Resilience as an Element of a Sociology of Expression

## Leon Hempel / Daniel F. Lorenz

Abstract:

Resilience has gained the status of a new leading category for describing societies that increasingly consider themselves faced with crises and thus with uncertainty, vulnerability and susceptibility to failure. Considering the predominant discourse, however, one gets the impression that resilience as a phenomenon of survival under adverse conditions has been displaced into the background. As a mere formula the term is used by a normative, political program of enactment, decreeing resilience in order to exercise control. The phenomenon vanishes the more it is discursively rendered or fixed – whether by science or by politics. This unsatisfactory situation challenges us to ask whether it is possible to theorize resilience from a different viewpoint than that of the current discursive formation together with its critique. The discourse itself may point to a way back to the phenomenon of resilience. Starting with the so-called 'ecologization of thought', resilience is conceptualized as an element of a sociology of expression. Resilience is an emergent phenomenon of individuation and subjectification arising in vibrant assemblages which form these processes and thus resilience itself. While we understand the discourse itself as such an assemblage, we will thus follow resilience in three further constellations – in everyday life, in exceptional circumstances and in protest. However, in all of these contexts resilience is not restricted to human actors, but encompasses all kinds of imaginable ecological, social, technical, and mental entities.

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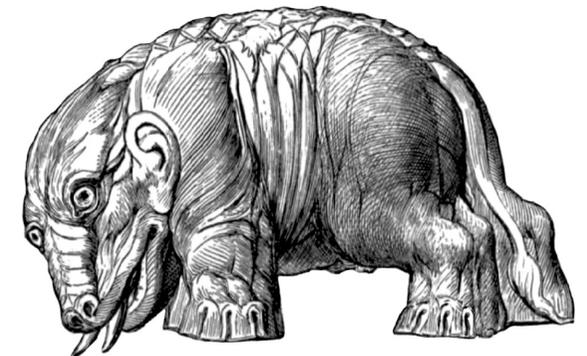
Otherness [l'altérité] tends to lose all asperity.
Félix Guattari, The Three Ecologies

The way in which the term 'resilience' is currently used seems to a great extent to be influenced by a desire to claim back an entitlement to control and exert influence which, seeing crises everywhere, should be applicable to all human and non-human areas of life. And so there must be a certain element in resilience itself that allows for this claim to be expressed and asserted. Resilience possesses an impulse of individuation and subjectification through which entities reorganize themselves in their respective relational constellations and gain proto-social autonomy. And it is here in particular, in this power to self-organize, that the claim to exercise control arises, to a certain extent wanting to provide answers, wanting to strengthen, prescribe and institutionalize resilience as if it was something for this control urge to be afraid of. At the same time, however, it is completely unclear whether resilience is at all suitable for such an undertaking. Resilience is perhaps not amenable to any kind of controlling act, a factor which in itself must be seen as a sign of resilience: subjective expression, with which resilience is situationally actualized in the most differing forms. Considering this lack of clarity it seems to us to be especially important to theoretically reflect on the concept, and not only, as so often, primarily by analyzing the predominant discourse. Our starting point will be the notion of an 'ecologization of thought', as proposed by Félix Guattari (2000). Within this approach, the subject matter is not formed by dividing and sorting things, but rather by studying how these interrelate to one another as a manifestation of expression. And yet resilience can hardly be localized within the network of recursively integrated entities. It is a real, but also virtual dimension which apparently becomes actual exclusively in crisis situations, thus making it a threshold phenomenon that can hardly be grasped empirically. It is nevertheless worth taking a closer look at its emergence drawing on the examples of three situationally different contexts – namely everyday life, exceptional circumstances and protest. The aim here is to counteract a purely politicizing application of the concept by presenting resilience as an element of a sociology of expression at the heart of which we will find not the practices of control and fixation, that is, what we will refer to as negative resilience, but rather

temporalized, that is, the temporary and the reparative in socio-historical situations of transformation and crisis, through which the social sense of survival asserts itself. This sense of survival is of course not restricted to human actors, but rather – within an ecologization – applies for all conceivable ecological, social, technical and mental entities. In the course of this, we take a dual perspective, namely that of the current discourse on the one hand, so that, by examining it, we can, on the other hand, highlight the problems that exist in the meaning of the concept and clear these up.

1. Historical Prelude

Although the word "resilience" originates from Latin, the exact etymology of the word *resilire/ resilio*, as mentioned by David Alexander (2013, 2708), still remains essentially unknown except for translations such as "bounce" or "bouncing back". Even its usage by ancient authors is rather inconsistent and vague. Cicero, Livy, Seneca the Elder, Pliny the Elder and Ovid seem to have emphasized different aspects. [1] Nevertheless, by looking at the historical layers of meaning surrounding the term, we will be able to shed light on the problems with today's usage and/or, in terms of its modern usage, be able to come up with a sharper definition. One of the ancient usages mentioned by Alexander appears to us to be particularly forceful, because of the context of this usage and its metaphorical framing; forceful enough to begin to see through the mysteriousness of the term, its enigmatic nature, and to make it theoretically accessible within the context of the present debates. The earliest context of the word already proves to be an eminently social one, embedded in a specific and to a great degree critical and fatal situation. If resilience is used in the common sense of a capacity for resistance, then the impression arises that it can hardly be an accident that this is a defensive assertion which not only serves to rebuff an accusation but also falls back on the accuser. It is this double aspect of defense and reversal (recursiveness) that on the one hand characterizes the entire *defensio* of Sextus Roscius, which enables the young Marcus Tullius Cicero to distinguish himself for the first time in front of his Roman audience (recommending himself as *homo novus* for his future political career), while, on the other hand, illustrating precisely the meaning of *resilire*:

> Restare tibi videbatur servorum nomen, quo quasi in portum reiectus a ceteris suspicionibus confugere posses. ubi scopulum offendis ,eius modi, ut non modo ab hoc

[1] "In the Metamorphoses (12.480), Ovid used it as 'to shrink or contract'. Quintillian (Marcus Fabius Quintilianus, Istitutio Oratorio, 12, 10.56) used it in the sense of 'to avoid'. However, the most common usages of the word were to describe leaping, jumping or rebounding. Pliny the Elder (Natural History 9.71, 11.39) used the term to refer to the leaping of fleas and frogs. Cicero, in his Orations, used it in the sense of rebounding." (Alexander 2014, 2708)

crimen resilire videas, verum omnem suspicionem in vosmet ipsos recidere intellegas. (The name of slaves appeared to remain to you, to which, when driven from your other suspicions, you might fly as to a harbour, when you strike upon such a rock that you not only see the accusation rebound back from it, but perceive that every suspicion falls upon you yourselves.) (Marcus Tullius Cicero 2000; 1916, 42)

The rhetorical vehemence seen as necessary by the prosecution is in itself an expression of the resilience that is transferred by the speaker to the relation between prosecutor and defendant, thereby radically inverting the relation. It is striking that Cicero makes use of a physical rebound effect (associated with the prior metaphor of impending shipwreck), such as was known by ancient natural philosophy, in particular the Stoics, to illustrate his point. If this is applied to the speech, it implies that the impactful energy of the attack rebounds even more strongly on the source from where it emanated. The ability of the rock to withstand attack refers metaphorically to the ability of the speech to withstand attack. As is typical for Stoic philosophy, logos, ethos and natural observation are condensed into one moment. But in spite of its vividness the metaphor does not entirely succeed. **[2]** It lacks the element of strengthening the impulse which first resulted from Cicero's defense, which turns back on the accuser even more rigorously, the more he brings forth arguments that cannot be proved. The defense, it is suggested, becomes feedback about the scrupulousness (of the accuser) that not only releases the accused citizen to become a free man, but turns around to convict the accuser and his backers of conspiracy thus demonstrating the illegitimacy of their possession of a right to citizenship. By proving the accusations to be untrue, the accusers become the accused. As always with Cicero, the rhetorical intention is a radical one, namely to exclude the opponent from citizenship. The ancient regime was anything but stable, but negotiating right and wrong was one of its most important modes of defending itself. **[3]** The speech consequently banishes the false accuser and his supporters to where they rightly belong – outside the walls of Rome.

If we look at the etymological source of the term, we see that resilience thus implies a specific moment of agency, a capacity for self-assertion in the face of critical social situations. **[4]** These lend, as Cicero's speech implies, the contexts of resilience an atmosphere of threat, of menace, of imminent danger – in Cicero's case to the individual and thus, as a consequence thereof, to the polity and the political formation of the republic itself. The later narrowing of the term to application in scientific contexts governed by causal laws occurred for the first time with Francis Bacon in the

[2] Cicero later repudiated the exuberance of his own youthful style. See the introduction to his speech by Manfred Fuhrmann (2000, 105).

