



## **Epistemological Developments of the Concept of Security: From National Security to Societal Security**

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### ***Abstract:***

*Voices have emerged asserting that the concentration of security within the sovereign state has become inconsistent with the evolving international environment following the Cold War .The threat is no longer directed at the survival and independence of states as it was in the past, but rather at groups such as minorities, ethnic communities, refugees, and other subnational actors. The emergence of ethnic and religious conflicts, in addition to the spread of terrorism and social unrest, has led to a shift in analytical focus from external*

*threats to state security and sovereignty toward internal threats arising from the nature of the relationship between the state and society, or from the nature of societies themselves. This has constituted a qualitative shift in the perception of the concept of security in both theory and practice, whereby a significant number of scholars have undertaken the task of moving security beyond its narrow conceptualization toward other dimensions that were not encompassed in the previous period.*

**Keywords:** *security, societal security*

**Résumé :**

*Des voix se sont élevées pour affirmer que la concentration de la sécurité au sein de l'État souverain n'est plus compatible avec l'évolution du contexte international depuis la fin de la Guerre froide. La menace ne pèse plus sur la survie et l'indépendance des États comme par le passé, mais plutôt sur des groupes tels que les minorités, les communautés ethniques, les réfugiés et d'autres acteurs infranationaux. L'émergence de conflits ethniques et religieux, ainsi que la propagation du terrorisme et des troubles sociaux, ont conduit à un déplacement de l'attention analytique des menaces externes pesant sur la sécurité et la souveraineté de l'État vers les menaces internes découlant de la nature des relations entre l'État et la société, ou de la nature même des sociétés. Cela a constitué un changement qualitatif dans la perception du concept de sécurité tant sur le plan théorique que pratique, ce qui a conduit un nombre important de chercheurs à entreprendre de faire évoluer la sécurité au-delà de sa conceptualisation étroite vers d'autres dimensions qui n'étaient pas prises en compte auparavant.*

**Mots-clés :** *sécurité, sécurité sociétale*



## **Introduction:**

The second half of the twentieth century witnessed numerous profound and accelerating changes, whether at the conceptual level, the value level, or from economic, political, cultural, and social perspectives. Among these transformations were those that affected the concept of security.

The dominant focus was on the idea that the state constitutes the basic unit of analysis, that security refers to the security of the state, and that peace is defined as the absence of war. This implies that security is the ultimate objective and that the sustainability of peace depends on the extent to which the state maintains its military strength. However, the emergence of new threats to security—such as drug trafficking, organized crime, terrorism, the spread of diseases and epidemics, environmental pollution, and other challenges—has revealed the inability of the traditional security perspective to adequately address these issues.

A range of issues, including population growth, refugee movements, migration, and maritime security, have also become increasingly prominent in recent decades. In addition, the nature of conflict itself has undergone significant transformation, as most conflicts have become internal, occurring between groups and individuals rather than between states. This has led to the necessity of reshaping the concept of security in accordance with the new threats affecting both the international environment and the national level.

Accordingly, based on the above, many expansionist trends in the concept of security have emerged, introducing

deeper and broader levels such as national security, societal security, human security, environmental security, and global security. Protecting the security of individuals or groups has made it a primary objective to search for strategies and mechanisms capable of ensuring global security. This expansion operates horizontally across multiple sectors, including economic, political, military, and cultural domains. Vertically, it relates to the depth of the concept of security through its inclusiveness of multiple levels of analysis, encompassing international, regional, national, societal, and individual dimensions.

This research paper seeks to answer a central question that constitutes the core of the research problem:

**How have social and cultural variables influenced the development of the concept of security?**

Through this research paper, we attempt to address this problem according to the following structure:

- First: Reconceptualizing Security: A Multi-Level Security Model
- Second: Theoretical Discussions on the Development of the Concept of Security
- Third: Determinants of Societal Security
- Fourth: Strategies for Societal Security

**First: Reconceptualizing Security: A Multi-Level Security Model**

Security, in its traditional perspective, has been closely associated with the manner in which the state employs its power to manage threats to its territorial integrity, independence, and political stability in relation to other states. In this sense, security is largely synonymous with



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national interest and is strengthened primarily through military power.

This perspective has prevailed since the Peace of Westphalia and the emergence of the modern nation-state. However, the concept of security has increasingly become the subject of scrutiny, research, and academic debate, particularly after the end of the Cold War, which led to the emergence of new security concepts. During this period, fears in the United States and its allies were largely confined to the perceived threat of communism and the risks posed to liberal values. This orientation contributed to the dominance of Western-centric studies and, at the same time, to the marginalization of large segments of humanity, resulting in a biased perception of security.<sup>1</sup>

This situation led to a convergence between researchers and decision-making circles, which, in turn, affected the intellectual neutrality required for accurately identifying real-world threats. The involvement of decision-making institutions influenced researchers' awareness of emerging challenges, such as widespread poverty in the countries of the Global South, coupled with weak institutional structures. These conditions contributed to tensions among internal social components as they competed for limited resources.

The failure to recognize these challenges can be understood in light of the intellectual focus imposed by the Cold War, which limited analytical flexibility. This was one of the main factors that contributed to the inability to anticipate the end of the Cold War, as well as the inability of traditional

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<sup>1</sup> Adel Zagagh, The Societal Security Dilemma: Security Discourse and Public Policy Making, **Journal of Politics and Law Books**, Fifth Issue, June 2011, p. 105

approaches to adapt to the transformations of the international system. Consequently, new conceptualizations of security have emerged.

These transformations have coincided with the emergence of new threats, including drug trafficking, organized crime, terrorism, epidemics, and environmental degradation—issues that the traditional security perspective has proven incapable of addressing effectively. In addition, issues such as population growth, refugee crises, migration, and maritime security have become increasingly prominent. Furthermore, the nature of conflicts has shifted significantly, with most conflicts now occurring within states rather than between them. Statistical data indicate that, out of 61 conflicts in the 1990s, 58 were internal conflicts (approximately 95%), and about 90% of the victims were civilians, including men, women, and children<sup>2</sup>.

The most important international variables that have led to the reformulation of the concept of security can be summarized as follows:<sup>3</sup>

- 1- Influence in international relations is no longer monopolized by the nation-state; non-state actors such as international organizations, non-governmental

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<sup>2</sup> Khadija Arafa, **Transformations of the Concept of Human Security First**, Research Paper, (Cairo: Faculty of Economics and Political Science, September 2003, p. 85

**\*Non-governmental organizations:** They are supranational organizations that are not designated for profit, and non-governmental institutional activity includes two main features, which are automatic and optional, so the majority of these organizations are non-political, but they are functionally specific groups that can "cross" to politics where opportunity or need arises. For more details, see:

Amanda, Henny. H, Percy. BL, **Civil society and international development**. Belgium, development center studies, 1998, p. 82.

<sup>3</sup> Syed Ahmed Qojili, **Critical Security Studies – New Approaches to Redefining Security**, Arab Center for Political Studies: Jordan, 2014, p. 18 .



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organizations, and multinational corporations now play a significant role.

- 2- There has been a shift in the sources of threat. Threats are no longer exclusively external but include unconventional forms such as irregular migration, infectious diseases, terrorism, organized crime, and environmental challenges such as global warming and pollution.
- 3- The nature of conflicts has shifted from interstate conflicts to intrastate conflicts. The expansion of the concept of security began in the late 1970s, with the works of Kenneth Boulding on stable peace and Johan Galtung on positive peace, in addition to the Palme Commission report on disarmament entitled "Common Security." However, a major turning point came with the publication of Barry Buzan's well-known work *People, States and Fear*, in which he called for a sectoral approach to security by expanding the scope of analysis to include political, social, economic, and environmental sectors.

