Securitization as a Factor of Economic Integration
Divvio Gallegos Paniagua 1, José G. Vargas-Hernández 2

Abstract
This paper is aimed to show that securitization, a concept of the State security theory provide some elements to obtain a more complete vision linked to other sciences about the economic integration processes. Until now, economic integration is studied by diverse strands of economic thought, exhausting the conceptual frameworks in reinterpretations impeding progress in the explanation of motivations of Nations to be economically linked. Here it has been linked to the categories of economic integration and the State security theory, to give an answer to the question of whether economic integration is a process that is explained by it or if it is determined by the search for security of States. As a conclusion of the study, it proposes a conceptual model of economic integration and economic regionalization, as resulting from the process of securitization.

Key words: Economic integration, State security, securitization.
JEL: F15, F41, F49

INTRODUCTION
It calls the attention that international policy experts refer to Mexico as a nation member of the Northern command in issues of safety and security of the United States of America, rather than a partner of the North America Free Trade Agreement in the commercial field. This is due to that according to the authors of the security theory (Buzan, 2001 and Lipschutz, 1995) the motives of security of States are put before the economic and even more, the economic aspects coalesce to the spectrum of security. This essay aims to propose an analysis of the formation and transformation of economic integration zones starting from the approach of securitization of the theory of security, in congruence with changes in globalization after the Cold War and the intensification of international economic exchange.

While the authors of economics profile (Balassa, 1964, and Meade, 1957) consider that economic integration precedes political integration, in a way that economic communities evolve into political unions over time, in this essay is considered the assumption that at the international level, politics - in this case the security of States — is a factor in economics and not vice versa. In the first part of the work, is noted the background of the case studied, exposing it as a problem of methodological approach, as theorists of economic integration have not addressed it from new approaches, only limited to economic schemes.

A second part corresponds to the analysis, which conforms at a time of four points. On the first point of the analysis it is set out the basic elements of the securitization, key concept built by the recent contributions of the Security Theory (ST), drawing in particular on the approach to integration, which is the concept of bonding with the theory of economic integration (TEI). This theory is taken to continue the analysis of its main authors which refer to different forms of economic integration. In this analysis, special emphasis is placed in that the TEI notes isolation from the political, military, cultural and environmental phenomena occurring in the global context.

The model of economic integration under the focus of the securitization is proposed as penultimate paragraph of the analysis. Finally, this essay ends with the analysis by applying the securitization model to show the implementation of the proposal in two examples: the Treaty of the North American free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and other of the European Union (EU). At last, it is concluded that it has been inferred as a finding of this research, new elements for analysis and better understanding of the formation and development of the areas of economic integration from the securitization.

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Determinants in this essay have been the constant and timely observations of José G. Vargas-Hernández MBA; Ph.D., on methodological aspects as well as those of the Master María Luisa Andrea Concha Gutiérrez for her insistence on the right frame of reference of securitization.

BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEMATIC ECONOMIC INTEGRATION STUDY

Economic integration, understood as the link between two or more economies in order to intensify the exchange of economic factors, whether it is goods, services, capital, technology, etc., (Carbaugh, 2009, Martínez, 2000, and Samuelson, 2006) has so far been explained in isolation to other processes. The securitization, as a process to remove the threat to the State, or to the interests of dominant groups in society, provides a set of conceptual tools to put in context economic integration as a process that takes place at the same time inside the other larger process (Buzan et al)(1998, Wæver, 1998; and Larrechea, 2008).

Theorists of economic integration (Balassa, 1964, and Tamames, 2003) so far have limited the linkage between the States to grounds of motives and ends of purely economic purposes, which contrasts with the most recent work of theorists of security (Buzan, 2001, and Lipschutz, 1995) who in the recent developments have been considered as possible means or result of the process of security (securitization), integration in other fields. The studies that make up the TEI have being conducted out of the work of Viner (1950), in some cases on the basis of previous proposals that relate to other theories such that of capitalist development, imperialism and underdevelopment, among the most important.

