

NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE ROMANIAN AND HUNGARIAN SECURITY STRATEGIES – STILL A SOCIETAL SECURITY PRIORITY?

<b>Abstract:</b>	<p>The “societal security” concept rooted in Copenhagen’s School works currently bears different approaches and uses. Two paradigms of understanding are specific to its employment – an “identity-based” one and a functional one. While the first see “identity” as a referent object - and societal threats are defined accordingly, the second refers to the ability of a society to function, being thus subject to various threats. The current paper examines how “societal security” is conceptualized in Romania’s National Defence Strategy and Hungary’s National Security Strategy (documents issued in 2020) aiming to identify as well potential sources of friction resulting from Hungary’s extensive use of the concept “Hungarian political nation” – which includes the Hungarian national minority in Romania.</p> <p>The research builds on the existing knowledge about the conceptualization of societal security in policy documents and academic literature of states in the Baltic Sea Region, where either one or the other meaning is predominant or substituted with associated concepts. The contents of the strategies were qualitatively analyzed through a hybrid coding approach (first deductive and then inductive), using a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis package (MAXQDA) to enhance the validity of the findings. The coding process was based on various definitions given to societal security and its associated concepts in Copenhagen’s School understanding, the “Nordic” perspective, and the academic literature of states in the Baltic Sea Region.</p>
<b>Keywords:</b>	<b>Societal security; national identity; functional; resilience; crisis management; migration; strategy</b>
<b>Contact details of the authors:</b>	E-mail: avadanei.karina@animv.eu
<b>Institutional affiliation of the authors:</b>	<b>“Mihai Viteazul” National Intelligence Academy</b>
<b>Institutions address:</b>	20 Odăi Road, 1st District, Bucharest, 075100, Romania, e-mail: scoala.doctorala@animv.eu, website: <a href="https://www.animv.ro/en/">https://www.animv.ro/en/</a>

**Introduction**

The discourse of states on “national identity” is an indicator of how “societal security” is conceptualized, which will further be reflected in states’ policies. The “uniqueness” of the nation consists of the fact that it integrates populations into a “community of citizens”, and it legitimizes internal and external actions of the state, on their behalf<sup>164</sup>. A national identity defined as “the sense of belonging to a particular nation”<sup>165</sup> may represent something that states seek to secure, which in some cases is leading to conflicts<sup>166</sup>.

<sup>164</sup> Dominique Schnapper, *Community of Citizens. On the Modern Idea of Nationality*, Routledge, London and New York, 1997, p. 30

<sup>165</sup> Adrian Lesenciuc, Ioana Miruna Popescu, *The concept of national identity and its fall under the school of constructivist thinking. Arguments. Identifying the elements belonging to the constructivist approach*, in “Redefining Community in Intercultural Context”, 2019, p. 236

<sup>166</sup> Ole Weaver, *The changing agenda of societal security*, in “Globalization and Environmental Challenges: Reconceptualizing Security in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century”, Springer, Berlin, 2008 p. 583

Postmodern theorists of “nation” and “nationalism” expect to see the “nation-state” superseded by economic globalization, political interdependence, mass communication, and the hybridization of cultures, believing in the potential creation of a “post-national” identity, which would bear, in the European context, a “European cultural identity”. However, even those who expect such occurrence, realize the barrier of having to compete with “strongly entrenched national identities”<sup>167</sup>. A supra-national identity to which the national ones would succumb is at present hard to imagine, considering that “the social tie is primarily national” - as described by Durkheim in characterizing modern society. Moreover, as Smith argued, the nation did not transcend “myths, values, and symbols of pre-existent ethnics”, which form the social realities of communities<sup>168</sup>.

New approaches to societal security abandon identity-based approaches. They bear a rather holistic<sup>169</sup> view of the concept, referring to the ability of society to function, and being closely linked with concepts such as resilience, crisis management, safety management, and risk management.

