

Contribution of Copenhagen school to the security studies¹

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ABSTRACT

Security Studies cover the security of referent objects, individuals, or states. Since the Second World War, the importance and depth of Security Studies have increased. In the post-Cold War period, it was seen as a purely military field, handled within the scope of the power policies of the states, and emerged as a multidimensional form. This research describes prominent approaches such as Realism, Liberalism, Peace, and Critical Security Studies and the most recent essential theories. The research underlines the three pillars of The Copenhagen School, which has contributed to the academic literature on securitisation/desecuritisation theory, regional security complex theory, and sectoral security approach in international security studies. In the securitisation theory, any subject can be non-politicized, politicized, or elevated to a national security concern level. According to the Regional Security Complex pillar, standard points, security priorities, and security dynamics must coincide with establishing a region in the security realm. Lastly, the safety of human societies is affected by factors in five primary areas - military, political, economic, social, and environmental factors. The study concludes that the Copenhagen School occupies a significant position among security studies methodologies and offers a helpful framework for examining contemporary global security concerns.

KEYWORDS

Security studies, Copenhagen school, securitisation, regional security complexes, security sectors.

Kopenhag Okulu'nun güvenlik çalışmalarına katkıları

ÖZET

Güvenlik Çalışmaları, referans nesnelерinin, bireylerin veya durumların güvenliğini kapsar. İkinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan bu yana Güvenlik Çalışmalarının önemi ve derinliği artmıştır. Soğuk savaş sonrası dönemde tamamen askeri bir alan olarak görülmüş ve devletlerin güç politikaları kapsamında ele alınmıştır. Soğuk Savaş sonrası dönemde ise çok boyutlu bir form olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu araştırma, Realizm, Liberalizm, Barış ve Eleştirel Güvenlik Çalışmaları gibi öne çıkan yaklaşımları ve en son temel teorileri tanımlamaktadır. Araştırma, güvenlikleştirme / güveniksizleştirme teorisi, bölgesel güvenlik kompleksi teorisi ve uluslararası güvenlik çalışmalarında sektörel güvenlik yaklaşımı üzerine akademik literatüre katkıda bulunan Kopenhag Okulu'nun üç temel bileşenini açıklamaktadır. Güvenikleştirme teorisinde, herhangi bir konu siyasallaştırılmaz, siyasallaştırılabilir veya ulusal güvenlik endişesi düzeyine yükseltilebilir. Bölgesel Güvenlik Kompleksine göre, standart noktalar, güvenlik öncelikleri ve güvenlik dinamikleri, güvenlik alanında bir bölge oluşturmakla örtüşmelidir. Son olarak, insan toplumlarının güvenliği beş temel alandaki faktörlerden etkilenir - askeri, politik, ekonomik, sosyal ve çevresel faktörler. Çalışma, Kopenhag Okulu'nun güvenlik çalışmaları metodolojileri arasında önemli bir yere sahip olduğu ve çağdaş küresel güvenlik kaygılarının incelenmesi için yararlı bir çerçeve sunduğu sonucuna varmaktadır.

ANAHTAR KELİMELER

Güvenlik çalışmaları, Kopenhag okulu, güvenlikleştirme, bölgesel güvenlik kompleksleri, güvenlik sektörleri.

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Introduction

Security refers to the preservation of values that we have. At the individual level, security can be seen as being safe against threats that may occur while living fearlessly in the current conditions. In this context, the basic dynamic of security is survival against threats and danger. This definition can be applied to states and societies in a broader sense. Nevertheless, it will remain the base notion of security which is the safety or protection of values.

According to Buzan, security is defined as the ability of states and societies to independently preserve their identity and functional integrity (Buzan, 1991, p. 432). In addition, Baldwin questioned the diversification of the security concept and emphasized that it needed to explain the discussion sufficiently. McSweeney stated that security is a concept that resists being defined (Baysal & Lüleci, 2015).

The history of Security Studies goes back to the beginning of the 20th century. After the destructive consequences of the First World War, International Relations arose in Aberystwyth, United Kingdom, to avoid the War's horror again. Initially, security was studied within the International Relations and Foreign Policy framework. The interest in Security Studies as the subject of professional academic research is relatively new and shaped mainly by the Anglo-American mindset after the Second World War.

The importance of Security Studies has increased since the Second World War. According to some researchers, the field of Security Studies had its golden age between 1950 and 1960 (Baldwin, 1996, p. 119). The main difference between the ages was the introduction of new subjects such as nuclear weapons and arms control. The most obvious question of this age was about using weapons of mass destruction as an instrument of power in politics. In contrast, earlier research revolved around the definition of security (Baldwin, 1996, p. 120).

Moreover, the studies of the Golden Age needed more empirical studies to support their findings. Most of the information was classified, and information about this age could not be used in the studies. In this age, the rational actor was at the heart of the deterrence theory. Unfortunately, this approach caused to ignore other factors, such as diplomatic, informational, and economic, which can contribute to shaping state behaviour. The Golden Age of Security Studies ended with dead ends of studies, a lack of successor generations of researchers, and the decline of the Vietnam War. In addition, the *détente* of the US-Soviet made Security Studies less important (Walt, 1991, p. 216).

During the Cold War period, Realism was mainly accepted. Afterward, Peace Studies evolved to criticize Strategy Studies. From the Second World War to the 1980s, National Security Studies and Strategy Studies controlled security considerations. As a result, security looked at the issues from a narrow window and concentrated on the military aspect.

Approaches to security concept

Security Studies was defined entirely within the framework of Strategic Studies from the Second World War to the 1980s. In other words, until the post-Cold War period, it was seen as a purely military field and was handled within the scope of the power policies of the states. In the post-Cold War period, it emerged in a multidimensional form. Notably, the vertical axis has individuals, groups, and states. The horizontal axis has political, economic, social, environmental, and humanitarian issues. In-depth, it has expanded to the nation-state and regional-local governments, international organizations, non-governmental organizations, public opinion, press, market, and forces of nature.

