

САВРЕМЕНИ ТЕОРИЈСКИ ПРИСТУПИ И ФЕНОМЕНОЛОГИЈА БЕЗБЕДНОСТИ

CONTEMPORARY THEORETICAL APPROACHES AND THE SECURITY PHENOMENOLOGY



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ABSTRACT

Key words:

security, security theory, human security, biopolitics, information and communication technologies, human rights

Spreading of contemporary security research field of studies brings us to the pluralism of security theories and ideas, as well as to the dichotomy of the nature of security. Such a theoretical multiplication and particularizing of the research field of security studies unavoidably influences security in practice. This paper analyses relations among current security theories and phenomenology of current security in practice. Special attention is paid to realizing current challenges, risks and threats' influence on the cooperation concept development within military-political alliances, as well as to the human security influence on domestic security systems change. Starting from achievements of famous critics of human security, biopolitics theory is of current interest in this paper and the question of possible misuses of contemporary information and technological means for the surveillance of population. Further, in the paper, we speak in favor of human rights and freedoms as the corner stone of human security in an engaged discourse, as well as basic civilization values, both by state institutions and international organizations, with equal respect of the individual rights and rights of sovereign states and nations.

*Раг њримљен:
28.9.2016.
Paper received:
9/28/2016*

*Раг њрихваћен:
18.10.2016.
Paper accepted:
10/18/2016*

САЖЕТАК

Кључне речи:

безбедност, теорија безбедности, људска безбедност, биополитика, информациона и комуникациона технологија, људска права

Ширење истраживачког поља савремених студија безбедности дошло је до плурализма теорија и идеја, као и до јасне дихотомије саме природе безбедности. Овакво теоријско умножавање и уситњавање предметне области безбедности неминовно је оставило траг и на испољавање безбедности у пракси. Овај рад се бави анализом међусобних односа савремених теорија безбедности и савремених феномена безбедности који се испољавају у пракси. Посебна пажња усмерава се на сагледавање утицаја савремених изазова, ризика и претњи на развој концепта сарадње у безбедности у оквиру војно политичких савеза, као и на утицај људске безбедности на актуелне промене у оквиру националних система безбедности. Полазећи од радова познатих критичара људске безбедности, у овом раду је актуелизован и проблем теорија које се баве биополитиком, а покренуто је и питање могућих злоупотреба савремених информативних и технолошких средстава за надгледање становништва. У наставку рада ангажованим дискурсом говори се у прилог поштовању људских права и слобода као беоцуга људске безбедности, као и темељних цивилизацијских вредности како од стране органа државне управе тако и међународних организација, уз уважавање индивидуалних људских права и права суверених држава и народа.

PREFACE

Theoretical diversity of the security field, the existence of numerous theoretical approaches and confronting attitudes of some authors within certain theoretical schools, as well as political influence of some security subjects on the international and national plan contribute to the absence of common approaches in defining the basic notion of security, as well as syntagms of related terms, which are the corner stone of contemporary security studies. The appearance and development of security thoughts and certain security institutions unfolded in accordance with the human society development, from military toward global security. Those institutions protected, followed and supported social development. Pluralism of different interests and their influence on the security phenomena, as well as their theoretical generalization mislead to the theoretical fragmentation, spreading the security studies research field to fields, which have been already researched in other social sciences or scientific disciplines, or take the theoretical focus far away from security needs of people

and certain institutions. Therefore, this paper starts with an assumption that it is necessary to determine the subject of this science clearly in order to realize the place and role of contemporary security theory effectively. After that, with the help of specific security studies methodology, it is possible to spread the research field of the security phenomena. However, even then the security studies or developing security science will not be immune to political and interest spheres, but it will have at its disposal scientifically checked facts and techniques, which will help to analyze and observe the current security phenomena, as well as to develop the theory of security science.

