Tomasz Pawłuszko

POLISH APPROACH TO SECURITY STUDIES. BETWEEN POLITICAL SCIENCE AND ECONOMY

Abstract

This article analyzes the development of academic security studies in Poland. Security is a new field of studies in this country. "Security studies" have been a separate field of study since 2011. Such a field of studies is absent from OECS classifications. This is why researchers come from other fields of science, such as sociology, management, law and political science. This affects the security studies programme. In my opinion, it is now dominated by a political studies approach. Nevertheless, the importance of economy is growing. In the text, I analyze the issues addressed in the Polish scientific discourse. In the conclusion, I will try to point out the consequences of the current state of development of security studies in Poland.

Key words
security, political science, peace research, Poland

Introduction

The aim of this article is to analyze the development of the security studies research programme. This initiative is needed for several reasons. First of all, security studies appeared as the new field of study in Poland. Secondly, their research programme is based on numerous aspects borrowed from other social sciences. Thirdly, political studies and economy seem to be the most influential. The national security and internal security didactic fields have made a home for themselves chiefly in politics studies institutes in the 21st century. Fourthly, the sudden growth in popularity of the security topic has lend to a dilution of the established knowledge in that area. Fourthly, security study issues are present in economy studies (security management, economic security), political science (security policy, international relations), law studies (security administration), military studies (security studies stem from military sciences), engineering studies (security engineering), psychology,

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pedagogy (security education) and others. This means that it is an area exceeding the interests of a single field of science.

New fields of research benefit from the achievements of other sciences. Social sciences create a network of theories and approaches to various research topics. Before the development of a separate security science, security issues were the field of interest of many sciences. Security was simply a research subject/topic. In this sense, it is similar to the phenomenon of politics or international relations, also studied in various aspects by historians, lawyers, sociologists, economists, anthropologists, etc. For example, political culture is successfully studied by sociologists, economic policy is studied by economists, state institutions are studied by lawyers and historians, political ideas are studied by philosophers, political behavior is studied by psychologists, and the quality of institutions is studied by management researchers.

Only the recognition of science as being created by many fields of research and theory makes the “production of knowledge” picture clear. However, this requires criticism, constant development of one’s own competences and dialogue with researchers from all over the world. The reason for this is simple – science is a methodical way of organizing human experience. Science institutions exist worldwide. Nowadays it is almost impossible to create a recognized science in a single country.

In this article I present a critical study of the literature on the subject, which I considered to be crucial for outlining the developments of Polish security studies. My conclusions are based on content analysis of arguments, concepts and theories. I make auxiliary references to the concepts of the sociology of knowledge. This paper is a small attempt to organize the state of knowledge on a selected topic and has no pretensions to presenting it in whole.

Development of security studies and other fields of knowledge

In previous texts, I have tackled the problems of establishing security research schools, addressing security issues in government planning, as well as in the works of think tanks. I was usually interested in perception of national security or international security\(^2\). In this context, it should be noted that security is always the security of someone or something\(^3\). Just like politics, which is a causative activity conducted by somebody/something (persons, institutions, media). This postulate was put forward in Poland, among others, by P. Mickiewicz, J. Stańczyk, W. Kitler or R. Zięba\(^4\). Locating


security studies among social studies makes us interested in security as a state or process of providing (“securing”) certain social values, assigned to different phenomena, people or places. Therefore, we are not interested in the security of bridge construction or in the security of animals in Africa, unless these are securitized issues, and therefore seen as an important social problem.

In Poland, after 1989, security studies were developed mainly at the National Defence University of Warsaw (Akademia Obrony Narodowej, acronym: AON). National and international security was a specialization in the field of military studies, developed at the Faculty of Strategy and Defense. Popularization of the didactic field “national security” led to establishment of a separate Faculty of National Security in 2008. Three years later, military studies were transformed into two scientific fields: security studies and defense studies. In 2016, the Polish Ministry of National Defense decided to liquidate the National Defence University. It was replaced by the War Studies University (Akademia Sztuki Wojennej, acronym: ASzWoj), which lost a significant part of scientific staff of its predecessor. The new authorities of this university have announced a reduction in the number of civilian students. Nowadays ASzWoj is to focus on strictly military matters. In 2017, only three Polish universities had the right to award all academic degrees in the field of security studies.

