Bachelor thesis in Political Science

National Security in a Globalized Era

A case study of the security implications of selling significant infrastructure to foreign enterprises

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Abstract

Since the 1980’s the concept of security has broadened from traditional military security to new additional arenas, with each contributing to national security. The post-Cold War era and the current interconnectedness combined with the expanded concept has resulted in new perceptions of security and situations for states. The research questions of the thesis, How does the port of Gävle relate to the selected tendencies of national security? and Could the selling of the port be considered a matter of national security? aims to exemplify these problematics and examines the chosen case by utilizing the key aspects of economic security.

What can be concluded is that the selling of the port could be considered a case of national security. This is based upon the selected characteristics of economic security, which to different degrees was exhibited in the case. As several aspects of the port is recognized as significant in terms of economy, strategy and infrastructure would an incident or intentional act against the port have large consequences for the region and in extensions the nation.

Key words: National Security, Securitization, Infrastructure, Economic Security, Gävle
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1. Introduction

In May 2016 the agreement was signed in which the municipality of Gävle decided to fully sell the management of the Port of Gävle. This was done to the part owners of the container terminal, Yilport Holding, an international company with Turkish owners. This resulted in complete privatization of the management, with Yilport being the sole owner and thus in charge of the port.\(^1\) The agreement signed included occupancy for 30 years with the potential of extending it with 10 more, which is explained to provide security for the municipality. The decision to fully sell the business is described to be based upon investments necessary for Gävle and the region.\(^2\)

The act of foreign investments and procurements is not a new one, especially in concern to our globalised and interconnected world. What differentiates this purchase from others is what was brought and its significance. Firstly, the port of Gävle, beside not being just any business is an important infrastructure in terms of economic opportunities, transportation and security. The port is the third largest one in Sweden and transports all fuel intended for Arlanda Airport since 2006.\(^3\) Secondly, as trade internationally consists most often of seaborn transportation, a well-functioning infrastructure is necessary to receive and deliver goods and necessities. This combined with Sweden’s dependency on trade means ports are of considerable importance, and therefore as this port is significant for Gävle and more importantly Sweden should not to be underestimated.\(^4\)

The selling passed by almost unnoticed, apart from local newspapers reporting of the now privatized management of the port. The fact that the selling of the management of the port also slipped by almost unhinderedly is of significance, especially in regards to its importance. In October 2017 the purchase was brought to attention nationally by the newspaper Dagens Nyheter (DN) with their investigation and mapping of the course of the event. The investigation showcased several inadequacies and misconducts in the handling of the port of


\(^2\) P-H. Sjöström, Gävle hamn såld, Sjöfartstidningen, 03.05.2016. https://www.sjofartstidningen.se/driften-i-gavle-hamn-privatiseras-fullt-ut/

\(^3\) A. Karlsson, Turkiska Yilport kopplar greppet om Gävle hamn, Transportnet, 03.05.2016. https://www.transportnet.se/article/view/495022/turkiska_yilport_kopplar_greppet_om_gavle_hamn

Gävle in terms of security. In other similar cases such as Karlshamn and Slite the government and security authorities became involved when international actors neared a purchase or had similar intentions to prominent Swedish ports. In the case of the port of Gävle nothing of this kind was done, despite its similarities to other ports and situations. This brought severe criticism from established researchers from the Swedish Defence University and other prominent security and defence experts, all whom agreed upon the many flaws conducted. As the well-known journalist and defence and security specialist Patrik Oksanen described in an article regarding the port of Gävle, the Baltic sea is what provides people with necessities such as food, medicine and fuel – every day, all week, all while being taken for granted. Parallels can be drawn to the case, how it was handled and disregarded, until it was too late.

From the municipality the purchase is explained by the need for building and maintaining public responsibilities such as schools and elderly care, and the inability to invest in the port to the extent an external actor such as Yilport are willing to do. How much the municipality could invest after the purchase is unclear as the cost of the purchase remains a secret. While the investments within the public area are aided by fewer cost of the municipality, the question of security matters and potential consequences is raised. As such, one can question whether possible economic development should be prioritized over the potential security risks of the region and in extension the country.

1.1. Purpose and Question formulation

The purpose with this thesis is to analyse the significance of the port of Gävle and if the selling could be considered a case of national security. To enable this will the reader immerse in the concept of national security and its differencing arenas, to understand its complexity and broad definition. One of the arenas described will thereafter be applied upon the case of

9 Hanérus & Höglund, 02.05.2016.
Gävle, to be analysed for tendencies of economic security and contemplated if it could be considered a matter of national security.

To achieve this a twofold enquiry is done, with one part being theoretical and the other being empirical. The theoretical purpose is to gain further understanding of the broadened perception of national security and its arenas, which are central concepts within traditional political science. The empirical enquiry is done to analyse and gain further insight upon the case, to get an answer if the purchase potentially could be considered or become a national security issue.

The two foremost questions the thesis will analyse and answer is focused upon the case and the concept of national security. Additionally reflects the enquiries the purpose of the research and what the author will contemplate. The main questions of the thesis are thus the following:

- How does the port of Gävle relate to the selected tendencies of national security?
- Could the selling of the port be considered a matter of national security?

1.2. Method, Material and Limitations

The method used for the study consists of a combination of several approaches, with the basis of the thesis being a qualitative approach. This was done as the nature of the study would be hindered or limited with a quantitative method, based upon the objectives and purpose of this essay which aligns more with a qualitative research. The hinderance lie upon the traditional focus of measurements in comparison to the inductive and interpretive nature of qualitative method.\(^{10}\) The complexity of the questions of this study needs a thorough and deep-delving analysis which also is done via a qualitative approach. As described by John Crewell, the study will be both inductive and deductive, to understand the chosen case, and thus similar occurrences, with conclusions drawn from established material and research.\(^{11}\)

To specify, the focus of the research was a case study which the theoretical framework was applied upon to measure the possible alignments between the case and concepts. The method of the thesis could be considered a theory-consuming case study, from the selection of a

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certain case which theories and previous research is applied upon. One prominent theory within security studies will be used as the dominating theory of the thesis and applied upon the case. The case study research happened through a case description or case report via multiple sources of information, and thus created an in-depth understanding and analysis of the real-life case. To enunciate, an instrumental case study was done, as one case was in focus and exemplified within the thesis. This method is commonly used in the field of political science and is thus non-controversially applied and used upon this analysis.

To achieve an understanding of the chosen concepts and case, a qualitative text analysis was done. This method allows an understanding of the content and subtle meanings which can only be reached via a thorough study and analysis of the scripts. Through an explanatory approach the study will clarify what has occurred and give a description of the occurrence to the readers. In combination with the application of the theoretical framework will this enlighten and conclude the final ascertainment’s regarding the possible connections between the case and the theoretical framework, thus answering the research questions.

