Security Studies as a Subfield of International Relations

Uluslararası İlişkilerin Bir Alt Disiplini Olarak Güvenlik Çalışmaları

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Abstract

The article's methodology is constructed on the argument that as a sub-field, Security Studies' changing character and evolution is related with the historical and socio-political circumstances from the first appearance after World War II until today. It is aimed in this paper, besides drawing a descriptive representation of different perspectives in Security Studies, to establish a deeper understanding in what kind of context these different approaches took shape. From this point of view, the historical process-tracing analysis method is adopted and an analysis under three headings was conducted. In the first section, the developments which established the proper ground for foundation of Security Studies and their consequences were analyzed. In the second section, the traditional approaches which was prominent in the Cold War era were examined in the historical context. In the last section, the appearance of widening and deepening approaches after Cold War was scrutinized. The analysis and results generally supported the main argument of the article and these were evaluated and discussed within the context of future possibilities as a conclusion.

Key Words: Security Studies, Strategic Studies, Widening and Deepening

Özet

Makalede, Güvenlik Çalışmaları alt disiplininin, II. Dünya Savaşı sonrasında ortaya çıkışından bugüne karşımıza çıkan karakter değişimi ve dönüşümü ile tarihsel ve sosyo-politik şartlar arasında bir ilişki olduğu argümanı üzerine inşa edilen bir yöntem benimsenmiştir. Çalışmada, Güvenlik Çalışmaları alanındaki farklı yaklaşımların betimsel bir tasvirinin yanında söz konusu yaklaşımların hangi bağlamda ortaya çıktığına ilişkin derinlemesine bir kavrayış oluşturulması amaçlanmıştır. Bu kapsamda tarihsel süreç izleme metodu benimsenmiş ve üç bölüm altında bir analiz gerçekleştirilmiştir. İlk bölümde Güvenlik Çalışmalarının doğuşuna zemin hazırlayan gelişmeler ve sonuçları analiz edilmiş, ikinci bölümde Soğuk Savaş döneminde hâkim olan geleneksel yaklaşımlar incelenmiş, son bölümde ise daha sonraki genişletme ve derinleştirme yaklaşımlarının ortaya çıkışı irdelenmiştir. Yapılan incelemeler sonucunda makalenin argümanının büyük oranda desteklendiği görülmüş, sonuç ve tartışma bölümünde bulgulardan hareketle geleceğe yönelik olasılıklar ele alınmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Güvenlik Çalışmaları, Stratejik Çalışmalar, Genişletme ve Derinleştirme

INTRODUCTION

Meaning of security has varied depending on the time and/or place throughout the history since ancient ages. However, security as the subject of academic inquiry which is largely known as a western invention has relatively recent story, namely beginning in the decade after the World War II.[1] This inquiry, which is entitled as Security Studies (SS) today, has been elaborated as a sub-field of International Relations (IR) discipline and, as prominent scholars of the field noted, despite different labels in different places at the time (like National Security Studies or Strategic Studies) there was a general consensus that IR was the subfield's proper disciplinary home.[2] More than seven decades have passed from the acknowledged beginning of SS and during that time there was nothing constant but the change and evolution. This article is pursuing the answers to the questions how and why this change and evolution have taken place.

Buzan and Hansen use the "International Security Studies" term, but also emphasize the fact that it is not a universal label for the sub-field.[3] They explain it as an overarching term to include all academic work in various other more specialized labels such as 'security studies', 'strategic studies', 'international security' and 'peace research'. In order to make a thorough analysis on security and how it is studied, this article partially postulates this approach appropriate. It is thought that different approaches studying "being secure and peaceful" should be taken together. In the alternative reductionist way (such as Security Studies equals Strategic Studies and Peace Research and others are totally different), it is not easy to locate deepening and widening approaches in the sub-field rationally as well as liberal and idealist paradigm about security. Baylis and Wirtz, also supports somehow this wholistic point of view since they define Strategic Studies under Security Studies (Figure 1).
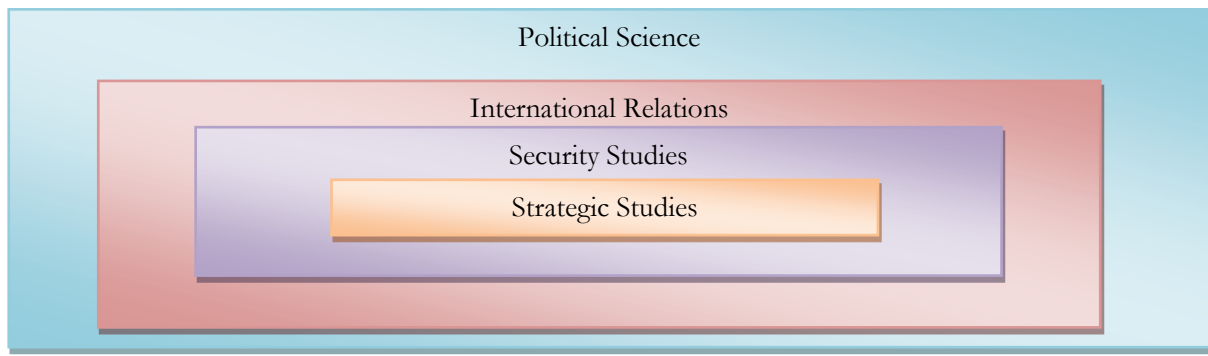

Figure 1: The Relationship between Strategy, Security Studies, International Relations and Political Science[4]

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[1] David A. Baldwin, "Security Studies and the End of the Cold War", *World Politics,* 48, no. 1 (October 1995): 119, footnote 5; Barry Buzan and Lene Hansen, *The Evolution of International Security Studies* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 1-2; Stephen M. Walt, "The Renaissance of Security Studies", *International Studies Quarterly*, 35, no. 2 (June 1991): 213-214; Paul D. Williams, "Security Studies: An Introduction", In *Security Studies: An Introduction*, ed. Paul D. Williams (New York: Routledge, 2008), 1-2.

[2] Buzan and Hansen, *The Evolution of International Security Studies,* 1; Williams, "Security Studies: An Introduction", 2; Walt, "The Renaissance of Security Studies", 222.

[3] Buzan and Hansen, *The Evolution of International Security Studies,* 1.

[4] John Baylis and James J. Wirtz, "Introduction: Strategy in Contemporary World: Strategy After 9/11" In *Strategy in the Contemporary World: An Introduction to Strategic Studies* Fifth Edition edited by John Baylis, James J. Wirtz, Colin S. Gray (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 13.

Coherently with this approach, this article defines SS as the distinct field of inquiry which was founded after World War II as a sub-field of IR, improved and flourished during the Cold War, and experienced a paradigm shift after the Cold War resulted in productive discussions which still continued between traditionalists and wideners-deepeners. Security as a term which allows a convergence between civilians and military men, between politics and strategy, between technology and socio-economic reflections lies in the heart of SS. This definition involves Strategic Studies and Peace Research as traditional dimension of SS, as well as widening and deepening approaches of security which gained well-deserved attention especially after Cold War as the revolutionary dimension. However, it is worth noting that this article does not claim that traditional dimension had ceased to exist after Cold War. On the contrary, despite the loss of meta-event (Cold War), traditional approach managed to adapt and maintain in the new security environment.

