

Socially responsible innovation in security Critical reflections

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Routledge New Security Studies

SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE INNOVATION IN SECURITY

CRITICAL REFLECTIONS

Edited by J. Peter Burgess, Genserik Reniers, Koen Ponnet, Wim Hardyns and Wim Smit



Socially Responsible Innovation in Security

This book examines the possibility of socially responsible innovation in security, using an interdisciplinary approach.

Responsible innovation in security refers to a comprehensive approach that aims to integrate knowledge related to stakeholders operating at both the demand and the supply side of security – technologists, citizens, policymakers and ethicists. Security innovations can only be successful in the long term if all the social, ethical and ecological impacts, and threats and opportunities, both short term and long term, are assessed and prioritized alongside technical and commercial impacts.

The first part of this volume focuses on security technology innovation and its perception and acceptance by the public, while the second part delves deeper into the processes of decision-making and democratic control, raising questions about the ethical implications of security ruling.

This book will be of much interest to students of critical security studies, sociology, technology studies and IR in general.

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Critical Reflections

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This collection of essays emerged out of a two-day workshop held at the University of Antwerp in October 2015. This interdisciplinary workshop aimed at moving beyond the techno-centric and security focus to investigate the social, ethical and organizational impacts of the security business, to understand the implications for individuals and the nature of society and to gain insight into how security norms are embedded in cultural norms. The two-day workshop brought together over 20 researchers from Europe to discuss their research projects.

We are grateful to all who presented papers in the original workshop and to everyone who attended. We owe gratitude to the whole team at the University Centre Saint-Ignatius Antwerp for organizing the workshop and for making this volume possible. Special thanks are due to our authors for taking part in the project and making this volume possible.

Antwerp, September 2017

Introduction

Responsible innovation in security – setting the scene

J. Peter Burgess, Genserik Reniers, Koen Ponnet, Wim Hardyns and Wim Smit

Few question today the notion that innovation is a core thrust of modernity. Innovation – the sustained introduction of the new – is more than a principle, more than a norm, more than a value. It is a primary assumption of our time, a milestone indicating the inevitable rise in the quality of life in society – sometimes paradoxically measured in quantitative terms, the guarantee that life should and will continuously improve, that the present is better than the past and that the future will be better than the present. The expectation is so imposing that one might even say that the new is old, that it has always been so and thus that that innovation is paradoxically obsolete. Innovation is such a powerfully present supposition that it has become indiscernible and thereby de-politicized and desocialized.

Responsible innovation in security refers to the comprehensive approach of guiding security innovation in a manner such that all stakeholders, involved in the process of such innovation in some way, can obtain knowledge at an early stage on the consequences of the outcomes of their decisions and actions and on the range of options open to them, letting them effectively evaluate both outcomes and options in terms of societal needs and moral and ethical values.

As an example, in security innovation, an important ethical value in society that promptly comes to mind is the concern of many citizens about privacy. It has traditionally not been straightforward for engineers and technicians to include privacy as an essential factor in the design phase of novel security technologies. Technicians are mainly concerned with technological innovation and managers with economic success. Nonetheless, societal stakeholders concerned with responsible innovation obviously require security innovators to take moral issues such as privacy into consideration in the design phase, as well as other ethical factors such as fairness, equity, safety, ergonomics, environmental impacts and the like (Grinbaum and Groves, 2013).

The purpose of this book is to integrate knowledge about responsible innovation related to stakeholders operating on the demand side of security: technologists, citizens, policy makers and ethicists. It develops the hypothesis that the failure of innovative solutions and approaches to meet with societal and citizens' needs can only be avoided by true responsible innovation. A number of well-known innovative technologies that have been contested on ethical grounds are,

for instance, nanotechnology, genetically modified organisms, nuclear technology and military innovations. If such innovations are not responsible, and do not take ethical aspects into account in the earliest stages, investment can be weakened or lost as a consequence of lack of a 'license to exploit the innovation' by society, and hence by policy makers. Moreover, innovations with respect to security (related to e.g. theft, terrorism, military operations, etc.) will likely always be in the interest of citizens and thus be under the attention of public stakeholders, if only because of their intrinsically public nature. Security innovations can only be successful in the long term if their social, ethical and ecological impacts, and threats and opportunities, both short term and long term, are assessed and prioritized alongside technical and commercial impacts, and if the security innovators are transparent about the approach and decisions.