DETERMINATION OF THE SECURITY NOTION

The problem of precise and common determination of security studies notion and its subject are debatable to such an extent that some writers like David Lake think that “security is an unclear and often undefined notion, and if it is defined, definition is usually tailored by specification of time and place, which are part of security discussion or personal authors’

views about certain security definition” [1]. Taking into consideration the current etymological, semantic, comparative and qualitative analyses of the security notion, this term is considered as the “absence of danger” in scientific circles and in the public. Based on the semantic analysis of this notion, it was confirmed that in the Serbian language the term “security” is composed of two Slavic words: “bez” (without) and “beda” (misery), meaning “without trouble” or “absence of troubles, misfortune, all kinds of evil” [2]. Also, this notion, in its original meaning, is not correlated with the condition (fear) but with the appearance of troubles, which could be the cause of the condition. Since it is a word which starts with negation (“without”), we could say that security refers to “everything that is opposite to the condition of misery and trouble – security, determination, toughness, readiness, clarity, determination, consistency” [3].

As Miroslav Stanić notices, “The notion of security provokes numerous dilemmas and confusions. In its essence, it is about understanding it. In fact, there is no precise classification of all papers in the field of security thoughts development. The scope of knowledge in the area of security, integration of security with other disciplines, clear and tuned security semantics, as well as the absenteeism of testing basic knowledge and previously defined principles in this area (in security segments where it is possible) are missing. Today, as in other theories, we cannot speak about “the universal security theory”, concluded this author [4].

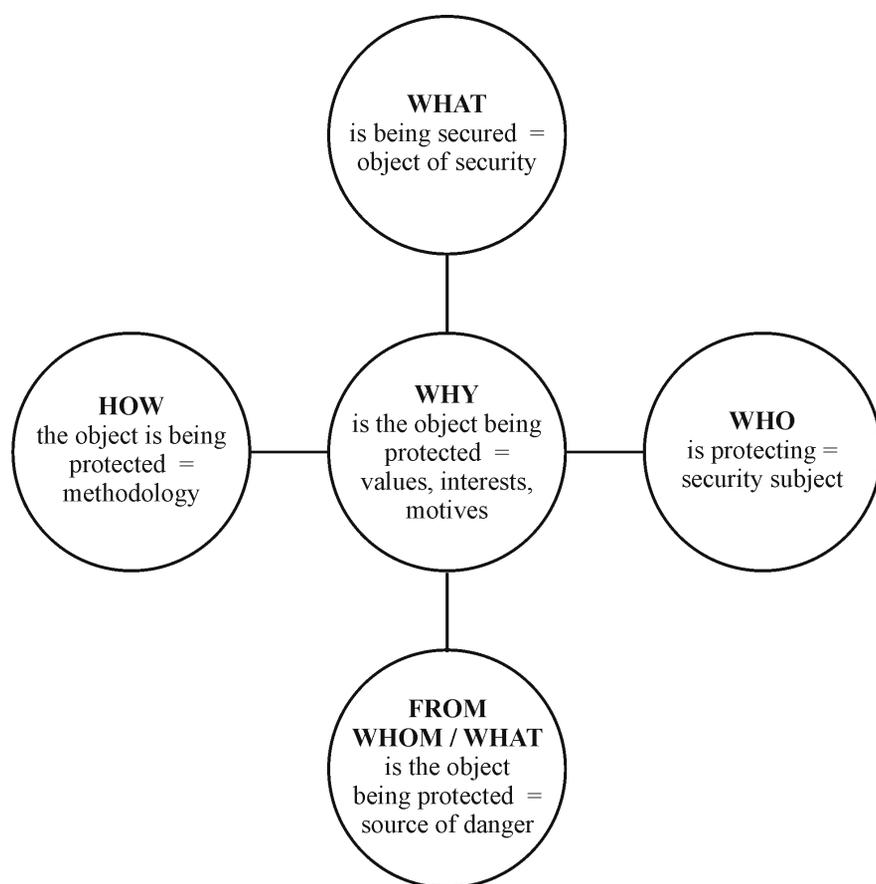
Starting with the fact that there is no generally accepted definition of security, Mijalkovski, Đorđević and Mijalković tried to improve the determination of this notion. In their papers, emphasizing the interconnectedness of the terms of “security” and “danger”, as terms with many meanings, Mijalkovski and Đorđević defined three key questions, which they consider will help in determining the security notion. The first question would be – What is being secured, defended or protected? (Values – the object of security). The second – Who (why, how) protects the object of