[3] In this way Stoicism could be understood as a philosophy of rebound and resilience aiming to arm Rome and the Roman Empire against inner conflicts.

[4] The trial of Roscius is, as Manfred Fuhrmann (2000) points out in the introduction to Cicero's speech, the product of contemporary events that represent one of the darkest chapters in Roman history, the so-called proscriptions. After taking power Sulla attempted to use proscriptions to legitimize his cruel deeds and his reforms as dictator. He who was proscribed could be killed by anyone; his heirs were excluded from public office; his estate became the property of the state. Cicero's plea for Roscius reveals the abuses that the proscriptions of Sulla brought about.

16th century. Bacon's use of the word, following inductive methodology, still points to a context of acoustic expression. **[5]** Bacon's reduction in the context of this etymological background proves to be simply a continuation of the metaphorical transfer from the area of natural philosophy. The full potential of the concept of resilience has nonetheless been rediscovered in the historical moment in which the classical modern differentiation between and separation of culture and nature, society and technology is questioned and replaced by relational models of ecology. This means that the conceptions of reality valid until now, and so impressively constructed by Bacon and others, increasingly begin to fall apart. As is widely known, the concept of resilience appeared first in systems ecology as well as psychology and has celebrated a resurrection in previous years and decades. This gave rise to a questioning not only of the conditions that make survival possible, but also of the unforeseen boom in the use of the term and the power with which it has asserted itself, apparently sparing no subject matter and no area of life (Kaufmann 2012).

2. On the Ecologization of Thought

While the origins of the ecologization of thought (Herzogenrath 2012; Hörl 2013) can be traced back to Early Romanticism **[6]**, its modern expression can be found in the cybernetics of the 1940s and 1950s in a world becoming radically dominated by technology. **[7]** The central concept remains the dissolution of a rigid separation between nature and culture, formulated in modern times as a principle of equilibrium, by Bacon for example, but also promoted by contemporary successors of Rousseau when they postulate with the usual certainty of expectation that damaged ecosystems can be brought back to equilibrium again. As nature still appears as a variable that grants certainty because it seems incorruptible, then the desire to be able to manipulate nature is an expression of the separation of nature and society. With the ecologization of thought this claim goes even further, modernity becomes entirely reflexive (Beck 1992) and starts to acknowledge contingency, as diagnosed by Luhmann (1998, 81) when he wrote that "necessities and impossibilities" no longer represent "the framework of order in the world today", but are "nothing more than modalities [...] which one is forced to accept due to a lack of time". The idealizing thought model of the principle of equilibrium thus begins to move out of the shadow of the culturally unquestioned. **[8]** By rendering the principle idea dynamic, ecologization leaves the original path of 'ecology', no longer looking at it

[5] Francis Bacon (1625, 245) thus writes on the phenomena of "Reflections of Sounds" in reference to the repercussion effect of the "echo" in his natural history, the *Sylva Sylvarum*: "The Eccho cometh as the Originall Sound doth in a Round Orbe of Aire: It were good to try the creating of the Eccho, where the Body Repercussing maketh an Angle: As against the Returne of a Wall, etc. Also we see that in Mirrours, there is the like Angle of Incidence, from the Object to the Glasse, and from the Glasse to the Eye. And if you strike a Ball side-long, not full upon the Surface, the Rebound will be as much the contrary way; Whether there bee any such Resilience in Eccho's (that is, whether a Man shall hear better, if he stands aside the Body Repercussing, than if he stand where he speaketh, or any where in a right Line betweene;) may be tried."

[6] See, for example, the famous beginning of the novel *Lehrlinge zu Sais* by Novalis (1977, 79), that Hardenberg referred to as 'scientific poetry', or also *Das Allgemeine Broullion* (Novalis 1984), both of which present themselves as 'general encyclopedic material' and in which once more the 'analogy' serves as the central methodical key for deciphering the contexts above and beyond all differentiation. On the origins of cybernetics in the thinking of Early Romanticism see Joseph Vogl (2004): It can hardly be overlooked how in this context the romantic theory also strove to obtain a concise framework for controlled systems and self-regulation. As such, the thoughts of Friedrich von Hardenberg are always concerned with the question of how the most varied – technical, biological, social – process notions can be linked to circular causalities and how these, in turn, can be linked to the problem of communication and the communicating instrument.

[7] See on the ecologization of thought in particular the contributions of Erich Hörl (2011; 2013).

[8] If that, which from early times is maintained to have

as something from out of the 'house of nature' as was the case in the 19th century, but seeing it rather as a temporal order, in which, as Dirk Baecker (2007) pointedly said, one is concerned with neighbor relationships between heterogeneous orders and where there is no prestabilizing connection, no overarching system, no universal sense.

In the following we will look at resilience and its rediscovery as an idea **[9]** in this area of debate about an ecologization of thought that goes beyond the expectation of teleological future perspectives **[10]**. Contrary to the idea of everyday life as a background of constant equilibrium, the ecologization of thought comes into its own not only where observations of what happens highlight the everyday nature of disruptions and vulnerability. Indeed, the debate about resilience also takes place around the contradiction between equilibrium and disequilibrium – and this debate is one that we still have to and should undertake with all the means at our disposal. In the mode of temporal non-closure, ecologization postulates the observation of concepts and things not as closed, separated systems, but instead as part of continual recursions, which in themselves cause further metamorphoses. This of course does not do away completely with the old separations, but it does create a sense for complexity, without wanting to reduce it further. Ecologization forces observation of the expressions of the individual system within the (ecological) context containing the effect and variability of all other systems and organizational units. We are faced here with the problem of observation which, understood as an operation by Luhmann (1998), always results in system formation. As such, observation therefore means the awareness of being continually confronted with the limited nature of one's own point of view and consequently, in a more radical manner than before, with "ignorance" as perhaps the most important characteristic of ecologization for diagnosing the times and at the same time its most ambivalent characteristic. This comprises a "removal of authority" concerning the describability of processes **[11]**, because in spite of calculations and half-life times, nobody has the privilege to say, "that what we do now will at some time be the past and can then no longer be changed – if we currently do not yet know and cannot know what potential of change a future, still hidden today, will hold" (Luhmann 1998, 87f.).

become unbalanced, should be ordered, then every form of disquieting uncertainty should be excluded through ordering figures, risk calculations and mortgages. See the critique of desired balance in traditional ecology which was a fundamental factor in motivating the ecology movement, Reichholf (2008).

[9] Its discovery itself might be an expression of resilience.

[10] If one follows Jeremy Rifkin (1989), then entropy proves in social contexts to be once more a central category of expectation of a katechon. See in particular the chapter "A Second Christian Reformation" in his book *Entropy: Into the Greenhouse World*.

[11] See on the loss of monopoly of the classical political institutions, the self-disenchantment of science, and the consequences of the creation of doubtfully democratically legitimized sub-politics, in particular Ulrich Beck (1992).

3. Resilience as Proto-social Expression

Taking this into consideration, the fact that society has created a concept that is capable of attracting universal attention across traditional societal boundaries may be read as an expression of the "communicability of ignorance". Resilience gives rise to the question as to why systems do not collapse in spite of increasing vulnerability; instead they survive at very different levels: physical-biological, technical, psychological, pedagogical, social, political, and cultural. This points toward the problem of expression in the sense of a communicative event between heterogeneous entities. **[12]** Resilience as a property appears to be prediscursive. The phenomenon is there, as the concepts at least suggest, before being rendered discursive, before being articulated as a concept and, above all, before any claim to be able to control, decree and institutionalize it. On the other hand, its emergence requires the potential for expression, just as the echo requires the form of the wall or the accused requires the voice of the defense, before it can even be heard. Correspondingly, the conceptual reflection is not able to completely attain its object because, this 'virtual' is always also 'real' in the sense of Gilles Deleuze, without however having to already be 'actual' (see Deleuze/Guattari 1987; Massumi 2002). Resilience first of all becomes actual situationally; the resistance sets in motion an act of individuation and subjectification or is already a sign of this, which means nothing more and nothing less than a gain in energy, out of which an entity, a system, a society generates expression. Resilience initially appears, completely unobserved, in physical form before it can be perceived situationally by others, so that – whether in everyday life, in exceptional circumstances or in protest situations – it can temporarily gain the power to act. It must be emphasized, on the one hand, that this process is not only reserved for human actors, but also for non-human actors. This, in turn, means that this process always occurs between resistance and the actual "composition" of a "face" (Goffman 1963, 27) that is directed at either sociality or association before it is absorbed into rituals of social interaction and the controlled ceremony. In the process of this subjectification, subjectivity is able to install, set-up anew and institutionalize itself "by means of transversal tools" as Félix Guattari (2000, 69) says "in the realms of the environment, in the major social and institutional [thus also technical] assemblages, and symmetrically in the landscapes and fantasies of the most intimate spheres of the individual". **[13]**

    This act of expression shows itself directly where one finds the thematic context in which the two

[12] It is possible that it is the moment belonging to the conceptual reflection that is being searched with the concept of resilience. Implicitly it is possible that the claim to be able to control resilience, as it dominates the current discourse (Thoma 2014) under silent reference of self-legitimizing ignorance, is itself directed against that moment. In other words, the conceptual attention and discussion are perhaps themselves expressions of the emergence of resilience and mark a historical moment in the history of the concept.