The discussion on responsible innovation engages a broad and growing field of scholarship. Research carried out in this field sets itself apart by its unique proximity to private industry and to the new partnerships between industry and public organizations, known under the blanket concept of the 'public-private partnerships'. Considerable public resources are at present being mobilized and redirected towards initiatives carried out under this banner. While a range of benefits for innovation are often rehearsed by supporters of public private partnerships – including flexible financing arrangements, tailored legal arrangements, hybrid labour practices and tailored tax incentives – the most significant impact of combing resources into such partnerships is the redistribution of risk.

It is a commonplace of innovation science that financial risk does not map directly onto innovation risk. Obviously, large-scale innovation requires large-scale financial support; however, the risks taken in innovation tend to belong to a different order of danger and a different kind of uncertainty. De Saille and Medvecky (2016), for example, translate the notion of responsibility into purely economic terms, judging its success and failure in terms of the growth or stagnation it provokes. Large-scale, sustainable innovation requires more than finance alone; it also carries a distinct moral thrust. By interpreting the notion 'responsibility' as a moral term with strong normative valence, as do, for example, Pelle and Reber (2015), innovation becomes a far more subjectively oriented matter, a philosophical enterprise with deep cultural roots and directions. Here even 'corporate socially responsibility' is less inclined towards the societal means and ends of innovation than with the social ethics that it powers.

Responsible innovation is an activity deployed through the wide range of consultative practices it is obliged to attend to. In practice it is a novel form of cultivating the points of contact between society and the technologically oriented industries that interface with it; namely, the interplay between the social structures, political institutions, shared commercial activities and common fields of social interaction like schools, religious institutions and local cultural traditions. Commercial innovation must be new, reaching beyond the status quo, while at the same time maintaining a link to its imbedding. Even in the cases where it does not explicitly seek to advance or put into play the cultural values and social norms of the society in which it is operating, it must engage with them. For this

reason concern for the efficiency of innovation processes warrants a direct approach. Indeed, some argue that the communities involved directly in innovation processes must solicit the perspectives and opinions of society and bring together the many audiences, and their knowledge in the activity of scientific and technological decision-making (Van Oudheusden, 2014, pp. 70–73).

Responsible innovation is in this sense a bridging and integration mechanism. Its success lies not only in its ability to generate technologically viable solutions but to manage the tensions between involved stakeholders. Similarly, outcomes are not measured merely by their ability to bring novel technological solutions that plug into a societal configuration or a cultural or political setting; rather, they have to function and provide results – in the case of security this implies integrating with the particular insecurities of society. Innovation must innovate by engaging with the conservative forces in society around long-standing and sometimes ensconced expectations. Technological success does not automatically imply innovation (Bozeman, 2007; Bozeman and Sarewitz, 2011).

The new discourse of responsible innovation is marked deeply by its imposing intransitivity: Grammatically, 'innovation' has no object. It is a verbal action without an object of action. It is an action unto itself, a relation of subjectivity, of the subject to the self. Innovation does not externalize; it expands the internal, deploying the self, the logic, the discourse, the materials of the self, into the world. It is never purely fresh, purely new; it is always re-combinatory, a jumbling or shuffling of the civilizational code of what is already or has already been but perished. In a strict sense one can reasonably ask whether innovation in any refined form is thinkable when its raw materials are necessarily the materials of the past. Innovation is a system only partially opened to the new, to what is new, to what can change. Innovation is a system of endogenous possibilities and endogenous dangers. This is true not only for the actual material foundations on which innovation must stand - the existing technologies, the actual natural and human resources, and most prominent, the values that determine and predetermine the moral and political frames of reference and the horizon of possibilities for thinking new values. If, as many argue today, a primary aim of all innovation is the creation of value, then this value system must be seen in continuity with those that come before it and those from which it cannot be separated.

The matter of value is of course the core of innovation. Time passes; the past flows ceaselessly towards the future. There is change. And yet when can one say that this change has taken the form of innovation? If there is an experience of time, if time has passed, then it is only because there is a difference between the present and the past, between now and before. To ascertain this there must be a qualitative measure of difference, of the experience of change. This change is calibrated as a change of value. Successful innovation corresponds to the creation of value, itself measured in a number of ways. The correlation of success metrics is irregular and on occasion disruptive, pitting value systems against each other, and highlighting clashing assumptions of what science itself is, what its role is in society, where and how it is accountable and 'responsible'. Market success, the easiest and inevitably first-order metric of innovation, guarantees

neither technological results nor fruitful public benefit from the research and development involved in innovating; that is, the furtherance or preservation of widely accepted public values such as safety, privacy and choice. As Valdivia and Guston suggest, innovation is fraught with paradoxes and trade-offs: innovation has simultaneously advanced and undermined public values dear to democratic societies (2015, p. 6).