The rest of the research describes prominent approaches such as Realism, Liberalism, Peace, Critical Security Studies, and the most recent essential theories. Therefore, it includes Social Constructivism, Human Security, Gender Security, and Copenhagen School. Remarkably, the effect of Social Constructivism on Security Studies increased after the 1980s. Even though Constructivism is not a uniform approach, it gives researchers an alternative point of view. In

the same period, the definition of Security Studies widened by introducing different sectors – military, political, societal, economic, and environmental security.

Realism

Looking back at the evolution of Security Studies, Realism² holds the most influential place. Realism's first and most important tenet is the anarchy of international order. According to Realism, there is no higher authority above states to enforce agreements and regulate the use of force. This anarchy lies within the international order, not the state's behavior.

The second tenet of Realism is the perception of power. In the Realism approach, power is seen as a resource to build a necessary military force for states' security. It comprises tools such as population, technological developments, and wealth. In this regard, states can only rely on their resources to protect their existence. The second tenet of Realism accepts the state as one homogeneous unit even though it comprises leaders, governors, political parties, and other decision-making bodies. The third tenet of Realism underscores that the state is a rational actor in the international environment. When states decide, they act strategically and consider other parties' possible reactions.

Kenneth Waltz introduced the first example within the Realism family in the Theory of International Politics. According to Waltz's Structural Realism approach, states prioritise sustaining their survival even though states may have other agendas (Collins, 2013, p. 17). Structural Realism also supports the idea that international order creates a competitive environment, motivating states to increase their security competitively. At the core of the competition, states must develop the capacity to protect themselves, creating a 'self-help' condition. Unfortunately, this will lead them to a never-ending situation, and it will be hard to cease the competitive system (Waltz, 1979, p. 118). As a result, this may create a security dilemma³.

According to Offensive Realism, states want to maximize their power to consolidate their integrity against a possible attack in the future. Therefore, the security needs of a state will never be satisfied, and each state will continue to maximize its power. In this context, a state aims to ensure hegemony and protect against a power-seeking rival (Mearsheimer, 2001).

Defensive Realism underscores the importance of cooperation in the international order. In contrast to Offensive Realism, Defensive Realism accepts the international order as less competitive and highly secure under some conditions (Glaser, 1994-1995). Policies such as arms control and unilateral restraints can benefit a state. With the help of cooperation, states can limit their unit production and focus on improving capability. This improvement will lead to a contribution to political relations as well. In return, the security of a state will increase thanks to cooperation.

Motivational realism differs from the other members of the realist family in terms of the internal condition of a state. According to Motivational Realists, the shape of the international system does not matter. Instead, the greedy motive of a state creates a conflictual and competitive global scenario. State greediness might stem from increasing its wealth or spreading an ideology.

Liberalism

Liberalism generally takes a positive perspective in developing and securing international politics. It envisages the development of international politics based on mutual relations, cooperation, security, and peace. Liberalism is accepted to come to life in the thoughts of John

² For Classic Realism examples, see Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*; E. H. Carr, *The Twenty Years' Crisis: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations*; Reinhold Niebuhr, *Moral Man, and Immoral Society: A Study in Ethics and Politics*; Nicholas John Spykman, *America's Strategy in World Politics: The United States and the Balance of Power*; Arnold Wolfers, *Discord to Collaboration: Essays on International Politics*.

³ John Hertz first introduced the Security Dilemma in the 1950s. Generally, Security Dilemma means that an increase in security causes a decrease in the safety of others. For example, while increasing security, an actor knows it wants to harm other actors. However, this is yet to be discovered by others. As a result, this unknown condition creates ambiguity in the international order.

Locke and Immanuel Kant⁴. After the First World War, it experienced its peak period under the political leadership of the President of the US, Thomas Woodrow Wilson (Collins, 2013). It was essential to consolidate international relations among Western countries during the Cold War.

Along with adopting the state as the most crucial element, liberalism also accepts the existence of other actors, such as international organizations, non-governmental organizations, international regulations, and private economic initiatives. It indicates that the behavior of the state stems from the choices and decisions of the administrators and notables. Thus, it states that the structure of international politics will be shaped according to the actors' characters.

Friedrich August von Hayek was a famous theorist and philosopher who played a vital role in the resurgence of classical liberalism. He claims that liberalism does not promote keeping things as they are; instead, it advocates adopting the best possible usage of market forces to coordinate human activities (Hayek, 1945, p. 45). He emphasizes that liberalism is the most efficient technique not just because it is the only method that does not require the forceful or arbitrary interference of authority but also because it is the only system that does not need it.

The first tenet of liberalism claims that free trade among actors will decrease the likelihood of a conflict. According to the second tenet of liberalism, democratic states will not start or engage in a conflict with other democratic countries, creating inter-democratic peace. Lastly, international organizations will offer a platform for states to find a solution and evade conflicts. Liberalism holds a positive perspective on international politics and believes peaceful cooperation among states is attainable as opposed to realist belief.

Peace studies

Peace Studies goes back to the period after the Second World War. In the 1950s, it covered subjects such as the nuclear arms race and the consequences of nuclear war. Korean War and violence in colonial countries forged a pessimistic perspective, which gave birth to Peace studies⁵. Theodore Lenz's Peace Research Laboratory⁶, the oldest operating peace research center⁷, was founded in 1945. Afterward, several research institutes were established, as seen below:

- Institut Français de Polémologie⁸,
- Peace Research Institute of Oslo (PRIO)⁹,
- The Polemological Institute¹⁰,
- The International Peace Research Association (IPRA)¹¹.
- The Stockholm International Peace Institute (SIPRI)¹²,
- The Canadian Peace Research and Education Association (CPREA)¹³,
- The Tampere Peace Research Institute (TAPRI)¹⁴,
- Peace Studies Association of Japan (PSAJ)¹⁵,

⁴ Immanuel Kant's Perpetual Peace includes a peace plan and is the first liberal pamphlet in this field (Williams, 2008, p. 30). He believes a republican government founded on constitutional law is the only form of governance that can be considered acceptable. He states that a republican government, which abides by constitutional law, is keener on representing peaceful behavior than other types of governments. On the other hand, Thomas Paine's revolutionary liberalism posits that harmonious preferences assure cooperation (Walker & Rousseau, 2016, p. 23).

