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AN ALTERNATIVE SECURITY FRAMEWORK

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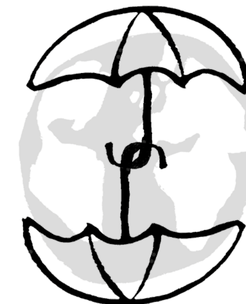

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Presentation

The present report presents so-called 'alternative theories of security' and explores how these theories are linked to innovative security practices. Up until now, policies in the field have been mostly informed by realist approaches. Even if the insights of realist theory materialise differently depending on the concrete issue or topic, its key ideas are the following: the definition of survival as the primary objective of security; the superiority of material power and force for neutralising insecurities and eliminating threats; the consideration of the state as the provider and object of security; and the identification of elements external to the state as threats to its stability (Morgenthau 1985; Waltz 1979). From this perspective, their understanding of reality – that is to say, their ontology – is positivist. In other words, certain individuals and situations will always represent a threat or insecurity for the state.

With the aim of furthering the understanding of security, this document attempts to transcend the divide between critiques and practice, and establish a dialogue between theories, actors, and institutions (Tulumello 2020). For that purpose, the first part briefly summarises the following alternative theories of security: emancipation, feminism, green, human security, post-colonial, post-structuralist theories, and securitisation. Previous analysis has focused on examining the individual theories in turn, rather than seeking to find points of intersection. That is why the analysis explores the points of intersection between the alternative theories in order to build a common ground. Because security is not only defined by scholars, but also enacted by concrete groups and individuals, the common ground also draws on practical experiences. As such, it identifies 10 key areas, that are proposed as shared approach:

Boundaries
Security provision goes beyond a narrow focus on military security to introduce broader elements such as food, water and health security.

Resignification
Alternative theories of security both broaden actors, by moving beyond the state and introducing individuals, communities, and civil society groups, and acknowledge the importance of structures in creating insecurity.

Ethical approach
The critique of the focus of conventional theories of security on power and states is rooted in normative and value-based discourses. Alternative theories go beyond power to introduce morality, ethics, and a focus on the wellbeing of individuals and groups.

Prevention
Preventative approaches to security involve looking beyond the response to situations of insecurity, and examining and addressing the root causes.

Sustainability
Sustainable security involves recognising and mitigating the divers of global insecurity, including social exclusion, climate change, and militarisation. It promotes a shared, long-term approach to taking responsibility for threat-management.

Democratisation
The democratisation of security introduces wider participation in security practices by individuals and communities to encourage accountability, transparency, and better human rights protection.

Internationalism
Internationalist security refers to practices which go beyond borders and the state, and acknowledges the interconnected, global nature of the security problems we face today.

Pacifism
Security must be separated from its links to militarisation and conventional security bodies, whilst security provision must move beyond the use of force.

Justice
Restorative justice, which involves victims and communities in the justice process, and transformative justice, which aims to transform societal and economic relations, are two alternatives to conventional, retributive approaches to justice.

Intersectionality
Intersectionality acknowledges the importance of the interaction between structural oppressions such as race, gender, or class, and how these factors can influence security and insecurity.

This report is inspired by the previous efforts made by scholars to generate a common agenda within the critical turn. Among many others, these include the efforts made by *Security Dialogue* journal – the "Critical Approaches to Security in Europe: A Networked Manifesto" (C.A.S.E 2006) and the Horizon Scan exercises (2019) -, Laura J. Shepherd's (2013) and Columba Peoples and Nick Vaughan-Williams' (2020) books as well as Arlene B. Tickner's (2020) report. In short, the document does not completely reject conventional understandings of security, nor completely disregard the role played by state actors. By contrast, it aspires to reconcile critical approaches to security with their transformative aspirations.

For that purpose, it focuses on the shared points of alternative security discourses and develops a positive evaluation of practices and policies.

Finally, in the third section, we provide several practical examples in accordance with both the theories and the common ground. We present each practical case using the following structure: name of the practical case, its locations, its typology – local or international, informal or institutional - the elements of the common ground that it includes, and a brief description. The report then uses these criteria in order to select a series of case studies on the implementation of alternative security practices. We analyse a total of 10 cases, which are geographically dispersed around the world:

- CAHOOTS
- Civil Society Platform for Peacebuilding (CSPP)
- Feminist Foreign Policy
- Fridays for Future
- Guardia Indígena
- HarassMap
- Justice Peace Initiative (Jirga)
- Police Ombudsman for Northern Ireland
- Sanctuary Cities
- Tribunal Ético Popular Feminista

It concludes by summarising the practical and theoretical insights, and noting that, in reality theory and practice are interconnected and co-constituted. Theory cannot solely inform practice, and practice can often benefit from the insights of theory. Indeed, whilst the report largely draws on alternative theories of security, it also acknowledges the importance of practice in developing the criteria for the common ground, as well as insights from outside the world of International Security. The importance of cooperation and collaboration between different alternative theories of security is central to building a practical path for implementation, and

this report highlights that there are more areas of common ground than might be conventionally assumed. There are various key points of intersection, but underlying many of the above areas of agreement is an emphasis on greater involvement of people and communities in the security process, as they are ultimately those who security should seek to protect.

Introduction

On the eve of the twenty-first century, new theories of security began to call into question the realist approach to security, and its influence on state policies[1]. From the perspective of alternative theorists, this narrow conceptualisation of security resulted in weak or unsuccessful attempts to provide security, and even the creation of insecurities both in the case of citizens and marginalized social groups, but also the environment (Peoples, Vaughan-Williams 2020). Critiques of border control and migration management (Léonard, Kaunert 2021), the negative spillovers of state surveillance on behalf of safety (Tréguer 2018), or the carbon footprint and fuel emissions from military supply chain (Cottrell 2021) are just some examples of issues identified within these theories.

As a result, there have been attempts to broaden and deepen the understanding of security (Peoples, Vaughan-Williams 2020). In fact, the concept of "security" has been highly criticized, but this report opts to maintain it for different reasons. First, because alternative theories identify the shortcomings of realism and are mainly inspired by the willingness to transform social reality (Chadha Behera, Hinds, Tickner 2021). Following Jennifer Mustapha: "Since traditional realist security studies cannot adequately account for these questions, it is the challenge of innovative critical approaches to address them and to further move forward from simply deconstructing the orthodoxy towards reconstructing more apposite conceptions of security" (2013, 69). Additionally, there is room to recover the concept of security because individuals and the civil society are themselves enacting different security practices – whether beyond the state, against it or with its collaboration. Lastly, (Floyd 2011; Floyd 2019; Sardoc 2021), moving certain issues out of the slow pace of normal politics and towards the urgent needs of security might be positive ethically and politically. This has been the case with climate change, where its framing as an urgent threat has centred not only the debate around the challenge in itself but on the necessary policies to address it. In a similar vein, the mobilisation in support for the LGTIBQ+ community in the light of hate crimes in Spain has clarified the need to address hate speech and LGTIBQphobia. Urgency does not necessarily entail exceptionalism, but it can help to give greater importance to previously side-lined issues.

Alternative theories recognise that security is not objective, but it is shaped by different actors and processes, comes into being under changing circumstances and is provided not only by the police or the military. This is what academics have termed a post-positivist ontology (Chadha, Behera, Tickner 2021). Within the wide range of alternative approaches, this report focuses on emancipation, feminist, green, human security, post-colonial, post-structuralist theories, and securitisation. These are the theories that are defined as 'alternative' or 'critical', broadly speaking[2].

Based on a review of the existing literature, this analysis aims to address their two shortcomings. On the one hand, the fragmentation that results from the different theoretical inspirations has hindered the creation of a common agenda. In addition, the advances produced, both at the theoretical and practical level, from the Global South have not been sufficiently echoed by a tradition which remains Western-centric. On the other hand, alternative theories of security have been largely focused on critique rather than practice. In practice, at most these approaches have been seen as going beyond the concept of security as the absence of threat

1. "Security and emancipation" (1991) from Ken Booth; *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (1997) from Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver, and Jaap Wilde; the UNDP report on human security (1994); or *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases* from Cynthia Enloe (1990), amongst many others.

2. In this regard, when the report mentions the concept 'critical' it does not exclusively indicate 'emancipation theories' but broadly refers to the above-mentioned alternative theories of security.

(Nyman 2016). These efforts have been framed as ‘survival plus’ (Booth 2017), ‘security plus’ or ‘positive security’ (Nyman 2016), or associated with words such as ‘care’ (Robinson 2008; Vaittinen 2018) or ‘resilience’ (Aradau 2014), etc.

The motivation for the development of the common ground derives from three ideas. Firstly, that all alternative theories of security are critical of realist approaches and share a desire to transform social reality for the better. Thus, a key component of these theories is that they adopt a normative approach, which is to say that they do not take the world as it us, but instead, propose ways in which to change it. Secondly, alternative security practices are already being enacted by different individuals and civil society groups around the world, often combining insights or ideas from the different existing theories. Thirdly, the practice of framing some of the issues or ideas found within alternative security as security problems may encourage more engagement and cooperation on issues which are seen as an urgent threat.

Alternative theories of security

Before introducing the common ground, the main alternatives theories of security are briefly described. The theories are introduced with a brief background, followed by a discussion of their main features, and some divergent strands within the theories.

Emancipation theories

Emancipatory security, or critical security studies, is built on critical theory insights from the Frankfurt school, which in turn, has its roots in Marxism. A key figure in first applying critical theory to International Relation was Robert Cox, whose diagnosis of the difference between 'problem solving' and 'critical' approaches helps to distinguish between those theories which seek to work within the system, and those that work to change the system. (Cox 1981, 128-129). Critical security studies adopt the later approach, and seek to use 'immanent critique' to uncover the hypocrisy and flaws in the ideas or realities professed by dominant theories, such as realism or the dominant economic paradigm of capitalism. This approach places emancipatory security firmly in the post-positivist camp.