security? (Man as a person, as an individual or as a member of collectivity – the subject of security. He/she protects it by undertaking adequate activities because it represents the main condition for his/her survival and sustainable development). The third – Who (or what) is the object of security being protected from? (From someone or something which threatens or could threaten its security – the subject of danger or the source of danger) [4]. Mijalković complements these considerations with the attitude that it is necessary to involve the fourth question – Security, in which way? [5]. According to this author, the response goes directly to the identification of methodology (methods, scientific techniques and tools). Authors of this article added one more, the fifth question – Why is someone or something protected? Response to this question is the base for clarification which values and interests are protected, what kind of motives are part of a moral and driving force of security subjects, etc. Generally speaking, answers to these questions contribute to the clarification of security phenomenology from the philosophical, political, geopolitical, economical, ethical, military, sociological, psychological, informational perspective, which is exactly what we consider under interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary and trans-disciplinary security studies (Picture 1).

If we follow the thought line of theoreticians Stajić and Gaćinović, the security subject could be defined as the security of a human, society, state, civilization in relation to the challenges, risks and threats from different subjects in different circumstances, situations, space and time [7]. Walter Lippmann’s statement speaks in favor of this scientific notion determination “Security and thereby national security in contemporary literature are observed in line with different theoretical approaches, which have different starting points for the basic theoretical unit of analysis (state, society, individual, environment etc.)” [6].

Complexity and differentiation of the security notion lead us to observe this notion in different ways, such as: (1) psychological phenomenon, as the absence of condition and

feeling of fear; (2) a complex social phenomenon, as the absence of danger; (3) the function of protection; (4) systems, institutions, forces and means of protection; (5) security theory and (6) scientific discipline in development. Hence, it is always useful that scientists state precisely which concrete content of this complex term their work of thoughts refers to [7].



Picture 1. Five key questions for determining the security subject

CONTEMPORARY THEORETICAL SECURITY APPROACHES

Besides different analyses of the content and meaning of this notion, different theoretical security approaches exist. Abundance and division, even epistemological confrontation among security theories and theoreticians, have their roots in the disputed theoretical identity of international relations and international politics, which security originated from. The above mentioned complexity of theoretical basis of international relations is even more made complex with the process of globalization,

technological revolution, intensified international and global interactions and by numerous turbulences in social and ecological security [8]. In this context, the main disputes in defining the notion of security originate from theoreticians' values and attitudes, and their commitments to the values which should be protected (physical and property safety, political independence, territorial integrity, international peace, etc.) and the determination of subject/object, which is the object of protection (citizen-individual, state, international community, social safety, economic system, environment, and so on). Having in mind diversity of starting points, we can state that two main theoretical approaches prevail in the 21st century: (1) neorealist and (2) neoliberal. They have numerous separate schools, whose differences and similarities we will try to present in short. Knowing and understanding them is of great importance not only for the scientists and for the employees in institutions which deal with security issues, but also for the industry subjects and organizations of civil society which deal with projects and

activities in the security area.

activities in the security area.

Representatives of neorealist school consider the role and function of the state to be actual in keeping and achieving security, that is, "the monopoly of power", which has the power to protect their citizens (population) with enforcement and protective mechanisms. Scientific disciplines, such as, the history of political theories and international relations speak in favor of this statement, as well as contemporary security theories, and dictionary units which point that the notion of *security* was originally connected with state and nation as its constitutive elements, as well as with the

military sector, which this notion referred to at the beginning. As Wolfers points out, “in the objective sense, security is measured by the absence of threats to adopted values and, in the subjective sense, the absence of fear that those values will be attacked” [9] or as Burzan said “in case of security, we talk about striving to the liberty of threats”; in the context of the international system “security is the ability of states and societies to preserve independence and integrity” [10].