Among the most prominent advocates of expanding the concept of security is **Edward Aklodzij**, who argued for broadening the concept to include the military and strategic demands, as well as the security concerns, of non-state actors such as the Kurds and other groups. He further extended the concept to encompass threats associated with population impoverishment and economic, cultural, and scientific underdevelopment. In this context, the state has become threatened not only by other states but also by non-state actors, as well as by threats originating from within. Additional threats emerge through forms of nationalism

linked to the increasing interdependence of the global economy<sup>4</sup>.

As for **Krause and Williams**, they assert that, following the end of the Cold War, a wide range of theoretical issues can be addressed within the framework of security studies. These include, for example, “identity politics,” as well as other so-called new issues, without excluding the security of the state itself. States continue to face numerous security challenges, which are not limited to military threats. The nature of these challenges varies, encompassing threats arising from lower levels of the state, such as ethnic fragmentation and cultural disintegration, as well as challenges originating from higher levels, such as global economic and cultural dynamics and the international environment. These factors, in turn, pose profound challenges to the concept of sovereignty in its Westphalian form<sup>5</sup>.

Similarly, **Helga Haftendorn** argues that revisiting the traditional concept of security has become necessary, as Hobbesian, Kantian, and other classical conceptions of security fail to provide an adequate framework for understanding contemporary transformations in security relations across different parts of the world. Haftendorn further emphasizes the need to construct a testable and analytically rigorous framework—particularly in contexts such as Africa—for defining security. This framework should consist of a set of observable assumptions, a solid core of

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<sup>4</sup> Hélène viaw , [La \(re\)conceptualisation de la sécurité dans les théories réaliste et critique : quelques pistes de réflexion sur les concepts de sécurité humaine et de sécurité globale. : \[http://www.ieim.uqam.ca/spip.php?page=article-gric&id\\\_article=2601\]\(http://www.ieim.uqam.ca/spip.php?page=article-gric&id\_article=2601\)](http://www.ieim.uqam.ca/spip.php?page=article-gric&id_article=2601)

<sup>5</sup> Ishaq Sali Khalifa, Recent Trends in the Study of International Security, **Journal of Renaissance Studies**, Volume Fourteen, Issue Four, October 2013, p. 16



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irrefutable propositions, and a series of predefined conditions which, according to Imre Lakatos, are essential for developing a progressive research program capable of generating new empirical findings and theoretical interpretations<sup>6</sup>.

**Helga Haftendorn** also calls for the advancement of security studies within the discipline of international relations, advocating for a more comprehensive concept that integrates multidisciplinary and multicultural perspectives. This would enable the incorporation of the following dimensions into the concept of security<sup>7</sup>:

- 1- Theory and history of war and peace
- 2- Values, perceptions, cultures, and threats
- 3- Concepts of regional, international, and comprehensive security
- 4- Economic dimensions of security
- 5- Challenges of terrorism
- 6- Arms proliferation
- 7- Technological implications
- 8- The widespread dissemination of information and its impact on international conflicts
- 9- National defense policies
- 10- Surveillance and disarmament

The notion of expansion refers to a horizontal shift from the traditional military sector to other sectors – political, economic, societal, and environmental – which collectively constitute the domains of security studies (axis "Z" in Figure

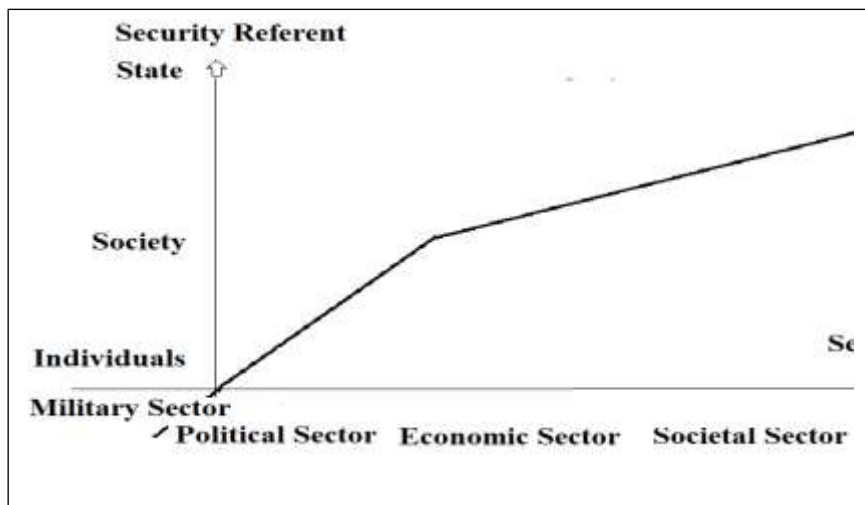
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<sup>6</sup> Helga Haftendorn, “**The Security Puzzle: Theory-Building and Discipline Security**”, *International Studies Quarterly*, vol.35, n°01, Building in International mars 1991, p.12.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*, p.15.

1). In contrast, deepening refers to a vertical shift from the state level down to society and ultimately to individuals as referent objects of security (axis "X" in Figure 1).

**Figure 01: Levels and sectors of security analysis.**



**Source:** Syed Ahmed Qojili, *The Development of Security Studies and the Dilemma of Application in the Arab World*, Emirates Center for Research and Strategic Studies, United Arab Emirates, 2012, p. 14.

Accordingly, based on the above, expansionist approaches to the concept of security have produced broader and deeper analytical levels, including national security, societal security, human security, environmental security, and global security. Ensuring the security of individuals and groups has become a primary objective, necessitating the search for strategies and mechanisms capable of achieving comprehensive global security. This expansion operates horizontally across multiple sectors – economic, political, military, and cultural –



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and vertically across different levels of analysis, including international, regional, national, local, and individual dimensions.

## **Second: Theoretical Discussions on the Development of the Concept of Security**

In an attempt to summarize the theoretical debate, Jeffrey Haynes and a number of other scholars pose four central questions around which security studies scholars continue to disagree<sup>8</sup>:

- 1- Who is the primary referent of protection: the state, society, or the individual? This question arises particularly because ensuring the security of the state does not necessarily guarantee the security of society or of all individuals and groups within it.
- 2- To what extent are military instruments central to the provision of security? This issue has become increasingly urgent in light of the growing reliance on military tools to address the expanding range of non-military threats on the international stage.
- 3- Who bears the responsibility for providing security? This question becomes especially significant in cases where the state and its institutions themselves are perceived as the primary threat to the security of their citizens, whether individuals or groups.
- 4- What issues should fall within the scope of security studies in relation to other disciplines within the social sciences?

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<sup>8</sup> Sally Khalifa Ishaq, *Recent Trends in the Study of International Security*, **Journal of Renaissance Studies**, Volume 14, Issue 4, October 2013, p. 2

In this context, this section of the study addresses the most significant theoretical contributions and major trends in the evolution of the concepts of security and peace, with the aim of answering the above questions and clarifying this academic debate.