There are several divergent key areas within critical security studies, although many also share many features. The so-called 'Welsh School' of security studies, is from where the term emancipatory security derives. This school places an emphasis on the security of "men and women and communities", implying a focus on the individual, and not on the state (Wyn Jones 1999, 159). The vehicle for the security of the individual

is what is known as 'emancipation', which, according to Ken Booth is "the freeing of people (as individuals and groups) from the physical and human constraints which stop them carrying out what they would freely chose to do" (Booth 1991, 319). In order to achieve this goal, it seeks to bring together both top-down and bottom-up approaches to security, or, in other words, to achieve security cooperation between the state and individuals. (Booth 1991, 322).

Another key feature of critical security studies is the idea of communicative action which is rooted in Jürgen Habermas's ideas about the public sphere. Following Habermas, the concept of communicative action describes the exchange of information between individuals about an event and "their plans of action in order to coordinate their actions by way of agreement" (Habermas 1987, 86). In brief terms, dialogue between all those who may be affected by an issue is essential in order to produce security, and as such, spaces for discussion, where power dynamics are irrelevant, should be constructed (Linklater 2007). Both emancipation and communicative action are crucial tools for critical security studies, and can often be seen as working hand-in-hand.

Feminist theories

Following the incorporation of feminist perspectives into International Relations, feminist security scholars have questioned the patriarchal dominance within the study and practice of security. This feminist reinterpretation of security seeks to identify the ways that gender identity and politics underpin and shape insecurities, both in public and private spaces, and articulates an alternative vision of security (Blanchard 2003; Swaine 2019). The term 'feminist security studies' was coined in mid 2000s with the aim of making explicit that feminist work not only critiqued but reconstructed and transformed the field of security studies (Sjoberg 2017).

Although feminist theorists approach security studies through 'gendered lenses', there is not one unified feminist approach to the field of security. Instead, feminist authors look at security studies from different perspectives: postcolonial, ecological, post-structural, liberal, etc. All these perspectives yield different and sometimes contradictory critiques and proposals. Post-colonial feminism focuses on the ways that colonial relations of domination are reflected in gender relations; ecological feminism examines the connections between the environment and the treatment of women and minorities; post-structural feminism looks at how gendered epistemological assumptions marginalise the feminine and constitute global masculinised politics; and liberal feminism focuses on the misrepresentation of women in the existing global politics structures (Sjoberg 2009).

However, almost all feminist approaches to security begin with the analytical category of gender, its effects on political, economic, and social organisation in ways that reinforce the social constructs of masculinity and feminity, and the impact of this on the relations of power and dominance in society (Tickner 2001; Enloe 2000; Sjoberg 2010; Tickner 2020)[3].

Green theories

During recent decades International Relations and security studies have identified the environment as a significant source of concern for the discipline that requires theoretical and practical attention, especially in the wake of mounting evidence that human actions are significantly altering our global climate and provoking both security and ecological problems (Dyer 2017).

Within the field of green security, there are two main approaches. These are the sceptical approach, and the ecological security approach. On the one hand, sceptical green theorists have argued that ecological

3. For more in-depth analysis see also Urrutia, Villellas, and Villellas (2020).

problems must not be framed as a security issue. According to Daniel Deudney (1991) conceptualizing ecological problems as security problems goes against the core green values of antimilitarism and pacifism. Similar to post-structural security theorists, sceptical green theorists reject the idea of a concrete definition of security and point to its socially constructed nature (McDonald 2018).

On the other hand, those who advocate for ecological security argue that it has the potential to undermine traditional ideas of state-based security and promote international cooperation towards long-term sustainability and protection of the earth's ecosystem (Eckersley 2016; McDonald 2018). Ecological security challenges anthropocentrism and focuses on ecosystem resilience, including advocating for the rights of those who are facing insecurity due to climate change. For many green theorists, the critique of prevailing approaches to security encompasses not only institutionalised violence and its embodiment in the state but the social and systemic sources of violence (Newell 2019).

As Eckersley (2006) observes, green International Relations theory has yet to develop its position on a range of security-related debates, such as the appropriate relationship between order and justice in world politics or the appropriate use of force for humanitarian intervention or environmental protection. However, the internal debate over environmental security is indicative of its strong commitment to antimilitarism, one of few concrete points of agreement (Eckersley 2006).

Human Security

Human security was first outlined in a 1994 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) report, which declared security to be 'people-centred' (UNDP 1994, 23). This marked a change in focus from traditional, realist theories of security, which viewed the state as the central object of security, towards a focus on the individual, a theme which reoccurs

through many alternative theories of security. The UNDP report also outlined a key debate within human security, which is the 'freedom from fear' approach, and the 'freedom from want' approach (UNDP 1994, 24). Freedom from fear refers to a conception of human security where threats are largely violent in nature, whilst freedom from want refers to non-violent threats, like starvation or disease.

There are several different approaches within the field of human security. One is rooted in the liberal peace and 'freedom from want', and goes beyond a narrow focus on violence. For example, Japan implemented a 'comprehensive, multi-faceted' approach to security in the late 90s, which went beyond violence and state security to examine issues such as drug trafficking or disease (Remacle 2008, 7).

Another is narrower and more militarised. It is based on the doctrine of 'Responsibility to Protect' (R2P) by the International Commission for Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) in 2001. This promotes humanitarian intervention in certain contexts, specifically when a state fails to fulfil its obligations to provide security to its population (Thakur 2002, 330).

A third approach, of most interest to this report, is a bottom-up model, which focuses on the role of individuals themselves in directing and influencing security policy. Oliver Richmond envisages a postcolonial human security, where security is "carried out by its subjects", which heavily implies the importance of democracy and the involvement of civil society groups (Richmond 2012-13, 210). This focus on civil society can be seen in the International Campaign to Ban Anti-Personnel landmines, or the Oslo Process to Ban Cluster Munitions, and also in the works of authors such as Mary Kaldor or Till Kötter (Kaldor 2003; Kötter 2007). It is in this context, where individuals lead, and institutions and states follow, that human security has its greatest potential to transform security.

Post-colonial theories

The roots of postcolonial security studies can be traced back to Edward Said's Orientalism. It is important to acknowledge this link, because postcolonial security criticises not only material issues rooted in colonial practices, but also how knowledge and ideas are presented and constructed – a key element of Said's critique of Western thought. As such, postcolonial security is very much a post-positivist theory, although to describe it solely in such terms would also unfairly pigeon-hole it.

The primary concern of postcolonial security is evidently the consequences of colonialism. This takes many forms, but one key idea is that "the focus for post-colonial scholars is not on the state *per se* but rather on the enduring structures of oppression and coloniality that continue to hinder the development of countries of the global south" (Zaamout 2020, 2). This is yet another approach that moves the focus of security away from the state, and onto different issues, in this case, structures. These structures include international financial institutions like the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund, or "the United Nations and the nuclear non-proliferation regime" (Barkawi, Laffey 2006, 331). This is not to say the state cannot be a source of insecurity, and indeed, critiques of concepts like humanitarian intervention as a 'civilising mission' demonstrate the fact that Western states often seek to legitimise the use of force premised on a sense of moral superiority (Barkawi, Laffey 2006, 351). These missions often exacerbate insecurity rather than alleviate it.

The production of knowledge and the assumptions of dominant theoretical paradigms underline these critiques of the material aspects of other theories of security. For example, Fiona B. Adamson argues that there has been an 'erasure of race', within International Relations and security scholarship (Adamson 2020, 131). This negatively impacts racialised and marginalised groups not just in the global south, but across the globe. The other side to this issue is the fact that 'dominant

(in)security discourses constitute situations and particular actors as transnational security risk, with important repercussions for individual security' (Hönke, Müller 2012, 391). Postcolonial security then sees both Western material and ideological power as dangerous and damaging to much of the world.

Post-structural theories

The concept of 'post-structuralism' within security studies is derived from the philosophical movement, inspired by different authors (Foucault, Derrida, Deleuze, Bourdieu, etc.), that took place in the second half of the twentieth century (Peoples, Vaughan-Williams 2020). The translation of this philosophical background into security studies is attributed to authors such as David Campbell (1992) or R.B.J Walker (1992). These studies have been deemed as engaging in radical interpretivism. As such, several scholars have observed the incapacity of post-structuralism to go beyond critique since the social meaning of events is under constant dispute (Mustapha 2013). Nonetheless, post-structuralist insights have moved research forward in many different aspects. Their ideas are centred around three concrete issues: identity, power, and space.

First, post-structural security studies have scrutinised the circumstances under which security discourses were brought into being. It is here that identity plays an important role, as far as processes of self-identification define who provides security and who is a source of insecurity (Burke 2012). Deconstruction is the technique employed to unpack these processes. In short, deconstruction attempts to analyse how certain events were turned into existential threats and point out that threats are subjective, not objective (Derrida 1978).

Secondly, post-structuralist studies have placed power relations and practices at the centre of security analysis. Broadly speaking, the provision of security and the definition of insecurity do not take place during crisis periods, but are shaped through quotidian habits and implicit knowledge (Aradau, van Munster 2010). This shift lies in the conceptual development made by Foucault on the idea of power (Deleuze 2014). In its application to security studies, it can be summarised following some of its core assumptions (Deleuze 2014):

- Property assumption: threats do not exist *per se*, but are the by-product of certain understandings about security;
- Modality assumption: insecurity does not necessarily result from violent threats. Oppressive practices might result from daily events and our ideas about insecurity;
- Legality assumption: post-structuralism inverts the argument in which law is a synonym of protection. The demarcation of law excludes certain individuals from it and controls those who are inside;
- Localisation assumption: post-structuralist theories do not call into question the identification between state control and (in)security, but widen the sources and elements which project insecurity. Security does not result from concrete institutions. By contrast, it is generated by the assemblage of practices, knowledge, habits, etc. (Amicelle et al., 2015)[4].

