GLOBAL INSTITUTIONS

Global Trends and Transitions in Security Expertise

From Nuclear Deterrence to Climate Change
and Back Again

James G. McGann

Global Trends and Transitions in Security Expertise

The scope of Security and International Affairs (SIA) research has expanded tremendously since the end of the Cold War, to include topics beyond the realm of war studies or military statecraft. The field—once devoted solely to the study of conventional military and nuclear security issues—has diversified to include foci often considered non-traditional, including peace and conflict, political, economic, environmental, and human security.

In this exciting new volume, McGann has undertaken a quantitative and qualitative study of SIA think tanks, looking at global and regional trends in their research. He argues that the end of the Cold War marked a fundamental shift within the field of defense and security studies among think tanks and academics. Tracking the evolution of security as understood by researchers and policymakers is vital as the world follows the path of the Four Mores: more issues, more actors, more competition, and more conflict. As we move forward into a world of rapid change and ubiquitous uncertainty, think tanks will only become more prominent and influential.

The volume concludes with an assessment of the future of Security and International Affairs studies and raises the possibility of a return to a traditional security focus driven by recent events in Europe and the Middle East. This will be an important resource for students and scholars of security studies, global governance and think tanks.

James G. McGann is a Senior Lecturer in International Studies at the Lauder Institute, Director of the Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program (TTCSP) and Senior Fellow, Fels Institute of Government at the University of Pennsylvania, USA.

Global Institutions

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Abbreviations

AIIA	Australian Institute of International Affairs
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASPI	Australian Strategic Policy Institute
BRICS	The emerging economies of Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa
CARI	Argentine Council for International Relations
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CEID	Center for the Study of Defense Information
CEIP	Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
CFR	Council on Foreign Relations
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CPDNP	Center for the Promotion of Disarmament and Non-Proliferation
CSCAP	Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific
DARPA	Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency
EU	European Union
FGV	Getúlio Vargas Foundation
FPRI	Foreign Policy Research Institute
GDP	gross domestic product
GPS	global positioning system
HDR	Human Development Report
IBRE	Brazilian Institute of Economics
IDSa	Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (India)
IFRI	French Institute of International Relations
IGR	Institute for Government Research
IMEMO RAN	Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Russian Academy of Sciences
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria

JIIA	Japan Institute of International Affairs
MAD	mutually assured destruction
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MINT	The emerging economies of Mexico, Indonesia, Nigeria, and Turkey
MoFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NASA	National Aeronautics and Space Administration
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NIIA	Nigerian Institute of International Affairs
NPT	Non-Proliferation Treaty
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PISM	Polish Institute of International Affairs
RAP	<i>Revista de Administração Pública</i>
SAIIA	South African Institute of International Affairs
SALT	Strategic Arms Limitation Talks
SDI	Strategic Defense Initiative
SIA	Security and International Affairs
SIIS	Shanghai Institute of International Studies
TRIP	Teaching, Research, and International Policy Project
TTCSP	Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WTO	World Trade Organization

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Introduction

When US President Ronald Reagan stood at the Brandenburg Gate near the Berlin Wall on 12 July 1987, and challenged the leader of Russia, Mikhail Gorbachev, to “tear down this wall,” few people realized that he was ushering in the collapse of the Iron Curtain, which eventually changed the focus and purpose of global think tanks. Since the end of the Cold War, the scope of Security and International Affairs (SIA) research has transformed and expanded.

This book has been written to understand that the study of security has shifted from an almost exclusive focus on the role of militaries, conventional weapons, and nuclear deterrence theory, to an expanded role that includes a plethora of subjects previously identified outside the security studies umbrella, such as peace and conflict, political, economic, environmental, and human security. Areas such as global health and climate change have gained in political weight as a result of their recent inclusion in security policy, too. For the purposes of our research this shift is demonstrated in a set of institutions that fall under the heading of Security and International Affairs, a broad category that is intended to capture the study both of defense and security think tanks, and of foreign policy and international affairs think tanks. This study identifies seven categories of SIA research under two broad classifications: traditional (conventional military security, nuclear security); and non-traditional (political security, economic security, human security, peace and conflict studies, and environmental security) (see Table I.1).