- **Realistic perception of security:**

During the Cold War, the ideas of the realist school dominated the field of international relations and security studies in particular, as it focused on the idea that the state is the basic unit of analysis, that security is the security of the state, and that peace is the absence of war. This implies that security is its primary goal and that the maintenance of peace depends on the extent to which the state preserves its military power. "The realist perspective includes a set of beliefs and perceptions about international politics based on a set of assumptions, including that the state is the main actor in international politics, that there is no authority above it, that the international system lacks a hierarchical structure and is therefore characterized by anarchy, that states possess sovereign political identities, and that the thinking of state leaders dominates calculations of power and capability. Accordingly, states compete among themselves for power and interest, and war is considered a legitimate tool for managing international affairs."<sup>9</sup>

Realism, in its interpretation of international life, focuses on the idea of conflict. Therefore, states living in this climate of conflict – an anarchic system – must seek to acquire more means of power to maintain their survival and security. In

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<sup>9</sup> Mohamed Chalabi, "The State and the Current National Transformations", **Algerian Journal of Political and International Sciences**, Algeria: Dar Homa Publishing and Distribution , 1003, p. 211



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doing so, they confront the threat posed by other states pursuing the same objective, namely security and survival. Since power is relative in realist thought, increasing the level of security of state "a" means decreasing the level of security of state "b". That is, when a state raises its level of security to a reasonable extent, another state perceives this as a reduction in its own security, which inevitably leads to escalation and the growth of "state power" capabilities. Thus, the concept of security lies at the core of national security. As Raymond Aron states in his book "Peace and War": if we assume that security is the ultimate goal of state policy, then the effective means is to establish a new balance of power or modify the existing one so that adversaries are not encouraged to initiate aggression. This reflects continuous competition for greater power.

For realists, the security of the state is linked to its national interest, as the conditions of the Cold War confined security studies within a realist framework. In this regard, Walter Lippmann argues that a nation remains secure to the extent that it is not forced to sacrifice its fundamental values in order to avoid war, and that it remains capable, if challenged, of defending these values by winning such a war.<sup>10</sup>

The traditional realist approach has dominated the analyses of specialists in security studies, reducing the concept of security almost exclusively to the military domain. Security is thus viewed primarily through the lens of national power by both decision-makers and strategists. Realists also

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<sup>10</sup> Oliver (Richmond), broadening concept of security in the post-cold wararea: implication for the e.u and the mediteranean region, <http://www.vdj.ac.uk/els/research/eme/publication/Richmond.htm>

consider security as a derivative of power<sup>11</sup>, and the realist perception mainly links security threats to military threats and external aggression. During the Cold War, researchers were dominated by the concept of national security, which was largely defined in military terms, meaning the comprehensive capacity of the state to protect its values and interests from external and internal threats. These threats are directly or indirectly linked to military dangers. Therefore, states sought to secure their territories against foreign aggression and to protect their citizens and interests from risks.

In this context, realists search for ways through which the state can achieve its security within a world composed of multiple nations and fluctuating relations between war and peace. **Kenneth Waltz** believes that security is the supreme goal under conditions of anarchy<sup>12</sup>, but only once the survival and continuity of states are ensured will they pursue other goals such as stability, profit, and power. As for Raymond Aron, he argues that the achievement of security depends on maintaining relations characterized by strategic diplomacy. Diplomacy and strategy are not of a different nature; rather, they are two complementary means of achieving national security. Diplomacy must not be entirely absent in times of war, just as the military plays a role in deterrence and threat

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<sup>11</sup> Abdelnour Benantar, **The Mediterranean Dimension of Algerian Security: Algeria, Europe and the Atlantic Alliance**, Modern Library: Algeria, 2005, p. 15

<sup>12</sup> Darios battistella, **théories des relations internationals**, 2eme édition , paris :les presses sciences po, 2006 ; p465



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during peacetime. Diplomatic and strategic roles alternate according to the interests of the state<sup>13</sup>.

Even neorealism remained attached to the previous proposition while adding new elements. For example, Kenneth Waltz introduced a variable he called "capabilities," which includes factors such as population size, availability of resources, military strength, political stability, and efficiency. It is known that the components of power in realist thought gradually incorporated new elements, beginning with the emphasis on military capabilities in the work of Hans Morgenthau, followed by the inclusion of the economic dimension in Waltz's analysis, and later the cognitive dimension along with other dimensions introduced by structural realists during the 1980s and 1990s. The interaction of these factors contributes to measuring the strength of the state and its ability to achieve national security<sup>14</sup>.

**Kenneth Waltz** believes that the international system is anarchic, and he emphasizes the priority of security over other state objectives. Therefore, achieving security means the ability of the state to ensure its survival independently as a fundamental requirement in an international system characterized by the absence of a central authority. In such a system, each state constantly perceives itself to be under threat from others, which leads it to maximize its military power to confront potential dangers. At the same time, this military preparedness generates suspicion among other states, which may interpret it as a threat directed against

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<sup>13</sup> Musa Al-Zughbi, **Studies in Strategic and Political Thought**, Union of Arab Writers, 2001, p. 23.

<sup>14</sup> Saleh Zayani, Transformations of the Algerian Security Doctrine in Light of Growing Globalization, **Al-Mufaker Magazine**, Issue 5, p. 288

them, prompting them in turn to undertake similar military preparations. The British scholar **Herbert Butterfield** describes the uncertainty affecting decision-makers in assessing others' intentions as "**Hobbesian fear**." <sup>15</sup>Each state fears others within the international system, although the degree of fear varies. This fear arises for two main reasons: first, the possibility of proximity to a state possessing superior offensive capabilities and hostile intentions; second, the absence of a higher authority to which states can turn in case of conflict.

The argument of neorealists in this regard centers on the concept of "intentions," which cannot be definitively known because they reside within the think of decision-makers. A clear example is the Cold War period, during which it was possible to measure the military capabilities of the Soviet Union—such as the number of missiles, tanks, and submarines—since these are tangible and observable. However, intense debates persisted regarding Soviet intentions to initiate war or not. It was extremely difficult to determine what was in the mind of Nikita Khrushchev at that time, or even to identify the ultimate decision-maker within the Kremlin. Thus, while a state's present behavior may be observed, its future behavior—whether positive or negative—cannot be predicted with certainty. Another example can be drawn from the 1919 Treaty of Versailles: even if the victorious powers had attempted to predict Germany's future behavior, they could not have definitively proven its intentions for the periods 1929, 1939, or 1949.

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<sup>15</sup> Paul Roe," **The Intrastate Security Dilemma : Ethnic Conflict as a 'Tragedy ' ?'**,Journal of Peace Research, Sage Publications,Vol.36 , N° :2, 1999 March , p.184 .



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Here, **John Herz** argues that states operating in an environment where each actor prioritizes its own interests – such as the international system – face persistent doubts regarding the military preparations of others. These preparations may be interpreted as defensive or offensive. However, such ambiguity generates a general sense of insecurity at the international level, which in turn produces further insecurity, thereby increasing the likelihood of war based on fear and mistrust. This phenomenon is known in security studies literature as the "**security dilemma**."<sup>16</sup>

Neorealists also added the idea that states seek power not merely for its own sake, but in order to ensure their security, preserve their survival, and reduce the risks associated with the security dilemma. As **Kenneth Waltz** states: "In conditions of anarchy, security is the supreme goal; however, once the survival and continuity of states are secured, they will pursue other objectives such as stability, profit, and power." Thus, the realist approach remains confined to the framework of the nation-state as the principal actor in international relations in the face of external threats, with power serving as the primary indicator of security. In this regard, Kenneth Waltz notes that "competition for security and power has consistently led to conflict," and that power is employed to maintain the status quo rather than to transform it, which represents the minimum objective of any state.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Roe, Paul. The Intrastate Security Dilemma: Ethnic Conflict as a 'Tragedy'?