Third, post-structuralist studies have pointed out how the generation of securities and insecurities takes place in concrete environments, urban settings, and defined spaces (Campbell 2019). The relationship between space, security and power has produced analysis on (in)securities of borders (Bigo 2014), drones (Robson 2020), technology and big-data (Aradau, Blanke 2015), etc.

4. In this regard, the insights of the Paris School – or International Political Sociology (IPS) – merit special mention (Basaran et al., 2017).

Securitisation

The publication of *Security: A New Framework of Analysis* (1998) is normally referred to as the birth of securitisation theory. Securitisation explores the capacity of certain actors to frame political events as threats and move them into the security arena – outside of conventional politics (Nyman 2012). This theory sits side by side with post-positivist ontologies. It contends that the understanding of events depends on how individuals perceive them. In addition, this theory places a strong emphasis on discourse as it is rooted in Austin's theories of speech acts (Buzan et al. 1997). Speech act theories argue that discourses – public statements, or institutional declarations – are not only words but activities that alter the course of events (Huysmans 2011). The evolution of the theory has resulted in two main strands (Balzacq 2010): the linguistic approach – the Copenhagen School – and the sociological approach.

The Copenhagen School identifies three main elements: the securitising actor, the referent object, and the audience (Buzan et al., 1997). In its classic version, securitising actors hold a certain degree of power (governments, IGOs, parties, etc.). By the same token, audiences were defined as passive, and understood to comprise the population of states. A referent object is securitised if three conditions are met:

- An event or group is identified as a threat by the securitising actor;
- The audience acknowledges the threat and changes its behaviour;
- The situation is addressed in accordance with the justification for securitisation (Floyd 2016);

Finally, a successful securitising move moves the situation into the security domain. Because political events are no longer problems but threats, exceptional measures are permitted (Roe 2012).

The sociological approach has nuanced the discursive framework (Balzacq 2010). And underlines the role played by processes and social contexts. This shift broadens the linguistic approach at three different levels: First, securitisation does not always result from speech acts but also occurs through practices, techniques of government, and everyday routines (Balzacq 2019). Subsequently, the sociological approach pays greater attention to external context rather than the internal coherence of the speech act (Balzacq 2005). Second, the audience is not solely defined on passive terms. The securitising move is co-constituted by both the securitising actor and the audience. Finally, security affairs do not take place above politics but within its realm (Balzacq 2015). Individuals recognise issues and events as dangers without requesting exceptional measures.

To conclude, securitisation theories provide different ways of addressing security issues. Several scholars do not consider the exceptional measures produced as a result of securitisation processes as negative (Roe 2012). They might trigger political mobilisation for problems that need urgent solutions such as climate change (Floyd 2019). However, desecuritisation is the preferred choice for managing political problems for both approaches. Thus, Lene Hansen (2012) proposes four different ways in which securitised events can be addressed through politics:

- *Stabilisation*: when the issue is framed avoiding terms which encourage exceptionalism and disrupting decisions are side-lined.
- *Replacement*: when one securitised event is exchanged for another.
- *Rearticulation*: when a securitised issue is managed with the toolkit provided by daily politics.
- *Silencing*: when the threat is marginalised and disappears from the security discourse.

		Emancipation	Feminist	Green	Human Security	Post-colonial	Post-structural	Securitisation
Ontology*		Post-positivist	Post-positivist	Positivist	Positivist	Post-positivist	Post-positivist	Post-positivist
CONCEPT	Objective	Resources	Equality	Environment	Freedom from Want	Identity	Equality	Survival
	Discursive	Social class	Gender empowerment	Inter-dependence	Dignity	Deconstruction	Community empowerment	Securitisation
OBJECT		Disempowered social classes	Power relationship	Ecosystem	Individuals	Race constructions	Identity	States
THREAT		Economic elites	Patriarchy	Environmental insecurity	Context-dependent	Racism	Power structures	Context-dependent
MEANS to ensure security		Redistribution of resources	Gender transformative policies	Sustainability	Liberal peace-building agenda	Decolonisation and reparations	-	Desecuritisation

Table 1. Summary of theories by features

*Ontology refers to the discipline which examines the nature of social reality. This field is mainly divided in two positions: positivism and post-positivism. On the one hand, positivists describe the world as objective and rooted in observable realities. On the other hand, post-positivists emphasise that our understanding of the world is not transparent or neutral. In other words, human beings, when interacting with reality, shape events and objects. Therefore, the understanding of reality is always mediated by the cultural and social background of individuals.

In search of a common ground

The above-discussed theories provide a rather fragmented picture of what security is and how insecurity comes into being. Moreover, alternative security studies provide strong critiques but struggle to present practical proposals. This lack of shared practices and common proposals is further reinforced by several elements. First, theories emphasise their uniqueness and how they conceptually define themselves in contrast to others. The most recent demonstration of this trend is Howell and Richter-Montpetit's (2020) accusation – from a post-colonial point of view – that securitisation theory is fundamentally racist and anti-black, and the subsequent response from Wæver and Buzan (2020)[5]. Furthermore, handbooks and descriptive studies often isolate and present these theories separately. Lastly, schools have been challenged as to whether the concept of security must be discarded, due to its exclusionary and exceptionalist logic, or if there is room to re-make the concept (Browning, McDonald 2011). In fact, some theories link security devices and techniques such as surveillance and use of force by the state with the construction of insecurity. It means that security is largely an irredeemable concept. Nonetheless, this report opts to retain the concept of security, whilst advocating for an reappropriation of the term as a positive, rather than negative concept. Thus, the commonalities explored below are an attempt to bridge a fragmented landscape and provide a shared agenda between theories. These ten points of the common ground provide a framework for the practical cases outlined in the third section of this report.

5. This academic dispute has resulted in the publication of a special issue (Chadha Behera, Hinds, Tickner 2021) by the journal Security Dialogue to address the debate among scholars, and the opening of a forum 'Race and racism in critical security studies'.

Boundaries

The traditional concept of security implies that security is grounded in the respect for and the protection of frontiers. In the case of the individual, the defence of the body against physical violence constitutes the limit. In the case of states, borders represent the frontier which ensures protection and sovereignty. Both of these examples require hard security capabilities; military mechanisms to control territorial integrity; and armed police bodies to neutralise physical harm. This limited understanding of security clouds different anthropological insights and neglects other conceptions of territory and organisation.

Geography and security

Borders represent the boundaries within which resources to ensure survival are contained. Armies have the duty to protect them because resources are one crucial means for providing stability. However, post-structural theories of security do not consider territorial divisions as the most efficient system for safety. In short, borders do not protect the *self* against the *other* but are a crucial device to construct and reify this divide. In addition, green theories highlight that identifying nature as a resource rather than as essential to our survival encourages an extractivist dynamic. From this perspective, borders are neither immutable entities nor are humans masters of nature. Security does not result from the establishment of divisions on a zero-sum basis. By contrast, in line with emancipation theories, it is anchored in the vision that humans should recognize themselves as "joint-sharers in a common world" (Rancière 1999, 49 in Aradau 2004).

Anthropology and security

The obsession with military development promotes a limited understanding of human beings. More concretely, it is an understanding of security which attempts to address our vulnerabilities by building more walls or deploying increasingly invasive surveillance mechanisms. Hard security devices are deemed to be necessary because they obscure the vulnerability which defines the human condition. By contrast, critical security studies emphasise this anthropological feature and have a different understanding of our materiality as human beings. Feminist studies have called into question who is the subject of conventional security practices, and who is excluded from these practices. Even if this work has mainly focused on the study of the military and war (Nahhal 2017), its findings can also be applied to the field of security. Adjectives such as force, commitment, risk, bravery, etc., shed light on a gendered construction of the actor responsible for security. As a response, critical feminist scholars propose an alternative understanding of our anthropology. The insight of ideas such as vulnerability (Butler 2006) or care (Tronto 2013) has rejuvenated the anthropological approach to security studies. From their perspective, vulnerability is not something to be erased, but to be protected through communitarian practices of care. Along with post-colonial theories, these studies invert the approach to «the other». Discussing the insights of Butler in the context of realist theories: "Security is opposed to the principle of mourning in the sense that security practices seek to deny the vulnerable inter-human bond around which subjectivity is constituted" (Aradau, van Munster 2010, 78). Then, the other is not defined as a threat but as an individual who mourns, suffers, and feels (Butler 2006).

This re-humanisation of the other is a way to understand security in other terms. This reconceptualisation, however, does not mean that the concept of security becomes meaningless. Contrary to those who consider that alternative theories dissolve the concept of security, Cynthia Enloe argues: "Not only will policing skills have to be enhanced, the internal culture of police forces will have to be transformed: […] what counts as 'bravery in the line of duty' will have to be recalibrated" (Enloe 2013, 80). As discussed during the introduction, the main objective is not to erase the concept of security nor reject conventional security bodies. By contrast, alternative security theories aim at transforming the concept and, consequently, its associated practices (Hoogensen, Vigeland 2004).

Resignification

To a certain extent, the possession of means and devices to provide security defines those who are relevant actors in security studies. The police and the military embody security because they have the means to protect citizens (guns, batons, surveillance systems, etc.) (Amicelle et al. 2015). Critical security studies have called this divide into question because from their perspective security is not only the absence of physical insecurity or to ensure survival (Booth 2007). Because the object and the means to provide security varies, so does the spectrum of actors in charge of its provision. In turn, this decision has had an impact on the devices, processes and structures which are associated with security.

Broadening actors

This element is also discussed when considering democratisation and preventative approaches. In addition, feminist scholars have contributed to a more inclusive dynamic with the association of care with security (Aharoni et al. 2021). Even in the case of securitisation theories, which have generally been linked with exclusionary logics and identified the state as the main securitising actor, the capacity of ethnic minorities or subalterns to securitise has been discussed (Roe 2004). The work done by social workers on crime prevention also sheds a practical light on this broadening trend. All of them move the question from «what is security» to «who provides security».