Despite the small number of universities with qualified staff, security studies have been unexpectedly successful in Poland. Didactic fields related to security have become very trendy and popular. Over a hundred universities throughout the entire country have them in their teaching offers. The reason for this has never been examined. In many cases, security studies departments have been established within faculties of political studies. This process has saved the political studies, declining financially during the demographic low. It should be added that Polish state higher education institutions have been dependent on the number of enrolled students for years. The more students, the greater the subsidy from the state budget has been. However, this has lowered the quality of studies and for financial reasons, didactics have become more important than scientific research. In the scientific community there were opinions that the new security studies had been in an identity crisis from the very beginning.

Numerous arguments are raised in the debate on the condition of present-day Polish security studies research. Its main advantages are comprehensiveness, validity, topicality and interdisciplinarity. The main problems are the lack of a coherent conceptual network, unspecified scope of research, militarization of research topics, inconsistency of research perspectives and low quality of analyses. The latter seems to be the most serious issue. Security studies are referred to as descriptive. A simple description dominates over a complex explanation and justification of social

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6 See: Polish Naval Academy in Gdynia (Akademia Marynarki Wojennej w Gdyni), Police Academy in Szczecin (Wyższa Szkoła Policji w Szczecinie) and Siedlce University of Natural Sciences and Humanities (Uniwersytet Przyrodniczo-Humanistyczny w Siedlcach).

7 Ibidem, p. 23-25.
phenomena. If theories appear, they are borrowed almost exclusively from the outside, e. g. management, economics or international relations. There are practically no cases of quotations from leading worldwide periodicals dealing with the topic of security, such as Security Dialogue or International Security. The problem also concerns national journals and publications promoted by global think tanks industry (RAND, SIPRI, IISS, Stratfor and others).

As we know, science is global. Researchers’ dialogue takes place at thousands of universities. In the Internet age it has become possible to follow and comment on research results from all over the world. The international language of science is English. Therefore, isolation causes peripherality. Publication of research only in national circulation can create a scientific elite, but only at a local level. The local level may give Polish scientists basic access to financial and symbolic resources, but it may also discourage demanding activities of international level. Internationalization of science becomes possible only when the theories and approaches developed in the local scientific market become equal in quality to publications from other countries and scientific schools. Therefore, rapid internationalization of science usually leads to an increase in the quality of research. A good example is the development of Scandinavian peace research schools. In the 1970s, the Scandinavians developed their own “school of security studies”⁸. Since the very beginning, they have been orientated in their research towards international debate, publishing in English, founding new institutions, internships and scholarships to attract researchers from all over the world⁹. They based their findings on psychology, sociology and management methods. As a result, the rapid development of peace research has gained international scientific recognition and state patronage, which is very important for new fields of science. This casus is important when analyzing Polish security studies.

The example of the Peace Research programme shows that the attitude of state authorities is important for the development of new fields of studies. In the leading Western countries, security is seen as a value and a practical subject of research. American classics from the field of international relations stressed the division between national security (understood as internal stability) and international security (no external threats). Meanwhile, in France, the term “national defense”, in Germany – “universal defense” and in Russia – “national security” prevailed for decades.¹⁰

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Table 1. American and European understanding of security - comparison