In this regard, the purpose of the article is to explain how and why the different paradigms are constituted and changed in SS from World War II till the beginning of 21st century. Reaching successfully to this goal will provide not only a descriptive representation of different perspectives in SS, but also a deeper understanding on the causal mechanisms between empirical material and different theories in SS as an outcome. This article's main argument is that there is relation between the power and prevalence of the theories/approaches in SS and the historical circumstances, political contexts and problems. As Fred Halliday notes: "The whole history of social science is indeed one of intellectual activity, whether taught in a university or not, proceeding by some response, be it critical, outraged, or collusive, to events in the real world; IR (*or in this article's point of view SS*) is not, and should not be, any different".[5] And Ekbladh supports this point of view by claiming that "scholars are not slaves to particular historical moments, but the origins of security studies are a reminder that what is feasible within an academic setting often depends on broader social, political, and historical circumstances and events".[6]

The best method (coherent with the article's aim) to inquire this argument, looks like process-tracing method which is a variation of case study methodologies.[7] When we start from the empirical material (assumed as historical circumstances which might have effect on security understanding of the time in this article),[8] it is possible to take the first step to build a causal mechanism in which this empirical material is linked to the outcome (namely the essence of the prominent security approaches/theories of the time). In other words, this article seeks to draw a rough depiction of a theory of theories in SS and make a descriptive analysis of SS.

Obviously, Security Studies as a sub-field did not come in to view from nowhere after WW II. In order to fortify the historical process-tracing analysis, the conditions which prepared the proper circumstances for the birth of sub-field are explained briefly in the first section. Founded on the first section, the second section is about the traditional approach which was prominent in

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[5] Fred Halliday, "The Gulf War 1990-1991 and the study of international relations", *Review of International Studies* , 20, (1994): 110.

[6] David Ekbladh, "Present at the Creation: Edward Mead Earle and the Depression-Era Origins of Security Studies", *International Security*, 36, No. 3 (Winter 2011/12): 108.

[7] Derek Beach, "Process-Tracing Methods in Social Science", Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics, accessed January 1, 2021, https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-176.

[8] Although a neutral stance has been interiorized, selecting empirical evidence is still somehow subjective and this is a constraint for this article.

the beginning of SS. The analysis continued with the widening and deepening approaches which extend to détente but appear to be more solid after the Cold War. In the last section, the results were evaluated and discussed within the context of future possibilities.

SETTING THE STAGE: SECURITY PHENOMENON UNTIL WW II

Baldwin emphasizes that the inter-war years was not an intellectual vacuum regarding SS, and he proceeds as; democracy, international understanding, arbitration, disarmament and collective security were the ways to promote peace and security.[9] This reflects Kantian ideological influence during this period.[10] In order to understand this better, Kant's famous work which he wrote in 1795 *"The Perpetual Peace"*[11] should be paraphrased.

Kant defends that natural state of men is war and it is impossible to clear off hostilities totally. From this point of view, according to Kant, people and states should give guarantee to others for the cessation of hostilities in order to prevent war. He embodies this guarantee with the obedience to laws in three headings, first one of which is law which regulates the relationship between state and citizens, second one is law regulating the relations between states and third one is law for the rights of men as citizens of world. Kant argues that, among these three, law between state and citizens should be "*republican*".[12] Law which regulates the relations between states, on the other hand, should be founded on a federation of free states. Finally, the law for the rights of men as citizens of world should forbid hostilities towards a man who visits another country and should assure that no man is more rightful to live in a particular place in the world.

Kantian ideological seeds first blossomed after Napoleonic Wars with the impact of horrible consequences of war. In 1814-1815, The Congress of Vienna was the first multilateral occasion in which national representatives came together in a continental scale to formulate peace. After 1815, several conferences were organized until the beginning of World War I and geopolitical order between these years in Europe was called as "Concert of Europe".[13]

After WW I, belief in the possibility of ensuring "perpetual peace" by an international order did not diminish nor fade. On the contrary, the practice which could be labeled as "counselling" in 19th century, took one step ahead and turned into "cooperation" with The League of Nations in 1920. The first step on the path to the League was US President Woodrow Wilsons speech at Congress on January 8, 1918 as he claimed "a general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike".[14] Eventually, The League of Nations, which was

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[9] Baldwin, "Security Studies and the End of the Cold War", 119.

[10] For the detailed examination of Kant's influence on today's security understanding check John R. Oneal, Bruce Russet and Michael L. Berbaum, "Causes of Peace: Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations, 1885-1992", *International Studies Quarterly, 47* (2003): 371-393.

[11] Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Essay,* translated with Introduction and Notes by M. Campbell Smith, with a Preface by L. Latta (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1917), https://oll.libertyfund.org/title/latta-perpetual-peace-a-philosophical-essay-1917-ed.

[12] Kant used a dual classification for the governmental system. First one is "republicanism" in which executive and legislative powers are seperated, second one is "despotism" in which the state arbitrarily puts into effect laws which it has itself made.

[13] Bob Reinalda, *Routledge History of International Organizations from 1815 to Present Day* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 26.

[14] "President Wilson's Fourteen Points", The World War One Document Archive, accessed January 1, 2021, https://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/President_Wilson%27s_Fourteen_Points.

founded to settle a system which would assure perpetual peace, failed with the breaking up of WW II. This failure was partly due to non-sufficient multinationalism (despite the effort for prevalence), partly because of instability of members which hopped on and hopped off, and partly because of unanimity voting system which resulted collaterally a veto right for every one of the member countries.[15]

However, intellectual efforts to prevent global conflict created a new academic discipline, namely International Relations which extends to foundation of Woodrow Wilson Chair of International Politics in 1919 in University College of Wales (Aberystwyth University today), Chatham House in England in 1920 and Council of Foreign Relations in US in 1921 (as referenced often). The interesting thing is, as one could see clearly since the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, suffering from war usually resulted in seeking an "order" which is internationally valid. In this point of view, the important thing is its uniqueness for most of the people who were seeking for a solution to ensure "security". In other words, idealist paradigm was dominant in the efforts for security after WW I for a while, despite several occasions of failures of the past.

Because of the dominant work fields of IR (such as preventing global conflict, apprehending peace and war, understanding states competing against each other) international security consisted core of the discipline. However, security was not considered as a distinct field and there was no Security Studies as a subdiscipline in the beginning. A number of entrepreneurs, which had significant programs to study international affairs, were present like Walter Hines Page School or Institute of International Studies in Yale University. But security was just one element in the effort of ascertaining the fundamental conditions of international life.[16] Despite the very explicit security core in the foundation phase, this was more apparent in development of the discipline (especially in the first decade) with the involvement of different fields of study which were subordinated to distinct disciplines such as law and economics. This multi-diversity took much criticism mostly from the realist scholars who blamed it for being one of the obstacles for IR on the way of being a consistent and analytically clearly defined discipline. Similar critics were to be repeated after the Cold War, by the successors of traditional approach of the Cold War which put the state and military threat in the center of security discussion, against wideners and deepeners for the very same reason this time for Security Studies.

When it comes to 1930's, an alternative solution for "security" began to emerge mostly by scholars in US. This new approach focused on national security which could be defined roughly as "the ability of a nation state to secure its territory, rights, political independence and national interests"[17] instead of international security. This did not mean they completely excluded international security, on the contrary, because threats like Nazi domination in Europe and Japan's attempt for a new order in Asia to "relatively stable order" meant threats to national security too, it was an important factor. The difference was about the main purpose. Scholars focusing on "international security" aimed to find better ways to prevent global conflict or at least to manage it, while others focusing on "national security" aimed to assist their own countries in countering

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[15] Hayrettin Küpeli, "Uluslararası Örgütlere Güvenlik Yaklaşımı" in *Teoriden Uygulamaya Güvenlik Üzerine*, ed. Gökhan Sarı, C. Korhan Demir (Ankara: Gazi Kitabevi, 2018), 131.

[16] Ekbladh, "Present at the Creation", 116-117.

[17] Ibid, 128.

and circumventing the threats of all kinds. In the latter approach, international security was a variable to be examined, not the ultimate goal and as Ekbladh noted[18] "the hope was that this approach would aid the United States in forging a new 'grand strategy', which it desperately needed to confront global disorder."