Deepening structures
Insecurity does not appear out of nowhere but instead emerges in specific contexts. Specifically, it is brought into being by certain mechanisms or structures. As alternative schools of security explore these structures and processes, they acknowledge that actors are not fully autonomous, but are embedded within these structures. Because they introduce the relevance of structures in shaping (in)securities, the very idea and influence of actors is nuanced. Practices are reproduced by individuals but shaped by structural dynamics. Whether at the material or the symbolic level, different approaches, such as post-colonial or emancipatory theory, have underlined how the uneven distribution of resources or the marginalisation of identities result in different security provisions and experiences of insecurity.

Ethical approach

The shift from state-centric actors to a different approach to the subjects of security also entails a change in the objectives pursued. Previously, classical realism placed an emphasis on state survival (Morgenthau 1948; Gilpin 1981). From their perspective, politics revolved around power, not morals or individuals' wellbeing. Therefore, any normative concerns were downplayed or ignored. Their assessment of actors on the basis of the uncertainty they might produce or the power they might hold, led to the consideration of the other as a threat. In opposition, "ethics attempt to resist security discourses and the logic self/other it brings about. […] Ethics is a practice of deconstruction (Campbell 1998), an eternal transformation of the conditions that structure our existence" (Aradau, van Munster 2010, 78). Alternative theories of security take their critical position as a point of departure, emphasise the agency of individuals in the light of oppressive processes and propose normative articulations of security practices. Echoing the C.A.S.E manifesto: "Security-power-normality is replaced by security-emancipation-normativity, with emancipation disentangling security from power and achieving a fuller and more inclusive realization of security" (2006, 456).

Critique as a point of departure
As previously discussed during the introduction, alternative theories of security have been criticised because of their lack of practical proposals. However, it is precisely their critique of social order as an objective immutable entity which brings ethics to the fore. In line with emancipation studies, if alternative theorists denounce the oppressive practices of current security policies it is because they seek to transform them (Chadha Behera, Hinds, Tickner 2021). In a similar vein, "By challenging that which is taken for granted, poststructuralism is in the business of making politics and society less exclusionary, more inclusive, and less contingent on the dominance of the marginalised" (Crilley, Chatterje-Doody 2019, 168).

Agency
The different vocabularies used by theories – deconstruction, emancipation, resilience, care, performativity, etc. – should not obscure the links which underpin them (Browning, McDonald 2011). The commonality at the heart of these theories can be summarised by Amartya Sen's work on the idea of agency (Sen 2000). Alternative theories of security stress the capacity of individuals and communities to bring change and act in accordance with certain values (Sen 2000). The constraints of structures, the uneven distribution of resources or gender discrimination prevent humans from acting with agency. Whether ensuring the material means through redistribution, whether de-masculinizing political dynamics through performativity, whether de-securitising issues to consider them without the pressure of exceptional logics, what is at stake is the capacity of humans to have control over their own lives.

Prevention

Preventative measures should go hand in hand with the capacity of security bodies to address violent incidents. Indeed, an important caveat must be considered when talking about criminality: despite investment in conventional security, criminality remains highly concentrated in concrete areas, neighbourhoods, or boroughs (McGarrell 2020). This fact emphasises the need to extend the concept of security to address the root causes of the issue. In turn, it aligns with the call for an interdisciplinary response to insecurity. Preventive mechanisms and initiatives have been investigated under the framework of Prevention of Violent Extremism (PVE) studies (Stephens et al. 2021). By contrast to counter-terrorism and countering violent extremism programmes (CVE), PVE is a multi-level set of policies which encourage actors such as teachers, community leaders, or social workers to work with society to prevent young people joining violent groups and assist them during the de-radicalisation process (Muro, Bourekba 2019). From this perspective, PVE programmes shed light on two key elements of a preventative approach within security studies:

Community approaches

Post-colonial theories have focused on the role played by the community. This approach has been widely studied by organisations such as Saferworld. In 2014, they published a report on how to design, implement, and monitor community security programmes (Saferworld 2014). However, this aspect not only focuses on the provision of goods, shelter, or capacity-building mechanisms but also, symbolic assets – culture, religion, rituals, etc. – which it implies also fulfil certain human necessities (Shani 2017). Following the insights of ontological security theory (Giddens 1991), if the community was only conceived for the provision of goods, security would be limited to survival. By contrast, communities also reinforce 'security as being' (Gustafsson, Krickel-Choi 2020). In other words, communities play a decisive role in self-identification processes for individuals. Violent events or insecure situations such as scarcity, or natural disasters represent a rupture or breakdown of these processes. In that regard, communities are the systems which help protect individuals from these ruptures. They are the places where individuals are reassured and can attempt to make sense of destruction or danger. Therefore, their protection is part of a conception of security which foregrounds the relevance of social and symbolic ties in the prevention of violence.

Resilience

The concept of resilience has been emphasised by both post-structural and emancipation theories (Aradau, van Munster 2010) and it has become a buzzword in security studies during the last decade (Dunn Cavelty et al. 2015). From a certain perspective, resilience can be seen as reactive, as far as it derives from coping with past experiences. However, resilience is not solely a result of one-time disasters. Resilient communities and citizens are proactive actors who not only seek to address past problems, but by coping with them, to learn and anticipate the causes of these problems, and where these insecurities reside and materialise. It is this formative aspect which demonstrates the preventative capacity of resilience when it comes to security. As PVE programmes have highlighted, resilient communities are less prone to converting grievances into violence, whilst they also introduce inclusive and adaptive ways to deal with insecurities.

Sustainability

In 1987, the World Commission on Environment and Development defined sustainability as meeting the needs of the present without compromising future generations' capacity to meet their own needs. Among the many challenges we face, a liveable future will depend on redrawing the meaning of security. Therefore, sustainable security practic-

es can be defined as those that meet the needs of the present without compromising the well-being of the future through adverse societal impacts, depletion of other fundamental social values – such as trust and legitimacy – or erosion to principles of freedom, due process or equity of treatment (Crawford 2017).

Climate change has implications for all aspects and levels of security. Some of the most direct security-related manifestations of climate change are environmental degradation, (such as air pollution or land degradation), and resource scarcity – caused by environmental degradation. For that reason, sustainable security should also build long-term mechanisms to ensure food and water security and to reduce its environmental impact.

Long-term sustainable means

A sustainable approach promotes a shared and long-term means of taking responsibility for threat-management (Abbot et al. 2006). This implies focusing on longitudinal policies rather than reactive short-term solutions. As Simon Dalby (1999) has expressed, if security can be reinterpreted in terms of this kind of ecologically sustainable common security, requiring a political and social order that works to sustain resources in the long-term interest of all, and taking into consideration intergenerational equity as well as intragenerational equity, then it may offer some useful potential. Therefore, as alternative theories of security maintain, sustainable security involves recognising and mitigating the divers of global insecurity, including social exclusion, climate change, and militarisation[6].

6. In this regard, the Oxford Research Group's recent project Sustainable Security Index (SSI) aims to provide a global ranking to measure the drivers of political instability (Alasdair, Watson, Scanlan 2020). The index focuses on three drivers: a) Poor governance and marginalisation or prejudice against certain groups which can make conflict more likely; b) Over-reliance on military responses (both internally and externally) which can lead to perpetual conflict and instability; c) Climate change and resource scarcity which can exacerbate the causal factors of conflict and violence.

Recognising these multiple sources of insecurity is a precondition for building means to ensure transformative security.

From events to processes

As human security theories underline, security resides in «freedom from want» (UNDP 1994). In a similar vein, emancipative security contends that security will only be achieved once individuals are liberated from the oppression which restricts their freedom (Booth 2007). If individuals lack basic necessities, freedom is not present. Under these circumstances, a loaf of bread or proper sanitation might provide more security than the barrel of a gun. The Food & Agriculture Organisation defines four criteria for achieving food security: food availability, food access, utilisation, and stability (FAO 2006). These elements highlight that the successful management of a crisis does necessarily lead to the complete provision of security. Following Booth, "survival does not guarantee security, because it does not eliminate threats" (Booth 2007, 106). Building on post-structuralist theories, the location of security does not lie in a concrete event but in processes and structures. Therefore, the contribution of these alternative theories also demonstrates the necessity of institutionalising these theoretical insights. Institutions create capacity because they fund, articulate, and entrench existing practices (Delgado et al. 2019).

Reducing the environmental footprint of the security sector

The security sector contributes directly to global warming. As the project 'The Military Emissions Gap' investigates, military forces are among the largest emitters of greenhouse gases (GHGs) and consumers of fossil fuels in the world (Crawford 2019; CEOBS 2021). Hence, security sectors all over the world are often part of the problem themselves: they contribute to or aggravate climate-related security crises through poor governance practices, and sometimes are involved in illegal activities that harm the environment (Manea 2021; Brunet et al. 2021).

As the Conflict and Environment Observatory (CEOBS) has pointed out, military activities have the potential to harm the environment. Even Western militaries face an increasing domestic environmental regulation in the last two decades, the fact that many traditional military activities are inherently unsustainable ensures that greenwashing is commonplace (CEOBS 2018).

Democratisation

The concept of democratic security attempts to reconcile the tension between the idea that democracy is inseparable from fundamental rights (Schaffer 2015), and due considerations given to security both at the national and the individual level (Steuer 2019). Alternative security theories believe it is necessary to extend the authority of security provision to a broader audience. In addition, models of alternative security should be committed to the needs of the people they serve and should therefore be accountable to them. Unlike traditional security practices – that have little accountability or traceability – democratic approaches to security place greater emphasis on transparency, human rights protection, and serving the community.

Oversight mechanisms and transparency
Effective oversight mechanisms are necessary to balance the powers of law enforcement officials and ensure that individuals operate within the law; this will not only lead to the prevention of misconduct, but will also contribute to strengthening the legitimacy of the police or security agencies (Amnesty 2015). As an example, some countries have developed Independent Police Complaint Bodies (IPCBs), such as the Police Ombudsman of Northern Ireland or the Danish Independent Police Complaints Authority. The IPCBs are mechanisms that carry out effective investigation of complaints against law enforcement ensuring the independence

of investigators, accessibility and transparency. As another example, Barnes and Albrecht (2008) present a tool for incorporating gender into different aspects of civil society oversight mechanisms as a way of ensuring human rights standards and strengthening civil society engagement[7].