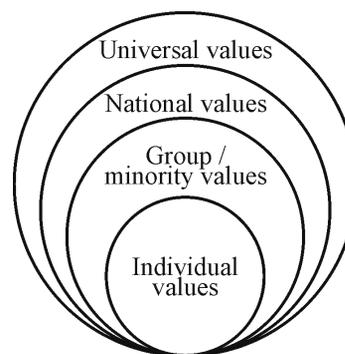
National security, as a concept and political practice, owes its origin to the Doctrine of Sovereignty Inviolability, which dates back to the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. Development and shaping of the national security concept, from the end of XVIII until the middle of XX century, contributed not only to its domination, but was one of the key development factors for some states and nations. The realistic theory approach to the security and later neorealist concept developed in accordance with these processes in political practice. However, as Avramov notes, “security gradually seizes the social and political sphere and it is formed as a theoretical concept”. Also, it is important to notice the difference which exists among notions *state security* and *society security*, which Avramov pointed to, starting from the analysis of political practice, in which state is the one which provides legitimacy and protection to the society with developed and functional state institutions like: army, police, gendarmerie, border units, customs, security services, civil protection, different institutes, detective agencies, etc. [11].

By quoting the foreign sources, Bajagić, considers that deficiency and ineffectiveness of traditional security ideas and institutions from the post Cold war period arising from “archaic nature of the post Cold war system of sovereign states, which caused that security discussions shrink to the state-centric definition of national security”. He asserts that the balance of powers and collective security were two institutes of international security which were functional outside of the sovereign state context [14]. Squeezed by globalization, which

is characterized by simultaneous processes of unification and fragmentation, the national security concept stands between the international and global security and human security. That makes reaching agreement or finding a common meaning denominator impossible, especially, agreements on values and subjects which should be protected. These trends invoke the processes, which make national security more open, subject to change and promotion of new knowledge from the research field of security, in defining the term as well as in practice [10].

BIOPOLITICS AND SURVEILLANCE SOCIETY

In contrast to neorealist school of security, representatives of neoliberal school emphasize that globalization, as a process which seizes all spheres of life, influences the formation of different approaches to security, where the role of the state was taken over by the transnational institutions, international organizations and military alliances, like NATO. It is due to the fact that transnational risks and threats to the security impose the need for new security patterns, which could preserve and improve security [15]. Neoliberals consider notions like *national security*, *common security* and *individual security* as overcome and they should be replaced by the new one – *human security* (Picture 2).



Picture 2. Security seen as the system of integration and protection of different society values

Fred Tanner, from the Genève Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), claims that from the beginning of 80's state security concept was disputed, especially after

the notion non-military threat was announced [16]. On the other side, Dragana Dulić, notes four main influences of postmodern assimilation of neoliberalism, when writing about neoliberal representatives: Foucault's, Bigo's, Copenhagen's school and approaches, which criticize the advocates of human security [17]. By analyzing the "power discourse", which was developed and was written by Foucault in the context of Bentham's scene of circular prison – panoptikon, it is interesting to compare it with 'the forerunner of Foucault's idea about panoptikon, that is, George Orwell's (Eric Arthur Blair, 1903–1950), who in his famous anti-utopian book in 1984, presented the paradigm of totalitarian control of the society. That novel and its gloomy prediction of the totalitarian system, which supervised its citizens with technological means, unfortunately, became reality at the beginning of XXI century thanks to the global electronic networks, appearance of TV reality shows such as "Big Brother" and through the so-called information human control. In comparison to the classical perception of the surveillance society, which relies mainly on the mechanisms of electronic supervision, the biggest deficiency of the so called panoptical approaches is the absence of detailed analysis of population controlled by mass media.