[13] It must be emphasized that for Guattari (2000, 53) it is just as important as it is unanswerable, whether in the future "the new ecological operators and the new ecosophical assemblages of enunciation will succeed in channeling these gains in less absurd, less dead-ended directions than those of Integrated World Capitalism".

important disciplines, ecology (Holling 1966; 1973) and psychology (Werner et al. 1971; Garmezy 1974; Flach 1988) pick up, introduce and begin to conceptually develop the concept of resilience – without admittedly placing it within the context of such a sociology of expression. While some systems, **[14]** which were considered to be stable, collapsed under changing environmental conditions, according to the principle of initial observation, others, which were rather to be seen as unstable, survived despite the altered circumstances. As ecological research has used the term resilience since the 1970s to explain how the disappearance or survival of populations in the face of changing environmental conditions can be understood at all, psychology has done likewise in order to capture conceptually the moment of individuation that secures the survival of the individual under adverse living conditions.

As is well-known, it is preeminently C.S. Holling who, in his landmark paper from 1973 *Resilience and Stability of Ecological Systems*, develops, at first negatively, his concept of resilience in contrast to stability and homogeneity, in order to free and set himself apart from the classical equilibrium models of modern population ecology, from his own idealized notions about nature (Holling 1966) and also from contemporary control models of resource management (see Lindseth 2011; Nelson 2014). "The more homogeneous the environment in space and time, the more likely that the system will have low fluctuations and low resilience" (Holling 1973, 18), he writes in reference to commercial fishing in the Great Lakes. Not only is resilience therefore not to be identified with stability, but stability itself completely excludes resilience. This destroys the old metaphysics of equilibrium: "Moreover, the goal of producing a maximum sustained yield may result in a more stable system of reduced resilience." (ibid.) Resilience comprises a measure of "persistence or probability of extinction" (ibid., 17). In contrast to the classical conception, Holling does not describe stability in the sense of a balance that guarantees survival, but far more as the property of being able to adapt to environmental change through transformation. More than implying just a simple and passive adaptation to change, resilience points to a variability that enables a potential for self-regulation that arises during change, and this is what is necessary to enable survival in the face of unpredictable future environmental conditions:

> "A population responds to any environmental change by the initiation of a series of physiological, behavioral, ecological, and genetic changes that restore its ability to respond to subsequent unpredictable environmental changes" (ibid., 18).

[14] The popularization of the concept seems to be connected closely to usage of general systems theory as an earlier attempt of Holling (1966) illustrates that tried to conceptualize resilience as property of nature and not the system of nature.

If resilience therefore describes the property of being able to adapt to unforeseen environmental change through transformation, then it is paradoxically just those systems with a tendency to instability that prove to be particularly resilient and persistent (Handmer/Dovers 1996); variability is only possible when there is a certain degree of instability, as long as fundamental system variables and processes are not destroyed (Gunderson et al. 2002). **[15]** What appears to be a new variable within a changed association of expression at the same time changes this association and causes in its wake a new series of recursive coupling and decoupling. While, in ecological reflection, ecogenesis, i.e. the way in which ecological systems and the species embedded in such systems as "drivers" or "passengers" (Walker 1992) develop under threat, played a central role in thinking about resilience.

In developmental psychology, this central role was occupied by the ontogenesis and psychogenesis of human individuals. Similarly, developmental psychology has asked why then, under "adverse conditions" (Werner 2005b, 7), unexpectedly positive development can take place. And this positive development is now seen to be more focused on the conditions creating the potentiality for self-regulation. In her long-term study of the developmental paths of children on the island of Kauai, Emmy Werner et al. (1971) observed in the 1970s that cohort members do not remain the prisoners of their adverse socialization, but instead free and emancipate themselves from their "high-risk peers", and make themselves autonomous from the situation into which they were born. Resilience proves to be "a dynamic process that leads to positive adaptation, even with a context of adversity" (Werner 2005a, 11). But here adaptation also does not just mean a passive giving-oneself-up to one's fate, but rather the creation of a capacity for resistance out of the situation one finds oneself in, in order to leave or change this adverse situation. Resilience arises when it is possible to set in motion a process of individuation, subjectification and new association by "reassembling the social" (Latour 2005). At the same time, it is the social conditions, the "protective factors" (Werner 2005a, 12) at the individual, family and societal level that give resilience a meaningful space for expression. In this respect, the emergence of resilience always predicates sociality, is in fact, as an individual property, always related to it, because without social interaction it would not even be possible. In this way "resilient youngsters […] who succeeded against the odds" (ibid.) were characterized mainly by the fact that they took advantage of the possibility "to establish, early on, a close bond with at least one competent, emotionally stable person who was sensitive to their needs" (ibid.). The social environment forms the echo of the impulse of individuation, an impulse which, as Werner emphasizes,

[15] On the cultural background of the concept see Kirchhoff et al. 2010.

manifests itself in the case of the children of Kauai as an act of recruiting, an act of association: "Resilient children seemed to be especially adept at 'recruiting' such surrogate parents" (ibid.).

Recruiting implies emancipation on the one hand, selection on the other. Both aim at sociality, and thus consequently also at social exchange, interaction and face-work (Goffman 1956) as a condition of self-survival. If resilience affects the social rules of examination before emerging, then the act of examination itself requires the surrounding social world to take part in the process of individuation and subjectification. Resilience emerges in a vibrant assemblage among elements of expression, the social and associative relations of which need to be comprehended. This assemblage forms the starting point for understanding resilience as an element of a sociology of expression **[16]**, which on the basis of phenomenological considerations could be understood as a type of proto-social material semiology, as implied by the work of Latour (1999), Pickering (2008) or Bennett (2010). The sociology of expression understands the act of speech as creation of meaning or, as Maurice Merleau-Ponty (2005, 230) says, the "miracle of expression", from its materiality which interprets its own environment: "a contraction of the throat, a sibilant emission of air between the tongue and teeth, a certain way of bringing the body into play suddenly allows itself to be invested with a *figurative significance* which is conveyed outside us" (ibid., 225). As an expression of resilience the act of recruitment implies the creation of social meaning. Recruitment is giving meaning with gestures, making oneself known to someone else, whereby in the context of an ecologization of thought neither the "oneself" nor the "else" need necessarily be human actors. As a gesture of expression, recruitment does not have to be more than an accent, a sound or a meaningful sign, giving itself meaning and making itself known to the surrounding world. In this respect, expression is not meant to be understood as a speech instrument that would simply reduce the spoken word to a bearer of meaning. Expression as gesture creates social meaning by associating itself. It contains a moment of concentration of energy, or "attention", to use again Merleau-Ponty's term. Its achievement is to open or make way for space, "a vaguely located spot, [...] that reveals a pre-objective space" (ibid., 34). In this the gesture sketches for itself the picture of a vis-à-vis that reveals itself to attention as resistance. "The first operation of attention is, then, to create for itself a field, either perceptual or mental" (ibid.). In this space, meaning can be considered to be a mutually interpreting sizing-up, without an already fixed or explanatory judgment. If language has always been an institution of the social world, as Merleau-Ponty says, then expression predates it. Like every expression, gesture is

[16] A sociology of expression connects several theoretical approaches, from phenomenology (Merleau-Ponty 2005) and ecophenomenology (Brown/Toadvine 2003), Erving Goffman's 'face-work' in social interaction (1956; 1963), Félix Guattari's (2000, 53) "assemblages of enunciation", to Bruno Latour (2005, 158f.), who understands his work (sociology of association) to be an alternative to a sociology of the social: „One that I called 'sociology of the social' tries to keep together as firmly as possible and as long as possible elements which it claims are made of some homogeneous stuff; the other – which I referred to as 'sociology of associations' – tries to fathom controversies about the range of heterogeneous elements that may be associated together. In one case, we know roughly what the social world is made of – it's made 'of' or 'in' the social; in the other, we should always begin by not knowing what it's made of. Thus, much like the pharmakon of the Greeks, the search for the social becomes either a remedy or a powerful poison depending on the dose and on the timing."

proto-social and assumes mutuality in the world of social perception of the other. It fulfils itself in the context of already acquired meanings, conventions and institutions. As an expression of resilience, recruitment implies change as antithesis to a Cartesian fixation. Resilience instead is taken as an occasion for social action, whereby the question arises what this action as a social one implies for the emergence of resilience itself.