<sup>17</sup> Hamdouche Riad, "The Evolution of the Concept of Security and Security Studies in the Perspectives of International Relations." Intervention within: **International Forum "Algeria and Security in the Mediterranean , Reality and Prospects"**. Organized by: University of Menturi – Constantine – ,Department of Political Science, National Agency for the Development of

We conclude from the above discussion that realist theory establishes a distinction between domestic policy – where individuals are subject to law – and foreign policy, which operates in a context of anarchy where war remains a constant possibility. Consequently, society is closely linked to the security of the state, and national security is defined as the state’s ability to preserve its independent identity and functional unity, or its capacity to survive and safeguard its values while continuing to develop and progress according to government-defined objectives. Realism prioritizes military strength and the protection of external borders, often at the expense of individual security, viewing society as an entity for which the state seeks to provide the means of survival and livelihood.

- **Liberal Perception of Security:**

Liberals base their perception of security on the idea of democratic peace\*, which means that democratic countries do not engage in conflict among themselves. This idea was adopted by Wilson in his Fourteen Points at the beginning of

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Scientific Research, People's Center for Strategic Studies, Algeria, 2008, pp. 4-5.

\* The basic premise of the democratic peace theory is based on the idea that democratic countries do not struggle among themselves - as has been pointed out - and the origins of this idea go back to Immanuel Kant, who is considered the first to refer to the republican constitution as an essential step towards achieving lasting peace. This idea came into existence in the middle of the twentieth century when Joseph Champeter published his book *The Sociology of Imperialism* 1955. Thus, Champeter is among the first to conclude that democracy and capitalism are forces for peace and are contrary to imperialism. After this stage, new thinkers such as Dean Babst, Rummel Rudolph, David Singer, and Melvin Small appeared. , For more details see: Syed Ahmed Qojili, *Critical Security Studies*, op. Cit., Pp. 102-103



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the twentieth century to prevent the outbreak of a world war, and it was associated with the concept of collective security. Liberals view the international order with optimism, emphasizing the possibility of reducing the intensity of conflictual interactions among states through the convergence of democratic values and interests, which contributes to achieving common security<sup>18</sup>.

**The democratic peace** theory is based on two hypotheses: a primary one and a secondary one. The primary hypothesis states that democratic countries do not fight each other, while the secondary hypothesis suggests that leaders of all states (whether democratic or non-democratic) prioritize maintaining their position in power. The proponents of this theory start from a central question: "How does democracy contribute to peace?" or "In what way is democracy a cause of peace?" Many theorists of democratic peace use democracy as an independent variable to explain the dependent variable, which is peace. Donald Puchala argues that "peace, not democracy, is what liberal theory seeks to explain." However, others believe that the direction of influence is not always from democracy to peace; the reverse relationship is also possible. For instance, Robert Owen argued that peace fosters democracy rather than the opposite. Accordingly, democracy becomes – according to Owen – the dependent variable that requires explanation<sup>19</sup>.

As for the idea of **collective security**, its fundamental principle can be summarized in the phrase: "One for all and

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<sup>18</sup> Takayuki Yamamura, *The Concept of Security in International Relations Theories*, TR: Adel Zaqag, **Global Readings Magazine**, Volume I, Issue 01, Spring 005, pp. 38-39

<sup>19</sup> Syed Ahmed Qojili, *Critical Security Studies*, **op. Cit.**, P. 105.

all for one." It is described as a mechanism for maintaining peace among states. The institutional and legal framework of collective security occupies an intermediate position between a nonexistent balance of power and the idea of a world government. Although the notion of a unified world government is sometimes presented as a solution to the problem of war, it remains highly unlikely to be realized through deliberate design. In contrast, the concept of collective security appears more practical and appealing, as it seeks to achieve some of the benefits attributed to a world government without fundamentally altering the core features of the anarchic international system<sup>20</sup>.

The institutional liberal approach has been reinforced, particularly with the success of certain integrationist organizations such as the European Union and NATO in establishing relatively stable security arrangements. Although the end of the Cold War had previously suggested that their role might diminish, these institutions have continued to play a significant role. While they do not eliminate the possibility of war, they contribute to reducing tensions and mitigating fears arising from unequal gains in cooperative relationships.

Liberals also argue that conflicts<sup>21</sup>—especially internal ones—often arise from the deprivation of basic human needs, such as security, economic well-being, recognition of cultural identity, opportunities for political participation and decision-making, control over natural resources, and the

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<sup>20</sup> Martin Griffiths and Terry O'Callaghan, **Basic Concepts in International Relations**, Gulf Research Center: United Arab Emirates, 2008, p. 81

<sup>21</sup> John Bellis and Stephen Smith, **The Globalization of World Politics**, TR: Gulf Research Center, Gulf Research and Studies Center: United Arab Emirates, 2004, p. 426.



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achievement of distributive justice. These needs are frequently denied or threatened, which generates instability. Thus, from a liberal perspective, threats are closely linked to conditions of deprivation, which become a primary source of fear.

- **Copenhagen School:**

This school emerged in the post-Cold War period, necessitating a reconsideration of the concept of security due to changes in the nature of threats. The Copenhagen School focuses on the groups living within the state as primary referents of security studies, emphasizing that these threats affect society primarily. This approach became particularly relevant with the emergence of ethnic conflicts as a new type of conflict in international relations, occurring within states or in their aftermath, sometimes taking the form of ethnic cleansing, as witnessed in Rwanda and Kosovo. Additionally, the source of threat is no longer solely external; it can be internal and even emanate from the state itself<sup>22</sup>.

**The Copenhagen School** is recognized as one of the most influential frameworks in expanding the concept of security, with its theoretical roots in **Barry Buzan's** book, *People, States, and Fear: The Security Problem in International Relations*, published in 1991. The school emphasizes the social manifestations of security. Its key thinkers include **Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver**, Jaap de Wilde, and other scholars affiliated with the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute<sup>23</sup>.

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<sup>22</sup> Ayse cyhem, analyse de securité ,dillion,waver,wiliams et les autres : « [www.revue.org/conflicts/article.php3?D](http://www.revue.org/conflicts/article.php3?D)

<sup>23</sup> Copenhagen school, in [www.wikipedia.org/Copenhagueschool](http://www.wikipedia.org/Copenhagueschool) (internationalrelations)

**Barry Buzan**, the pioneering figure of the Copenhagen School, was instrumental in reformulating the concept of security and opening new research avenues in security studies from the 1980s onward. The school proposed a multidimensional analysis of security, arguing that the military sector, while important, is not the sole determinant of security. Other sectors include:

- The political sector, encompassing states, international organizations, and the international community.
- The economic sector, covering global markets and energy security.
- The social sector, which Buzan emphasizes most, encompassing nations, cultures, ideologies, religions, and human rights (sometimes referred to as "community security").
- The environmental sector.

All these sectors are essential for understanding security in the post-Cold War era. Buzan maintained that while the state remains central to security analysis, it should not be the only reference point; however, he rejected the idea of completely transferring security analysis to the individual or global system level<sup>24</sup>.

