Copenhagen School: Revisions

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Outline

- Securitization: assumptions

- Internal inconsistencies (Balzacq 2005):
  - speech act vs. pragmatist act
  - speaker-audience relationship

- External insufficiencies (Stritzel 2007):
  - discursive context
  - threat-texts
  - power positions: embedded agency

- Scientific (expert) knowledge and security dynamics (Berling 2011)

Security as a social construct

- There is **no "essence"**, no universal feature of security.

- **But:** according to CS follows **logic of survival** (Ciuta 2009)

- Security is **socially constructed** and **intersubjectively shared**.

- Security is **a self-referential practice:** an issue becomes a security issue only by being labeled (via appellative act) as one.

→ Focus on **discursive construction** of security issues.

Securitization

non-politicized   politicized   securiticized
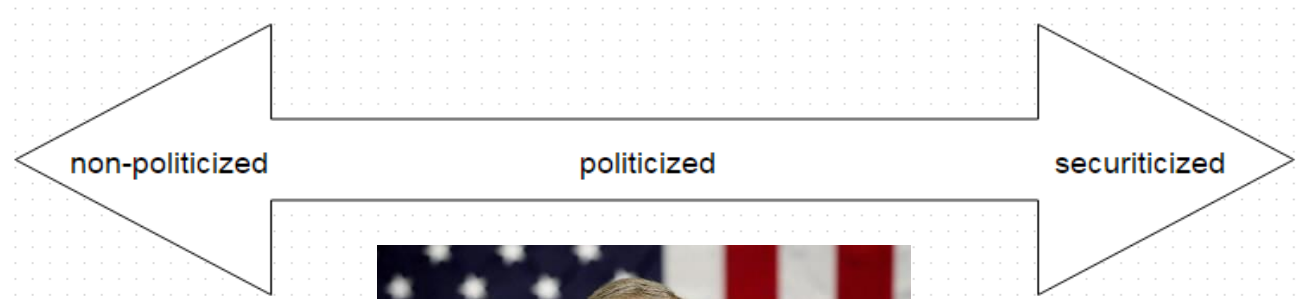
- Framing
  - standard (depoliticized)
  - politicized
  - securitized

- **Securitization actors:** ones that declare – via illocutionary speech act – existential threat towards a particular referent object.

- **Functional actors:** ones that significantly affect the dynamic of the security environment (sector).

- Audience acceptance

- Exceptional measures

- Linkages

Speech acts

- **Constative act:** the literal meaning of the utterance.
- **Appellative act:** the social function of the utterance, for what purpose it is used in a given context.
- **Performative act:** the effect of the utterance in a given context.

"I warn you, the oil is running out!"

- Constative act: made vocal sounds, said that with a Czech accent.
- Appellative act: making a warning about (an existential) threat.
- Performative act: made you (audience) feel insecure (or amused).

Facilitating (felicity) conditions

1. The speech act is following the **grammar of security** (i.e.: existential threat to referent object requires emergency measures)

2. The **relationship between speaker and audience** (i.e.: the speaker has a privileged/authoritative position in relation the audience)

3. **Features** of the alleged threats that **either facilitate or impede securitization** (i.e.: information about the alleged threat outside of the speech act)

Buzan et al. 1998 in Stritzel 2007: 364

Balzacq's revision

- Distinguishes between **brute** and **institutional** threats.
    - **Institutional** threats: depend on social construction / intersubjectivity
    - **Brute** threats: do not depend on social construction (natural catastrophes)

- **Reduction of speech acts to appellative acts** is misleading.
  → does not allow interaction with the audience (performative effects)

- **Solution:** broader concept of a **pragmatic act**
    - strategic use of language centered at a specific audience
    - cultural embeddedness ("clues from 'the real world'")

Balzacq's revision: pragmatic act

The processes of securitization – a pragmatic act – consist of:

1. A relatively stable **system of discursive resources** (metaphors, images, stereotypes, etc.),
2. **mobilized by an agent** (securitization actor), who
3. strategically **targets the audience** to build
4. a coherent **network of implications** that convene with actor's actions, by
5. portraying the **referent subject** (entity that threatens) in a way that
6. a **customized political act** must be taken to block its development
7. within a **specific social and space-time context**

Balzacq's revision: situated interactive activity

- The speaker and the audience need to engage in responsive activity → the speech act is just **"a blueprint"** based on which **audience flesh out missing meanings/details**.

- Thus, the speaker's argument has to employ terms that resonate with understandings (by speeches, gestures, images, etc.) of audience.
- → relation to **external reality** (external to securitization process)

- The **success of securitization** is here given by **mutual** (intersubjective) **understanding** and the speaker's ability to identify audience's feelings, needs and interests.

Balzacq's revision: situated interactive activity

Stritzel's revision

- Distinguishes between **internalist** and **externalist** position (compare with Balzacq 2005).