Progress is not continuous, but rather fragmented, moving in fits and spells, buffeted by the flows of finance, political economy, technology, fashion and culture. These forces amplify and dampen the variations in interpretation and in the application of public values in decision-making on public policy. This is a source of the 'third tension shaping the governance of innovation', the one which opposes experts to citizens, and corresponds to differences in ways that public values are internalized and then concretized in the different spheres (2015, p. 7).

Responsible innovation can and must also be regarded from another perspective, from another angle. Not only can the political and ethical argument be made that innovation, which is in and of itself neither responsible nor irresponsible, should indeed be responsible. But responsibility itself can quite naturally be regarded as an object of innovation. 'Responsibility' can also be regarded not as an autonomous regulatory checklist but as the object of a critical gaze, subject to review and revision, to innovation and improvement. A critical angle on responsible innovation can also question the character of the responsibility in responsible innovation. As Stilgoe, Owen and Macnaghten have clarified, responsibility towards science implies a responsibility towards society as well. To the degree that responsible innovation focuses on developing responsible technological approaches to challenges and possibilities, they must also foresee evolving risks in the social sphere. Innovative societal governance is, however, of a fundamentally different order than the governance of technologies. The 'dilemma of control' generated by the very notion of societal innovation redoubles complexity and with it, responsibility (2013). Not least, quickly developing technologies create 'institutional voids' by simple virtue of the fact that they engage a new form of responsibility. Governance implies responsibility, even when it is invoked implicitly or tacitly. Thus, according to Stilgoe, Owen and Macnaghten, innovation implies an additional innovation of anticipating the societal impact of yet unseen and still unforeseeable products of innovation (2013, pp. 1574–1577).

Innovation is thus widely conceived as a situation within a set of extant public values. This implies a recognition of these values and acceptance that some component of public values constitutes a starting point with the innovative ethos. Public values are never entirely innovated: they are a signpost, an index for a path that has a continuity starting well before the moment of innovation and ostensibly ending well after it. It is thus, in terms of Taebi *et al.*, a recognition of a set of values, but not entirely an endorsement of it. Engaging with public values is regarded as a way of preserving them in order to make partial use of them, or even negate them while at the same time preserving them (Taebi *et al.*, 2014, pp. 118–120).

From this mid-level interaction with public values, we may also move to the macro-view and a layer of questions about responsibility to society at large. As

Stahl has pointed out, responsible innovation is not only a question of the implication and impact of those directly present in an immediate or concrete innovation; it can also be raised as a question of the orientation of society as such – its 'grand challenges' such as employment, well-being, growth, societal coherence, development and democracy (Stahl, 2013, p. 2). In this sense the responsibility of responsible innovation can refer to the core well-being of members of society, to the reinforcing or re-casting of the core principles and practices of society and of democracy itself. It can be applied as a tactical approach to counteracting the negative effects of the 'fragmentation of moral authority' due to other evolving tendencies that are perceived as threats to society (Appleyard and Stahl, 1995; Davies, Glerup and Horst, 2014). It can also provide a regulatory measure for the governance of private sector actors, to their vulnerabilities to the changing relationship between the market and society (Sholten and van der Duin, 2015). This perspective on responsible innovation links it with the logic of economic growth and the complex link between technological development and the economics of inflation and stagnation (De Saille and Medvecky, 2016, pp. 7–10).

Certain segments of the discourse of responsible innovation reformulate the challenges as linked to personal values of individuals in society. Pelle and Reber, for example, take pains to show the relationship between intersubjective value positions and the technological changes that structure society as a whole. They regard responsible innovation as a question of personal responsibility and moral agency. Corporate-level responsibility is in this sense linked to individual responsibility. The concept of responsibility, according to this perspective, can be clarified through the methods of moral philosophy, 'which defines responsibility as role, task, capacity, authority, virtue, responsiveness, obligation, accountability, blameworthiness, liability', since the moral sphere of responsibility 'begins before and goes beyond legal frontiers, ethical concerns frequently arise before new laws have been discussed or enacted' (2015, p. 113).

