

# SECURITISATION OF STATE POLICY AND SOCIETY IN UKRAINE

SUMMARY





**Razumkov**  
centre

# **SECURITISATION OF STATE POLICY AND SOCIETY IN UKRAINE**

SUMMARY



**Hanns  
Seidel  
Stiftung**

Analytical report prepared by the Razumkov Centre as part of a project implemented  
with the financial support of the Hanns Seidel Stiftung Ukraine

KYIV-2025

## SECURITISATION OF STATE POLICY AND SOCIETY IN UKRAINE

### **Authors:**

Mykola SUNHUROVSKYI – project manager, director of military programmes at the Razumkov Centre

Yuriy YAKYMENKO – project expert, President of the Razumkov Centre

Oleksiy MELNYK – project expert, co-director of foreign relations and international security programmes at the Razumkov Centre

Mykhailo MISCHENKO – project expert, Deputy Director of the Razumkov Centre's Sociological Service

Rostyslav BALABAN – guest expert, leading researcher at the Kuras Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies

The Policy Paper was developed by the Razumkov Centre based on the results of the research project «The Concept of Securitisation of State Policy and Society and Prospects for its Implementation in Ukraine», supported by the Hanns Seidel Stiftung in Ukraine. The project is a follow-up to the 2024 study «Best foreign practices and Ukraine's experience in implementing state-public partnerships in civil defence», which was the first to identify the need to securitise state policy and society in Ukraine.

Based on a rethinking of foreign and domestic experience in the field of security, the Razumkov Centre's theoretical and practical developments, the results of expert surveys and discussions, the authors offer a systemic structured approach to analysing and synthesising national security systems, propose a conceptual framework as a component of interfaces in interdisciplinary research on security issues, and come up with methodological recommendations for threat analysis and the development of countermeasures.

The opinions expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the position or are endorsed by the grantor.

When using the materials, reference to the publication is mandatory.

# SECURITISATION OF STATE POLICY AND SOCIETY IN UKRAINE

## RELEVANCE

---

Ukraine's experience shows that in the context of hybrid warfare, with its high dynamics and vast multidimensional losses, existing security mechanisms do not always function effectively or prove sufficient. The intensity of Russian ground, missile and drone attacks, the scale of losses and the limited capabilities of the Ukrainian state create an urgent need to mobilise the potential of society, alongside support from partners. Even once the war has ended, Ukraine will not feel completely secure while sharing the border with a state that represents an existential threat.

The Russia-Ukraine war has inflicted and continues to inflict immense material damage on Ukraine, including human losses, adverse effects on the financial system and economy, and the destruction of energy, industrial and social infrastructure. The scope and sophistication of the enemy's information and psychological operations (IPSO) are increasing. Against this backdrop, dangerous authoritarian tendencies are emerging in the corridors of Ukrainian power, while experts and wider society are divided in their attitudes towards questionable political innovations. Taken together, these developments risk eroding social unity.

This situation necessitates a systematic rethinking of the foundations of Ukraine's domestic and foreign policy, as well as substantial reform across virtually all areas of public life, with broad involvement of civil society institutions. These reforms must take place in conjunction with European integration processes and be interconnected (coordinated) across multiple dimensions – military, political, economic, environmental, social and legal.



## CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATIONS FOR THE SECURITISATION OF UKRAINE'S STATE POLICY AND SOCIETY

---

*Securitisation* is the most relevant concept and direction for the efforts by both state and society to ensure the completeness, integrity and necessary effectiveness of Ukraine's national security system while preserving and strengthening its democratic state order. It is understood as a balanced regime of state and societal functioning across all spheres of social relations and under any circumstances, whereby national security becomes the principal priority for government, business and society. The securitisation of Ukrainian society and state policy is seen as a necessary means of ensuring national security and strengthening democracy both in wartime and in peacetime, given Ukraine's proximity to an aggressive neighbour.

The vision of a securitised Ukrainian state and society can be summarised as follows:

*Foreign policy:* focus on deterring external aggression; strengthening comprehensive partnerships, unions and alliances between democratic countries, particularly in the security domain.

*Society:* an extensive network of civic and political education programmes and military training courses; patriotism and strong motivation for civic engagement; solidarity and consolidation of efforts; 100% readiness to participate in the defence of the homeland; resilience to information attacks.