At this point, to dig a little bit deeper about this "grand strategy" might be helpful to understand how the stage had been set for SS as a different field of study. Basically, one could say that much of the pioneering work had been done in US, thus an interpretation claiming that SS has its roots in Western ideology, would be mostly appropriate. The aforementioned "grand strategy" was an objective for Edward Mead Earle and his Institute of Advanced Study (IAS) in Princeton University, to meet the emerging great threat posed by totalitarian states that arose on the adverse circumstances due to economic depression. Earle was a historian and preferred to study history as lessons to be learned, in order to decide what to be done today, for the sake of tomorrow. This point of view of his is obvious in his early works like *Turkey, the Great Powers, and the Bagdad Railway: A Study in Imperialism*[19] in which he put the destiny of Ottoman Empire as a warning for US policies, as well as in collective studies later, when France lost her military superiority which lasted nearly two centuries in WW II, as an unpleasant indicator of what might be the United States' future like if the right policies would not be followed.

This new approach led by Earle and others managed to appeal (maybe much more than the abstract principles for the international order, which mostly depended on others' decisions to be successful) the government and corporations like Carnegie Corporation in order to supply the much-needed funding to construct a new field of inquiry and make an impact on strategic level. What they offered was a "grand strategy" to coordinate the diplomatic, military and executive branches in order to neutralize the new threat from totalitarianism which exploited new tech like radio to enhance their ability to control and influence populations who were seeking a savior from the depression, like a hungry fish jumping on fisherman's bait. This threat was perceived more severe with the beginning of WW II and raised the importance of efforts to meet it. Obviously, from the beginning it was about mostly influencing the course of national policy, instead of a contribution to academia. But ironically, this settled the proper academic ground and the funding (which was absent before) for security studies.

According to this new way of thinking about strategy and security, "civilian expertise in mobilization, propaganda, technological innovation, and strategic thinking was vital to any calculation of war-making potential".[20] Thus, scholars who adopted this approach, assumed civilians and particularly scholars as an asset. As a solid proof for this and as a significant scholarship produced by IAS, Earle reviewed the strategic thinking from Machiavelli onward, *Makers of Modern Strategy*.[21] Many prominent scholars supported or influenced by IAS seminar which began in 1939; like Bernard Brodie [the editor of *The Absolute Weapon* (1946) which is acknowledged as the beginning of Strategic Studies by some scholars], Edward Hallet Carr [the author of *The*

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[18] Ibid, 108.

[19] Edward Mead Earle, *Turkey, the Great Powers, and the Bagdad Railway: A Study in Imperialism* (New York: Macmillan, 1923), 234–235.

[20] Ekbladh, "Present at the Creation", 124.

[21] Edward Mead Earle, *Makers of Modern Strategy: Military Thought from Machiavelli to Hitler,* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1943).

Twenty Year Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations (1939) which is a key realist work] and others.

These circumstances and efforts allowed Security Studies (or Strategic Studies which was the same thing at the time) to deepen their anchor among academia. Although there were some philosophical differences between Earle and some key names for realism like Carr and Spykman, Strategic Studies mostly fit neatly with the realist approach which lasted its hegemony nearly for half a century. On the other hand, idealist and liberal approaches in IR did not diminished completely after the WW II, instead they coexisted weakly but constantly in scholarship and in practice, as it could be seen in Peace Research and international organizations like United Nations. Regarding Security Studies, these two main wings (which both were interested in arms control, disarmament and arms racing with countering point of views), namely Strategic Studies and Peace Research, were the only prominent approaches until the end of the Cold War.

To sum up, it could be said that field of IR was founded after WW I with mostly idealistic point of view to find a way for global order. However, these efforts were not successful enough and just after a decade the world experienced a great economic depression and a new threat to liberal western world (at least the Anglo-American perception was so), totalitarian regimes. So, a new approach which sought the cure nationally instead of at international level spurred as a reflection to inability of the League of Nations, the European problems and the infectivity of scholarship to find solutions to growing security problems. This approach was born and grew upon national security concept in US to fulfill its needs (and partly her allies') and legitimacy at first with the fund and efforts dedicated to creating a "grand strategy". The stage was set when the WW II is over for new inquiry field, Strategic Studies (or Security Studies). However, the golden age was not due to the suffering of WW II for this new field, but it was due to the fear from a new invention from hell, nuclear weapons (but the ones belonged to the enemy).

THE BEGINNING: TRADITIONAL SECURITY STUDIES

In the first section, the circumstances which could be assumed as empirical material in the analysis of how SS were born, were examined briefly. In the beginning of the second section the evolution of SS is depicted coherently with this article's point of view in Figure 2. These different approaches are presumed as the outcomes in process-tracing method which draws the main methodological framework of the article. Historical empirical materials and these outcomes are analyzed in order to find a causal relationship in this section and the next.
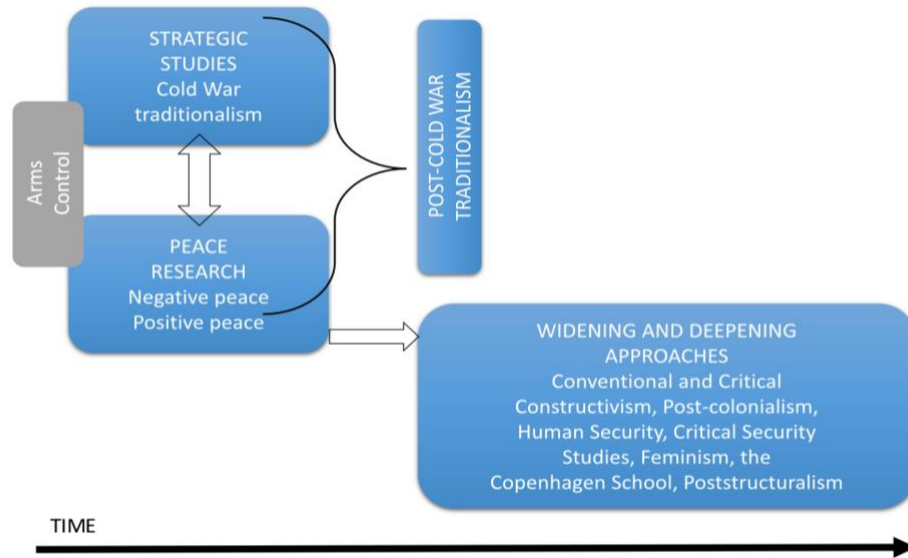
Figure 1: The Evolution of Security Studies[22]

The Distinct and Interdisciplinary Status of Security Studies in the Beginning

Buzan and Hansen emphasize three distinct characterizations of the studies (on security) of post-WW II era.[23] First one of these is taking security as the main concept instead of war or defense. Secondly, the scholars urge upon that these studies involved much more civilian point of view in comparison to military and strategic literature of the past. And thirdly, they argue that these studies tended towards newly arisen issues related to nuclear weapons and Cold War.

The first one may be explained by the changing character of war. War, which was a problem of military men before, began to evolve towards being "total" with Napoleonic Wars in the first decades of 19th century. Clausewitz describes the beginning of the change as follows, "*Suddenly war again became the business of the people-a people of thirty million, all of whom considered themselves to be citizens.*"[24] "Total War" is representing the change on the meaning of war - from a phenomenon occurred between armies to a new form between nations, including civilians. True or not, people (especially the ones who are able to take political decisions) believed that in order to be victorious this was the only way. Although the roots of the idea dated back, the discussions and writings on the term began with the World War I. By the World War II, idea of Total War was quite common and embraced by all sides.[25] The industrial and technological developments contributed to this ideological foundation and made the war phenomenon too complex to be handled by only military men. It was because of these circumstances, people needed a broader term like "security" which is related to nation, instead of "war or defense" which were related to military mostly.