- **Internalist position:** speech acts are capable to transform understanding of a certain issue (if the felicity conditions are fulfilled): "*By saying the words, something is done.*" (Buzan et al. 1997: 26)

- **Externalist position:** securitization is **a process** – not just a particular speech act - that takes place in concrete **socio-temporal context**.
  - Broader discursive environment
  - Production of "threat-texts"
 - Power positions (field)

Stritzel's revision
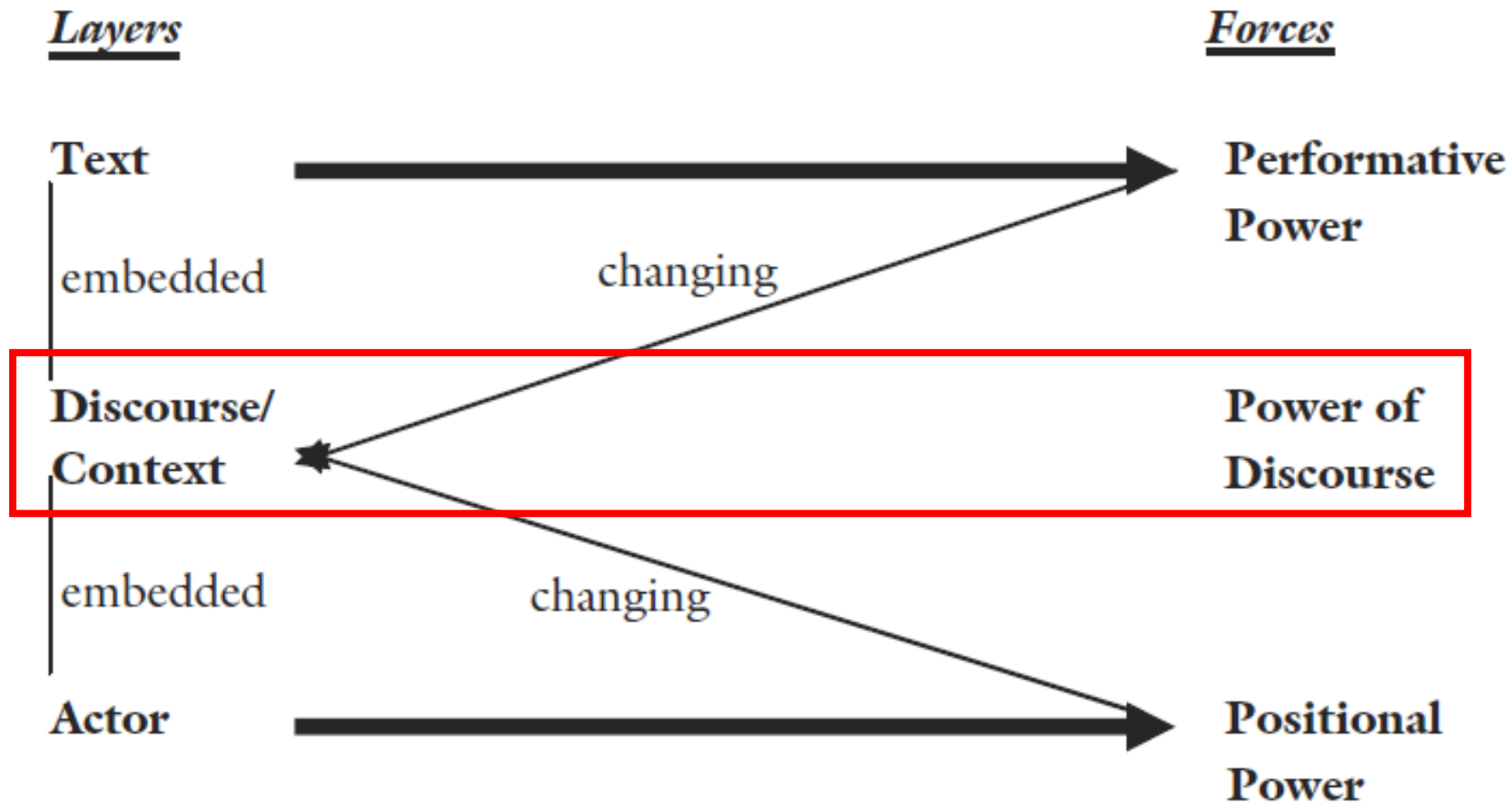
Discursive context / embeddedness

- The speech acts and texts ("threat-texts") are embedded within a **network of constitutive rules and narratives** that surround them. (Stritzel 2006: 369)
- The (security-related) **meanings do not come "out of nowhere"** or just from securitization actors' heads.

  → involved actors/audiences need to **understand a speech act** (or a threat-text)

