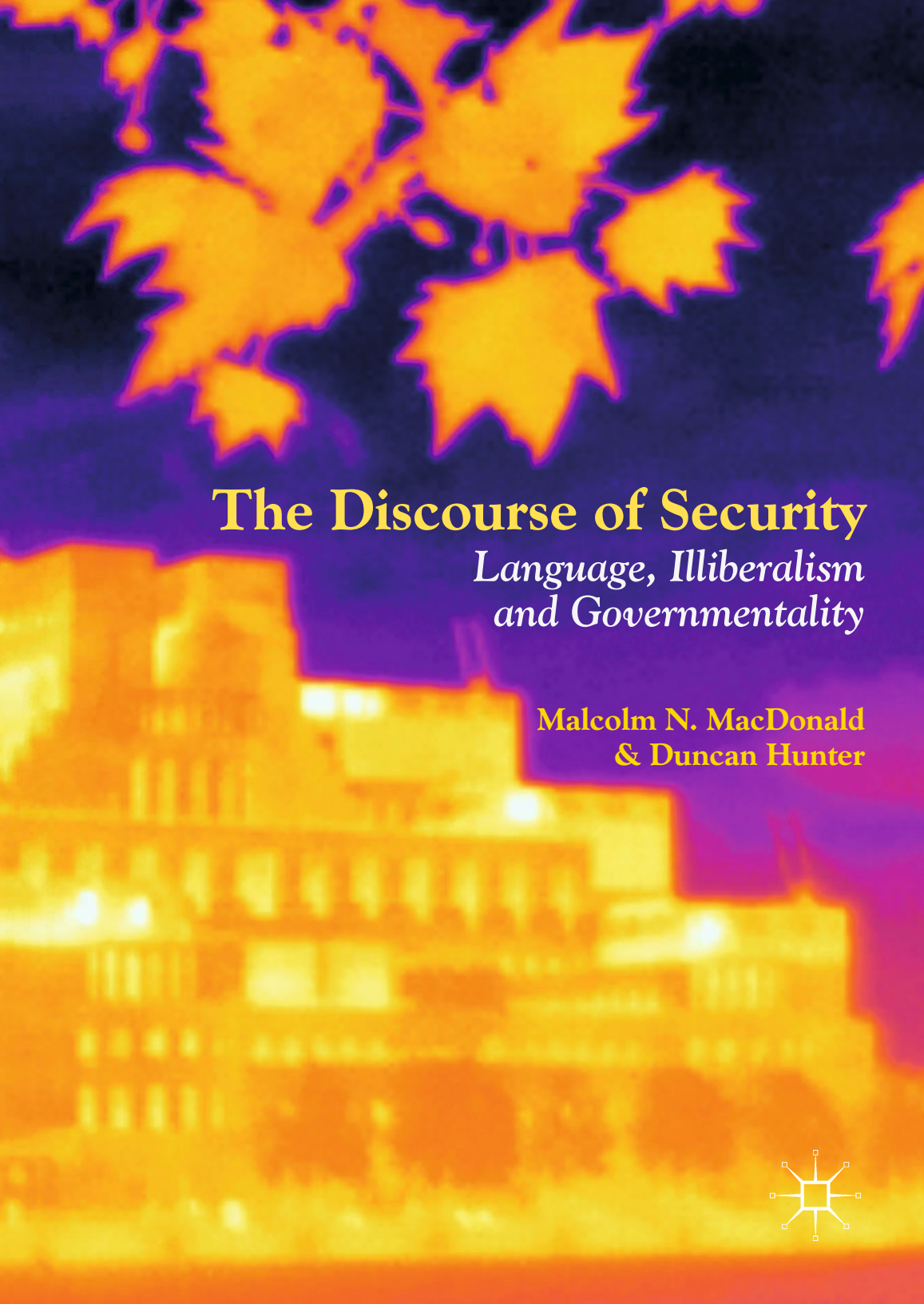

The Discourse of Security

Language, Illiberalism and Governmentality

Malcolm N. MacDonald & Duncan Hunter

The Discourse of Security

"This volume's innovative approach to the critical study of security discourse will be of tremendous value to Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Security Studies researchers. It provides a theoretically informed, methodologically sound, and analytically sophisticated empirical account of how 21st century security discourses have been constituted, transformed, and recontextualized across specific temporal and spatial contexts. The authors' insistence that a genuinely critical analysis of discourse requires not only facility with discourse analytic frameworks but also an engagement with discipline-specific critical concepts is a much-needed insight. For their part, MacDonald & Hunter provide a critical analytic framework specific to security discourse which combines critical discourse, corpus linguistic, and argumentative analyses with the concepts of "governmentality," "state of exception," and "ban-opticon." Their effective application of this multifaceted apparatus produces a compelling, empirically-based account of the formation, circulation, and function of 21st security discourses."

