

Copenhagen School

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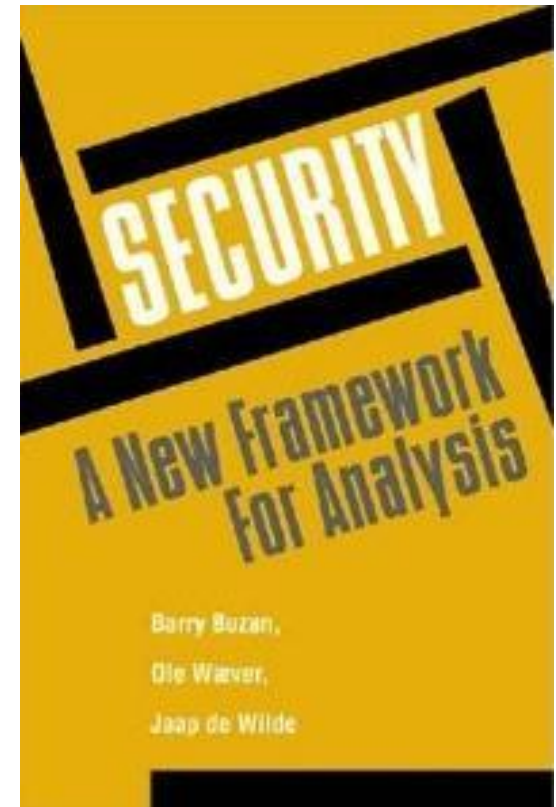
Outline

- Assumptions
- Securitization
- Security sectors
- Regional security complex
- Revisions

Copenhagen school

- **Context:** traditionalists vs. revisionists
- Analytical framework for study of international security
- **Currently:** mainstream approach in security studies

- Based on:
 - (“radically”) idealist ontology
 - interpretative epistemology (discourse analysis)
 - “residual traditionalism”



Security as a social construct

- There is **no “essence”**, no universal feature of security
 - Security is **socially constructed** and intersubjectively shared
 - Security is a **self-referential practice**: an issue becomes a security issue only by being labeled as one
- Focus on **discursive construction** of security issues

Securitization

- Framing
 - standard (depoliticized)
 - politicized
 - securitized

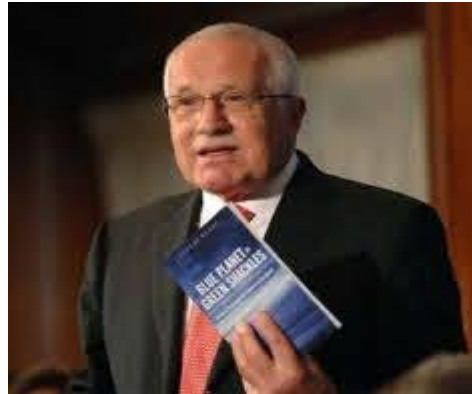


- Audience acceptance
- Emergency measures
- Linkages



Securitization

- **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)

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)
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- **Facilitating conditions**