*Security sector:* structural and functional optimisation of the national security system and its relevant enforcement bodies; high technological standards for armaments, military and special equipment; strategic territorial fortification; robust mobilisation reserves; effective civil-military cooperation; a comprehensive civil defence system covering civilian protection; a combination of multi-level decentralisation, horizontal interaction and vertical coordination between state and non-state actors in the field of security.

*Domestic policy:* rule of law; equal application of laws to all; a democracy capable of defending itself against destructive political forces; fair and stable social security for citizens, equal access to essential services; a reasonable

and exclusive list of restrictions on rights and freedoms during special periods; democratic oversight of the state apparatus.

*Governance:* a professional, politically impartial government; a strategic process-oriented management approach; rational decentralisation of public administration; defence as the principal priority informing all policy areas; continuity and consistency of rules, norms and procedures; zero tolerance for corruption and reduction of corruption in public administration; democratic accountability and unwavering responsibility.

*Economy:* security and stability of key economic sectors and critical infrastructure; a strong defence and industrial sector; effective public-private partnerships; innovation; investment attractiveness; effective corporate governance standards; strong and mutually beneficial cooperation with external partners; access to foreign markets.

*Ecosystem:* a safe territory cleared from mines and explosive remnants of war; development of green energy; comprehensive environmental awareness; high ecological standards for the use of land, water and forest resources.

The publication sets out a conceptual framework, a general approach to the analysis and synthesis of national security systems, a structured methodology for threat analysis, and a list of tools to counter threats. The findings are based on the theoretical and practical expertise of the Razumkov Centre, as well as the assessments and opinions of experts from government, state and non-state think tanks, and civil society organisations, expressed during two expert surveys and four thematic roundtables.

## **SPECIFIC FEATURES OF THE APPROACH**

---

The study applies a structured problem analysis methodology. Its primary distinction from other models and approaches to the analysis of security systems lies in the clear identification of key properties of the system (state and society) that ensure national security: the ability to forecast, anticipate and detect threats; the ability to deter, prevent and mitigate their effects; the ability to resist and defend; resilience and survivability under threat; and readiness to counter threats (that is, to «activate» all of the above properties in a timely manner).



Another distinctive feature of the proposed approach is the reduction of uncertainty across the entire optimisation process of the national security system (NSS) under study. This is achieved by beginning the analysis not with threats themselves, but with elements characterised by minimal uncertainty – *objects of threats*. At this initial stage (analysis of national values, interests, their holders and expressers, and processes through which they are implemented), uncertainty is minimal and largely dependent on internal factors – the analyst's awareness of the subject domain. Uncertainty at later stages is reduced through the structuring of elements under study (objects of threats, threats themselves, counteraction system), supplemented with information derived from the preceding analysis.

**Section 1 of the Policy Paper** presents a universal algorithm for the analysis and synthesis of security systems (Diagram «*Universal algorithm for structural analysis and synthesis of a security system*»). It consists of four modules:

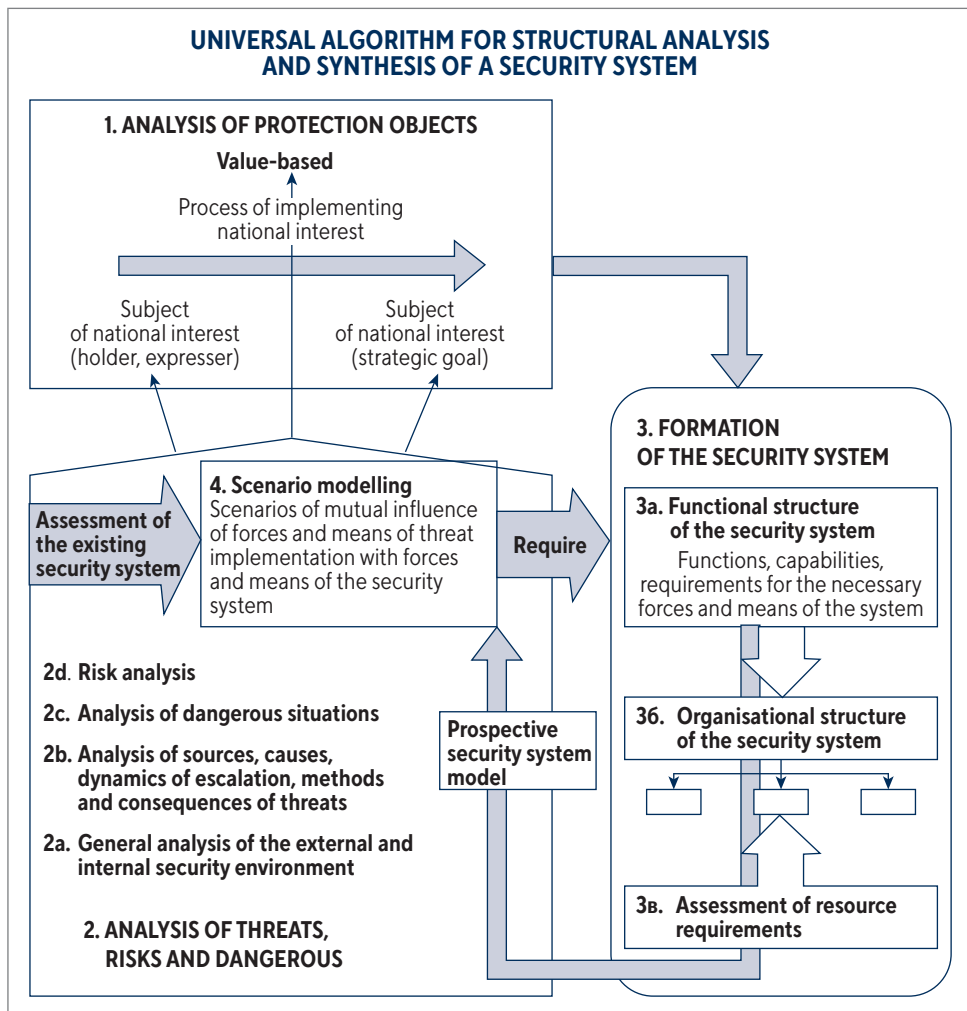
Module 1. Analysis of protection objects: national values, interests, their holders and expressers, and processes through which they are implemented.

Module 2. Analysis of threats, risks and dangerous situations. The structure of threats comprises the following elements: carriers (subjects) of threats, sources, causes, escalation dynamics, methods and consequences of impact.

Module 3. Formation (reform) of the security system. Based on preliminary security system requirements defined at stages 1 and 2, its functional (capabilities) and organisational structures (forces and means) are established, and resource needs (personnel, material and technical, legal, financial support) are evaluated.

Module 4. Scenario modelling. Used for scenario-based threat assessment and evaluation of both the existing security system (stage 2) and the prospective one (stage 3).

**Section 2 of the Policy Paper** describes threat analysis procedures and recommendations for their application







**Section 3 of the Policy Paper** based on Ukrainian and international experience and expert discussions and surveys, offers recommendations for developing a toolkit to counter threats through a sequence of measures aimed at developing the necessary system properties at state and societal levels.

**1. The ability to anticipate, detect, prevent, contain, avoid and neutralise the impact of threats is achieved through the following interconnected elements:**

- ✓ a network of state and non-state bodies and organisations tasked with searching for and collecting information necessary to identify and analyse vulnerabilities and threats across all spheres of life;
- ✓ a network of interconnected central, regional and sectoral situation centres with functions for receiving, accumulating, storing, processing and analysing large volumes of data, assessing the situation and preparing decisions in conditions of high uncertainty;
- ✓ cooperation with the intelligence communities of foreign states;
- ✓ state and non-state research institutions and think tanks operating in related fields, as well as partnership links between them, state authorities and local self-government bodies;
- ✓ robust deterrence potential sufficient to compel any potential adversary to abandon its aggressive intentions: a missile «shield and sword», an effective mobilisation system; a strong defence industry; a united society;
- ✓ participation in international collective defence systems, coalitions of democratic states that are committed to a rules-based order and rejection of aggression, demonstrate resolve in applying institutional mechanisms to respond to aggression, and are ready to aid partners in the event of aggression and emergencies;
- ✓ procedures governing the activities of state authorities and local self-government bodies in strategic planning, situational management and crisis response, with the organic inclusion of technologically advanced risk management components;
- ✓ effective diplomatic service, development of parliamentary engagement, public diplomacy and cultural ties with foreign countries and

the Ukrainian diaspora; creation of Ukraine's image as a desirable and reliable partner on the international stage, to prevent and/or resolve contradictions with other states at the earliest possible stage;

- ✓ availability of financial, legal, human, technological and information resources.