—Patricia L. Dunmire, *Kent State University, USA*

"Critical discourse analysis has long-established intellectual links with Foucault's ideas on power and discourse, yet in practice it is rare to see his theories brought explicitly and transparently into dialogue with rigorous text oriented discourse analysis. MacDonald and Hunter achieve just this, focusing in particular on the concepts of biopower and governmentality. They build on recent advances in critical discourse studies, using corpus-aided methods and argumentation analysis to investigate the operation of security discourses across a range of policy fields from the London Olympics to counter-terrorism to citizenship. Through a genuinely transdisciplinary approach, the authors explain how insecurity discourses have emerged as a central form of political power in the early 21st century, and uncover the specific linguistic processes through which governmentality operates in the modern 'illiberal' state. Not only is this a 'must read' for critical discourse analysts and political sociologists, but its accessible style and rich case studies have much to offer political practitioners themselves."

—Jane M. Mulderigg, *University of Sheffield, UK*

Malcolm N. MacDonald · Duncan Hunter

The Discourse of Security

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Malcolm N. MacDonald
Centre for Applied Linguistics
University of Warwick
Coventry, UK

Duncan Hunter
School of Education
University of Hull
Hull, UK

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Preface

This book arose from a project which we started in 2011 to investigate the language and discourse of security. We began that year by collating over one hundred security-related documents from the websites of UK government departments. This initial investigation has been brought up to date for this book by adding a collection of more recent security documents produced by the UK government, and these are compared with those of our earlier period. During the summer of 2012, London hosted the Olympic Games and, having initiated our project by looking at documents relating to UK security and counterterrorism produced over the previous ten years, it appeared axiomatic that we should now turn our attention more specifically to the security operation for the London Olympics. Since this was no longer a comparative analysis, it also afforded us the opportunity of developing a principled method for incorporating the intuitive, manual analysis favoured by critical discourse analysis, with machine-based approaches developed within corpus linguistics. In Chapter 4, we set out how we developed the technical aspects of analysing our texts; and we describe the outcomes from these first two phases of the empirical part of our project in Chapters 6 and 7.

In 2011, a number of interdisciplinary research groups were initiated at the University of Warwick. Malcolm joined one of these research groups, which focused on Global Governance and, out of a series of workshops held in the summer of 2012, he joined Alex Homolar, Lena Rethel, and Stephanie Schnurr to develop a project entitled *Crisis Leadership in Global Government* (CliGG). This led to the research presented Chapter 8 being supported in part by a University of Warwick Strategic Award (RDF1063), and this award enabled the project team to enlist the assistance of Rachelle Vessey in the collection and analysis of data. In Chapter 8, we recast some of that data (previously published in *Discourse and Communication*, with Alexandra Homolar, Stephanie Schnurr, Lena Rethel, and Rachelle Vessey). In keeping with the focus of this book, we reframe the analysis to foreground the 'recontextualisation' of the language and discourse relating to nuclear proliferation, as it is delocated from the United Nations Security Council and relocated in prominent national newspapers on either side of the Atlantic.

The year 2014 marked the tenth anniversary of the publication of the *9/11 Commission Report*. This recommended the radical re-organisation of the US Security Agencies in the wake of their perceived failure to detect the impending 9/11 attacks. To round off the international focus of our project, we thought it would be revealing to investigate how language and discourse had been used by prominent US security agencies to reconstitute themselves in the ten years since the report. During the summer of 2015, we downloaded and analysed a collection of webpages from the websites of prominent US security agencies; we present the outcome of this final phase of our project in Chapter 9.

In all of this, we are describing the discursive construction of security at a specific historical period, and in particular national and transnational locations. This is not because we want to make any claims for the pre-eminence of UK and US political cultures but because, pragmatically, these were the political cultures—and the language—that we could most readily access in order to undertake our research.

However, we concede that at other periods and in other locations, not only across other European states but also in Islamic and post-communist countries, security is in all likelihood discursively constituted along very different lines.

Coventry, UK — Malcolm N. MacDonald
Hull, UK — Duncan Hunter

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Many people have contributed—wittingly or unwittingly—to the development of this book. The authors would like to thank the following people for their support or suggestions at different stages of this project: Alexandra Homolar, Alison Phipps, Chris Hart, Helen Spencer-Oatey, Jan Aart Scholte, James Harrison, Nazia Hussein, Jane Mulderrig, Johannes Angermuller, Johannes Beetz, John P. O'Regan, Hans Ladegaard, Keith Richards, Lena Rethel, Maggie Conn, Michał Krzyżanowski, Miri Gal-Ezar, Nick Vaughan-Williams, Paul Baker, Rachel Lewis, Rachelle Vessey, Richard Smith, Ronny Scholz, Shanta Nair-Venugopal, Stephanie Schnurr, Sue Wharton, Teun van Djik, and Veit Schwab.