⁵ Pitrim Sorokin, Quincy Wright, and Lewis Fry Richardson are the other early field pioneers (Collins, 2013, p. 55).

⁶ First known as Character Research Institute.

⁷ <http://www.lentzpeaceresearchassociation.org/>

⁸ It was founded in 1945.

⁹ Johan Galtung founded the PRIO in 1959. The current aim of the PRIO is to research the relationship between people, groups, and people for a peaceful condition.

¹⁰ Founded in 1962 and ceased activities in 1993. The most prominent contributor was Bert Rölling, a Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal judge.

¹¹ IPRA was founded in 1964. IPRA's mission is to research the conditions of peace and the causes of war.

¹² SIRPI was established in 1966 to provide data analysis and suggestions to policymakers and researchers.

¹³ CPREA was founded in 1966. It aims to promote and research education on the causes of war and the conditions of peace.

¹⁴ TAPRI was founded in Tampere in 1969 by the Finnish government.

¹⁵ PSAJ was established in 1973 to encourage and develop peace research in Japan.

- The Pugwash Movement¹⁶ and Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists¹⁷ also contributed to the development of the field.

Peace studies have sought global solutions that are not state-centred on the main topics of discussion; it has also considered the North-South welfare/poverty problem and environmental issues. In the 1970s, socio-economic and ecological issues were within the scope of the field. Conflict prevention, conflict resolution, and peacekeeping have recently been added to its areas of interest.

Rogers and Ramsbotham identified some main characteristics of Peace Studies. Finding the underlying cause of the violence is the first characteristic of Peace Studies. This means that the root cause lies beyond war and should be defined.

The other characteristic is a search for a mitigation measure after a violent situation, which concerns humanitarian intervention in the conflict zone. This zone can include individuals, groups, and states, generating a multi-layered structure. Because of this structure, Security Studies considers trans-state conflicts (Rogers & Ramsbotham, 1999, p. 750).

Critical security studies

Critical Security Studies is one of the prominent paradigms associated with Liberalism and Realism within thought systems. According to Critical Security researchers, property ownership and control of goods and services cause national and international class conflicts. At the same time, it argues that economic dynamics play a substantial role in social change. This approach examines security issues holistically within a particular framework since it has political, social, philosophical, and scientific aspects.

Even though the Critical Security Studies term appeared at the conference¹⁸ in 1994, the roots go back to the early 1980s. Wyn Jones questioned the Realism state-centric approach. He assesses that Realist arguments are unrealistic because they needed to understand the First World War. Moreover, he questioned the necessity of internal politics to analyze international politics.

Ken Booth made his most extensive contribution to Critical Security Studies in the Theory of World Security (Cavelty & Mauer, 20, p. 50). Booth argued the conservative thinking of security and promoted individuals and groups to have decent lives in his book. He defined security as a feeling of security (Booth, 2007, p. 130).

Social constructivism

Social Constructivism claims that International Relations is shaped by socially and historically constructed ideas as a social theory. These ideas, consisting of factors of collectively held beliefs, build the behavior and identities of actors (Wendt, 1999, p. 4).

According to Kratochwil, "the human world is not simply given and/or natural but that, on the contrary, the human world is one of artifice; that is 'constructed' through the actions of themselves" (Kratochwil, 2001). The world is deemed not purely material, and Constructivism helped offer an alternative way to perceive security. The activities, interests, and beliefs of actors are at the center of understanding the world, and they have shaped this understanding.

Constructivism has three ontological tenets. First, it differs from neorealism and neoliberalism regarding structure. Normative and ideational structures, which are at the center and privileged, are essential. Secondly, the identity of an actor plays a significant role in an actor's behavior and gives an idea about the actor's goals. Lastly, the interaction between actors and their environment occurs mutually.

¹⁶ It aims at a world free of weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear weapons, <https://pugwash.org/>

¹⁷ It was created after the devastating consequences of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to create awareness and call for an emergency action plan, <https://thebulletin.org/about-us/>

¹⁸ Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases

Therefore, the structure affects the actor and the actor's actions. In this regard, Constructivism opposed the idea of the anarchic structure of Realism because an anarchic world is just a result of actors' beliefs.

Human security

Human security is a concept that the United Nations¹⁹ introduced to emphasize funding and assistance for development and to help individuals in danger, especially those who are the victims of serious internal conflict. At the beginning of the 1990s, there were concerns about the conflict in the South rather than a war between major powers. The intervention of the international community in Rwanda²⁰ and Somalia²¹ demonstrated this concern (Collins, 2013, p. 105).

One of the oldest debates is on "What does human security entail?" Humans are the referent object, yet there is disagreement on which risks should be given priority or security. The debate over prioritizing dangers has split proponents from the narrow and broad schools of thought. While the narrow school was concerned with the threat posed by violence, especially freedom from fear, the broad movement was concerned with freedom of choice.

According to the narrow school, the threat of political violence towards individuals by the state or any other founded political actor should be the focus of human security (Collins, 2013, p. 106). Instead of the lengthy definition labeled "freedom from want," this concept has been condensed to "freedom from fear" of the threat or the use of political violence. On the other hand, the broad schools' members believe that human security entails more than a fear of violence. Human security encompasses the absence of fear and want, which is the subject of the UNDP Report.