4. Negative Resilience – from Phenomenon to Discourse

Interestingly, it is the rendering of the discourse on resilience itself that can give an answer to this question and that is why that will be our first undertaking at this juncture. If resilience has always implied an appellative impulse when recruiting sociality, research has at no time shown resilience in its conceptual actualization to be a neutral concept of a pure description of nature or of a mental constitution. The recruitment communicates the way that science shapes the discourse about resilient subject matters. The phenomenon is translated into manageable and connectible knowledge, whereby this process separates the phenomenon from the scientific object. Observation is followed directly by the definition of protective factors that are then translated into social programs and technologies. If the coupling of ecological and social systems has always been both implicitly and explicitly inherent in Holling's original observations, then the logical outcome of the research work is the desire, from the socio-ecological point of view [17] to manage ecosystems (see Nasdasdy 2007; Nelson 2014; Harvey 1993) and, in the psychological context, to strengthen resilience through "effective models of intervention" (Werner 2005b, 4; see Pfefferbaum et al. 2005, Luthans et al. 2006). Correspondingly, a distinct normative element is written into the supposedly purely descriptive psychological as well as ecological conceptualizations of resilience as recourse to the observations. This normative element is itself an element of these complex ecological, social and mental assemblages of expression in the research work. When a terminology ultimately serves to separate living conditions worth striving for from undesired ones, the descriptive categories already act to legitimize ecological, economic, social and, in the widest sense, police control programs which are to be derived from the research. This process of scientific-political-economic appropriation is inherent to the actualization of resilience itself as an element of a sociology of expression. The more an existing association of a reference system such as Kauai appears endangered by whatever adversity, the

[17] The extension of the concept of resilience by Holling himself to social-ecological systems is made possible especially by the axiom of being able to describe (Westley et al. 2002; Walker/Cooper 2011; Welsh 2014) and control (see Walker 1998; Folke 2006) ecological systems and social-ecological systems heuristically as adaptive cycles or complex adaptive systems.

greater the perception of the appellative impulse in the expectation of emerging resilience. It is not only echoed in the research, but can also be found once again in political and media presentations of suffering and affliction which, foisted upon people everywhere, demand that they become engaged. This is precisely where the connection to Luhmann's problem of the communicability of ignorance can be found, as this ignorance can be used in turn with respect to the future and to consequences as grounds to produce supposed invariances in the name of security by evoking insecurity. The state of emergency then becomes the central political reference in the discussion about resilience (see Coaffee et al. 2008; Turner et al. 2003; Adger 2000). The potentiality of the catastrophic is used to justify sovereignty **[18]**, because resilience appears – as scientifically proven – as the property through which systems get caught up in the pressure to adapt and react in order to secure their survival.

Very different threat scenarios derived from the ecological experience of the dissolution of borders – from the nuclear accident to transnational organised crime and international terrorism right up to climate change – drive this 'catastrophic imagination' (Opitz/Tellmann 2011) which, however, immediately replaces the interest in gaining insight into resilience with the instrumentalization of the concept. **[19]** Resilience then becomes a decreed resilience and consequently falls behind the postulate of an ecologization of thought. At varying political control levels, the demand for resilience becomes a postulate (Walker/Cooper 2011), an appeal becomes a program, the plurality of heterogeneous faces, in which resilience is expressed, becomes a normalized face of resilience which has always been focused and prepared for all eventualities. **[20]** In a principally engineering understanding, it is not the emerging processes of self-preservation in the sense of autonomy and alterity that can be found at the foreground, but rather notions of resilience that derive from a concept of reality that has been augmented by causality – a resilience that can be generated and controlled on the basis of measuring observations and can therefore be ascribed the ability to stabilize and sustain a specific system status. Resilience, and this illustrates the ambivalence of ignorance, in view of its ability to be shaped and controlled, is itself declared to be an invariant, in the firm possession of which security and order can presumably find their place (see Luhmann 1998). Resilience therefore stands for the world that observes itself, a world that at any moment could be different and therefore controls this modality all the more so that in the end nothing changes.

Because this understanding of resilience as a controlling, engineering act not only emerges as a variant of possible practical manifestations of resilience (Grove 2013), but, following the general

[18] This was already seen by Ulrich Beck (1992, 27): "In smaller or larger increments - a smog alarm, a toxic spill, etc. – what thus emerges in risk society is the political potential of catastrophes. Averting and managing these can include a reorganization of power and authority. Risk society is a catastrophic society. In it the exceptional condition threatens to become the norm." See also Hempel et al. 2013.

[19] The difference between ecological resilience and engineering resilience (Pimm 1991; Holling/Gunderson 2002; Folke 2006; Lorenz 2013) conveys a double level of meaning: the content level that asks what resilience really is in reference to different processes and their interactions, and the instrumental level. Depending on whether at the content level the concept of a singular stable equilibrium or of a so-called dynamic equilibrium is maintained, the relationship between self-organization and claim to control is shifted at the instrumental level. The return to a *status quo ante* or the retention of existing trajectories implies a control claim that accompanies the assertion to have available knowledge and means. In contrast, from the perspective of dynamic balancing, self-organization is emphasized and thus a claim to control is relativized from the outset – nonetheless the rhetoric of self-organization is used strategically and instrumentally.

[20] With corresponding urgency The National Academies (2012, vii) declare "disaster resilience" to be a "national imperative": "The nation needs to build the capacity to become resilient, and we need to do this now." The moment of appeal has been institutionalized even internationally, as the subtitle for the Hyogo Framework for Action 2005-2015 (HFA) in the framework of the UN World Conference on Disaster Reduction shows, this demands, e.g., "building the resilience of nations and communities to disasters" (UNISDR 2007). Instead of a calculated risk, the incalculable becomes the basis for the appeal, whereby further social contexts and problem areas are continually added to the meaning space of

appellative impulse, the normative tension, tends to render the instrumental level absolute, it claims to be able to follow a holistic approach which subjects notions of dynamic equilibriums, autonomies, variabilities and self-organization for all conceivable social and ecological fields of application to the guiding concept of a controlling resilience (Thoma 2014). The connectivity between resilience and neoliberal discourses has often been pointed out (O'Malley 2010; Zebrowski 2009; Walker/Cooper 2011; Joseph 2013). The production and practicing of resilience requires an assignment of responsibility (Dombrowsky 2013; Riley/Masten 2005). This addresses the individual through the collective, the empowerment of the individual through management of the people (Kaufmann 2012), to take precautionary action for the state of emergency, the crisis, the disaster (see The National Academies 2012).

The duplicity of this integration can be seen in the fact that the framework of possibilities for dealing with a potential crisis as well as the possibilities for reflecting upon the conditions under which the crisis came to be are not expanded, but are in fact restricted. It is presumed that the mass collection and integration of data about so-called resilience factors makes it possible to rationally shape and optimize the ability to survive crises. Yet, what remains unsaid, is the fact that applying this method always involves aesthetic and political prioritizations. As such, there are various models and indicators of social resilience (Cutter et al. 2008; Cutter et al. 2010; Norris et al. 2008; Maplecroft 2013). These feed themselves on statistical information (see King 2001; Heesen et al. 2014) and usually function with deterministic, additive-linear models, in which all factors are assigned an immediate effect of either increasing or decreasing resilience. Instead of retrospective analysis, you have forward-looking expectation and, above all, the manufacture of preparedness. **[21]** Driven by alleged holistic notions of governance, the paradigm of controlled resilience demands that the tolerances of all system elements be fixed – whether of a human or non-human nature – and that precisely these tolerances, but also variabilities, alterities and potentials for self-organization be rendered controllable and calculable. The assignment of responsibility within this controlling approach – despite the assignment of partial autonomy and self-organization – must not be mistaken for a concession to act freely, but seen far more as an approach for determining and shaping action (Joseph 2013).

