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**ХАБАРШЫСЫ**

**BULLETIN**

of L.N.Gumilyov Eurasian  
National University

№4 (141)/2022

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университета имени Л.Н.Гумилева

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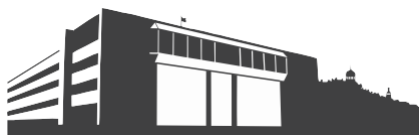
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## Development of a new paradigm for security studies

**Abstract.** *The globalizing world faced new security risks, challenges, and threats, and has to develop appropriate measures to respond to them.*

*Globalization causes growing interdependence in different dimensions and the universalization of different processes. This transformation complicated the maintenance of international peace and security, creating a need to revise the theoretical framework for International Security. The emergence of new influences and the changing environment of international relations contribute to shifts in security theorizing.*

*Previously, security was considered from the perspective of neorealism and neoliberalism. The state-centered approach was a prevailing one. On the one hand, the effects of globalization led to the development of a new security paradigm. We have to enlarge our understanding of security and move on to global security. New stakeholders and areas are the focus of the analysis of modern theories. However, at the same time, the pandemic has demonstrated that only states can undertake effective measures to protect people and warranty recovery for economic loss. Moreover, it must be recalled that geopolitical maneuvering in the world is intensifying, sometimes in an aggressive manner.*

*In a complicated context, researchers have to consider more variables to offer the new security paradigm and new security approaches. They tend toward a holistic and comprehensive perspective that embraces different areas and levels.*

**Keywords:** *security; globalization; security paradigm; theory of international relations; International Security Studies; influences on international security.*

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## Introduction

Security is one of the concepts, along with such terms as international relations, integration, internationalization, etc., which are difficult to

define exactly due to their complexity. There are many different traditional and non-traditional theoretical approaches to security: it is considered from the perspective of realism, liberalism, constructivism, post-structuralism, feminism, etc.

Moreover, security is composed of and determined by different exogenous and endogenous factors. Naturally, globalization as a mainstream of world development, changes in global architecture, and shifts in power distribution also affect security and its patterns.

Barry Buzan and Lene Hansen identify five factors as general analytical categories behind the evolution of International Security Studies at different periods of time and in different contexts:

- great power politics, distribution of power among the leading states,
- unfolding of new technologies and their impact,
- impact of key events,
- academic knowledge in response to events, technologies, and great power politics,
- institutionalisation [1].

The most significant developments are related to globalization due to both complexities of technology and technology dependence (the notion of the “risk society” by U. Beck, where the technology’s complexity increases risks) [2].

In order to reveal features of the new security paradigm, it is rational to:

- Look into the previous paradigm.
- Define changes in the system of international relations that exerted influence on the security system.
- Present the notion and features of new security paradigms.

### Research methods

This article relies on the study of international security theories to determine and systemize basic elements of the security system and their relevant changes.

The logical analysis allows investigation of the evolution of the security paradigm and reveals the impact of the context of world politics.

The main features of the previous security paradigm and the new one, developments in International Security Studies were defined by the comparative analysis.

### Discussion

First of all, it is rational to point out the main features of the previous security system and

security paradigm, especially in the period of the Cold War:

- After the establishment of the Westphalia system, international security was state-centered and understood as interstate [3].

- Approaches in the frame of theories of Realpolitik were predominant. It was insufficient and, as a result, caused numerous conflicts [4];

- During the Cold War, security was considered as a “struggle of states for power” [4].

Traditionally International Security Studies (ISS) are associated with the emergence of nuclear power and the Cold War. ISS is the result of a discussion on protection from external and internal threats after the Second World War [1].

During the interwar period, it was believed that democracy, international understanding, arbitration, national self-determination, disarmament, and collective security were crucial tools to promote security [5]. During the first post-war decade after World War II, security issues were also under focus. During the second decade, in 1955–1965, the “golden age” of Security Studies, nuclear power has become a crucial point [5, p. 121-122].

At that time, international relations theory was dominated by neorealism and neoliberalism [4, p. 138-139]. Both offensive and defensive realism proceed from the conviction that states are driven by a desire to maintain security. Offensive realists argue that states try to do it by increasing their relative advantages (such actions may cause the potential for conflict in interstate relations). They also explain the behavior of states by an external environment that determines ways to achieve state interests. As for defensive realists, they think that states pursue security only to respond to rare external threats; in consonance with neoclassical realism, states seek not security, but control and shaping their external environment in order to decrease uncertainties [6, p. 149, 152].

