

Concepts of security from a perspective of political science

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Abstract Security is one of the most basic needs of human beings and has become one of the fundamental issues not only for people but also for the states. Security has emerged within the human history and it is one of the fundamental concepts of the discipline of international relations. Many studies have been carried out into the concept of security in the discipline of international relations and many definitions of this concept have been offered in the conceptual and theoretical framework of these studies. However, in the literature there is no one, commonly accepted definition of security. Since security has a dynamic structure, the concept of security has also changed cyclically and maintained its existence. Unique opportunities for the concept of security emerged particularly during and after the cold war, arousing interest of many disciplines and theorists. The concept of security, which continues its existence today, has changed and deepened, confronted with different threats. In our study, firstly, the concept of security will be defined and its analysis will be performed by associating it with humanity and its history. Afterwards, it will be explained how the change in the system transformed the concept of security as conceived in terms of the critical theories developed in the cold war period and later.

Introduction

People have wanted to live in a safe and peaceful environment from historical times to the present. However, many concepts threaten human life. One of these concepts is that of a human being. Especially, until the Middle Ages wars, famines, epidemics, and wild animals posed major threats to the secure environment. However, people have constantly tried to cope with these threats via new security measures. The modern states, that emerged after the Peace of Westphalia was signed in 1648, were given some authority to ensure the security of their citizens. Afterwards, states also took some measures to protect their sovereignty. With the development of technology and industry, the use of conventional weapons has become the biggest threat to these

states. In the following years, with the nationalist movements that emerged especially in France during the French Revolution, multinational states entered the process of disintegration and took new measures against this disintegration process. Especially, the world wars of the early and mid-1900s can be explained as the turning point of the concept of security.

After the 1950s, during and after the cold war, the threat to use the nuclear weapons created enormous perceptual changes. In this period, the concept of security became subject of study in various disciplines. In those years, when the traditional understanding of security lost its importance, the biggest criticism was about the events that the theory of realism could not predict. The traditional perception of security has left its place to a critical perception. The perception of security, which has a dynamic status, has gained more depth as a result of the conjuncture and the existence of different threats that have emerged. For the first time, new security concepts such as environment, law, food resources and human rights have entered the literature. The previously existing state-centered security approach has left its place to other issues that are effective in the individual and social sphere. The concept of differentiated security is still developing and maintains its dynamic character.

The main focus of this study is how the concept of security is shaped and what perceptual changes it is undergoing. Another important problem in our study is how the concept of military security has changed and whether it will lose its importance in the future. The hypothesis put out in our study is that the hard power (military power), which states see as indispensable for survival, has undergone some changes today. In addition, we will seek answer to the question whether the states will give up military power in the future? Our study will be completed by reviewing the literature and presenting current developments. Evaluation of all other security approaches presented in the literature would be too much for our article. For this reason, a ranking has been made according to the level of their importance. Only certain studies are covered. Purposes of perceptions that replace traditional perceptions of security will be included in our study by analyzing the framework of the investigations into security. In order to answer these questions, in the first part of the article the epistemology of the concept of security is examined and the concept is defined. Afterwards, it was investigated whether the concept of security was affected by the events in the historical process. This analysis was undertaken through the main dimensions of security perception. In the second part of the article the perception of security in the course of time has been investigated in more detail. This study has been handled dynamically and evolutionarily so as to shed light on the historical process from the first humans to the present day regarding the concept of security. For this purpose, the epistemology of the concept of security was conceptually added to the analyses as well.

Security case and traditional security approach

The concept of security

In order to better analyze the historical development of security, it is necessary to focus on the concept of security first. The concept of security has developed in the historical process

according to the conditions and dynamics of the time. The concept of security is defined in the Dictionary of the Turkish Language Institution as “the execution of the legal order in social life without interruption, the ability of people to live without fear, safety” (Turkish Language Society, 2021). Many theorists explain in the literature this state of safety by referring to the security problem that has existed since the first humans. For example, in the Abraham H. Maslow’s hierarchy of needs, safety is mentioned immediately after the physical needs (Ozcan, 2004, p. 447). Terriff, in the work *Security studies today*, defined the concept of security as “the feeling of being safe from harm and danger” (Acıkmese, 2011, p. 44). Dedeoğlu has defined it as “the activities of states, societies, groups, and individuals to protect and maintain their existence, to eliminate the elements that threaten them and to reshape them each time according to the dynamics of the conjuncture” (Dedeoğlu, 2004, p. 5). The concept of security has been defined in many different ways in the literature. This is an indication of how important this concept is and that it is a dynamic phenomenon. The fact that it has survived to the present day is an indication that it is intertwined with life.

As can be understood from the definition of the concept of security, it is a difficult concept. According to Mc Sweeney, “security is an elusive concept”. Morgan also argues that this concept is not easy to define (Acıkmese, 2011, p. 44). Another reason why this concept is difficult to define is that it is a fundamental fact related to many disciplines. For example, it was put forward by the Scottish psychiatrist Laing and developed by Giddens, a British sociologist. The common definition of security by these two theorists is as follows: “It arises from the individual’s need for a stable and sustained self” (Rumelili, Adisonmez, 2020, p. 24). These explanations show that it is connected with the discipline of sociology and psychology. In addition, the explanation of the concept of security offered in these disciplines points to a process that takes us back to the first human being. Basically, human beings have had some needs since beginning of their existence. The feeling of being safe and feeling safe is also related to this concept.

