




Security as a Weapon

How Cataclysm-Discourses Frame International Climate Negotiations

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A Twofold Puzzle




Despite diverging scientific facts climate change becomes more and more publicly perceived as a security threat



The discursive securitization does not come along with the adoption of exceptional measures

Theses

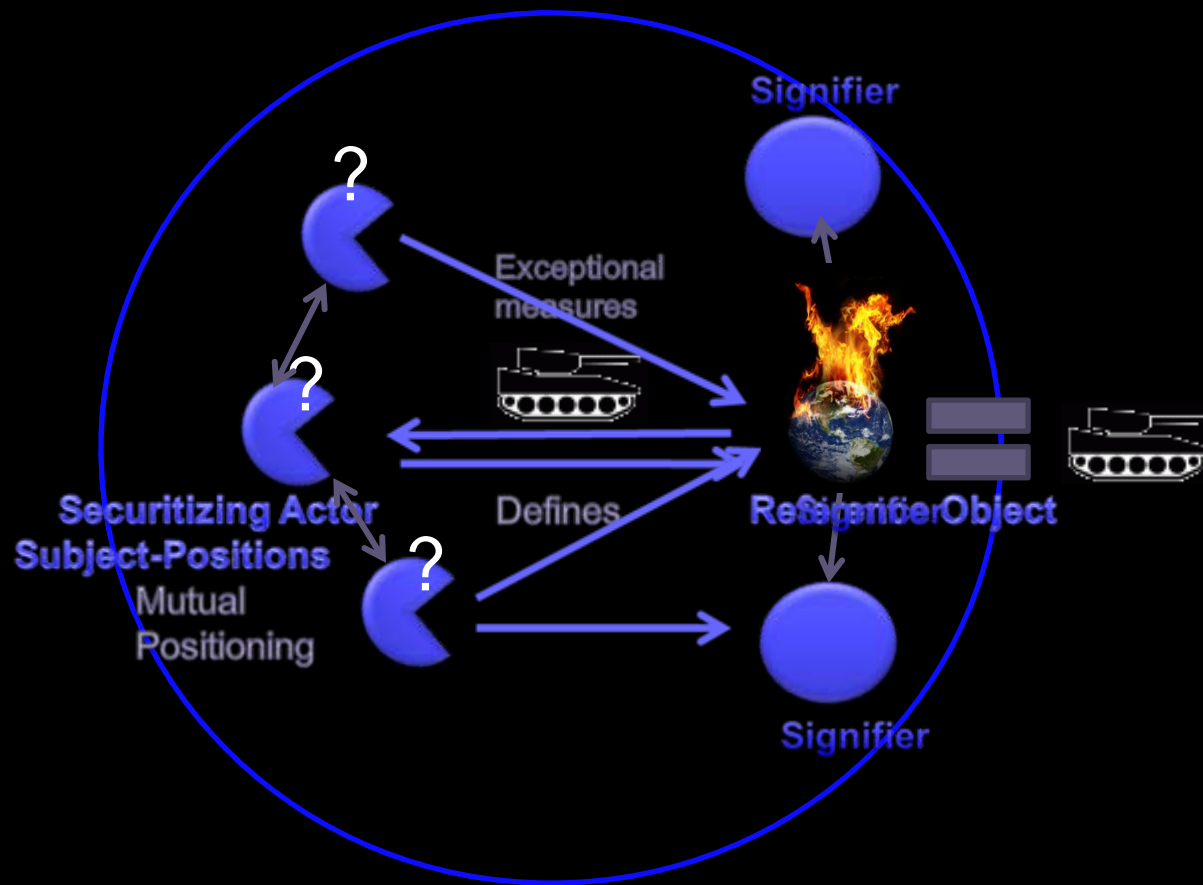
-  Securitization of Climate Change is a manifold and inconsistent process of discursive change:
 - Different Actors
 - Different Argumentations
 - Different Security-Concepts