Gender security

Following the 9/11 attacks, interest in the intersection of gender and security began to rise. From a security perspective, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and the unrest in Pakistan have witnessed the local and global repercussions of gender. Women's suicide bombings in the Middle East and Afghanistan and terrorist groups like the 'Black Widow' in Russia have sparked attention among scholars.

Because of women's biology, conservative feminists argue that only men should fight in wars, while women should support them in uniquely feminine ways. Cultural feminists, on the other hand, are anti-war on a different basis. They argue that women are natural peacemakers who should avoid conflict and pursue influence in the international system to make the world less violent.

According to post-colonial feminists, gender subordination is one of the forms of oppression that women endure. Even if there are naturally restricting elements, liberal feminists argue that biological differences can be overcome, and women can become more like men with adequate training. In this regard, women can participate equally in international affairs and military organizations. Any universal assertions about existence, nature, and capacities of reason, science, and language attract skepticism among post-structuralist feminists. As a result, they cast doubt on traditional Security Studies' entire approach. Furthermore, they consider gender malleable and socially formed; hence, women joining the military must adhere to institutional gender stereotypes (Wibben, 2010, p. 88).

Gender and security are written in an empirical low-theory approach and are not theoretical or directly engaged with the concept of security. As a result, analysis frequently incorporates aspects from many methodologies. Historical events have driven feminism. Sex trafficking

¹⁹ The term "human security" was initially used in the UNDP report (UNDP, 1994).

²⁰ The international community's inability to respond promptly to the Rwandan genocide of 1994 has drawn widespread condemnation. Interahamwe militias massacred an estimated 500,000-1,100,000 Rwandans, predominantly Tutsi and moderate Hutu, over the 100 days between 7 April and 15 July 1994.

²¹ Somalia intervention, a 1992-93 US-led military operation in Somalia, began in 1992 and continued in 1995 as part of a more considerable multinational humanitarian and peacekeeping effort. On October 3-4, 1993, the intervention peaked in the so-called Battle of Mogadishu, where 18 US soldiers and hundreds of Somali opposition fighters and civilians were slaughtered.

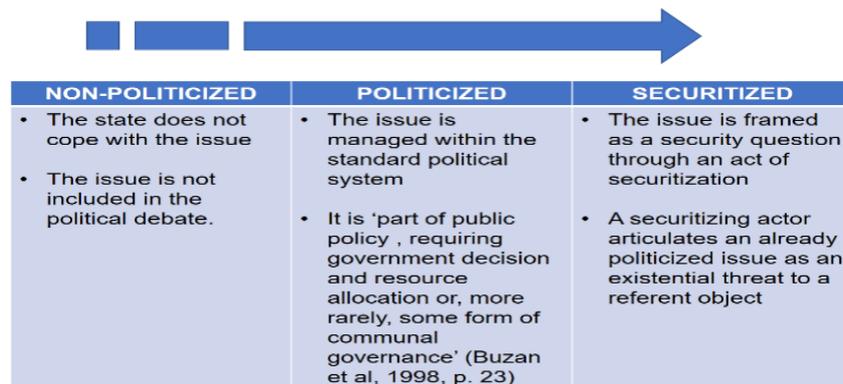
across old East-West borders, wartime sexual violence, women and children as combatants and men as victims of sexual violence, and the influence of UN Security Council Resolution 1325²² on gender and security are only a few of the main subjects on the feminist study agenda (Buzan & Hansen, 2009, p. 212).

Copenhagen school

The Copenhagen School arose in the 1990s from scholars at the Copenhagen Institute for Conflict and Peace Studies²³ (COPRI). As the study progressed, more culture, identity, environment, economy, and health issues began to be studied. This approach has significantly expanded security by adding concepts like securitisation-desecuritisation and Regional Security Complexes to Security Studies.

Securitisation

Theorizing Ole Weaver’s concept of securitisation was the first pillar of his theoretical contributions to Copenhagen School. The securitisation pillar has been one of the most studied topics and theories in international security analysis by the Copenhagen School. According to Weaver, the securitisation theory’s goal is to give an unorthodox security analysis while maintaining traditional security building blocks such as existential threats and survival, which are the cornerstones of the security idea (Waever, 1995, p. 46). While the securitisation theory presents a new analytical framework, it also advances a theoretical framework incorporating the Copenhagen School’s concepts of new security sectors and security reference objects. Unlike the traditional approaches, which regard states solely as objects, securitisation has brought non-state objects, including the environment, people, and society, into international security discussions.



Source: (Emmers, 2013, p. 133).

Figure 1 Securitisation spectrum

In the securitisation theory, any subject can be non-politicised, politicised, or elevated to a national security concern level, labelled as securitised, as depicted in Image 1. Individuals, groups, and abstract concepts like national independence, the environment, and the economy can all be subjects of securitisation (Buzan, Weaver, & Wilde, 1998, p. 42). Threatened individuals may protect the state, political elites, military establishments, or civil society. The target audience should be affected by the language used by the actor who will give protection. If a situation becomes politicised, it is handled according to regular political procedures. It can, however, be securitised if the politicised security issue necessitates the state to take immediate action outside of democratic channels. According to this point of view, an issue that has become

²² On 31 October 2000, the UN Security Council unanimously adopted UNSC Resolution on women, peace, and security. According to the resolution, the armed conflict disproportionately affects women and girls. It advocates for a gender-based approach to conflict resolution, repatriation and resettlement, rehabilitation, reintegration, and post-conflict reconstruction, considering women and girls’ unique needs (UN Press Release SC/6942).

²³ Barry Buzan, Ole Weaver, Jaap De Wilde, Morten Kelstrup, Pierre Lamartine and Elzbieta Tromer are the leading researchers of this school.

a security problem does not have to be a severe threat. If a problem is not politicised, it is no longer a problem in the eyes of the people, and the government is not required to take action.

A successful securitisation process involves three steps:

- Identifying a critical threat,
- Accepting the threat's elimination as an emergency,
- Admitting that extraordinary actions are required to eradicate the threat.