These processes become socially – but also politically, culturally, morally – more complex when it is security that lies at the heart of the innovation. As several contributors point out, the call for security – securitization – is among the most powerful forces for innovation that we know. It has left a significant mark on the way that innovation is considered, justified and put into practice. Surveillance of society is of course not simply one security measure among many, but rather among the most powerful and consequential of them all. Surveillance innovation is consequentially more contentious than most, often even regarded as being at odds with democratic principles (De Jong, Kupper and Broerse, 2016, p. 27).

As becomes clear through the contributions to this volume, for example in chapters by Burgess and van Lieshout and Friedewald, the European Commission regards responsible innovation as key support for an overall agenda of free trade, growth and industrial innovation that aligns with the principles of the European liberal project, which is couched in principles of fairness and rights. Through the channel of the European liberal project, the concept of responsible innovation has found its way into European Commission research and development and the Framework research programmes.

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The Science Shop model of participatory research and innovation has been successful in bringing students, researchers and civil society together towards tackling real issues at the local and regional levels. Aside from positively impacting on the co-creation of solutions to real world problems, the process of engaging with society has strengthened both the research process and its outcomes, thereby contributing to research excellence and acceptability of innovation outcomes.

(European Commission, 2016, p. 11)

From a theoretical point of view it is simple to map the liberal progressoriented, technological-valorized, econometrically governed virtues of responsible innovation onto the principles of European Construction, from the Schuman Declaration to the Maastricht Treaty. The European Union is the prototype of responsible innovation, itself a model for all other responsible innovations. It addresses gender imbalances, inequalities, principles for freedom, equality and dignity. It both symbolizes and nurtures science. It is for these reasons that the European Commission was a front runner in both funding and organizing research under the banner of 'responsible innovation'. According to the 2013 European Commission plan, the notion of responsible innovation is not only a virtue associated with innovation in general, emphasizing 'responsible' approaches to it, but it is also implicit in the logic of invention, novelty and transformation. It links to the general challenge of integrating ethics into research to address social needs and meet the 'grand challenges' of our time. It assumes that innovation will be contested, thus calling on the ability to make value-based decisions beyond mere questions of feasibility (European Commission, 2013). Among the challenges which the Commission associates with responsible innovation is that associated with the speed of technological change. Because of bureaucratic and procedural slowness, conventional regulation cannot adapt quickly enough to remain relevant. The time-lag effect is exacerbated by the more intense difficulties in predicting technological advances, giving rise to what von Schomberg has identified as the 'Collingridge dilemma'; that is, ethical issues that would ordinarily be addressed early on in the design process are not foreseen and thus not addressed in time to make a meaningful difference (2011, p. 8). Responsiveness is thus regarded as the key element, and innovation itself, which von Schomberg defines as 'a transparent, interactive process by which societal actors and innovators become mutually responsive to each other with a view on the (ethical) acceptability, sustainability and societal desirability of the innovation process and its marketable products' (2011, p. 11; also Gardner and Williams, 2015). In this sense, according to Owen, Macnaghten and Stilgoe (2012, pp. 3-4) or Blok and Lemmens (2015, pp. 23-24), responsible innovation means first and foremost creating the space of possibility for this kind of dialogue and exchange. The more rarefied concerns of social ethics, the good life and the rights of the individual follow from this basic principle. Moreover, the forum thus created will make possible the necessary predictive adaptability to societal ethical concerns.

Today, public debate is centred on emerging technologies such as mentioned above (nanotechnology etc.); however, discussion about innovative security solutions is rapidly gaining interest due to the recent iconic terrorist attacks; that is, the 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York in 2001, the Madrid and London attacks of 2004 and 2005 respectively, and the most recent attacks in Paris (2015) and in Brussels (2016). Security technologies of interest are, for instance, innovative cameras, all kinds of identification technology or body scanners, drone technology, smart sensors for security purposes, etc. It is essential that a shared understanding of the appropriate behaviour of the authorities, governments, businesses, NGOs and researchers is developed and achieved for such technologies. A joint understanding and perspective on responsible security innovations is indeed basic for gaining and maintaining the trust and confidence of the public and stakeholders.