Waltz observes that security involves actions undertaken to “keep away from the dangers that may arise outside the borders of the state” and defines it as “the recognition of the internal and external sovereignty of the state by other states” (Oguzlu, 2007, p. 6). Waltz’s definition is more concerned with the emergence of modern states after 1648. The concept of security is vital not only for people but also for the states. Wolfers is the first who scientifically studied the concept of security in the field of international relations studies. Wolfers argued that it would be correct to define it by answering the questions “which values should be protected from which threats, with which tools and at what cost” (Sancak, 2013, p. 124). Baldwin, who added new questions to these already asked by A. Wolfers, defines the concept of security in seven questions. Security for whom and for what values, against what threats, by what means, at what cost, in how long, and to what extent? He argues that it would be more accurate to define it with these questions (Acıkmese, 2011, p. 45). Some theorists such as Buzan, Weaver and Wilde, on the other hand, set out from the dilemma of the individual and the state while defining the concept of security. These theorists argue in their work entitled *Security: A framework for analysis* that states which are close to each other can come together for security purposes and agree on mutual cooperation

(Goksu, 2019, p. 5). These theorists have argued that the economy, as well as security, will develop if states are interdependent. In the literature, between 1947 and 1989, some theorists explained the concept of security as deterrence (Alkan, 2014, p. 25). If we take into account the conditions of the time, it can be said that the concept of security at the moment is defined in accordance with the conditions of the time. The most important result of this date range is the world wars that took place on a global scale. Nye defined it for this time period as follows: “7 nations put more than 100 million soldiers into the war. 45 million people lost their lives in conflicts that took the form of all-out war and most of a continent is in ruins” (Nye, 2011, pp. 15-16). Subsequently, the states entered a rapid arms race. This armament and the desire to have militarily advanced technology activated mutual deterrence. In short, it is possible to say that the concept of security began to take shape with the concept of military security in this century.

Epistemologically, the concept of security is of Latin origin. Latin words “secura” (se+cura) and English “careless” and “security” are related to freedom (Guner, 2008, p. 5). In sum, it can be said that the concept of security has become integrated with human life. Today, the view of states on the concept of security is discussed in a wide variety of frameworks, not only in a military sense but also in economic, that of environmental disasters, climate change, nuclear reactions and human rights violation (Akmanlar, 2019, p. 6). The 21st century is a complete technology age in terms of communication and informatics. For this reason, some negative aspects of technology have also become a high-risk problem, recognized by the states and non-state actors, even the individuals and companies. This problem is generally defined as cyber attacks. It is possible to define them as malicious attacks against vital areas such as bank accounts, internet-information networks, education, power transmission lines, infrastructure services, and health systems (Korhan, 2016, p. 148). In addition, the COVID-19 epidemic, which has lasted until the moment this study was conducted and whose duration time cannot be exactly predicted, is also included in the epidemic diseases group which is strictly connected to the perception of security by the states.

As it can be understood from the definition of the concept of security, it is related to many disciplines. Although the definition of the concept is difficult, it is necessary to mention some terms. The concepts that will be mentioned together with the security phenomenon will be examined in the main dimensions of the security phenomenon.

Major dimensions of the security phenomenon

The concept of security is associated with human history and is at least as old as human history. As can be understood from the definitions of the concept of security, it is related to many different disciplines. In this section, the focus will be on how the security phenomenon is defined within the basic approaches in the literature. In addition, power, law, and international organization, which are used to explain the concept of security, will be emphasized. The security-related connections of these approaches will be explained as well. The concept of security is also of great importance, especially in terms of the discipline of international relations. The perspectives of

states on the concept of security are of vital importance. States, like people belonging to the realist tradition, look at the concept of security from a power-oriented perspective. In early times, states brought military power to the fore in their power-oriented approaches (Sancak, 2013, p. 125).

In the literature, there are also opposing views on those who do not accept the power to make the other party do their own will. Lukes is cited as an example. According to Lukes, security is expressed as the situation of being compelled to act in a way that is incompatible with one's own interests when the other party acts (Goksu, 2019, p. 10). States, at first, considered the concept of security as a military power. Under the influence of the historical conjuncture, with the increase of mutual threats, the concept of security was then handled with the concept of defense. Considering temporal motion, the theorists have tried to explain the concept of power by attributing different facts to it. Nye, on the other hand, divided the concept of power into two: soft power and hard power (Nye, 2011, p. 28). According to Nye, states should analyze the phenomenon of power by dividing it into two. It is understood that states should understand the hard power, that is, military power, which is of vital importance for security in the face of a threat, and the soft power which should be used in matters of lower-level importance for the states.

Some theorists explain the power issue which has caused great controversy in the economic literature. Some of the theorists emphasizing this issue are Keohane and Nye. These theorists, on the other hand, oppose the realist theory and define economic power as opposed to military power (Alagoz, 2016, p. 37). In the literature, it has been seen that the theorists who explain the concept of security with the phenomenon of power, especially consider it as military, economic, hard, and soft power. Apart from these theorists, there are theorists who argue that the concept of security can be provided by law and social organization (cooperation) in order to provide the concept of security in the international arena. First of all, theorists trying to explain security with the concept of law have used the concept of international law. According to Hobbes, people are inherently evil depending on the state of nature.

These essentials force people to follow certain rules. It can be argued that if people do not obey the rules, they should be punished in return (KIRIS, 2018, p. 8). According to Hobbes, people will only become compatible with the state of nature when they obey these rules of law. Hobbes also argues that these legal rules can be applied in the interstate relations. However, the first person to use the concept of International Law was Grotius. In his analysis, Grotius agrees with the realist theorists' understanding that human nature is bad. In response to these realist theorists, while defending the rules of law like these formulated by Hobbes to prevent people from conflict, states also attacked the anarchic environment so that it had to abide by the rules of international law in order to avoid wars (KIRIS, 2018, pp. 8-9). In short, it is possible to say that organization is a new phenomenon. Kant, in his work *Essay on perpetual peace*, argues that security can be achieved through international organizations (Oran, Cemre, 2017, pp. 8-9). In this essay, Kant advocates the international course as the best solution to avoid any problems between states and to lay the groundwork in a positive sense (KIRIS, 2018, p. 10). They have reached an agreement so that this international war should not be waged within the states, which was exhibited e.g. in

World War I as an example. Wilson debuted here with fourteen principles. Based on these principles, Wilson also included disarmament, open diplomacy, and international organizations (Calis, Ozluk, 2007, pp. 227-228).