- Actors exploit **discursive contexts as stocks** of ideas, images, analogies, metaphors or – **historical/cultural traumas** (Sztompka 2000).
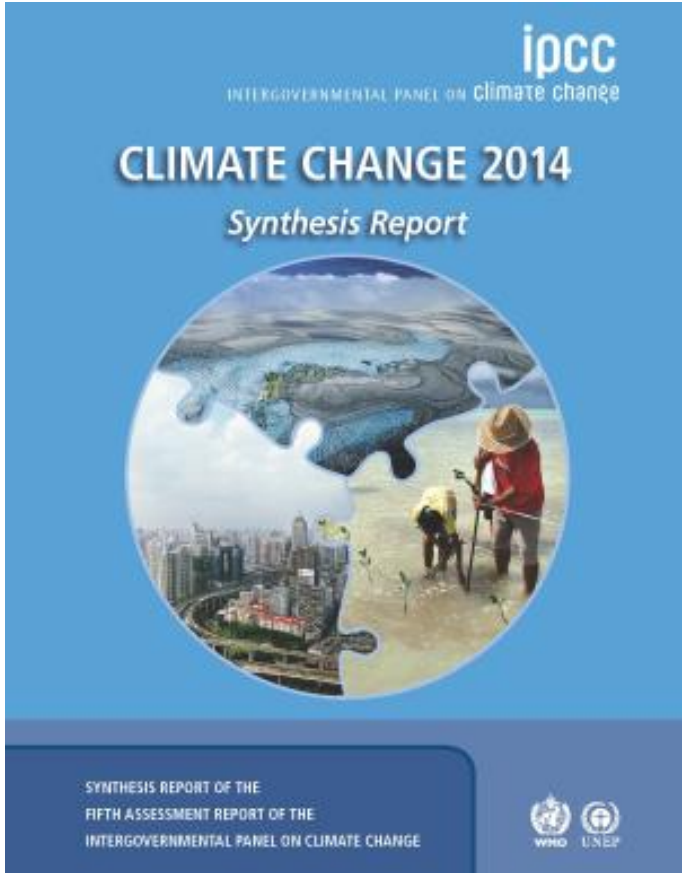
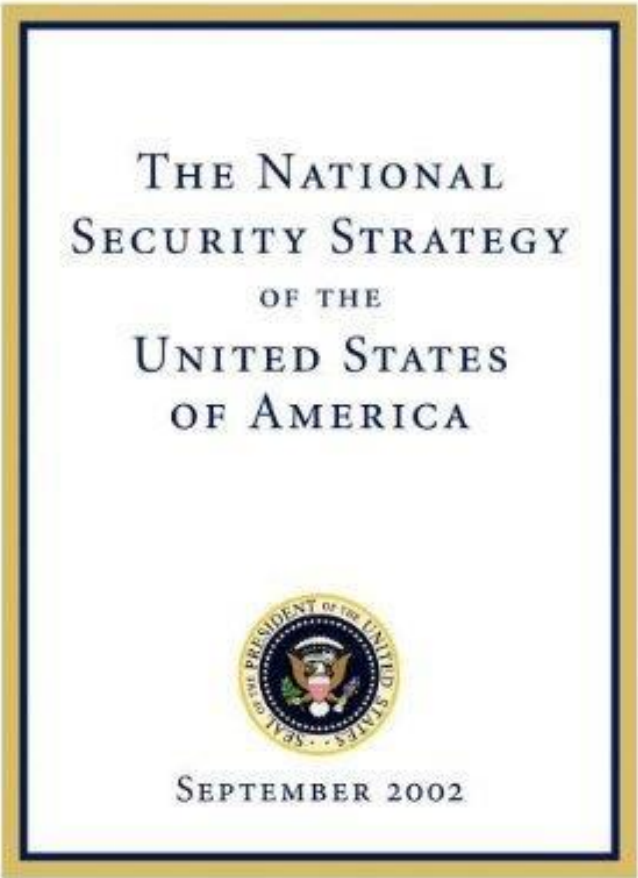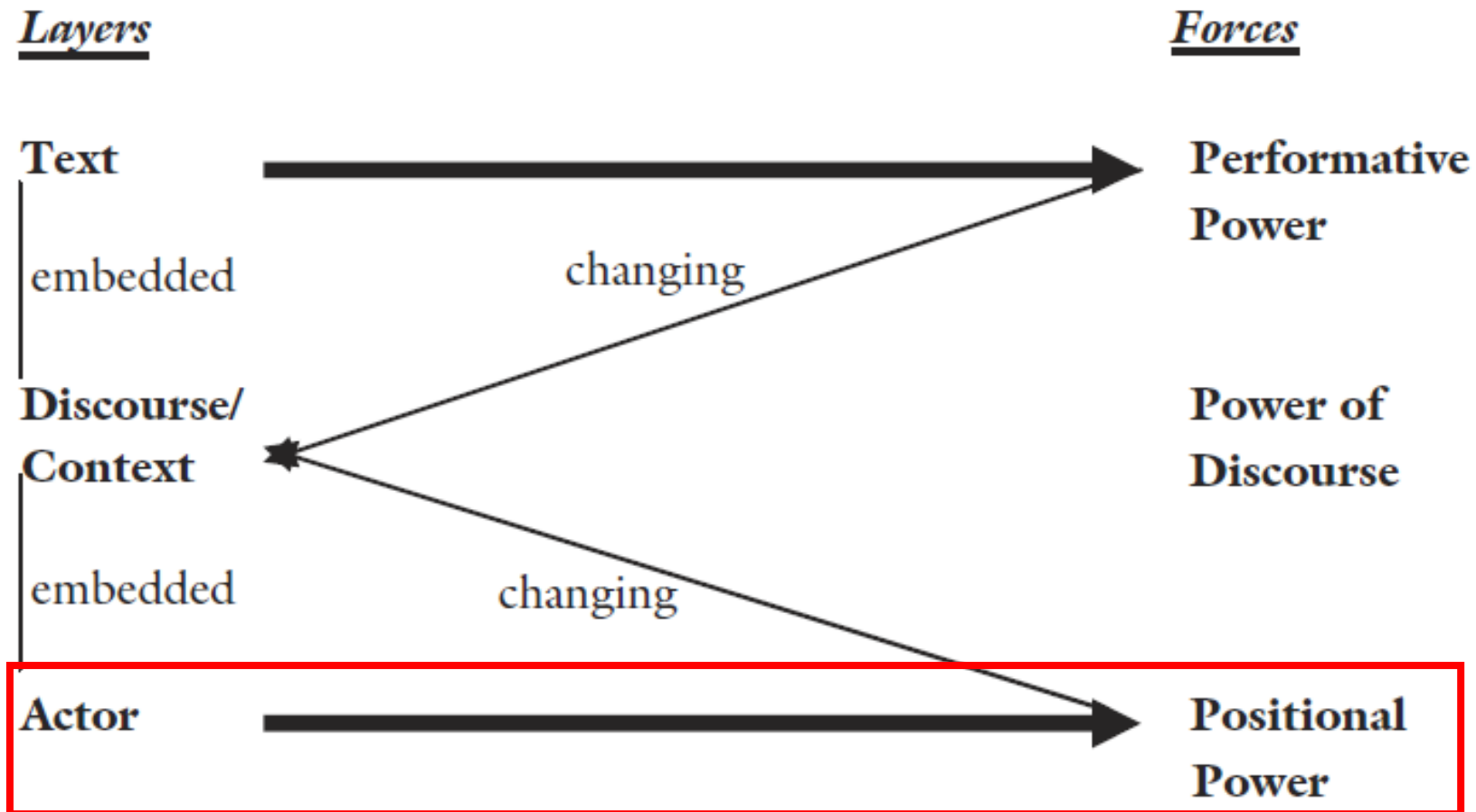# Historical/cultural trauma (Sztompka 2000)