In this work it is proposed as an assumption that the securitization of the interests of hegemonic national groups, is of course one of the main reasons for the economic integration between States. Therefore, the objective is to propose the analysis of the formation and transformation of areas of economic integration from the approach of securitization of the theory of security, in keeping with changes in globalization after the Cold War. Figure 1 shows the most relevant aspects of the integration process driven by the securitization.

Insert Figure 1 Here

The problem is addressed with the review and comparison of the literature on the various approaches of integration from the perspective of the TEI with the approach of the securitization of the ST and the formation of Regional Security Complexes (RSC) and Overlay processes (both are described in the following sections). Once built the proposal for a conceptual model, applies two examples with the cases of North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and of the European Union (EU) as resources for review if there are elements defined by the securitization to the case of economic integration which for the ST is the North America subsystem. The above does not mean that throughout the review and comparison are rescue the elements that allow achieving the goal.

ECONOMIC INTEGRATION AS PART OF THE SECURITIZATION PROCESS

Though many of the theorists of economic integration (Scitovsky, 1959 and Tamames, 2003) they believe that the reason for such linkage is economic and its aims are purely economic. Other theorists considered implicitly that the purposes may be political, as the case of Balassa (1964), for whom the political purposes can be achieved by economic integration. Recent authors, however propose a clearer line by saying that unlike the experience of the regional integration of the 1930s, in the 1990s everything indicates that United States is tilted in favor of the use of a combination of commercial and financial instruments, but subsumed in a geopolitical conceptualization of national security (Rosas, 1996).°

A. Security theory (ST)

The intensification of globalization from the seventies of the last century and the end of the Cold War, gave way to a new vision on the security of nations, as well as studies on it. These studies on the safety of the Nations were conducted mainly at the Research Institute for the Peace of Copenhagen, leading to the development of the ST, as part in turn of a more general theory of international relations.

It is the so-called Copenhagen School - which is named after the specialist in the subject Mc Sweeney (1999) - from which are prominent driving authors as Barbé, (2007); Solomon (2002); Weaber (1998) and in particular Buzan et al (1998). According to Lerrachea (2008), the Copenhagen School is the new stream of academic studies on security, whose purpose is the State. Hence, in the case relating to
safety or security of the State, which can be understood as the protection of the State against external aggression and internal movements that could jeopardize it (Orozco, 2006: 144). Protection is carried out using military force to deter or suppress any threat to security.

For these reasons, the studies on the subject correspond to political science, the science of international relations or to the military sciences, which somehow explains the reason that the international economy lacks these approaches. The ST does not define the State, so it takes the idea that this is the settlement of interests of the dominant entities (individuals or groups) - or real forces of power such as the economic oligarchy, high bureaucracy, the high clergy, etc. Therefore, the protection that the State is looking for can be understood as the protection of the interests of the dominant entities or dominant forces. On the other hand, the aggression will be understood as a perception of dominant subjects or ruling bodies, in relation to the interests which are under threat.

Another important aspect of this theory is that related to the international level with the existence of many States, a little more than two hundred to be exact. Each one of the subjects of these States is aware to protect its interests in the territory, as well as the interests of social groups on which enforce its power. This makes then more complex relations between those States, and even to consider that some of them exercised hegemony over others. The complexity of these relationships gives an anarchic character to the international as a whole. But, as there are some mutual threat perceptions generated between different subjects, they are required to settle in a whole community of purposes before the attack on their interests, i.e. to create a Security Complex.

1) Aspects of the security Theory (ST)
There are five streams which in turn make up the ST models, each one comes in a given historical moment, namely: The Independent Complex, the Security Regime, the Integration Theory (IT), the model of Collective Security and finally the Democratic Peace (Orozco: 153). The last three models are these that contribute with more elements to the explanation of economic integration. Some other authors consider that there are three schools in the ST: traditionalists, critical, and the widening (Sisco y Chacón, 2004: 132). The most relevant elements of the model of the traditionalists are explained in Figure 2.

