

# Mandatory securitization: Implications for the responsibility to protect

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# The Morality of Security

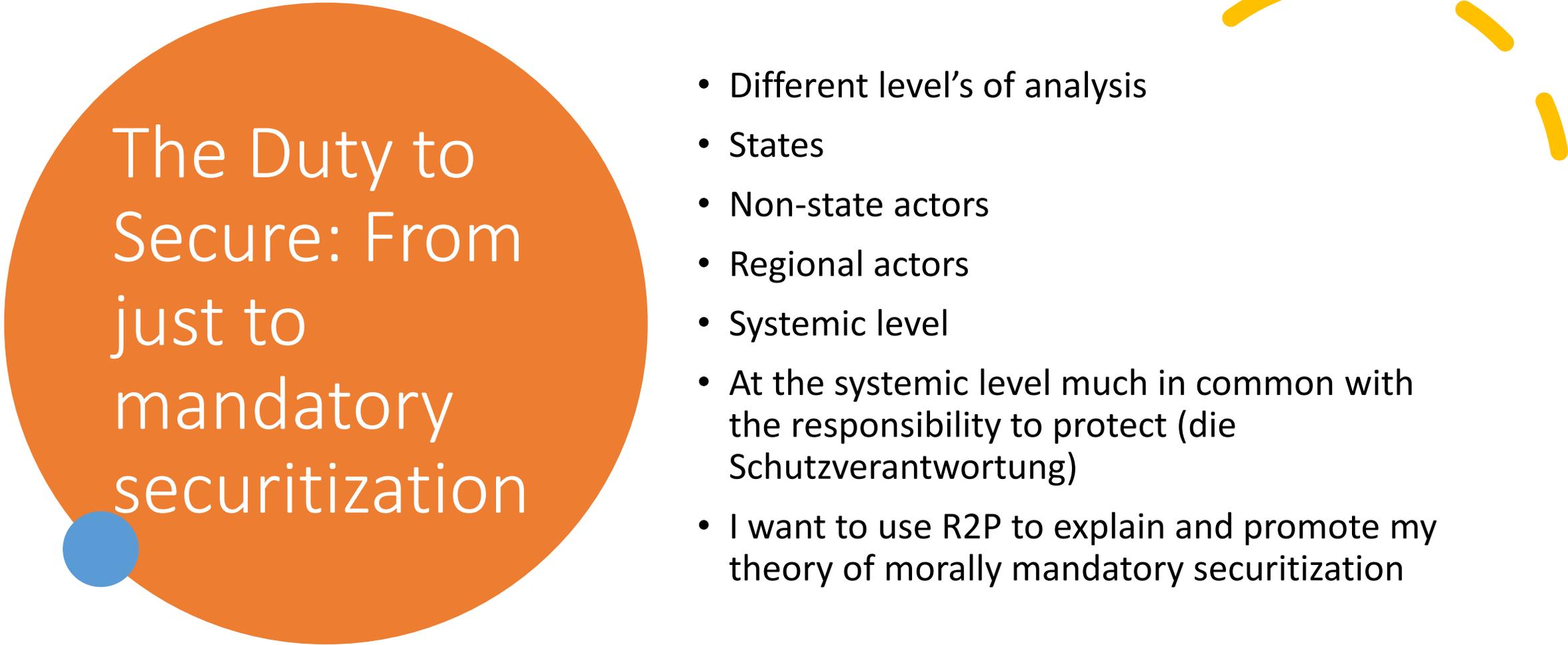
A Theory of Just Securitization

Rita Floyd

## Background

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- I am here because....
- Morality of Security: A theory of just securitization
- Just war theory + securitization theory
- I will say much more a little later on.
- The book develops a theory of just securitization (eine Theorie der gerechten Absicherung)
- It sets out just cause, right intention etc
- Securitization can be just (morally permissible/moralisch zulaessig) yes, but can it also be a moral duty (moralische Pflicht)?
- If so when, who has such duties and to whom?



# The Duty to Secure: From just to mandatory securitization

- Different level's of analysis
- States
- Non-state actors
- Regional actors
- Systemic level
- At the systemic level much in common with the responsibility to protect (die Schutzverantwortung)
- I want to use R2P to explain and promote my theory of morally mandatory securitization

# R2P

- 'The Responsibility to Protect – known as R2P – is an international norm that seeks to ensure that the international community never again fails to halt the mass atrocity crimes of genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity'.
- <https://www.globalr2p.org/what-is-r2p/>

# History

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- Rwanda and Kosovo
- Non-action
- Relevance of UNSC?