Only some securitisation processes are successful. Because even so-called state-of-emergency measures might be implemented in the third stage, the success of the securitisation process is dependent to some extent on public support.

The securitisation theory of the Copenhagen School is built on the theory of speech act²⁴, which philosopher J. L. Austin developed. According to this theory, when people use language, they convey information and perform actions, such as making requests, giving orders, or making promises. These actions are called "speech acts". Speech act theory states that some people with particular abilities can perform extraordinary things, such as declaring war with words. Saying the words does not guarantee that the action will be carried out successfully. In this regard, ordinary citizens cannot declare war in this situation; only rulers of the state have the authority to realize the security discourse.

Regional security complexes

The Regional Security Complex is the second pillar introduced to the literature by the Copenhagen School. The theory was mainly created about the political and military sectors' dynamics. The formation of regional security complexes is influenced by distance because dangers in these areas spread more quickly over short distances than long ones. In 2003, Barry Buzan and Ole Weaver proposed a detailed Regional Security Complex theory, which provides a conceptual and analytical framework for performing international security analysis at the regional level. It allowed for analyzing post-Cold War regional security concerns and regional security regimes. According to the Copenhagen School, standard points, security priorities, and security dynamics must coincide with establishing a region in the security realm. These elements bind states together. A unified danger perception across states is required to create a regional security complex. This fear of being threatened will lead to collaboration among mutually interdependent governments. While geographic closeness is essential in establishing regional security complexes, other considerations exist. The first condition is that the complex states' needs are parallel. The long-term friendship-enmity ties, the common threat perceptions of the regional governments, the actors they designate as the adversary, and any previous conflicts in the region, if any, are all crucial factors to consider when looking at regional security complexes.

In Security Studies, the Regional Security Complexes paradigm emphasizes regional dynamics. According to Buzan, states are interdependent regarding security. This dependence was assessed in a geographical context, emphasizing the importance of proximity. It has been asserted that states close to one another cannot have the same level of dependency as those far apart. According to this theory, the world was divided into distinct regional groupings. It was highlighted that intra-regional dynamics should be considered in any analyses.

Buzan underlines three perspectives on the post-Cold War structure: neorealist, globalist, and regionalist approach. The neorealist one is state-centric and rests on an argument about power. In neorealism, the distribution of material power within the international system establishes the framework for world security and how balance-of-power theory interacts with it, which is the topic of this argument. The globalist²⁵ perspective is the antithesis of realism's and neorealism's static, power-political understanding of international system structure.

²⁴ Speech act theory states, "to say something is to do something". In securitisation theory, speech acts are used to securitise the environment. See Austin's 1962 book "How to Do Things with Words" for more information on speech act theory.

²⁵ Globalist perspective is called globalisation (Buzan & Weaver, 2003, p. 7).

The regionalist perspective, which is used in the framework of Regional Security Complex Theory, is based on two presumptions;

- “The decline of superpower rivalry reduces the penetrative quality of global power interest in the rest of the world.
- Most of the great powers in the post-Cold War international system are now ‘lite powers’, meaning that their domestic dynamics pull them away from military engagement and strategic competition in the trouble spots of the world, leaving local states and societies to sort out their military-political relationships with less interference from great powers than before” (Buzan & Wæver, 2003, p. 11).

Both neorealism and globalism are presented from the regionalist perspective because territoriality and security are at the core of both the neorealist and regionalist views.

Security sectors

The third pillar in the Copenhagen School’s contribution to the international relations theory is to enrich the international security agenda by integrating economic, political, environmental, social, and human security sectors into the discussion. With the publication of *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* in 1998, Buzan and his colleagues introduced the concept of security sectors to the literature on international relations and security. In this context, economic, political, environmental, social, and human security have appeared in international security literature, including the traditional military security sector. One of the most contentious security sector distinctions throughout the Copenhagen School has been social security. The security sectors are comprised of all these sub-expansions. According to the Copenhagen School, the security area should be developed and broadened to cover personal, non-state, and group security concerns. The Copenhagen School’s human security approach addressed concerns that traditional state-centered and military approaches ignored.

In his research *Man State and Fear*, Buzan avoided providing a broad definition of security, even claiming that doing so would be counterproductive. Similarly, he has yet to find a solution to the security contradictions. Instead, he created a broad security framework regarding levels and sectors, pointing out some of the ignored inconsistencies and delving into crucial topics like anarchy, the defense conundrum, threats, security complexes, and the essence of the state. The following are the sectors:

Political sector

The state’s organization is affected by political threats. Like the military threat, the state and its sovereignty are reference objects for the political threat. The stability of a state, its political system, and the beliefs that give it power are all tied to political security.

The organization of social order is what political security is all about. State sovereignty threats are at the heart of the political sector. Although military threats to sovereignty can be addressed, non-military risks to sovereignty are dealt with by the political sector. The political sector is the most puzzling because it may fall into an area between the military and society sectors (Buzan & Little, 1996). Furthermore, among the other sectors, it is the most diverse and the hardest to define regarding national identity and military security.

Military sector

The state remains the most crucial referent object in this sector, and state ruling elites are the most prominent securitising actors. This position emerges because nations have significantly more military resources than other actors, and ruling elites have emerged politically and legally as the primary claimants to the legitimate right to employ force inside and beyond their territory. The concept of sovereignty over a defined territory and population defines the modern state. As a result of the state’s inherent territorial nature and the fact that force is a particularly effective means of acquiring and retaining territory, this fixation with using force has historically taken precedence.

The fundamental causes of military security issues stem from internal and external procedures to establish and maintain governmental processes. The use of force is only one aspect of the governance process. Military considerations are the political legitimacy terms and conditions and how those criteria are accepted by rulers and ruled. The military security agenda is built on a government's ability to defend itself against internal and external military threats (Buzan et al., 1998, p. 50). However, it can also include military force to defend states or governments against non-military challenges, such as immigration or alternative ideologies.

