

Abstracts

Hendrik Hegemann/Martin Kahl

(Re-)Politicizing Security?

Legitimation and Contestation of Mass Surveillance after Snowden
zib, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 6-41

The documents revealed by Edward Snowden ignited a political debate about the surveillance of mass telecommunications. At the same time, surveillance practices like those disclosed are rarely met with widespread societal protest. This contribution asks whether the post-Snowden-debate indicates the persistence of a depolitized form of governance that remains able to draw diffuse support through excessive threat constructions and technocratic risk management, or whether it demonstrates a shift towards the (re-)politicization of security, which makes the attendant measures subject to increased public debate and contingent political decision-making. The article reconsiders prominent arguments that highlight the generally depolitized nature of security governance, develops a conceptual basis for a nuanced analysis of politicization processes in the security field and applies this to the public discussion in Germany following the Snowden revelations. Thus, it aims to contribute to a better understanding of the dynamics, conditions and limitations of politicization in the purportedly special security field.

Keywords: security policy, critical security studies, politicization, surveillance, Edward Snowden

Thomas Sommerer

Civil Society between Dissidence and Participation

Transnational Protest and the Opening of International Organizations
zib, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 42-77

Recent decades have witnessed a change in the role of non-state actors in international politics. The access of civil society actors to formal structures of global and regional governance has increased in parallel with the rise of transnational protests. This article addresses the relationship between protests and the democratic opening of international organizations. Has the public challenge by non-state actors led to the extension of formal access rights? Or has frustration from insufficient opportunities to participate caused protest? The empirical analysis of non-state actors' formal access to 50 international organizations and media coverage of transnational protests between 1980 and 2010 provides an initial comparative and systematic assessment of these questions. The analysis finds no broad support for a causal link. It

shows that transnational protest still represents a relatively rare and often short-lived phenomenon with limited effects on international organizations' structural reforms.

Keywords: International Organizations, civil society, participatory governance, transnational protests, NGOs

Antonio Arcudi

The Responsibility to Protect Caught in the Crossfire

The Relationship between Norm Contestation and Norm Decay

zib, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 78-111

The adoption of the Responsibility to Protect in 2005 has been hailed as a milestone. Nevertheless, R2P is still a highly contested norm. In particular, the controversies about the intervention in Libya led several authors to judge that R2P has been weakened or had even failed. These authors draw a direct connection between contestation and the weakening of the norm. In contrast, I argue that contestation is not an appropriate indicator for norm weakening per se and that the effects of contestation need to be examined more closely. To do so, I outline an alternative perspective on norm negotiation and application processes, distinguishing between three types of contestation: contestation of appropriateness, of realization and of validity. I argue, then, that only the third type implies norm erosion. In the empirical part of this paper, this analytical typology is applied to the debates about R2P.

Keywords: Responsibility to Protect, norm contestation, norm decay, norm dynamics, Libya

Franziskus von Lucke/Thomas Diez/Zehra Wellmann

Battles over Climate: a Comparative Study on the Securitization of Climate Change

zib, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 112-144

The connection between climate change and security has recently become a central political problem and matter of discussion in academic research. Most works base their inquiries on the Copenhagen School of securitization in affirmative and in critical ways. The focus so far has been on identifying different securitizations of climate change and on the question of whether these have been globally successful. However, there are no systematic comparative studies of the concrete securitization processes in different countries. This paper intends to close this gap. We compare the (attempted) securitization of climate change in four countries with different levels of economic development and different climate policies: Germany, Mexico, Turkey, and the United States. The core interest is to understand which actors pur-

Abstracts

sue what kinds of securitization, why and what political consequences follow. This comparison yields insights into the conditions of success and failure of securitization.

Keywords: climate change, securitization, environment, security

Thomas Risse/Wiebke Wemheuer-Vogelaar

International Relations Scholars in Germany: Young, Internationalized, and Eclectic

zib, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 144-172

This article describes the German International Relations (IR) community and its research and writing preferences based on data from the 2014 Teaching, Research, and International Policy (TRIP) faculty survey. Germany has a comparatively young IR community with a relatively large proportion of women, which, however, changes at the level of tenured professorships. German IR scholars are, on average, more oriented towards IR theory and the study of international organization(s) than other national IR communities. The overall picture is one of paradigmatic as well as theoretical pluralism and a rejection of ontological warfare, despite more IR scholars in Germany self-identifying as social constructivists than anywhere else in the world. Their methodological orientations are overwhelmingly qualitative – again above average as compared to other IR communities in the world. At the same time, German respondents identified methodology and epistemology as two of the main factors dividing IR scholars today. Moreover, German IR scholars are almost completely internationalized, leaning strongly toward the Anglo-American core of the discipline. The data reveal a vivid image of IR as an »American social science«.

Keywords: International Relations scholarship, Germany, comparative research, methodology, TRIP survey

Mathias Albert

A Theoretical Quantum Leap or a Quantum IR?

Alexander Wendt's »Quantum Mind and Social Science«

zib, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 175-187

This article presents the basic argumentative tenets of Alexander Wendt's *Quantum Mind and Social Science* and critically assesses the possibilities of transferring his approach to the social sciences. It argues that, with a lot of quantum theoretical effort, Wendt arrives at something similar to Deleuze's philosophy in its treatment of Leibniz. Wendt's book barely makes any direct contribution to IR discussions, but

it challenges them to provide rationales for their basic analytical categories and assumptions.

Keywords: quantum theory, social theory, IR theory, Leibniz, Deleuze

Stephan Stetter

Of Sowers and Harvests: Enriching Quantum Theory with Social Theory and World Society Theory

zib, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 188-206

This article engages with Alexander Wendt's *Quantum Mind and Social Science*. In the first part I discuss the manifold insightful and largely convincing epistemological claims Wendt makes in his attempt to unify social and physical ontology with the help of quantum theorizing. I also highlight some, in my view, essential linkages to radical constructivist theories that Wendt's analysis misses. These linkages could help in projecting the epistemological insights generated in his book much deeper into the ontological territory of social theory and global history. By drawing in particular from modern systems theory and world society theory, I highlight two aspects. Firstly, I claim that Wendt's work would have profited from a more careful distinction between the unity *and* the distinction between society and consciousness, as is developed, for example, in modern systems theory. Secondly, I critically examine Wendt's somewhat simplistic approach to the study of society and politics and propose a much greater dose of social and world society theory as well as global history perspectives as antidotes. The quantum seeds sown by Wendt onto the fields of social theory could turn into a rich harvest if complemented by adequately rich social theory and global history, as, for example, provided by modern systems theory and world society theory.

Keywords: Quantum theory, modern systems theory, world society, communication, society

Oliver Kessler

The Carpet Crawlers: Quanta in International Relations

zib, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 207-221

After ten years of preparatory work, Wendt's new book on *Quantum Mind and Social Science: Unifying Physical and Social Ontology* was finally published. While his previous book on *The Social Theory of International Politics* provided a tour de force through social theory, *Quantum Mind and Social Science* is a tour de force through contemporary philosophy of nature (and natural sciences). As *Quantum Mind and Social Science* uses the mind-body problem as one of its core problems, it is possible to show how these two books are different and similar at the same

Abstracts

time. In this contribution, I discuss the mind body problem and point to two further questions: the »ontological« foundation and the relationship between the social and natural sciences.

Keywords: ontology, mind-body problem, constructivism, epistemology, linguistic turn