There is little consensus in literature on what security, let alone security studies, exactly entails. Many scholars argue that security should encompass only issues of armed conflict or military threat,¹ while others argue that nonmilitary threats are of equal importance in considering the contemporary security agenda.² Despite the lack of consensus on a final definition of security studies, it is clear that the field has shifted to include a broader expanse of topics when many

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Table I.1 Categories of think tank research

<i>Type of security</i>	<i>Security focus</i>	<i>Description</i>
<i>Traditional</i>	Conventional military security	Military spending, technology, structure/organization, and trends
	Nuclear security	A range of issues related to nuclear weapons and energy, including non-proliferation, arms control/arms build-up, the development of safe and secure nuclear energy facilities, and relations between established nuclear powers and with non-nuclear countries
<i>Non-traditional</i>	Peace and conflict	The study of armed conflict between states, between states and non-state actors, and between non-state actors. Topics covered include the origins of conflict (ethnic, linguistic, religious, political, etc.), the roots of terrorism, the prerequisites for sustainable peace, and the role of international actors in ending conflict and promoting peace
	Economic security	International trade, finance, aid, and economic development. As a sub-field of security studies, economic security emphasizes the analysis of a country's economic power and development capacity relative to other states in the region or the world
	Environmental security	Issues related to natural resources, environmental degradation, climate change, and energy security
	Political security	Those issues related to law, democracy, corruption, foreign policy, regional confidence building, history, culture, civil liberties, nationalism, and neocolonialism
	Human security	Development, education, culture, history, civil liberties, human rights, and migration security, including human trafficking and refugee concerns

scholars accept that threats to the state can come in forms that are not necessarily military in nature.

Anecdotal evidence is not enough for a clear understanding of this transition because it would fail to address concerns of whether there has truly been a shift within SIA think tank research, and if this shift is universal or unique to one region. This study uses an empirical

approach to address these concerns comprehensively, while recognizing the inherent limitations in the methods and timing of the data collection. Using the Global Go To Think Tank database, this study identifies SIA think tanks by their primary stated research objectives, analyzing 3,686 SIA think tanks out of a total universe of 5,242 at the time of data collection (2012).

The following book examines the concept of expertise relative to policymaking and then discusses trends in security studies from the early twentieth century to the present. This study breaks down the requisite aspects of research in order to examine the role of think tanks in policymaking. To analyze current trends in SIA think tank research, the study explores the distribution of security foci in each region. Next, case studies of individual think tanks, selected for their operational time frame and research foci, illustrate significant issues and the specific security climates of each region that may have influenced current research trends. Finally, this book draws conclusions from the quantitative and qualitative analysis, pointing to the need for a continued study of the contemporary security environment.

As of August 2016, the Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program (TTCSP) at the University of Pennsylvania identified a total of 6,618 think tanks operating in 182 countries worldwide.³ TTCSP's analysis of global think tank trends has shown striking growth in traditionally think tank-scarce countries, such as the non-G7 members of the G20 (i.e. Argentina, Australia, Brazil, China, the European Union, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Russia, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, South Korea, and Turkey). Several key factors have influenced the proliferation of think tanks throughout the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, including the information and technological revolution, the decline of governmental monopolies on information, the increasing complexity and technical nature of policy issues, the expanding size and scope of governments, the crisis of confidence in elected governmental officials, increased globalization, the growth of conflicts between state and non-state actors, and the greater need for timely and concise intelligence and analysis.⁴

The modern array of security foci is veritably reflected by the institutions that study them, and think tanks, as public policy research institutes, provide scholarship on the subject. While this trend has been noticed by scholars in the field, there has been little to no in-depth or rigorous study of this shift in security studies in SIA think tanks. This project examines the trajectory of SIA think tank research over the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, and explores the following research question through both quantitative and qualitative analysis:

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Has there been a quantifiable shift among SIA think tanks, and thus security expertise, from a traditional focus of security studies to a non-traditional one, and if so, when and why did it occur?

A comprehensive literature review was conducted to address the first question by exploring the evolution of the term “expertise” as it pertains to think tanks. The review includes an overview and analysis of the broadening scope of security studies over time to address the second question, as to whether a shift toward non-traditional foci occurred, by examining the essential foci of both traditional and non-traditional security studies. A combination of primary data collection and secondary sources allowed for assessment of global SIA think tank research in order to discern what conditions produce particular security foci in particular regions, and how these regional trends fit into the global SIA think tank landscape. We hypothesize that the end of the Cold War marked a fundamental shift within the field of security studies to include a broad range of security foci beyond traditional concepts of military and nuclear security. Accompanying this transition was a global expansion of think tanks devoted to security studies. Furthermore, SIA think tanks experienced a shift in focus, exemplifying a global transition in security expertise from traditional to non-traditional security foci.