We would like to thank Johannes Angermuller for guiding us through the preparation of the proposal, Beth Farrow and Cathy Scott at Palgrave Macmillan for their assistance in bringing this book to fruition, two anonymous reviewers nominated by Palgrave for their judicious and insightful comments on earlier drafts of the manuscript, and Sooryadeepth Jayakrishnan and his team for their meticulous attention to detail of the final manuscript.

The following associations, departments and research groups have provided either fora or support which have helped us in our development of this book: *Academic Conference of the United Nations* (ACUNS), *Centre for*

Applied Linguistics (CAL, University of Warwick), *Critical Discourse Across the Disciplines* (CADAAD), *DiscourseNET*, *Global Research Priorities*, *Global Governance* (GRP-GG, University of Warwick), *International Association for Language and Intercultural Communication* (IALIC), *Professional and Academic Discourse* research group (PAD, University of Warwick), and the *School of Languages, Linguistics and Cultures* (University of Hull).

In particular, Malcolm benefitted from two terms' research leave, granted by the *Centre for Applied Linguistics* at the University of Warwick. This enabled him to develop the initial proposal along with Duncan, as well as to analyse the data presented in Chapter 8. This research also benefitted from a University of Warwick Strategic Award (RDF1063).

This book comprises substantially unpublished and extensively revised material. However, we have presented earlier stages of our project in the following conferences and journals.

- Parts of Chapter 6 have been presented previously at the second International Conference of *Redefining Community in Intercultural Context* (RCIC), the fourth conference of *Critical Discourse Across the Disciplines* (CADAAD), and the tenth conference of *Critical Discourse Across the Disciplines* (CADAAD); and were subsequently published in the *CADAAD* Journal, and in the *Journal of Language and Politics*.
- Parts of Chapter 7 have been presented previously at the eleventh International Conference of the *International Association for Language and Intercultural Communication*, the *Aberystwyth Lancaster Graduate Colloquium Graduate Conference in Critical International Studies*; and were subsequently published in *Discourse and Society*.
- Parts of Chapter 8 have been presented previously at the *Academic Conference for the United Nations* (ACUNs), and the twelfth International Conference of the *International Association for Language and Intercultural Communication*; and were subsequently published in *Discourse and Communication*.
- Parts of Chapter 9 have been presented previously at the eighth conference of *Critical Discourse Across the Disciplines* (CADAAD, 2016); and were subsequently published in *Discourse and Society*.

Finally, Duncan expresses his gratitude to Jessie for her support of the project.

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Introduction

By the end of the twentieth century, it had been over fifty years since most countries in Europe and North America had experienced a major attack by a foreign actor on their own soil. Although the USA and its allies had pursued lengthy incursions into other territories such as the Korean Peninsula (1950–1953) and Indochina (1955–1973), the populations of Europe and North America had experienced a lengthy period of relative peace since the end of the Second World War (1945). In the United States (US), this period of relative tranquillity was brought to an abrupt halt on 11 September 2001, when members of an Islamist cell hijacked four commercial planes, crashing two of them into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Centre and one into the Pentagon. This resulted in the largest loss of life sustained on US soil by a foreign aggressor since the attack on Pearl Harbour in December 1941. The 9/11 attacks were subsequently followed by further attacks in Europe: on Cercanías Madrid in 2004 (11-M); and on the London Transport network in 2005 (7/7).

These events led to a range of policy responses from the governments concerned, and, immediately after the 9/11 and 7/7 attacks, provisions were made within the USA and the UK for the temporary suspension

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of a range of citizenship rights (Preston 2009). More radically, claims have been made that the terrorist response across Europe and North America has led to the intensification of a 'state of emergency' which is being invoked to normalise the curtailment of civil liberties and suspension of *habeas corpus* in purportedly democratic societies (Agamben 1998, 2005). The second decade of the twenty-first century has seen an escalation of terrorist incidents across Europe and North America, being carried out by adherents to both right wing and Islamist radical groups; and the outbreak of the Syrian Civil War in 2011 has led to the largest forced migration of people since the Second World War. These events have resulted in an intensification of security and counter-terrorism policy by governments on both sides of the Atlantic. Over this period, a series of prominent confrontations also took place between the US, and Iran and North Korea, over claims that the latter two nations were developing the technologies to produce nuclear weapons. This was perceived as contravening the principles of the two international treaties relating to the control of nuclear weapons—the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty (NPT)—and led to the passing of successive censorious resolutions by the United Nation Security Council (UNSC).