Responsibility should not be seen as a barrier to security innovation, but, on the contrary, as an incentive for its success. Sustainable development and use of security innovations require an involvement of society in the creation of its vision, the articulation of its values and use, and the making of the innovation itself. Nonetheless, one should realize that sometimes difficult and unpopular decisions have to be taken. Involving stakeholders and the public at large at an early stage, thus upstream, does not guarantee that there will not be differences of opinion between them. However, responsible innovation ensures clear and effective communication about the decisions taken and about the influences having led to the chosen options. As such, the decision-making process concerning security innovations is legitimate, inclusive and transparent, which will undoubtedly build confidence in the process, even if stakeholders don't always agree with the consequences.

These themes, their discourses and discordances, are developed in the chapters of this book, structured according to three main lines of current reflection on security and innovation: (1) security understood as technological innovation, and the tension between the public sphere and its own perception and acceptance of security technologies; (2) the public and private decision-making processes that support and legitimate security innovation; and (3) the democratic and ethical suppositions and implications of the innovation as an ideal of governance.

The volume is opened by J. Peter Burgess, who situates the question of responsible innovation in its broader cultural context. That context is one in which security and technological innovation, liberalism and an intensified values discourse converge to legitimize new forms of policing and social control. These new societal forms, Burgess notes, in turn solicit new technologically based protections through new and innovative technical security solutions. The chapter reveals 'responsible innovation' as both a concept and a political strategy, with an ambivalent, even contradictory relationship with the process of modernization. The chapter inquires into what responsible innovation has gained or lost in relation to the modern project of innovation, and suggests that while granting itself a new lease of life through the notion of responsibility, innovation – particularly in its European reincarnation – pays the price of discarding the moral, cultural or even spiritual dimensions that make innovation responsible. It concludes by asking whether the very concept of innovation is itself under innovation relative to its predecessors.

The technological dimensions of this dilemma are further concretized in Part I. 'Security technology, public perception and acceptance', which is opened by Marc van Lieshout and Michael Friedewald. While privacy and security are often considered to be traded off against each other, these authors propose a perspective on privacy and security that regards them as two sides of the same coin. They present material from a four-year EU research project that studied the way that privacy and security are designed into systems meant to secure airports, to assist the police in detecting hooligans in a football stadium or aggressive protestors during a demonstration, or to check for signs of radicalism on social media. Based on an institutional analysis over a period of ten years of security and privacy research in the European Research Area, they showed the dominance of security over privacy in institutional settings, roadmaps and research activities concerning security and privacy. The analysis is complemented by a sociotechnical analysis of the ways privacy and security considerations are addressed by designers during the product development process. The authors examine the ongoing discourse of privacy and security in the design process and show how privacy and security are inscribed in early stages of the design process as well as into the discourse of space used by designers and in the technical systems that result from the design process.

The next chapter, 'The influence of technological innovations on theft prevention: perspectives of citizens and experts', looks at how technological innovations designed to improve theft prevention are received by citizens and experts. Kim Van Hoorde, Evelien De Pauw, Hans Vermeersch and Wim Hardyns argue that while the internet and innovative technologies are opening up tremendous possibilities for governments and their citizens, they also facilitate the carrying out of crimes. In their chapter they present results from a study including measures involving home automation, biometrics and track-and-trace. They survey the impact of such systems on citizen expectations and acceptance and on the overall sustainability of security technologies. Their results indicate that while individuals have their own perceptions and visions, preventative security measures adapt to their pre-existing attitudes rather than to objective and correct information. This permits the authors to conclude that technological features should not be regarded as a black box tool to achieve security. Instead, they are the requirement of securing technological systems in themselves. As a consequence, citizens are called to understand the basic concepts, possibilities and limitations when applying the internet and new technologies, as for now they are easy targets by means of their open and unprotected virtual - and hence physical – doors.

The following chapter, 'When it rains in Paris, it drizzles in Brussels?' by Hans Vermeersch, Ellen Vandenbogaerde and Evelien De Pauw, evaluates the impact of terror attacks on perceptions concerning the use of surveillance-orientated security technologies (SOSTs) by the Belgian government. The chapter assesses the common assumption that citizens are more inclined to support government measures that risk limiting their privacy when they are invoked in the wake of terror attacks. The study focusses on public perceptions

among Belgian students following the events of 2015 in Paris and beyond, based on a survey comparing the attitudes towards the use of SOSTs in 2014 and in 2016, after a year in which terror attacks dominated the headlines. The analysis indicates that respondents are indeed more inclined to accept potentially privacy-intruding government measures, and that risk perception (though not fear of crime and trust in public authorities) increased, with exceptions, between 2014 and 2016. Nonetheless, the analysis suggests that this result does not necessarily translate into increased acceptance of SOSTs. A more detailed view suggests that public opinion on the use of SOSTs defies a simple privacy–security trade-off.