It is clear that many factors are effective, especially in the case of security. It is possible to address these factors by expanding them. This can be explained by the depth and breadth of the concept of security. It can be seen that there are many different evaluations in the literature. From this point of view, it would be more useful to examine the security phenomenon in two parts in order to analyze it in more detail. These two parts will be discussed as security perception before and after the cold war. It will be useful to begin the analysis by examining the perception of security before the cold war in order to better understand the historical development of the concept of security.

Traditional perception of security before the cold war

States have become the most important players of the international system since the 1648 Westphalia agreement to the present day. With this peace treaty, the Middle Ages understanding of feudal administration was abandoned. Instead of this system, the understanding of the modern national state has emerged. It is possible to define the national state as a community of people living in it, having certain borders, and being in a dominant position within these borders (Haser, 2018, p. 12). Along with the transition from the Middle Ages to the modern national state system, there has been a change of both political and administrative nature (Akmanlar, 2019, p. 14). With this administrative and political change, modern states, whose borders are clear and regionally dominant, have begun to consolidate their power in the central position. According to Burzan, the sovereign and centralized states did not want any external influence on their political affairs, thus, the principle of not interfering in their internal affairs has emerged in order to protect the power of the sovereign (Akmanlar, 2019, p. 15). In this case, the security of states was also perceived as the security of people and other institutions that make up the state. Thus, states began to look at security from the perspective of national security and become very interested in security because they needed security both to survive and to ensure continuity.

The traditionalist theory, which interprets national security, explained it as territorial integrity, political independence, and military interventions (Torun, 2012, p. 45). According to this view, non-military threats were not perceived as a security problem. It is possible to say that two different concepts emerged with this approach. They dealt with military and direct threats to the state (high politics), economy, and other problems of secondary importance (low politics) (Karabulut, 2009, pp. 67-68). Thus, when the traditional understanding of security is mentioned and when the state is mentioned, security comes to mind (Bilgin, 2002, p. 103).

According to Miller, the biggest factors that threaten national security in the traditional security approach are the states in the international system. He summarizes these states as states that are not content with the current situation or extremely nationalistic and aggressive states (Haser, 2018, p. 13). Baldwin, on the other hand, defines the traditionalist approach by

considering only the military dimension of national security (Torun, 2012, p. 46). The theorists such as Hobbes, Machiavelli, and Rousseau have argued that strong military power ensures the state sovereignty, and therefore theoretically ensures national security (Baylis, 2008, p. 71).

In this context, the traditionalist approach tried to explain the state administration based on the understanding of “human nature is bad” of the realist theorists, who looked at national security as a military power (Akmanlar, 2019, p. 17). From the point of view of the realist understanding, it is clear that national security is connected with the realist theory. It would be appropriate to say that it is basically shaped by concepts such as war, peace, and power (Karabulut, 2019, p. 56).

From this point of view, it is argued that in the traditionalist security understanding, security can be provided with military power and capacity. The military force is constantly increasing the capacity and reinforces the understanding of defense with new weapons. This is of great importance for the states’ ability to respond and deter threats. As a result, Baldwin explains that the security perception of the traditionalist approach, which claims that national security can only be achieved with military capacity, has not changed as show the examples from during and after the cold war (Torun, 2012, p. 46). Baldwin argues that the traditionalist approach’s understanding of security did not change with the increasing weapon technology in this period and the desire of states to have these weapons for deterrence. He only argues that some new issues have entered the field of security. In the section up to this point, what the traditional security understanding covers have been analyzed.

Now, how they will provide security and the necessary arguments will be explained. From this point of view, we will draw attention to the development of the security phenomenon in the historical process and deepen our research. We will try to analyze what kind of differences there are in the concept of security in its historical development, and what these differences cover if anything.

Historical development of the security phenomenon

In order to analyze the historical development of security more accurately, it is necessary to go back to the first humans. Such a long process prevents us from making an accurate analysis. The concept of security is explained in the first chapter. The facts that there are many different approaches and that the concept changed during its development according to the conjuncture, makes Ward’s analysis difficult. The concept of security is not a concrete concept. It cannot be seen with the naked eye. But with some equipment and tools, it becomes concrete and gains meaning. The phenomenon of security has always been the subject of research in the social sciences. Besides, the concept of security has undergone changes, just like the state phenomenon, and has survived through different phases of development until today. Thus, it is possible to say that there is a parallelism between the need for security and the emergence of modern states in 1648.

People have blamed the states for their security vulnerabilities and concerns. Thus, there has been a transition from human security to state security. In this process, the concept of security

has included many different concepts. While talking about the concept of security, Dedeoğlu argues that there should be internal-external threats in order to protect and maintain the existence (Akmanlar, 2019, p. 5). It can be said that the prevention of these external and internal threats falls under the responsibility of the state. There are many different themes in the literature on the historical change and development of security. These differences are used to explain the security phenomenon. According to the most commonly accepted view in the literature, the development of the security phenomenon is examined by dividing it into two groups. These two groups are based on system and religion (Karabulut, 2009, p. 46).