> "Actors within networks are autonomous and self-organizing, which allows for a certain notion of agency. At the same time they are highly constrained, because those nodes, which do not fit to the protocol, are excluded from the network. [...] This idea

resilience and subordinated to the goal of preparedness (see Homeland Security Presidential Directive 21). The more that threats become cross-border in nature, the larger the systems are that become the center of focus, as the assignment of resilience to entire cities and/or larger societies or nations shows (see Vale/Campanella 2005; Coaffee et al. 2008; Edwards 2009; Aldrich 2012).

[21] This shifting of retrospective studies to prospective utilization is made explicit in the context of developmental-psychological research on resilience: Werner 2005b.

is [...] central to instruments of resilience governance as they redistribute responsi-bility to societal members, who become their own 'apparatus of security'." (Kaufmann 2013, 61).

Action within the social order is normalized in times of anomy, during which the social order is no longer in effect. But the procedures for preparedness (Zebrowski 2009) for crisis need to be practiced under normal everyday conditions. Under the conditions of the paradigm of controllable resilience, the crisis becomes consensus, the conditions fade into the background and the crisis itself appears to be non-negotiable. However, the question as to whether resilience as a phenomenon can be governed, regulated and controlled at all, or whether it actually resists any desire to control it, remains unanswered. If resilience is reduced in this way to a static state – that either already exists or has to be created – of distributing socio-demographic features, economic resources, infra-structures, building conditions as well as regulated and specified variability, alterity and potentials for self-organization (see Cutter et al. 2010), then processes of emergence, of the unexpected, of the subversive, of negotiation and of unplanned, experimental adaptation in particular cannot be addressed (Folke 2006; Kaufmann 2013). Holling and Meffe (1996, 331) already pointed out in the socio-ecological context in the 1990s that, with an "increasing dependency on continued success in controlling nature" the danger of a "pathology of natural resource management" develops, "while, unknown to most, nature itself is losing resilience and increasing the likelihood of unexpected events and eventual system failure". If resilience eludes the will to control, the question arises as to whether the attempt to control perhaps even destroys the very conditions for its emergence. In that case one would return to where resilience was discovered, where it began: with the evident contradiction that it is stable systems that collapse, not unstable ones. A decreed and controlled resilience would be shown to be the opposite of self-regulation, itself a source of perpetual crises and conflicts, which, however, under the disaster-evoking reference to ignorance and nescience, and under the derived coercion to act, are made consensual, in order to hide their conditions and their own share in the perpetuation of crises – solution and problem would fall together. If on the other hand resilience as a phenomenon is understood as the potential to variability beyond every approach of governance, then resilience as control and prescription would be a negative resilience **[22]**, which, by negating variability, would dissolve the resilience of the system to be controlled. Negative resilience leaves

[22] With the introduction of negative resilience we do not want to distinguish negative and positive forms of resilience in a normative fashion, but point out that certain discursive conceptions of resilience and its practice undermine the conditions under which resilience as a phenomenon emerges.

collapse as the only remaining possibility for a system reaction in the case of environmental change. Forensic analysis could be used to document the intervention in the collapsed system of earlier diversity and negotiation. **[23]**

5. Reappropriation of Resilience as Phenomenon

If the decreeing and controlling conception of resilience maintains its own measurability in order to strengthen, produce and adjust it to an equilibrium – to control it – then an ecologization of thought resists this principle and reveals this understanding of a causality program as an exceptional case in the ecology of mind. According to its epistemology, it is the equilibrium which determines human actions that always attempt to return to a stable position when faced with deviations. **[24]** The means-ends schema of the causality model aligns it to a *telos*, and constructs in this way the uniformity of action contexts which can be rediscovered as individual application fields in the discourse on resilience. The means-ends schema functions by structuring the contexts of action according to the relinquished effects or a complex of effects (Luhmann 1977) and, by doing so, aims to reduce the complexity of reality under the specified end. **[25]** Reducing complexity thanks to the means-end schema appears to be a rational strategy, a technique which makes sense in that it turns the uncertain certain and, through this rationalization, puts reality into perspective and/or renders it controllable under the value system of the specified end, that is, regaining the *status quo ante*. The schema therefore neutralizes all alternatives to the specified end. Alterity is excluded under the assumption of a predictable future. "Otherness [l'altérité] tends to lose all its asperity", as Félix Guattari (2000, 27) says, to whose emergence however ecology (and possibly even resilience) points within the context of an ecologization of thought.

However, thinking of resilience under the conditions of an ecologization means going a step further and leaving central concepts of order behind. Not boundaries, but connections, not linearity, but recursiveness, not nominalizations, but verbalizations in the sense of forming expression make up the dimensions of this change in perspective, the concepts of which no longer attempt to understand via exclusion, but rather by "integrating different mental, collective and technical-medial milieus of subjectification" (Hörl 2011, 33). Separation is replaced by an awareness of mutual conditionality and connectivity, divisions are replaced by an awareness of interminability, which dissolves the

[23] In contrast to resilience research, forensic analysis does not ask why systems don't collapse, but why systems collapsed. The concept of forensic analysis arises in the ancient forum as the place of negotiation and truth-finding, as shown in the earlier example of Cicero. The result of negotiation is indecisive and open. By negotiating positions, the system is developed and refined, in this case the judicial system. On the shocking cartographies of collapsed systems, see in particular Forensic Architecture (2014).

[24] But this claim refers to facts that were obtained under the conditions of complete control in a laboratory setting, which Bruno Latour (1991, 18) opposes with his project of a sociology of association. "Our weakness becomes a strength, provided that we limit knowledge to the instrumentalized nature of the facts and leave aside the interpretation of causes", he says in reference to Boyle's constructions of "matters of fact", produced in the laboratory. "These facts will never be modified, whatever may happen elsewhere in theory, metaphysics, religion, politics or logic."

[25] Several authors (Norris et al. 2008; Levin et al. 1998; Japp 1990; Westley et al. 2002; Gallopin 2006), who have worked with the coupling of ecological and social systems, have made the point that for a transfer of the concept of resilience to social phenomena it is important to consider stable imbalances rather than concepts of balance. The assumption of social stability in the sense of lasting balances misjudges the complexity not only of ecological but also of social systems. Even though the idea of transfer implies a moment of difference, in contrast to a vertical hierarchical orientation of a technical, controlling and decreeing concept, resilience is thought of here crosswise or horizontal to all systems. The description is concentrated on the identification of correspondences between ecological and social systems. This is done by investigating the unknown coupling relationships in both directions, whereby ecological imbalances (Levin et al.

separation of nature and culture, of nature and society, of subject and object, of we and not-we, of body and mind, of materiality and immateriality. Resilience shows itself to be a predicate not only of one system compared to another, but a property that connects all episteme, yes, an act of recruitment that brings forth changed associations, and ultimately renders the system concept obsolete. It transgresses the system in question and transforms it into a hybrid in the interplay of all entities. Resilience, as an expression of variability, which as such prevents collapse in the first place, appears as a process of individuation and subjectification that, depending on what stage it becomes actual at, uses varying ways of expression in order to recruit an ensemble of expression.

Specific forms of expressing self-assertion within the ecological context are available to bodies of water (Holling 1973), animals (Bateson 1987), children (Werner 2005a) and human societies. These forms of expression extend from prediscursive to extremely reflexive and technical means (Voss 2008). What the different entities have in common is that they develop alterity out of an 'energy surplus' and it is precisely through this alterity that they survive. In his *Ecology of the Mind*, Gregory Bateson (1987, 289) uses the example of how a dog reacts to a stimulus to show that this energy is of "special interest". "If I kick a dog, his immediately sequential behavior is energized by his metabolism, not by my kick." The conclusion is that the dog obtains its energy from itself, showing itself to be a dog and giving expression to its being, just as the child gives itself expression by recruiting its primary attachment figure and thus attempting to influence its environment through which the child itself is able to express itself in a recursive act. Within communicative, ecological interrelationships it is shown that "the energy of the response" is "usually provided by the respondent" (ibid.), in Bateson's case the dog. The subjectification of resistance and self-assertion cuts its way through the fabric of heterogeneous entities, proving that it is not an issue of mere adaptation, but stimulation and excitation, whereby the question as to where the energy flows to remains unanswered. The outcome is not decided yet. This intensification might reinforce the *status quo*, but – even as unintended subjectification within decreed resilience – it also

> "bend[s] existing regulations of how to self-organise. It would thus reinsert a notion of agency into the position of local self-organisers. Those typically governed by technologies of regulated agency may become self-governors, conducting the conduct of themselves, to the extent that such practices can become a form of alternative conduct to other forms of governance. Resilient self-organisation can thus exceed regulated practices of self-governance." (Kaufmann 2013, 63).