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>American approach</th>
<th>European approach</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>No central definition</td>
<td>Many definitions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theory</td>
<td>Theory of international relations</td>
<td>Theories of various social sciences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approach</td>
<td>Rationalism, case studies</td>
<td>Reflectivism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actors</td>
<td>Mainly states</td>
<td>States, IGO, individuals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus</td>
<td>Militarism, energy, environment</td>
<td>“B. Buzan’s five dimensions”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The role of knowledge</td>
<td>Problem solving</td>
<td>Reflection as part of social processes</td>
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</tbody>
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The table above shows some practical differences in research approaches between Europe and the USA. One of the characteristics of the American discourse in this area is that each issue is dealt with separately and using a different theory. This explains the reluctance of Americans to build interdisciplinary security approaches that have gained popularity in Europe. The general feature of the European discourse is comprehensiveness and utilization of the achievements of many fields of knowledge at the same time. In Poland, one can see a convergence with the main European trend, i.e. building general approaches based on various social and economic studies.

In observance of the theoretical tradition, one should also mention the Cold War strategic studies, developed primarily in the USA. It was one of the first programmes to combine social issues with technical knowledge. It concerned security. The emergence of nuclear weapon superpowers has completely changed the international status quo and has led to militarization of the security issues. As Mirosław Banasik pointed out, this situation led to a complete reform of the state planning and strategy system. The entire security planning system in the USA and NATO countries has started to emerge in the context of military problems. Social and economic issues were of marginal interest. Understanding security in social, economic, economic, energy or environmental terms emerged at the end of the Cold War. Comprehensive development and security planning systems in Poland have only started to be implemented in the 21st century. The *White Book of National Security of the Republic*

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14 This does not mean that Poland did not have any doctrines or strategy of defense, cf. J. Kajetanowicz, *Strategie bezpieczeństwa Polski w drugiej połowie XX wieku*, „Zeszyty Naukowe WSOWL”, 3 (161), 2011, p. 238-248.
The issue of security was also included in the National Foresight Programme “Poland 2020”, and what is interesting is that it was presented as typically economic problem. In turn, the Polish development strategies from 2006, 2009 and 2013 make almost no mention of the issue of security, except for comments on road traffic safety and energy security. This context shows how new the issue of safety in theory and practice is in Poland.

According to Piotr Sienkiewicz, security is primarily a subject of research and not a separate academic discipline of science. Individual aspects of security may be explored by different sciences, but there is no distinguished science covering all the aspects of it (see the table below).

Table 2. Fields of science developing security studies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political studies</th>
<th>Sociology</th>
<th>Economics</th>
<th>Management</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National security</td>
<td>Social security</td>
<td>Economic security</td>
<td>Business security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical studies</td>
<td>Medical studies</td>
<td>Life sciences</td>
<td>Information Technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical security</td>
<td>Health security</td>
<td>Ecological security</td>
<td>Information security</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The above analytical division is broader than the internationally known division of military, political, economic, ecological and social security proposed by Barry Buzan. At the current stage of development of security studies, it is difficult to draw up a catalogue of issues that would be covered by such a table. Researchers in these fields are not aware of common interests. They explore security issues within their existing specializations and are unlikely to create a movement supporting the development of security studies as a separate field. A nationwide scientific society, grouping the supporters of security studies, has not yet been established in Poland.

Political scientists were probably the first scientists to address the issue of security in social sciences. In accordance with Maslow’s hierarchy of needs, security is considered a basic human need. Security is a value. The state is the institution that provides this value to human communities. Security has thus become a political issue. State institutions ensuring security and public order – such as police, border

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guards, fire department and others – have been the subject of research of political sciences. In addition, the state has a monopoly on the use of force, violence and punishment. That is why Polish security researchers have the most in common with political scientists today. Security in political terms is the main value and purpose of the state. It concerns objectives involving different values, it defines the level of freedom in achieving these objectives, and it includes measures ensuring the existence of state and societal institutions. Security is understood as the foundation of sovereignty (survival, integrity, independence) and is linked to the basic ideas of political thought. Thus, it is right to link the roots of the reflection on security with political philosophy. The relations of security and philosophy have been described in Poland in the works of J. Świńiarski, W. Chojnacki, W. Rechlewicz and R. Rosa.