The current paper presents how Romania and Hungary conceptualize “societal security”, through a qualitative analysis of the states’ security strategies, which were both adopted in 2020. The two cases were selected considering Hungary’s strong ties with the Hungarian minorities in neighboring states – including those living in Romania, aiming to identify potential sources of friction that may come due to the two states’ conceptualization of societal security. Hungarians represent the largest ethnic minority in Romania and their relations with Romanians have known tense episodes. The post-communist period in Romania has come with significant changes in ensuring democratic rights to the national minority, however, some authors<sup>170</sup> argue that the Hungarians have not been successfully accommodated, and nor have all ethnic conflicts been solved.

The paper builds on existing research<sup>171</sup> that explored the understanding of “societal security” by states in the Baltic Sea Region. Scholars in the Baltic Sea Region have come up with conceptual additions to Copenhagen’s School developed concept, offering a broad view of how societal security is understood by states in their policies<sup>172</sup>. Moreover, the Nordic states’ governments are an example of integrating research in practice through their policies, expanding security concepts through the developments in academia<sup>173</sup>. The current paper seeks firstly to present the paradigms of study for societal security and its different employment by some states and then delves into examining the approach of the concept in the Romanian National Defence Strategy and Hungarian National Security Strategy. Understanding how the two states conceptualize societal security may also indicate potential sources of friction given by “identity-based” approaches and Hungary’s extensive use of “Hungarian political nation”<sup>174</sup> which includes the Hungarian minority in Romania as well. A computer-assisted qualitative data analysis package – MAXQDA was used to enhance the coding and analysis of the data and thus increase the validity of the findings.

### **Societal security: understanding the concept**

“Societal security” as a constructivist concept has its roots in Copenhagen’s School works. The “Copenhagen School” – a shorthand primarily used by McSweeney<sup>175</sup>, refers to a group of scholars who

---

<sup>167</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, Routledge, London and New York, 1998, pp. 214-218

<sup>168</sup> Dominique Schnapper, *Community of Citizens. On the Modern Idea of Nationality*, Routledge, London and New York, 1997, pp. 19-20

<sup>169</sup> Dina Abdel-Fattah, Christer Henrik Pursiainen, Reidar Staube-Delgado, *Higher Education and the Changing Situation of Societal Security in the Baltic Sea Region*, in “Journal on Baltic Security”, 2022, Vol , No. 2, p. 88

<sup>170</sup> Tamás Kiss, István Gergő Székely, Tibor Toró, Nándor Bárdi, István Horváth, *Unequal Accommodation of Minority Rights. Hungarians in Transylvania*, Springer International Publishing AG, 2018, pp. 91-93

<sup>171</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 216

<sup>172</sup> Mika Aaltola, Boris Kuznetsov, Andris Spruds, Elizabete Vizgunova, *Societal Security in the Baltic Sea Region*, Latvian Institute of International Affairs, Riga, pp. 11-12

<sup>173</sup> Mark Rhinard, Sebastian, Larson, *Nordic Societal Security. Convergence and Divergence*, Routledge, New York, 2021, p. 4

<sup>174</sup> Tamas Csiki Varga, *Hungary’s new National Security Strategy – A critical analysis*, in “ISDS Analyses, Institute for Strategic and Defense Studies, No. 1, 2021, p. 5

<sup>175</sup> Bill Mcsweeney, *Identity and security: Buzan and Copenhagen School*, in “Review of International Studies”, Vol. 22, No. 1, p. 81

aligned to a new paradigm of studying security, having as a stimulus Barry Buzan's 1983 publication "People, States and Fear" and its later 1991 revision. An alternative approach to societal security belongs to the "Nordic functionalist security studies", developed in the late 1990s, which regard the concept in a rather critical fashion. While the Copenhagen approach is "identity-oriented", the latter is centered on "life-giving functions"<sup>176</sup>. Both approaches have influenced the way that states think about societal security and formulate subsequent policies, a development that came with the leap from the traditionalist study of security - which had at its core a military focus, to the wideners' perspective - who extended the security agenda to other sectors, and critical security studies - who brought new inquiries to the conceptualization of security<sup>177</sup>.