Although it is obvious that the mainstream was still mostly about military, second argument could be supported by the interpretation of this civilian involvement was a matter of necessity. For instance, *Strategic Bombing Concept* which was a favorite approach both in offensive and defensive

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[22] Buzan and Hansen, *The Evolution of International Security Studies,* 192. Time axis is added by author.
[23] Ibid, 1-2.
[24] Carl Von Clausewitz, *On War,* trans. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989), 592.
[25] Küpeli, "Uluslararası Örgütlere Güvenlik Yaklaşımı", 9-18.

planning at the time, required civilian economist and engineer knowledge to find proper ways for both destroying enemy's economy and infrastructure and protecting the same in homeland. Supportively, according to Walt[26], prior to World War II, civilian contributions to the field was discouraged, although horrifying consequences of World War I demonstrated that war was "too important to be left to the generals."[27] It was only possible during the World War II first time, setting the stage for the "Golden Age" of SS, he argues. Ironically, first civilian involvement in the field was not aiming to minimize the death toll as Walt conveys implicitly, but to find better ways of escalating it for the enemy.

Third argument which is academic inquiry focused on nuclear weapons and the newly introduced circumstances of Cold War, was also supported by Walt[28] like other scholars. This is also understandable, regarding the horrifying instant killing capacity of the nuclear weapons which were like no weapons people had seen in known history and the impossibility of defending sufficiently against them. Actually, this capacity and the impossibility, constituted the essence of Cold War. No side could dare to attack, however there was a constant threat and equivalence on the threat made the balance. This was also new to the people of the time. The enormousness of the threat to the existence, made other security problems look like subsidiary or even not issues of security.

Another salient overall assessment of the post-WW II SS is made by Williams. He argues that there was hegemony of realist paradigm in SS during the Cold War and scholars focused on "state, strategy, science and status quo".[29] According to Williams, SS at the time focused on states, because tautologically they were considered the most important agents and referents in international politics. Secondly, strategy was the second focal point because the essence of intellectual and practical considerations was always circling around designing best model of using threat and military force. Thirdly, science and scientific methodology was important because, in a positivist point of view, it was expected from analysts using methods of natural sciences like physics and chemistry instead of mere opinion in order to reach reliable knowledge. And finally, SS was about status quo because, great powers of the era and most of the scholars who worked within them have taken security policies as preserving the circumstances of international society to prevent change which could lead chaos and insecurity.

The question on why the scholars of the time chose to study on "security" instead of "defense" or "war" despite the military-state centric essence of the Security Studies in the beginning which could be easily fit in such concepts, is an interesting and explanatory one for the relation between War Studies or Defense Studies and Security Studies. The answer could be found in the Western (especially US) oriented nature of the sub field and the concept of "garrison state" which was introduced by Laswell[30] in 1941 first. The national security emphasis in SS, in fact was a call for a mobilization of US resources in a way for the "sacred purpose". However, attempting to conceptualize this mobilization under the notions of "war" or "defense" could be resulted in empowering the political-military elites and in the end building a garrison state which meant a state

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[26] Walt, "The Renaissance of Security Studies", 214.
[27] A famous quote attributed to French Prime Minister Georges Benjamin Clemenceau.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Williams, "Security Studies: An Introduction", 3.
[30] Harold Lasswell, "The Garrison State", *American Journal Of Sociology* 46, no. 4 (January 1941): 455-468.

dominated by military-industrial complex. Considering totalitarian regimes due to their natures as "machines of war" were assumed mortal enemies according the concept of US national security, founding a new field of study in the name of fighting the "evil totalitarianism" which would raise the risk of drifting apart from liberal values to become another totalitarian regime created a paradox. To overcome this problem, "security" which was appropriate for more civilian and expert involvement was chosen as the main concept for the new field of inquiry and the sub-discipline was born.

Strategic Studies

The approach which dominated the field until end of the Cold War is also called Strategic Studies which have a state-centric normative position as *given*. Buzan and Hansen define Strategic Studies as classical, traditional literature that examines security in political–military terms and focuses on military dynamics.[31] They also add that Strategic Studies have its own sub-literatures like those on war, deterrence theory, nuclear proliferation, arms racing and arms control, etc.

In this context, regarding the historical roots which were conveyed briefly in the first section of this article, basically it is possible to argue that the Strategic Studies focused on nuclear deterrence to reduce the risk of war by maintaining US military superiority and dominance. According to the key scholars of Strategic Studies which were based in universities and understandably some policy institutes like Rand Corporation, totalitarian front's adventurism which would lead to war had to be deterred, in order to assure international order which is a key point for national security. However according to their critics, the evil side was different and US actions did encourage arms race, thus US itself was a threat to international security. This governmental policy-oriented structure of Strategic Studies was the most criticized feature, regarding the academic neutrality.

NATO which was founded in 1949 as a US led western military alliance and its Strategic Concepts, constitute an interesting field of inquiry, as historical evidence to essence of Strategic Studies. NATO had published four Strategic Concepts during the Cold War[32]. The first one was published in January 1950. This document's primary function was to deter aggression and NATO forces would only be engaged if this primary function failed. The development of standards and organizing member states' contributions constituted main chapters of the document. Every member was to contribute to collective defense proportionately regarding economic, industrial, geographical and military capacity of theirs. And NATO was to make a plan on effective use of these resources.

NATO had to re-evaluate its military structure's power and effectiveness six months after the first Strategic Concept document published, due to North Korea invasion of South Korea. A few months later in September 1950, NATO approved foundation of an integrated military force. After the joining of Greece and Turkey to NATO, the Strategic Concept was updated in 1952. The interesting thing is that the emphasis was not on nuclear weapons in the first two concepts. The situation would change in 1957 with the publication of third Strategic Concept.

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[31] Buzan and Hansen, *The Evolution of International Security Studies,* 37.
[32] "Strategic Concepts". NATO, accessed January 31, 2021, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_56626.htm.

If we return to the outcome of these historical empirical material, namely Strategic Studies at that time, it is possible to tell that developments were coherent. As it was conveyed briefly before, the proper circumstances for the birth of Strategic Studies (or Security Studies at the time) were available and some remarkable work had been achieved. However, the Golden Age of the Strategic Studies was to come later, according to many scholars roughly between 1955 and 1965.[33] From the Golden Ages on, the main focus of Strategic Studies if not the only one was the military-political security agenda which was founded on fear of nuclear war and great powers rivalry. The concerns of conventional war hardly found space for themselves in the studies of the time. It was not a coincidence that NATO's third Strategic Concept, in which the primary function was defined as massive retaliation, had been launched in 1957 and was in effect until 1968. This conceptual change was mostly due to financial and structural problems of keeping available a huge conventional military force, in the face of an enemy who possessed relatively weaker nuclear capacity. According to this concept any threat (conventional or nuclear) would be responded by a total nuclear attack. Thus, the necessity for a huge conventional military force was taken away. Soviet Union's conventional force was too great to encounter at the time, and it was an asymmetric choice for balancing and dominating force. This choice was compatible with the realist approach and needed the expertise of Strategic Studies in order to decide how to act.