Against this unfolding of world events, the principal aim of this book is to explore documentary evidence from a range of different contexts, in order to identify the ways in which the distinctive principles of the period are constituted through language and discourse. The post-9/11 period cannot be considered as homogenous. To conduct this exploration it is therefore necessary to explore the variations in discourse that take place from one historical moment to another, and from one institutional site to another. We thus seek to illuminate the realisation of security as a discursive phenomenon as it is subject to the generative categories of *time* and *space*. We intend to investigate whether changes take place across, and within distinctive periods; we also explore how security as a discursive enterprise operates across a variety of institutional contexts. We discover that there is an intensification of regulation under the conditions of (temporal) transformation as the period

proceeds; also that that there is an intensification of the conditions of exception, in particular regarding an identifiable discourse of nuclear proliferation, under the conditions of (spatial) recontextualisation according to institutional location.

In order to carry out this wide-reaching and ambitious project we will propose theory and put forward methods which make an original contribution to the field of discourse studies. In what follows we set out the two axes of contemporary discourse studies that inform the analyses which we go on to present: first, our theorisation of post-9/11 security discourse that draws from critical discourse studies, linguistic and argumentation analysis, and poststructuralist theories of security; and secondly, our development of a procedure for collection and analysis of documents, which combines the principles of critical discourse analysis (CDA) with those of corpus linguistics. In the next two sections, we describe our rationale for engaging with each of these axes, and conclude each section by setting out the objectives of the study relating to each.

Generating Theory Specific to Post-9/11 Security Discourse

To address the aim of the book set out above, our theorisation of post-9/11 discourse combines conventional theories of language and discourse with more recent critical theories in poststructuralist and political philosophy. While discourse analysis is usually the provenance of linguistics and applied linguistics, the study of security is usually the provenance of political science, international relations and security studies. In the first part of the book (Chapters 3, 4 and 6) we will assemble an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse in order to combine techniques of discourse analysis and critical theories of security drawn from poststructuralist philosophy, sociology, international relations and political science.

Language and Discourse

The response of the Bush administration to the 9/11 attacks gave rise to a wide range of different critical and methodological approaches. Analyses of the discourse of the Iraq War and its aftermath can be divided into two groups: those which take a broadly 'critical' text-based approach derived from either poststructuralism, CDA, genre analysis or cultural studies (e.g. Graham et al. 2004; Hodges 2011; Silberstein 2002); or more 'cognitive' approaches which explore the use of metaphor and metonymy (e.g. Bhatia 2009; Sahlane 2013; Sikka 2006) and analyse the ways in which different degrees of 'proximization' are deployed to make the threat of attack by a foreign actor appear more or less present (Cap 2010; after Chilton 1996). Dunmire (2011) also examines the strategies of argumentation deployed by the Bush administration to persuade the 'American public' of the legitimacy of the case for the invasion of Iraq. In the wake of the US-led invasion of Iraq, critiques of the policy response to the attacks have also been carried out, particularly with regard to the curtailment of civil liberties (De Beaugrande 2004; Gillborn 2006; Preston 2009) and strategies of surveillance (Simone 2009) on either side of the Atlantic. Another UK-oriented study, closer to the concerns of this book, has also been carried out into counter-terrorism documents produced by the UK Labour government (Appleby 2010). However, since the invasion of Iraq, interest in the critical analysis of the language and discourse of US or UK security discourse has somewhat subsided. While these critical approaches to discourse security have revealed many of the linguistic and discursive features of the speeches and policy documents with which they engage, they tend to draw on conventional theories of language and discourse to inform their analytical approach. Acknowledging the achievements of these studies and drawing from their experience, we will adopt similar theories as one means of informing our analyses during the empirical part of this book (Chapters 7–11).

Insights consistent with a CDA approach will be drawn principally from Michel Foucault's archaeological method (1967, 1970, 1972, 1973), and to a lesser extent from the genealogical approach (1977, 1984). While Foucault's archaeology has instructively described

the mutations that occur over the *longue durée* of the European history of ideas, as one discursive formation is superseded by another across the divide of different 'epistemes', for the purposes of our work it falls short of providing a comprehensive analysis in two areas. First, the archaeological approach is less sensitive to 'micro-historical' changes that take place in a discursive field over shorter time periods. Secondly, the archaeological approach tends to regard a discursive formation as being paradigmatically static. That is to say, it fails to account for systematic transformations that take place, either in relation to specific sites in which the discourse of a particular field is produced, transmitted and reproduced, or with regard to the specific genres which are specialised to the different sites through which it is realised. Foucault's approach does not therefore always provide a sufficiently flexible lens to illuminate those variations and developments across time and the space that we have set out as necessary for understanding of the post-9/11 period.