In fact, Foucault, famous French psychologist and philosopher, known also as a post-modernist and poststructuralist, developed a metaphor about constant visibility as a precondition for "the automatic functioning of power" [18]. He thinks that security in modern times has been transformed into two levels. The first is on the level of humans in the biological meaning and the second is on the level of population or humankind. In order to secure both levels, modern states have to build security mechanisms, techniques, technologies of power, as well as appropriate institutions, which would regulate life. Thus, demographic policy, social insurance and education, training and corrective institutions would be developed. The relation between a human and a state Foucault named "biopolitics" [19].

Foucault's ideas became more and more interesting for the security field of studies

because he advocated for the strategic uniting in the context of liberal comprehending of war and development. One of the consequences of adopting the attitudes of this theoretician and their application in practice was the collection of biometric data, biometric personal documents, biometric following and controlling of the people.

Based on Foucault's statements, Roberto Esposito analyzed the space of *biopolitics*, above all, from the perspective of administrative population governance, surveillance of individuals through Statistical data analysis and their classification into wide normative sets. It can be said that this school is based on the works of Giorgio Agamben, Jacques Derrida and Jean-Lika Nancy, according to whom biopolitics is defined as a multi-meaning and conflicting problem, which is hard to be realized in practice and which should be observed as the resistance in an extreme way, on the margins of the totalitarian way of governance. The third line is represented by Michael Hart and Antonio Negri, who connect *biopolitics* with neoliberal globalization, which is observed through the prism of the possibility for a future transnational democracy [9]. Starting from Foucault's "supervision civilization", Didier Bigo discusses the convergence of defense and interior security through interconnected networks – police networks on a global scale and politization of military (defense) functions, and transformations and criminalization of the notion of war. In both cases it is about sharp critics of police and military administration or as Dulić interprets it "governing the discomfort" or extreme spreading of "fields of professional managers for governing the discomfort". Relying on Foucault's *Panoptikon* and the subcategory of politics, Bigo states precisely that it is about governing in security, which is characterized by three criteria: (1) exclusion practice (foreigners and marginalized groups); (2) activities by which the foreigners are profiled and controlled (migration politics) and (3) normative imperative of mobility" [17].

Oliver Subotić in his work *Informational controlled society* (Informaciono kontrolisano

društvo) reviews critically the main theoretical schools in XXI century, which to the great extent shape the security culture in the time of terrorism, which is of global character. This author indicates that “electronic surveillance over population with the help of new information-communication technologies is in some of the developed countries reality, which has lasted for decades and that the activity – in the name of security protection – has been significantly intensified in XXI century. That surveillance is massive, routine in character, wide in range and based on automatic data analysis and it involves different subjects. That kind of paradigm bears a whole number of social implications. One of the most important is conformism in actions among people who are under electronic supervision or those who are conscious of its existence. In this context, the author takes into consideration Bigo’s theoretical work, which put the security issues back to the area of political discourse, thus, making “banopticon” approach as “the prohibition of optical surveillance”. Bigo mainly emphasizes a discriminatory potential of supervision technology, especially having in mind western countries practice toward “the undesired groups” which have been exposed to exclusion and bans (prediction was made on the basis of the profile of an individual and some undesired characteristics). By setting this example, Bigo points to one of the key characteristics of panoptical supervision system of society under security imperative, which is the exclusion of misfits from society streams [20].

Norwegian sociologist Thomas Mathiesen did theoretical upgrading of Panopticon by stating that the panoptical activity of surveillance must not exclude the problem of mass media influence. He stresses that the phenomenon of the society of spectators and the influence of pop culture, which further lead to the appearance of “many watch a few” and accept what “the few” indicate to them. According to Mathiesen, it is a primary way to discipline the consciousness of the population and self-control, with which the emphasis is transferred from surveillance to mass media as a discipline mechanism in the contemporary

society. Mathiesen called this paradigm “synopticon” (Greek, *syn* – together) and defined it as the inversion of panopticon discipline system where a few watch a lot of them. However, panopticon was not excluded completely, but according to his opinion, it is brought into “parallel” and “reciprocal” relation with the synopticon action [21].