During the 1960s and 1970s, scholars mark a decline in interest in Security Studies; issues of sustainable development and energy demands had come to the fore. The aggravation of relations between the two blocks in the late 1970s and 1980s contributed to the growth of interest in Security Studies [5, p. 124-125].

Widely spread in the 1970–1980s realist theory of hegemonic stability considered great powers as main actors of the security system, but due to such changes as globalization, some realists reviewed these notions [7, p. 233]. National security studies were replaced by International Security Studies [5, p. 125].

According to liberalists, international institutes should decrease anarchy and uncertainty, while violations of the rules are punished by sanctions (win-stay, lose-shift strategy in the repeated Prisoner's Dilemma); neorealists suppose that if competing states participate in international institutes, new areas of rivalry may appear [7, p. 233-234].

Ikenberry identifies three models of liberal international order [8]:

- Version 1.0 is based on Wilson's points. It relies on assumptions that it is possible to unify all of the states in one collective security system and make a transition of non-democratic states to liberal regimes. However, this liberal model was not universal, it preserved colonial governance and recognized only newly emerged states after the collapse of empires.

- Version 2.0 is the Cold War liberal internationalism. It was developed after World War II by the USA. It should consist of main powers to maintain security, as a result, a Western-oriented security community was established.

- Version 3.0 is a post-hegemonic liberal internationalism. It has to exist in conditions of the end of the Cold War and new security threats.

The development of a new security model is explained by different influences – changes in international systems and security.

One of them is the *end of the Cold war* [4, p. 134; 9; 10; 11, p. 28; 12, p. 454]. It raised many questions about the fundamental nature of the new international structure (a multipolar system or non-polarity, i.e. non-constant alliances/combinations created to achieve different purposes; the use of the notion of “pole”), its anarchic or regulating character [12, p. 454-455].

Three times during the 20<sup>th</sup> century an international system experienced a structural breakup in the form of changes in major international actors due to the collapse of some

states and the transformation of the geopolitical role of others. For instance, after World War II, the five great powers were responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security; after the end of the Cold War, the Soviet Union disintegrated, and France and Great Britain became regional powers [13, p. 35].

New internal conflicts emerged in the post-Soviet space, the former Yugoslavia, and in Africa: the first case illustrated the disintegration of multinational states and sovereignization of the newly formed, while the second one is an outcome of the colonial past and the security vacuum after the disappearance of the rigid bipolar system [13, p. 36].

The other change is the *emergence of new security actors, new referents, security elites, and redistribution of power* [4, p. 139, 3; 14, p. 270-271; 9, p. 498-500; 10; 3, p. 39-41; 12, p. 455; 2, p. 55]. As Bingöl marks, there is a diversification of actors; states are no longer the only actors in international politics [12, p. 455]. States are not treated as the only referent object of security; such new security's referent objects as individuals, interest groups, regions, international system itself appeared [2, p. 55].

*Growing economic interdependence and globalization of political and cultural processes* [4, p. 134, 144; 9, p. 502, 509-510; 15, p. 14] also should be mentioned. As a result, we see the emergence of new areas and dimensions of security (migration, environmental issues, human rights, economy, health, etc.) [4, p. 139-140; 14, p. 270–271; 9, p. 510; 2, p. 55].

The expansion of security may be illustrated by the fact that some scholars consider the conceptual quartet – security, peace, development, and environment [14, p. 274]. The technological changes, especially cyber and artificial intelligence, also contributed to the widening and deepening of the security's dimensions and its division into political, economic, ecological, social, and others [2, p. 53, 55].

This, in turn, led to the *informatization of armed forces and “intellectualization” of conventional weapons, the development of communication means* [16, p. 28]. Experts observe changes in the role of military strength. On the one hand, there was



a decrease in armament expenditure and focus on extra-military aspects; on the other hand, the hybridization of global politics illustrates the increasing significance of military power (the 9/11 terrorist attacks, tightening of military alliances, etc.) [15, p. 7, 14].

The majority of states desire to gain from economic and technological globalization, which benefits the stable security system. However, differences in the level of development of states cause the potential for conflict and destabilization [3, p. 44-45].

*Generation of not only new opportunities, but also unusual risks and threats* [4, p. 134; 13, p. 35-36; 15, p. 14] is also notable. The range of threats in the XXI century is different from the previous period of the Cold War, among them are:

- Phenomena – natural disasters, epidemics, hunger, illegal immigration [17, p. 19; 5, p. 125]. The current COVID-19 pandemic caused critical changes in all spheres of our life.

