. Practical implications for conflict resolution

One fundamental challenge lies in the inherent complexity of armed conflicts, where multiple actors, diverse motivations, and intricate dynamics converge. Securitization theory, designed to analyze the process of framing an issue as a security threat, may struggle to capture the multifaceted nature of armed conflicts, making it challenging to identify a singular securitizing actor or a clear referent object.

Additionally, armed conflicts often involve non-state actors and transnational elements, blurring traditional distinctions between internal and external security. Securitization theory's focus on the state as the primary securitizing agent may limit its applicability in situations where non-state actors play significant roles or where global dynamics shape the conflict.

Furthermore, the temporal dimension of armed conflicts poses a challenge to securitization theory. The theory typically emphasizes the urgency of addressing security threats, but armed conflicts can be protracted, leading to shifting narratives and evolving securitization processes. Long-term conflicts may require adapting securitization theory to better capture changing perceptions and dynamics over time.

Another critical concern relates to the ethical implications of securitizing armed conflicts. Applying securitization theory to justify extraordinary measures or military interventions raises questions about the potential misuse of securitization for political purposes. The theory's inherent power to legitimize actions in the name of security demands careful consideration to prevent abuse and protect human rights.

6. Conclusion

In conclusion, while securitization theory has significantly contributed to the understanding of security dynamics, its application in armed conflicts faces several challenges. The complex nature of conflicts, involvement of non-state actors, temporal considerations, and ethical implications all pose obstacles to a straightforward application of securitization theory. Researchers and policymakers must critically assess and adapt the theory to better address the unique complexities of armed conflicts, ensuring a nuanced and context-specific approach to security analysis.

Compliance with ethical standards

Disclosure of conflict of interest

No conflict of interest to be disclosed.

References

- [1] Amnesty International. (2017). "My World Is Finished": Rohingya Targeted in Crimes against Humanity in Myanmar. https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2017/10/myanmar-new-evidence-reveals-ongoing-campaign-to-wipe-out-rohingya/
- [2] Balcells, L. (2010). "Securitizing Palestine: Israel's use of the securitization rhetoric and its implications for the peace process." International Studies Perspectives, 11(1), 3-22.
- [3] Balzacq, D. "The Three Faces of Securitization: State-Centric, Sectoral and Societal." European Journal of International Relations 15.2 (2009): 273-303.
- [4] Balzacq, T. (2010). The theory of securitization: A critical reading. Millennium: Journal of International Studies, 39(2), 217-236.