The link between security and quality of life, development and culture has appeared relatively late in the global discourse. Only the appearance of the UN’s sustainable development agenda, peace agenda and the Millennium Development Goals in the 1990s has impacted society’s understanding of security as a key condition for combating hunger and poverty. In 2001, al-Qaeda’s terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York raised the importance of the security of individuals, especially at the psychological and economic level. In the mass media era, security has become the key to a stable functioning of the economy and the society. Even if there is still no reliable theoretical model that presents all the security problems in the social sphere.

Politics, economy and security

At present, security studies have the broadest relationship with political sciences in programme terms. However, it is not a foregone conclusion that this will be the case in the future. The development of science is difficult to predict. The subject matter of political science research has a relatively constant range of interests. Polish security studies are yet to specify such interests. In the areas of studying political state institutions that ensure the security, the interpenetration of research topics is apparent. It is also observable in the contents of textbooks, curricula and topics of numerous scientific conferences. Common interests of political scientists and security researchers are the institutions of public order and security. In addition, these issues are a part of another new field of research: public policy. Nonetheless, the security issue is something more than just security policy.

The second observable process is the growing importance of the economic approach. We are talking here about issues such as economic stability, information security, business intelligence, energy, state activity in the economy. These issues


have always been an area of economic policy concern. The advantage of economic approaches is the multitude of analytical tools, the use of statistical and econometric methods. Economics has a wide range of quantitative methods and theories that can be applied in other sciences. The first collective works on economic security and security management demonstrate the growing potential of this source of knowledge. In the important collective work in the field of security economics edited by J. Płaczek we can find chapters on: the defense economy of the state, the economic and defense potential, defense expenditure, defense industry, technical infrastructure of security and defense, logistics, indexes and models of economic, demographic, energy, financial, information, environmental security, as well as on the roles and tasks of administrative bodies and state services. In this research one can easily observe the popularization of the subject matter and the notional language of economics and management.

Economic sciences also have a “risk” category that is not significantly distant from the concepts of “threat” or “challenge”. The issues of energy and environmental security, important for the society, also utilize economic methodology. Therefore, one could expect an economization of the scientific discourse devoted to security. Security can be linked to the problems of economic policy. As noted by Krzysztof Książkowski, the issue of security has gained an economic dimension since the 1970s, even if it was mainly researched by political scientists. And so it is today. The main point of analysis remains the security of the state regarding economic problems. This is where the approaches of both sciences: political studies and economics, come together. Both sciences have developed theories of institutions and often jointly explain, for example, the problems of economic, financial and energy crises as well as the threats to social and economic development.

One of the attempts to build an economic methodology of security studies was the group work edited by Konrad Raczkowski and Łukasz Sułkowski. These authors have proposed the diagnosis, methods and techniques of managing different areas of security. In their work they follow B. Buzan’s classification of the five dimensions of security. Each part of the work points to a defined area, then it indicates security risks, and finally formulates proposals for managing the security process. Yet again, the central point of reference for this team of economists is essentially the state/national economy.

According to K. Raczkowski, the economic indicators that should be taken into account when assessing the state’s situation are the data concerning: the market as a

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whole (currency exchange rate, treasury bonds, securities), GDP, labour market, prices (including inflation), money (including reserves and interest rates), trade (balance, debt, FDI and others), government (state budget, expenditure, debt), the condition of business, consumers (trust, orders, expenditures, savings), or taxes. The author proposes to develop various types of analyses: sensitivity, scenarios, decision trees, design risks, competitive positions, profitability and various indicators. In his opinion, the key area of economic security is the financial sector, which accumulates measurable knowledge about all sectors of the economy. This opens security analysts to the statistical data produced at home and abroad. This approach corresponds to the latest trends in social research, which for several decades have been developing practical mixed approaches such as public management, conflict management, political economics or law and economics analysis25.