1998) and social imbalances, also conflict situations (Japp/Krohn 1996), release elements of individual control and create feedback. A concept of resilience is obtained that conceptualizes these out of the systems themselves and emphasizes moments of self-organization, autonomy and diversity.

It is important to grasp resilience as an unintended, emerging phenomenon even before existing order. Gaining expressive power implies operating within this fabric, to change it in its reality, to produce new significations – which of course can always lead to new dogmas. Within this context, and setting it apart from a "neoliberal resilience", Grove (2013, 196) also writes of a "subversive resilience" that opens up alternative "socioecological possibilities", meaning that new ways of expression can establish themselves in the fabric of everyday life. Such an understanding of resilience is based in "the co-presence of difference and multiplicity" (Grove 2013, 204):

> "As such, it welcomes the possibilities of novelty that inhere in the present configuration of things, and directs analytical attention to other expressions of vulnerability, insecurity and resilience that cannot be reduced to techno-managerial problems of transformation."

If resilience can be seen in processes of individuation and subjectification, then it should also be possible to find its emergence in all expression assemblages that feature more than a single remaining future. What is more, this variability should always contain as virtuality several variations of a „future present" that, as existing measures, are updated in certain situations. The constellations of their emergence can be denoted, according to Félix Guattari (2000), as individual and collective subjective assemblages of expression that have always extended beyond their current equilibriums through ecological practices. They arise from "a-signifying rupture, in which the catalysts of existential change are close at hand" (ibid., 45), recruiting for themselves in turn constellations of significance and language acquisition, heterogeneous "assemblages of enunciation" (ibid., 53) that comprise human and non-human entities. As the structures of everyday life are generally characterized by the fact that they are taken for granted, the collapse of what is taken for granted takes place as expressive interjection which either creates an echo that dies away or whose suddenness, like an echo, calls forth a reaction from the surrounding entities, people and things.

In the following our aim is to trace resilience as a process of subjective enunciation in the context of three different situative assemblages of expression. First we will look at everyday situations, then scrutinize their opposite, namely exceptional situations, and then finally we will take a look at protest situations, whose explicit aim is to break down the everyday order which is taken for granted in order to create an exceptional situation as it were, or to change everyday life as it is. The overarching

claim is that resilience, proceeding from the 'a-signifying ruptures', expresses itself as a sign and a reflex of the openness or also the non-terminability of everyday order (Ziemann 2013), whereby there is no hierarchy which would allow a clear locatability beforehand. In fact, resilience originates where there is an unexpected gathering of heterogeneous, interrelated elements, as in the case of a child who recruits his own parents or a painter who discovers a new form of expression in deviating from previous ones. Guattari (2000, 54) writes:

> "There is no overall hierarchy for locating and localizing the components of enunciation at a given level. They are composed of heterogeneous elements that take on a mutual consistency and persistence as they cross the thresholds that constitute one world at the expense of another."

5.1. Resilience and Everyday Life

If resilience occurs only in moments of a-signification in everyday orders, then there will be a problem of describability. The question is whether resilience can be grasped in everyday life if it requires spaces of "unlicensed difference" whose "subversive power", as once formulated by Zygmunt Bauman (1992, xvi), lies "precisely in its spontaneity, that is, in its indeterminacy vis-à-vis the decreed order, that is in its unpredictability, that is, in its uncontrollability" and against whose "grey area of ambivalence, indeterminacy and undecidability" modernity has always fought as its main enemy. While ecological systems research mainly attempts to localize resilience indirectly with forms of mutual influence by institutions (Gunderson et al. 1995; Young 2009), subjecting resilience in the end to a model of consensus and governance, social-science-inspired literature is oriented toward the concept of the exception, thus toward an unlicensed space or state mainly affected by ignorance and lying beyond the validity of the law, normality and everyday life. This thinking on the exception then appears in discourse consequently as the place of resilience. Gusy (2013), for example, resorts to the exception in his description of *Resilient Societies*, when he, with the wonderful irony of the lawyer, conceives resilience as 'reserve competence for reserve competence' for the improbable and therefore theoretical case of a double state failure, in which state disaster prevention and management both fail. **[26]** It is the exception, therefore, that first of all provides the construct, the discursive precautionary measure that modern thinking has always required in order to talk about

[26] This precludes a neoliberal responsibility by referring to the predominance of professional disaster prevention and management by the state.

resilience. This overlooks the fact that what is declared to be a state of exception is often seen to be a factual matter (Agamben 2005, 30). As such, resilience could not even be grasped without this construct. What we have is a factor that could not even be perceived phenomenally under the conditions by which everyday structures are taken for granted, even though it nevertheless appears that it can be influenced by everyday structures. The paradox in resilience is therefore that, because it emerges out of the moment of a-signification, it cannot be grasped without making avail of the corresponding discursive tools such as the dramas of exception, by undertaking a "suspension of everyday actual reference" (Agamben 2005, 20), while it nevertheless must at the same time remain everyday in nature, in the sense that it must be real. Resilience proves to be understandable or describable only as a transitive moment or threshold phenomenon, **[27]** existing at the transition between the everyday and what is not everyday or, inversely, between a-signification and signification. The task at hand is therefore not to remove resilience from everyday life from the start or to assign it only to exception, but rather to localize and understand resilience in this field of tension between everyday life and what is not everyday in nature, between proclamation and suspension, whereby both sides may possibly always correlate to one another as long as everyday life still possesses the potential for virtual variability as real moments of 'surplus energy' or intensification (Bateson 1987) out of which acts of self-assertion, of survival, and of sovereignty and the practice of resilience can be extracted, which counter the collapse, the sheer "ability not to be" (Agamben 2005, 46). In other words, to examine the subject more closely, one must understand contingency which, as a non-necessity, always turns out to be a condition of variation and alterity and which nevertheless is basically displaced further with every further functional differentiation – only temporarily, en passant as it were. **[28]**

If everyday life as background of the self-evident and 'unquestioned ground' (Schütz/Luckmann 1973) proves to be readable through established codes that are manifested in rules, routines, rituals and ceremonies, and are translatable into action by cultural and social interpretative patterns (Oevermann 2001), but also through the standardization of all things, then contingency can be understood as the condition for alterity where elements emerge that resist patterns, making them rougher because of their material, cognitive or social properties in the same way as the porcupine of Schlegel (Guattari 2000) or the carrion of Baudelaire. If the everyday situation is marked by convergence, isotropy and consensual agreements, and therefore by accepted translations between the rational elements (Callon 1991), then incoherencies can arise at any time from out of antagonistic

[27] This makes up the framework not only for the appellative moment and the normative claim, but also for the original knowledge interest.

[28] Here the question can be asked whether contingency decreases and patterns are unified (or shifted to other levels of action) through the advance of technology and the internalization of technical structures in the fabric of everyday life.

coincidences and these can certainly provide for epiphanies of the unexpected. Their incubation is completed with the leftovers of mutual non-mediatability of the elements which at the same time create the precondition for variability and new, until now non-actualized associations. Their friction might be made noticeable, but might also remain completely hidden. It might make itself sensually perceptible as roughness, but then again retreat back into the slickness of the surface. It might be perceived as "intrusion of some accidental detail, an event-incident" (Guattari 2000, 49) and make itself known, but might also remain unperceived and unheard (Rancière 1998). It might extend itself to a difference, a separation of individual elements coming together in groups, but as such be subordinated again to the institutes of identity (Deleuze 2006).