Part II of this volume, 'Public and private decision-making', opens with Tom Bauwens' study of local security policy, 'Securitization by regulation? The Flemish mayor as democratic anchor of local security policies'. The chapter examines in detail the modern social imaginary, and in particular the view that prevails that security is the raison d'être of liberal democratic governments, which we tend to hold responsible for ensuring public order and security in the name of the common good. As a consequence it becomes clear that security is arguably the most potent and dangerous of all policy goals. Public order and security are considered legitimate goals to restrict fundamental rights, albeit temporarily. Yet, according to the European Convention of Human Rights, these restrictions are only legitimate when they are in accordance with the law and necessary in a democratic society. Crucially, however, the use of the 'security label' does not necessarily reflect whether a problem is a security problem – in the sense of a real, 'objective' existential threat. Bauwens' chapter analyses the restraining orders issued by mayors to ban individual 'troublemakers' from attending certain parties, nightclubs and pubs in the municipality. These restraining orders emerged at the local level but have recently been institutionalized and explicitly included in the federal municipal law. The chapter concludes that regulating the pursuit of security does not suffice, but rather that law is only one of the repertoires used by mayors in Belgium. They are also responsive to participatory input and keen to provide effective and efficient public service output. The chapter concludes that mayors could ensure the democratic anchorage of security-based interventions, but only if their solutions-focused intentionality can be overcome.

In 'Raising the flag: the state effects of public and private security providers at East Jerusalem's national parks', Lior Volinz examines the myriad ways in which public and private security providers perform the state and partake in a statecraft production of sovereignty. More specifically, the chapter explores the practices employed by public security actors and private security companies at the City of David/Wadi Hilweh national park in East Jerusalem. Volinz argues that the security provision at these spaces is not limited to the protection of the national parks' personnel, property and visitors, but is aimed rather at the performance of Israeli sovereignty in an occupied territory. Through the examination of a national park embroiled in national and ethnic contestation, he posits that daily practices employed by security agents contribute to the effort of crafting the state and reconfiguring its relations with different residents of the region. He argues that these different practices include 'showing presence', reassuring some residents while

intimidating others and the deliberate enhancement of friction between security agents and local residents.

The concluding Part III of the book, 'Democratic control and ethical implications', opens with 'Evaluation and effectiveness of counter-terrorism' by Fiona de Londras. The chapter observes that in the past 15 years there has been an enormous expansion of counter-terrorism laws and policies at national, regional and international levels. Spurred on by the events of 9/11 and, later, the phenomenon of 'foreign terrorist fighters', states and international institutions have introduced laws and policies that encroach greatly on fundamental freedoms and human rights (at times in ways that undermine the democratic process), and the international conception of the 'rule of law' has been 'securitized' to a striking degree. What has been less common, however, is the comprehensive and reflexive evaluation of whether such measures are, in fact, effective. In this chapter, de Londras outlines this expansion in counter-terrorism and its impact on human rights, democracy and the rule of law in order to argue that an evaluation of effectiveness is key in maintaining the legitimacy of the counter-terrorist state and supra-state. The chapter then explores what the notion of 'effectiveness' means in this context, identifying both meta- and specific objectives as critical sites of analysis. Based on this, the chapter proposes key principles for the design of effectiveness evaluation, taking into account the particular challenges of evidence in the counter-terrorist context.

The book concludes with 'The bleak rituals of progress; or, if somebody offers you a socially responsible innovation in security, just say no' by Mark Neocleous. The chapter takes a stand against the idea that we should be searching for socially responsible innovations in security, taking as its starting point the way that security functions as an overwhelming power in modern society, justifying everything done in its name. The chapter seeks to connect this power to capital and the state more generally, arguing that the logic of security is to subsume everything it encounters, including developments in security which are thought of as 'socially responsible innovations'. The chapter argues that the idea of 'socially responsible innovations in security' is a means by which radicals and academics seek to assert some kind of influence in the social field, but which reveals what is in fact their complete powerlessness in the face of security (and therefore in the face of capital and the state). In seeking socially responsible innovations in security, the power of security is thereby confirmed rather than challenged. The chapter will therefore be an argument against the logic which underpins the rest of the chapters in the book.

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