ON THE BIG SCHOOLS CROSSROAD

By the end of 80’s and beginning of 90’s of XX century in security studies, it comes to the reinterpretation of the *security notion* and the referent subject/object of *security*. In fact, the spreading of the research field of security studies started. Theory, which appeared in that period, was known as the *theory of social constructivism* and theories of postmodernism, critical theory and theory of Copenhagen school were also actual [22].

The notion of *securitization*, which was made by Copenhagen school, was developed with an intention to find a solution between the warlike theoretical postulates: the representatives of classical approach to security and those who represent human security. Representatives of both approaches agreed on the necessity of the existence of criteria, which would be used to differentiate security policy from the other kinds of policies, because everything could be classified as security policy. However, within this school of thought, some theoreticians appeared who were against the thesis that security deals, in essence, with an individual. Therefore, they are against the concept of human security, bearing in mind that concept neglects the existence of groups in international affairs, which opened the possibilities for discussion about the relation between security and identity. One of the prominent theoreticians of the Copenhagen school is Ole Waever, who considers security not as something, which is ontologically given, by fixing the meaning limited to the state and military sector, or, alternatively, to an individual as something which was constructed by speech acts. According to Petrović, professor Waever breaks the traditional security

approach, building the social constructivism and the theory of securitization. This theoretician, in the scope of the above mentioned theory of securitization, analyzes “how a question becomes a security question” and the answer lies in the linguistic analysis, in which security is based on the speech act [1].

From the Copenhagen school postmodernists accepted the opinion that violence is not only a functional dimension of the state but an essential element of the ontological construction of the state. According to them, sovereignty and state borders were made to protect from violence (chaos), even the violence in the very heart of the state. According to them, violence is a kind of fear and threat, which produces a reason and need for certain type of construction (state) with exclusivity to mark the borders of national security (violence provides control over order against chaos). In other words, this group of theoreticians introduced a new notion in theory – “strategic violence”, which means strength and capabilities not only to patrol along the border of a state, but to create the borders of state [17].

According to Johan Galtung, the only threat to the human security is different types of “structural violence”. He put at first place the threats, which are non-violent in nature, but there are some which are done by states intentionally. Those are, mainly, the forms of endangering human rights by states, which are explained in Human Development Reports

made by UNDP or which are included in some reports of non-governmental organizations like “Human Rights Watch” or “Amnesty International”. Another kind of structural violence is the one which is done by one group of people over another, like white minority did over black majority in South Africa in the time of apartheid. According to Galtung, this kind of abuse would contain abusing of women by men, including direct physical violence with raping. On the third place is the kind of structural violence, which is done by global order in the case of “imperialism” toward the so called third world countries. And the fourth one, were the natural threats, which could be worsened by social and political factors although they were not initiated by them, for example HIV/AIDS etc. Which kind of structural violence will be “securitized”, that is, considered as a problem of human security, according to Galtung, it is a matter of state political determination [23].

SECURITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Human security is in close relation with the notion global security, but the main difference is that human security has international legal legitimacy because it emerged within UN (Commission on Global Governance, 1945; DFAIT, 1999; Lauren, 1998; UNDP, 1994; Nef, 1995; Rotschild, 1995; UN, 1995). Precisely, this notion was mentioned for the first time in UNDP Report from 1994 by the group of

Table 1. Basic elements of human security according to Sabini Elkir [24]

UNDP 1994	Buttedahl 1994	Nef 1999	Sen (Obuchi) 2000	Canada 2000	Leaning/Arie 2000	Thomas 2000	Hampson 2002
Personal security; Environmental security; Economic security; Political security; Community security; Health security; Food security.	Personal and physical security; Economic security; Social security; Political security; Ethnical and cultural security.	Environmental Personal and physical security; Economic security; Social security; Political security; Cultural security.	Survival; Ordinary life; Human dignity.	Civilian protection; Peace support operations; Conflict prevention; Rule of law and responsibility; Interior (public) security.	Permanent perception of home; Constructive social and family networks; Acceptance of the past; Positive understanding the future.	General needs; Dignity; Democracy.	Freedom of fear/safety of people; Freedom/Law and rule of law; Freedom of scarcity /equality and social justice.

scientists. In short, the notion was expressed through the following sentence: The world might be peaceful only if the people are secure in their ordinary lives (Table 2).