1.2.1. Material
The prevailing theory of the study will be the concept of Securitization developed by Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde, which initiated the expansion of the security concept. To further describe security and the empirical aspect, a variety of material have been chosen to represent a broad spectrum of knowledge, with the main content stemming from published books, research articles and official reports. Published news articles was also used to partly incorporate newer observations and happenings reported, and since journalists charted the previously unknown material in the selling of the Port. The decision is also based upon the lack of previous research regarding this case, which the newspapers and other sources have information of.

Within the different materials have multiple different sources been applied to ensure the correctness of the knowledge and unbiases in the content. An example of this is the usage of newspapers, where not only one news source was used but several, to insure impartiality in concern to sources. The chosen sources are either well established ones, on a national and

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13 Creswell, p. 97-99 & 120.
14 Esaiasson, Gilljam, Oscarsson & Wängnerud, p. 210-212.
local level with a known reputation for veracity or being a trade magazine with relevant focus. To certify impartiality of the analysis newspapers of wide spectrum of political orientation will be used. However, the most important focus of the material used is based upon the content which is individually judged for its objectivity and relevancy. This has been applied to all sources, to ensure the material originates from approved editors and publishers, and that the material used for the thesis is considered acceptable.

1.2.2. Selection and limitation of material
An assortment of material from the latest four decades will encompass the content of the thesis. The selection was based upon the renewal of securitization and the broadening of the security concept which begun in the 1980s. The selection of the material applied is grounded in the perceived reliability and relevance for the study, with primary sources being prioritized.

Material regarding the case is utilized from a more recent timeframe, with most stemming from 2016 until the present, based upon when the selling and disclosure occurred. This was also done for the specified information regarding the chosen case and to ensure the reliability and non-tendentiousness of the sources. As limited research has been done regarding Gävle, its port or the security aspect of either, the empirical material will consequently stem from published news articles and magazines with relevant focus to explain the course of events.

1.3. Disposition
The chosen disposition for the thesis consists of four sections with each containing respective subsections. The first contains the introduction which includes background information, purpose, the main questions of the thesis, and the methods and material utilized. The second section is the foundation of the analysis with previous research and the theoretical framework consisting of the arenas of national security. The third section contains a case description and the analysis based upon the theoretical framework. The last section will be the conclusion, which summarizes the outcome of the thesis and finalize what can be determined of the research.

15 David & Sutton, p. 100.
2. Previous Research & Theoretical Framework

2.1. Previous Research

For all readers to have a similar basic understanding of security, a presentation of previous research and perception of security occurs. Here an introduction to security is done in combination with the concepts of Securitization and Hard and Soft Security, which comprises of parts of the renewed security concept. Thereafter, will a theoretical framework from previous research be presented to later be applied to the analysis.

2.1.1. Introduction to Security

Security is an ancient phenomenon in which National Security is one part which is in many cases believed to be entirely synonymous. It is often assumed as securing territory, values or survival of the state, which is correct however only in parts. This is the traditional focus of national security where states, protection of the citizens and the territory has been concentrated upon, since the nation-state became established. This state-centrism has been and continues to be the reality in international security, where the state has the right and obligation to protect itself against external threats, which is regulated by the agreed-upon and shared UN charter.

Realism is the central school of thought and theoretical perspective regarding international and national security, which has a firm basis and influence upon both the military and foreign policies of nations and politics internationally.\textsuperscript{17} While there are different variations of realism, there are some things they have in common. The standpoint on humanities want for security and power is what controls relations, and thus the escalation of conflicts, between states. It is based upon the notion of self-help, survival, unreliability of other states and the lust for power.\textsuperscript{18} Realism has had a strong-hold upon national security with the traditional focus upon the sovereignty of the state, its territorial boundaries and the external existential threats against the nation, thus the survival of the state. The national interest and the state


according to realism, must be prioritized and in the anarchy of the international arena must self-help and independence be attained.\textsuperscript{19}

Another way of describing the nature and core values of a state is done by Laura Neack,

\textit{Essentially, all states seek to protect three core values: territorial integrity and protection of citizens, political independence and autonomy, and economic well-being. These three values can be defined quite differently depending on the government and the context, and these three can often come into conflict with one another.}\textsuperscript{20}

The protection of these are the rudimentary tasks of the state, which demands pre-emptive and reactive action, especially in terms of security. This also illustrate the connection and similarity between realism, its three main concepts (Survival, Self-help and Statism) and the previously mentions core values of the state, where both prioritizes independence or autonomy and the state-centrism is in focus.\textsuperscript{21} However, the desirable independence of realism is today virtually unobtainable to achieve and new ways of attaining security, despite the interconnectedness, has become necessary for nation-states.

Although, how these tasks are fashioned and handled has changed, with the concept of security changing and the globalization, which has created new challenges for all states. With the current interconnectedness the concept of security has not been unaffected. The trials differentiate between states, however, no nation is able to escape either increased economic competitiveness, migration trying the politics and capacity of nations, environmental changes nor the cultural or identity challenges facing nations nowadays.\textsuperscript{22} Similarly, the balancing-act between security and the openness of many democratic states have created problematic trials for nations. This has led to security being partly omitted or attempted while being considered a minor priority to the satisfaction of the citizens.\textsuperscript{23}

As the focus of external military threats have lessened, states and academia instead has discovered new security issues establishing, both with the traditional state-centrism and more recent concepts, with focus upon the safety of individuals and other non-state security foci. This has led to the expansion of the concept of security, which include other arenas besides

\textsuperscript{20} Neack, p. 25.
\textsuperscript{21} Dunne & Schmidt, p. 109-111.
the military as important actors, for instance climate security, food security, economic security, etc. This has not left national security unchanged either, with new arenas, the growing internationalism and interdependency, which has complicated and further complexity the states responsibility regarding security. The broadened security meaning also impedes an ascertainment of what national security precisely entails. However, one definition of national security made by Richard Ullman considers the broadened security meaning and the modern aspects it faces. Ullman states,

*a threat to national security is an action or sequence of events that (1) threatens drastically and over a relatively brief span of time to degrade the quality of life for the inhabitants of a state, or (2) threatens significantly to narrow the range of policy choices available to the government of a state or to private, nongovernmental entities (persons, groups, corporations) within the state*

This definition explains two different types of threats which could be classified to the national security category. This definition will be applied in combination with the chosen arena, to consider and analyse the case’s potential relation to national security.

To summarize, the concept of security began with the traditional military perspective of security and has extended thereafter. In the recent decades an expansion of the perception of security led to the development and later the establishment of securitization, which attributes to the broadened concept utilized today. A further explanation of securitization will be presented at the next part.