Societal security was primarily proposed by Barry Buzan as one of the sectors of security, together with the other four: military, political, economic, and ecological. The five sectors, derived from Buzan's view of security studies, define security based on existential threats that are subjectively agreed on<sup>178</sup>. According to this paradigm of understanding, the referent object of societal security is represented by large-scale collective identities. Since "identity" is transient in nature, establishing what constitutes a threat and imposes securitization is a matter dependent on the "closed" or "open-mindedness" of those who define themselves by it<sup>179</sup>. While being criticized for remaining state-centric in the attempt to extend security beyond the traditionalist approach and limited in choosing "identity" as the reference object of societal security<sup>180</sup>, Copenhagen's School scholars argue that the critical approach extends too broadly the area of security issues which leads to a greater need for securitization of more spheres. They advocate thus for "de-securitization" as an ideal, which does not require acting in "emergency mode"<sup>181</sup>.

Research conducted by Copenhagen School scholars, while keeping "identity" at the core of societal security, explained that the concept is not limited to state security, which rarely coincides with societal boundaries, and neither does it equate with political security - that refers to the stability of states, governmental systems and ideologies which legitimize states. Such logic would exclude stateless groups, national minorities, racially defined minorities, and identity groups formed on other terms, but also nations - such as the Serbian one, whose people are living across several states. Weaver argues that securitizing the nation by considering a threat to its identity should not be seen through the lens of state sovereignty, but could mean measures in terms of education, culture, and language<sup>182</sup>.

Insecurity at the societal level is seen as a threat to the survival of identity groups - belonging to the "we" community, which exist independently from the state. Defending identities through policies is however dangerous and in the European context, the securitization of national identity has led to radical measures, among which are collective killings. National identity has been many times considered a basis for policymakers, given its strong links with culture and people's needs to assign meaning to the reality surrounding them. The common societal security threats have been considered: migration - which changes the make-up of a community; horizontal competition - which sees a neighboring culture as inflicting changes upon own language and culture; and vertical competition - redefining identity in a wider or narrower sense, as people belonging to a group will start seeing themselves differently due to an integrating or secessionist - "regionalist" project. Depopulation could also be seen as a societal threat in some instances - as identity can be affected by natural catastrophes, famine, extermination policies, or war<sup>183</sup>.

Minorities may be affected by states' integration projects which seek to shape a common culture matching the majority one. This may affect the minority communities' ability to express culture and

---

<sup>176</sup> Mark Rhinard, Sebastian, Larson, *Nordic Societal Security. Convergence and Divergence*, Routledge, New York, 2021, p. 5

<sup>177</sup> Barry Buzan, *Rethinking security after de Cold War*, in "Cooperation and Conflict", Vol. 32, No. 1, 1997, p. 5

<sup>178</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 15

<sup>179</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 17

<sup>180</sup> Bill Mcsweeney, *Identity and security: Buzan and the Copenhagen School*, in "Review of International Studies", Vol. 22, No. 1, 1996, pp. 82-84

<sup>181</sup> Barry Buzan, *Rethinking security after de Cold War*, in "Cooperation and Conflict", Vol. 32, No. 1, 1997, p. 11

<sup>182</sup> Ole Weaver, *The changing agenda of societal security*, in "Globalization and Environmental Challenges: Reconceptualizing Security in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century", Springer, Berlin, 2008, pp. 581-582

<sup>183</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 583-584

reproduce it<sup>184</sup>. States' nationalism – be it of ethnic, civic, or mixed type, may be tending towards exclusivity or radical assimilation of minorities, aiming to suppress ethnic and cultural differences<sup>185</sup>. In repressive situations, the educational system and the media may be used to influence “hearts and minds”, or political decisions may be implemented to alter minority identities. State-oriented responses to defend identities are common, which makes the societal sector harder to analyze as it falls in other sectors as well – such as the political one. Decisions on behalf of societies regarding what is perceived as identity threats can be taken differently: through state policies, cultural actors, and the civilian sector as well. It becomes thus a matter of deciding whether the states should act on societal threats, but as shown by Weaver, state mobilization on identity issues has historically posed threats to European integration. Moreover, Weaver highlights the existence of two competing visions of Europe – one that politically integrates nations with cultural differences and another where the relationship of Europe and nation-states from a cultural and identity perspective are more closely connected. States will react differently to “homogenizing global cultures” which may be seen as national identity threats<sup>186</sup>.