**2. Readiness to counter threats is ensured through the following measures:**

- ✓ personnel, functional and logistical preparedness for the deployment of resistance movements;
- ✓ engineering fortification for borders, facilities, territories, and maintaining transport infrastructure in an operational condition;
- ✓ improvement of state information and educational policy with an emphasis on patriotic education; establishment of effective communication between the authorities, the public and business, aimed at building mutual trust and effective interaction;
- ✓ capacity of the civil sector to replace the functions of the state, and the state's readiness for such steps, supported by relevant regulatory and legal acts and procedures;
- ✓ creation of emergency response committees at the sectoral and regional levels, and community security centres at the community level comprising providers of essential services and voluntary formations supporting defence, civil protection and public order;
- ✓ promotion of public preparedness for defence and action under conditions of deteriorating essential services,<sup>1</sup> training the population in first aid provision, and developing the skills to maintain calm and act rationally in crisis situations, without resorting to panic during wartime or other crises; the existence of an extensive network of state and non-state educational institutions delivering anti-crisis training programmes;
- ✓ ongoing training of forces and resources involved in national defence in eliminating the consequences of military action and emergencies

<sup>1</sup> Law of Ukraine «On Critical Infrastructure», <https://nizhynrada.gov.ua/files/2022-01-27/nHisT8XQDx.pdf>



of natural and/or man-made origin across relevant sectors of state and societal activity, with engagement of as broad a range of state and non-state actors as possible;

- ✓ preparation of medical institutions and special laboratories for the deployment of field hospitals, blood collection and transfusion points, emergency medical teams, including involvement of relevant volunteer organisations;
- ✓ preparing a personnel reserve for state administration and local self-government bodies;
- ✓ advance development of procedures for transitioning state governance systems, local self-government bodies and enterprises of all forms of ownership to contingency operational modes;
- ✓ forming and periodically updating mobilisation reserves, ensuring the operability of primary and secondary supply chains for critically important goods and services;
- ✓ forming voluntary formations at the national and community levels supporting defence, civil protection and public order, and rapid public-private operational teams to localise crises of military, man-made or natural origin, eliminate their consequences and restore functionality of affected critical energy, industrial and social infrastructure.

**3. The ability to resist and defend against adverse factors is achieved through the presence of the following elements:**

- ✓ powerful Armed Forces and other military formations, the deployment of resistance movements capable of repelling aggression and delivering deep strikes on enemy forces, infrastructure and decision-making centres;
- ✓ effective and interconnected structures, forces and means of protection within the national civil defence system in relevant areas (defence, social, financial, economic, political, critical infrastructure, healthcare, information and cyberspace, culture, public administration) with the necessary capabilities;

- ✓ independent anti-corruption bodies, effective anti-corruption measures, especially at the highest levels of power, and interaction between anti-corruption agencies, civil society organisations and the media;
- ✓ emergency response committees at sectoral and regional levels, and community security centres comprising voluntary defence, civil protection and public order units, operating in coordination with central and regional state authorities;
- ✓ an extensive network of shelters and protective structures to protect the population and critical infrastructure, considering regional specifics;
- ✓ a reliable system for uninterrupted public information and warning;
- ✓ a decentralised, well-coordinated network of state and non-state actors tasked with countering enemy's IPSO and cyber threats; cooperation between these actors and relevant organisations in partner countries;
- ✓ rules of democratic governance, based on the rule of law and established by legislation for periods of emergency or martial law, including conditions and frameworks for restricting rights and freedoms, countering separatism and the activity of anti-Ukrainian radical parties, movements and religious organisations;
- ✓ assistance from foreign partners and an effective system of sanctions against the aggressor.