### 2.1.2. Securitization

Behind the recent broadening and changed perspective upon the concept of security are several theories, with one of the most prominent being the Copenhagen School. This theoretical framework was at the end of the twentieth century one of the pioneering schools of thought within security studies with a broadening of the notion and perception of security. From the traditional military security to new areas such as the economy, environment and political sector. The theory also pertaining to *Securitization* or *Desecuritization* in the Post-Cold War era, where new situations has faced states after the conflict filled cold war. The Copenhagen School has broadened the focus upon actors to also include recognition of non-

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24 Ullman, 1983.
25 Ullman, 1983.
state actors, which is highly relevant to this study where international ownership of significant infrastructure is a central aspect.27

Another supporter of this widening of security is the mentioned Richard Ullman whom proclaims in his article Redefining Security that a broader focus must be applied upon national security. The risk, he explains, is if the focus was to be continued strictly upon military matters only, other areas were to be potentially bigger risks.28 This was done via the Copenhagen School, where Buzan, Waever and de Wilde categorized five different sectors related to security; the Military, Political, Environmental, Societal and Economic sector.29 All sectors, apart from the economic, has a state-centric foci, which the economic sector does not necessarily need to have. Here other assemblages such as companies, businesses and criminal groupings function and participate.30 However, since the economy of a country is highly significant and wide-spreading for a nation, it allows other participating groups within the sector potential influence over matters which concerns and effects the state.

Although states remain as the strongest actor of international security, with the consisting state-centred foci hailing from the Treaty of Westphalia, alternations have begun. Whereas states are the only sovereign actors internationally, other actors such as multinational enterprises, non-governmental organisations and other non-state actors cannot be disregarded, with their advancing positions and effect upon international politics and security internationally.31 To exemplify, terror organisations or multinational crime organisations disregards the international rules and norms decided upon by states, and thus are not restricted nor controlled by the shared international institutions. Likewise, multinational enterprises are powerful actors which have the economic might to in some cases circumvent and possibly influence states national and international politics.32

This relates to another aspect of the securitization process, which as previously mentioned, recognize the potential security issues beyond military threats and the acknowledgement of External and Internal Security threats. Traditionally security threats have been considered to mainly consist of external security, with military security and external threats against the nation-state having been in focus. In distinction, the internal security emphases the detection

27 Collins, p. 110.
28 Ullman, 1983.
30 Buzan, Waever & de Wilde, p. 10.
31 Neack, p. 29-33.
of internal threats such as terror cells within a country, organized crime and existing threats acting from within.\textsuperscript{33}

Buzan, Waever and de Wilde’s definition of security in an international relation context was centred to survival, hence security against existential threats towards the state. This threat could originate in different forms pertaining to the different arenas of national security, and thus regard to either internal or external security. Buzan et al also stated that international security was “more firmly rooted in the traditions of power politics”,\textsuperscript{34} and as Neack concludes, states often participate in attempts of influencing the internal affairs of other states in their policies and in some cases the ruling government. This can occur via sanctions, espionage, lobbying, military actions and other operations.\textsuperscript{35}

To conclude, the concept of national security has changed with the establishment of Securitization, which has expanded the perception of what should be considered a security issue. This has created new challenges for states, and ultimately all different arenas contribute to the national security as different components.\textsuperscript{36} As such, if these arenas were to be neglected, not considered or disregarded, it can have a serious impact upon the security situation of a state. What can also be concluded is the changes which has occurred, both within research on security, how it is perceived and how it is utilized – from strictly military security and capacity towards a more unconventional and non-state centric pragmatism. That is not to say that military security has been replaced entirely with the new definition, but has instead been expanded, which the thesis will delve into shortly.

2.1.3. \textit{Hard and Soft Security}

Security as it is known today can be categorized in a spectrum of arenas between hard security and soft security. While soft security aims to cover the less obvious areas linked to security, hard security involves the more traditional approach of security and defence, with survival and existential threats being the main focus.\textsuperscript{37} There are several approaches as to how a state can achieve this, for instance via alliances, through collective security or national self-defence. National self-defence is the most traditional form of security with symbolic meaning.

\textsuperscript{33} Neack, p. 21-22.
\textsuperscript{34} Buzan, et al. p. 21-22.
\textsuperscript{35} Neack, p. 45.
\textsuperscript{37} Collins, p. 110.
and one form of power relation towards other nations. Military capability is interpreted as
equal to independency, signifying statehood and is where attempts of strengthened security most
often occurs.\textsuperscript{38}

The newer term soft security is not without disagreements and debates regarding its meaning.
What can be concurred is the category covers issues of non-military nature, which still
pertains to national security. This conviction became established in the last decades and
acknowledged by both the European Union (EU), the United Nations (UN) and the United
States of America (USA), all actors with international influence. The new security challenges
consist of a far-reaching range of issues which to some extent has subsidised traditional
security trials, for instance crime, diseases, economics, environment and energy.\textsuperscript{39}
Asymmetrical threats such as terrorism or economic insecurity on a global scale has equal
impact internationally and locally, and soft security complications can indirectly lead to or
enhance conflicts. Different states encounter different challenges, which complicates how
security is being dealt with internationally, with nations having and prioritizing contrarily to
each other.\textsuperscript{40}

In-between hard and soft security is the phenomenon called \textit{grey zone problems} or \textit{grey zone
conflicts} which is described as instruments of power used against non-military objectives,
which thus can have substantial effects upon society and its functions. Grey zone conflicts
involve interferences, disinformation and procedures by dubious means with attempted effects
upon political, psychological and economic matters of the state, separated from the traditional
hard security. This method has seen increasing popularity by states using these actions against
other states, and where attempts of influencing another state’s territorial boundaries,
legitimacy or sovereignty is a threat for the national security of the nation-state.\textsuperscript{41}

Another soft security matter presented by Andrew Cottey was the \textit{Critical infrastructure
protection} which signifies the importance of vital infrastructure being secure. Within this
concept of soft security electricity and water supply systems, transport and telecommunication
systems, and central technical and economic infrastructure are included. An attack aimed at

\textsuperscript{40} Cottey, p. 54-55.
these infrastructure and soft security targets could potentially have devastating consequences, which could occur via cyber-attacks, intentional sabotaging or direct attacks.\textsuperscript{42}

Within the spectrum of hard and soft security are different arenas of national security categorized, which in varied aspects all relate to security. Grey zone problems relate to these arenas and the securitization process of them regarding to security matters of the state. These arenas will consist of the theoretical framework and be further examined and explained in the next section.

2.2. Theoretical Framework

Altogether five arenas of security are presented as the theoretical framework, to attain a broader understanding of the concepts and give complementary insight in the case and area of research. However, merely one arena will be utilized within the analysis, to give a deeper examination instead of a superficial study of all arenas. All selected arenas contribute to the general understanding and perception of security, as both individually and combined they remain paramount for states achieving national security. Neglecting one arena could create insecurity to a state and potentially induce severe consequences to a nation.