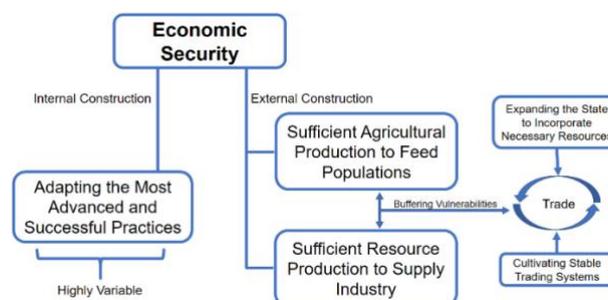
In many developed democracies, the state's defense is becoming primarily one, if not the only, de facto purpose of the military forces. Their military might be more frequently called upon to support normal international order activities like humanitarian intervention or peacekeeping, which cannot be regarded as urgent aid in breaking existing rules or even existential threats to their states. (Buzan, Weaver, & Wilde, 1998, p. 70). Military threats are the most common source of national security concerns. Like other security sectors, military risks threaten all government components. Military threats, unlike other types, include the use of force. The present structure can disintegrate, and diplomatic channels can be barred due to the use of force.

Economic sector

The discussion of economic security is currently dominated by the liberal agenda's dominance and the results of efforts to implement it in trade, production, and finance. Because of the characteristics of the liberal ascendancy, worries about instability and inequality dominate today's discussion on economic security (Buzan et al., 1998, p. 97). As the economy has become more integrated and liberalized, concerns about instability have arisen regarding the relative economic fluctuation of the United States as a hegemon and the problems with international and domestic management. The issues of domestic and international state functions and the poor economic standing of many Third World nations are brought up by concerns about inequality.

The simplest way to understand economic security is regarding people's fundamental needs. People either survive or die depending on their access to necessities such as adequate food, water, clothing, housing, and education (Buzan et al., 1998, p. 104). Firms frequently need more essential elements for economic securitisation if their failure threatens the economy, as with major banks. "Global security" is commonly employed in economic interactions, particularly regarding investment. Investing entails risks on both the political and economic fronts.

States possess the characteristics required for securitisation. They are anticipated to be long-lasting, rooted constructions. The perception of their unity complicates states' function as global rivals. States, unlike corporations, cannot dissolve as economic players if they fail to win the game and go bankrupt. The financial and market resources required for the state to continue to exist and sustain its intended degree of well-being are referred to as economic security. Using the state as a reference point is analogous to using an individual as a reference point. Its basic form ensures the state's survival by ensuring adequate economic conditions. States need enough agricultural production to support their population and enough resource production to keep the industry afloat.



Source: Author's preparation.

Figure 2 The Structure of Economic Security

Another issue to consider when guaranteeing a country's economic security is the economy's internal structure. In this respect, the state differs from the individual due to the complexity of its internal structure. Accepting the most advanced and successful procedures in another region by the international system is critical to the state's survival. The structure of economic security is shown in Image 2.

Societal sector

Political security is strongly tied to societal security since it concerns state organizational stability, government institutions, and the ideologies of governments and states. Identity and community self-concept are essential aspects of society. These identities are different from, but frequently linked with, the explicitly political groups involved in governance (Buzan et al., 1998, p. 119). In the societal sector, identity is the organizing notion. Societies experience societal insecurity in the event of a threat to their existence. Extensive, independent identity groups are crucial to societal security, but these identification groupings are empirically varied by time and location.

Significant external dangers at the societal level in interstate relations imply attacks on national identity. Threats in this field can quickly spill over into politics. Because conditions to form social values, traditions, and patterns are linked to social security. It is important to avoid two common misunderstandings about the phrase social (Buzan et al., 1998, p. 120). To begin with, societal and social security are not the same. Individuals are the focus of social security, which is essentially economic. Collectives and their identities are vital to societal security. Second, the term "societal" has problems because it is usually used to describe a larger, more ambiguous population, which could refer to a group that does not always have a clear character.

Environmental sector

Earthquakes, fires, droughts, and infectious diseases can all be as destructive to a country as war. Throughout history, the environment has been perceived as a background rather than a driving element. However, environmental issues have become more prominent because of increased human activity. Environmental security refers to preserving the environment as a life support system on which all actors rely to live.

This debate has existed since the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (Buzan et al., 1998, p. 71). It has gained enough traction over the past years to make the environment a useful political analytical tool. The most prominent feature is the existence of two distinct agendas in the environmental sector: a scientific agenda and a political agenda (Buzan et al., 1998, p. 72). The scientific agenda is usually anchored in the (primarily natural) sciences and non-governmental action, even though they somehow overlap and shape each other. It is built outside of politics, primarily by scientists and research institutions. It presents a list of environmental problems currently impeding or may do so. Governmental and intergovernmental issues are primarily on the political agenda. It entails the public decision-making process and public policies dealing with environmental issues. The political agenda reflects the total level of politicization and securitisation where the two agendas overlap.

Despite their evident interconnectedness and overlap, the two agendas follow different cycles. Academic standards must be adhered to when developing the scientific agenda. Short-term events can alter the political agenda by influencing governmental, media, and public standards.

Conclusion

According to Realism, there is no higher authority above states to enforce agreements and regulate the use of force. Additionally, when a state increases power, other states will develop security policies against it. Nearly all realist writers discuss balancing ways to prevent states from constantly attacking each other to solve security problems in the anarchic international system. Liberalism consists of free trade, democracy, and international institutions. Even

though some empirical studies²⁶ give examples of liberal thought in reducing conflict, it faces intellectual criticism. The future of liberalist theory may remain unclear within security studies due to the recent widening and broadening of the field.