- Supranational forces – subnational threats based on political, racial, religious, cultural, and ethnic conflicts within the state; an increasing number of internal conflicts caused by non-state powers [17, p. 19; 3, p. 40-41].

- Transnational threats – religious movements and international criminal groups; the monopoly of states was undermined by national liberation movements and transnational terrorist groups which may get access to weapons of mass destruction [17, p. 19; 3, p. 39-40; 5, p. 126; 15, p. 14].

- Growing ambitions and unpredictability of political regimes [15, p. 14]; transformation of authoritarian political regimes into democratic [3, p. 48];

- Use of weapons of the new generation [13, p. 38];

- Use of information and information wars that changed the form of interstate conflicts [16, p. 28]. Today, the concept of hybrid war has been widely disseminated in political discourse. It manifests a shift to indirect asymmetric actions, a combination of military and non-military tools of influence (political, economic, informational, etc.). Therefore, hybrid war is a complex phenomenon.

Among other non-military threats, that the world experiences are domestic poverty, educational crises, industrial competitiveness, drug trafficking, environmental hazards, resource shortages, global poverty, and so on [5, p. 126].

It should be stressed that, as scholars [15] remark, internal and external factors which shape security systems are varying.

Moreover, we have seen a gradual process of securitization of different issues (environmental protection, migration and migrant crisis, human security, health, etc.).

## Results

All of the above-mentioned changes resulted in the reconceptualization of security and the design of a new security paradigm. In the XXI century, the classical understanding of the security of individuals, society, the state, and many other systems became insufficient. The concept of security was expanded because of structural changes in the international system itself; securitization plays a key role in dealing with any security problems [4, p. 134, 138-139].

Expansion of Security Studies poses the problem of division between Security Studies, on the one hand, and International Politics and Foreign Policy Studies, on the other [5, p. 135].

Different areas of widened security have become equally prioritized; a comprehensive approach to security should not equalize the features of each component [3, p. 42]. A new security paradigm generates new norms and was predetermined by the transformation of national and international security into global security [4, p. 133-134, 137].

It is more correct to talk about “world security” which means global security; however, we should not widen this concept too much [3, p. 45]. At the same time, it is difficult to speak of global security because we have blurred boundaries between national and global security.

At the same time, on the one side, it is difficult to integrate domestic affairs into Security Studies due to the prevalence of realist notions; on the other side, increasing interdependence between domestic and foreign policy issues may benefit to this incorporation [5, p. 131-132].

Although the bipolar system collapsed, it is generally accepted that the post-bipolar world has not become safer. There is a debate on the issue of stability in bipolar and multipolar systems. Some scholars refer period between the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the First World War as a period of relative peace [18, p. 352]. On the one hand, there was a sharp confrontation during the Cold War and the potential for conflict was high. Nevertheless, we have only two superpowers that were able to start a devastating war. On the other hand, a multipolar system contains numerous actors. It means that the number of possible tensions also multiplies. However, each actor, which decides to start a warship, needs information about its rivalry. In multipolar systems, the level of unpredictability is also higher, than in bipolar systems. So, we have to assemble a lot of information about multiple players to decrease uncertainty and start a conflict. In multipolar systems, the decision-making process is more complicated than in bipolar systems. As Kuklina states, in any case, there is no metatheory to stabilize the security system [13, p. 35].

There are several legacies left by the Cold War. One of them is security mechanisms, which are “common” for the East and West and developed during the confrontation between the two blocks. International organizations in the fields of economy, environment, trade, etc. were able to adapt to the new conditions. Nevertheless, it is not true for the civil-military sphere where we had a complete destruction of structures. The other legacy is nuclear power, which still serves as a deterring factor in international relations of the nuclear five, as well as in the North-South and the South-South cooperation [13, p. 35-36]. Deriving from neorealism, states must balance the nuclear arsenal of each other by developing their own or joining a coalition, which is able to guarantee security. Concerning the current role of nuclear weapons in international security, “nuclear myths” also should be mentioned. According to Peter Lavoy, they can be explained as “unverifiable beliefs about relationships between a state’s nuclear weapons and security”; this model is based on beliefs in nuclear weapons

of individuals, policymakers, and individuals who deliver nuclear myths [19, p. 16, 37-38].

The other trend is related to a clear shift in responsibility for maintaining peace from the global to the regional level (the post-Soviet space, Euro-Atlantic area, Africa, and America) as a way to avoid the complete destruction of previous security structures and to modernize them. The post-bipolar world has shown that a change in the balance of powers did not remove from the agenda the issue of improving the efficiency of security cooperation among states [13, p. 36].