However, in the decade of this strategic concept of massive retaliation and the Golden Age of Strategic Studies, a series of developments led to a new strategic concept.[34] First, by the time European countries began to doubt if US would sacrifice a city in its soil for the sake of a European one. Secondly, NATO was not deterrent enough to stop Soviet hostile activities which were not at the level of a direct attack. The massive retaliation strategy had no answers to this problem. And last but not the least, Soviet Union developed intercontinental ballistic missiles which could hit any US city when fired from the other side of the world. The enemy was not relatively weaker anymore, by the means of nuclear capacity. In January 1968, NATO launched the last strategic concept of the Cold War in which the main principle was flexible response. Flexible response involved a triple level structure.[35] The first level was "direct defense" which aimed to beat the aggression at the level determined by the enemy's assault. The second level is "deliberate escalation", which involved raising the threat of using nuclear power continuously as the crisis escalated, in order to defeat aggression. "General nuclear response" as the third level, was seen as the ultimate deterrent. Obviously in case of a Soviet nuclear attack, deliberate escalation would be skipped, and first level would be a general nuclear response. This new strategic concept was bearing a clue about the new questions about the understanding of power politics and its reflections on security. Was it only the military power people needed to be secure? Was nuclear power enough to avoid conflict and war?

From another point of view, the change in social and global context was an important factor on the progress of Strategic Studies. By the end of 1960s and 1970s the US was not the same country as it was in 1930s or 40s nor were the people's mind. Although the country was deploying enormous levels of military force as a "savior from the evil" many places in the world like Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, this created more problems than solutions. Therefore, the public and scholar support for this heroic posture was not solid as it was before. With détente, the fear decreased and

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[33] Buzan and Hansen, *The Evolution of International Security Studies,* 67, 88.
[34] Küpeli, "Uluslararası Örgütlere Güvenlik Yaklaşımı", 141-142.
[35] "Strategic Concepts".

different opinions about war had the chance to gain ground upon this shift especially in academia. Many scholars began to think about if cooperation with the military and foreign policy arms of the state had threatened the freedom of universities.

A sample of this approach was most obvious and at its highest level in Noam Chomsky's book "American Power and New Mandarins".[36] He accused the scholars who were working to assist the war effort, of having the mentality of a colonial civil servant.[37] Chomsky as an anarchist was radical in criticizing military and state interest guided scholarship. However, opposition also grew among some other scholars against research intended to assist military policy and military-industrial-academic complex.

These developments yielded a transformation in SS. The national security focus (which was putting forward US for a "sacred mission" as fighting all "the evil" wherever it was to protect homeland) lost its former influence and the sub-field began to move away its military oriented and somehow imperialist essence. Even realist scholars like Morgenthau and Waltz were criticizing in 1970's the universalistic feature of US foreign policy which was highly influenced by Strategic Studies and expending large amounts of source in adventures like Vietnam War.[38]

Coherently with the paradigm shift on security beginning from 1970's and mostly thorough in the first decade after Cold War, Strategic Studies lost their socio-political grounds solidness which made it popular at the time. And compared to 1950s and early 60s as an era in which Security Studies and Strategic Studies meant nearly same, today they look like two separate field of inquiry with different focuses and point of views.

Peace Research

Although during the Cold War Strategic Studies had a hegemony on SS, on the other hand, idealism and liberal approach of pre-WW II did not diminish in a magical way suddenly after the War. Due to focus on reducing or eliminating the use of force in international relations, Peace Research could be defined as classical normative counterpoint to Strategic Studies.[39] This approach, which is trying to draw attention to the dangers in the strategic debate, was weak against the hegemony of Strategic Studies during the Cold War. However, Peace Research had similar assumptions with Strategic Studies on the role and responsibility of state, although its focus was mostly on violence which was related to human beings instead of war as a phenomenon between states. Since the role of state was much stronger as the main actor in ensuring security (or peace) during Cold War, this fact is considered as an empirical evidence of the article's argument which historical context determines the content of security studies.

However, there were different paths in development of Peace Research in North America and Europe since the beginning. In North America coherent with the emerging behavioralist paradigm in late 1950's and 60's the first examples of peace research focused on war as a phenomenon that could be studied objectively instead of peace as a more subjective and value-

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[36] Noam Chomsky, *American Power and New Mandarins* (New York: Vintage Books, 1969).
[37] Ibid, 41.
[38] Fred Halliday and Justin Rosenberg, "Interview with Ken Waltz," *Review of International* 24, no. 3 (1998): 373.
[39] Buzan and Hansen, *The Evolution of International Security Studies,* 36.

laden notion.[40] Thus, peace research in the west side of Atlantic focused mostly on conflict resolution and conflict research.[41] This approach is obvious in the foundation of "Journal of Conflict Resolution" in 1957 and "Center for Research on Conflict and Resolution" in 1959 in Michigan University.[42] Meanwhile in Europe, the focus of the analysis was much more on peace instead of security or war. The foundations of The Peace Research Institute of Oslo (PRIO) in 1959 and the Journal of Peace Research in 1964[43], and later the foundation of Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) in 1966[44] are best examples for the European approach to peace research in the first years.

Later, Peace Research focus partly shifted towards more non-military issues such as social justice, environmental issues, socio-economic problems and developed in two main streams, in which the meaning of "peace" was taken differently. *Negative peace research* defined peace as the absence of war and actual physical violence, while *positive peace research* initially described it as "the integration of human society"[45] and later equated it with "social justice"[46]. The concept of "structural violence" which means the variance between the possible and the current to Galtung,[47] was a response to the critics that blamed Peace Research to support status quo and authority of international power structures[48] in the first years of 1970's. New inquiry fields, such as peace keeping and humanitarian intervening emerged in the post-Cold War era for Peace research, coherent with the new security paradigm. However, as Lawler noted explicitly,[49] if peace research is to warrant a unique point of view in SS in the future, an absolute rejection and prohibition of violence may be the key as a distinctive feature.

Post-Cold War Traditionalist Approaches

After the Cold War, traditional approach, which opposes to widening-deepening attempts and continues on the path driven by the legacy of the past, lost the regulating feature on the content of SS. However, although the hegemony has gone, traditional approach managed to preserve its point of view, which is focusing on military threat and state, even in the absence of a new great power conflict as a meta-event. Buzan and Hansen explain this by mainly *institutionalization* with some other causes. They argue that, journals would continue to publish along the lines previously set out, and research networks would mobilize to generate funding proposals, new projects and graduating PhDs. [50]

Although post-Cold War traditional security studies had to incorporate new threats in their security agenda, they kept the essence of their state centric and military focused approach. New

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[40] Lawler, "Peace Studies", 77-78.

[41] Ibid 78.

[42] "Center for Research on Conflict Resolution (University of Michigan) records: 1952-1972", Michigan University, accessed February 28, 2021, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/b/bhlead/umich-bhl-8773?view=text.

[43] "About PRIO", PRIO, accessed February 28, 2021, https://www.prio.org/About/.

[44] "About SIPRI", SIPRI, accessed February 28, 2021, https://www.sipri.org/about.

[45] Peter Lawler, "Peace Studies", In *Security Studies: An Introduction*, ed. Paul D. Williams (New York: Routledge, 2008), 82.

[46] Ibid, 85.

[47] Johan Galtung, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research", *Journal of Peace Research,* 6, no.3, (1969): 168.

[48] Herman Schmid, "Peace Research and Politics", *Journal of Peace Research*, 5, no. 3, (1968): 217-232.

[49] Lawler, "Peace Studies", 88.

[50] Buzan and Hansen, *The Evolution of International Security Studies,* 185.

threats like terrorism are included in these studies, however, as a variable or factor in the state's general politics. Buzan's evaluation on the "Global War on Terrorism" rhetoric, makes first one of the two traditionalist post-Cold War approaches clearer. He claims that Washington started a campaign to persuade itself, the American people and the rest of the world that the "Global War on Terrorism" is very similar to the Cold War which was "a struggle against anti-liberal ideological extremists who want to rule the world".[51] Buzan continues as, both have been staged as a defense of the western civilization, against those who would seek to destroy it. In this point of view, terrorism is mostly a foreign policy and "strategy" issue instead of a public security matter.