Due to the nature of the multi-faced conflict, Peace Studies has an interdisciplinary approach. For this reason, research institutes tend to draw their human resource from fields such as political science, economics, anthropology, and psychology. A group of researchers adopted post-Marxist Critical Theory to question security. This questioning has made a severe impact on widening the discussion of security. Social Constructivism appeared at the end of the 1980s²⁷ and influenced international politics and relations. Specifically, its impact on security and security threats started with questioning the orthodoxy of rationalist approaches. As other post-Cold War approaches, the Human Security approach broadened the debate of security perception in the literature, and the approach has begun to acquire momentum, growing and developing.'

Women's security has been discussed among feminist scholars, who have sought improvements and recognized it as a topic in international security studies. They cautioned that those women's experiences with the state, military systems, and combat varied from men's. Women are deployed on the front lines of combat in Western countries, and their assistance in the battle against terrorism is acknowledged.

With the book published by Barry Buzan in 1983, the existence of non-military subjects was recognized. Security Studies started to widen and deepen its content by introducing novel approaches to traditional ones. The debate between traditionalists and novel approaches continued until the end of the Cold War. Novel approaches continued to gain ground after the end of the Cold War, and the effect of Constructivism began to take place in the Security Studies literature. The context of the studies became wider by including new subjects.

The Copenhagen School has contributed to the academic literature on securitisation/desecuritisation theory, regional security complex theory, and sectoral security approach in international security studies. The securitisation theory of the Copenhagen School is built on the theory of speech act, which is often used to analyse how political actors use language to construct and negotiate security issues. By examining the types of speech acts used, researchers can gain insights into the power dynamics at play and how actors attempt to shape the security agenda.

The formation of Regional Security Complexes is influenced by distance because dangers in these areas spread more quickly over short distances than long ones. There are three reasons why the Regional Security Complex Theory is practical. First, it sheds light on the appropriate degree of analysis for security studies; second, it can arrange empirical research; and third, theory-based scenarios may be produced based on recognised forms and alternatives of the Regional Security Complex.

Another contribution of Copenhagen School is to enrich the international security agenda by integrating economic, political, environmental, social, and human security sectors into the discussion. Military security, in general, is concerned with the two-level interaction between governments' armed offensive and defensive strength and perceptions of their intentions. Political security concerns a state's organisational stability, management system, and ideology that give it legitimacy. Economic security comprises resources, funds, and markets required to keep welfare and governmental power manageable. Traditional linguistic patterns, culture and language, national identity, and customs benefit from social security, encompassing evolution and sustainability. Environmental security includes the preservation of the local and global biospheres, which serve as the foundation for all other humanitarian endeavours. It should be emphasised that these five sectors cannot exist apart. Each sector denotes a point of attention and importance within the theory and is intimately linked. With the Security Sector approach,

²⁶ See Liberalism: A Theoretical and Empirical Assessment (Walker & Rousseau, 2016).

²⁷ In his seminal book *World of Our Making* from 1989, Nicholas Onuf provided the term's first comprehensive definition.

Copenhagen School has significantly expanded security by adding concepts like securitisation-desecuritisation and Regional Security Complexes to Security Studies. It is concluded that the Copenhagen School occupies a significant position among security studies methodologies and offers a helpful framework for examining contemporary global security concerns.

Conflict of Interest Statement

There is no financial conflict of interest with any institution, organization, or person related to our article titled "Contribution of Copenhagen School to the Security Studies."

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Genişletilmiş Özet

Güvenlik terimi, sahip olduğumuz değerlerin korunmasını ifade eder. Bireysel düzeyde güvenlik, mevcut koşullarda korkusuzca yaşarken oluşabilecek tehditlere karşı güvenli olarak görülebilir. Bu bağlamda güvenliğin temel dinamiğinin tehdit ve tehlikeye karşı hayatta kalmak olduğunu söylemek yanlış olmaz. Bu tanım daha geniş anlamda devletlere ve toplumlara uygulanabilir. Bununla birlikte, değerlerin güvenliği veya korunması olan temel güvenlik kavramını değiştirmeyecektir.

Buzan'a göre güvenlik, devletlerin ve toplumların kimliklerini ve işlevsel bütünlüklerini bağımsız olarak koruma yeteneği olarak tanımlanmaktadır (Buzan, 1991, s. 432). Ayrıca Baldwin, güvenlik kavramının çeşitlenmesini sorgulamış ve tartışmayı yeterince açıklamadığını vurgulamıştır. McSweeney, güvenliğin tanımlanmaya direnen bir kavram olduğunu belirtmiştir (Baysal & Lülecı, 2015).

Güvenlik Çalışmaları, referans nesnelere, bireylerin veya durumların güvenliğini kapsar. Güvenlik Çalışmalarının tarihi 20. yüzyılın başlarına kadar gitmektedir. Profesyonel akademik araştırmanın konusu olarak Güvenlik Çalışmalarına ilgi nispeten yenidir ve esas olarak İkinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra Anglo-Amerikan zihniyeti tarafından şekillendirilmiştir.

İkinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan bu yana Güvenlik Çalışmalarının önemi ve derinliği artmıştır. Bazı araştırmacılara göre Güvenlik Çalışmaları alanı 1950 ile 1960 yılları arasında altın çağını yaşamıştır (Baldwin, 1996, s. 119). Çağlar arasındaki temel fark, nükleer silahlar ve silahların kontrolü gibi yeni konuların tanıtılmasıydı. Bu çağın en bariz sorusu kitle imha silahlarının siyasette bir iktidar aracı olarak kullanılmasıyla ilgiliydi. Bununla beraber, Altın Çağa ait yapılan araştırmaların bulgularını destekleyecek ampirik çalışmalardan yoksundu. Bilgilerin çoğu sınıflandırıldı, fakat çalışmalarda kullanılmadı. Bu çağda, rasyonel aktör caydırıcılık teorisinin merkezinde yer alıyordu. Ne yazık ki bu yaklaşım, devlet davranışını şekillendirmeye katkıda bulunabilecek diplomatik, bilgilendirici ve ekonomik gibi diğer faktörlerin göz ardı edilmesine neden oldu. Güvenlik Çalışmalarının Altın Çağı, çalışmaların çıkmaz sonuçlara ulaşması, devamlılığı sağlayacak araştırmacıların eksikliği ve Vietnam Savaşı'nın sonuçları ile sona erdi.