When referring to state identity, the later developed “ontological security” concept comes to explain that beyond classical realist concerns, states are looking to preserve their self-agency. Mitzen argues that the state's security is not limited to its physical being (i.e. territory, people), as it includes as well the idea of society which implies a stable group identity and its distinctiveness from other societies. Thus, states are motivated to preserve their national group identities and not only their physical components.<sup>187</sup> Postmodern views of identity bring new perspectives to Mitzen's thesis, debating on the impact of supranational projects on national identities. For Schnapper<sup>188</sup>, the modern democratic nation is less mobilized by national feeling and more by national values and ideas. Guibernau argued that Europe's construction requires the creation of a common “European national consciousness”. The creation of a European identity is seen with caution by other scholars, who remark that Europe's citizen's loyalty stays primarily with their ethnocultural nations<sup>189</sup>.

The “Nordic” perspective on societal security presents a more extensive and functionalist meaning of the concept, making it more appealing to policymakers in many states. Being sourced in the Nordic tradition for the society's welfare, societal security refers to the protection of interdependent critical infrastructures, making thus a move from identity and culture to functions that must be preserved<sup>190</sup>. Societal security in this paradigm of thinking refers to the ability of a community to function, having a transnational character. It is closely related to concepts such as resilience – as the society needs to be ready for situations that cannot be avoided, crisis management – societal responses imposing measures of prevention and recoverability, but also risk – due to the complexity of modern societies and the challenges in protecting it<sup>191</sup>. Such an understanding of “societal security” was adopted as the European version of the US “homeland security”- adopted after 9/11, to avoid “nationalist” approaches, but also seeking to provide an all-hazards approach<sup>192</sup>.

### **Different states and different meanings of societal security**

Different states assign different meanings to the concept. The way states relate to “societal security” is observable for instance in national policy documents – such as security or defense strategies, or the

---

<sup>184</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 585

<sup>185</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, Routledge, London and New York, 1998, p. 212

<sup>186</sup> Ole Weaver, *The changing agenda of societal security*, in “Globalization and Environmental Challenges: Reconceptualizing Security in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century”, Springer, Berlin, 2008, pp. 585-586

<sup>187</sup> Jennifer Mitzen, *Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and the Security Dilemma*, in “European Journal of International Relations”, Vol 12, No. 3, 2006, p.352

<sup>188</sup> Dominique Schnapper, *Community of Citizens. On the Modern Idea of Nationality*. London and New York, 1997, p. 139

<sup>189</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, Routledge, London and New York, 1998, pp. 217-218

<sup>190</sup> Mark Rhinard, Sebastian, Larson, *Societal Security. Convergence and Divergence*, Routledge, New York, 2021, pp. 8-9

<sup>191</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 26-28

<sup>192</sup> Dina Abdel-Fattah, Christer Henrik Pursiainen, Reidar Staupé-Delgado, *Higher Education and the Changing Situation of Societal Security in the Baltic Sea Region*, in “Journal on Baltic Security”, 2022, Vol 8, No, 2, p. 88

security literature. Such documents depict also the role played by “national identity” in formulating security policies.