Insert Figure 2 Here

The most prolific specialist in this area is Barry Buzán (2001), who began at the Copenhagen School and continues his work by adopting many criteria of the so-called English School of security. This school describes the transition from liberalism and realism (Buzán, 2001: 11) for the independent complex models and the security system.

From this point and considering the fading of the bipolarity of international forces, he develops new ideas that constitute the model called the Integration Theory (IT) as a guideline for the Widening Stream. The Widening Stream considers that it decreases the importance of the military in the perceptions of States with the end of the cold war, and thus they become important issues such as international economic relations, the environment, and the living conditions of the population and others that become factors of safety in the new academic constructs.

With the emergence of the Widening Stream those who consider it necessary to take into account not only the political and military factors as observed by the traditional studies of security, but also to incorporate economic, environmental and social matters as factors. Thus, the Widening Stream conceptualize security as the achievement through which situations of conflict or threat vanish by means of the State’s emergency mobilization, threats that can be different to the possibility of a military attack. It can be also treated economic, social and environmental problems that may endanger the survival of a group. (Orozco: 151), which opens a possibility for the studies of Economic Integration.

Insert Figure 3 Here

The possibility of integration between States begins with the fact that there are aspects of security that States, especially those who observe geographical proximity, they cannot solve independently, and they necessarily have to seek a solution in a general manner (Buzan et to the, 1998: 168). This is so because the interdependence developed among the States when there is a threat perceived as common, so ceases to be an anarchic set of countries to conform to a regional security complex, that is, to form a complex integrated regionally developed between the States. In this line of submitted ideas, economic integration is part of a broader process of integration.
2) The elements of the model of the integration theory (IT)

To identify the actors of the securitization, the integration theory (IT) has four basic elements: Actor securitize, referential object, existential threat, and likely real object. Actor securitize refers to the State that calls to promote the securitization. The reference object includes the levels and actors among which promotes the security, including who takes action. The existential threat is the entity or the situation from which emanates the threat; and, finally the likely real object that is the threatened element, generally the interests of one or all the groups that make up the State and especially of the convener or the actor securitize (Concha, 2010).

To systematize the analysis, the approach to security of the model of Buzán (2001) proposes five levels of analysis: the international system, subsystems, units, subunits and individuals. The international system is the set of global relationships, which from the territorial point of view is made up of subsystems. The subsystems are each of regions consolidated as such by the relations of higher or lower cohesion and also the not neighboring sets between each other but coherent by any common interest. The units are the integrated by each of the States or Nations of the world. The subunits are groups that operate with influence in units, which in the case are the real forces of power. Finally, the individuals, i.e. the citizens of each nation (Buzan et al, 1998).

The basic elements annotated and levels mentioned earlier make up for this analysis the participating elements in economic integration, same that act in the international scope in their national-level units and subsystems.

3) The securitization

The process or set of actions to achieve the emergency measures to deal with a situation or a set of actions perceived as a threat to the existence of a person or a group of persons or their interests, or an institutional entity that represents interests of people, is called securitize. The securitize term is a neologism which corresponds to the word in English securitize.

Buzan et al. (1998: 25) precise the concept of securitization. They pointing out that the exact definition and criterion of securitization is constituted by the establishment of inter-subjectivity of an existential threat, the one with enough projection to have substantial political effects. This is to say that the perception of the threatened entities is shared enough as to justify an emergent action and often outside the conventional frameworks.

The securitization process consists of three main phases, same which are pushed by the group or groups of interest or subunits: "... existential threats, urgent action, and effect on relations inter-unities to breaking the rules" (Buzan et al., 1998: 26). When the process of securitization is followed by a set of States, usually culminate in the formation of Regional Security Complexes (RSC), that is to say, a set of States with a shared perception of threat and the decision to take all necessary measures – military, political, economic, etc.-to neutralize the threats that are the subject and object of the perception they have. It is then that this process of securitization encourages economic integration, which in turn, goes in parallel with the process of neutralization of threats. Figure 4 tries to model this process.