Stritzel's revision
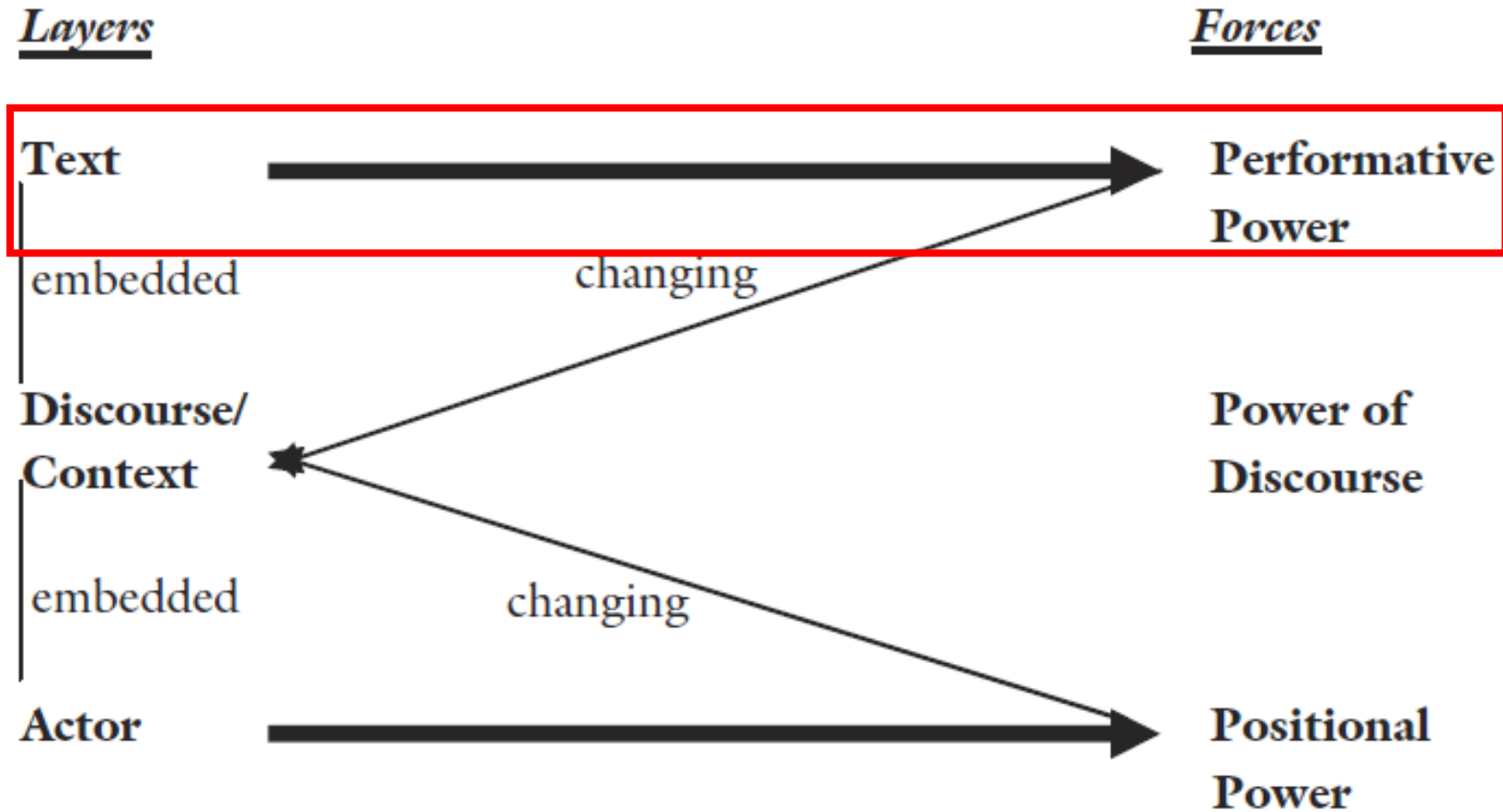
"Threat-texts" (Stritzel 2007)

- In contrast to exceptional speech acts, threat-texts **evolve over longer periods of time** and have **performative force** that shapes discourse as well as (consequently) power-relations.