The approaches to societal security are either identity-based or rather functional (Nordic-like), but some states appear to be going forward with both. The latter is the case of states in the Baltic Sea Region, wherein the security literature, the understanding of societal security has known lately an “ambiguous mix” between the two. In Latvia and Lithuania, the security discourses are still dominated by the threat posed by Russia, and consequently, the understanding of societal security is conceptualized through the lenses of Copenhagen School, from the dual perspective of state and society. A similar situation is in Poland, where societal security includes threats posed to Polish identity, but also information and cyber security challenges. In Norway, Estonia, and Finland, there is a preference for the functional understanding of the concept, while in Sweden the social security debate is described by competing meanings – from older concepts of total defense to modern ones centered on human security and emergency preparedness. Most policy documents belonging to the states in the Baltic Sea Region are dominated by an understanding of societal security closer to the concepts of civil security cooperation and intergovernmental safety. Abdel-Fattah et. al. argue that societal security is suitable to be used as a common, holistic concept which encompasses contingencies and civil emergencies, providing thus a transnational understanding<sup>193</sup>.

### **National Identity and societal security in Romania’s National Defence Strategy and Hungary’s National Security Strategy**

The Romanian National Defence Strategy 2020-2024 (NDS), approved in June 2020 was issued under the motto “Together for a safe and prosperous Romania in a world marked by new challenges”<sup>194</sup>. A first-level qualitative assessment of the motto depicts that the strategy encourages cohesion (“together”) and maintains the idea of the state as a referent object of security (“safe and prosperous Romania”), while also announcing that it doesn’t stick to the traditional idea of security, but it goes beyond it as it admits the emergence of “new challenges”.

Analyzing the NDS, Chifu<sup>195</sup> argues that the five security dimensions proposed by Buzan stand behind its formulation, identifying three reference objects that are securitized – state/institutions, society, and the citizen. The NDS also includes components of the new security dimensions, as proposed by NATO - cyber security, energetic security, critical infrastructures, and terrorism, while also those derived from asymmetrical and hybrid threats, referring to informational, hybrid, and legal security. The NDS prioritizes the security of the citizen, having a “whole of the government” and “whole of the society” approach, built on resilience. Identity and dignity are well absorbed in its contents, with the first being seen as a component of societal security, but also as an individual’s need for it to be securitized. Societal cohesion stays as a key component that ensures societal security and resilience, according to Chifu<sup>196</sup>.

Hungary’s National Security Strategy was adopted in April 2020, under the motto “A Secure Hungary in a volatile world”, replacing the arguably outdated 2012 version. As in the case of Romania, the motto appears to be announcing a state-centric approach, with the state being a reference object of security (“Secure Hungary”), while potential threats appear to be sourced externally (“volatile world”). According to Csiki Varga, the strategy came with a realist worldview, and with a “defense heavy” focus compared to older versions, its institutional ownership belonging to the Hungarian Ministry of Defense and not the Prime Minister’s Office or the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs<sup>197</sup>. The security concept goes beyond the traditional security concept, referring to multiple security dimensions: “political, economic, financial, social, technological, environmental, health, military, law enforcement, information,

---

<sup>193</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 89-90

<sup>194</sup> Romania Presidential Administration, *National Defence Strategy 2020-2024*, București, [https://www.presidency.ro/files/userfiles/National\\_Defence\\_Strategy\\_2020\\_2024.pdf](https://www.presidency.ro/files/userfiles/National_Defence_Strategy_2020_2024.pdf), (16.04.2023)

<sup>195</sup> Iulian Chifu, *Caracteristici, controverse, opțiuni politice, abțineri și absențe în Strategia Națională a Țării 2020-2024*, <https://adevarul.ro/blogurile-adevarul/caracteristici-controverse-optiuni-politice-2028355.html>, (17.02.2023)

<sup>196</sup> *Idem*

<sup>197</sup> Tamas Csiki Varga, *Hungary’s new National Security Strategy – A critical analysis*, Institute for Strategic and Defense Studies, ISDS Analyses, 2021

and cyberspace”<sup>198</sup>. The “social” and “societal” concepts are both used throughout the document, which is in some instances likely a case of mistakenly using “social” instead of “societal” due to errors in translating to Hungarian the English concept, a situation which has been signaled in the case of Poland<sup>199</sup>, and which is common as well to the Romanian security literature.