At the start of our empirical enquiry in Chapter 7, we investigate the changes that take place within a specific context of security discourse over time: a collection of documents produced by UK government departments between 2001 and 2016 relating to security and counter-terrorism. From the perspective of archaeology, this entire period—and in all likelihood a considerable period of time both before and after it—would constitute a single 'discursive formation'. However our analytical approach enables us to adopt a more tightly defined temporal focus in order to investigate the transformations that take place over four to five year periods. In so doing, we reveal the changes that take place in the selection, and the combinations, of lexical items within the discourse which are revealed through techniques of corpus analysis. In order to engage with the semantic and syntactic component of our analysis, it was necessary to draw on a systematic description of language and text. This understanding is informed principally by systemic functional grammar (SFL): both by Halliday's foundational conceptualisation of the relationship between language and social context (Halliday 1976); and by the later elaborations of the ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions of language (Halliday 1985; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004).

In Chapter 9 we go on to investigate the changes that take within a particular field of security discourse over space: in this case as the discourse of nuclear proliferation is delocated from one site and relocated in another site. We will analyse empirical evidence which suggests that any discursive field is not paradigmatically static, but rather that any field of discourse is manifested by the flow of texts through complex networks of institutional sites. In relation to the discourse of security these involve, minimally, what we will dub here the 'political sphere' and the 'public sphere'. The political sphere includes departments of the state and supranational fora, such as the UNSC. The public sphere includes different forms of media such as social media, radio, television and the national press. The transformations that take place as discourse is delocated from one site and relocated in another has been described as a process of recontextualization (Bernstein 1990, 1996, 2000). Under 'recontextualizing rules', the discursive constitution of objects, subjects, concepts and strategies cannot be the same in their recontextualised context as they were in their original context. As recontextualised texts undergo a process of transformation, relations of power can be articulated through them by the selective appropriation of knowledge from one site and its relocation in another.

Thus, Foucault's archaeological approach (1972) and Bernstein's theory of pedagogic discourse (2000) provide a means of critically interrogating the discursive field with which we engage in Chapter 9, in order to uncover the ways in which relations of power are articulated through the fluid and dynamic movement of texts that takes place through time and across space. However, in order to engage with the texts which are produced at any particular site, it is also necessary to have a systematic means of analysing language and text. In this respect, the archaeological method—or at least Foucault's applications of the archaeological method (1967, 1970, 1973)—can be said to fall short. In Chapters 8 and 10 we will engage with texts produced at two specific sites: the discursive realization of the security operation for the 2012 London Olympic Games (Chapter 8); and the sites within which the US security services discursively reconstitute themselves in the wake of the *9/11 Commission Report* (National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the US 2004; Chapter 10). The analysis of texts which we undertake

in Chapter 10, in particular, demands an additional descriptive terminology in order to engage with their logical structuring. To enable us to analyse the patterns of reasoning in these documents, we adopted the technique of exposing and exploring argument schemes; and in particular the notions of the *warrant* (or *topos*) and 'argument scheme' (after Wodak 2001). Not least, the analysis of argument schemes enabled us to engage with components of text at a higher level than just lexical or syntactic relations, but also retained the specificity necessary to illustrate the ways in which the processes of meaning and reasoning were constituted in and through the texts.

Governmentality, Exceptionalism and Illiberalism

In Chapters 3 and 4, we set out a fairly conventional conceptual background for our analysis of documents relating to national and international security. However, for us, these more familiar approaches to discourse analysis fall short of providing a sufficiently radical critique of the language and discourse of the documents relating to a particular disciplinary context, and in so doing fail to reveal with a sufficient degree of specificity the relations of power which are constituted within security discourse. Therefore, in Chapter 6, we go on to introduce critical theories specific to the fields of politics and security studies. On this argument, it is necessary for a critical approach to the discourse of a specialist field to engage not only with the technical theories and methods of applied linguistics and discourse analysis, but also with critical theories which emanate from the specialist field itself. Chapter 6 therefore extends the theoretical and methodological frameworks of discourse studies in order to inform the empirical analyses which follow. It argues that the posthumously published Foucaultian theory of governmentality (Foucault 2004, 2007, 2008) and the later manifestations of 'exceptionalism' (Agamben 1998, 2005) and the 'banopticon' (Bigo 2008) are necessary to develop a theoretically informed edifice that is adequate to a critical engagement with security discourse.

We begin Chapter 6 by engaging with the later work of Michel Foucault, in which he extends his analysis of discourse and power into

the two inter-related spheres of 'biopolitics' (1984, 2004) and 'governmentality' (2007, 2008). We describe Foucault's (2004, 2007, 2008) theory of governmentality and set out its relationship to the empirical analyses of security discourse. Governmentality is a dispersed means of exercising power upon populations, informed by political economy and articulated through security apparatuses. It comprises three components: discipline, security and sovereignty. Another way in which power is exercised over populations in modern societies is through the control of human life which, in modernity, is carried out by the technologies of disciplinary power. In order to accomplish this control of the conditions of life of the population, a number of mechanisms are introduced which have functions that are very different from those of disciplinary power. Not least, these are realised discursively through various forms of prediction such as 'forecasts' and statistical estimates, which are intended to control the life and biological processes of man-as-species and ensure that they are regularised.