When we look at the analysis as a system, it is primarily based on the wars between these countries which we call Greek city-states (*polis*), when there were no nation-states in the modern sense. It is not correct to talk about a full international relationships between these states. However, the fact that these states fought with each other in the process revealed a security problem (Donmez, 2010, pp. 5-7). The vulnerability that emerged here also introduced us to the Latin word “se+cura”. The establishment of the Roman Empire brought about great changes in the political structure. It has been a large conglomerate of states with a central government.

Ariboğan, on the other hand, stated that the size and central structure of the Roman Empire was taken as an example of the unipolar world system (Donmez, 2010, p. 8). The wars over the system eventually introduced us to the process we know as the Peace of Rome (*Pax Romana*). From the 1st century AD, the Romans began to provide private and public security under the protection of their empire (Haser, 2018, p. 9). Theorists who analyze the historical development of security through the phenomenon of religion, on the other hand, explain their thesis with the fact that the phenomenon of religion triggered wars until the period of monotheistic religions. Along with monotheistic religions, they examined the wars with other religions according to the understanding of the religion that people believed in. Over time, religion-based and sectarian wars emerged in Europe and created a perception of security problems (Haser, 2018, p. 10). It is possible to take the issue of security, examined in terms of religion, back to the past few years. In 2011, the Syrian state came to the point of collapse with the civil war. During this civil war, some illegal organizations emerged in its own territory. This structure, which recruited soldiers especially by perverting the religion of Islam, has become a security problem. As a matter of fact, this problem has been a threat to our borders due to the fact that we are neighbors of the Syrian state. The deceived people, belonging to the illegal ISIS organization, who identified themselves as Muslims, caused the death of hundreds of our people when suicide bombers detonated themselves in public areas within our borders. In short, the phenomenon of religion continues to be important today. In this example, it is a problem of terrorism originating from religion.

Some perceptions of the phenomenon of religion have also shown that religion is important in many issues, including terrorism (Karabulut, 2009, p. 46). In order to deepen and improve our analysis, it would be more appropriate to make some additions to the studies on the system and religion. In order to better analyze how the perception of security has changed during the historical process, we will emphasize some important turning points in the this process. These include expansionist and invasive aggressive attitudes that increased with the development of

civilizations. These civilizations have historically been Mongols, Persians, Romans, and Chinese (Karabulut, 2009, p. 47). Especially with the discovery of gunpowder by the Chinese, the security problem in these wars increased. Another important factor in the historical development of security were the geographical discoveries (Bakan, Sahin, 2018, p. 137). In this way, gunpowder and other tools used in wars in the Far East were transported to Western societies. When it was understood that strong castles would be destroyed by these gunpowders, even the high castles that were safe became useless. The best example of this is the conquest of Constantinople by Fatih Sultan Mehmet (Mehmet the Conqueror) in 1453. It would be correct to add the industrial revolution to this article as well.

The introduction of steam engines and heavy weapons also caused heavy losses to the enemy state on the battlefields. This has led to a change in the perception of security. While arrows, bows, and swords were used before, the security problem has changed and deepened with gunpowder and heavy artillery (Gudek, 2012, p. 92). The 18th century industrial revolution and ideological ideas have produced irreversible results in terms of security perception. The Napoleonic wars, which reveal this destruction, are an important ideological example, both as a whole and in terms of nationalist ideas as there is a complete security problem gap (Karabulut, 2009, p. 47). There are many theorists who oppose this idea. According to Locke, one of these theorists, idealistic tendencies developed in this century. He argues, however, that current views against the war situation are developing (Donmez, 2010, p. 10). Yet, there are many empires and great states in history that were destroyed as a result of the nationalist movements. Many nations living under the roof of these states have faced various negative factors due to the increasing nationalism-based security problem.

In the 19th century, due to the increasing wars and changing systematic transformations in the capital, the flow of capital to the West, and the development of the high level of prosperity created here, misery has occurred in other regions, and this has revealed the center-periphery problem (Bakan, Sahin, 2018, p. 138). Foster argues that these problems, which emerged in the field of energy, urbanization, and industrialization as a result of capitalism, create a security deficit on a global scale. Buzan, on the other hand, argues that in this century, the hegemonic powers carried out global resource controls and used these resources in line with the interests of their own countries (Bakan, Sahin, 2018, p. 138). After the source control, security strategies have diversified and transformed in important areas such as economy, oil and coal. This source control has started to become a security problem all over the world.

In the 20th century, as a result of the desire to dominate strategic resources and geopolitically important geographies, we faced two major wars on a global scale. World War I and II were the most devastating ones and resulted in severe consequences that history has ever seen. Especially in the period which we call the cold war, the world experienced a balance of terror with increasing nuclear weapons. These events have shown us that with industrial and technological developments weapons of more striking power have emerged. Countries that do not have these weapons, on the other hand, have found shelter under the roof of the countries that do. This process introduced us to the bipolar system as Morton Kaplan put it (Kantarci, 2008, p. 49).

Finally, in the 21st century the increase in idealistic tendencies in Turkey regarding human rights, law, international cooperation, free trade, democratic governments and social developments to provide security and eliminate war has introduced us to different dimensions of security (Calis, Ozluk, 2007, p. 228). In addition to these, the technological developments based on the Internet, such as increasing communication, can be considered the most important developments of this century. Despite many positive effects, these developments have revealed both state and individual problems in terms of cyber security (Akyesilmen, 2018, pp. 118-119).

As a result, the perception of security that has existed since the first humans continues to exist today. The concept which has undergone a cyclical change, has continued its changes and gained diversity depending on the era. The problem of perception of security has developed and encompassed many different areas. I tried to explain these areas by giving examples from today. The period during and after the cold war, in which security gained a completely different dimension, will be discussed. Thus, our analysis will gain a deeper framework with an advanced literature review. The cold war period is important because it is directly related to many fields such as military, economy and politics, and the security phenomenon will be analyzed within this framework in the next section.

