

Abstracts

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Has Terrorism Become more Brutalized since 9/11?

An Empirical-analytical Test

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In this article we test whether terrorism has become more brutal since the 1990s and especially since the attacks of 9/11. Building on a literature review, we examine the thesis of brutalization within the framework of the so called »new terrorism« and test it in an empirical and analytical way. We operationalize the brutalization of terrorism in eight different ways and examine these indicators over time from 1970 to 2011 on a worldwide scale as well as for different regions using data from the Global Terrorism Database (GTD). We show that there is only little empirical evidence for a general brutalization of terrorism taking place all around the globe since the early 1990s. Yet, particularly in the years after 9/11, a rising brutality could be observed in certain regions. This should nevertheless not be regarded as an indication for a novel kind of terrorism as the data shows that the level of brutality of this »new terrorism« is ultimately the same as in earlier phases.

Keywords: new terrorism, brutalization, empirical analysis, suicide attack, weak target

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Failed Securitization or Changing Security Conceptions:

Is the Copenhagen School Helpful when Analyzing Climate Change?

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Over the last decade, climate change has increasingly been discussed as a security threat. In this essay, we ask from the perspective of the Copenhagen School, if climate change has been successfully »securitized«. We show that there were many speech acts in the realm of international politics which problematized climate change as a security issue but that hardly anyone adopted extraordinary measures to address it. However, this failed securitization does not mean that climate security discourse did not have any policy implications. We use the case of climate change in order to illustrate some well-known weaknesses of the original Copenhagen School's theory of securitization and demonstrate the added value of theory extensions for our case. From an extended theoretical perspective, we show that climate security discourse presents dangerous levels of climate change as an unchangeable matter of fact. It thereby renders invisible the scope for fighting climate change. In-

stead, resilience to climate change impacts comes to the foreground. We argue that this is a problematic form of de-politicization as well.

Keywords: climate change, securitization, Copenhagen School, environmental security, United Nations

Carola Betzold

Vulnerability, Democracy, Political Interests?

How Germany Allocates its Aid for Climate Change Adaptation

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Germany – one of the largest donors in the field of climate finance – promises to prioritise the most vulnerable and poorest countries in its financial contribution for climate change adaptation. But to what extent does Germany keep its promise? Who receives German adaptation aid and why? This article analyses statistically how Germany allocated its bilateral adaptation aid from 2010 to 2012. The results suggest only a weak link between need – that is, vulnerability to climate change – and the level of adaptation aid a country receives. While poorer countries receive relatively more adaptation aid, other vulnerability indicators do not seem to matter – as opposed to economic and political factors. The results reflect not least that vulnerability is a complex concept that is difficult to measure; the question who is particularly vulnerable is fundamentally a normative decision.

Keywords: adaptation, aid allocation, Germany, climate change

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Resistance and Domination in World Society:

Introduction

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As a thematic introduction of the forum, this paper develops a concept of resistance that makes the term fruitful for the study of International Relations (IR). We propose to consider resistance and domination not as distinct phenomena, but as a complex. The empirical observation of resistance is the starting point for research on resistance and domination alike. Such a change of perspective seems useful because it allows the empirical analysis of structures of domination under the conditions of globalization. The latter are not simply evident, but become visible and accessible at the moment of their oppositional questioning. However, we reduce the analytical significance of resistance not to a source of information about rule. Rather, we emphasize its productive effect: Resistance allows new analytical perspectives on global power structures while, at the same time, reproducing them empirically.

Keywords: violence, globalization, contentious politics, domination, resistance

Klaus Schlichte

Domination, Resistance, and World Government.

Towards a Historical Sociology of Internationalized Politics

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With reference to older contributions within the discipline of IR this article suggests a dialectical perspective for the theorization of resistance. It argues in four historical sketches that resistance and »liberation« have not led to less rule but rather to its intensification. This is shown for the early modern state in Europe, for forms of colonial domination, for the era of organized capitalism and for forms of domination in postcolonial states. The expansion of government and its contradictions become visible by going beyond the institutionalistic perspective, encompassing social carriers and changing forms of subjectivity.

Keywords: domination, resistance, liberation, historical sociology, colonial rule, state theory

Stephan Hensell

Rebellion and Government:

Elite Strategies of Legitimation in Kosovo

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The transformation of rebel groups into political elites after war marks a transition from armed resistance to political domination. These political positions, however, need to be legitimated. The article discusses strategies of legitimation of the new political elites in Kosovo, who emphasize their governance competencies and the integration in international institutions in international arenas while emphasizing the myth of war and the commemoration of the resistance in local arenas. The results are strategic acts of communication, which differ according to the addressee. The case of Kosovo illustrates that both audiences are separable and that the post-war remembrance of the armed resistance plays a central role for the legitimation of the actors.

Keywords: rebels, elites, legitimation, framing, Kosovo

Bettina Engels

Global Crises, Local Conflicts?

Protests Against the High Cost of Living in Burkina Faso

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Global crises – the financial crisis, the energy crisis, the food crisis – have numerous social, political, and ecological impacts at the local level. This article examines the relationship of global crises and local conflicts using protests against the high cost of living in Burkina Faso as an example. Burkina Faso was among the states that witnessed particularly intense confrontations related to the global food price crisis of 2007/2008. How are global crises mediated so that they lead to conflicts and collective action at the national and local level? This question is dealt with referring to the analytical concepts of scale and framing. Global crises result in political protest, when oppositional actors successfully frame them in a way that links them to existing conflicts and claims, thus mobilizing protest potentials.

Keywords: food price crisis, riots, protest, social movements, Africa

Kai Koddenbrock

The Critique of Intervention:

A Resistant Analysis of International Interventions in the Democratic Republic of Congo

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The need for interventions like UN-peacekeeping, development aid and humanitarian aid in the DR Congo seems self-evident. The »West« engages too little most pundits lament. This article attempts to resist this self-evidence and asks how analysis itself can be resistant. Building on field research in the DR Congo, the article argues that it matters how one describes and criticizes the practice of intervention if one aims to resist it. Against the backdrop of a structuralist and an empiricist conception of critique, I discuss two important strands of current intervention debate in order to highlight what they render visible and what escapes from their view. Interview reflections by a former UN Under-Secretary-General and a conflict between Western interveners and the Ministry of Planning in the Congolese province of North Kivu serve to illustrate my main argument: Interventions are complex and auto-critical and dependent on a neo-colonial discursive structure. For resistant analysis, it might thus be promising to bring together the complexity of empiricism and structuralist stability.

Keywords: critique, resistance, Foucault, Latour, Marx, DR Congo, United Nations, NGOs