Human rights protection
A democratic model for security also implies that state and security actors fulfil their duties to protect and guarantee human rights. In this sense, a human rights based approach to security should be a key tool to turn human rights norms into clear guidance and obligations for security providers. Furthermore, it is fundamental for human rights protection to apply not only a human rights framework, but also the procedural norms established in jurisprudence[8]. Therefore, this protection seeks to strengthen the capacity of the individual to claim their rights and the capacity of the actor responsible for these rights – the justice and security provider – to comply with their obligations (Piaget, Fernandez 2016).

Serving the community
The involvement of citizens and communities in security programmes is a precondition for a more democratic approach to security. Civil society organisations have an important role to play in giving voice to the interests and concerns of the population and encouraging reforms that respond to the security and justice needs of the people (OECD-DAC 2007). In this sense, human security theory relocates the referent object of security

7. Barnes and Albrecht's tool can be consulted here: https://www.international-alert.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/Gender-SSR-Civil-Society-Oversight-Tool9-EN-2008.pdf

8. International mechanisms such as the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACHR), European Court on Human Rights (ECHR), and UN Treaty Bodies have developed in their jurisprudence key elements regarding human rights obligation in the security field.

away from the state and towards 'people'. The Commission on Human Security[9] 2003 report *Human Security Now* highlighted that:

- People-centeredness means a shift in the referent object of security from the state to human beings, especially endangered populations.
- The idea of addressing a vital core that stresses the importance of people participating in the identification of their needs and promoting the adaptation of human security agendas (Gómez 2012).

Internationalism

An internationalist conception of security refers to practices and ideas that go beyond borders. This is one of many concepts which helps alternative security look beyond the state, and is linked to other areas of common ground like democratisation. Internationalism is obviously a key feature of liberal international theory, and even authors central to alternative theories like emancipative security, such as Jürgen Habermas, have cited the importance of organisations like the EU in promoting cosmopolitan ideas (Linklater 2007). Nevertheless, internationalism can go far beyond Western or European approaches, and incorporating insights from green and postcolonial theory helps to develop areas of agreement.

Here, one of the key ideas is that instead of states being the key actors – even when they work with international institutions – non-state actors, community organisations and NGOs take centre stage. This has been highlighted by human security theorists, who specifically emphasise the importance of 'global civil society' in developing solutions to global problems (Kaldor 2003). Other authors have criticised liberal internationalism as encouraging wars and conflict through the language of universal human rights (Jabri

9. Co-chaired by Sadako Ogata, former UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and Amartya Sen, Nobel Prize winner in economics.

2007). However, this section attempts to highlight why internationalism is important to addressing global security concerns. With the world increasingly interconnected, and actions in one country capable of impacting those on the other side of the world, international solidarity is necessary.

Internationalism is relevant in many contexts such as militarism, the climate crisis or refugee rights. Successful campaigns by civil society coalitions, such as the 'Campaign to Ban Anti-Personnel landmines', which has often been placed under the banner of human security, demonstrate the power of internationally coordinated movements to influence security dynamics.

More recently, the environmental campaign group Extinction Rebellion has created international networks across more than 83 countries in order to draw attention to the climate crisis, and how this can provoke environmental, economic, and health insecurities, amongst others (Extinction Rebellion 2021). Green theory is particularly focused on the global impact of climate change, and it is widely accepted that unilateral politics will not be enough to address this issue (Brock 2012).

Perhaps the most clear example of the importance of internationalism is the coronavirus pandemic. As countries in the global north start to finish their vaccination programmes, it is difficult not to acknowledge the extreme injustice faced by many states in the global south who remain far behind due to lack of access to vaccines. Beyond this obvious injustice, this is a global problem, as whilst large proportions of the world's population remain unvaccinated, the potential for new, vaccine resistant variants to develop remains high.

These examples show how internationalism can move beyond the state paradigm, and how it is a crucial feature in building different approaches to security. Internationalism must acknowledge diversity of experiences, circumstances and cultures, in order to avoid – Western – dominance of one approach. In the light of the very global problems the world faces, an internationalist, collaborative approach to security is not just important, but vital.

Pacifism

The realist tradition considers military means necessary to ensure security (Morgenthau 1948; Gilpin 1981). From their perspective, possessing more advanced military technology or investing more in defence automatically translates to greater security (Mearsheimer 2001). Nonetheless, the evolution of security studies and the changing global environment has demonstrated other realities. First, even within the field of defence, new threats such as cyberwarfare (Jensen 2017), or poorly equipped armed groups are able to challenge the most sophisticated militaries in the world. In addition, purely military means cannot address current challenges such as climate change. In turn, the assumption that military means uphold peace has generally side-lined insights from pacifism in security studies (Hutchings 2018). Historically international relations has turned its back on pacifism (Jackson et al. 2020). Nonetheless, antimilitarism, international relations and security studies share a common cultural and historic background. The feminist movement shares explicit historical ties with the pacifist movement, and anti-militarism as the figure of Jane Addams illustrates (Miras Boronat 2019). The normative value of these theories deconstructs this approach and underlines that "securitised societies are rarely safe societies" (Kaldor 2016, 149). As such, both pacifism and alternative theories of security promote demilitarisation and embracing new means and methods to ensure security.

Demilitarisation

Demilitarisation has been historically focused on diminishing the relevance of the military in political and daily affairs. This tradition results in two different conceptions of demilitarisation. On the one hand, a narrow conception of demilitarisation emphasises the need to reduce military budgets and spending, both on personnel and hardware (Brickford 2013). This process normally takes place at the national or international level and is concerned with military expenditure. Demilitarisation and anti-militarism activists have historically observed the necessity of diverting funds from defence and the military and investing them in social issues. In line with securitisation theories, this approach confirms the willingness to divert attention from exceptional means to resolve problems. In other words, the optimal situation is the resolution of political problems within the political realm.

However, a broader conception of demilitarisation has attempted to unravel the extent to which military culture is embedded in our societies. It aims not only for the demilitarisation of states and the international system through disarmament or budget reduction but the demilitarisation of our culture and everyday experiences. The military becomes necessary because a certain understanding of threats and security is in place (Brickford 2013). The attempt to unveil this deep network of ideas clearly echoes post-structural theories of security. Therefore, the aim is to deconstruct this "process that produces the mind-set and worldview that turns the thing – almost anything – into a weapon, and produces citizens and soldiers who see the world as a place requiring weapons." (Brickford 2013, 20). Finally, aligned with feminist theories of security, demilitarisation also reinforces the necessity to generate new forms of human relationships and social coexistence exempt from violent and aggressive behaviour.

Soft security methods

The normative insights emphasised by critical security studies suggest moving beyond the use of hard security devices (military equipment, batons, data surveillance, etc.). On the one hand, this approach has led to the revision and reform of policing methods on several different issues. For instance, continuous training on different topics (public health, human rights, etc.) could make security bodies more sensitive to addressing risks and disasters (Lauf, Wasseem 2020). For example, Germany introduced dialogue and partnerships between representatives of

civil society and youth groups to avoid the use of violence by the police, or riots during demonstrations (Porsché 2021). On the other hand, and focused on broadening security, several voices propose the adoption of non-harmful means and of extending the paradigm of security beyond conventional security forces. This could include examples such as the case of civilian science to monitor the environmental impact of war in post-conflict areas (Weir et al. 2019) or the developing legislation which further protects minorities at risk as the 'Sanctuary Cities' movement has done (Martínez et al. 2018). Both examples foreground how civic and non-violent measures can also promote security. However, in its most radical version, several social movements have highlighted the need to dissolve conventional security bodies. This is the case of the movement 'Defund the Police' and 'Black Lives Matter'. This movement has produced still lacks proper conceptual configuration because of its recent emergence into public debate. Broadly, it opts for reducing the police budget and investing this money in social affairs (housing, schooling, mental health, etc.), or, more bluntly, closing police departments and abolishing the institution of policing[10].

Justice

Justice in this report is defined as practices which move beyond traditional retributive justice. Retributive or punitive approaches, especially those which use physical violence or constitute lengthy or inhumane forms of incarceration, do little to provide security and build better societies. Traditional approaches also fail to address cases where insecurity is provoked by structural violence, economic crimes, or negative societal

10. The movement has already produced insights in different areas such as an anti-carceral model for security workers in prisons (Jacobs et al. 2021), or the initiative 'Doctors for Defunding Police' in Toronto (Doctor for Defunding Police 2021 – among many others.

dynamics such as gender violence. As such, broader approaches which can challenge, for example, legacies of colonialism or economic violence, are required (Miller 2008). These approaches include transformative and restorative justice, which focus on community cohesion, reconciliation, and economic and societal change, often in the context of redistributive economics. Much of the theorising on different forms of justice in International Relations comes from the field of transitional justice, but these insights are equally useful here, especially with regard to security in post-conflict contexts.

Restorative justice

This can be defined as an approach where "victims, offenders, and communities affected by a particular offense meet to find a way to 'restore' or make amends for the harm resulting" (Lauritsen 2009). This inclusion of a wider group of participants speaks to other criteria within the common ground, such as resignification of actors and democratisation. More specifically, it relates to several alternative theories of security, such as postcolonial theory and feminist theory. Increased involvement of victims and communities is related to post-colonial theories of security. Rather than letting systems of criminal law which derive from Western standards dominate, especially through the liberal peacebuilding paradigm, restorative justice approaches can introduce community involvement, and recognise the importance of 'community practices and values' in building and maintaining social order (Brown, Aning 2018, 4). This can build trust and encourage wider participation.