The five selected arenas of security are the following;

- Military Security
- Political Security
- Societal Security
- Economic Security
- Environmental Security

2.2.1. \textit{Military security}

Military security or the Military sector pertains to the most traditional definition of security as the state and its sovereignty is the principal concern and priority. Buzan explains the mentality behind the sector as,

\textsuperscript{42} Cotey, p. 49.
The modern state is defined by the idea of sovereignty – the claim of exclusive right to self-governance over a specified territory and its population. Because force is particularly effective as a way of acquiring and controlling territory, the fundamentally territorial nature of the state underpins the traditional primacy of its concern with the use of force.\(^{43}\)

This describes how sovereignty is considered and prioritized by the military perspective. Buzan et al also describes how military threats directly pertains to national security based upon its often intentional and focused threats and actions against a state. The intentional deed is done to affect either the state in question or significant aspects of it, for instance to weaken or undermine the stability, the sovereignty or the legitimacy of the nation.\(^{44}\)

As previously mentioned by Neack, is the military sector the only sector which handles the direct external security threats to a nation. As these threats most often consists of physical incoming threats or other external military operations, it falls under the military sector to manage and secure the threats.\(^{45}\) It could also encompass instances of external or internal threats regarding territorial integrity or more unconventional alternative threats such as terrorism, organized crime or separatist groups. This is done to obtain security for the key object of the military sector, the state and its integrity, and thus in extension protecting its citizens. Military capacity may also pertain to a political dimension and purpose, for instance in international peacekeeping missions or participation in international coalitions or alliances.\(^{46}\)

Military security pertains to organized units of states but an increasing amount of non-state actors have become recognized and participates within the arena. Attempts of achieving military security includes defensive and offensive capability, promotion of norms, deterrence and/or alliance building.\(^{47}\) Instances where states are unable to obtain military security individually creates other solutions such as alliances or coalitions between states through common purposes or goals. NATO and the EU exemplifies this, where states ensemble to acquire an objective solitary states are unable to achieve.\(^{48}\)

\(^{43}\) Buzan, et al., p. 49.
\(^{44}\) Buzan, et al., p. 57.
\(^{45}\) Neack, p. 21-22.
\(^{46}\) Buzan, et al., p. 49-50.
\(^{48}\) Burton, p. 84.
From the realist or traditional perspective security can only be obtained while being stronger or having an advantage over opponents, which is the most common action in terms of international security. However, this could potentially create the so-called security dilemma where the increasing securitization efforts affects other nations military precautions, and thus instead has decreased the advantage and perceived security the state originally had.\footnote{Neack, p. 64}

This exemplifies the difficulty for a state to attain the military security as threats always exists in various forms. However, while military security is one important component of national security, other sectors is of equal importance as will be seen in the following sub-sections.

2.2.2. Political Security

While the military sector views threats in the traditional military approach, the political arena instead processes trials regarding legitimacy, sovereignty and ideology. These are concrete and, while not easily faced, are more conventional than the threat of the other sectors.\footnote{Buzan, et al., p. 21-22.}

The Copenhagen School describes the political sector and security as,

*The heart of the political sector is made up of threats to state sovereignty. Since threats can also be leveled through military means and the military sector has its own chapter, the political sector will take care of nonmilitary threats to sovereignty.*\footnote{Buzan, et al., p. 141.}

These relate to the traditional core values of a state and connects to Buzan et al.’s view of security as rooted in power politics, as this arena is responsible for exactly this, the political parts of security and essentially all non-military threats.

There are internal and external aspects of sovereignty which affects and potentially threatens the nation-state. Internal sovereignty focuses upon internal governance and conflicts, where single accepted government controlling the territory and the decision-making process is a necessity. In distinction, concentrates the external sovereignty upon the required autonomy against other states and international organisations. A functioning external sovereignty signifies a nations equal standing to other states internationally.\footnote{Neack, p. 28.} This explains the vulnerability of political security, in which a state cannot be completely independent of international and other actor’s behaviour, nor internal happenings and actors. If there were to
be any doubts regarding a state’s legitimacy or sovereignty, the core aspect of a state would be questioned and thereafter affect the trust and stability of the nation’s institutions and governance. However, another contemplation which needs to be considered is sovereignty challenged by the current interdependence originated from the globalization. Complete independence is presently unobtainable for any nation, which increases the complexity of achieving political security and solving security issues.  

Political threats towards a state accumulate to a plentiful number of challenges which include ideology and national identity being threatened, creating pressure upon certain aspects or policies to influence or weaken the state prior to an attack, or attempts of ousting the government in its entirety or in certain territories. To challenge the stability or standing of a state politically, other actors attempts to discredit the nations legitimacy and recognition internationally, either directly or indirectly. As Juha Vouri describes, all states need legitimacy and support for their ruling and politics, regardless if the nature of the state is democratic or undemocratic. No despot or regime is capable of governing entirely without support, hence the importance of attaining legitimacy for the political security of a nation.

An accepted and well-functioning system may also grant legitimacy, and thus internal and political security. For instance, if a state has a strong system, disregarded from whom temporarily holds the power, and if the laws, institutions and elections have high levels of trust, legitimacy is achieved. If this legitimacy is obtained, internal security risks are exceedingly lessened.

Politics and security are inherited companions with interconnected matters, as political security consists of managing non-military threats and securing privileges, institutions and internationally organisations. The political sector is also intertwined with most other arenas and thus separating them entirely is tricky. This has the consequence of impeding a definition of political security and understanding of what the arena exactly entails. Its many subcategories include the other arenas examined in this thesis; economy, societal, military and environmental, which demonstrate the need for understanding all arenas of national security.

54 Buzan et al., p. 142 & 145.
56 Neack, p. 49.
57 Buzan et al., p. 141-142.
For the societal security, internal and external activities and actors creates significant threats towards the societal sector of a state. This generates additional challenges for the nation-state, where solutions are not uncomplicated and cannot be resolved by simply inserting military means in the conflict. Military manoeuvres have been selected in some instances, to combat revolutionaries or secessionists, however in most cases it will not result in resolving the issue. Conflicts based upon transnational ethnic groupings or transnational religions, ideologies or alignments persist despite forceful attempts of termination/destruction.\(^{58}\)

The common misconception of societal security and its implications is the relation to social security or as a state population, which can be misleading and vague, if not completely wrong. While social security relates to the individual’s opportunities, their means and resources available by the society, societal security concerns the collective, the community and shared identity.\(^{59}\) In *Contemporary Security Studies*, Paul Roe states,

\[\ldots\] societal security is concerned with threats to its identity; similarly, if a society loses its identity it will not survive as a society. States can be made insecure through threats to their societies.\(^{60}\)

This exemplifies the connection the society and societal security has to national security, with the potential internal or external threat of destabilization within the society or amongst the population of a nation.

Societal security relates to the political dimension of security, but nevertheless remains separated. This arena consists of the systems within the society, the ideologies and the organizations which build the society and thus its security and legitimacy. Societal and state borders do not always coincide, examples of this could be with minorities or ethnic groups in relations to the state or the common shared society and the state. To become integrated within a state exists formal requirements which differs from social inclusion to a society.\(^{61}\) Formally could individuals become included in a state while not being integrated within the society and vice versa, which exemplifies the different dimensions of the society and the state.