Change and transformation of security perception

The post-cold war modern approach to security

In order to better analyze the change and transformation of security perception, in this section the conditions of the cold war and the post-cold war period will be examined and analyzed. In this way, the transformation of the perception of security brought by the cold war will contribute to our analysis. Before moving on to the modern security approach adopted after the cold war, it will be useful for our analysis to look at the conditions of this period. The increase in nuclear/conventional weapons during and after the cold war and the world's shaping of a balance of terror have revealed very important results for the perception of security. This period, and especially the early 1900s and the period up to 1990s, will be included in the analysis.

Let's have a brief look at the 1900s: At the beginning of the 1900s, several large states had a desire to become a hegemonic power. Smaller states wanted to complete their development as soon as possible. In this period, many states, especially Mussolini's Italy, which wanted to complete their development with revisionist and ideological approaches, adopted an aggressive stance as a policy. There was an ideological conflict which spreaded all over the world. These ideological and aggressive attitudes soon gave way to wars. These wars, over time, appeared as World War I and II. Before these wars there was an increase in the military power and capacities of the states, especially in terms of security. In accordance with the conditions of the period, tanks, aircraft and effective cannons were produced depending on the level of development of the industries. This developing and growing arms industry soon turned into war. Between 1914

and 1918, the greatest war in history took place. This war, which we call World War I, caused the death of millions of soldiers and the change of many lands (Nye, 2011, pp. 15-16).

Woodrow Wilson, one of the former presidents of the USA, published 14 principles so that such a great war would not happen again in this period. These principles indicated briefly that they would advocate establishing international peace and that some measures should be taken against such negative situations (Boztas, 2014, pp. 165-166). The Wilson Principles were received favorably by the defeated states that emerged from the war. However, it has been ignored that some principles can be used for profit (Boztas, 2014, p. 166). The League of Nations was established within the framework of the Wilson Principles and its main goal is to prevent states from fighting again and to ensure world stability (Boztas, 2014, p. 168). However, the victorious states did not accept the Wilson's principles, and the increase in fascist attacks evoked the heaviest and most wearing war that history has seen, which we call World War II (Elmas, 2010, pp. 32-33).

World War II is of great importance in many respects. First of all, the victorious and defeated states in World War I greatly increased their military equipment and weapons in a very short time and entered a kind of arms race (Yıldız, 2019, p. 1). Although Germany was defeated in the war, it had a very large military capacity. Due to the continuing ideological conflicts, World War II took place with the use of the most advanced weapons, even nuclear weapons that had not been tested before. These nuclear weapons have replaced conventional weapons used in previous wars (Donmez, 2010, p. 102). These nuclear weapons were of such great importance that the concept of nuclear deterrence also entered the literature at that time and some states started a race to gain nuclear weapons. After World War II, studies were initiated to ban the use of these weapons which left their mark on the period (Sancak, 2013, p. 128).

These weapons were also very effective in the post-war period. In the period we call the cold war, a bipolar structure emerged (Birdıslı, 2020, p. 246). This bipolar structure is NATO and the Warsaw Pact (Donmez, 2010, p. 259). Here the main states are the USA and the Soviet Union. According to Waever and Buzan, security studies have emerged as a separate field in the USA since the 1940s. In this period, they emphasized two main factors: nuclear weapons and the state of being ready for war at any moment against the Soviet Union (Donmez, 2010, p. 21). These two states experienced an ideological conflict. The main purpose of their ideologies was to become a hegemonic power in the world and rule alone (Guner, 2008, p. 17). These ideological-based policies could turn into a hot conflict even following very small incidents.

However, the general military aim of the period was to destroy the war weapons and equipment of the opposing side rather than a mass slaughter (Oguzlu, 2007, p. 8). With the concept of deterrence used in this period, states ensured their security in a sense. Accordingly, when a state tried to reshape the system with revisionist aims, other powers would come together to form a counter-balancing bloc, in accordance with the principle of "balance of power" (Oguzlu, 2007, p. 7). Here, states are based on a balance of nuclear armament, not the conventional weapons (Birdıslı, 2020, p. 246). This period has shown that the economy, military and technology are interlinked for deterrence. There were no large-scale conflicts during the cold war period. In the literature, this period is called the balance of terror, the arms race or the system of alliances

(Celikpala, 2019, p. 1). At the end of this process, a new concept, the perception of the security dilemma, has emerged. The redefinition of this concept was carried out by Booth and Wheeler (Bilgic, 2011, p. 128).

Mc Sweeney, on the other hand, named this period the second period 1950s-1980s. He argued that this period was under the influence of the realist movements and was called the golden period by realist writers (Donmez, 2010, p. 22). During this process, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union broke up. The changing borders, minority problems and regional instability problems caused the concept of security to deepen (Baylis, 2008, p. 74). In addition, in the post-cold war period many theorists turned to the field of security studies because of the epistemological richness this kind of studies offered (Bırdıslı, 2020, p. 36). Furthermore, the broadening approach to the security concept allowed to conceive security beyond military threats in 1983 with Buzan's two works entitled *People, states and fear*, and Ullman's article *Redefining security* (Acıkmese, 2011, p. 48). One of these theorists is Deutsch (Dedeoglu, 2004, p. 3). Clark, on the other hand, argues that after this period, the territorial characteristic of security weakened with globalization (Torun, 2012, p. 96).

Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff also argue that the concept of globalization gained importance in this period (Polat, 2020, p. 494). Waltz and Mearsheimer argue that there are greater opportunities for states to work together in the post-cold war era (Baylis, 2008, p. 74). In addition, Buzan defended the view that states are threatened by military, political, social, economic, and ecological problems (Cavas, 2008, p. 6). As a result, the perception of security has changed, especially after the cold war. Different from military power and regional defense, multidimensional security issues have emerged (Cavas, 2008, p. 6). With the end of the cold war, the security threats from hunger to women's problems, from environmental pollution to economic instability and even the epidemic diseases have increasingly entered the literature (Acıkmese, 2011, p. 48). In addition to traditional security studies, security threats were approached from different perspectives as in the classification example of Buzan and Hansen: peace studies, critical security studies, feminist security studies, Copenhagen school, post-structuralism, which are known as major security theories and constructive security studies.

For example, the Third World security school emphasizes that security is affected by problems such as food, health, money, trade, as well as nuclear weapons (Acıkmese, 2011, p. 49). Boot, on the other hand, divides the technological developments in the battlefield into four categories and argues that the perception of security has changed due to these concepts. There are also Gunpowder Revolution in the 19th century and Industrial Revolution in the 20th century. According to Boot, history is full of examples of superpowers missing these revolutions (Nye, 2011, p. 17).

It is clear that the weapon systems have changed with technological developments and industrial revolutions. This change, in its simplest form, triggers the change of the concept of security. As in the cold war era, deterrence and containment policies no longer provide absolute security. The best example here are the terrorist attacks (Oguzlu, 2007, p. 13). Nye, in the 21st century, stated that most of the wars are not in the form of states fighting each other, but in the form of conflicts within themselves, and those who fight usually do not wear uniforms. In the

era we live in there are wars between small groups that do not have the status of states with a very high destructive and threatening power achieved thanks to modern technologies, he says, and argues that the perception of security has changed (Nye, 2011, p. 13). It can be said that the use of military force has decreased over time, but it has not completely disappeared. Obama, the former president of the United States of America, in his 2009 Nobel Peace Prize speech said that "(...) the norms that military power brings with it, albeit at the lowest level, are necessary for the continuation of the world order". He argues that no matter how much the environment and time change, military power will never disappear (Nye, 2011, p. 20).

It can be said that the perception of security has changed in the historical process and gained importance in terms of matters that will cause security problems. Many critical theories have emerged about the perception of security, especially after the cold war. In this section we examined the historical development of security perception and we have seen that there are many new approaches to the perception of security. In the following sections, the theories that emerged with the change in the perception of security will be discussed. Thus, our analysis will deepen with theories created from different perspectives upon security.

Copenhagen school

The general structure formed in 1990 and later has been deeply influenced by social sciences. In the field of social sciences, the most affected was the field of international relations. While there was a state-centered approach in international relations until the 1990s, the situation that emerged after the 1990s was reanalyzed (Kıyıcı, 2012, p. 59). These analyses have led to the formation of security theories that will make important contributions to the international relations literature. The structure we define as the Copenhagen school was developed in the Conflict and Peace Research Institute (COPRI) (Kıyıcı, 2012, p. 59).

The Copenhagen school, which emerged in 1985 within the framework of the ideas of thinkers such as Buzan and Waever, took its name as a result of the security-centered studies carried out at the University of Copenhagen (Ermis, 2015, p. 14). In this center, they worked on the concept of security under the scientific direction of Buzan, Waever, and de Wilde. The work of the school began with the establishment of the Peace and Conflict Research Center (COPRI) at the University of Copenhagen in 1985. The school, which focused on European security during its establishment, continued its studies on the security of other non-military areas as well as the understanding of military security (Bakan, Sahin, 2018, p. 146).

The school was born in the late 1980s, during the theorizing period in the field of security studies, as a critique of the actorthreatpolicy triad of the traditional/realistic security understanding (Acıkmese, 2011, p. 46). This school has an important place in the literature with its securitization theory, sectoral security approach, regional security complex theory, and international security studies (Bakan, Sahin, 2018, p. 146). A significant portion of the discussion of security change has been devoted to enlargement. The widening of the security agenda to focus on non-military issues was criticized in Walt's article *The renaissance of security studies*, which is the

most cited article on traditional security understanding (Akmanlar, 2019, p. 23). The discourse of expanding the perception of security actually emphasizes that the concept of security should be removed from the traditional point of view. Buzan, who advocated expanding the scope of security in his book *People, states and fear*, published in 1983, emphasized that objects other than the state should also be a subject of security (Akmanlar, 2019, p. 24). The expanded perception of security by Buzan is as follows:

- Military sector,
- Political sector,
- Environmental sector,
- Economic sector,
- Social Sector (Kıyıcı, 2012, p. 59).

In addition, the Copenhagen School tried to change the traditional understanding of security and develop a new understanding of security, especially through three concepts. The first of these concepts is the concept of “securitization” put forward by Waever, the second is that of “social security” introduced by Buzan. The third and most current concept is “regional security” (Karabulut, 2009, p. 75). The work of Buzan and Walt under the name of expanding security is of great importance. An important contribution of the securitization theory enabled to provide a new and more convincing explanation of the transformation of Europe after World War II (Bilgin, 2000, p. 81). From this point of view, it has been criticized for the Copenhagen school by including non-military issues in security, and at the same time it has tried to explain the approach of the Copenhagen school. In the book *Security: A new framework for analysis* written by Copenhagen school thinkers Weaver and de Wilde, it is mentioned that the actors other than the state are brought to the fore (Akmanlar, 2019, p. 24).