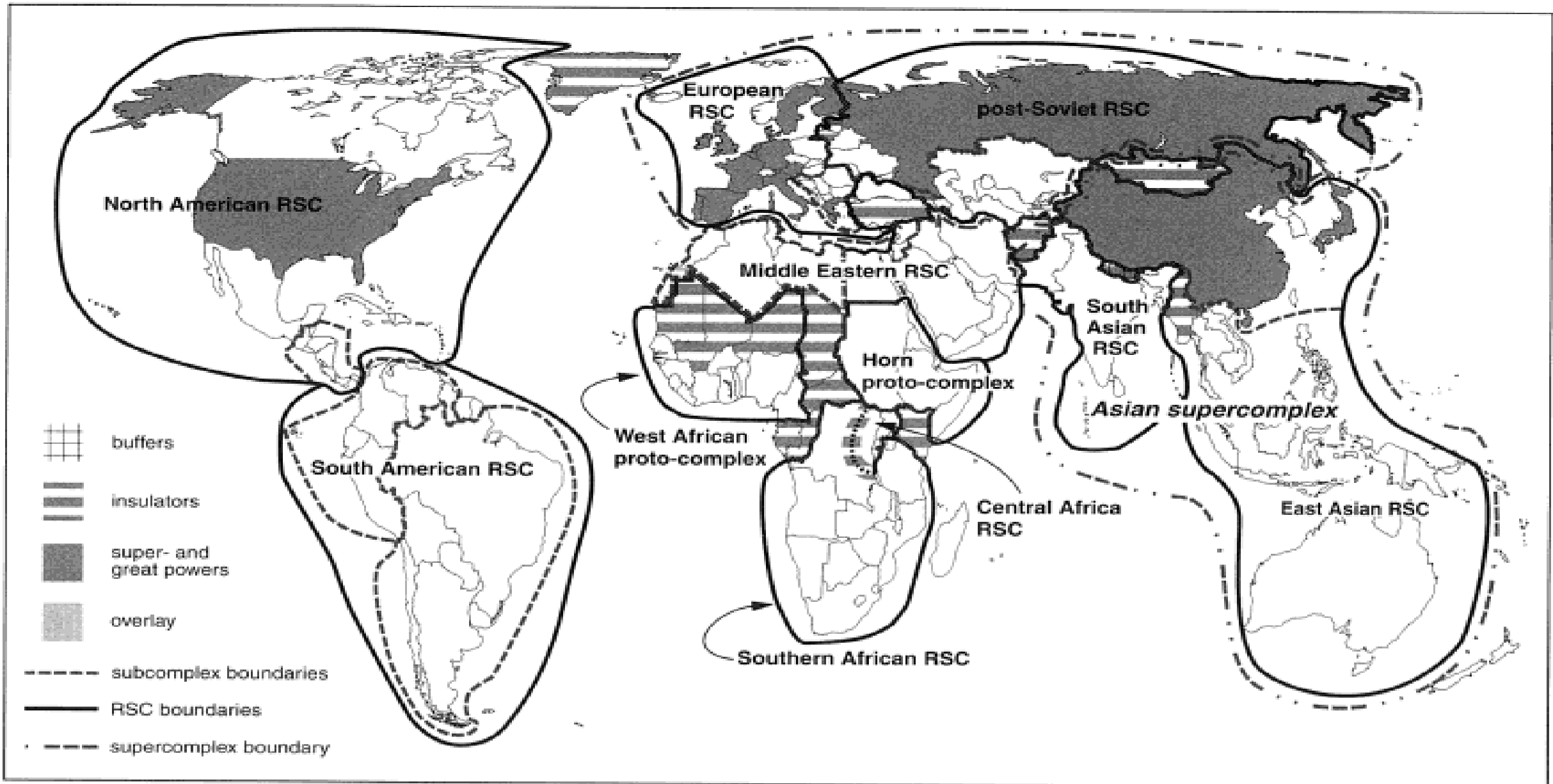
Facilitating (felicity) conditions

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)

degree of widening	modes of widening (modified Weisová 2004)			
	horizontal (sectors)	vertical (referent objects)	values	threat sources
narrow concept	military-political	state	sovereignty, territorial integrity	other states, (non-state actors)
widened concept	societal	nation, societal groups	national unity, identity	(states), nations, migrants, hostile cultures
	economic	state, non-state actors, institutions, individuals	development, subsistence	states, market failures
	environmental	environmental systems, humankind	sustainability, survival, quality of life	states, globalization, humankind

Regional security complex

- Brings back **geography** to IR
- Structural characteristics:
 - **Boundaries:** differentiation from the rest of the system
 - **Anarchy:** number of actors in the complex
 - **Polarity:** distribution of power within the complex
 - **Social construction:** relationships of amity and enmity
- **Definition** (Buzan and Waever 2003: 44):
“...set of units whose major processes of securitization, desecuritization, or both, are so interlinked that their security problems cannot be reasonably analyzed apart from one another.”
- **Security constellation:** an aggregate of all four levels of analysis