The most notable example of this approach to date are Gacaca courts and their use in the aftermath of the Rwandan genocide (Tiemesse 2004). The use of local practices is also sometimes echoed by human security theorists. Feminist theories have also highlighted the importance of new conceptions of justice in the context of security, especially in the context of violence against women. For example, Fionnuala Ní Aoláin has noted that violence against women can be difficult to fit into conventional

human rights criteria, or that "pervasive sexual and physical violence against women is simply not counted" (Ní Aoláin 2009, 1061). A restorative approach would ensure that these concerns were addressed, and that the voices of victims were heard. Anti-carceral feminists have also raised concerns about the use of punitive justice, and the role of the state in enacting this justice. Promoting carceral politics increases the powers of the state and the police, which in many cases provokes further insecurity (Sepúlveda 2019). This element is further explored below.

Transformative justice

This looks to transform economic and societal relations, and to provide reparations for those who have been the victims of structural violence, whilst also placing emphasis on the importance of community involvement (Sharp 2019). This approach generally entails a fundamental reconfiguration of society to address inequalities rooted in class, race, gender and sexuality. It can be linked to postcolonial or decolonial security, specifically, the issue of indigenous lands, and demands for their return. Campaigns such as Land Back, which demands the return of ancestral lands in the United States highlight this issue, and demonstrate how systematic transformation is regarded as necessary in some quarters (LANDBACK 2021). Green security can also incorporate forms of transformative justice and indeed, calls for climate justice which would entail transformation on a global scale, are now common (UN Sustainable Development 2019). This rests on the understanding that climate change will leave many of the world's impoverished in situations of insecurity. These broader approaches provide areas for cooperation, as in many cases economic injustice is reflected in gender injustice, or colonial injustices have led to ongoing social injustices. Definitely, new forms of justice are another area for alternative theories of security to find common ground.

Intersectionality

Intersectionality was first used by US professor Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989), and later mainstreamed into social justice and feminist discourse. In short, intersectionality is "the critical insight that race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, ability and age operate not as unitary, mutually exclusive entities, but rather as reciprocally constructed phenomena that in turn shape complex social inequalities" (Hill Collins 2015, 2).

Intersectional approach has become the key analytic framework that allows us to talk about issues that are often hidden and would not be visible if we focus separately on gender, race and class (Crenshaw 1991). For security to be provided equitably it must be intersectional. That means: recognising multiple identities and building interconnected approaches.

Recognising multiple identities

Intersectionality emphasises that our identities are multiple and based on more than one factor, and due to this, humans can face multiple vulnerabilities (Chadha Behera, Hinds, Tickner 2021). As Annick T.R Wibben and Akanksha Mehta (2019) point out, identity and security are interdependent, and interact every day. In this sense, feminist and postcolonial approaches to security studies ask who is secured by the activities taking place in the name of 'security', and interrogate the gendered and racial assumptions that underpin the concept (Khalid 2018). Also, human security and feminist studies focus on individual and communities, which is rooted in a broad understanding of those who may face threats to their lives and integrity (Miralles 2021). Concretely, intersectional feminism addresses power relations and gender inequality, and their intersection with race, class, capacity and sexual orientation, as key facts for understanding the multiple experiences of insecurity.

Interconnected approaches

From an intersectional perspective, current security threats – climate change, armed conflicts, gender violence, extractivism, etc. – must be addressed in an interconnected way. This implies recognising how different spheres intersect, and also how structures shape vulnerabilities. In this regard, for ecofeminist theorists and many green security theorists, nature and women are threatened as a result of the patriarchal urges within capitalism, which places money, economic growth and profit ahead of people and the environment. Both women and nature carry the costs of an extractivist economic system (Meer 2021).

To conclude, the common ground outlined above has attempted to develop a set of shared points among alternative security theories. The propositive claim of these theories has until now been limited to a broader and deeper understanding of the concept. The preliminary attempt made by this report is to enlarge these two features and develop a framework for a common ground.

The development of a more concrete common agenda may represent an opportunity not only to orientate the concept of security differently, but also to reform current practices of security. If alternative theories do not provide clear avenues for the implementation of innovative practices, insecurities and threats will be still managed by those whose actions these theories criticise. Therefore, insecurities will remain a problem regardless of the criticism of alternative theorists.

The following section, however, demonstrates the current change in this trend. It presents several innovative security practices – some of them already mentioned during the common ground - that deal differently with a variety of security threats. These alternative experiences show the way forward, and demonstrate that another understanding of security is not only possible, but feasible and viable.

Grounded practices

This section presents a selection of 10 case studies on the implementation of alternative security practices. The cases included draw on the areas of common ground identified in the previous section. Each case includes at least a minimum of three elements shared framework. These elements may be used as a tool for future analysis of further cases of alternative security practices.

We identify shared practices in order to build bridges between what can be very different practices. In addition, the cases explore not only different formats and geographies of security, but also its multiple dimensions – environmental, emotional, spatial, etc.

We also categorise the cases using a typology represented on the graph below. This places the cases within a framework, ranging from international to local, and institutional to informal. «International» refers to practices which operate in multiple states, or at a global level, whilst «local» practices are those which take place within communities or in specific towns or cities. «Institutional» practices refer to those which are integrated into, or have strong links to state security frameworks. «Informal» practices, by contrast, are those which take place largely or completely independently of state influence, and are often bottom-up in nature.

Each case is outlined as follows. The location is highlighted, followed by a short reference to the typology. The points of common ground are then explained, following a brief description of the case and its implementation.

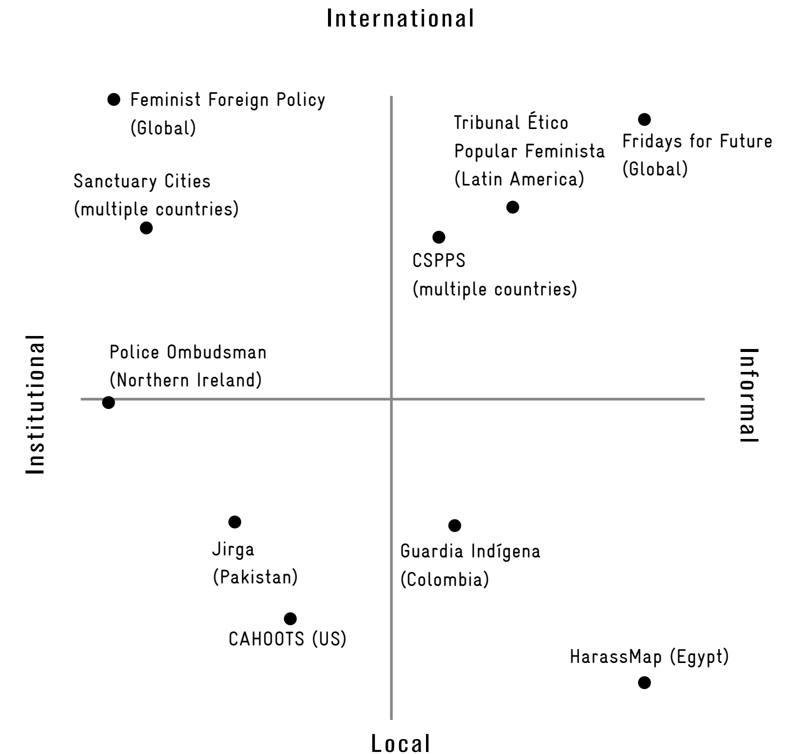

Table 2. Framework for practical cases

Crisis Assistance Helping Out On The Streets (CAHOOTS)

Location
Eugene (Oregon, United States)

Typology
An institutional but local practice which broadens the classic conception of security providers.

Common ground
CAHOOTS upholds a value-based discourse on security provision centred around the individual. Because it addresses issues such as mental health, their main priority is individual wellbeing. Moreover, it considers professionals from the social and health area as security actors. Therefore, it broaderns the actors in security discourses. Finally, as far as its primary resort is not the use of violent means, CAHOOTS also encompasses new forms of justice and a structural account of insecurities.

Description
Designed by the White Bird Clinic, CAHOOTS is a police alternative that has been operating for over 30 years (CNN 2020). It consists of intervention teams composed of a medical professional and a crisis worker (White Bird Clinic 2020). Their objective is not to substitute but supplement the police, or to provide a different service in the face of non-violent or non-life-threatening cases. Their system is connected to emergency calls and depending on the nature of the threat, they can be placed in charge of the situation instead of the police (Elinson 2018). They self-define as a mobile social service rather than a law enforcement agency (CAHOOTS 2021). In collaboration with, and funded by the city authority, their tasks range from substance abuse cases, housing crises, suicide prevention and intervention, or helping the homeless. They are authorised to stabilise urgent medical situations, assist and assess conflictive situations, and transport people involved to police offices, health centres or social services. From this perspective, CAHOOTS does not only provide a value-based response but it also professionalises a new security body, and is more efficient (Elinson 2018). It provides improved responses because it adjusts its service to the needs of the individual. As far as the emergency requires assistance from a social approach or the involvement of health professionals, doctors and social workers best fulfil demand. Further, their budget is minimal in comparison with the police budget in Eugene (Elinson 2018). Finally, the successful implementation of this program has led to its replication in different cities in the United States. For instance, there is now a pilot programme in Portland (Townley et al. 2021).

Civil Society Platform for Peacebuilding and Statebuilding (CSPPS)

Location
Global

Typology
An international organisation which works at both an institutional and local level in order to amplify the voices of civil society groups in institutional peacebuilding settings.

Common ground
It incorporates many elements of the common ground, including a commitment to sustainable peacebuilding, an international approach through its work across borders, intersectionality through its goal of gender equity and a focus on democratisation through the involvement of a wider variety of grassroots actors. In addition, it encourages prevention as complementing reaction through the emphasis placed on resilience, whilst its lobbying for greater civil society involvement represents and deepening of structures.