Another criticism of the Copenhagen school towards the traditional understanding of security is that it is too Western. In this context, the critics objected to the fact that security definitions are always Western-centered definitions with the effect of the Westphalian System (Karabulut, 2009, p. 74). The most important reason why Buzan’s ideas found support in the 1990 and later structure is that the realist (traditional) security arguments that dominated the discipline in 1945 and later did not interpret well the anti-Communist movement in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland, the collapse of the Berlin wall and the disintegration of the USSR and couldn’t predict the process (Kıyıcı, 2012, p. 60). In addition, the Copenhagen school’s opposition to a Western security perception approach included security studies in other regions in the analysis. In the new understanding of security, the contributions of the Copenhagen school to the transformation of the post-cold war security understanding have been accepted, but some criticisms have also emerged. The first of those criticisms is that the categories Buzan put forward for the purpose of expanding security have a political purpose and make the state the main actor. Second, it is about perspective. Since securitization is discourse-centered and the state dominates the discourse, it is the case of ensuring that states continue as the main actor (Akmanlar, 2019, pp. 25-26).

In conclusion, it can be said that the Copenhagen school represents the transition process from the traditional security understanding to the new security understanding.

The Welsh/Aberystwyth school

The end of the cold war paved the way for unconventional approaches to reconceptualize security. Another group that contributed to the development of critical security studies in the 1990s and beyond is the Aberystwyth school. The Aberystwyth school was influenced by the post-Marxist tradition compared to the Copenhagen school and especially benefited from the influence of the Frankfurt school on social sciences (Kıyıcı, 2012, p. 62). Because of their influence from the Frankfurt school, the work of the Welsh school is also critically evaluated in the perspective of security studies. Various studies have been carried out under the name of the critical theory in order to create alternatives and find different ways against the limited and monotonous understanding of this traditional understanding.

The most important representative of the Welsh school is Booth. Booth's article entitled *Security and emancipation* published in the *Review of International Studies* in 1991, constitutes the intellectual background within the critical security studies of the Welsh school (Kıyıcı, 2012, p. 63). Other important theorists are Krause and Williams. The book *Critical security studies: Concepts and cases* compiled by Krause and Williams in 1996 provided guidance. In this study, it is discussed how to move away from traditional assumptions about security in the face of changing threat and risk perceptions after the cold war (Akmanlar, 2019, p. 29). They have also deepened our understanding of security (deepening security). This move reveals the relationship between academic concepts and political agendas. The second move is broadening security to address the range of insecurities faced by these actors (Bilgin, 2000, p. 84).

Critical security studies carried out under the name of the Welsh/Aberystwyth school by academics such as Booth, Wyn Jones, Linklater, Krause and Williams at Aberystwyth University in England have come to the fore within the scope of these new assessments of security (Akmanlar, 2019, pp. 29-30). According to the Welsh school, ethnic groups, nations and the whole world community constitute alternative actors of security problems. Due to the fact that security is so multidimensional, in addition to military threats other security problems can also be the subject of security studies. Booth opposes the purely realistic understanding of security in his article.

Booth connects security and emancipation in his article, and according to him, the concept of security means a situation without threats while the concept of emancipation means getting rid of the physical and human barriers that prevent people from doing what they choose to do freely as individuals or as a group (Kıyıcı, 2012, p. 62). Booth associated security and emancipation with the phrase "two sides of the same coin" (Akmanlar, 2019, p. 32). The real security for Booth is the security that brings liberation (Kıyıcı, 2012, p. 63). As a result, Booth's statement "my freedom depends on your freedom" facilitates the inference that othering and threats will be eliminated with the unity provided between freedom and security (Akmanlar, 2019, p. 32). This creates a new perception of security by criticizing the traditional understanding of security. This perception, on the other hand, says that they are dependent on each other.

Critical theory

Mc Sweeney from the very beginning of the 20th century divided the understanding of security into certain periods. Mc Sweeney defines the current period as the fourth period. The fourth period is the period we are in after the end of the cold war. This period is the era of the critical theory, feminist theory, postmodernism, structuralism, and critical security studies. It defines the period as the period that has no connection with the second period, when the realist movement was active (Donmez, 2010, p. 22). The origins of the critical theory go back to the Frankfurt school, which stemmed from the work of writers such as Horkheimer, Adorno, Marcuse, who gathered around the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt in the 1920s and 1930s, initially in Germany and then in the USA (Karabulut, 2009, p. 87). The critical theory was developed in Germany in the 1920s and later in the USA. It was put forward by the thinkers of the Frankfurt School (Bakan, Sahin, 2018, p. 144).

The critical theory was first introduced in 1937 in the Frankfurt school thinker Max Horkheimer's article *Traditional and critical theory*. The critical theory developed from the Frankfurt school studies has a wide range of disciplines such as sociology, ethics, psychoanalysis, philosophy and social anthropology (Akmanlar, 2019, p. 26). The critical theory became a theory that entered the discipline of international relations at the end of the 1980s, when the cold war period began to end, and questioned the questions and answers asked until then. It started to gain acceptance in the 1990s (Haser, 2018, p. 48).

Although the pioneers of the critical theory are Horkheimer, Pollock, Adorno, Habermas and Marcuse, it is originally based on the Western Marxism or Neo-Marxist philosophy (Bakan, Sahin, 2018, p. 144). According to the critical theory, security is based on the state, not on the individual. In addition, the critical theory has made great criticisms of realism because the individuals claimed to ignore their needs. In addition, according to the critical theory, security is a field of study which adopts a bottom up perspective – from the individual to the highest human community – and is evaluated in terms of theory and practice (Karabulut, 2009, p. 87).