The novelty of Buzan's approach arose from the recognition that traditional concepts were insufficient to address the complexities of contemporary global realities. This innovation paved the way for critical security studies beginning in the 1980s, emphasizing the necessity of

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<sup>24</sup> Khadija Batqa, *European Security Policy in the Face of Illegal Migration, Memorandum Complementing the Master's Degree in Political Science and International Relations, Specialization in International and Strategic Relations*, Mohammed Khader University, Faculty of Law and Political Science, Department of Political Science and International Relations, 2013-2014, p. 25



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integrating economic, political, environmental, and social considerations alongside traditional military threats.<sup>25</sup>

By the early 1990s, practical challenges emerged to the idea of the state as the sole referent. Dramatic changes in European and global security, including the rise of ethnic conflicts in Eastern Europe, continued acts of organized violence in sub-Saharan Africa, rising illegal immigration, integration challenges, poverty, and high crime rates, highlighted the evolving nature of threats.<sup>26</sup>

Barry Buzan, Director of the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute, emphasized that, besides the military sector, the political, economic, social, and environmental sectors are all essential fields of security in the post-Cold War era. In his framework, the state is no longer the only referent for analyzing or explaining security phenomena at regional or global levels. He also developed concepts such as regional security and community security. According to Buzan, understanding state security requires considering "units under study" within "sub-systems," characterized by geographically proximate states that perceive common threats. Security in this framework is understood through friend/foe relationships and collective threat assessments<sup>27</sup>.

School scholars focused on the quality of threat management using distinct measures, addressing existing

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<sup>25</sup> Salim Chena « L'école de Copenhague en Relation Internationales et la notion de sécurité sociétale » « une théorie à la manière d 'Huntington», n°4 institutionnalisation de la xénophobie en France, May 2008, revue asylon(s)url de référence :<http://reseauterra.eu/article/750.html>.12-07-2011.

<sup>26</sup> Syed Ahmed Qojili , **op. Cit.**, P. 11.

<sup>27</sup> Ammar Hajjar, **op. Cit.**

threats to states, societies, and nations. Analysis occurs across multiple levels<sup>28</sup>:

- 1- Topics considered by the Human Rights Council in its resolutions, decisions, and presidential statements.
- 2- Additional topics considered by the Human Rights Council (continuation).
- 3- Units, such as countries and multinational companies.
- 4- Sub-units, including lobbies, ethnic groups, and tribes.
- 5- Individuals.

The table below summarizes Buzan’s five security sectors:

Security Sector	Description
Military Security	Relates to the offensive and defensive military capabilities of states and the perceived capabilities of other states.
Political Security	Concerns threats to the stability of the political organization within the state, including government, institutions, and state ideologies.
Societal Security	Focuses on preserving fundamental values, including culture, religion, language, national identity, customs, and traditions.
Environmental Security	Pertains to the conservation of ecosystems, including oceans, as

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<sup>28</sup> Saliha Kebabi, Security Studies between Traditional and Modern **Trends**, **Journal of Humanities**, Issue 38, December 2012, p. 237



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	foundational support for human activity.
Economic Security	Involves access to and control of essential material, financial, and commercial resources, as well as the maintenance of public health as a critical security indicator.

The Copenhagen School also draws on analyses by Wæver, Dillon, and De Wilde. Wæver highlights the effects of globalization, cross-border risks, foreign control over national wealth, immigration, and cultural invasion. He argues that society is more threatened than the state in this context, as societal identity is challenged while the state's formal functions may remain intact. For example, the rise in racist attacks against foreigners in Western countries and debates surrounding the Maastricht Treaty illustrate societal insecurities. Wæver thus equates social security with identity security, proposing it as a coherent theoretical framework for analyzing and responding to contemporary security challenges.

Societal security is threatened when communities perceive existential threats to their identity. The preservation of societal identity relies on the collective consciousness of "we" in opposition to "them." Anything perceived as threatening the survival of "us"—whether based on race, religion, ethnicity, or nationality—becomes a security concern.

A key contribution of the Copenhagen School is the concept of "**securitization**," primarily developed by Ole Wæver. Securitization addresses the challenge of defining security in a universally accepted way. Definitions of security

often encounter practical difficulties when applied; securitization allows for framing issues as threats requiring exceptional measures. In practice, securitization is a pragmatic linguistic construct employed by elites, who declare the existence of threats to the physical or moral survival of a security referent (individuals, groups, states, or identities) to legitimize extraordinary protective measures<sup>29</sup>.

- **Critical studies theorists**

The end of the Cold War brought about a transformation in the international order, accompanied by the shrinking of borders between countries and the emergence of new threats to security. This led to discussions of new topics such as human rights and human development, and the extent of their impact on international peace and security – issues that had not received attention during the bipolar era, when thinking was focused on material power and hard security. Poverty, criminality, epidemics, and demographic explosion began to threaten the survival of the state and the entire international system. Attention thus shifted to internal conflicts, in which economic, social, cultural, border, and ethnic causes are intertwined, leading to the uncontrolled spread of chaos within societies that hold their populations hostage, as occurred in Rwanda. These internal civil wars generate refugees who refuse to live in insecure environments, alongside the impoverishment and starvation of large segments of the population. This indicates that the main sources of threat are no longer exclusively external but

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<sup>29</sup> Adel Zaqag, The Fourth Discussion between Theoretical Approaches to International Relations, **A Complementary Thesis for a PhD in Political Science and International Relations**, Haji Lakhdar University in Batna, 2008-2009, p. 129



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increasingly originate from within the state itself. Hence, the critical approach focused on engaging with the complexities of this new security environment and reconsidering prevailing perceptions and concepts of security. This phase was described by Stephen Walt as “the renaissance stage of security studies.”

The critics’ concept of security is difficult to define because they differ in precisely determining what should constitute its referent. Are they social structures, social forces, individuals, human beings, or humanity as a whole? It is the individual who must be the referent, whether as a person, a citizen, or a human being, since structures themselves are formed through the aggregation of individuals. Critics have used the term “individual” in a sense similar to “human,” yet the two are not identical. Discussing the individual implies defending individual security as embedded within specific values and interests shaped by a particular social and historical context, as if it were an inherent axiom. Hence, the notion of human security advanced by critical theory does not merely concern the security of individuals, but rather the security of the “human individual.”

Accordingly, the focus is placed on the critical approach, grounded in the serious efforts of its pioneers to engage with the repercussions of the new security environment. Threats are no longer confined to military-political sources, nor are they restricted to specific units such as states. Instead, they expand across both horizontal and vertical levels. The critical perspective encompasses several currents, including that associated with Barry Buzan. It is also represented by neo-Marxist approaches, as well as feminist theory. Among the

most prominent scholars of this perspective are Ken Booth, Jim George, Ann Tickner, and James Der Derian<sup>30</sup>.

The most important principles and foundations of critical theory can be summarized as follows: They adopt a “structural” approach, emphasizing that comprehensive social and economic forces determine security and its development, rather than the state alone.

1. Non-military factors occupy a central role in achieving security, including environmental disasters, economic crises, and identity-related crises—in other words, all factors that threaten human security.
2. - The human individual is considered the primary referent object, while the state is viewed merely as a means to ensure the security and well-being of individuals; thus, the state is not the ultimate focus of security.
3. They reject the equation of security with war, instead advocating a more positive and comprehensive understanding.