The next chapter defines think tanks in the context of SIA in order to establish their role in security expertise. Security studies are then explained more broadly and according to their historical evolution and relationship to expertise. Once security expertise is clarified and the methodology of the project outlined, we assess SIA think tank research trends in each region. A set of globally and regionally representative case studies are then examined to demonstrate further when and where the shift in security expertise took place (see Table I.2).

The *Global Trends and Transitions in Security Expertise: From Nuclear Deterrence to Climate Change and Back Again* project is intended to provide an examination of the trajectory of Security and International Affairs studies over the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. While this transition has stimulated an expansion and diversification of think tanks devoted to SIA issues around the world, this study provides empirical data documenting the shift that has taken place in security studies, and presents an analysis of the transition, including the examination of case studies to quantify empirically how and when it took place. The study focuses on think tanks and how these trends and transitions are impacting the current SIA think tank landscape and the policy research conducted by these institutions.

The results of this study are then broken down by region, to assess more clearly the impact of the previously identified twentieth-century

Table I.2 Security and International Affairs case studies

<i>SIA case studies</i>	<i>Region</i>	<i>Date of establishment</i>
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	North America	1910
Brookings Institution	North America	1916
Chatham House, the Royal Institute of International Affairs	Western Europe	1920
Council on Foreign Relations	North America	1921
Australian Institute of International Affairs	Asia	1933
South African Institute of International Affairs	Africa	1934
Getúlio Vargas Foundation (Brazil)	Latin America	1944
Polish Institute of International Affairs	Eastern Europe	1947
RAND Corporation	North America	1948
Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Russian Academy of Sciences	Eastern Europe	1956
Japan Institute of International Affairs	Asia	1959
Shanghai Institute of International Studies	Asia	1960
Nigerian Institute of International Affairs	Africa	1961
Hudson Institute	North America	1961
Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (India)	Asia	1965
Argentine Council for International Relations	Latin America	1978
French Institute of International Relations	Western Europe	1979

shift in specific regions. To further substantiate our claim, we trace the individual research foci of several think tanks through case studies spanning each region of the world: sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, North America, Western Europe, Eastern Europe, and Latin America. We found the same trend within patterns of annual reports, conference papers, and publications of the cases as within the objectives used in our wide-sweeping empirical studies, providing further support for our

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initial analysis. A selection of representative case studies has been constructed to explore how and when the transition took place and how it had an impact on each institution. The case studies are intended to illustrate the nature and influence of these changes on think tanks and the field of security studies. The study concludes with an assessment of the future of Security and International Affairs studies and raises the question of whether Security and International Affairs should continue to constitute a single category of think tank.

Notes

- 1 Stephen M. Walt, "The Renaissance of Security Studies," *International Studies Quarterly* 35, no. 2 (1991): 211–239.
- 2 Richard H. Ullman, "Redefining Security," *International Security* 8, no. 1 (1983): 129–153; Jessica Mathews, "Redefining Security," *Foreign Affairs* 68, no. 2 (1989); Joseph J. Romm, *Defining National Security: The Nonmilitary Aspects* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1993); Steve Miller and Sean Lynn-Jones, *Global Dangers: Changing Dimensions of International Security* (Boston, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1995); and David A. Baldwin, "The Concept of Security," *Review of International Studies* 23, no. 1 (1997): 5–26.
- 3 James G. McGann, "Think Tanks in Security and International Affairs," in *Security Expertise: Practice, Power, and Responsibility* (London: Routledge, 2015).
- 4 Ibid.; and James G. McGann, *Think Tanks and Policy Advice in the United States* (London: Routledge, 2007).

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Baldwin, David A. , "The Concept of Security," Review of International Studies 23, no. 1 (1997): 5–26. In this article, David A. Baldwin provides a multifaceted dialogue asserting the ineffectiveness of conceptual analysis in the field of security studies, and the subsequent qualification of the parameters and implications for such analyses. Baldwin contends that the concept of security is "insufficiently explicated," and his work strives both to broaden the scope of security and define it as a distinguishable policy object separate from others.