Foucault's conceptualisations of biopolitics and governmentality have been progressed within the social sciences in two rather different directions. The first has been carried forward by the Italian philosopher, Giorgio Agamben (1998, 2005), who has proposed that governments have historically been maintaining a 'state of exception' in which recourse to the legal rights of liberal societies across Europe have been indefinitely suspended due to the prevalence of a permanent and ubiquitous condition of emergency. We suggest, however, that the 'state of exception' is a discursive accomplishment which remains empirically under-researched thus far, either in the more philosophical literature in security studies or in critical discourse studies. The second relates to the French sociologist, Didier Bigo's (2008) conceptualisation of 'illiberalism' in which he argues (contra Agamben) that a state of 'unease' is maintained within European societies, not so much by a totalising suspension of the principles of liberalism, but rather *within* liberalism through the pervasive maintenance of a condition of '(in)security'. By analogy, Didier Bigo has proposed that a contemporary episteme of (in)security has led to the establishment of a 'banoptic dispositif' within late capitalist societies, and particularly within states across Europe. Bigo's conceptualisation of the 'ban-opticon' provides us with a critical

framework through which we can view our analysis of the documentary evidence of the heterogeneous assemblage of discourses, institutions, architectural spaces, statutes and administrative measures that realise security practices at a national and transnational level (2008).

Objectives of Theoretical Enquiry

An additional ambition of this book, therefore, is to combine theories of discourse analysis with theories drawn from politics and international relations, political sociology, and philosophy in order to develop a critical analytical theory which is specific to the analysis of security discourse. The outcomes that issue from this theoretical combination can be articulated as three objectives which relate, first, to opposing theories of how the state is governed; and, secondly, to our theory of discourse (after Foucault 1972):

- to explore the extent to which the principles of governmentality are realised in the security discourse produced by national governments, national media, security agencies and supranational fora;
- to explore the extent to which a 'state of emergency' is realised in the security discourse produced by national governments, national media, security agencies and supranational fora; and
- to explore the ways in which the security discourse produced by national governments, national media, security agencies and supranational fora is constituted as a 'discursive formation'.

Developing an Interdisciplinary Approach to the Analysis of Security Documents

The second of the two axes of contemporary discourse studies that informs this book is our development of a procedure for collection and analysis of documents, which combines the principles of CDA with those of corpus linguistics. To reveal principles of the discourse of this period, taking into account temporal and spatial complexity, it is

necessary to assemble and explore documents that are sufficiently representative of its historical institutional variety. In the document analysis which we carry out in the latter part of our book, we explore how particular sets of principles relating to the *praxis* of security are realised in the language and discourse of collections of documents assembled from different contexts. The Islamist attacks which took place on the World Trade Centre ('9/11'), the Madrid Cercanías ('11-M'), the London Transport network ('7/7'), and Glasgow Airport, generated a governmental response whose artefacts included the large-scale production of documents relating to security and counter-terrorism across the USA and Europe. In the USA, provisions were initiated through the PATRIOT Act (2001); in the UK—through the Civil Contingencies Act (2004), the Prevention of Terrorism Act (2005)—and most recently the Terrorism Prevention and Investigation Measures Act (2011)—for the temporary suspension of a range of citizenship rights in certain circumstances (Preston 2009). In this, we engage with exemplars of the security discourse which were produced: both nationally, by the UK government (Chapter 7), UK security organisations (Chapter 8), and US security agencies (Chapter 10); and internationally, by the UNSC and prominent US and UK print media (Chapter 9). While there is both a geographical (national to international) and methodological progression within our analyses, our presentation of the chapters broadly reflects the historical sequence in which the documents were produced.

Documents

As a project that aims to capture a sense of the temporal and spatial variety of the post-9/11 period, this book is necessarily an exploration of collections of *documents*, assembled into specialist corpora that reflect this scope and diversity. Each of our empirical analyses explores a systematically compiled corpus which was assembled to reflect the particular purpose of the investigation. The first collection of documents we examine in this book captures a period between 2001 and 2016, in which successive UK governments generated a plethora of policy and strategy documents to address the issues which they were facing at

any one particular point in time. In Chapter 7, we identify and analyse three different periods during which distinctive sets of documents were produced: 2001–2006, 2006–2011 and 2012–2016. These periods revolved around two historical pivots: the first pivot was the attack upon the London Transport Network, which took place on 7th July 2005 (7/7); the second pivot was the outbreak of the Syrian Civil War in 2011. Between 2001 and 2006, documents produced during the middle period of the UK New Labour Government (2001–2006) began with the policy aftermath of the 2001 riots and includes some documents which reflected the period of the 7/7 attacks. In the years following 7/7, during the years of the New Labour Government (2007–2010) and the early years of the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition (2010–2011), a policy of 'deradicalisation' was implemented in schools, FE colleges and universities and the early years of the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition (2010–2011). The third period of UK security policy, 2012–2016, embraces the main period of the UK Conservative—Liberal Democrat Coalition government, followed by the exclusive premiership of David Cameron.