To explore Romania’s and Hungary’s approaches towards societal security – identity-based or rather functional, we conducted a qualitative analysis of the two states’ security strategies in place, guiding the research by the following question: “Which is the approach to societal security in Romania’s National Defense Strategy and Hungary’s National Security Strategy?”. After a first level of reading, we observed that the meaning of societal security is not clearly stated in the two policy documents, but the Romanian strategy has a section where it particularly refers to this dimension as being related to “Education, Health, Society and Demographics”<sup>200</sup>. Even if some of the reference objects or functions that are specific to social security are not explicitly presented as such, the strategies include mentions of both “identity” and societal functions throughout their contents. To understand how the concept applies, we chose a hybrid coding procedure. We established deductively a set of categories, dimensions, and sub-dimensions to code text sections and sentences that equated with an associated meaning of societal security, but we also added another sub-dimension considered more adequate while looking for the concepts’ related occurrences. We opted to use a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis package (MAXQDA) to code and analyze the data. Such solutions “enhance the reputation of qualitative research while ensuring the trustworthiness of qualitative findings”<sup>201</sup>. We defined the coding scheme, establishing two parental codes “explicit reference” and “implicit reference” to societal security. Then for each of the two categories, we identified instances in which the concept has an “identity-based” meaning or a “functional” one. While for the “identity-based” dimension we have been looking for the occurrence of sentences or formulations that refer to national identity or other group identities, for the latter we have observed the occurrence of sentences or formulations that describe societal security, as depicted by Abdel-Fattah et al.<sup>202</sup> who proposed using the concept as an “umbrella term” for “risk management and risk governance”, “crisis management”, “safety management” and “resilience”. Additionally, while performing the coding procedure we added the sub-dimension “threats to society”, as we noticed that threats - defined by the “Nordic paradigm” of societal security as “terrorism and organized crime, infrastructure disruptions, IT breaches, disinformation campaigns, major accidents, environmental disasters, and even migration”<sup>203</sup> were more prominent in the strategies’ contents, showing how the concept is mainly understood.

## Results

Both strategies recognize the importance of “national identity” - a concept that is referred to both explicitly and implicitly through related attributes. There is, however, a difference in how the states relate to it. The Romanian strategy advocates for “promoting”<sup>204</sup> national identity and directly links it to the need of preserving natural and cultural heritage, meant to ensure the international recognition of the state,

---

<sup>198</sup> The Government of Hungary, *Government Resolution 1163/2020 (21<sup>st</sup> April) on Hungary’s National Security Strategy*, 21.06.2021, <https://honvedelem.hu/hirek/government-resolution-1163-2020-21st-april.html>, (9.02.2023)

<sup>199</sup> Marta Kowalska, *New threats for societal security in the Polish national security system*, in “Societal Security in the Baltic Sea Region”, Latvian Institute of International Affairs, p. 165

<sup>200</sup> Romania Presidential Administration, *National Defence Strategy 2020-2024*, p. 38 București, [https://www.presidency.ro/files/userfiles/National\\_Defence\\_Strategy\\_2020\\_2024.pdf](https://www.presidency.ro/files/userfiles/National_Defence_Strategy_2020_2024.pdf). (10.02.2023)

<sup>201</sup> Udo Kelle, *Computer-aided qualitative data analysis: an overview*, p. 59. in C. Züll, J. Harkness & J.H.P. Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik (Eds.), “Text analysis and computers” (pp. 33-34), Mannheim: Zentrum für Umfragen, Methoden und Analysen – ZUMA, <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-49744-1>, (21.02.2023)

<sup>202</sup> Dina Abdel-Fattah, Christer Henrik Pursiainen, Reidar Staupé-Delgado, *Higher Education and the Changing Situation of Societal Security in the Baltic Sea Region*, in “Journal on Baltic Security”, 2022, Vol 8, No. 2, pp. 93-102

<sup>203</sup> Mark Rhinard, Sebastian, Larson, *Nordic Societal Security. Convergence and Divergence*, Routledge, New York, 2021, p. 3