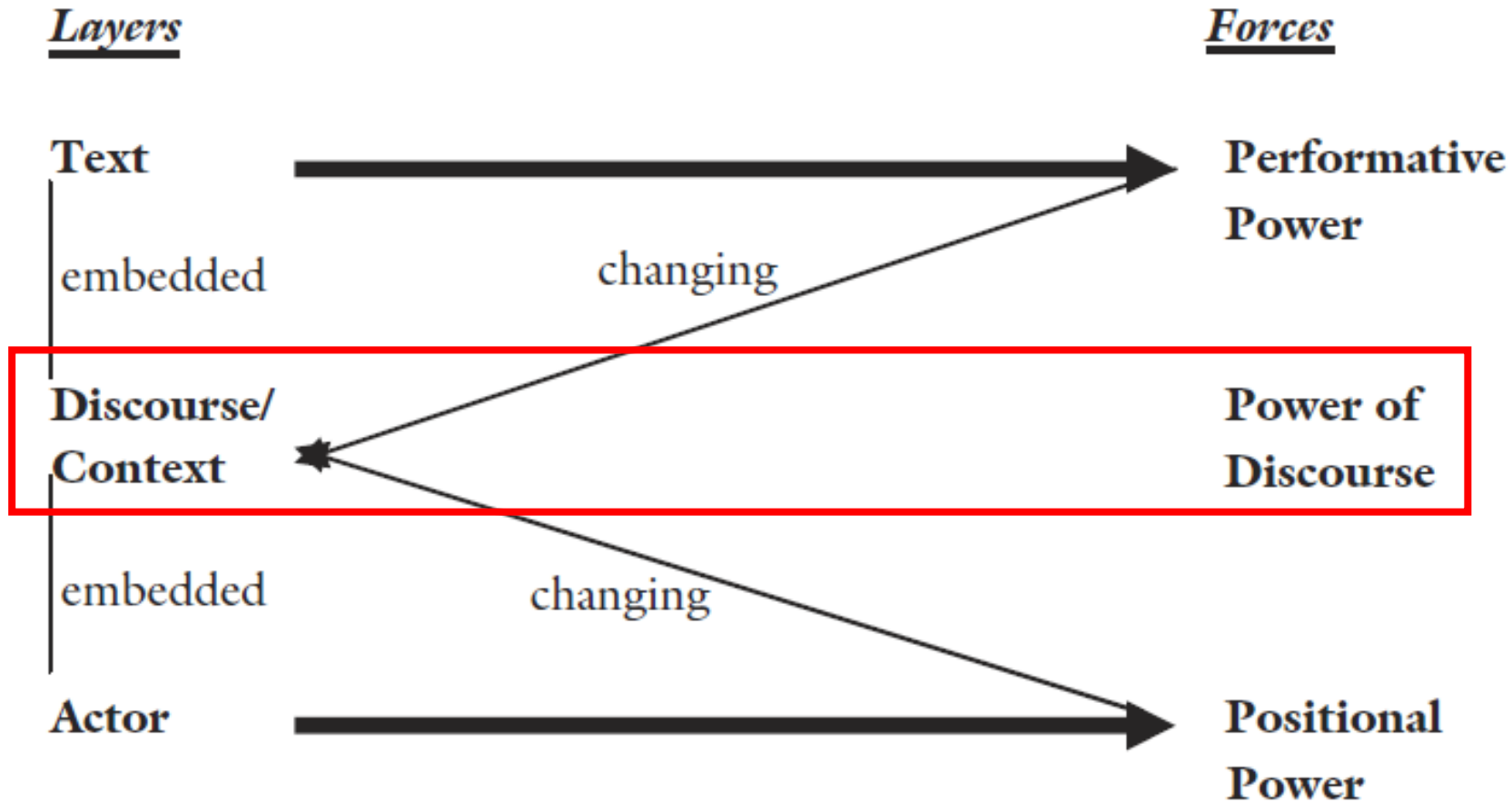


Map 2. Patterns of Regional Security Post-Cold War

Revisions (Stritzel 2007)