Critical studies theorists argue that security is intrinsically linked to five fundamental manifestations:<sup>31</sup>

1. The greater the degree of international interdependence within an advanced production context, the more vulnerable these systems become to disruptions and fluctuations—for example, in the supply of technological equipment or energy

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<sup>30</sup> Hamdouche Riad, **op. Cit.**, P. 16

<sup>31</sup> [La \(re\)conceptualisation de la sécurité dans les théories réaliste et critique : quelques pistes de réflexion sur les concepts de sécurité humaine et de sécurité globale](http://www.ieim.uqam.ca/spip.php?page=article-gric&id_article=2601). : [http://www.ieim.uqam.ca/spip.php?page=article-gric&id\\_article=2601](http://www.ieim.uqam.ca/spip.php?page=article-gric&id_article=2601)



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resources, as some countries rely entirely on imports in key productive sectors.

2. International demographic diversity resulting from migration flows toward centers of production creates and intensifies potential tensions between minorities and the state.
3. The emergence of new sources of conflict stemming from the “center-periphery” structure of production, where issues of ethnicity, gender, and the environment exert significant influence; these dynamics may ultimately contribute to the redefinition of national identity.
4. The strengthening of international interdependence coincides with the weakening of the national principle based on territorial integrity. However, global security transformations still depend largely on land-based military power. Within this contradiction, beneficiaries of economic globalization may seek to preserve the existing order by using force against potential uprisings in impoverished regions, often referred to as “wild zones.”

Critical theory considers the individual as its primary referent object. Protecting human beings or human groups thus becomes the central objective, leading to a search for strategies capable of ensuring both comprehensive global security and human security. In this regard, Kenneth Booth argues that engagement with this critical debate should be welcomed as it enables a confrontation with the rigid paradigms of Cold War strategic studies, ultimately leading to a reconsideration of the concept of security, provided there

is a commitment to emancipation. In this sense, Booth defines security as emancipation—that is, the liberation of individuals and peoples from constraints that hinder their ability to pursue their chosen paths. These constraints include war, poverty, persecution, and lack of education, among others.

He further argues that the state should not remain the primary referent of security, as it has, in many cases, become a source of insecurity for those living under its authority rather than their protector. Consequently, his conception of security expands beyond a strictly military understanding of threats to encompass non-state actors, individuals, and groups, emphasizing that human security takes precedence over state security.

### **Third: Determinants of Community Security**

Social or community security constitutes one of the most significant components of the research agenda in contemporary security studies. It moves beyond traditional perspectives that treat society merely as a sector of state security, instead recognizing it as an autonomous entity and a distinct referent of security. According to Durkheim, societies are units composed of groups of individuals who, through shared religious beliefs and national sentiments, develop a sense of connection manifested in a collective consciousness that transcends individual awareness. Accordingly, the Copenhagen School emphasized that contemporary globalization has profoundly affected societal identities, which have become increasingly vulnerable to various threats, including migration flows, the forced



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importation of foreign cultures, and integration into broader political and economic units<sup>32</sup>.

It is also important to note that the use of the term “society” does not primarily refer to a structure or organization, but rather to identity. Society represents a set of ideas and practices specific to individuals as members of an identity-based social group, as well as their self-perception as members of a particular community. If societies are at the center of new security challenges, then issues such as identity and migration become central, as they shape grassroots perceptions of threats and vulnerabilities. Thus, societies are fundamentally centered around identity<sup>33</sup>.

In response to the emerging research agenda of the Copenhagen School, increasing voices have called for moving beyond purely material conceptions of threats, and for breaking the traditional and arbitrary link between security and the state, while recognizing other security actors, particularly non-state actors. Some scholars have criticized the contradiction inherent in the excessive focus on sovereign states as the sole guarantors of security. In certain cases, the state may not serve as the protector of citizens, as suggested in the Hobbesian model, but rather as a source of threat. As Wayne Jones argues, “the sovereign state... is one of the principal causes of insecurity and forms part of the problem

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<sup>32</sup> Dario Battistela, *Théories des relations internationales*, Op.cit,pp480-481

<sup>33</sup> Qassoum Salim, *New Trends in Security Studies – A Study in the Development of the Concept of Security through the Perspectives of International Relations*, **Memorandum Complementing the Master's Degree in Political Science and International Relations**, Specialization of Strategy and Futures, University of Algiers 3 , Faculty of Political Science and Media , Department of Political Science and International Relations, 2010, p. 119

rather than its solution.” The Copenhagen School emerged alongside waves of violence and genocide among ethnic groups in Africa, parts of Asia, and the Arab world, as well as increasing migration to Europe and escalating social challenges. This context led scholars of the Copenhagen School to position society as a central referent of security, in contrast to the state, which they increasingly viewed as a potential source of threat<sup>34</sup>.

Shifting the referent object of security from the state to society has directly transformed the concept of “societal security,” a key analytical term of the Copenhagen School. Barry Buzan defines it as the preservation of acceptable conditions for the evolution of traditional patterns of language, culture<sup>35</sup>, religious and national identity, and customs. The distinction between state security and societal security became a central point of debate, particularly in Ole Wæver’s critique of Buzan’s sectoral approach to security. Wæver argued that this approach had become insufficient for analyzing societal security and proposed instead a reformulation based on the duality of state security and societal security<sup>36</sup>.

Buzan further clarifies this perspective by noting that societal insecurity may come to dominate the national security agenda, although external threats remain a fundamental component of national security concerns. Ole Wæver supported this view through the “hourglass model,”

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<sup>34</sup> Syed Ahmed Qojili, *The Development of Security Studies and the Dilemma of Application in the Arab World*, **op. Cit.**, P. 26

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27

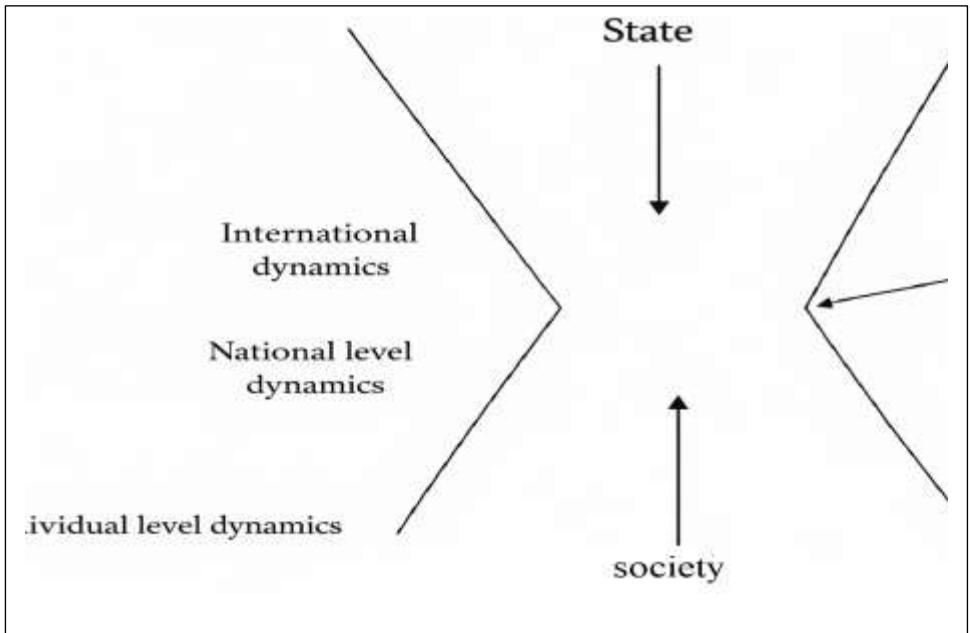
<sup>36</sup> Syed Ahmed Qojili, *Critical Security Studies - New Approaches to Redefining Security* -, **op. Cit.**, P. 82



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in which both the state and society occupy central positions within the conceptual framework of security.<sup>37</sup>

**Figure 02: Hourglass Model for Security**



**Source:** Sana Meniger, *Cultural Diversity from a Community Security Perspective*, Memorandum Complementing the Master's Degree in Political Science and International Relations, Specialization in Human Rights and Human Security, University of Setif 2, Faculty of Law and Political Science, Department of Political Science and International Relations, 2013–2014, p. 14.