However, in 2012 the UK government was also faced with the challenge of hosting the London Olympic Games within this ethos of counter-terrorism. Indeed, London had won its bid to host the Games just twenty hours before the 7/7 attack on the London Transport System. It was therefore little surprise that security became a major preoccupation of those charged with organising the Olympics. If the first set of documents produced by government departments between 2001 and 2016 were principally for the benefit of politicians, policy advisers and associated policy pundits, the second set of documents we go on to analyse in Chapter 8 were produced to articulate the security policy, practices and procedures for events at the London Olympics. In Chapter 8, we examine how the webpages produced by the various organisations associated with the Olympics conveyed the security principles from the post-7/7 period (2006–2011) to the general public.

While our first two sets of documents generate security discourse particular to the UK national context, for our third set of documents we turn to the international arena in order to investigate documents relating to nuclear proliferation. In Chapter 9, we identify two different sites

in which relevant documents were produced over a similar period of time (2006–2012): the UNSC and prominent national press outlets in the UK and the US, two countries which are both permanent members of the Security Council. These sites were posited as being paradigmatic of the 'political sphere' and the 'public sphere' respectively. Each site produces a distinctive type of text: resolutions from the UNSC and newspaper articles from the national press. We selected all the UNSC resolutions produced between 2006 and 2012 relating to the proliferation of nuclear weapons in either Iran or North Korea. We also identified four prominent national newspapers for investigation: from the UK, *The Times* and *The Guardian*; and from the US, *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*. Here, we also selected all the articles produced over this period relating to the proliferation of nuclear weapons in either country.

The 9/11 attacks also had a dramatic impact on the discursive representation of the security services in the US, since it was widely believed that the two American security services had failed to prevent the attacks. As well as a panoply of other criticisms of their shortcomings, the *9/11 Commission Report* (National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the US 2004) lead to a root and branch re-organisation of the US security services. Against this background, in Chapter 10 we will engage with our fourth set of documents produced by the reconstituted US security agencies in order to examine how they represent themselves in the public domain in the wake of the reforms initiated after the *9/11 Commission Report*. To do this, we will investigate a collection of public-facing webpages, generated by the US security agencies, government departments and associated organisations.

Techniques of Analysis

In Chapters 7–10, we combine techniques of critical discourse studies and corpus analysis in order to analyse the corpora of documents drawn from national governments, national media, security agencies and supranational fora. An additional outcome from the successive analyses which we carry out is to develop a sequence for the analysis

of substantial numbers of documents that integrates techniques derived from CDA and corpus linguistics in order to maximise the opportunity for the production of insights from both manual and machine procedures.

Each corpus was analysed using a combination of techniques originating from two traditions: corpus analytical procedures using machine tools; and manual techniques selected from the wide repertoire of critical discourse studies. Practices developed by these researchers have converged on a set of techniques in which a sequence of machine corpus and human intuitive tools is applied to explore a useful corpus (c.f. Baker et al. 2008; Fairclough 2000; Koteyko 2014; Leech and Fallon 1992). Conventionally in this approach, these are used first to derive mass, whole-corpus data from their corpora so as to locate key themes and linguistic features as a starting point for subsequent manual investigation (c.f. Baker 2010; Subtirelu and Baker 2017; Vessey 2015). Two of our studies draw on this successful tradition in order to carry out comparative analyses of corpora which have been produced either at different times (Chapter 7), or in different sites (Chapter 9).

By contrast, in our analyses of particular contexts of security discourse (Chapters 8 and 10), we apply an analytical sequence whose design emerged from our experience using these more 'conventional' sequences. The procedure commences with the selection of a small number of texts from the corpus to form the basis for detailed manual analysis (c.f. Baker 2010, p. 138; Gabrielatos and Duguid 2015). This innovation of working with a smaller sample of 'core' documents, identified through a principled technique of selection, proved significant in developing a novel approach which we use used in our analyses of specialised contexts, by exposing language and discourse through the prioritisation of intuitive and contextualised document analysis. In a final stage of analysis, we returned to the repertoire of corpus techniques and tools as a means of pursuing leads furnished by manual analysis. It is in this interplay between manual and machine procedures, driven by the former rather than the latter as in more conventional studies, that we are able to describe innovative procedures that combine the potential offered to us by techniques derived from *both* CDA *and* corpus analysis.