At the same time, states have common interests to prevent a global war; these efforts are different from the classical geopolitical rivalry of the 19th century [20, p. 52, 74]. Global problems, especially issues of environmental pollution and sustainable development, contributed to growing awareness about interdependence and the indivisibility of security. These problems revealed the inevitability of joint efforts and the need to find common solutions.

Surely, these new trends affected security theories and security studies.

The term “international security after the Cold War” means new parameters and dimensions, but this interpretation does not define it. On the one hand, the term “security” meant “peace” and “absence of war”; on the other hand, it assumes concluding agreements, and the creation of institutions and procedures that would preserve peace. But national armed forces were an integral part of international security in the case of failure of the political and legal mechanisms [3, p. 38].

Concerning the goal of security, it is rational to proceed from the idea that security should not dominate all other public policy goals. Baldwin marks that security studies paid less attention to the goal of security than to the means; among them, first of all, military statecraft [5, p. 129].

Considering multiple actors, we should not underestimate the role of states. It did not increase or decrease, but it has changed: states themselves still pose some dangers (e.g. nuclear proliferation); an interstate security dilemma still remains (the modernization of weapons) [3, p. 41]. However, only states have right to legitimate political violence.

Thus, it is necessary to elaborate a comprehensive definition of security and to review the “traditional, state-centric, militarily-oriented, and externally focused definition” to avoid too large an expansion. For instance, Anderson includes in security economic liberalization, communication, and integration (growth of conventional and non-conventional organizations, transnational nongovernmental organizations), the emergence of non-Western powers and multipolar economic order, multiplication of powers [11, p. 27-30, 34-35].

Summarizing the mentioned factors, scholars mark several changes in the conceptualization of international security [11, p. 31-32; 5, p. 118]:

- global understanding of security and the necessity to create a broad view of national security,
- changes in the significance of military might and increase in intrastate conflicts,
- decline in the role of nuclear power.

New security vulnerabilities, risks, challenges, and threats affect conceptual and institutional frameworks for security, generating the emergence of new theories, doctrines, and organizational structures.

It proves the assumption that adaptation to new security dangers is possible under the impact of a major disaster. In other ordinary cases, adaptation is difficult:

- Hypothetical dangers have no responses.
- Psychological biases preserve the status quo.
- Dominant leaders follow certain policy preferences.
- Fixed institutional framework and procedures resist changes.
- It is destructive and expensive to be ready to respond low-probability threats.

This explanation may be proved in practice by paradigm shifts in US security strategy after the Pearl Harbor attack, the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, the Vietnam War, and the events of 11 September 2001 [21, p. 232, 211-212].

All of these events were landmarks in the building of security strategy not only at the level of one nation-state but also at the international fore. It is necessary to stress the influence of the events of 9/11 on such theoretical issues as interactions

between territoriality, identity, and security. It has brought the following assumptions:

- The territoriality of the state is not totally blurred.
- Globalization does not mean de-territorialisation.
- Homeland defense was enforced under new conditions [22, p. 1].

Traditionally security is bound to territoriality, primarily to the territory of the state: previously states were fragile at their borders (from this point of view, military troops have a crucial role). As for identity, it matters for security because it is necessary to define who should be protected from whom [22, p. 3-5]. Identification allows us to define such categories as “we” and “they,” familiar and unfamiliar. Identity patterns matter for both domestic and foreign policies. Political and social groups within one state and member states within the same organization use identity to determine their belonging to the same category or structure. The enlargement of identity groups or regional integration blocks contributes to the expansion of similar identity and security communities.

Digital and hashtag activism is the other feature of the global political landscape, they provide a “transformative opportunity to inject new narratives or to change the narratives and the way we talk about things” [23]. Therefore, global activism, as well as health issues, influence the current security paradigm. On the other hand, despite a mainstream of globalization, the COVID-19 pandemic reinforced the state’s traditional protective role and its allocative functions [24]. These facts confirm the prerogative of the state on a number of issues.

Lastly, some researchers propose Critical Peace Studies instead of Security Studies to return peace back, as it was before World War II, during the interwar period [25]. The notion of peace expands the horizon of a total understanding [25]. Finally, the ultimate goal of politics is maintaining peace.

## Conclusion

The end of the Cold War and the collapse of the bipolar system, the emergence of new actors, diverse forms and means of globalizing

international contacts, scientific, and technological progress changed the landscape of world politics. Naturally, the transformation of the international relations system means the transformation of the security model.