- 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

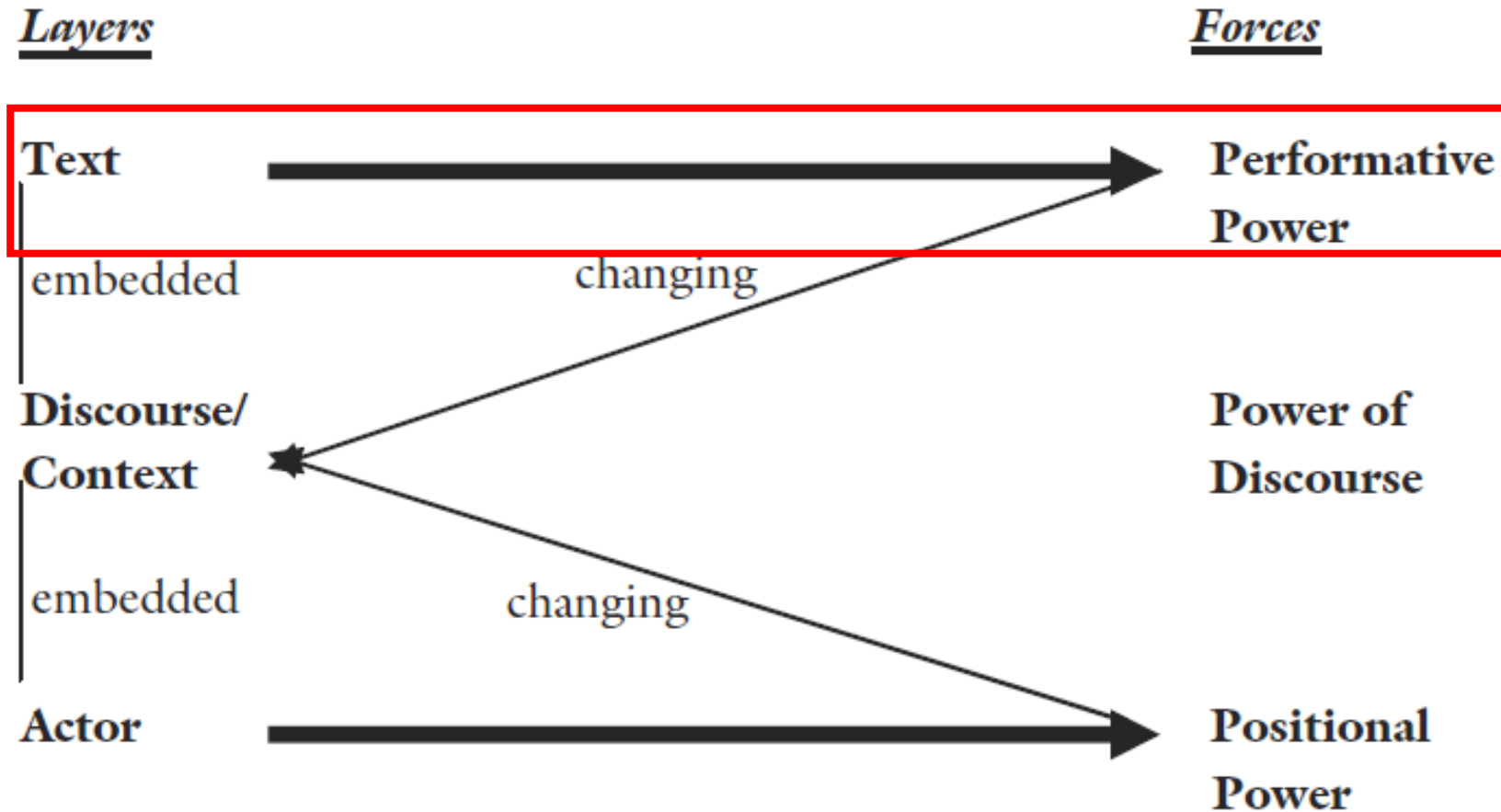
- The speech acts and texts (“threat-texts”) are embedded within a **network of constitutive rules and narratives** that surround them.
(Stritzel 2006: 369)
- The (security-related) **meanings do not come “out of nowhere”** or just from securitization actors’ heads.