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\(^{58}\) Buzan, et al. p. 53.
\(^{59}\) Buzan, et al., p. 120.
\(^{61}\) Buzan, et al., p. 119.
It can also relate to territories and borders, where minorities such as Kurd’s or the Sami have their own territory (Kurdistan and Sapmi) which does not coincide or is accepted by the states in which the territory formally belongs to. Common ethnic backgrounds enable and creates legitimacy for a nation and shared society, with its territorial and political sovereignty. Similarly has religion been successful in creating a collective identity, both transnationally and internally within a nation. While these two can strengthen the perceived sense of identification with different groupings, the successful division of groups is another outcome. The wars of Yugoslavia illustrated this with religious, ethnical and cultural differences separating the participants whom previously co-existed within a shared nation-state.⁶²

Societal security is thus a complex matter relating to identity and belonging, which remains sensitive towards both internal and external influences. Buzan et al connect a threat towards the survival of the community and the stability of the shared self-identified groups as a threat towards societal security.⁶³ If the societal sector were to be fragile and an insecurity persist, the national security cannot be considered steadfast. Solutions towards these threats cannot be solved via merely traditionally military procedures but also requires other solutions, which are necessary for obtaining the societal security of a nation-state.

2.2.4. Economic Security

Economic security shares the broad meaning as the security concept entail, with the definition encompassing everything from poverty, to economic disasters in conflicts and infrastructure damages, to financial dependence on external actors. The globalized financial system has created an interconnectedness which together with the open market encompasses all economic systems and have worldwide effects. While having been beneficial for economic growth, it has also created a fragile system sensitive towards fluctuations where negative changes or predicament’s can result in financial down-spirals internationally.⁶⁴ As described by Baylis, Owens and Smith, at the current status nations are unable to fully control their own economies, with more interdependency, monetary exchanges and international trade endlessly occurring.⁶⁵

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⁶² Roe, p. 168-169.
⁶³ Buzan, et al., p. 119-120.
⁶⁴ Cottey, p. 46-47.
⁶⁵ Baylis, et al., p. 11.
The international economic integration and the global market has shaped the substantial effect the economy has upon all, international, regional and local actors included. All states are interlinked with no possibility of nations excluding themselves wholly from the shared international economy, thus also extending the accompanying risks. Whereas previously threats and economic disasters led to heavy consequences to the affected parties, other actors cannot escape unscratched nowadays as a consequence of the shared economies and the interconnectedness.66

Dependence upon international trade is another aspect within economic security where most often the potential impending disadvantage is weighed against the cost of self-reliance. It relates to Security of supply which analyses if independence or dependence of significant supplies is reached, which is of significance in a potential security risks or conflict scenarios. If supplies were to be inaccessible or withheld the regional and national economy would be impinged, and severe consequences would befall if significant goods such as energy and food were to be unobtainable to the country and its citizens. As most exported oil originate from a scarce number of countries within OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries), an essential monopoly of the market exists, which is not without possible harmful outcomes and exemplifies one variety of dependency.67

In a report made by FOI (The Swedish Defence Research Agency) in 2018, energy is described as a potential target in conflicts by withholding it and thus creating a political and economic pressure on a state. It could also occur through attacks upon important energy supplies and thereby effectively sabotaging and weakening a nation’s internal production, plus the inherent economical costs.68 This is essential to security of supply and the critical infrastructure protection as targeting energy or any other critical infrastructure have multiple effects upon a society, security wise, economically, functionally, psychologically, etc.

The book Internationalization, Economic Dependence and National Security, explores three categories of economic security dilemmas. Firstly, disturbances to the international supply of commodities, which is similar to the previously mentioned security of supply. Secondly is strategic capacity, relating to strategic functions of the society and state, for example resources in industries or tech vital to the national interests and security agenda. Thirdly is the relative autonomy of the central economic decisions made in a country. This dilemma

67 Cable, 1995.
concerns the independence of the nation’s decision-making which is necessary for upholding the state’s sovereignty and securing the nation from foreign involvement internally.69

Within the economic sector participants outside of states have increased their power internationally, such as transnational corporations. These vast enterprises have the economic capacity and might to influence societies, national politics and international precepts, and thus should not be disregarded in the study of economic security.70

As described by Johannes Malminen, researcher from FOA*, the foundation of a state’s capacity is founded upon their economic strength and security. A strong economy is needed for a nation to participate and carry out military operations during war and for securing a nation’s position internationally during peaceful periods.72 The collapse of the Soviet Union illustrates the importance of a working economy and the possible outcome if the economic aspect of a state cannot function or manage the politics of the state.73 As such, a strong economy in combination a non-dependency of essential goods and functioning infrastructures is the foundation of attaining economic security for a nation. These key aspects would also contribute to attaining security in the last arena of national security, which hereafter shall be presented.

2.2.5. Environmental security

Similarly to the previous arenas is Environmental security hard to define with its wider implications extending beyond security in contrast to the military sector. Different perspective distinguishes how the environmental challenges should be categorized; As a welfare matter, a political one or even a military challenge.74

The environmental issue has been described as the “Ultimate security” by Norman Myers, a prominent scientist and researcher within the field of environment and development. No state can achieve independence from the environment as all nations are interlinked with the biosphere, atmosphere and the ecosystem of the planet. This implies an interdependency

70 McGrew, p. 16.
71 *FOA or Swedish Defense Research Establishment was the predecessor of FOI, the Swedish Defense Research Agency
73 Malminen, p. 28.
74 Buzan, et al., p. 71.
which no state can escape, for example a few nations carbon dioxide emissions will affect the greenhouse effect and thus increase the global warming of the entire planet. This can result in several consequences which will affect people’s health, the national and global economy, food security and lead to unwilling migration from areas harshest effected. The worsening of the environment will both directly and indirectly result in vast challenges for states and national security.

Researcher Marc Levy also foresees different the environment initiating political, physical and existential consequences relating to national security. Environmental deterioration can lead to political instability, wars of resources, migration forced by environmental degradation and regional conflicts. The changes in nature and the effect upon agriculture and water resources are direct physical and existential threats, which large-scale would have dire consequences for humankind. Levy also indicates that the indirect threat is the largest threat concerning national security. Levy and Myers considers further degeneration of for example the ozone layer and the environment the more significant threat, with potentially life-threatening risks for all citizens resulting from further climate changes. Long-term could environmental issues via social or economic challenges result in conflicts, civil wars or regional conflicts between states, all with basis from a future worsening condition.

Buzan describes how depressing future scenarios and doomsday predictions regarding sustainability and resource shortage relating to the environment has caused a securitization process of the arena. However, most often a politization of the question transpires instead, which Buzan suggest could partially contribute to the lack of success. The Copenhagen School categorizes six types of problem related to the environmental sector which individually and combined handle security threats associated with the environment:

- Disruption of ecosystems
- Food problems
- Population problems
- Energy problems
- Economic problems
- Civil strife

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76 Myers, 1989.
78 Myers, 1989.
79 Buzan et al., p. 74-75.
The name of each category is a good indication of the nature of these problems, which all would cause problems and security issues for a state. Therefore, if any of these were to occur the security of the nation could directly or indirectly become significantly affected.