In its turn, with these changes, Security Studies also have evolved. Non-military (social, economic, technological, environmental, etc.) threats at various levels are the focus of current academic research.

There is a great awareness of the interconnectedness of political, legal, and economic processes and security ensuring at

global, regional, and national levels. Attention is placed upon security norms, human rights, as well as political economy and economic policymaking.

Along with the development of Critical Security Studies / Critical Peace Studies, security is still traditionally examined in the context of peace and war, might, and power. At the same time, experts devote attention to such processes as globalization, interdependence, digitalization, etc., and growing concerns related to them. It can be assumed that a conceptual shift towards Peace Studies instead of Security Studies will take place.

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### **Қауіпсіздік зерттеулеріндегі жаңа парадигманың дамуы**

**Аңдатпа.** Жаһандық әлем қауіпсіздікке төнген жаңа қауіптер мен сын-қатерлерге тап болды. Бұл тиісті жауап қайтару шараларын әзірлеуді қажет етті. Жаһандану әр түрлі салаларда өсіп келе жатқан өзара тәуелділікті және әртүрлі үдерістерді әмбебаптандыруды тудырады. Бұл трансформация халықаралық бейбітшілік пен қауіпсіздікті қамтамасыз етуді қиындатып, халықаралық қауіпсіздіктің теориялық негіздерін қайта қарау қажеттілігін туғызды. Жаңа әсер ету факторларының пайда болуы және халықаралық қатынастар ортасының өзгеруі қауіпсіздік мәселелерін теорияландырудағы өзгерістерге әкелді.

Бұрын қауіпсіздік неореализм және неолиберализм тұрғысынан қарастырылды. Мемлекет басымды болып қарастырылған. Бір жағынан, жаһанданудың салдары жаңа қауіпсіздік парадигмасының қалыптасуына әкелді. Қауіпсіздік туралы түсінік кеңейіп, жаһандық деңгейге ауысты. Жаңа мүдделі тараптар мен бағыттар ағымдағы теорияларды талдаудың негізгі бағыты болып табылды. Алайда, сонымен бірге, пандемия адамдарды қорғау және экономикалық шығындардың өтелуіне кепілдік беру үшін тек мемлекеттер ғана тиімді шаралар қабылдай алатынын көрсетті. Оның үстіне, әлемде геосаяси бәсекелестік күшейіп, кейде агрессивті түрде өтіп жатқанын еске салған жөн.

Күрделеніп жатқан контексте зерттеушілер қауіпсіздіктің жаңа парадигмасын ұсыну және жаңа тәсілдерді әзірлеу үшін көбірек факторларды ескеруі керек. Олар көптеген салалар мен деңгейлерді қамтитын тұтас және жан-жақты көзқарас қалыптастыруға ұмтылады.

**Түйін сөздер:** қауіпсіздік, жаһандану, қауіпсіздіктің парадигмасы, халықаралық қатынастар теориясы, халықаралық қауіпсіздік саласындағы зерттеулер.

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### **Развитие новой парадигмы исследований в области безопасности**

**Аннотация.** В результате глобализации мир столкнулся с новыми рисками, вызовами и угрозами безопасности, что вызвало необходимость выработки соответствующих мер реагирования на них. Глобализация вызывает растущую взаимозависимость в разных сферах и универсализацию различных процессов. Эта трансформация усложнила поддержание международного мира и безопасности и порождает необходимость пересмотра теоретических основ международной безопасности. Появление новых факторов влияния и меняющаяся среда международных отношений способствуют изменениям в теоретизации вопросов безопасности.

Ранее безопасность рассматривалась с позиций неореализма и неолиберализма. Господствовал государствоцентричный подход. С одной стороны, последствия глобализации привели к формированию новой парадигмы безопасности. Понимание безопасности расширилось и перешло к глобальному уровню. Новые заинтересованные стороны и сферы находятся в фокусе внимания анализа современных теорий. Однако в то же время пандемия продемонстрировала, что только государства могут предпринять эффективные меры по защите людей и гарантировать возмещение экономических потерь. Более того, следует напомнить, что геополитическое маневрирование в мире усиливается, иногда в агрессивной форме.

В усложнившемся контексте исследователи должны учитывать больше переменных, чтобы предложить новую парадигму безопасности и выработать новые подходы. Они стремятся к целостной и всеобъемлющей перспективе, которая охватывает различные области и уровни.

**Ключевые слова:** безопасность, глобализация, парадигма безопасности, теория международных отношений, исследования международной безопасности.

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