Problematizing Securitization

Discursive context

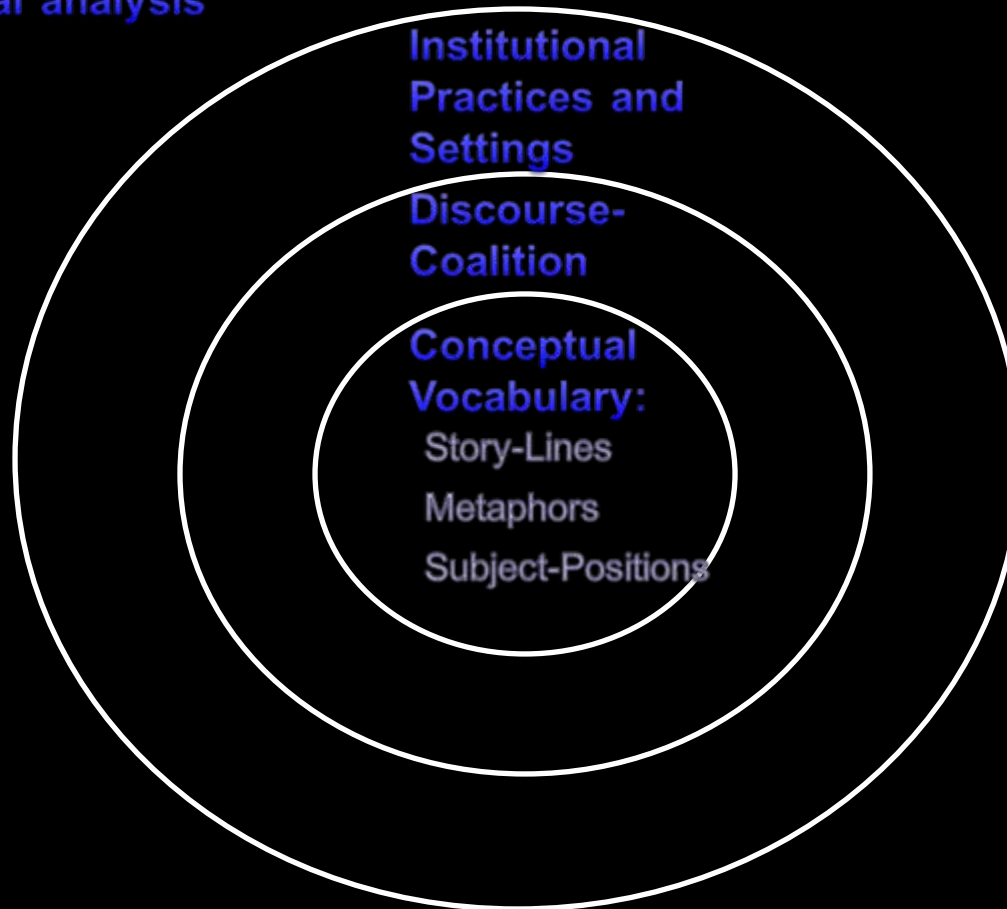
Structural

Contingent



Argumentative Discourse Analysis

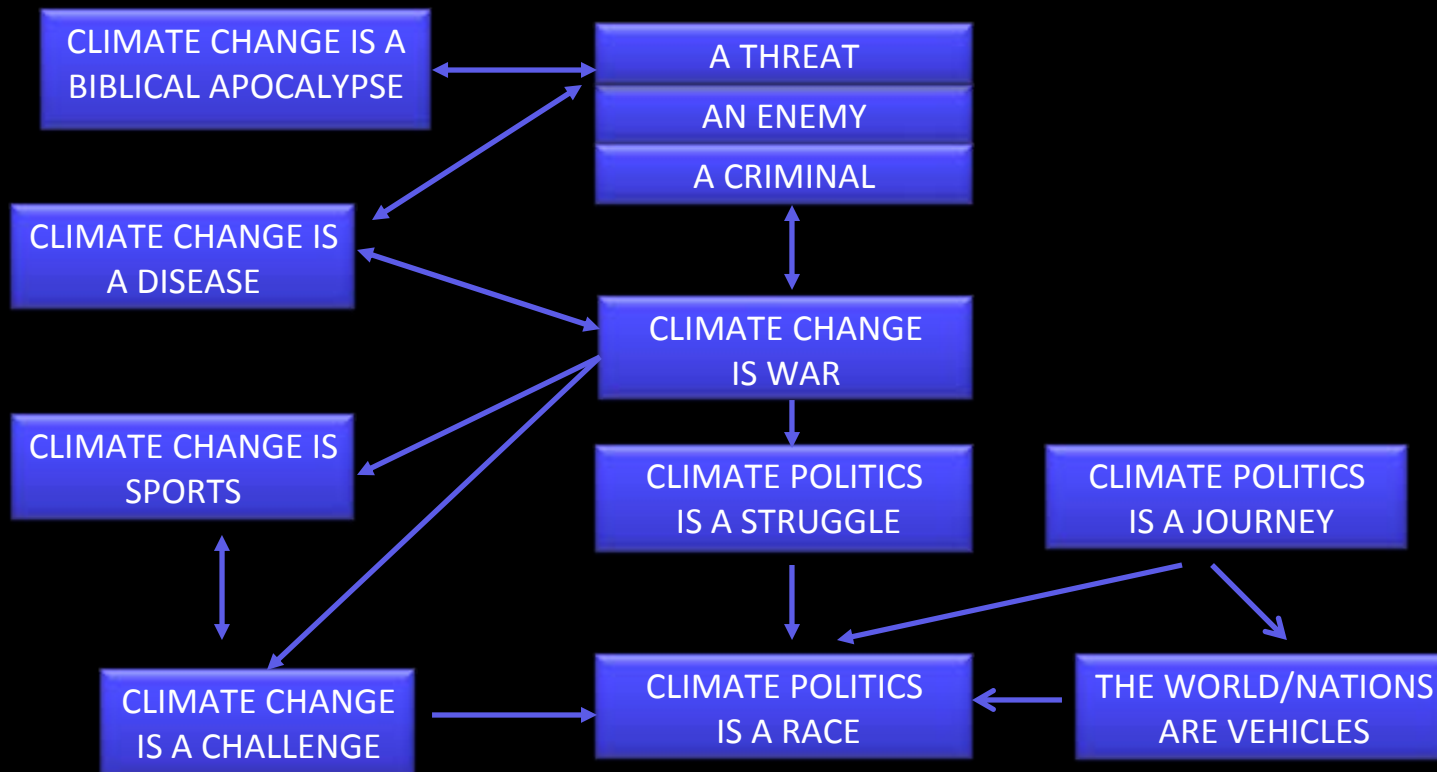
3 layers of political analysis



Methodical Issues

- Explorative Study
 - 60 German print-media/online articles
 - Recent speeches and documents
 - No systematic sampling
- Metaphor-based discourse analysis
 1. Metaphors at Macro-Level
 2. Subjects and Story-Lines at Micro-Level
 3. Discursive/Political Effects

The Metaphorical Construction of Climate Change

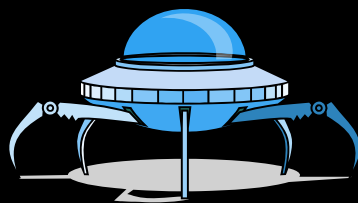


Factions of a climate-security discourse-coalition

| Factions and Story-Lines | Subject-positions | Arguments |
|--|--|---|
| <p>Globalist = Climate change threatens the whole world and is thus a test for humanity (CLIMATE CHANGE IS AN ENEMY/CLIMATE CHANGE IS A CHALLENGE)</p> | <p>political (“polluters”) Climate Celebrities</p> | <p>Developing countries have to contribute a share; We need a global agreement</p> |
| <p>Alarmist = Dangerous climate change (above 2.0 Degrees Celsius) is causing apocalyptic and incalculable effects (CC AS WAR or CHALLENGE and CLIMATE POLITICS IS A RACE).</p> | <p>All but especially NGOs and Climate Scientists;</p> | <p>Immediate response → Copenhagen! We need to keep climate change below 2.0 °C</p> |
| <p>Developmental = Climate change is threatening the survival and the development of developing countries (CC IS A THREAT TO HUMAN SECURITY)</p> | <p>political (“sufferers”) NGOs Businesses</p> | <p>Support with funds and technology; Industrialized countries must act now!</p> |