→ 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)



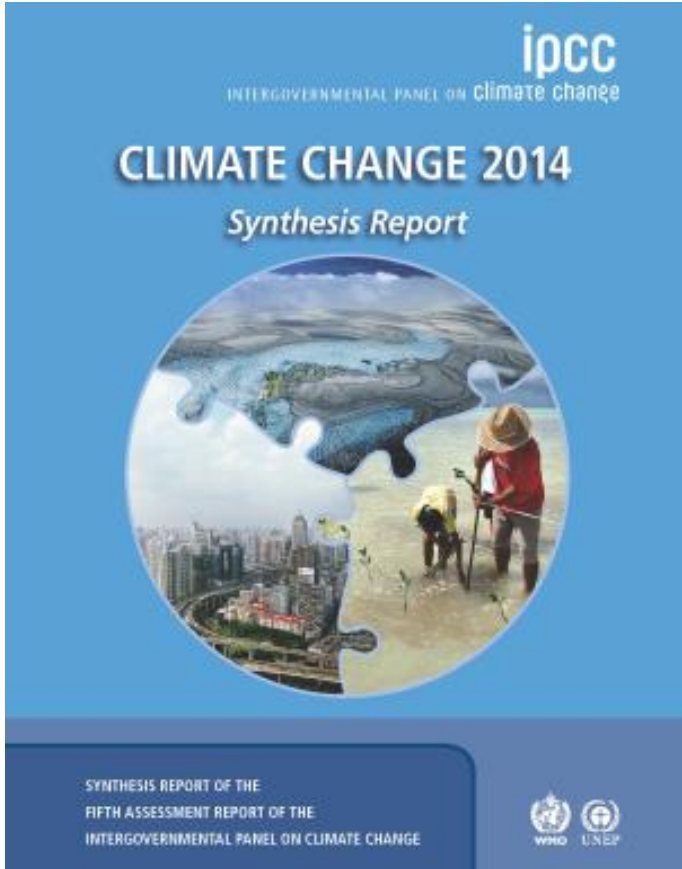
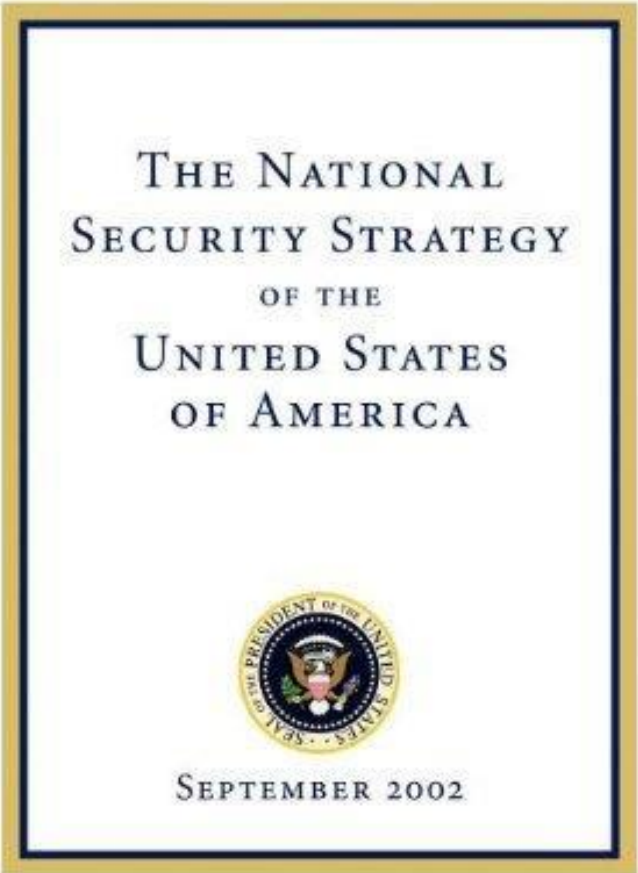
Stritzel's revision