Thus, what can be concluded is that environmental insecurity could be considered a national security threat against a state. It could occur directly or indirectly, as a direct threat towards the citizens or the interests of the nation, or indirectly via instances such as economic, agricultural or societal impacts, which combined could be considered a national security matter. Although the interdependent nature of the environment hinders an individual state to solve the problems, it will still impact the security of each individual nation-state and therefore become a national security issue.

2.3. Operationalization of Economic Security

As only one arena will be applied upon the analysis the choice became economic security, based upon its relevancy to the case and how economic security has been disregarded in comparison to other arenas, regardless of the economy’s role in all aspects of the state. As mentioned is economic capacity and security the foundations of a society and infrastructure is likewise important from a societal, economic and security perspective.

To reach a conclusion a few selected key components of economic security will be analysed. These will consist of the potential dependency and the security of supply, and what consequences it might entail. In addition based upon the affiliation to both the selected case and to economic security will the critical infrastructure protection also be examined. Lastly will the three types of economic security dilemma proclaimed by FOA and SIIA also be studied, based upon its three relevant focus areas for understanding economic security. These five components of economic security will showcase possible tendencies and examine if the port of Gävle and its selling ultimately could be considered a case of national security.
3. Analysis

3.1. Case Description

The former chairman of the local municipal board explained the selling as necessary for large investments required for the port and to uphold the efficiency and responsibilities of the municipality.\textsuperscript{80} The chairman of Gävle Hamn AB declared most large and international ports to be privatized nowadays and how the benefits from the purchase will include further investments into expending capacity and securing the regional position of the port, starting with the guaranteed 450 million SEK.\textsuperscript{81}

Currently, large efforts and investments are occurring to the port, the surrounding port area and the infrastructure connecting to it. Previously dredging of the ocean floor was done to increase the capacity for larger shipments and management. This investment began in 2012 and was financed by the municipality and the government as a part of the national plan for transportation system.\textsuperscript{82} Similarly, the planned new railways thought to increase the capability of transporting goods to and from the port and thereafter provide further economic development via the already developing port.\textsuperscript{83} This need was also identified earlier by the 2007 SOU investigation regarding ports in Sweden, where the defective, or at least ineffective, railway was concluded to create complications or impede the functioning.\textsuperscript{84} Once the upgrade and new railway is complete, a more productive and secure infrastructure operate, and is thus more economically reliable.\textsuperscript{85} Another investment in the port is the newly begun construction of the new container terminal, which is planned to increase the container capacity with over 100\% compared to the present ability.\textsuperscript{86} Consequently, new investments within the equipment was done for increasing the capability of the port, thus further advancing the competence and importance of the port in Gävle.\textsuperscript{87}

\textsuperscript{80} Hanérus & Höglund, 02.05.2016.
\textsuperscript{81} Karlsson, 03.05.2016.
\textsuperscript{82} Transportnet, Klart för muddring i Gävle hamn. https://www.transportnet.se/article/view/490547/klart_for_muddring_i_gavle_hamn
\textsuperscript{83} Trafikverket, Gävle Hamn, ny spåranslutning, 05.10.2018. https://www.trafikverket.se/naradig/Gavleborg/projekt-i-gavleborgs-lan/gavle-hamn-ny-sparanslutning/
\textsuperscript{84} SOU 2007:58, Hamnstrategi – strategiska hamnnode i det svenska godstransportsystemet: Slutbetänkande av hamnstrategiutredningen.
\textsuperscript{85} Trafikverket, 05.10.2018.
\textsuperscript{86} Gävle hamn, Nu har startskottet för nya containerterminalen gått. https://gavlehamn.se/SV/News/14041/Nu-har-startskottet-for-nya-containerterminalen-gatt
\textsuperscript{87} MellanSveriges LogistikNav, Byggstart av nya containerterminalen i Gävle Hamn. http://mellansverigeslogistiknav.se/News/14039/Byggstart-av-nya-containerterminalen-i-Gavle-Hamm
From a trade and economic perspective, the Port of Gävle is considered to be important for the region in terms of development and business, and encompasses vital components as the largest container terminal of the East Coast and the third largest in Sweden. Apart from containing one of the biggest oil ports in Sweden, the port is described to have strategic value for the entire mid-Sweden region.\(^88\) That is without taking the passage via Gävle for trade to the North of Sweden into consideration. Another important aspect of the port is the transportation of all fuel for Arlanda Airport which occurs through the port of Gävle,\(^89\) and similarly is parts of the fuel for Bromma Airport also delivered via Gävle and its port.\(^90\)

In a Statlig Offentlig Utredning (SOU) or public investigation ordered by the Swedish government in 2006, a task was set to categorise the ports within Sweden which had, “särskilt strategisk betydelse för det svenska godstransportsystemet”, or translated to, “the especially strategically significant for the Swedish system of goods-transportation”. The SOU endorsed Gävle as one of the three most significant ports in terms of the region and for the total infrastructure system. It also included a recommendation for investments in the indicated ports, to elevate the capacity and efficiency of the infrastructure, which has started and continues to occurs within Gävle.\(^91\)

According to the same SOU is the port of Gävle considered one of the few Swedish ports within the sphere of national interest, based upon its importance for industries, oil and energy, large and broad capacity in the port, and its old history dating back to the 18\textsuperscript{th} century.\(^92\) The port has been subjected to foreign interest in terms of military strategies, with reporting’s of mappings of Gävle and the port made by USSR, which gives an inclination of its strategic importance in a conflict situation. The reported sightings within the port has occurred twice recently, first in June 2017\(^93\) and the latest in December 2018, is another indication towards the significance of the port.\(^94\)

\(^88\) MellanSveriges LogistikNav, Gävle Hamn, http://mellansverigeslogistiknav.se/infrastruktur/infrastruktur/hamnar/gavle-hamn
\(^89\) Karlsson, 03.05.2016.
\(^90\) Gävle Hamn, Flygbränsle från Gävle Hamn till Bromma flygplats, https://gavlehamn.se/News/13146/Flygbransle-fran-Gavle-Hamm-till-Bromma-Flygplats
\(^91\) SOU 2007:58.
\(^92\) SOU 2007:58.
The selling appears to have been beneficial from an economic and capacity standpoint, with Gävle Hamn AB reporting 2017 as a profitable year in terms of increasing capacity of the container terminal. Yet, the economic profit which has occurred does not automatically imply that an economic security has been achieved, which the five chosen components of economic security now will assess.

3.2. Security of Supply
The necessity of having and obtaining supplies is true for all parts of society and for a functioning state. Michael Klare provides a clarification of why security of supply is required, with the example of fuel.

[…]without adequate supplies of basic fuels, a complex society cannot maintain a high rate of industrial output, provide a decent standard of living to its citizens, or defend itself against competing powers

This illustrates the nature of security of supply, where the port of Gävle has a substantial position for the region, the north and the entire East Coast of Sweden.