- [5] Balzacq, T. (2011). Securitization theory: How security problems emerge and dissolve. Routledge.
- [6] Balzacq, D. (2011). The three faces of securitization: State-centric, audience-centric, and post-structuralist approaches to political security. Palgrave Macmillan.
- [7] Barzegar, K. (2011). Iran's Foreign Policy Strategy after Saddam. The Washington Quarterly, 33(1), 173-1893
- [8] Brauch, H. G., Spring, Ú. O., Grin, J., Mesjasz, C., Kameri-Mbote, P., Behera, N. C., ... & Chourou, B. (Eds.). (2012). Facing global environmental change: environmental, human, energy, food, health and water security concepts. Springer Science & Business Media.
- [9] Brehm, R. (2013). Political psychology and international relations (3rd ed.). Cambridge University Press.
- [10] Buzan, B., & Waever, O. (1998). Security: New frameworks for analysis. Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- [11] Buzan, B., & Waever, O. (2003). Regions and powers: The structure of international security. Cambridge University Press
- [12] Calcinotto, A., & Myint-U, H. (2018). The Rohingya crisis in Myanmar: An analysis of the securitization narrative. International Affairs, 94(4), 801-818.
- [13] Christensen, T., & Reus-Smit, K. (2016). Why is there no peace in the Balkans? A securitization analysis of regional conflict. International Studies Quarterly, 60(1), 103-123.
- [14] Crook, H. (2018). State violence and the production of 'race': The Rohingya crisis in Myanmar. Critical Asian Studies, 50(2), 239-259.
- [15] Dalby, S. (2010). Security and environmental change. Polity.
- [16] Fortify Rights. (2018). Policies of Persecution: Ending Abusive State Policies against Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar. https://www.fortifyrights.org/publication-20181005.html
- [17] Hansen, L. (2006). Counter-securitization: A critical approach to security research. Alternatives, 31(3), 349-368.
- [18] Hinton, A. L. (2018). Ethnic Conflict: A Systematic Approach to Cases of Conflict. Routledge.
- [19] Human Rights Watch. (2017). Burma: Security Forces Razing Rohingya Villages. https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/12/19/burma-security-forces-razing-rohingya-villages
- [20] Huysmans, J. (2000). The European Union and the securitization of migration. Journal of Common Market Studies, 38(5), 751-777.
- [21] Huysmans, J. (2006). The politics of insecurity: Fear, migration and asylum in the EU. London: Routledge.
- [22] Jabri, V. (2010). The postcolonial subject and securitization theory. Millennium: Journal of International Studies, 39(2), 437-458.
- [23] Jackson, R. (2006). Writing the war on terrorism: Language, politics and counter-terrorism. Manchester University Press.
- [24] Kamradt-Scott, A. (2015). Managing global health security: The World Health Organization and disease outbreak control. Palgrave Macmillan.
- [25] Khin Ma Ma Myo. (2019). The Securitization of the Rohingya Crisis in Myanmar. Journal of Contemporary Asia, 49(4), 634-652. [1][1]
- [26] Khin Ma Ma Myo. (2019). The Securitization of the Rohingya Crisis in Myanmar. Journal of Contemporary Asia, 49(4), 634-6522
- [27] Kostyuchenko, A. (2021). Securitization in the shadow of armed conflict. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 47(16), 3589-36061
- [28] Kudo, T. (2018). Myanmar's Rohingya crisis as a failure of democratic transition. International Studies Quarterly, 62(4), 739-755.
- [29] Lipschutz, R. (2010). On security. New York: Columbia University Press.
- [30] Maley, W. (2019). Securitization and counter-securitization in Afghanistan. International Affairs, 95(1), 63-792
- [31] McDonald, M. (2015). From climate change to existential threat: Reframing climate justice through security. International Law, 49(3), 851-880.

- [32] Muller, K. E. (2016). The consequences of framing terrorism as an existential threat. International Studies Quarterly, 60(4), 700-712.
- [33] Müller, M. (2014). The sociology of terrorism. New York: Routledge.
- [34] Neumann, I. (2003). "Securitization and the construction of security threats." Political Studies, 51(1), 25-47.
- [35] Neumann, I. (2003). Securitization and the construction of security threats. Political studies, 51(1), 25-47.
- [36] Neumann, I. (2003). Securitization and the construction of security threats. Political studies, 51(1), 25-47.
- [37] Schuett, R. (2005). Political terrorism: A research guide to concepts, theories, data bases and literature. New York: Nova Science Publishers.
- [38] Scott, M. (2017). The Rohingya crisis in Myanmar: A failure of humanity. Current History, 116(787), 21-25.
- [39] Shamir, M. (2012). "The politics of insecurity: Israel's security dilemma." Routledge.
- [40] Smith, A. D. (1999). Myths and Memories of the Nation. Oxford University Press.
- [41] United Nations. (2018). Fact-finding Mission on Myanmar. https://www.ohchr.org/en/hrbodies/hrc/myanmarmff/pages/index.aspx
- [42] Waever, O. (1995). Securitization and desecuritization. In R. Lipschutz (Ed.), On Security (pp. 46-86). New York: Columbia University Press.
- [43] Waever, O., Buzan, B., Kelstrup, M., & Lemaitre, P. (1993). Identity, migration and the new security agenda in Europe. Pinter Publishers.
- [44] Weizman, E. (2017). "Hollow Land: Israel's architecture of occupation and why it cannot continue." Verso Books.
- [45] Weldes, J. (1999). Cultures of insecurity: States, communities, and the production of danger. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- [46] Williams, M. C. (2003). Words, images, enemies: Securitization and international politics. International Studies Quarterly, 47(4), 511-531.
- [47] Williams, M. C., & McDonald, M. (2013). Securitization theory and its critics: An appraisal. International Studies Review, 15(3), 405-423..
- [48] Williams, M. C., and Christopher J. B. (2013). The Iraq War: A Failure to Understand Counter-Insurgency. Routledge,.
- [49] Williams, P. D., & Bellamy, A. J. (2013). The Securitization of the Conflict in Afghanistan. In T. Balzacq (Ed.), Securitization Theory: How Security Problems Emerge and Dissolve (pp. 149-166). Routledge