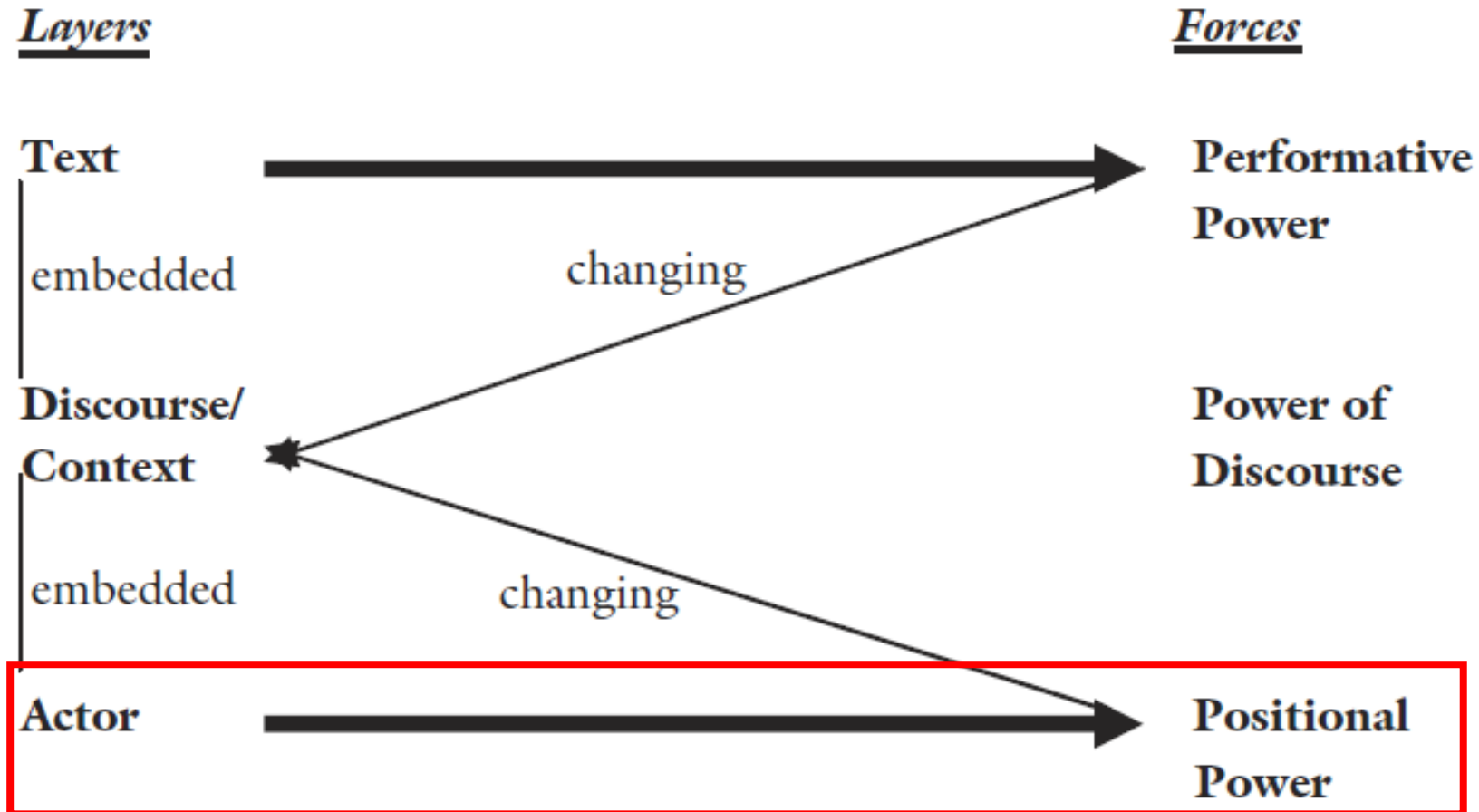
“Threat-texts” (Stritzel 2007)