In principle there are two possible ways to react to the constitutive threshold transitions at which resilience is brought forth in everyday life. One possibility is to expel resilience from everyday life for breaking its rules. The other possibility is to perceive and recognize it in its suspension of everyday life and in its potential for making changes. There is perhaps no more impressive example for everyday order than Robert Musil's famous novel *The Man Without Qualities* that begins with both options captured, even though the suspension of the suspension wins out. The scientifically rational description of the general weather situation as being a "fine August day" (Musil 1965, 3) already conveys the order of a typical day firmly integrated in its dynamic. In every moment, impressionistic movements and noises emerge from the background, find their place and integrate themselves once again into the fabric of everyday life. "Where stronger lines of speed transected their loose-woven hurrying, they clotted up – only to trickle on all the faster then and after a few ripples regain their regular pulse-beat." (Musil 1974, 9). The swelling and subsiding has impregnated itself in the social-spatial arrangement. The rules of behavior determine the objectiveness of the street scene and its description. They have internalized themselves in everyday life as 'behavior rules of coldness' (Lethen 1994). The lack of any hierarchy and particularity to enable localization illustrates itself only in the ironical perspective of the precise observer. Acting polemically against the indescribability of everyday life, the moment of the a-signifying rupture is longed for in the face of monotony. The rupture can then consequently only be described as retrospection from the now personalized vantage point of the suddenly disturbed consciousness of a female passerby. Something undetermined, initially annunciating, demands to be translated into the determinability of an event. And yet it is only called to life through the subjective imitation by a passerby, who constitutes it as such by reflecting

on it in this way. What this narrative shows us is how an unexpected movement emerges out of one that was expected to follow a regular trajectory, thus bursting apart the everyday order of things.

> "A moment earlier the regularity had been broken by a sudden oblique moment: something had spun round, skidding sideways – the abrupt braking, as it appeared, of a heavy lorry, which was now stranded with one wheel on the edge of the pavement."
> (Musil 1965, 5)

Even if the event is mimetically reconstructed again through narration, repeated, and thus brought forth including its consequences, the narration is still not able to immediately remedy the loss of order. The stabilizing function of the narration breaks down at the narrated object and at the subjectivity, which remains alien to what has happened despite every effort to imitate it. The imitating realization remains stuck in the dramatically described detail, the wheel, the curb, the hole, the "man lying on the ground" (ibid.). The subjective understanding of the passerby is not able to collect the individual components, but instead breaks them down, separating them more and more. Merleau-Ponty (2005, 39ff.) speaks of "a disintegration of the sensory field which no longer remains stable while the subject perceives, but moves in response to the exploratory movements and shrinks while it is being probed." In this way, by attempting to stabilize the narration, the a-signification constitutes itself as the inconceivable suspension of everyday expectations. While the wish for renewed association instinctively follows the breakup at the social level – "[i]n an instant, like bees round the entrance of their hive, people had collected round a little island of space in their midst" (Musil 1965, 5) – it expresses itself as physical unease, which ends in an "irresolute, paralyzing sensation" (ibid.). The inability of the female passerby to translate the individual details into a social interpretative pattern is an inability to express herself, which arises from the inability to arrange and interpret the sheer essence of the individual elements lying there before her. The things that have been freed from their functional context cannot be reduced to established social rules that are known to the passerby or are generally accessible. Because of this her survival in this situation is endangered in the extreme. If she was otherwise in danger of collapse, she is now dependent on an external stabilization, on a surrogate that leaps to her rescue in the face of a loss of expression, and gives her expression in her moment of danger.

Applying subjective meaning alone is not enough to survive, but is in fact "dangerously dependent

upon the cooperative forbearance of others" (Goffman 1967, 17), especially where subjective meaning is found guilty of contributing towards defining what is real. It is only through the supposedly technical explanation by the male companion, who is familiar with the rules and who brings causality back into the equation, that the opaque occurrence can be attributed as a social act to a cause, namely human error, and thus the corresponding agents can be named and relief attained. If the bodily effect on the passerby can be relieved in this way, then this assurance arises not from the contents of the message, the technical explanation or the assignment of the accident to human error, but rather in the determining measure of social role distribution within this expression assembly of the sexes. The survival of the passerby is dependent on the realization of gender roles, whereas for the male companion the social order was at no time called into question. He serves to bridge the empty signifiers and the temporary malaise associated with this, which however, might have been able to lead to change and emancipation as a pressure, as a surplus in energy, as a first pre-linguistic expression of resilience. The scene ends with the feeling of the special nature of the self which arises from the regained order of things, and the feeling of having been present at an unusual occurrence, and yet this is rejected by the female passerby herself as an "unjustified feeling" (Musil 1965, 6), and is even disapproved of with feelings of guilt as 'unlicensed'. The moment of subjectification, displayed in a confusing feeling of unease, is answered with the subordination of the passerby to everyday order and with the confirmation of its institutions that guarantee equilibrium.

The recovered order shows itself to be social, and can be recognized here in gender roles, social status and moral sensation – proving the exception to the rule. Its contingency is not only double – in the sense of mutual expectation which, as in the case of the unequal couple, closes once again to become a communication entity – but, depending on the technical and non-technical actors, it is multiple with endless and inestimable consequences and arrangements. Its closure implies a consensus that – based on a minimum of established norms and rules – at least temporarily includes inter-subjective and inter-objective everyday expectations. The permanently looming threat of the suspension of everyday life has to be ruled out, which becomes clear, for example, when we describe acts of breaking the rules on the public street as 'incivilities'.

At the same time, this undesired roughening of everyday life shows that it apparently holds further alternative concepts of order. Even if the meaning of these transgressions of expected everyday order exists in the merely symbolic conquest of urban space, an influential power generally

demonstrates in the roughening that transgressions are possible in principle, and that the everyday situation contains more than what can be practiced as expectation through rules and routines and more than what is visible in the rituals and standardized faces or 'personae' (Lethen 1994). This then also implies that contingency can be understood not only as a problem to be repeatedly solved but even more as a variable that virtually comprises an infinite number of spaces for individuation and subjectification, for autonomy and alterity, which can be vital when actualized in situations of disintegration and deviations from everyday expectations. The adaptability and survivability of a society can be seen not in order, but in the way forbidden differences are handled. If disembedding always means a moment of liberty from the supposedly fixed everyday constellations, then this step toward emancipation is always the second possibility of reacting to the constitutive threshold transitions that are situatively brought forth by resilience in everyday life. **[29]** The transition from a state of order to a state of disorder brings both sides together, marks as threshold the double moment of subjectification, namely on the one hand suppression through hateful and threatening circumstances, on the other hand self-assertion. Nowhere has this element of resistance and self-assertion been more radically practiced and expressed than in the tradition of Romantic imagination, which attempted to wrest the everyday element from things in a random, unimportant, inconspicuous moment, and to deconstruct the usually pure functional sense always ascribed to them. In this way, the aim was to go beyond causality and point out the changeability of everyday constellations. Resilience arises fundamentally where emancipatory spaces are opened up, such as in the pedagogy of Jacques Jacotots, who according to a description by Jacques Rancière (1991) ended up at the university of Leuven following various adversities. There, although he did not speak Flemish, he taught students who did not understand French, and discovered that after his assignment, the students were able to understand and describe, in French, the text and contents of a dual-language edition of *The Adventures of Telemachus* by François Fénelon. The adverse circumstances transformed the traditional relationship of repression into one of equality on the basis of "things in common", with the book as an intermediary "egalitarian intellectual line between master and student" (ibid., 13). Although here the will of the teacher was followed by the students, "emancipation" occurred as an "act of an intelligence obeying only itself" (ibid.) in which both students and teacher asserted themselves against the problem of mutual incomprehensibility and thereby constituted a radically different everyday relationship.

[29] An incident could be met emotionally in order to obtain a superior and sovereign position from the moment of subjectification. From this position – comparable with the position of the male companion – it could be explained what order, or rather the lack of order, is. The rupture would be judged again to be a breaking of the rules, in order to either ensure order (and to submit to it) or to exchange the existing order for a possibly more radical alternative.