Insert Figure 4 Here

4) The security complexes and regionalization

The integration of States who share a perception of threats may be called, in principle, Regional Security Complexes (RSC). More properly are defined as a set of States or units - or a subsystem - with processes of securitization or desecuritization so interrelated that their security concerns may not be reasonably analyzed or solved separating a few units of others, creating a subsystem in which most of the interaction of security is internal. (Concha, 2010: 3).

The formation of a Regional Security Complex (RSC) can be integrated by units - or States-whose perceptions of threats respond to different factors (military, political, economic, cultural or environmental), but who share a priority of dominant securitization on the others. It’s so in "... this measure, its prospects for security, even though they may present diversity and nuances - yet tensions - tend to converge, rather than defer" (Larrechea, 2008: 12).
Certainly not in any case we can talk about integration of States in the form of RSC, because there are situations in which States do not have the significance to the exterior because their weakness, which means that they do not permeate their perceptions to the rest of the States. Similarly is not assigned the term in question, but the Overlay when one of the integrated States wields hegemony such that within its radius of power void, limiting or significantly modifies the development of the securitization between the surrounding States (Buzan et to the, 1998: 12). The dust jacket, overlap or Overlay, in the same way explains many of the processes of integration imposed studied by specialists in the underdevelopment theory and dependency theory.

The formation of a complex or an Overlay shows a set of characteristics, being one of them the availability of the units to their integration. Another one is the difference of these units. There certainly is also friendly or unfriendly character between units, not limited to the States to recognize the existence of highly threatening common problems, which are imperatives to join and integrate. Finally, and not least, there is an asymmetry of power to the units together.

Dynamic entities as they are the components of the units can observe changes in its dimension and performance. If these changes are significant, it will lead to changes in the dynamics of the complex. The above is not valid for the Overlay unless the changes are observed in the hegemonic unit components.

Changes in the structure or the dynamics of the international organization, either Overlay or SCR is an aspect that can explain at the same time the modification of the forms of regional economic integrations or its degree of integration. Buzán et al. (1998) propose four processes that can be observed in the Organization: when the structure remains unchanged and maintained the status quo; When amending the relationship of forces within the complex; When the integration or separation of one (s), or the modification of the internal distribution of power or internal patterns of friendship or enmity give way to changes in the relations of the organization with the rest of the world.

The above stated can allow to understand the rapid advance of the European Union, which before being characterized by their degree of total economic integration it was customs union first and later common market. It also provides the methodological elements to explain how are complicated in trying to have a single currency or in the integration of Turkey.

5) The threat as the reason for the economic integration

When the subunits are faced with a situation that they perceive as a threat to their interests, they carry out the actions necessary to achieve share that perception among individuals. The perception of risk takes place between them. The same happens to the institutions politically representing the State. When this is achieved, the risk has been threat, as it can be determined by the process described, has a cultural character. The threat is of priority in the social and political agenda (Buzan, 2001).

If the threat is as such in the perception of individuals and other subunits, units interact to shape around it and from the same link to assume a position and to develop actions which in turn are perceived as necessary to suppress the corresponding risk. This risk may well have originated in economic, social, cultural or environmental aspects to be transformed into a problem that requires different actions, from the military, policy, or a set of them. It is then when it is securitizing a threat; and if the agenda includes economic issues, be they commercial, financial or technological, integration is also economic.

It is time to reflect that full recognition of threats is an important step for the securitization and for the purposes of analysis is also a key element to explain the economic integration. While in the bipolar context at the end of the last century the determinant threats were military and political issues, the specialist incorporate other more as they are the environmental and trade issues, such as the following are noted:

- Political-military threats
- Threats contemporary economic, environmental and cultural in nature
- Emerging, such as the advocacy threats of violence, ideological crisis, politicization of the crime, conflicts of low intensity and socialization of the corruption.
- Transverse threats such as social conflicts, terrorism, drug trafficking, international criminal networks, poverty, exclusion, atrophy of the capacity for economic growth and emigration.