- Again, **"fit" of the threat-text** with the **existing discourse** (its **resonance**) is crucial for its influence.
- → **localization** (Stritzel 2011): re-interpretation of a threat-text in a particular context where it meets a new (local) audience.
- **Thus:** what counts as a security practice in one period or locale, does not necessarily count in the same way in other periods/locales (ibid.).

Threat-texts

# Stritzel's revision

Layers		Forces
Text	changing →	**Performative Power**
embedded		
Discourse/ Context	changing →	**Power of Discourse**
embedded		
Actor	→	**Positional Power**

Power positions: embedded agency

- Agency is embedded **sociopolitical context** where actors occupy different **power positions** defined by access to cultural (knowledge), moral (legitimacy), and formal (capability to make decisions) resources.

- → There is an **uneven distribution of opportunities and constraints** to the actors.

- → This embeddedness poses **objective** (in sense actor-independent) **limitations** (objective context according to Balzacq) to securitization moves.

Power positions: embedded agency

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Council_on_Foreign_Relations
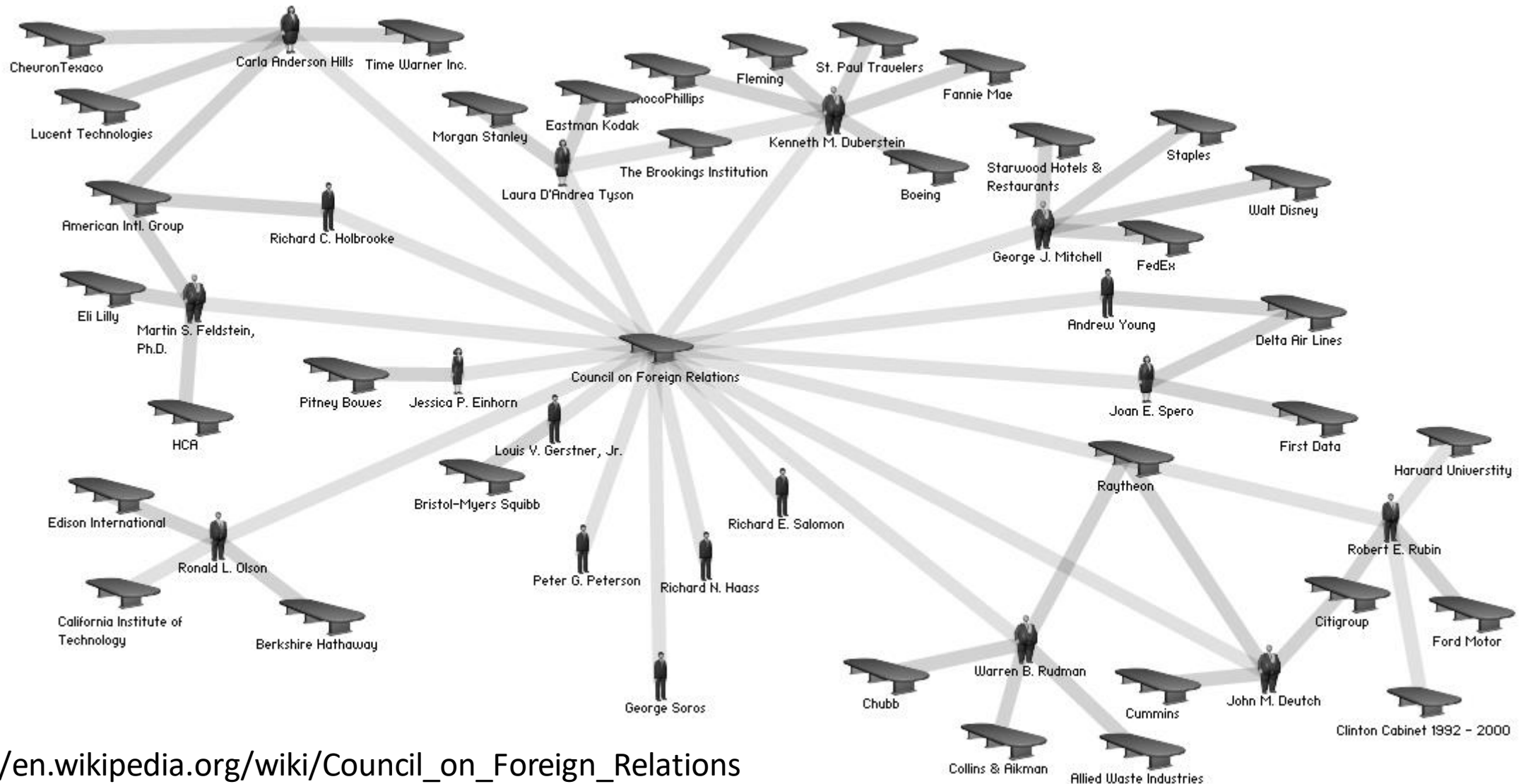
Scientific (expert) knowledge production

- science influences **what can be said and what not:**

- *the non-politicized has no language; it is what we know without knowing that we know it* (Berling 2011: 391)

- scientific or expert knowledge: a privileged form (Berling 2011)
  - **legitimation**
 - **mobilization**
  - **objectification**