Soğuk Savaş döneminde Realizm yaklaşımı ağırlıklı olarak kabul görmüştür. Realizmin akademik desteğiyle Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde Ulusal Güvenlik Çalışmaları olarak, İngiltere'de ise Strateji Çalışmaları olarak ortaya çıktı. Daha sonra Barış Çalışmaları, Strateji Çalışmalarını eleştirmek için gelişti. İkinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan 1980'lere kadar, Ulusal Güvenlik Çalışmaları ve Strateji Çalışmaları, güvenlik konularını üzerinde baskın duruma geldi. Sonuç olarak güvenlik konusunda meselelere dar bir pencereden bakıldı ve askeri boyuta odaklandı.

Soğuk savaş sonrası döneme kadar Güvenlik Çalışmaları tamamen askeri bir alan olarak görülmüş ve devletlerin güç politikaları kapsamında ele alınmıştır. Soğuk Savaş sonrası dönemde çok boyutlu bir form olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Özellikle dikey ekseninde bir birey-grup-devlet olarak; yatay ekseninde politik-ekonomik-sosyal-çevresel-insani; derinlemesine, ulus-devlet ve bölgesel-yerel yönetimlere, uluslararası kuruluşlara, sivil toplum kuruluşlarına, kamuoyuna, basına, piyasaya ve çevre sorunlarına kadar genişlemiştir.

Araştırma, Realizm, liberalizm, barış, eleştirel güvenlik çalışmaları ve en son temel teoriler gibi öne çıkan yaklaşımları anlatmaktadır. Bu nedenle Sosyal İnşacılık, İnsan Güvenliği, Toplumsal Cinsiyet Güvenliği ve Kopenhag Okulu'nu içerir. Dikkat çekici bir şekilde Sosyal İnşacılık Güvenlik Çalışmaları üzerindeki etkisi 1980'lerden sonra artmıştır. Sosyal İnşacılık tek tip bir yaklaşım olmasa da araştırmacılara alternatif bir bakış açısı sunmaktadır. Aynı dönemde, askeri, siyasi, toplumsal, ekonomik ve çevresel güvenlik gibi farklı sektörleri de dâhil ederek Güvenlik Çalışmalarının tanımı genişlemiştir.

Kopenhag Okulu, uluslararası güvenlik çalışmalarında güvenikleştirme/güveniksizleştirme teorisi, bölgesel güvenlik kompleksi teorisi ve sektörel güvenlik yaklaşımı ile ilgili akademik literatüre katkıda bulunmuştur. Kopenhag Okulu'nun güvenikleştirme teorisi, söz edimi teorisi üzerine inşa edilmiştir. Söz edimi teorisi, belirli yeteneklere sahip bazı kişilerin, kelimelerle savaş ilan etmek gibi olağanüstü şeyler yapabileceğini belirtir. Sözleri söylemek, eylemin başarıyla gerçekleştirileceğini garanti etmez. Bu bakımdan sıradan vatandaşlar bu durumda savaş ilan edemezler; güvenlik söylemini gerçekleştirme yetkisi sadece devletin yöneticilerine aittir.

Bölgesel Güvenlik Komplekslerinin oluşumu mesafeden etkilenir çünkü bu bölgelerdeki tehlikeler kısa mesafelerde uzun mesafelere göre daha hızlı yayılır. Bölgesel Güvenlik Kompleksi Teorisinin pratik olmasının üç nedeni vardır. İlk olarak, güvenlik çalışmaları için uygun analiz yaklaşımlarına ışık tutar; ikincisi, ampirik araştırma düzenleyebilir ve üçüncü olarak, Bölgesel Güvenlik Kompleksinin tanınmış formları ve alternatiflerine dayalı olarak teoriye dayalı senaryolar üretilebilir.

Kopenhag Okulu'nun bir diğer katkısı, ekonomik, politik, çevresel, sosyal ve insani güvenlik sektörlerini tartışmaya dâhil ederek uluslararası güvenlik gündemini zenginleştirmektir. Genel olarak askeri güvenlik, hükümetlerin silahlı saldırı ve

savunma güçleri ile niyetlerine ilişkin algıları arasındaki iki seviyeli etkileşimle ilgilidir. Siyasi güvenlik, bir devletin örgütsel istikrarı, yönetim sistemi ve ona meşruiyet veren ideolojisi ile ilgilidir. Ekonomik güvenlik, refahı ve hükümet gücünü yönetilebilir tutmak için gereken kaynakları, fonları ve pazarları ifade eder. Geleneksel dil kalıpları, kültür ve dil, ulusal kimlik ve gelenekler, evrim ve sürdürülebilirliği kapsayan sosyal güvenlikten yararlanır. Çevre güvenliği, diğer tüm insani çabaların temeli olarak hizmet eden yerel ve küresel biyosferlerin korunmasını içerir. Bu beş sektör birbirinden bağımsız olarak var olamaz. Her biri güvenlik kavramı içinde bir odak ve öncelik sırası belirtir ve ayrılmaz bir şekilde iç içedir (Buzan, 2015, s. 38). Güvenlik Sektörü yaklaşımı ile Kopenhag Okulu, Güvenlik Çalışmalarına güvenleştirme-güvenlik dışılaştırma ve Bölgesel Güvenlik Kompleksleri gibi kavramları ekleyerek güvenliği önemli ölçüde genişletmiştir. Kopenhag Okulu'nun güvenlik çalışmaları metodolojileri arasında önemli bir yere sahip olduğu ve çağdaş küresel güvenlik endişelerini incelemek için yararlı bir çerçeve sunduğu sonucuna varılmıştır.