**4. Resilience to threats is achieved through a combination of the following measures:**

- ✓ use of mobilisation and recruitment mechanisms tested during wartime;
- ✓ deployment, based on the situation, of sizeable and well-trained operational and strategic reserves of the Armed Forces of Ukraine and other security structures, manoeuvring forces and resources, and rapid restoration of transport infrastructure to facilitate redeployment;
- ✓ rational duplication of the most vulnerable elements of management systems, production processes and the provision of essential services;



- ✓ ensuring uninterrupted functioning of state governance systems, local self-government bodies, and enterprises of all forms of ownership through special, flexible procedures for decision-making; use of personnel reserves, advanced methods of workforce mobilisation and transition to backup power supply modes;
- ✓ deployment of field hospitals, blood collection and transfusion points and emergency medical teams, including the involvement of relevant volunteer organisations;
- ✓ establishment at national and territorial community levels of rapid operational teams to localise crises of military, man-made or natural origin, eliminate their consequences and restore the operability of affected critical energy, industrial and social infrastructure;
- ✓ consistent use of strategic mobilisation material reserves, ensuring the operability of primary and secondary supply chains for critically important goods (energy supplies, foodstuffs, medicines, technical equipment, etc.);
- ✓ availability at all levels (national, regional and individual) of emergency material and financial reserves and backup mechanisms (including energy, water, food, medical and transport provision) to sustain essential functions during crises;
- ✓ compliance with established behavioural norms and rules during periods of emergency or martial law, and the introduction of re-inforced accountability mechanisms;
- ✓ commitment of Ukrainian society to traditional national values, and alignment of state policy, local government activity and civic engagement with objectives to strengthen national identity, stimulate balanced socio-economic development of regions, minimise inequality in society, and deepen economic, cultural, and social integration;
- ✓ political education and integration of war veterans into political processes;
- ✓ use of mechanisms of societal self-organisation, ensuring national unity, self-defence, civil protection of communities, volunteer move-

ments, and business initiatives capable of compensating, at critical moments, for the functional shortcomings of state institutions;

- ✓ creation of favourable conditions for the return of refugees, which will have a significant impact on the demographic stability of Ukrainian society in the near and longer term;
- ✓ an extensive network of institutions providing emergency medical and psychological assistance to victims, centres for physical and psychological rehabilitation of war veterans, victims of aggression, internally displaced persons, including involvement of relevant volunteer organisations;
- ✓ assistance from foreign partners.

**5. Resilience in the face of insurmountable threats is achieved through the following measures:**

- ✓ Implementation of full military mobilisation, use of strategic reserves of the Defence Forces;
- ✓ security and economically feasible territorial dispersion of troops/forces and economic potential;
- ✓ use and further refinement of camouflage and air defence methods and technologies to protect troops and military, industrial, energy and social infrastructure;
- ✓ creation of a territorially dispersed energy supply system, integrated nationally and through cross-border cooperation, with diversified sources of energy;
- ✓ preservation of democratic institutions, their adaptation to functioning under critical conditions of martial law, with procedures for institutional and interdepartmental cooperation and functionality maintained in reduced capacity;
- ✓ timely and adequate provision of military, financial, energy and humanitarian assistance by foreign partners.



## CONCLUSIONS

---

*Securitisation* is the most relevant concept and direction for the efforts by both state and society to ensure the completeness, integrity and necessary effectiveness of Ukraine's national security system while preserving and strengthening its democratic state order. It is understood as a balanced regime of state and societal functioning across all spheres of social relations and under any circumstances, whereby national security becomes the principal priority for government, business and society. The securitisation of Ukrainian society and state policy is seen as a necessary means of ensuring national security and strengthening democracy both in wartime and in peacetime, given Ukraine's proximity to an aggressive neighbour.

The implementation of the approaches and recommendations set out in this document will help foster a proper security culture within state institutions and society, raise the level of societal self-organisation, establish an effective state-public partnership, reduce anxiety, confusion, nervousness and vulnerability to direct and indirect consequences of threats, crises and conflicts, thereby reinforcing social resilience.

Threat analysis is a crucial element in the process of building an effective national security system. The system's ability to respond to a wide range of adverse factors and sudden crises depends on the comprehensiveness of such analysis. Particular attention should be paid to the hybrid nature of both the threats themselves and the scenarios for the development of crisis situations, including the possibility of their combination and trajectory change. It is also important to remember that threats originating from internal actors may prove no less destructive for statehood and democracy in Ukraine than external threats.

State-public partnerships across all spheres of life and at all levels create the social, economic and political foundation for an effective national security system. Its key requirements are the harmonious implementation of principles combining the hierarchy of public administration with multi-level decentralisation, horizontal interaction and vertical coordination of state and non-state actors, subsidiarity, democratic accountability and responsibility for the implementation of relevant strategies, plans and programmes.

During the war in Ukraine, state-public partnership in many of its forms has proven an effective mechanism whereby society compensates for the state's insufficient capacity to perform certain essential functions.