ZDŮVODNĚNÍ POTŘEBY ZÁMĚRU NJZ V LOKALITĚ TEMELÍN

- Naplňování energetických a strategických cílů ČR (SEK – Bezpečnost, Nezávislost / Konkurenceschopnost, Udržitelný rozvoj; NEK – Pačesova komise; Politika územního rozvoje ČR)
- Náhrada dožívajících uhelných elektráren + nedostatek zdrojů uhlí
- Soulad s mezinárodními cíli a závazky ČR - Ochrana klimatu
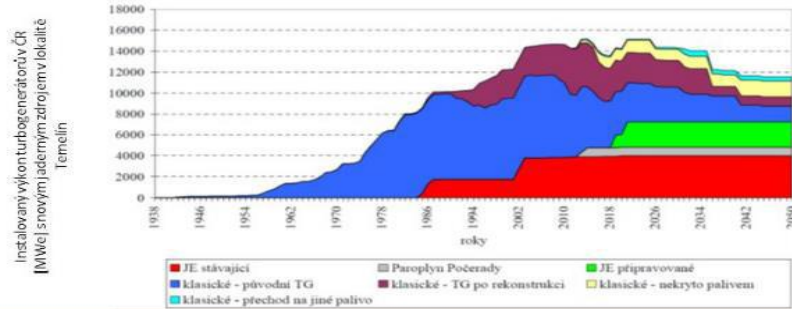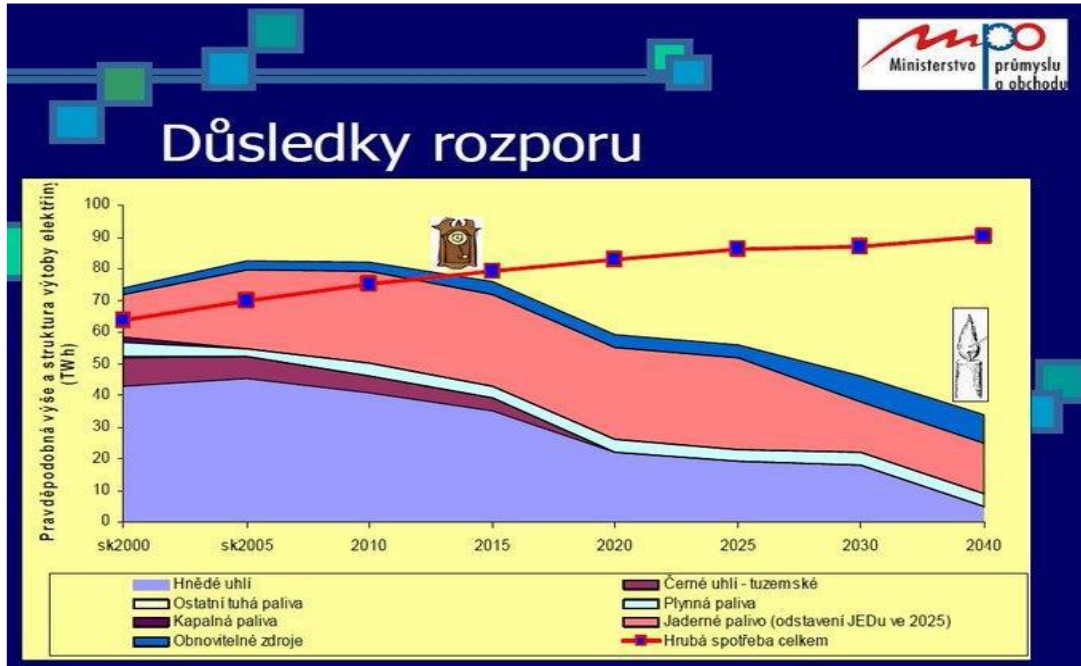
Aktivistům nic vysvětlovat nechci. Lidem s mozkem doporučuji, ať ho používají. To, po čem jsem dlouho volal má reálnou šanci. Vědecká diskuze o alternativách změn klimatu a antropogenním vlivu. Hopefuly

Translate Tweet

500 Climate Scientists Write To UN: There Is No Climate Eme...
ER Editor: The UK's Independent did pick up this story on September 6 in a hugely politicised hatchet piece ...
🔗 europereloaded.com