<sup>204</sup> Romania Presidential Administration, *National Defence Strategy 2020-2024*, p. 17 [https://www.presidency.ro/files/userfiles/National\\_Defence\\_Strategy\\_2020\\_2024.pdf](https://www.presidency.ro/files/userfiles/National_Defence_Strategy_2020_2024.pdf), (19.03.2023)

while also considering it a “value”<sup>205</sup>. It also sees supporting the Republic of Moldova as a benefit for “the community of Romanian identity, history, and culture”<sup>206</sup>. The need for civic cohesion and the “unaltered preservation of ethnic values, folklore, customs of the Romanian people and national minorities”<sup>207</sup> are also markers of identity-based approaches to the societal dimension.

The Hungarian strategy presents national identity as a fundamental value that must be preserved, referring to it in terms of survival: “A Hungary with strong, national foundations guarantees the survival of the Hungarian people and is the framework of our national existence”<sup>208</sup>. Identity is also referred to in a eulogizing register, being considered the premise for “unity, language, and culture (...) within and beyond our borders”<sup>209</sup>. Hungarian identity, together with the culture and history is to be instilled through education, which is meant to cultivate patriotic feelings and to strengthen the society’s cohesion<sup>210</sup>, while a balance is needed between “teaching practical knowledge and passing on our national culture”<sup>211</sup>. The “idea of a nation” is also the basis for policies, and Hungary uses the term to include the Hungarian communities in neighboring states as well, for whose prosperity Hungary is claimed responsible<sup>212</sup> as their security is closely linked to Hungary’s. Thus, Hungary is to monitor their situation in neighboring states and to support them in benefiting from “the forms of self-government and autonomy best suited to their specific situation”<sup>213</sup>. Hungarian communities beyond borders are expected to contribute to the preservation of the Hungarian language and culture<sup>214</sup>. As shown by Csiki Varga<sup>215</sup>, national sovereignty is bound to the extended conceptualization of the “Hungarian political nation” which includes the Hungarian communities in neighboring states, and this conceptualization of the strategy is consistent with past decade’s debates and conflicts stirred by Hungary’s endeavors in this regard.

The functional understanding of societal security is more prominent than the “identity-based” approach in both strategies, and this is especially observable by the nature of described threats and risks to society. Romania’s National Defence Strategies focuses on signaling societal threats such as information-related ones (disinformation, fake news, online radicalization, and jihadist propaganda), cyber, hybrid, organized crime, extremist terrorism, and illegal migration, but also vulnerabilities brought by technological developments which may affect critical infrastructures. The strategy places a great focus on building state resilience while it also recognizes the importance of enhancing crisis management capabilities. An overview of the terms that dominate the speech in the segments that were coded as about “functional” societal security is presented below.

---

<sup>205</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 14

<sup>206</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 10

<sup>207</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 38

<sup>208</sup> The Government of Hungary, *Government Resolution 1163/2020 (21<sup>st</sup> April) on Hungary’s National Security Strategy*, 21.06.2021, paragraph 7, <https://honvedelem.hu/hirek/government-resolution-1163-2020-21st-april.html>, (19.02.2023)

<sup>209</sup> *Ibidem*, paragraph 20

<sup>210</sup> *Ibidem*, paragraph 122

<sup>211</sup> *Ibidem*, paragraph 42

<sup>212</sup> *Ibidem*, paragraph 13

<sup>213</sup> *Ibidem*, paragraph 84

<sup>214</sup> *Ibidem*, paragraph 83

<sup>215</sup> Tamas Csiki Varga, *Hungary’s new National Security Strategy – A critical analysis*, Institute for Strategic and Defense Studies, ISDS Analyses 2021/1, 2021, p. 5





linked with illegal migration in Hungary's strategy. The Romanian strategy's societal security dimension is dominated by the goal of building state resilience, which is iteratively emphasized throughout the document.