- 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



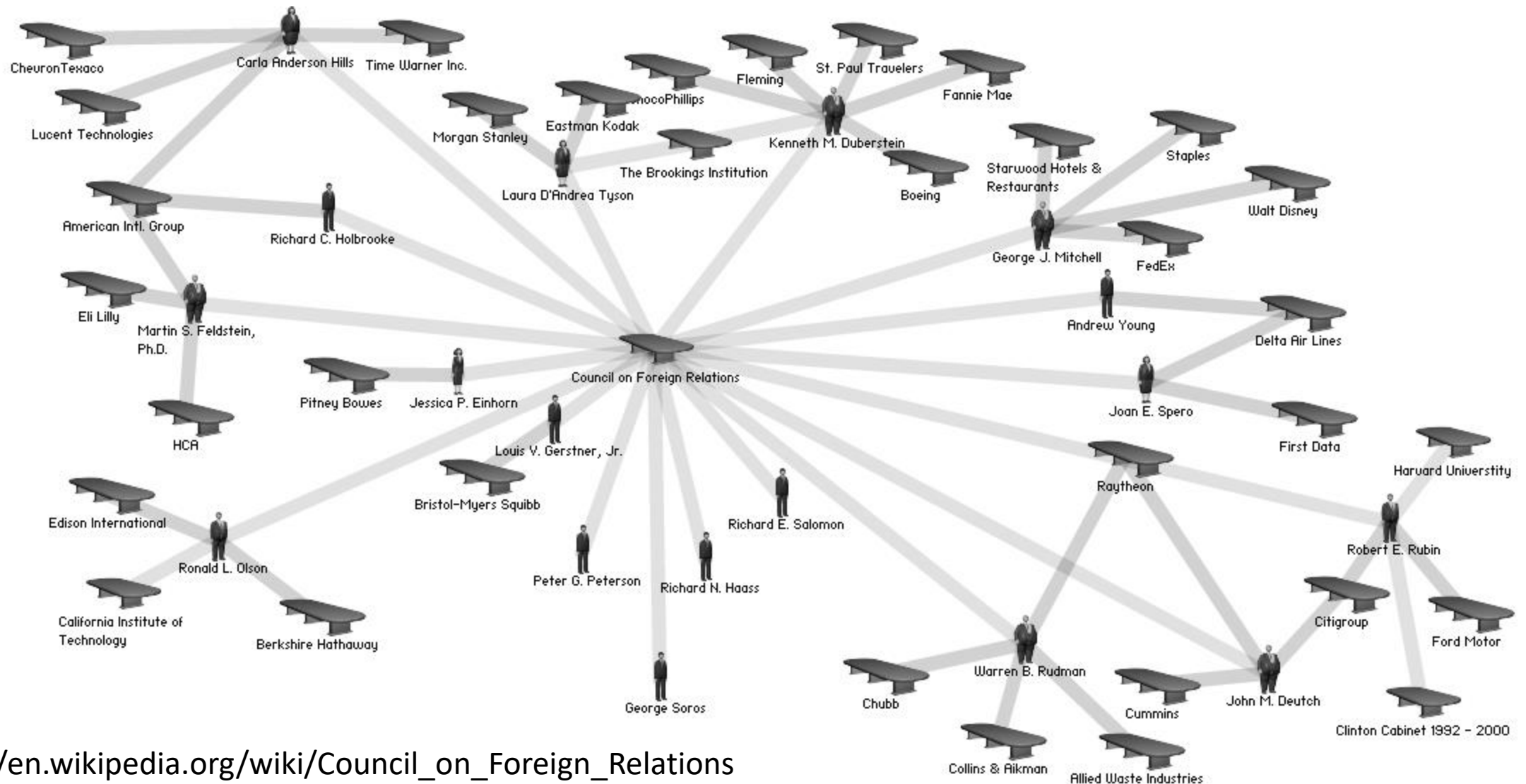
Stritzel's revision



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

Summary

- **A comprehensive framework** for security analysis
- Esp. theory of securitization now **part of the mainstream**
- **The objective:** desecuritization of the debate
- **Criticisms:** state-centric, inconsistent use of constructivist and rationalist concepts, focus mainly on discourse (omits context), conceptual and methodological doubts (audience)