An important example of the other traditional post-Cold War approach, namely Peace Research, is Democratic Peace Theory. The philosophical roots of the aforementioned theory which contains Immanuel Kant's "Perpetual Peace"[52] and some earlier works reach out to 1700's. However, the theory became popular by an article of Michael Doyle in 1983.[53] Today, one can say that Democratic Peace Theory has two variants, which eventually end up in the same conclusion. First one of them claims that democracies are more peaceful than nondemocracies; therefore, they tend to be less aggressive and violent. The latter argues that democratic states are not necessarily more peaceful than non-democratic states, but they avoid using force against other democracies.[54] Obviously, in both variants it is implicated that spreading democracy helps to prevent war. Briefly, despite the normative differences of two main post-Cold War traditional SS approaches, they still concur on the state centric and military focused approach.

THE EVOLUTION: WIDENING AND DEEPENING

Despite the new methods and techniques in research or integration of civilian perspective of post-WW II and roughly first half of the Cold War period, "security" as a term generally had preserved its military-political content of pre-war days. However, beginning in 1970's, due to relatively stable nuclear relations between superpowers and détente, there were calls to move away "security" from its classical focus on military and state. These calls were more solid in 1980's and two popular works in widening and deepening security, Buzan's book "People, States and Fear" and Ullman's article "Redefining Security" were published in same year, 1983.

Buzan, has developed a sector basis approach to security threats and defined five sectors as military, political, economic, environmental (or ecological in Buzan's words of 1983) and societal.[55] Societal security is not so clear in this work and explained in political threats[56] referring religion, cultural tradition and language all of which has a role in the construction of state and may need to be protected in Buzan's argument. Obviously societal security is very much related with

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[51] Barry Buzan, "Will the 'global war on terrorism' be the new Cold War?", *International Affairs*, 82, no. 6, (2006): 1101.
[52] Kant, *Perpetual Peace*.
[53] Michael Doyle, "Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs", *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 12, no. 3 (1983): 205-235.
[54] Cornelia Navari, "Liberalism", In *Security Studies: An Introduction*, ed. Paul D. Williams (New York: Routledge, 2008), 37.
[55] Barry Buzan, *People, States and Fear The National Security Problem in International Relations* (Brighton: Wheatsheaf Books 1983), 73-83.
[56] Ibid, 77.

state identity in this work; however, it is redefined, and society was taken as an independent referent object in 1993.[57]

While Buzan was trying to widen security and to define different kinds of threats besides military in Europe, at the other side of the Atlantic Ocean Ullman supported him by claiming that defining security in military terms was dangerous:

> "…defining national security merely (or even primarily) in military terms conveys a profoundly false image of reality. That false image is doubly misleading and therefore doubly dangerous. First, it causes states to concentrate on military threats and to ignore other and perhaps even more harmful dangers. Thus, it reduces their total security. And second, it contributes to a pervasive militarization of international relations that in the long run can only increase global insecurity."[58]

Initiatives which began in last decades of the Cold War to widen and deepen the understanding of security, pioneered to new post-Cold War approaches which are common in a position criticizing state-centric and military focused structure of classical security insight. But apart from that, these approaches were distinct from each other. Krause and Williams labeled these approaches as "new thinking on security" in 1996[59] and as "critical security studies" (with a small-c)" in 1997.[60] On the other hand, Buzan and Hansen preferred the term "widening and deepening approaches".[61] *Widening (or broadening)* is defined as attempts to include a wider range of potential threats, ranging from societal, economic and environmental issues to cyber threats, health and migration problems in security, while *deepening* referred to a change in referent object of security (which is state in traditional approach) either downwards to the level of individual or human security or upwards to the level of international or global, regional and societal security.[62]

Constructivist Approach in Security Studies

Realism, neorealism, strategic studies and neoliberal institutionalism acknowledge state as a rational actor. In rationalist approach, state could be defined as an actor which is deliberatively seeking some goals in order to defend its interests in an anarchic environment.[63] On the other hand, reflectivism is a term derived from Robert Keohane[64] and covers those approaches emphasizing intersubjective meanings, historicity, values, norms, and social practices. Constructivism came to life from the debates between rationalism-reflectivism and positivism-post-positivism in 1980's and

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[57] Ole Wæver, Barry Buzan, Morten Kelstrup and Pierre Lemaitre, *Identity, Migration, and the New Security Agenda in Europe* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993).

[58] Richard H. Ullman, "Redefining Security", *International Security,* 8, no. 1 (Summer, 1983): 129.

[59] Keith Krause and Michael Williams, "Broadening the Agenda of Security Studies: Politics and Methods", *Mershon International Studies Review,* 40, no. 2, (October, 1996): 229.

[60] Keith Krause and Michael Williams, "Preface: Toward Critical Security Studies", in *Critical Security Studies: Concept and Cases,* ed. Keith Krause and Michael Williams (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), x-xi.

[61] Buzan and Hansen, *The Evolution of International Security Studies,* 187-225.

[62] Krause and Williams, "Broadening the Agenda of Security Studies", 230.

[63] James A. Caporaso, "International Relations Theory and Multilateralism: The Search for Foundations", *International Organization,* 46, no. 3 (1992): 605.

[64] Robert O. Keohane, "International Institutions: Two Approaches", *International Studies Quarterly,* 32, no. 4 (1988): 379-396.

90's as a claim to the middle ground.[65] Constructivist define security as a socially constructed phenomenon. Apart from the poststructuralists, this does not mean defining security is impossible.

In International Relations, Constructivism was conceptualized for the first time by Nicholas Greenwood Onuf[66] as a term in his book *World of Our Making* in 1989. He used the phrase "In simplest terms, people and societies construct, or constitute, each other".[67] However, Alexander Wendt and his delineative work became the center and of Constructivism later in 1990's.[68] Wendt conveys two basic principles of constructivist approach as:

> "(1) The structures of human association are determined primarily by shared ideas rather than material forces, (2) The identities and interests of purposive actors are constructed by these shared ideas rather than given by nature."[69]

Constructivism should be taken as a "basic approach" which could be used in different disciplines instead of a theory with solid hypotheses.[70] This point of view supported by Wendt, (who explained himself as he was unclear in his previous works but at the moment, he was sure about one could accept constructivism without embracing theory of international politics)[71], in 1999 as in following lines:

> "Constructivism is not a theory of international politics. Constructivist sensibilities encourage us to look at how actors are socially constructed, but they do not tell us which actors to study or where they are constructed."[72]

In this framework, constructivists take security as a social construction which means differently in variant contexts. According to McDonald[73], constructivists recognize security also as an arena, in which actors (seeking solid ground for political action) compete to define the identity and values of a particular group. Therefore, identity and norms are seen central to the constructivist study of security. McDonalds also emphasized that according to constructivists, because agents and structures are mutually constituted, structural change is always possible even if difficult.

As another interesting view, Huymans[74] argues that any definition of security is nothing but the reflection of our relationship with nature, other people and ourselves. For Huymans, security is also wider framework of meaning within which people organize particular forms of life. In other

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[65] Emanuel Adler, "Seizing the Middle Ground: Constructivism in World Politics", *European Journal of International Relations,* 3, no.3, (1997): 319-320; Buzan and Hansen, *The Evolution of International Security Studies,* 191-218.

[66] Nicholas Greenwood Onuf, *World of Our Making: Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations,* (South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1989), 35-65.

[67] Ibid, 36.

[68] Pınar Bilgin, "Güvenlik Çalışmalarında Yeni Açılımlar: Yeni Güvenlik Yaklaşımları", *Stratejik Araştırmalar,* 8, no. 14, (2010): 71; Emanuel Adler, "Seizing the Middle Ground", 320.