Description
The Civil Society Platform for Peacebuilding and Statebuilding (CSPPS) is an international coalition which brings together civil society actors in order to encourage their inclusion in peacebuilding practices, and to influence policy making. It works in regions such as Africa, Asia, Europe and North America. It incorporates perspectives from development and sustainability, and regularly refers to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and the 2030 Agenda. It puts particular emphasis on Goal 16 (Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions), but also recognises the need

for an intersectional approach which incorporates other goals to ensure advances in gender equality and environmental protection.
In particular, CSPPS has advocated for a more inclusive, democratic approach to peacebuilding and security than conventional, top-down approaches. It has called for the inclusion of a variety of actors beyond civil society, including ‘media, the private sector, religious leaders’ (Kabasubabo, Van Sluijs 2018, 124).
Although it is an organisation which focuses on the importance of local perspectives on peacebuilding, one of its key areas of work is lobbying. It predominantly works with the International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding (IDPS), amongst other organisations, and this approach demonstrates how new, alternative approaches to security can seek to influence traditional existing structures, and bring new perspectives to the table. This is linked to its work in amplifying the voices and work of civil society organisations who deal with situations of insecurity. In order to allow civil society organisations in these countries to further develop, CSPPS develops links between experts, trainers, or global north states, and these civil society groups on the ground. This can provide access to funding and expertise and allow them to expand.

Feminist Foreign Policy

Location
Global

Typology
An national, institutional approach implemented by some states, which places a focus on introducing a gender and intersectional perspective to Foreign Policy. The wider discussion and changes which have accompanied Feminist Foreign Policy have also had an international impact.

Common ground
It incorporates elements such as democratisation, through the desire to better include the 50% of society which often is under-represented in politics. Additionally, it incorporates value-based discourses through its ethical and normative concerns, along with a resignification of actors and structures, as it widens the range of participating actors. Some approaches are also intersectional, and many draw on demilitarisation as a key policy tool.

Description
The focus on feminist foreign policy largely began with the introduction of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda at the UN in the year 2000, following Security Council Resolution 1325. This resolution highlighted the need for 'increased representation of women' in processes of conflict resolution, along with the call to adopt a 'gender perspective' in peace negotiations, amongst other recommendations (UNSCR 1325 2000, 2-3). This focus on a gender perspective at the international level has had a wider impact. Some states have subsequently begun to adopt feminist foreign policies, such as Sweden, Canada and Norway (Aggestam et al. 2019). Sweden, for example, has developed a National Action Plan for

the implementation of a feminist foreign policy, in line with the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. This policy outlines various tools for foreign policy, such as the importance of 'Representation, Rights and Reallocation' (Aggestam, Bergman Rosamund 2016, 325). It also makes reference to the importance of an 'intersectional perspective' (Sweden's National Action Plan 2016, 9). This approach has also been taken up beyond states, with civil society organisations like the Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy (CFFP) advocating for increased grassroots influence on foreign policy by feminist activists. Their approach also includes clear elements of intersectionality, as they incorporate critical feminist and race scholarship in order to account for the impact of class and race. There are some concerns that a feminist foreign policy can be a contradiction in terms, especially as it may entail compromises due to the embedded nature of existing patriarchal structures. (Aggestam, Bergman Rosamund 2016, 329). Nevertheless, the tangible impact created by the increased focus of gender-based perspectives in foreign policy makes this a valuable example.

Fridays for Future

Location
Global

Typology
An international and informal youth-led organisation that organises school strikes worldwide to demand government action and responsibility on the climate crisis.

Common ground
Fridays For Future (FFF) brings together internationalism, via its coordinated and worldwide action, sustainability, via its main demand for a liveable climate for future generations, and an intersectional approach, via its demand for climate justice especially for Most Affected Peoples and Areas (MAPA). Its nonviolent approach also incorporates demilitarisation and pacifism.

Description
Fridays for Future is a pacifist and independent global climate strike movement that started in August 2018, when Greta Thunberg vowed to strike outside parliament every Friday until the Swedish government's policies were in line with the Paris Climate Agreement. Greta Thunberg's school strike was soon joined by others, and it encouraged thousands of students around the world to protest under the hashtag #FridaysForFuture.

The movement urges governments to take radical action on climate change. FFF's demands are:

- Keep the global temperature rise below 1.5ºC compared to pre-industrial levels.
- Ensure climate justice and equity.
- Listen to the best science currently available.

As Marquard (2020) highlights, FFF activists demand the implementation of the Paris Agreement, but also link their demands to more radical changes to society, challenging established power relations and demanding behavioural change.
FFF has highlighted that other socio-economic crises such as racism, sexism, ableism and class inequality amplify the climate crisis, and vice versa (FFF 2021). The climate crisis disproportionately impacts people around the world. MAPA are experiencing the worst impacts of the climate crisis and are unable to adapt to it. For those reasons, FFF calls for collaboration with other movements, and demands intersectional climate justice. Closely linked to FFF, another "new" climate movement, Extinction Rebellion (XR) is also coordinating mass protests for action on the climate crisis. XR is a decentralised, international and politically non-partisan movement, formed in October 2018. Since then it has been involved in various forms of civil disobedience and nonviolent direct action to persuade governments to act justly on the climate and ecological emergency. XR demands are:

- Tell the truth, governments must declare a climate and ecological emergency.
- Act now, governments must act now to reduce Greenhouse Gases and to halt biodiversity.
- Go beyond politics, governments must create and be led by the decisions of a Citizens' Assembly on climate and ecological justice (XR 2021).

Guardia Indígena (Indigenous Guard)

Location
Valle del Cauca (Colombia)

Typology
A local indigenous organisation that has formal and institutionalised approaches to self-defence, justice, law enforcement, and environmental protection.

Common ground
Creation of non-state defence groups represents a resignification of actors, whilst their encouragement of community involvement of indigenous men, women, and even children, demonstrates a broad conception of democratisation. Their work protecting the environment also relates to sustainability. This, along with their incorporation of indigenous values reflects a normative approach.

Description
Active since 2001 (Chaves et al. 2020), the Guardia Indígena is an organisation which predominantly fulfills a self-defense function in the light of Colombia's armed conflict, but also provides an alternative form of law enforcement and justice. It has its roots in indigenous communities, non-violence and peaceful practices (Comisión de la Verdad 2020). The guards are unarmed, and rely on social acceptance and cohesion to enforce community norms and the law. They have a decentralised control structure, which permits local autonomy (Chaves et al. 2020).
During the coronavirus pandemic, the Guardia Indígena implemented checkpoints run by volunteers in order to monitor entry to the areas under their control, with the aim of restricting the spread of coronavirus (Quintero Diaz 2021). This later adapted into a wider community

strategy, in which they distributed food and medicine throughout the territory.
Offshoots of the Guardia Indígena have emerged in other parts of Colombia. For example, in the Colombian Amazon, an 'environmental guard' has emerged, which focuses on protecting the environment and natural biodiversity in the absence of a meaningful state presence (Badia i Dalmases, Albarenga 2020).
No alternative security practice is perfect, and the Guardia Indígena have on occasion behaved in a less progressive and more reactionary manner. Despite their general adherence to non-violent practices, following the shooting of two guards by the FARC (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia) two minors working with the FARC were setenced to corporal punishment of 20 lashes (Chaves et al. 2020). In the same event, the two rebels directly responsible were sentenced to 60 and 40 years of prison respectively, which is far from a restorative approach to justice. Nevertheless, in general, the Guardia Indígena presents an excellent example of a bottom-up approach to community security and justice.

HarassMap

Location
El Cairo (Egypt)

Typology
An informal and local practice which involves a participatory approach and could be replicated.

Common ground
HarassMap foregrounds the necessity to account for the uneven distribution of insecurities. Therefore, it consistently engages with feminist and intersectional discourses. Its community-based design also reinforces the responsibility of individuals in security provision (value-based discourses) and expands the definition of actors involved in security affairs (broadening actors)

Description
HarassMap is an initiative designed by four women – two of whom worked in the Egyptian Center for Women in collaboration with a multidisciplinary team (Grove 2015). It attempts to map gender insecurities with regards to sexual harassment episodes in El Cairo (HarassMap 2021). It has full-time employees but the vast majority of participants come from a pool of 1,400 volunteers (Abdelmonem, Galán 2017). Therefore, its participatory approach also reinforces community empowerment practices. Users can introduce information about harassment they have experienced (type of abuse, location, demographics, etc.) Then, HarassMap volunteers double-check the information provided by users, and introduce the information in the map with different filters. In turn, if some areas are overlaid with multiple reports and become hotspots, HarassMap conducts campaigns in those places (Grove 2015). Its crowdsourcing mechanism presents benefits at both the individual and the society level (Young 2014). On the one hand the platform allows women to identify these episodes anonymously, which allows them to overcome potential societal barriers to reporting these incidents (Campbell 2019). Furthermore, it bypasses structural gender inequalities that might be embedded in security and justice forces because individuals report their cases without the need to interact with state authorities (Young 2014). On the other hand, it also yields benefits for the community. First, it challenges misconceptions about where these sexual abuses take place (Young 2014). Second, it encourages the community to fight against the social acceptability of this behaviour (Abdelmonem, Galán 2017). However, several scholars have highlighted limitations to these behaviors (Grove 2015). For example, these platforms risk de-personalising those behind the assaults, and are not complemented with a victim-centred approach (Grove 2015).

Just Peace Initiatives (Jirga)

Location
Pakistan

Typology
An approach which bridges local and institutional forms of justice, working with traditional community structure in order to maintain legitimacy, but also to introduce restorative justice to communities.

Common ground
Jirga brings together democratisation, via its broad involvement of communities, broadening actors, via the introduction of a traditional justice structure, and restorative justice via its reconciliatory, communitarian approach.