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<sup>37</sup> Sana Meniger, op. Cit., P. 14

The Copenhagen School was the first to take a decisive step in distinguishing between the state and society, arguing that security studies must adopt a dual understanding of the concept of security, as it involves a combination of state security related to sovereignty and societal security primarily concerned with the preservation of identity. This elevation of society to the level of an independent referent of security constituted a major shift in thinking, which had long been focused exclusively on state security and the means of achieving it.

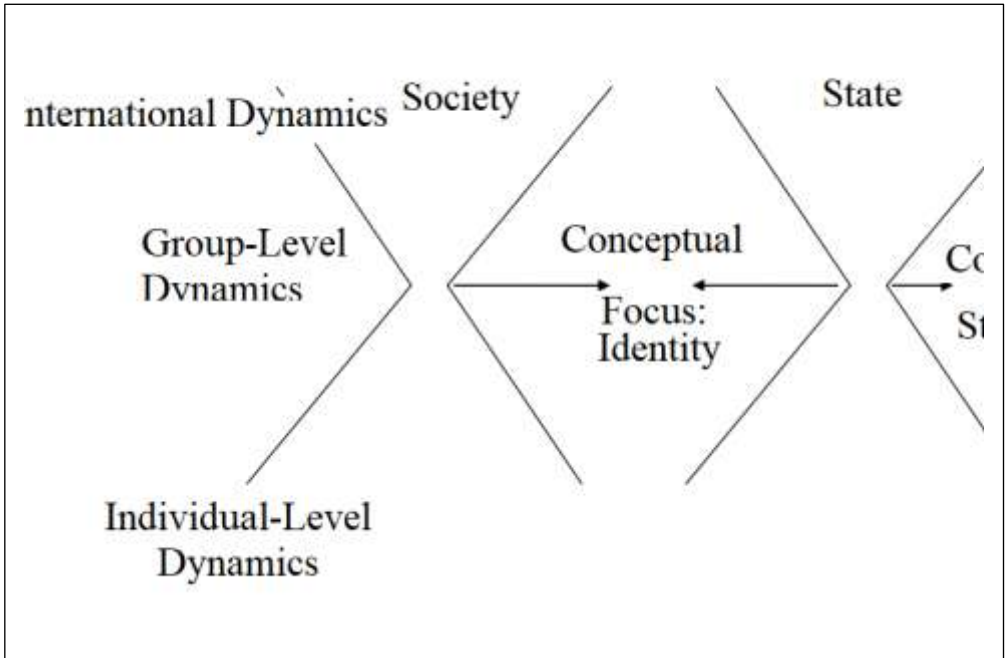
The source of this duality lies in the steady growth of the division of labor between the state and society. Societal actors tend to define themselves as defenders of their declared identity, while the state follows its own agenda in defending its sovereignty. However, Wæver argues that the deeper reason for this duality may be the tendency toward the erosion of the state system itself, which could imply a corresponding decline in the logic of the guardian state associated with the Westphalian model of sovereignty, and the transfer of the capacity to exercise legitimate or organized violence to new actors. This development highlights the growing importance of “societal insecurity,” referring to situations in which a large group within society perceives its identity as threatened by migration, affiliation, or cultural domination, prompting it to attempt self-defense<sup>38</sup>.

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<sup>38</sup> Syed Ahmed Qojili , *Critical Security Studies - New Approaches to Redefining Security* - , **op. Cit.**, P. 82



**Figure 03: Modified Hourglass Model**



Source: Sana Meniger, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

According to Buzan, the security dilemma revolves around identity, or what he terms the societal security dilemma. When a group feels insecure regarding authority or other groups sharing the same territory, this leads to societal tension. As this dilemma escalates, competition over resources or authority may evolve into attempts to eliminate rival groups through ethnic cleansing. Frequently, conflicts within society stem from the failure of the state to effectively manage governance and from the fragmentation of the pillars

of internal security and stability. In this context, the state becomes a means to achieve security rather than an end in itself<sup>39</sup>.

In this regard, Wæver maintains that the concept of societal security can be clarified by distinguishing it from political security. The latter refers to the organizational stability of states, systems of government, and the ideologies from which they derive legitimacy, whereas societal security concerns the preservation of identity and social cohesion. In this sense, the state may serve as a means of preserving society – its culture, language, and identity – yet the survival of society does not depend solely on state sovereignty or territorial integrity, but rather on the continuity of its identity as a core value that must be protected.

#### **Fourth: Strategies for Community Security**

The concept of human security has evolved into an expanded framework of national security (state security + societal security + human security). Beyond the protection of borders, territorial integrity, state sovereignty, national interests, and vitality, it encompasses functional dimensions related to the protection of human rights, freedoms, and social organization in a manner that ensures identity, dignity, and the well-being of future generations. This concept has broadened to include a wider range of threats – moral, humanitarian, and existential – placing upon policymakers the responsibility of balancing the integration between state security and human security. Nevertheless, the practical implementation of this vision remains challenging due to the

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<sup>39</sup> Ghad Zagagh, *Rewriting the Concept of Security :A Community Security Research Program*, quoting:

<http://politics-ar.com/ar/files/06.pdf>



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fluidity of the concept and the blurring of boundaries between what is state-centered and what is human-centered.

The concept of human security places the individual at the center rather than the state as the primary unit of analysis. Although many attempts have been made to define it, its boundaries remain ambiguous. While state security implies the existence of policies aimed at safeguarding both the state and the individual, in practice, the security of the state often conflicts with that of its citizens and may even constitute a source of threat. This necessitated a conceptual separation between the two. Human security emerged partly as a response to the limitations of realist approaches in addressing contemporary security issues. New types of threats have emerged that are more harmful to freedom and, in many cases, more alarming than traditional military threats – threats that states may fail to detect, anticipate, or control. These include epidemics, deadly diseases, poverty, environmental degradation, organized crime, and international terrorism, all of which may have consequences as severe as, or even surpassing, those of direct military threats<sup>40</sup>.