Previous sources of threats give the perception of security and as a result the integration processes either political-military, economic, environmental or social, as describes it the figure 5.
On the other hand, we need to reflect that the perceptions, as subjective processes, are not necessarily uniform, so that the transition from the perception of the risk to the perception of the threat may not correspond and in on the other hand can be modified the process of construction and development both in the origin and on the characterization of risk and threat. In the following figure, the number 6, the different sources of perception of risk are shown schematically.

With the addition of new criteria for security, studies have been developed to generate models of variables and indicators of such factors, which can be classified as indicators of the evolution of threats to those that are considered as preventive or indicators of early warning in the area of human security. Some of the variables of these indicators are food security, economic security, political security and community safety.

The security food guarantees a daily calorie supply, food production and dependence on food imports. Economic security serves real income, inflation, unemployment and income distribution. The Political security deals with aspects relating to the violation to human rights, military spending in relation to spending on education and health. Community safety services to ethnic, religious and cultural conflicts (Sandoval, 2005: 13). These criteria lead to the formation of sets of regional security complexes as determinants of economic integration as it is shown in Figure 7.

B. Concept of economic integration

There are various conceptualizations of what is economic integration without having a consensus thereon. Many of them relate to particular forms of the phenomenon. Others are more generic, as in the case of the following: "Process of elimination of restrictions on trade, payments and factor mobility of factors" (Carbaugh, 2009: 546). This work proposes that economic integration can be understood as imposed, voluntary or inertial linking of two or more economies, with the aim of facilitating their economic exchange. The link leads to the interaction between the residents of a country with residents of the rest of the world, under criteria agreed in the framework of the integration.

However, most authors agree at the point which points out that, once you reach the formation of a geographical area of countries with some degree of integration, participating economic agents note that this facilitates the transit of economic factors through the territories of integrated countries. In this way, the integration process is a mechanism for opening economies and consequently for the mutual availability of factors. Sometimes it refers to some factor in particular and therefore as a commercial integration, financial integration, monetary integration, technology integration. Alternatively, it refers to commercial and financial, integration commercial and monetary, financial and technological integration. At another level, it refers to any other combination of integrations.

1) The security complexes and regionalization

One of the most prominent authors in the theme is Jacob Viner (1950) whose work "The customs unions issue", says the effects of the agreements on the formation of customs unions, one of the forms of economic integration observed in practice. In his explanation, Viner (1950) sets out the concepts of trade diversion and creation of trade as resources to analyze each one of the economic integration, the first to explain the change in trade flows and the second for the expansion of the exchange as a result of the signing of a tariff agreement. On the same line of ideas, another author is Meade (1957), who with support in the arguments of Viner, develops the effects on the exchange, especially in the balance of payments.

For Balassa (1964) there are two meanings of economic integration, as a situation or process, both totally related because of one existent situation leads to another through a process. This new situation consists on measures to eliminate some forms of discrimination to the companies of the different nations, at the same time that the situations with this abolition are the processes of integration through free trade zones, customs unions, common markets and total economic integration. In addition, Balassa (1964) proposed to differentiate between integration and economic cooperation. Economic cooperation is a measure to reduce the discrimination between the linked Nations.
For its part, Tamames (1968) holds that economic integration is a process whereby two or more national markets, previously separate, and unitary dimensions are considered little appropriate, join together to form a single market of a most appropriate and larger dimension.

Expressions of voluntary, imposed or inertial relationship are recorded previously. Voluntary integration is what gives so agree to the mutual interests of the signatories. In contrast, the imposed link is the one in which interests that the agreement attends are those of the economy or economies exercising hegemony over the rest of the signatories. Finally, it is the inertial link in which the participants have developed economic interaction without there was no formal agreement, but that own commercial, financial, monetary and technological practice have led to this link, as it is the case of the so-called Tex Mex region formed by some of the Southern border States of United States and some of Northern Mexican States.