[69] Ullman, "Redefining Security", 129.

[70] Steans, Lloyd Pettiford, Thomas Diez and Imad El-Anis, *An Introduction to International Relations Theory* (Essex: Pearson Education Limited, 2010), 186; Matt McDonald "Constructivism", In *Security Studies: An Introduction*, ed. Paul D. Williams (New York: Routledge, 2008), 59-72; Ted Hopf, "The Promise of Constructivism in International Relations Theory", *International Security,* 23, no. 1, (1998): 171-200.

[71] Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): footnote 21.

[72] Ibid, 7.

[73] McDonald, "Constructivism", 67.

[74] Jef Huysmans, "Security? What Do You Mean? From Concept to Thick Signifier", *European Journal of International Relations,* 4, no. 2, (1998): 228.

words, different discourses about security means different definitions of society and basic values. In this context, he offers not to seek for a definition or concept for security, instead he proposes labeling it as a "thick signifier" which leads to focusing on the effect of security in social life instead of its meaning.

Critical Security Studies

Critical Security Studies (CSS) (with a capital 'C') could be defined as an approach which was developed in the framework of Critical Theory of Frankfurt School.[75] Aberystwyth School which were founded on Ken Booth, Richard Wyn Jones and their students' work is true home of this approach.[76] The first move of CSS is to deepen security, in order to take into account sub-state and inter-state referent objects by taking away scholars of SS from state centric paradigm. The second move is widening, in order to include other threats to these new referent objects besides military ones.[77]

The concept of "emancipation" consists the core of CSS. Booth defines security as the absence of threats. However, his definition of threat is depending on "emancipation" which is removing physical and human barriers against people's preferences that they choose by free will. Besides war and threat of war; poverty, poor education, political oppression may be one of the threats of Booth. He claims that true security could be established only by emancipation not by power or some kind of order.[78]

As a general evaluation on CSS, one could say that this approach claims to include other actors besides state to the definition of security. All the issues that have a negative or restricting effect on these actors' lives are to take into account, therefore a thorough security analysis could be done. According to Aberystwyth School, scholars have a duty to be the voice of people, groups or other actors who are not capable of exposing threats against themselves. Thus, this approach has a normative stand which defines the truth and the way to reach it.

Copenhagen School in Security Studies

Copenhagen School term was first used by Bill McSweeney[79] in 1996 to define the studies emerging around Centre for Peace and Conflict Research in Copenhagen University. Ironically, although this article was written in a criticizing manner, the label is quite popular today. Copenhagen School has three main contributions to SS. First one of these is Securitization Theory which defines Copenhagen School best meta-theoretically as Wæver told so.[80] The others are security sectors and regional security complex concept.

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[75] Pınar Bilgin, "Critical Theory", In *Security Studies: An Introduction*, ed. Paul D. Williams (New York: Routledge, 2008), 89.

[76] Ibid, 92.

[77] Krause and Williams, "Broadening the Agenda of Security Studies: Politics and Methods", 229; Columba Peoples, Nick Vaughan-Williams, *Critical Security Studies : An Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 4.

[78] Ken Booth, "Security and Emancipation", *Review of International Studies*, 17, no. 4 (1991): 319.

[79] Bill McSweeney, "Identity and security: Buzan and the Copenhagen school", *Review of International Studies*, 22, no. 1, (1996): 81-93.

[80] Ole Wæver, "Aberystwyth, Paris, Copenhagen New 'Schools' in Security Theory", *International Studies Association Conference*, (March, 17-20, 2004), Montreal.

Buzan, Wæver and De Wilde[81] argue that any public problem could be located under three main headings: namely non-politicized, politicized and securitized. According to these scholars of Copenhagen School, non-politicized problems are the ones which are not issues of public debate and state does not deal with them. The politicized problems are the issue of public policy and require government decision or resource allocation. Finally, securitized problems are presented as existential threats which require emergency measures. This kind of staging justifies actions outside the normal bounds of political procedure (if accepted). This process is called "securitization" and if it is successful needs extraordinary precautions. Copenhagen School does not have a normative stand here, they do not convey securitization process as a solution and securitization is used as a tool for analysis. Moreover, Wæver conveys as principal the desecuritization which means taking out the issues from security area, which is related to extreme handling, to the politics area which is related to normal procedures of problem solving.[82]

However, Critical Security Studies does not have such a classification. Instead, every single obstacle in the way of individual's emancipation is considered as a security threat. For Copenhagen School, on the other hand, security is about only the final phase of the spectrum, and first two involves issues which are consequences of social relations or problems to be solved in the normal bounds of politics. In this framework, comparison of Traditional Security Studies, Critical Security Studies and Copenhagen School in the constructivism and objectivism scale is depicted in Figure 2.

According to Huymans,[83] from the foundation in 1985, Copenhagen School tried to save SS from the narrow agenda which focused on military relations, on the other hand avoided forging a concept dealing with every problem of every fragment of daily life which would be impossible to study academically. In other words, this School was not indifferent to the widening and deepening approaches, however, arising from a methodological concern opposed to include everything in SS which would lead losing intellectual integrity and becoming too indefinite.

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[81] Barry Buzan, Ole Wæver and Jaap De Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis,* (Brighton: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1998), 23-24.
[82] Ole Wæver, "Politics, security, theory", *Security Dialogue*, 42, no. 4-5 (2011): 469.
[83] Jef Huysmans, "Revisiting Copenhagen: Or, on the Creative Development of a Security Studies Agenda in Europe", *European Journal of International Relations,* 4, no. 4 (1998): 482.
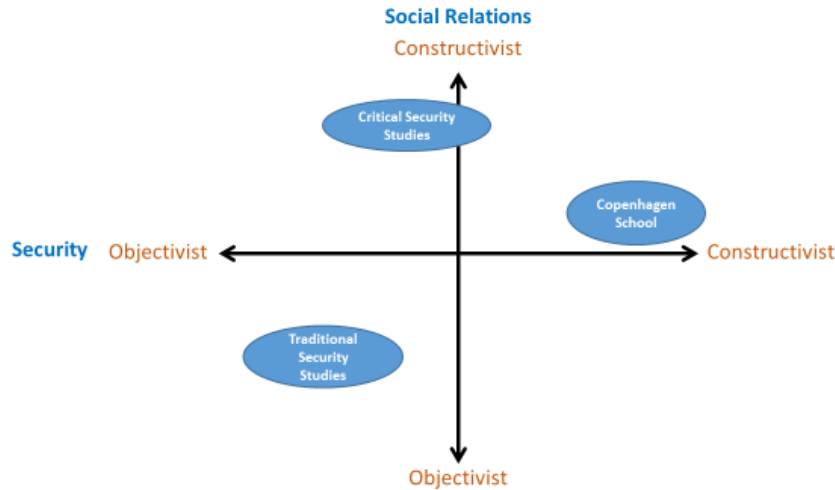
Figure 2: Comparison of Traditional, Critical Security Studies and Copenhagen School[84]

In Copenhagen School's point of view, Traditional Security Studies are objectivist in Security scale because of the focus on real threats, measures against them and how security actors handle these. This approach is objectivist in the social relations scale too. Because, according to traditional security understanding, state is a *given* referent object, also interests of state are objective realities and it is presumed that state itself is a rational actor which behave within certain rules like it is in nature.

Critical Security Studies, on the other hand, regarded as constructivist in social relations scale. The scholars of this approach argue that, states dominate the area due to power politics repressing other dimensions of reality and only an emancipatory approach could empower other subjectivities. This means that the social reality could change and thus, is not bounded to certain rules. However, in the security scale, because Critical Security Studies claim that security threats do exist objectively in reality somewhere like Traditional Security Studies, (obviously except the type of the threat and referent object it is related to), one could say that this approach is mostly objectivist.