The concept of security became closely associated with the *Human Development Report* issued by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 1994. It was notably developed by the Pakistani economist Mahbub ul Haq and the Indian Nobel laureate Amartya Sen (1998), through an

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<sup>40</sup> Saliha Kebabi, op. Cit., P. 242

integrated framework linking multiple interrelated variables, including:<sup>41</sup>

- 1- Building an integrated and effective global framework for human rights that fosters functional mechanisms capable of enhancing both individual and collective capacities to meet fundamental human needs.
- 2- Establishing a political framework grounded in participatory democracy that ensures freedom of political participation – partisan, civil, and electoral – and promotes a system capable of eliminating arbitrariness, corruption, and oppression, while guaranteeing constitutional, legal, and political safeguards for democratic governance.
- 3- Developing an economic framework that secures the rights to production and investment for all, thereby promoting employment opportunities and livelihoods, and enabling individuals to enjoy the rights to life and dignity. This would lay the foundation for a human-centered model of economic development aimed at both state prosperity and social progress.
- 4- Establishing a framework based on the rule of law.
- 5- Developing a philosophy of political development that balances the needs of identity with loyalty to the nation (homeland).
- 6- Promoting freedom of thought, expression, and belief.
- 7- Establishing governance based on transparency and integrity.
- 8- Developing a sustainable development model grounded in intergenerational equity.
- 9- Ensuring the sustainable protection of the environment

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<sup>41</sup> Roland. Paris, 'Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?', *International Security* 26, no. 2 (2001): 87–102



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against pollution and ecological risks.  
10- Rationalizing global governance in the name of shared human responsibility.

The dimensions of human security have also been defined according to the philosophy of basic needs, as illustrated in the table below:

**Table 02: Types and Threats of Human Security**

	<b>Characteristics and Threats / Indicators</b>
<b>Economic Security</b>	Ensuring financial independence and the ability to participate in society. <i>Threats/Indicators:</i> High unemployment, inflation, loss of productive assets, widening income inequality.
<b>Food Security:</b>	Availability of food and access to resources. <i>Threats/Indicators:</i> Decline in consumption, depletion of food reserves, reduced production, increased import dependence.
<b>Health Security:</b>	Physical well-being and access to healthcare. <i>Threats/Indicators:</i> Spread of epidemics, deterioration of healthcare systems, lack of safe drinking water.
<b>Environmental Security</b>	Ecological balance and sustainability. <i>Threats/Indicators:</i> Environmental degradation, resource depletion.

<b>: Political Security:</b>	Protection of fundamental rights and democratic guarantees. <i>Threats/Indicators:</i> Political repression, xenophobia, ethnic and religious conflicts.
<b>Societal Security:</b>	Preservation of cultural, linguistic, religious, and identity patterns. <i>Threats/Indicators:</i> Threats to the continuity of collective identity.
<b>Personal Security:</b>	Protection from physical violence. <i>Threats/Indicators:</i> Rising violence, including violence against women.

**Source:** Prepared by the researcher.

Community security, like other dimensions of human security, aligns with the broader framework of human security. It refers fundamentally to the quality of life of individuals within groups such as the family, community, or ethnic, religious, or linguistic affiliations. The central focus of community security remains the human being, as the individual is the primary referent object that must be protected.

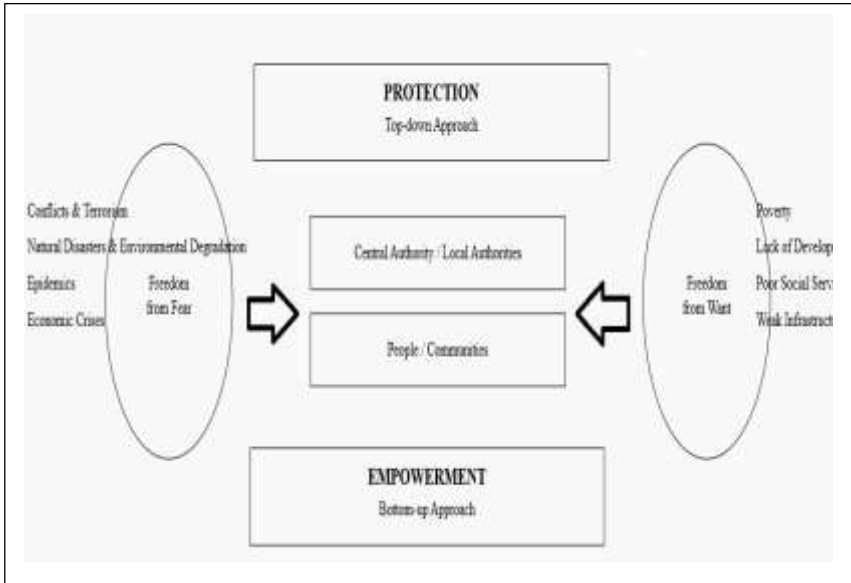
The strength of human security as a practical and dynamic framework lies in its dual policy structure based on two mutually reinforcing pillars: protection and empowerment. Its implementation offers a comprehensive approach that combines top-down mechanisms—such as institutions, early warning systems, good governance tools, and social protection—with bottom-up processes that emphasize participation. In this way, individuals and groups are



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recognized as key actors in shaping their lives and securing their fundamental rights<sup>42</sup>.

### Figure 04: Protecting people from diverse threats and empowering them to address threats themselves



Source: Sana Moniger,op. Cit., P. 24 .

Through the above figure, we find that community security strategies are based on policies of empowerment from below and protection from above, such that:

Protection involves a top-down approach that recognizes that people are exposed to threats beyond their control, such as violence and conflicts, serious violations of human rights,

<sup>42</sup> Sana Meniger, **op. Cit.**, P. 24

cultural exclusion, and marginalization. All of these lead to the emergence of multiple dimensions of insecurity that require systematic rather than improvised, comprehensive rather than fragmented, and preventive rather than reactive approaches. In this framework, the state bears primary responsibility for implementing such protective structures, in cooperation with international and regional organizations, civil society, non-governmental actors, and the private sector, all of which play pivotal and complementary roles in preventing risks and threats to individuals and groups. Here, the state appears as the most important actor in implementing these strategies, as it is primarily responsible for protecting citizens, alongside human rights institutions and civil society organizations. At the regional level, intergovernmental organizations also play a crucial role in protecting citizens through their various strategies.

- The promotion of human dignity is closely linked to the concept of empowerment, which is based on participation in governance processes that represent all groups and communities, including those previously marginalized and excluded. It is grounded in a comprehensive system that rejects exclusion and discrimination, within what is referred to as “inclusion in empowerment policies.” Such policies should encompass all individuals who possess the capacities and potential to integrate into society and to participate in addressing the issues that affect their interests.



## **Conclusion:**

The transformation of the concept of security in the post-Cold War era has attracted considerable attention in the field of security studies, particularly with the emergence of the concept of community security, which was crystallized through the Copenhagen School. This development contributed to expanding the concept of security and establishing a solid foundation for the societal dimension, which cannot be isolated from other security dimensions such as political, economic, environmental, and military security.

The shared and evolving threats faced by states, along with the resulting risks, pose global challenges whose causes and solutions are interconnected, making societal security a global concern in a world that has effectively become a “small village” due to globalization. Overcoming these crises and avoiding societal security dilemmas within the state depends fundamentally on giving due attention to the individual and society, as essential elements that were previously neglected in traditional interpretations of security.

- ✓ This paper has reached the following conclusions:
  - The concept of community security has become a central feature within security studies, particularly as an expanded understanding of security shaped by the contributions of the Copenhagen School.
- ✓ – Community security is grounded in internal stability supported by development.
  - The absence of indicators of internal stability fuels disparities within society and drives groups toward competition and conflict, leading to the emergence

of an ethnic security dilemma.

- Economic and social deprivation, as well as cultural oppression, reinforce perceptions of differentiation and foster identity-based particularism.
- Societal conflict among groups widens the gap toward a security dilemma, as each group seeks to protect the continuity of its cultural, linguistic, religious, and ethnic patterns.

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