Sandvik, Billerud Korsnäs and Gevalia are examples of important actors using the port for import of raw material, and exports completed products via sea-borne trade. Billerud Korsnäs is an exception as it uses its own harbor connected to the port, however the same principles can be applied in several instances. If the import of certain materials or necessary spare parts of products are not delivered, industries and companies are severely limited in their capability to produce their products. This relates to and showcases the existing dependency where businesses are dependent upon imported material and subcontractors, which can create vulnerabilities in the chain of production and thus the potential economic fallouts. The products themselves could be necessities for the community and societal functions or have a strong economic impact upon the society, where a deprivation of supplies causes hinderances and economic deficits.

Oksanen portrays the complexity and importance of the seaborn trade and thus the ports with a good description of risks. Translated from the original Swedish publication, he states,

*Half of all food in Sweden is imported, but what is worse is that 90% of all fuel for transportation derives from shipment. And without fuel stops the transportation at land, and then the theoretical number of 50% self-supply does not matter. The shelves in the shops will be empty. And when the own supplies is empty comes the starvation.*

Although, this outcome does not necessarily have to occur it exemplifies the vulnerability of the existing infrastructure and the importance of the ports. While it could be considered far-fetched, the possibility cannot be denied and thus should be considered with its effect upon national security.

3.3. Critical Infrastructure Protection

Based upon the SOU from 2007 the port of Gävle is recognized as a significant part of the infrastructure of Sweden. Certain criteria were tried against the ports, for example the movement of goods and the level of infrastructure, all of which the port of Gävle fulfilled. For the port to retain its position and accomplish the tasks expected of a critical fragment of the Swedish port and the trade industry and for the economic security to persist, the existing infrastructure has to properly function and be secured.

Additionally, as the port store oil and distributed fuel to both Arlanda and Bromma Airport would an effect upon or a compromised port consequently encompass additional important infrastructure, in terms of capacity and economically.

Daniel Jonsson presents within his report the potential vulnerabilities and security risks regarding infrastructure which could exist depending upon the ägandeförhållanden or the ownership relations of the infrastructures. The following is presented,

*The vulnerabilities include e.g. ownership relations which could give a hostile state influence over infrastructure and production resources. Furthermore the subcontractor dependency in the energy sector could entail certain security risks[...]*.  

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100 Jonsson, 2018.
The report clearly states how the ownership of significant infrastructure potentially could affect the function of the infrastructure and the availability of goods, resources and energy, if there were to be any hostile intentions or motives directed towards the nation. A corporation could provide a concealment for states making political motives masked as business decisions. A portion of the investigation done by Dagens Nyheter indicated towards a concern for exactly this, with Yilport having connections to the Kremlin and companies whom were under sanctions for associations with the annexation of Crimea.

As FOI described, Russia’s current military doctrine could be described by non-military measures such as political and economic actions in combination with military violence. Intentions exists to further their international influence and position in the Baltic Sea, where East meets the West, is one prioritized area for Russia. Functioning infrastructure is essential for the military and economic capability of a state which ports and water-borne transportation is included in. The Armed Forces have proclaimed certain water-ways to be of national interest in terms of communication and transportation, and is subsequently protected by regulations and confidentiality. This is another indicator towards the importance of functioning infrastructure, the maritime prospect and its land connection. For an external actor with malicious intentions an influence upon the port of Gävle would be relevant, from a strategic and economic perspective. Therefore the security and protection of critical infrastructure such as the port of Gävle is vital in terms of both economic security and military security.

3.4. The Three types of Economic Security Dilemma

The three categorized forms of economic security dilemma mentioned by FOA and the Swedish Institute of International Affairs (SIIA) contain similar components as the previous two aspects of economic security, however as the relevancy of the topic persists the focus upon supplementary areas creates a broader analysis of the economic security aspect of the port of Gävle.

3.4.1. Disturbances to the International Supply of Commodities

As a nation dependent upon trade and certain supplies, a disturbance of trade links and important supplies would have consequences for Swedish society and economy. Trade consists of a significant part of the GDP of Sweden where the “pure” trade part of the national GDP amass 11 percent. However, the functions of the Port of Gävle is not exclusive to trade only, as it also relates to for instance the transportation part of the calculation. As such the port of Gävle and similar infrastructure have multiple impacts, and multiple effects economically. What can be drawn from this, is that disturbances internationally could potentially have effects upon the Swedish economy. Additionally, it could affect the available supplies, prices and the ability to produce products with possible sub-contractors or necessary components being inaccessible, thus, potentially bringing further economic consequences and insecurity. Based upon Sweden’s dependency on trade, a disturbance could potentially either have economic deteriorations with lessened income from the export or for the import which essentially could mean an unattainability of necessities.

David Roe describes expansions of world trade to have restrained the ability of state to mobilize resources in terms of security. The more interconnected financial systems became, “the more fragile became the security foundations on which that prosperity ultimately rested”. If disturbances were to occur, states capability to manage assembling own resources would be limited, both from an economic viewpoint and possibly in assembling the abilities which has been scarcely used or entirely stopped in favour of a more economically favourable import. As the military or security capability is dependent on a functioning and strong economy would hinderances to the economic trade system or setbacks to the incomes of the state affect the ability for security.

Also as Malminen describes it, the dependence upon trade and export from Sweden has created a specialized market and industry, which could be a security risk if the international supplies were to be stopped. As Sweden largely focuses upon specific industries and products

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108 SCB, Sveriges Import, 06.11.2018.
110 Roe, 1999.
the country also has become somewhat dependent upon other certain products which cannot be produced here or has been disregarded in favour of other more specialized, profitable or strategical products. The dependency upon certain services and materials can therefore be a security risk and become used against the state in question in a potential conflict scenario. It could also potentially effect the quality of life for the citizens of the state in question, as commodities being scarce or a deteriorating economy possibly could entail. This would according to the previously mentioned definition of Ullman classify as a threat towards the national security.

3.4.2. Strategic Capacity
As a matter of strategic capacity the Port of Gävle is important in several regards. For instance, Gävle holds one of eight quarantine ports in Sweden, with the purpose of being capable to stopping international threats to people’s health. This pertains to threats such as epidemic diseases, nuclear substances or infectious agents of sorts. While this might not exemplify pure economic security, the consequences of such occurrences and the incapability of hindering it would also have strong economic costs and create instability. It also illustrates the strategic importance, since the port is a valuable strategic infrastructure in combating outside threats to the region, both health-wise and for other security purposes.

The SOU from 2007 concluded the strategic significance of the port of Gävle, with its importance in terms of a growing container capacity and as a “nationally strategic industrial- and energy port”. The investments the SOU proclaimed to be necessary has strengthened the ports position further which also entails a stronger negative effect if anything were to occur to it. Intentional ill-willed procedures could include attempts of increased influence over strategic infrastructure, to disturb economic infrastructure and attacks upon vital infrastructure – all which the port of Gävle could be categorized as. Under the WW2 and until the end of the cold war Gävle had active defence arrangements based upon its strategic importance and positioning. The port and the archipelago were thereafter prepared and equipped to secure the sea-borne entrance, the port and the city.