Occurrence of this notion was explained by the need for a new security paradigm which has to provide security for individuals in the same way as it is done by the state. Besides, UNDP uses the wider meaning of human security as “safety from such chronic threats like hunger, disease and repression and protection from sudden and damaging disturbances in ordinary life”.

Human security in the former UN General Secretary Kofi Anan’s Millenniums’ Report (2000) was determined to include “human rights, good governance, access to education, health care, and the chance and choice for each person to realize their own potential. Each step toward that direction is a step of decreasing the poverty, achieving the economic growth and preventing the conflicts. Freedom of deprivation, freedom of fear and freedom for the next generation to have a healthy environment – are mutually connected areas of human, as well national security”.

The UN Commission on Human Security in 2003 presented two reasons for making the concept of security wider. The first is that the state is not always capable to provide security to the citizens and the second is that sometimes the state is the one who threatens its own citizens, so it is necessary to supplement the state security concept by introducing the human security. However, it is necessary to point out that either human security or global security were not completely accepted among scientists, because there is no agreement on unique definition of these two notions. For example, Dulić considers that agreement is achieved by theoreticians about the following characteristics of human security: (1) it is universal; (2) it is focused on individuals; (3) human interests are in front of state interests; (4) it is multidimensional and complex; (5) it is complete and comprehensive; (6) its components are mutually dependent; (7) it does not refer to all threats, but only those that threaten the vital

core of a human life; (8) it is tightly connected with human rights and human development; (9) it is more preventive than reactive; (10) it has gender awareness; (11) it does not exclude state security but complements it [9].

However, although the concept of human security has more and more advocates in the world, one has to admit that geopolitical changes by the end of the last century did not influence the abandoning of the national security concept because the role of the state is still important in international relations and security. Therefore, certain paradox appeared in the Republic of Serbia. On one side, the concept of human security was accepted and promoted by the Constitution and strategic documents, and on the other side, two main strategic documents – The National strategy for sustainable development for the period from 2009 to 2017 and The National security strategy of the Republic of Serbia (2009) bear in their title the word “national”, which is a formal characteristic of documents created under the influence of national security concept [25].

CONCLUSION

The existence of different political theories and their significant influence on security theories contribute to spreading of theoretical perspectives and allow viewing the problem from different perspectives, but, at the same time due to the confronting opinions of some authors, they additionally hinder the uniqueness of security theorization as well as scientific analysis of the social practice phenomenon. Divided theoretical opinions, heterogeneity and complexity of contemporary relations in societies as well as multilayer political practice make the achievement of unique approach to the security phenomenology more complex. This article points to the term and subject of security, which were not determined in a sufficiently clear way, as well as specific methods and techniques, which are used by researchers and scientists within security studies. However, article initiated the question of optical and multimedia surveillance over an individual. Article pointed out to possible violation

of human rights and freedoms by some state institutions, public or private agencies, multi-lateral organizations and powerful individuals in the world, due to the insufficiently developed and generally accepted mechanisms for the protection and effects of sanctions over numerous abuses in security. It was pointed to the need for a deeper analysis and widening knowledge in the area of human security.

Special attention should be paid to the security problem in the future, we concluded,

and especially to the analysis of contemporary security studies within social sciences and not only within interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary and trans-disciplinary researches. It is possible to be achieved through the clear determination of security subject, respectively development of scientific discipline and then through developing the security theory to develop specific methodology of research and to widen the field of scientific research from theory to contemporary security phenomena.

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