Another criticism of the traditional security theory is that security concerns only the states and people. However, a healthy analysis should include not only the states but also the internal dynamics of the states (Kiris, 2018, p. 20). Realism, they claim, neglects this area. According to the critical approach, security begins with the individual, and freedom and security are like two halves of an apple (Haser, 2018, pp. 48-49). According to the critical security theorists, the most important security barrier in front of societies are existing rules, norms and institutions (Karabulut, 2009, p. 88). In this respect, the critical theory opposes the analysis of security of the state in the traditional theory and adopts a critical attitude on the basis of the individual, justice and freedom. According to Mark Neufeld, "security = liberation" (Karabulut, 2009, p. 89). Another contribution to the critical security studies was the approach to this issue from a human-based perspective for the first time (Kiyıcı, 2012, p. 58). After this period, non-traditional security threats emerged. These threats are also of human origin. For this reason, the concept of humanitarian intervention came to the fore for the first time at the Toronto conference, where the meaning of

this phenomenon was discussed. A few years after the Toronto summit, the UN International Commission on Foreign Intervention and State Sovereignty was established (Kıyıcı, 2012, p. 58).

As a result, the critical theory basically opposes the perception of the state and sovereignty in the traditional approach to security, while defending the liberation of the individual. It emphasizes the need to consider the individual as the basis of security. It is argued that security threats have also changed in the post-cold war era. By avoiding ideological conflicts, this theory advocates the creation of a more humane order and a livable, free environment.

Postmodern theory

The perception of security is one of the most discussed issues in the post-cold war period. The postmodern theory dates back to the 1960s. The theory that emerged later in France became influential in the USA. It was interested in art and literature in its early years. In the following years, especially in the 1980s, it started to enter the discipline of the international relations (Karabulut, 2009, p. 96). The postmodern theory has criticized the realist theory the most. Here, too, realism argues that the state is not an indispensable institution (Haser, 2018, p. 51). According to the postmodern theory, individuals, cultures and ethnic-religious groups should be protected.

The important representatives of postmodernism in the discipline of international relations are Ashley, Der Derian, Walker, Connolly, and Campbell (Coskun, 2007, p. 193). The postmodern theory criticizes the state-centered perception and instead just emphasizes the importance of new approaches based on individuals. However, the postmodern theory has approached the global phenomena critically and defended locality. It is possible to define the postmodern theory as anti-universality (Karabulut, 2009, p. 98). According to the postmodern theorists, states sometimes give some security vulnerabilities in order to make artificial agenda. They claim that the most important reason for this is to protect national identity and territorial integrity by creating an artificial threat perception on a small scale (Karabulut, 2009, p. 100). As a result, it can be said that many theories that emerged after the cold war show similarities. Their basic perceptions are security theories which are handled through humans and freedom. These theories argue that the sources of threats for security change and therefore the concepts that will provide security are also equalized.

Conclusion

The concept of security continues to change today. The most important example of this change is the COVID-19 epidemic disease. The concept of security, which has been developing from the first humans to the present, continues to exist by deepening and expanding according to the conditions of the age. The 21st century has achievements that will go down in history in terms of technological and scientific development. Such advanced technologies as unmanned aerial vehicles, robots, quantum computers or smartphones have also caused negative consequences. The negative consequences of these positive developments are at a level that will affect the human, state, and non-state actors. We met the concepts that emerged with this advanced

technology, which we call cyber attacks or cyber espionage. This has also deeply affected people, states, companies, and supranational actors.

When we consider the historical development of security, there are threats according to the conditions of the period and tools to combat these threats in order to provide security in accordance with the characteristics of the period. World War II was a turning point in the perception of security. Especially, the historical time period, which we call the cold war and which emerged after this war, is important in terms of carrying out many studies on security. In our study, we generally divided them into two groups. As a conclusion, for these two parts, it can be said that the threats that posed a security problem in the pre-cold war period are generally similar. However, the second group of our study assumes that the threats that will create a security problem have developed further in the period until today. We encountered many new and different threats. Although these elements change and develop, it will be possible to say that the perception of security provided by military force will never disappear, but its importance will decrease. On the other hand, human rights, democracy, animal rights, and ecosystem will gain importance in the future.

In particular, I would like to point out that in today's world, which is the most technological age the world has ever seen, many important developments will occur in the cyber field that we have mentioned above. I think that some preventive concepts that have started to be effective in this cyber field, or the new theories, will be developed to prevent the possible threats. In this field, which is gaining importance day by day, states will want to have some preventive equipment because they do not want to lose their sovereignty. The best example of this are some measures taken by the states against cryptocurrencies. Smart objects, which come into our lives more and more with Industry 4.0, will cause security problems in many respects, especially they will create a need of protection of private life.

The technological developments in the 21st century have created some changes in the characteristics and nature of power for the states. In addition to all these developments, the world order is not only in line with the military forces of the great powers. Moreover, the world order is far beyond a system based only on the brute force of these powers (Ozluk, 2017, p. 255). Cyber attacks on the critical infrastructures of states in recent years have proven this claim. The states do not compromise their security to survive. However, the perception of power before the cold war has left its place to more specific components today. States have not completely abandoned their military forces, but in addition to their military forces, they have included smart power components with some new deterrent features into their security mechanisms.

It is certain that the concept of internalization of objects, which plays an important role today, will bring many different dimensions to the changing perception of security. It has been evident from some events which occur today that these objects will bring with them in the coming years many different security problems and violations. In addition to these problems, the dizzying developments in the cyber field have eliminated the internal-external distinction, which is considered a threat. With the disappearance of this distinction, it is certain that there will be security problems anytime, anywhere, and with any object. The problems that arise here again,

coincide with the security problems brought by the age. Just as the Chinese people discovered gunpowder, the changing perception of security today has created multidimensional security vulnerabilities with the internalization of objects.

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