7:43 PM · Oct 21, 2019 · Twitter Web App

22 Retweets   126 Likes

Michal Berg @MichalBerg · Oct 21
Replying to @MirekTopolanek
Vidím že jste při tom hledání alternativ ke vědě našel i alternativní anglický pravopis, dobrá práce ;)
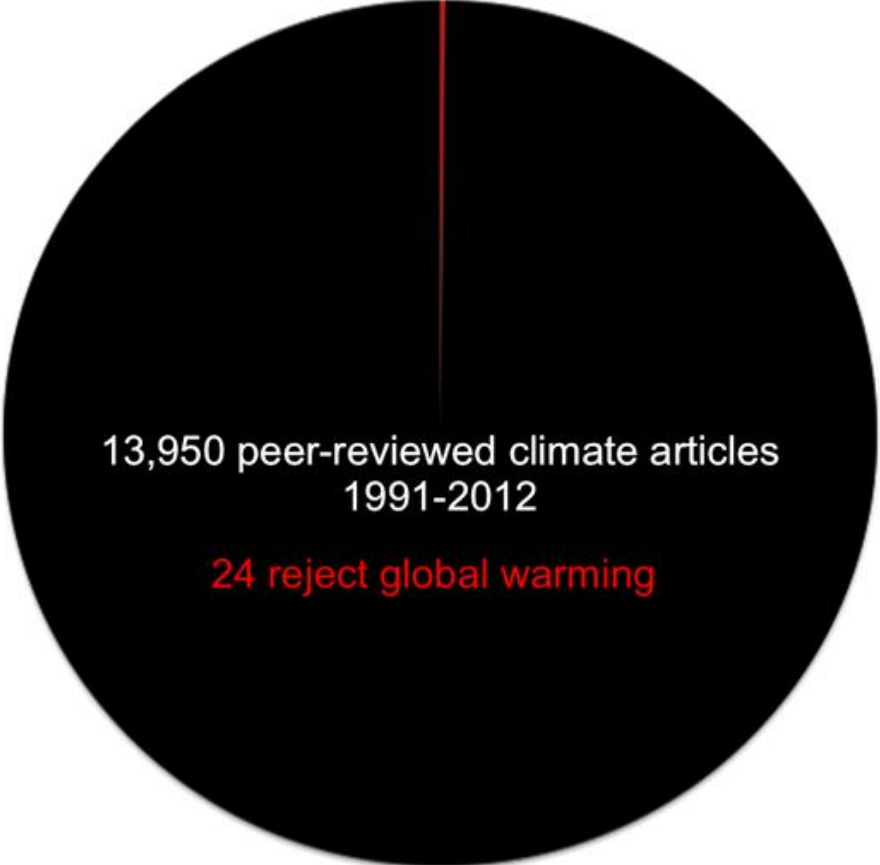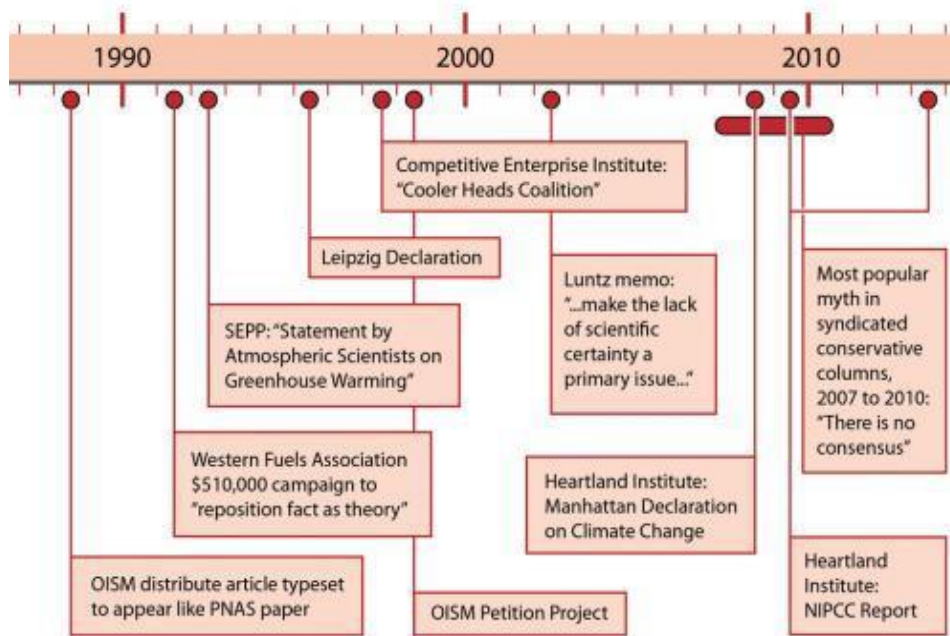
♡ 5

Štěpán Ryšavý @stepanrysavy · Oct 21
Replying to @MirekTopolanek
To je ta věc, kde české vědce reprezentoval Václav Klaus st.?

💬 2   ♡ 42

Over Two Decades Manufacturing Doubt about Scientific Consensus

1990   2000   2010

Competitive Enterprise Institute: "Cooler Heads Coalition"

Leipzig Declaration

Luntz memo: "...make the lack of scientific certainty a primary issue..."

Most popular myth in syndicated conservative columns, 2007 to 2010: "There is no consensus"

SEPP: "Statement by Atmospheric Scientists on Greenhouse Warming"

Western Fuels Association $510,000 campaign to "reposition fact as theory"

Heartland Institute: Manhattan Declaration on Climate Change

Heartland Institute: NIPCC Report

OISM distribute article typeset to appear like PNAS paper

OISM Petition Project

EuropeReloaded.com

'There is NO Climate Emergency'