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111 Malminen, p. 13.
112 Ullman, 1983.
114 SOU 2007:58.
There is existing regulation regarding planned changes toward objects of national interest, in which the Armed Forces must be conferred before being followed through. Changes to ports are one such instance where the authorities need to refer the Armed Forces in advance, which in this case was not done before the selling.\textsuperscript{117,118} The function of this regulation is to prevent issues or actions against the national security, which could not occur since the directives were dismissed. As such, it cannot be excluded that the selling would entail a threat towards the national security.

3.4.3. The Relative Autonomy of the Central Economic Decisions Made in a Country
In the current globalized and interconnected world is relative autonomy sought-after, with complete autonomy nowadays being unattainable. Neack uses the example of a country choosing to enter co-operations or becoming further interdependent in favour of economic development and profit, at the expense of autonomy in terms of decision-making and economic dependency.\textsuperscript{119} The EU is one example of this, where trade and economic opportunities are enabled but the shared laws of the Union are of supranational nature and thus forces the member states to act accordingly.

\textit{In this interdependent world it follows that the greatest threat to the autonomy and integrity of states – for some states and at some times – may be, not the threat of external aggression by another state, but the subtle, silent, and insidious permeation of national societies by transnational actors.}\textsuperscript{120}

One interpretation from the statement of Susan Strange could the subtle threat of transnational actors refer to transnational corporations. A dependency or an impact based upon economic pressure from the large international actors corporations nowadays consist of, could bring insecurity or affect the decisions, economic, security or other, made by a state. As such could the autonomy of the decisions made by the state be questioned.

Aside from transnational actors attempting to influence decisions persists the traditional state actors in the practice of grey zone measures. The purpose of using hybrid measures such as targeted economic procedures against a state, or significant parts of it, is to influence the politics and decisions of a nation. Economic pressure combined with other procedures could

\textsuperscript{117} Försvarsmakten, \textit{Riksintressen för totalförsvarets militära del i Gävleborgs län 2018}, 2018.
\textsuperscript{119} Neack, p. 25.
\textsuperscript{120} Strange, 1975.
have a large chance of obtaining influence upon another state’s politics.\textsuperscript{121} As a part of external actors attempts of influencing Swedish decision–making and security policies, are obscured manoeuvres of military and civilian nature done. The interference of the American elections 2016 exemplifies this, where the outcome have an impact upon the state’s economic, military and strategical policies.\textsuperscript{122}

While the port of Gävle might be important for the region in terms of trade and supplies, the chances of the port affecting the central economic decisions made in and for Sweden directly is relatively low. Finding substantial evidence which could undoubtedly state the possibility is difficult to find and thus it should be considered somewhat unlikely that the port of Gävle could affect the autonomy of the economic decision-making process of Sweden. However, what should be considered is that several large industries operate within the region; for example, Sandvik, Billerud Korsnäs and Gevalia, whom uses the port and sea-borne transportation for import and export purposes.\textsuperscript{123} As major contributors to the region and within their sectors, hinderances against the businesses process would cause lasting economic consequences for the region and in extension to the state economy via the decreasing tax quantities from lower production and profits.

As mentioned, is the economic capacity of a state the basis for implementing procedures and preferred politics. If economic changes were to possibly occur by changed circumstances, decision-makers could potentially alter their stance in issues in favour of other outcomes, which therefore would indicate towards an influenced decision-making process by external circumstances and/or actors.

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\textsuperscript{121} Jonsson, 2018.
\textsuperscript{122} Försvarsmakten, Årsöversikt 2016 – MUST, 2017.
\textsuperscript{123} Hejdenberg, 28.03.2014.
4. Conclusions

The purpose of the thesis was to examine how the port of Gävle relate to the concept of national security and thereafter if the case could be considered a national security issue. To answer both research enquiries the theoretical aspect of the thesis was formed which resulted in a comprehensive presentation of security and its broadened perception.

The empirical segment of the thesis provided an answer to the first research question, *how does the port of Gävle relate to the selected tendencies of national security?* This was done with the application of the theories and key aspects of economic security provided by the theoretical segment in combination with empirical material relating to the case. The analysis found several tendencies of national security connected to the port of Gävle, which should not be disregarded. The port is a significant part of the infrastructure of the region and in extension the nation, which has been recognized as a sphere of national interest by governmental authorities. As such an important part of the economic structure of the region, the ramifications of hinderances or a non-functional port would be far-reaching and have large effects, upon the society and the state. Additional infrastructure such as Arlanda Airport and large industries would suffer long-term effects via of deteriorating societal functions, economic deficits and insecurity, and decreasing capability of producing supplies. Similarly would commodities and important resources such as fuel be of decreasing availability, thus affecting individuals, businesses and the society.

The second question *could the selling of the port be considered a matter of national security?* was discussed within the analysis with basis from the ascertainment’s from the first research question. Based upon Richard Ullman’s definition of national security would the case of the port of Gävle highly likely be considered a matter of national security. As described by Oksanen fuel, resources and necessities is delivered via sea-borne transportation and managed by the port, therefore if supplies were to be withdrawn would the quality of life for the citizens most probably decline. Similarly would pressures upon the port limit the choices available for the state, companies, citizens and other actors connected to the port. If anything were to happen to it, conflicts, international disturbances, external manoeuvres or if the ownership would come into play, would there be consequences – for the state, societal functions and internal actors.
The fact that the Armed Forces require being conferred to prior to changes to national interests, in which ports are expressively stated, solidifies the claim of the port being a case of national security. When this did not occur it might have jeopardized and caused insecurity to an important part of Swedish infrastructure which can have extensive future consequences if actors with malicious intent towards Sweden were to attain an influence over the port.

By possessing one of the eight Quarantine ports of Sweden, the port of Gävle already operate as a part of the national security against external threats. Similarly has the port been protected and used during conflict-filled times and would be valuable in a potential future scenario, in a strategic and economic sense. By selling the facilities and the infrastructure, the security is thereby managed by foreign actors whom does not have the same responsibilities as Swedish authorities, nor motives.

As the interconnectedness appears to continue in the unforeseeable future and conventional conflicts declining in comparison to grey zone activities, are these form of security challenges instead the current potential threat against states or certain targets. While the purpose of the selling was to create economic development instead the economic security of the region could potentially be threatened as a consequence of the municipality’s action. The external influence upon vital infrastructure should not be underestimated, as the significance of the port is extensive and an occurrence to it would have a substantial impact.

To conclude, the purpose of the thesis could be considered to be fulfilled. The research questions have been answered, however more in-depth analysis and more extensive research with additional cases or theoretical framework could be used for future references. Based upon the existing tendencies of economic and national security in combination with the existing regulations could and should the case of the port of Gävle be considered a national security matter. However, only time will tell what the consequences of the selling might result in.
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