Objectives of Document Analysis

As we have seen, this book aims to examine the changes that take place over time and space as the language and discourse of security is, first, reconstituted by successive national government administrations in response to the unfolding of historical events; and, secondly, is recontextualised from one institutional site to another. The objectives of the document analysis set out in this book are, therefore to investigate.

In relation to time:

- what changes take place in the language and discourse of UK national security as it is transformed in relation to historical events between 2001 and 2016.

In relation to space:

- what characteristics of post-9/11 security discourse can be observed in a variety of locations and institutions beyond those identified in the temporal study: the 2012 London Olympic Games, and the discourse of US security institutions;
- what changes take place in the language and discourse of international nuclear proliferation as it is recontextualised from the political sphere to the public sphere.

Overview of Chapters

The ten chapters that follow on from this introduction can be approached as four parts. Chapter 2 sets out the historical background to our empirical enquiry. Chapters 3–6 set out the theoretical and methodological edifice of the book. Chapters 7–10 set out the findings of the empirical investigations which we carry out in the security discourse which is produced in different contexts. Chapter 11 concludes by drawing out the outcomes of the book relating to the theoretical objectives set out above. The order of the empirical Chapters 7–10

reflects the historical sequence in which the documents under analysis are produced, rather than the unfolding of the methodological approach we use.

Part I: Historical Background

Chapter 2, *Locating the Discourse*, takes up where this chapter leaves off, by describing events in the UK and worldwide that provide the backdrop for the texts that we go on to analyse in our empirical enquiry. In May 2001, riots broke out in Northern England; and in September of that year, members of an al-Qaeda cell flew two planes into the US World Trade Centre. The subsequent invasion of Iraq by a US-led alliance was followed by further terrorist attacks across Europe and North America, which appear to persist indefinitely. Simultaneously, a series of confrontations took place between the UNSC, and Iran and North Korea, over the development of nuclear weapons technology. With the 2012 outbreak of the Syrian Civil War, US and European security agencies became refocused upon the bordering practices of the nation state, particularly regarding the return of 'foreign fighters'.

Part II: Theory and Methodology

In Chapters 3 and 4 we set out the conventional theories of discourse and language which will inform our later empirical analyses. In Chapter 3, *Postdisciplinary Security Discourse*, we set out the antecedents to our study from the perspective of CDA. Here, we review previous critical studies of security discourse relating to the discourse of nuclear proliferation, the discourse surrounding the hypostatised nuclear threat from Iran and North Korea, the verbal rhetoric and policy documentation of the US administration in the run-up to the first Gulf War; and critiques of the legislative responses to the the WTC, Madrid and London attacks. Chapter 4, *Disciplinarity and Discourse*, combines poststructuralist discourse theory with modernist accounts of textual analysis to set out an approach to analysing the language and discourse of security.

On this argument, security is constituted as a discursive formation through a dynamic network of texts which create, maintain and transmit meanings across different sites within the political sphere and the public sphere Salient linguistic features within our texts will be analysed using the classificatory structures of SFL. Finally, the notions of warrant (or *topos*) and 'argument scheme' will be used to unpack the logic of security discourse, particularly the construction of a certain state of affairs as exceptional.

In Chapter 5, *Analysing Security Discourse*, we describe how we addressed the challenge of developing corpus techniques commensurate with the critical approaches set out previously. Corpus techniques enable the principled exploration of documents, in order to expose tendencies, themes and topics in documents assembled as a systematically selected corpus. The chapter begins by outlining the history of mixed method research in which this procedure has been frequently suggested, but seldom as yet applied on a large-scale basis. We describe how we developed a procedure which begins with the analysis of systematically selected core texts, the data from which is then articulated upon the wider corpus. A sequence for effective work is proposed, including a crucial stage of 'tailored' corpus enquiry which, when applied flexibly to pursue leads furnished by manual analysis, can generate findings that powerfully synthesise corpus and critical discourse results.

In Chapter 6, *Biopolitics, Governmentality and the Banopticon*, we propose that further critical theories specific to security and politics are necessary to engage with this specialised discursive field. The first of these, governmentality, is a dispersed means of exercising power upon populations, informed by political economy and articulated through security apparatuses. Power is also exercised over populations through the control of human life which is carried out by technologies of disciplinary power, or 'biopower'. Additionally, the tendency for states to increasingly assert special powers of emergency represents the outworking of the principle of the 'state of exception', through which the sovereign power of the state is totalised by suspending normal juridical procedures. Finally, we discuss how the contemporary episteme of (in)security has led to the establishment of a 'banoptic dispositif' within late capitalist societies (after Bigo 2008).