As it can be observed, the type of link allows the explanation to the integration. When referring to imposed linkage, it refers to asymmetric economies in which one or some of them depend on power of others, it would correspond to the theory of imperialism written in 1916 (Lenin, 1978) and the underdevelopment theory (Marini, 1991 and Amin, 2001). These explain the integration as a means for the realization of extraordinary profits. Also, could happen in the case of inertial bonding, in which the process of dependency theory (Prebisch). In the case of the voluntary link, various versions of economic globalization processes are explanatory.

Finally, there are more specific conclusions in Sánchez (2004) who points out three basic problems of integration. The first problem is the search for economic efficiency in the use of resources. Another problem to improve is the distribution of income among economic agents. The third problem is the stability to prevent imbalances that affect the growth of economies. In addition to considering a historical constant in the initiatives of unification of the countries, whether can be for military, political, religious or economic reasons. However, so far there are not sufficient explanations on integration. To contribute to the debate, this analysis proposed the security theory (ST) and the process of securitization, as a more structured explanation of the phenomenon of economic integration processes.

2) Economic integration from the approach of the securitization

The argument presented previously allows inferring that considering the elements of the ST and the TEI, it is possible to propose a model of process of economic integration from the perspective of the securitization.

For the model proposed, the process of security of the States or securitization is a factor of the process of economic integration. This new model can explain lots of facts on the issue occurred either predictable, it forms the trends of emerging risks, such as the worsening of global environmental imbalance, the tendency to rigid regulations on environmental issues, growing migration towards urban centers and especially the more developed economies, the emergence of new economic powers, the growing citizenship as a new form of governance, etc. These are only some of the trends that flow into the re-composition of political, economic and military forces both at the level of units as subsystems and in consequence of the international system. Figure 8 shows a process of economic integration, motivated by the securitization.

Insert Figure 8 Here

From considerations of Viner (1950), it can be analyzed if these forms of integration are diversion or creation. I.e., the orientation of the forms of integration can be inclusive or exclusive between the subsystems (regions). Following to Balassa (year) to define the stage of the process or form of integration is the subsystem, which can achieve different degrees of economic integration. As mentioned, the essentials in the process of economic integration are that they are at the same time of inclusion and exclusion.

They are processes of inclusion with regard to integrated States, but of exclusion of the other States that are not integrated. The above takes relevance when it has as a consequence the formation of an exclusive geographical area for the integrated States and for agreements which they deal, with or without prejudice to the statements of the rest of the world. However, when there is some damage to the exterior of the space it is perceived as threat to any or some States, then it can be generated a defensive response from their own part.
ANALYSIS OF CASES

A. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)

Form of securitization: Overlay

The observers, among other Hirst (2004), recognized that in America it can be observed the following regions. First of all, a geo-economic sub-region in the North, even though it involves Canada, United States and Mexico, generates an effect spill, quite questionable, in Central America and the Caribbean. Secondly, an Andean sub-region, and an area in the Pacific region. In the case of Mexico, is more integrated economically the Northern sub-region, while is it culturally more identified with the Latin American bloc than with the Anglo-Saxon.

On the other hand, before a block emerged by the mutual search for economic a benefit, the block is generated from the risk perceived by United States subunit. In the case of Canada and Mexico, soon are sharing the unit with United States, who is the promoter of the Overlay in part due to the perceptions of risk in that country, plus their own characteristics characteristic of sub-units and units. As a result of these perceptions of risk, Canada and Mexico are soon added to United States. Therefore, it is true that since the signing of NAFTA, Mexico is more and more linked to United States and Canada (Perroti, 2000). In addition, Mexico is part of the so-called "Northern Command", and has entered in the Homeland Security of the United States, as well as countries of Central America and the Caribbean.