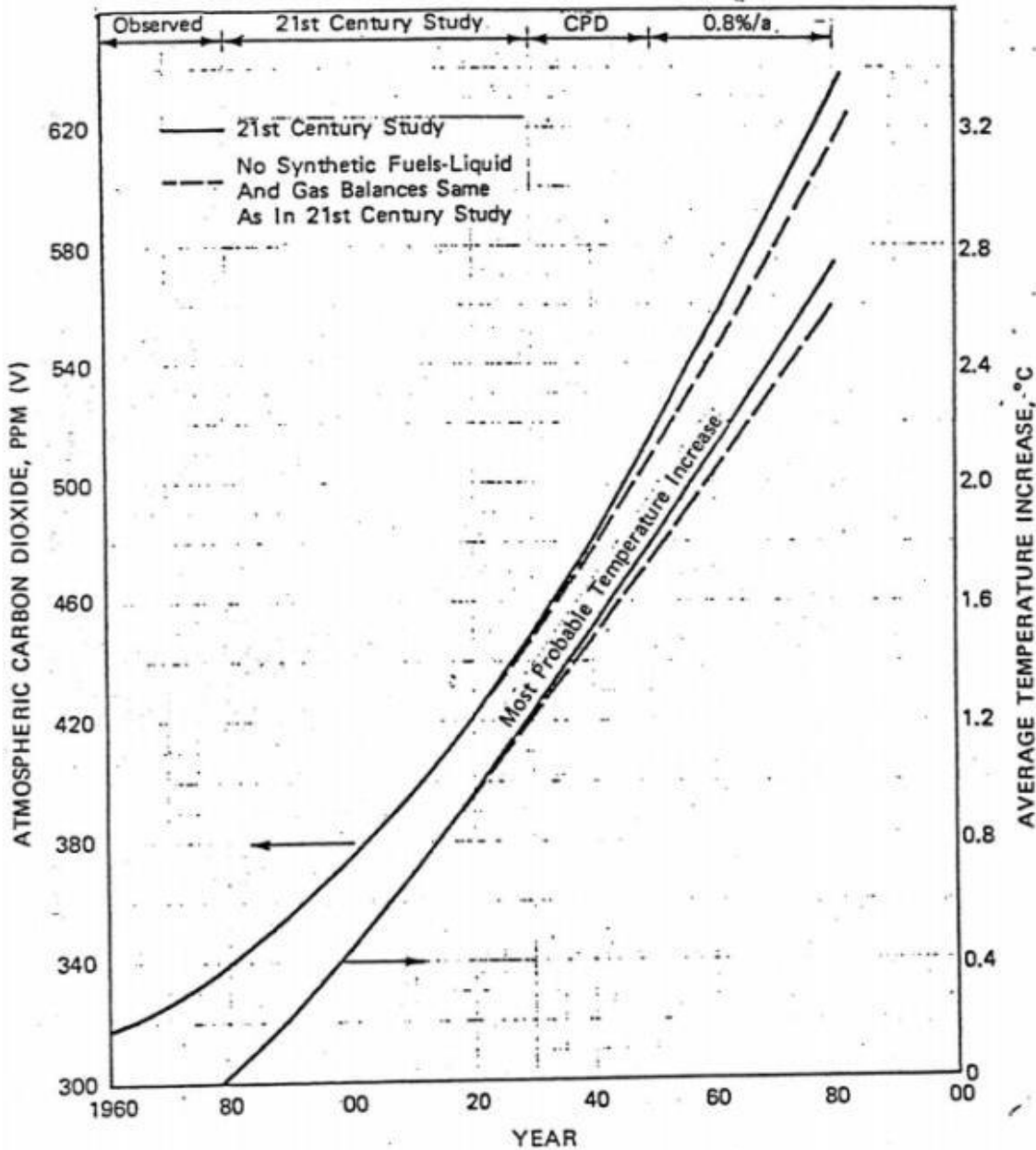500 Climate Scientists call on UN for immediate scientific debate

13,950 peer-reviewed climate articles
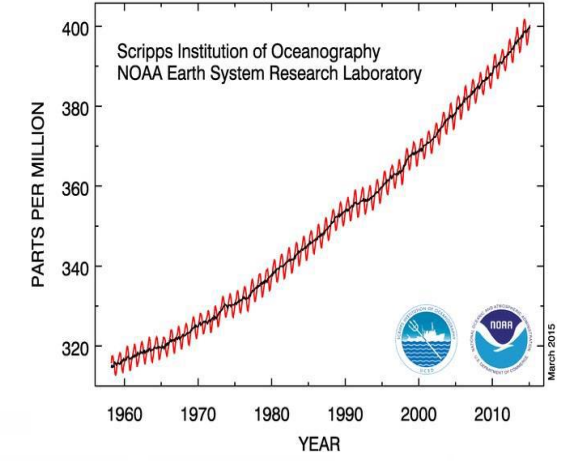1991-2012

24 reject global warming

Figure 3

GROWTH OF ATMOSPHERIC CO_2 AND AVERAGE GLOBAL TEMPERATURE INCREASE AS A FUNCTION OF TIME

Atmospheric CO_2 at Mauna Loa Observatory

SUMMARY

I. CO_2 RELEASE MOST LIKELY SOURCE OF INADVERTENT CLIMATE MODIFICATION.

II. PREVAILING OPINION ATTRIBUTES CO_2 INCREASE TO FOSSIL FUEL COMBUSTION.

III. DOUBLING CO_2 COULD INCREASE AVERAGE GLOBAL TEMPERATURE 1°C TO 3°C BY 2050 A.D. (10°C PREDICTED AT POLES).

IV. MORE RESEARCH IS NEEDED ON MOST ASPECTS OF GREENHOUSE EFFECT

V.   5-10 YR. TIME WINDOW TO GET NECESSARY INFORMATION

VI. MAJOR RESEARCH EFFORT BEING CONSIDERED BY DOE

Non-knowledge: "*conscious or unconscious, concrete or theoretical, it can signify willful ignorance or an inability-to-know.*" (Beck 2009: 123)

Conclusions

- Internal inconsistencies:
  - speech act vs. intersubjectivity (securitization actor – audience)
  - what is the position of securitization theory within the whole framework? (Eclecticism of the Copenhagen School)

- External insufficiencies:
  - is contextual understanding of securitization necessary?
  - is there added value of the introduced concepts in comparison to facilitating conditions?

- Scientific knowledge is not neutral and influences security dynamics

- Your thoughts? What to do with the CS? How does this influence our understating of security?