Description
Jirga is a form of traditional justice used in Pakistan and parts of Afghanistan, which can be defined as "a gathering of elders convened by an intermediary to hear grievances between contesting parties and reach decisions by consensus" (CAMP, Saferworld 2012, 1). Jirga has been heavily criticised due to its strongly patriarchal structures and poor treatment of women and girls, along with its ability to hand down sentences of capital punishment (Mahmood 2018). There are also concerns that it fails to properly represent minority groups (CAMP, Saferworld 2012, 14). However, a joint project between Just Peace Initiatives (JPI), a local civil society group, and these traditional justice structures has allowed the development of a more inclusive approach. This organisation sees Jirga as playing an important role supplementing a weak state justice system, and therefore providing resolution where it otherwise might be absent. JPI has worked to 'build a bridge between the state justice and tribal justice systems' (Gohar 2016, 71). To do this, JPI has introduced restorative justice approaches to Jirga, in an attempt to further develop the key role these traditional courts have in promoting reconciliation within communities (Shahab Ahmed, 2010). This approach has improved legitimacy for state actors and laws. Jirga has begun to work with the police, and many meetings now take place within police stations. Most importantly, this joint approach has ensured that women are involved and trained 300 women, whilst ensuring that a minimum of 3 women participate in each reconciliation meeting (Gohar 2016, 72). This helps to alleviate some of the most serious concerns behind Jirga.

It has also played a role in peacebuilding and security beyond this particular example, with Jan Alam noting the positive impact it can have on development by improving state-community relations (Alam 2021). Caveats apply to this case, but Jirga which accounts for minority and women's rights can be a powerful tool for providing restorative justice and peacebuilding with a high level of community acceptance.

Police Ombudsman for Northern Ireland

Location
Northern Ireland

Typology
A formal and national practice which involves a democratic and human rights-based approach, which could be replicated.

Common ground
The Police Ombudsman for Northern Ireland introduces the importance of democratic control and community influence on the police. Its role as an oversight body also highlights the importance of prevention as well as reaction, in identifying issues before they become insurmountable. In taking a longer-term approach to security, via the involvement of the community, it also represents a sustainable understanding.

Description
The Police Ombudsman for Northern Ireland (PONI) was established in 2000 following the Hayes* (1997) and the Patten (1999) reports, which emphasised the need for an independent oversight mechanism of police. Concretely, the Patten report set three normative objectives for the police:

- They should conform in all their actions to international standards of human rights.
- They should be accountable to expert, well-organized external auditors with respect to both their law enforcement effectiveness and their individual behaviour.
- They should 'police with the community', meaning that what they do should be guided by public needs expressed in multiple forums, carried out cooperatively with the public and emphasising long-term solutions to public safety problems (Bayley 2008).

The Police Act 1998 set out the role and powers of the new Police Ombudsman, and after some months of preparation, on 6 November 2000, the Office was declared open (PONI, 2021).The office mission is to provide an effective, efficient and accountable police complaint system which is independent, impartial. The office's main goals are to build confidence, to improve policing with the community, and to deal with the past (PONI 2010).
All police complaint investigations in Northern Ireland are undertaken by the Police Ombudsman. The Office deals with many thousands of complaints each year about policing, and for that reason it is in a unique position to regularly make recommendations of changes to policing and security policy (PONI 2020).

* Dr. Maurice Hayes, a senior civil servant, was appointed in November 1995 to review the police complaints system and produce proposals for a new system which could earn the confidence of the people of Northern Ireland, and of the police themselves. After consulting widely with members of the public, politicians, the police and policing organisations, Dr. Hayes said the key to the success of the new Office would be its independence. (Police Ombudsman 2021)

Sanctuary Cities

Location
Cities from United States, Canada, United Kingdom and Europe

Typology
A formal and local-level policy, which also has international reach and influence. It has been replicated in numerous cities, and could be extended to many more.

Common ground
Sanctuary Cities are rooted in normative approaches. In its resistance to criminalisation of migrants, it also represents a different understanding of justice. Sanctuary Cities also introduce new actors to security practices, both through the role of local as opposed to national government, and the partnerships between cities across the globe.

Description
Facing increasingly restrictive and exclusionary national policies, some cities have responded by offering local-level policies that protect migrants with irregular status, questioning and challenging the current state of the governance of migration (Garcés-Mascareñas, Eitel 2019). The term can be misleading and there is no legal definition of sanctuary city, but generally it is understood as a city that prevents the police from detaining undocumented migrants who have not committed a serious crime. These municipalities adopt policies of non-cooperation or confidentiality for undocumented residents (Villazor 2009). In the case of the United States, sanctuary law prohibits reporting the immigration status of individuals to the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), unless such individuals have been detained for committing a serious crime. The first sanctuary city was San Francisco, in the mid-1980s, followed

by various cities in the United States, Canada, United Kingdom and continental Europe. Although sanctuary cities are local-level policies, city networks are playing larger roles in their governance (Garcés-Mascareñas, Eitel 2019). Some examples of those networks are the European Coalition of Cities against Racism, the Welcome Cities or Solidarity Cities (EUROCITIES). Furthermore, an analysis of FBI crime data by Tom Wong (2017), a professor of political science at the University of California at San Diego, shows that crime is statistically lower in sanctuary counties compared to non-sanctuary counties. Moreover, economies are stronger in sanctuary counties: higher median household income, less poverty, lower unemployment rates, higher employment-to-population ratios (Wong 2017).

Tribunal Ético Popular Feminista (Feminist Popular Ethic Tribunal)

Location
Uruguay, Argentina and Paraguay

Typology
A regional feminist tribunal that has informal and community-based approaches to new forms of justice.

Common ground
Feminist Popular Ethical Tribunal corresponds to a new form of feminist, restorative and transformative justice. Therefore, it proposes a re-signification of judicial structures. Its interconnected approach to multiple forms of discrimination and structural violence(s) demonstrates a broad conception of intersectionality. Its work across countries and borders also corresponds to boundaries and bodies of security.

Description
In June 2018, the Popular Feminist Ethical Tribunal met in Buenos Aires, Argentina. The Tribunal issued a judgement, which was the conclusion of the first cycle of the Patriarchal Justice Trial, initiated in October 2017 in Chaco, Argentina, in the framework of the 32nd National Meeting of Women. During these eight months, 14 hearings were held – in different cities of Latin America – where 68 emblematic cases in which crimes legitimised under patriarcal justice, and committed in the light sexist, racist and classist power structures, were presented. The hearings were held in public spaces and represented "a way of pedagogical political meeting in which we could listen to each other, feel each other, accompany each other, and think together how to defend ourselves against the multiple violence of the colonial and capitalist patriarchy, open dialogues to imagine and think a path for a feminist, anti-racist, indigenous, community-based and popular justice" (Judgment of the Popular Feminist Ethical Tribunal 2018). Through listening and placing value on the words of those who were mistreated, made invisible or revictimized in conventional courts, it was possible to understand situations experienced by individuals from a collective point of view (Gastiazoro, Sgró Ruata, Bonavita 2021). The Tribunal highlighted the different mechanisms of exclusion and discrimination of the conventional judicial system: the impossibility of access to justice for vulnerable groups of women; the lack of investigation related to gender based violence; the reproduction of violence and victimisation by the penal and prison system; the cover-up of political femicides (such as the murders of Berta Cáceres, Sakine Cansiz and Macarena Valdez), or the criminalisation of voluntary interruption of pregnancy. The trial and the hearings not only judged the actions and omissions of institutional justice, but also addressed the construction of alternative spaces for healing, self-care and self-defense for women, lesbians and trans people (Parodi 2018). The Judgement concludes with a call to increase feminist tribunals and thus open a path towards the construction of alternative forms of justice that go beyond the dynamics of punitivism (Judgment of the Popular Feminist Ethical Tribunal 2018; Gastiazoro, Sgró, Bonavita, 2021).

Conclusion

This report has drawn together both theoretical and practical insights on alternative approaches to security. It began by providing a brief overview of the various different theories which offer alternatives to conventional, state-centric, militarised conceptions of security. Then, drawing on these theories, and the different actors, practices and ideas that they introduce, it developed 10 different categories in which areas of agreement could be found between these alternative theories, or the common ground. Finally, it used these categories in order to identify practical cases which represented the implementation of alternative security in the real world.

The main contribution of this report is the development of the common ground. Whilst other reports have analysed the alternative theories on their own merits, few attempts (C.A.S.E 2006; Shepherd 2013; Peoples, Vaughan-Williams 2020; Tickner 2020) have made a concerted effort to draw together what unifies these approaches. This report clearly identifies points of agreement, and whilst there may remain points of contention, it helps to advance a more collaborative model for alternative approaches to security.

Whilst the section on the common ground draws largely on theory, in reality theory and practice are interconnected and co-constituted. Theory cannot solely inform practice, and practice can often benefit from the insights of theory. As such, the common ground should not be viewed in isolation, but as something that changes and develops as theory and practice develop. Indeed, the discussion in this report should be seen as the initial steps on the path to creating a more comprehensive understanding of that which constitutes the common ground.

The case studies provide practical context to the theoretical insights developed in the section on the common ground. They range from institutionalised, international practices, such as the implementation of feminist foreign policy, to local, informal practices, such as HarassMap. They are also geographically diverse, with cases from the US, Latin America, Africa, Asia and Europe all present. This diversity, both in typology and geography, provides a range of examples to draw on for practitioners and theorists alike, and provides a baseline for the examination of similar practical alternative implementations of security. Nevertheless, despite this geographical diversity, and attempts to introduce the global South to a conversation so often dominated by the global North, there remains much work to do on making security more inclusive for all.

Above all, this report has highlighted the importance of collaboration and areas of agreement between the different alternative theories of security, and in doing so, has begun to offer both a theoretical and practical framework for the future. This focus on practice may be pointed out from some more critical theorists, especially within the context of the problem-solving versus critical theory debate or the critique from post-colonial theories to the Western-centric roots of some alternative theories (Chadha Behera, Hinds, Tickner 2021). Nevertheless, the key goal of this report is to bridge these gaps, and as such, it considers increased dialogue and collaboration between critical theorists and practical approaches welcome and necessary. Change can best be achieved when different parties seek common ground, and that is what this report have seek to highlight and encourage.

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