The first Congress of Security Studies [Kongres Bezpieczeństwa] in Poland was held in 2016 in Toruń. The first meeting of the chairs of security studies [Zjazd Katedr i Zakładów Bezpieczeństwa] took place a year later. Both events were dominated by political, economic and educational issues. The congress was attended by both scientists and practitioners (representatives of the military, police, fire guard and other uniformed services). The Polish environment of security studies has just begun to develop. In 2017, the Polish Ministry of Science published the results of the evaluation of the achievements of Polish universities. The universities with rights to award degrees in the field of security have achieved poor parametric results. If these universities lose their right to award degrees, the separate status of security studies as academic field of study will be questionable. This may happen as early as in 2021. Therefore, development of quality and internationalization of research is an opportunity for security studies researchers. Following the example provided by the mentioned peace research programme.

Let us make a summary. Currently, security studies are the closest to the academic achievements of political science. However, it is not certain that the participation of political scientists in shaping new directions of research will be decisive. Both intellectual (good theory inspires good research) and practical aspects (possibility of applying research results in improving institutions or understanding social changes) will be decisive. Although the core of security studies stems from military sciences, it will rather focus on the civilian and economic aspects of the functioning of institutions. Military aspects will rather remain within the realm of defense studies. The survival of security studies as a separate field of science is only possible through high quality research.

Conclusions

In this essay I have outlined the following course of reasoning. I pointed out the diversity of social sciences and their complementarity. Security studies did not appear in a vacuum. This field of knowledge mainly utilizes the academic achievements of political sciences at present. Weaknesses in the theory of security studies result from the lack of a well-defined research field. Contemporary sciences base their quality on

theories and research programmes, not on administrative divisions of fields. The main works on security are rather descriptive. Security studies require a precise definition of interests and their own research agenda. We still have to wait for the schools of science to be formed. At the end of the text it has been pointed out that the importance of the economic approach is increasing. Initially, this was due to an interest in energy security problems. At present, the link between security, risk and quantitative methods indicates an increasing role for economic and management theories. The basic unit of analysis in books and periodicals remains the state and its institutions, which makes economic policy issues, binding political issues (political institutions and discourses) and economic issues (the relations between security and economics) gain importance. As indicated by, for example, the National Foresight Programme “Poland 2020”, the issue of security refers to the following questions: who, why and how secures the economic and political processes that are crucial for society? The broader perception of security studies, outlined by Piotr Sienkiewicz, will be difficult to implement in Polish conditions for human resources reasons. A good example of creating a new field of knowledge for Polish scientists can be the aforementioned peace research. So far, however, the development of Polish security research centers has been the result of a sudden popularity of didactics rather than an increase in the quality of conducted research. In the modern world, social scientific fields are assessed not for popularity, but for the quality of research. If researchers do not care for a high scientific level, then security studies may lose their raison d’être. Their achievements will then be taken over by political scientists and economists. Security studies are facing several years of work on the establishment of a scientific identity.

Bibliography

Artykuł przedstawia analizę rozwoju akademickich studiów nad bezpieczeństwem (security studies) we współczesnej Polsce. Bezpieczeństwo jest nowym obszarem badawczym w tym kraju. Osobną dyscyplinę „nauka o bezpieczeństwie” wyodrębniono w Polsce w 2011 roku. Dyscyplina taka nie występuje w klasyfikacjach OECD. Dlatego badacze wywodzą się z innych nauk, takich jak socjologia, zarządzanie, prawo czy politologia. Wpływa to na program badawczy studiów nad bezpieczeństwem. W mojej opinii obecnie dominuje w niej podejście politologiczne. W tekście analizuję zagadnienia podejmowane w polskim dyskursie naukowym. Niemniej jednak, rośnie znaczenie ekonomii. W podsumowaniu wskazano konsekwencje obecnego stanu rozwoju studiów nad bezpieczeństwem w Polsce.

Polskie podejście do studiów nad bezpieczeństwem. Między politologią a ekonomią

Słowa kluczowe
bezpieczeństwo, politologia, studia nad pokojem, Polska

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