Horowitz, Donald L. , *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1985). Published in 1985, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* showcases a substantial comparative analysis of ethnic conflict. Using a large pool of material from a number of conflicted societies, Horowitz correlates ethnic affiliations, pattern identification in ethnic politics, and conflict reduction.

Hough, Peter , *Understanding Global Security* (London: Routledge, 2008). In his work, *Understanding Global Security*, Peter Hough analyzes how people are positively and negatively affected by contemporary global politics. Hough combines traditional security study concerns with that of non-military issues, culminating in a comprehensive assessment of conflict in the modern world.

Jervis, Robert , *Perception and Misperception in International Politics* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976). In his groundbreaking text, Robert Jervis provides a framework linking human perception (shaped by learning from history) and misperception (shaped by various kinds of cognitive bias) to explain important decisions pertaining to war and peace.

Katzenstein, Peter J. , *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996). Peter J. Katzenstein amasses a set of contributors to confer on how the world should be conceived. The book looks introspectively at the conflicting sources of global influence – dominant political organizations versus societal and cultural groups – to demonstrate the latter's significance in global politics.

Keohane, Robert O. , *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005). In his work, *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*, Robert Keohane suggests that a middle ground between realism and idealism is possible, or rather that a hegemonic power is not necessary for world order. He argues that "international regimes" or institutions have developed and evolved to stabilize world order.

Kolodziej, Edward A. , *Security and International Relations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Edward A. Kolodziej assesses the prevailing set of theories – realism, neorealism, liberal institutionalism, classical economic liberalism, and Marxism – to reveal the need for international actors to coerce favorable outcomes in interdependent exchanges while simultaneously examining prevailing security paradigms. The text suggests that it is through an interdisciplinary approach that testable theory and practical application needs for international actors can be met in a globalized world.

Mearsheimer, John J. , *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2001). *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* is a modern classic expression of offensive realism analyzing the inevitable conflicts that arise among great powers. In his book, Mearsheimer discusses the possibility, or rather impossibility, of China peacefully rising to power, and why the United States will go to extensive lengths to prevent it.

Morgenthau, Hans J. , *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1948). Written in 1948, Hans J. Morgenthau's *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace* has become a pillar in the study of international relations. In his book, Morgenthau presents a theory of

international politics, explains the conflict for political influence, and grapples with issues like the balance of power, international law, disarmament, and diplomacy. Nye, Joseph S. , *The Future of Power* (New York: Public Affairs, 2011). As an eminent scholar in international relations and a contributing founder to neoliberalism with Robert Keohane, Joseph Nye compiles his thoughts on power in his book *The Future of Power*. He distinguishes between different types of power – military, economic, and “soft” – to ultimately advocate for “smart power,” which he found has managed the twenty-first-century power transition.

Schelling, Thomas , *Arms and Influence* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1966). Nobel Prize-winning economist Schelling wrote one of the most important books on international relations in the twentieth century. In his book, he explains that the “power to hurt” leads to coercive diplomacy in the nuclear age, and how brinksmanship becomes the expression of bargaining and risk in that context.

Waltz, Kenneth N. , *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954). A seminal work of international relations theory, *Man, the State, and War: A Theoretical Analysis* introduces “levels of analysis” (or “images” as Waltz coins in the text) to explore the causes of war from the individual, state, and international system perspectives. Geoffrey Blainey's *The Causes of War* is a worthy successor to this work.

Williams, Paul , *Security Studies: An Introduction* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013). As a leading textbook on the field of security studies, *Security Studies: An Introduction* addresses security studies in four major sections: international relations theory, key concepts, leading institutions, and contemporary challenges. Each section of concern is divided into a number of chapters, which have been written by a contributing scholars and practitioners on the subject matter.

Wolfers, Arnold , “‘National Security’ as an Ambiguous Symbol,” *Political Science Quarterly* 67, no. 4 (1952): 481–502. In his 1952 post-war article, Arnold Wolfers attempts to isolate the scope of the concept of national security. Furthermore, he addresses the meaning of national security and its many implications. This book has helped to frame the evolution of national interest, which coincides with the insertion of morality into national security policy.