| <p>Narrow Securitization: CC fuels conflicts over resources and migration which threatens international security (CC AS THREAT TO NATIONAL SECURITY)</p> | <p>Security Officials and Professionals</p> | <p>A global early warning system for conflicts; The Establishment of a networked security</p> |

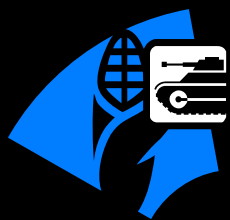
Discursive effects

Dangerous Climate Change
Externalized and vague enemy

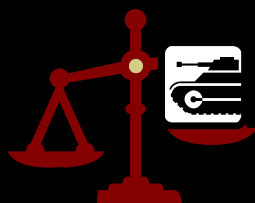


Climate Discourse

Chain of Equivalence



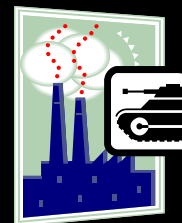
Food Security



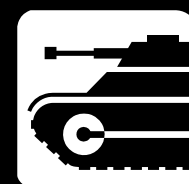
Human Security



Energy Security



Economic Security



Security



A dangerous consensus

Sources

CO₂e



CC development



Impacts

Above 2.0°C

Dangerous
= incalculable



Below 2.0°C

manageable



Political consequences



- Silencing of alternative Framings
→ justice, growth-criticism etc.



- Competence and responsibility shifted to international levels

- Technocratic management



- A consent which does not exist



- De-democratization and de-politization



Conclusions

- Securitization of Climate Change as an inconsistent process of discursive change
 - Many different actors with different intentions
- Overall political effect is not a militarization but a de-politization of climate governance
- Lessons:
 - Re-politization: Develop different visions of socio-ecological futures
 - We need to be extremely careful with our conceptual vocabulary
 - Statements may have unintended effects at the structural level