When it comes to the "identity-based" approaches there is an observable difference between how the two states relate to it. While Romania seeks to "promote" it and links it with the preservation of natural and cultural heritage, Hungary's goal is to "instill" it through education, by cultivating patriotic feelings and seeking to preserve the Hungarian language and culture both inside and beyond borders, where Hungarian communities live. Hungary establishes itself as the "guardian" of Hungarian minorities in the neighboring states, claiming it would advocate for their aspirations and appropriate form of autonomy, according to their specific situations. As shown by Weaver, securitizing identity through education, language, and culture are specific societal security measures. Thus, we argue that Hungary's "identity-based" approach is much more prominent in the security strategy than in Romania's case. Moreover, both states aspire to build their societies' cohesion, and since Hungary's goal of building societal cohesion includes the Hungarian national minority in Romania as well, conflicting "loyalty" dilemmas may arise, as the states' measures to advance these goals may collide.

## Bibliography

### Books

1. Aaltola, Mika; Kuznetsov, Boris; Spruds, Andris; Vizgunova, Elizabeth, *Societal Security in the Baltic Sea Region*, Latvian Institute of International Affairs, Riga, 2018
2. Kiss, Tamás; Székel, István Gergő; Toró, Tibor; Bárdi, Nándor; Horváth, István, *Unequal Accommodation of Minority Rights. Hungarians in Transylvania*, Springer International Publishing AG, 2018
3. Rhinard, Mark; Larson, Sebastian, *Nordic Societal Security. Convergence and Divergence*, Routledge, New York, 2021
4. Schnapper, Dominique, *Community of Citizens. On the Modern Idea of Nationality*, Routledge, London, and New York, 1997
5. Smith, Anthony D., *Nationalism and Modernism*, Routledge, London, and New York, 1998

### Studies and Articles

1. Abdel-Fattah, Dina; Pursiainen, Christer Henrik; Staube-Delgado, Reidar, *Higher Education and the Changing Situation of Societal Security in the Baltic Sea Region*, in "Journal on Baltic Security", Vol. 8, No. 2, 2022
2. Buzan, Barry, *Rethinking security after de Cold War*, in "Cooperation and Conflict", Vol. 32, No. 1, 1997
3. Chifu, Iulian, *Caracteristici, controversie, opțiuni politice, abțineri și absențe în Strategia Națională a Țării 2020-2024*, 11.06.2020, <https://adevarul.ro/blogurile-adevarul/caracteristici-controverse-optiuni-politice-2028355.html>
4. Csiki Varga, Tamas, *Hungary's new National Security Strategy – A critical analysis*, Institute for Strategic and Defense Studies. ISDS Analyses, 2021
5. Kelle, Udo, *Computer-aided qualitative data analysis: an overview*, in C. Züll, J. Harkness & J.H.P. Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik (Eds.), "Text analysis and computers", Mannheim, Zentrum für Umfragen, Methoden und Analysen – ZUMA, <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0168-soar-49744-1>
6. Lesenciuc, Adrian; Ioana Miruna, *The concept of national identity and its fall under the school of constructivist thinking. Arguments. Identifying the elements belonging to the constructivist approach*, in "Redefining Community in Intercultural Context", 2019
7. Mcsweney, Bill, *Identity and security: Buzan and the Copenhagen School*, "Review of International Studies", Vol. 22, No. 1, 1996
8. Mitzen, Jennifer, *Ontological Security in World Politics: State Identity and the Security Dilemma*, in "European Journal of International Relations", Vol 12, No. 3, 2006

9. Weaver, Ole, *The changing agenda of societal security*, in “Globalization and Environmental Challenges: Reconceptualizing Security in the 21st Century”, Springer, Berlin, 2008

#### **Documents**

13. *National Defence Strategy 2020-2024*, Romania Presidential Administration, [https://www.presidency.ro/files/userfiles/National\\_Defence\\_Strategy\\_2020\\_2024.pdf](https://www.presidency.ro/files/userfiles/National_Defence_Strategy_2020_2024.pdf)
14. *The Government of Hungary, Government Resolution 1163/2020 (21st April) on Hungary's National Security Strategy*, 21.06.2021, <https://honvedelem.hu/hirek/government-resolution-1163-2020-21st-april.html>