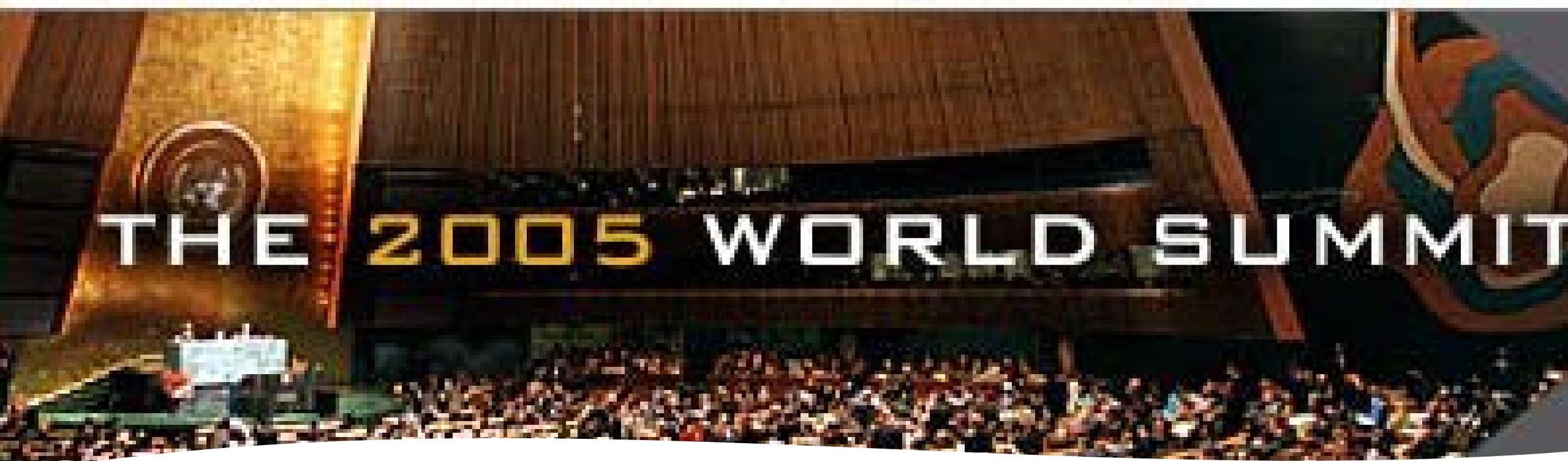
# THE RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT

REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL  
COMMISSION ON INTERVENTION AND  
STATE SOVEREIGNTY

## ICISS

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- Responsibility to prevent
- Responsibility to react
- Responsibility to rebuild
- Range of issues



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- Responsibility of states and responsibility of the international community to prevent and act on atrocity crimes, if peaceful means are exhausted, by forcible means

# Eventually:

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## PILLAR ONE

- Every state has the Responsibility to Protect its populations from four mass atrocity crimes: genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing.

## PILLAR TWO

- The wider international community has the responsibility to encourage and assist individual states in meeting that responsibility.

## PILLAR THREE

- If a state is manifestly failing to protect its populations, the international community must be prepared to take appropriate collective action, in a timely and decisive manner and in accordance with the UN Charter. (text from <https://www.globalr2p.org/what-is-r2p/> )

# 3 shortcomings

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People erroneously think that Pillar three = armed intervention (and that responsibility to react is about war)

Problems associated with armed intervention (mission creep; abuse; fear of being invaded etc)

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Inaction (selectivity)

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Limited scope (why atrocity crimes only and not other threats, climate disaster etc)

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# Morally mandatory securitization

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- **My theory can deal with these shortcomings and refocus R2P away from armed humanitarian intervention.**
- What is morally mandatory securitization?
- First,
- What is securitization?
- What is just securitization?
- Securitization = the identification (usually in language) of existential threats **and** the adoption of extraordinary emergency measures

# Securitization



# Securitization is threat dependent, but...

- There is always



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# Just initiation of securitization

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- 1. Just reason: there must be a current objective existential threat to a referent object, that is to say a danger that, threatens the survival or the essential character/properties of either a social or political order, an ecosystem, a non-human species or individuals
- Objective existential threat not fact-relative but evidence-relative.
- Existential does not mean lethal



# Just initiation continued

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- 2. Just referent object: Only objectively valuable referent objects are morally justifiable and on that basis eligible for self or other-defence. Referents are morally justifiable if they meet basic human needs of autonomy and physical health.
- 3. Right intention: The securitizing actor must be sincere in their intention to rescue the referent object
- 4. Proportionality: Securitization cannot cause more harm than it seeks to prevent.
- 5. Reasonable chance of success: Securitization must be expected to have a greater chance at achieving just cause than less harmful alternatives.

# *The Duty to secure: From just to mandatory securitization*

- Securitization is **not** a moral duty when it is permissible
- Securitization is **supererogatory** when it is morally permissible (good to do, but not wrong not to do)
- (there is value in autonomy, at this stage ...)
- Securitization becomes obligatory (right to do and wrong not to do) when other less harmful options have been tried and failed to satisfy just cause (last resort)
- Obligation requires Greater certainty than permissibility
- Criterion 5 JST: Reasonable chance of success: Securitization must be expected to have a greater chance at achieving just cause than less harmful alternatives.
- Last resort + just institution of securitization (bar reasonable chance of success) = must cause

# Which actors?

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- In international relations many actors have a duty to secure (not securitize)
- States towards citizens
- NATO towards allies
- The UNSC towards people without a protector
- And so on
- These duties are triggered by different things: contractual, culpability, relationship + capability
- Duties extent to outsiders
- Non-contractual duties are pro-tanto duties (they can be overridden)

# International level

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- UNSC most significant actor
- Must secure those that have no protector
- If must cause is satisfied with recourse to securitization
- R2P similar.
- Responsibility to prevent (political and securitizing measures) while responsibility to react (securitizing and war-like measures)



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What does  
MS bring to  
R2P?

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## 1. Advantage

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Refocuses R2P away from war and towards reactive and direct preventative measures short of war (sanctions, embargoes, denial of membership etc).

## 2. Advantage

- Must cause offers a clearer threshold than 'conscious shocking atrocity crimes'



# 3. Advantage

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- Not limited to atrocity crimes.



# To conclude

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- MS enables R2P to be **more timely, less controversial, more effective** and **more in line** with the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty's (ICISS) ideal of R2P, which first introduced the concept
  
- Thank you!