B. European Union (EU)

The European Union is the result of an evolution process in international economic integration that begun in 1952 by six Nations that formed the European Community of Steel and Coal (ECSC) based on an agreement for the exchange of raw materials that led to the development of the heavy industry in the region, up to get through multiple transformations in its organization, in 2010 with 27 Member States that form the global structure more evolved in the history of mankind, with agreements of cooperation and mutual support in the political, military, cultural, environmental, economic and scientific.

Table 1 shows the main features of the two major cases of economic integration with a focus on the model of securitization.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper proves the validity of the proposed model of economic integration under the focus of the securitization. The aim of proposing the analysis of the formation and transformation of areas of economic integration from the approach of securitization of the security theory are also met. This study confirms that Regional Security Complexes and the Overlay contain as subsidiaries of security to various areas of economic integration in the world, in accordance with the process of diversion and creation which proposes the classic author Viner (1950) in their contributions to the TEI. Similarly, it is possible to construct new concepts on economic integration, taking advantage of their own economy and the security theory.

Finally, there are the findings of new elements to understand the formation and development of the areas of economic integration from the securitization. This allow us to analyze and better understand the above mentioned process, such as the need for the States to protect themselves against perceived threats, and as an explanation to the integration and the formation of regions. Similarly to economic integration may be answer to non-economic problems as they are the military-political, environmental, cultural and even the ethnic problems.

QUESTIONS

The findings open new routes to future research with new questions of relevance. Among other questions, can initially be formulated by the transcendence and administrative implications for the development of the economic and managerial sciences:

In determining the competitiveness or the factors of success, either of the company, industry sector or the economy as a whole, is relevant to consider the securitization as a factor of competitiveness?
In studies for the characterization of country-risk for investment purposes in accordance with the criteria of Moody’s, Stand & Poor’s, and J.P. Morgan (Anzil, 2010) is it possible to apply criteria of securitization to develop an agenda for the annulment of risks?

REFERENCES

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Figures and Tables

Fig. 1. Process of integration motivated by the securitization
Source: Own drawing

Fig. 2. Model of traditionalists
Source: Own drawing

Fig. 3. Widening Model
Source: Own drawing
Fig. 4. Of the perception of threat to the economic integration
Source: own drawing

Fig. 5. Process of integration from the perception of security
Source: own drawing
Fig. 6. Different sources of perception of risk
Source: own drawing

Fig. 7. The economic integration within regional security complexes
Source: own drawing

Fig. 8. The economic regionalization motivated by the securitization
Source: own drawing
### Table 1. Analysis of cases of economic integration from the perspective of the model of securitization

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model securitization</th>
<th>The North American free trade agreement</th>
<th>European Union</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subsystems:</td>
<td>Protection of North and South borders of United States, access to Mexican and Canadian resources and raw materials (resourcing) and possibilities of deslocation of production processes in Mexican and Canadian territory (outsourcing)</td>
<td>Political, military, economic, scientific and environmental cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form of securitization:</td>
<td>Border territories of United States, neighboring States to United States, Canada and Mexico.</td>
<td>European area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actor securizer</td>
<td>United States (US)</td>
<td>Germany, France and England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference object:</td>
<td>Loss of world leadership by United States - military, political and economic - to the consolidation of the European Union; possible shortages and higher prices of oil to the collusion of the producers of OPEC.</td>
<td>Hegemony of United States of America throughout European territory that threatens with a permanent military presence and pushes for the imposition of the American political model; instability in the Balkan region of Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential threat:</td>
<td>Interests of oil companies of United States-interests of manufacturers of United States</td>
<td>Interests of the monarchies and European oligarchies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real object:</td>
<td>Border security, migration towards United States, trade liberalization, financial openness, openness of services.</td>
<td>Regional border security, African migration to the European area, internal migration in the European Space towards the area of the Union, development of the member States.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agenda:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Own generation based on Concha (2010)