Copenhagen School defines their approach constructivist in security scale, because they are not interested in what "the real threat" is. Instead, they argue that security problems are grow out of "securitization" process which depends on discourse and the acceptance of audience. However, this approach is defined less constructivist compared to Critical Security Studies, because they prefer to be more traditionalist in widening threats and deepening referent objects.

Other Approaches

Human security approach proposes to make individuals the main referent object in security instead of states in the traditional approach. Accordingly, this approach claims that all threats to human potential and dignity like poverty, hunger and under-development should be studied under SS. Thus, integration of development and security studies is a major goal for human security scholars. This approach could be evaluated as the new version of old story which could find an

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[84] Ibid, 205.

opportunity in the security agenda after Cold War, since the arguments on human security reach out the ancient times.

Post-colonialism mainly criticizes the SS for becoming "too" western oriented and being state-centric. This approach which recognizes First, and Third World are related, emphasizes the need for new definition of security and security theories, regarding the distinctive state formations of the Third World and history of colonialism. Post-colonialist security studies claim that by their point of view, it is possible to understand both First and Third World's security dynamics. Moreover, Post-colonialists argue that there is not a universal and shared security concept. Instead, they assert that ethnographic field work may reveal local security structures and references apart from state or individual, which would help scholars to understand differences from Western oriented approach. [85] This point of view could be explained by the paradigm shift when thinking on security after Cold War which included remembering that there were other countries places which had serious security problems originated mostly not from nuclear competition or arms racing in the world besides North America, Europe and Russia.

Feminist Security Studies focus on female "experiences" and offer a female reading of security as an alternative to muscular hegemony. For example, Tickner criticizes Morgenthau's *Politics Among Nations* to construct a world without women. She claims that Morgenthau's approach which was built upon the individual's lust for power and domination is not a female attribution but a male one.[86] Also this approach claims that females experience some gender related security problems, and these problems should be integrated in SS agenda. This approach is an example and result of thinking about security at individual level. When the state was the only referent object for security, the different needs and experiences of individuals are obsolete. After individuals became one of the important referent objects of security, their differences were a matter of inquiry.

Poststructuralist Security Studies which could be defined as the key approach for Paris School in SS, mostly depend on the intellectual foundation which was built by Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault.[87] Poststructuralism argues that political, racist, sexist and invisible structures constitute the world of people and there is no objective nor constant truth. Poststructuralists think that governments demand authority continuously in order to sustain sovereignty.[88] Accordingly, poststructuralist scholars examine broader discursive structures and their specifications and how they were legitimized. Many poststructuralist analyses focus on how "the West" staged itself, how the governments justified themselves in the international arena, citizens of their own and media.[89]

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[85] Buzan and Hansen, *The Evolution of International Security Studies,* 200-202; Alexandra Kent, "Reconfiguring Security: Buddhism and Moral Legitimacy in Cambodia", *Security Dialogue,* 37, no. 3, (2006): 347.

[86] J. Ann Tickner, *Gender in International Relations: Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security* (New York: Columbia University Press,1992), 37.

[87] David Campbell, *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992); David Campbell, *National Deconstruction: Violence, Identity and Justice in Bosnia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998); Rob B. J. Walker, "Security, Sovereignty and the Challenge of World Politics", *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political,* 15, no. 1, (1990): 3-27; Michael Dillon, "Sovereignty and Governmentality: From the Problematics of the 'New World Order' to the Ethical Problematic of the World Order", *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political,* 20, no. 3, (1995): 323-368.

[88] Charlotte Heath-Kelly, "Post-Structuralism and Constructivism", in *Routledge Handbook of Critical Terrorism Studies,* ed. Richard Jackson (New York: Routledge, 2016),143.

[89] Buzan and Hansen, *The Evolution of International Security Studies,* 220.

"Deconstruction" is a common technique which was originated by Jacques Derrida in poststructuralist studies. "Binary pairs" (such as light-dark, white-black, male-female) which are not able to exist without each other, are the key concept in this approach. Derrida claims that one of a pair is always superior to the other, one has a positive meaning while the other implies negative. He also argues that every person reads the world by these binary pairs.[90] Deconstruction technique requires to look up in the text or discourse and to find one of a binary pair, then seeks to involve the other one of the pair in the analysis in order to read the superiority reversely. In this context, Poststructuralist Security Studies deny the rationalist Western approach which departs from the premise that security is something definable. Instead, poststructuralists argue that defining absolute security is not possible.

"Genealogy" of Foucault is another important approach in Poststructuralist Security Studies. Genealogy involves an historical approach to examine the acknowledged truth. Foucault defends that every period constructed similar issues differently in their own circumstances. His famous work "Discipline & Punish – The Birth of the Prison"[91], in which he told us about the evolution of punishment from brutal agonizing to the imprisoning and custody since middle ages till European civilization, is a good example of genealogical work. He argues that with the rise of liberalism, the punishment techniques changed from executing which was a sign of state's power to some disciplinary and transformative practices. He does not label this change humanitarian; on the contrary, he claims that humanitarianism or liberalism only made the power sneakier and deeper. Poststructuralist approach had an important role in the evolution of SS by questioning the unquestioned, and by conveying an alternative way of thinking in SS.

DISCUSSION AND THE FUTURE: HOW WILL THE EVOLUTION CONTINUE?

Post-WW I context provided proper circumstances for the birth of International Relations as a new discipline in order to study war, states, international and global order. Security was always a hidden subject of this discipline; however, it was only after WW I Security Studies could find the opportunity to create a distinct field of inquiry to provide financial and human resources. Only then the academic integrity which is needed was available and with Strategic Studies the foundation as a sub-field of International Relations discipline took place.

This study adopted an approach which take Security Studies as a subfield of International Relations but a different field of study. Thus, intentionally avoided explanations built upon International Relations discipline such as realism and liberalism, unlike some of the compilation work on SS. These approaches were taken as the key ideological ground for Security Studies which include Strategic Studies, Peace Research, widening and deepening approaches. By this methodology, it is aimed to convey the distinct nature of the sub-field explicitly.

From the beginning the evolution in the sub-field was constant. At the beginning, national security and its reflections in international security was quite prominent in Strategic Studies which was the first phase of SS. Scholars of the time was driven by the fear of nuclear war apocalypse and

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[90] Gavin P. Hendrics, "Deconstruction the end of writing: 'Everything is a text, there is nothing outside context'", *Verbum et Ecclesia,* 37, no. 1 (2016): 6.
[91] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish,* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995).

with governmental involvement the aim was somehow about guiding national security and foreign politics. But when it comes to 1970's the fear from nukes decreased and scholars began to raise their voices against the cooperation of academia and governments. This led a new paradigm in SS from national security to international security which involved more actors, more referent objects and more threats.

However, the US and European paths was different in this new era. US scholars were mostly updating traditional premises and theories of International Relations according to new challenges and needs, while European scholars were offering totally new approaches to SS such as emancipation, securitization, deconstruction, genealogy and structural violence. Coherently European analyzes are much more interested in individual level and non-western parts of the world. US analyzes are also interested in non-western places, however mostly with a western point of view.

Regarding the ongoing globalization (which tears apart the traditional state integrity and put forward the individual), and the internet and social media by which people of world communicate directly, the future of SS looks like dependent on analyzes examining other actors besides states more and more every day. In this context, security problems will not be the same as the ones of the last century nor that simple. This assumption needs SS in the future as a distinct discipline with many problems to study, apart from International Relations like its rise from Political Science after WW I. The European point of view looks like more convenient for this improvement in SS as its contributions to SS to gain a distinct field of inquiry. Obviously, traditional approaches and the variants will continue for a while, but even these approaches shall comply the needs and context of future.

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