5.2. Resilience and Exception

We must be sure about one thing here, namely that within the context of addressing resilience, this element of emancipation applies for all of those components involved in a situation, that is, for people and for things alike. Openness makes variations possible which exist in real form at all imaginable probability levels and can be acted out. Completely unnoticed, the background of everyday life is transformed. If resilience is recognized only as a threshold phenomenon, then this results in several implications for the relationship between everyday life and exception. Events declared to be mimetically 'strong' or even 'catastrophic' reveal themselves perhaps as 'a-signifying ruptures' only at another level on a fictitious intensity scale. But an event is not in itself disastrous (Ruhrmann/ Kohring 1996); accordingly, depending on the individual structure of the scale, every situation can basically be declared a catastrophe. Here, the eruptive suddenness and the extent of the disrupture, as an expression of the failure of the translation processes between recursively communicated elements, not only prove to be the unit by which the intensity of the failure is measured, but rather also always prove to be down to a fatal lack of attention for a process of dedifferentiation that has possibly already been going on for quite a long time and for which there were clear indications beforehand. Because of the decomposition of the fabric of everyday life, of the never-ending alliances between a multitude of regimes and cooperations between natural, material, human and cultural actors, the mutual bonding force that holds together the fabric has diminished and the associations are experiencing a crisis of communication in which once neighboring entities develop asymmetric risk relationships. Every gesture, no matter how innocent it might be, and every shift in the composition, no matter how small, may be seen as an expression of resistance, and may be interpreted as such at a political level with perhaps deadly consequences (Agamben 1998, 53).

Under the perspective of an ecologization of thought, of the assumption of mutual and recursive integration, the concept of resilience cannot be reserved for separated units, but is permanently valid under the assumption of differing levels of intensity and of the asymmetry of effective power for all components within the ecological fabric. This of course fundamentally alters our view of crises and disasters as phenomena. As such, resilience is no longer only required to face a threat designated as disastrous, but is perhaps a property which the threatening entity itself possesses as well, where this entity expresses itself in the mutual relations. Ecologization requires a radical view that dissolves

the separation between nature and culture, between spaces of danger and non-danger as cultural ascriptions, between practices and strategies for overcoming contingent events. As the relieved force of an element can always be understood as an expression of self-assertion to break out of institutionalized "energetic-spatio-temporal coordinates or category systems" (Guattari 1995, 59), resilience – according to the radical interpretation within an ecologization of thought – can be attributed to natural events, industrial accidents or to politically motivated acts in the struggle with other entities.

If resilience is a permanent property of a self-regulating power that is always valid for all elements of a complex ensemble, then these elements should become relevant without needing to involve 'people' or human actors at all. In this way it is possible to discover eons of unending formations which point to extermination on the one hand, but on the other hand point toward preservation through variation. Here the change to another frame of reference – perhaps a river that takes alternative bends as a result of whatever cause – always means individuation through transgression resulting in the mutual alignment (Callon 1991) of all entities that negotiate processes of change. If these processes can be comprehended, then they can only be described *ex post* from the perspective of a situatively challenged language-capable instance which, itself being either affected or observing, frames this change as catastrophic and, using already established ideas, introduces a social meaning to the event. For an ecological consideration it is important not to unnecessarily subjectify or objectify natural processes but rather to understand the relationships between human and non-human actors in their recursive intensities. In an event considered to be a disaster, the entities have obtained for themselves a power of expression. Only the causes that led to the event contained the effective power of interacting components that mutually form and preserve themselves until incubation, at which time individual components begin to separate from the usual associations. At first they are not heard and they intensify their resistance, accumulating an energy that is suddenly released in order to change themselves within a frame of reference beyond the usual and traditional relationships and coordinates (see Dombrowsky 1987). For example, Lars Clausen (2003) describes in one of his main articles the case of the repeated flooding of the Hoangho in China – a spiral of escalation that reverses the original territorial relations. Higher levees are constructed to control the river, but resulting sediments in turn raise the level of the river bed. "River systems tend toward a state of self-organized criticality, producing a power law distribution regarding riverbank failures and flooding" (Protevi 2009, 166). A new power constellation arises through the self-organization of the river in

the relations of the things connected to its course – things, humans and landscapes. The surrounding countryside becomes lower in elevation than the river bed so that, if the levees break, floodwater has an even more devastating effect.

At the same time a 'hydraulic culture' (Clausen 2003), bringing itself forth recursively and differentiating itself through the repeated experience of disastrous events, develops by acting contrary to the flow and its dynamics on the one hand, and on the other – and this must be emphasized – attempts to bring them under control by resisting them with various methods of signification and translation. Wringing from the opponent an identity through naming, it constitutes and invents its own social identity as culture. The repeated individuating dedifferentiation event is always met with submission under the acquired cultural identity. The feedback between river course and the surrounding land breaks through to the original rhythm whereby the renewed overflow starts a new cycle of negotiation. **[30]** The new construction of the levee illustrates the operation of dividing 'nature' and 'culture' from the viewpoint of the cultural identity recovered by this separation. A co-evolutionary process arises in which the catastrophic event and society determine themselves and mutually bring forth resilience. The cultural technology of levee construction can be seen as an expression of resilience just as well as the river overflowing the levee in its natural course. Aiming at stability, levee construction provokes the river's "self-organized criticality" (Protevi 2009, 166), and leaves the deposition of sediments as the only possible reaction that the river's course can take. The river follows its nature, which does not restrict itself to one level of probability but comprises all possible – and this is the source of the river's resilience. If the 'hydraulic culture' threatened in return to finally collapse following a flood, then the negative resilience of the hydraulic culture would reveal itself in its own dynamic of the river. In its need for protection, this culture challenged the river's resilience (as self-organizing logic of the river itself) to change its course, and at the same time radically restricted its own possibility for action. For cultural technology, the overflow of the cultural canalization becomes a field test for the cultural effort to guarantee survival. The disaster obviously proves that the problem solutions devised by humans can also be falsified, as Wolf R. Dombrowsky (1988) has written. In this case disaster is nothing else than the 'real-falsification' of the human attempt to solve the problems of survival with technology and organization.

Even if the river can follow its disposition alone, from an ecological perspective resilience means holding latitude for alterity. Events considered to be disastrous are always culturally prefigured

[30] In Holling and Meffe (1996, 328) there is a very similar example relating to the Mississippi illustrating a co-evolutionary interplay of flooding and "command-and-control management" of nature in the form of levee construction measures. The authors (ibid.) do not use the term catastrophe itself, but "'pathology of natural resource management', defined as a loss of system resilience when the range of natural variation in the system is reduced encapsulates the unsustainable environmental, social, and economic outcomes of command-and-control resource management." It is interesting that this interplay reflects a comparable societal dynamic according to the FAKKEL model of Clausen (1994; 2003). After an initial establishment of technical and institutional "command and control" measures of natural resources – comparable to Clausen's "peace foundation" – the intended control results are at first realized. The success leads to a change in the original tasks of the actors (Clausen's creation of everyday routine): "agencies responsible for management shift their attention from the original social or economic purpose to an otherwise laudable effort to increase efficiency and reduce costs [...]. Priorities thus shift from research and monitoring [...] to internal agency goals of cost efficiency and institutional survival." (Holling/Meffe 1996, 331) This results in an increasing alienation from the system to be managed, but also from the population and lay interest in the sense of Clausen: "The second feature of the pathology thus emerges: growing isolation of agency personnel from the systems being managed and insensitivity to public signals of concern – in short, growing institutional myopia and rigidity." (ibid.). Parallel to rising class struggle (Clausen) the established procedures are intensified resulting in an increase in catastrophic potential: "But the result is increasing dependency on continued success in controlling nature while, unknown to most, nature itself is losing resilience and increasing the likelihood of unexpected events and eventual

where the disposition of things including all tolerances (whether these have been recognized or not by law) are disregarded and normalized (Grammelsberger 2013). This moment of negative resilience misjudges alterity and contingency, which are not reduced with each additional differentiation, but instead show themselves to be the other side of ignorance. The shifting to additional new levels of the technology of protection and reduction of contingency creates a high elevation to fall from and lets the asymmetry of imbalances escalate. At the same time, this observation does not exclude technology in any way, but conceives of it as an expression of individuation processes, of a social need for stability. But its internalization in everyday order steadily increases the ignorance concerning links, interactions and vulnerabilities, all the more so the more strongly the desire to protect oneself from processes is articulated.

Under their own resilience conditions in the assemblages where they emerge and in which they are implemented, technical objects accumulate effective power that becomes visible and manifest in crises. Where there are no redundancies in the form of buffers, principles or adequate organizational cultures, negative resilience in the case of an unforeseen interaction leaves only one possible reaction, the materiality of the individual technical elements comes to the fore and creates a resistance which, as in the case of failure of utility infrastructure, can expand through cascading to an unforeseen crisis. In this way the Northeast American Blackout of 2003 was not caused by a system dysfunction and its "electrical conditions" (Liscouski/Elliot 2004, 45), but by a disregarded but fully foreseeable change in the individual reference frames of the participating elements. "The 345-kV transmission lines began tripping out because the lines were contacting overgrown trees within the lines' right-of-way areas" (ibid.). This example shows that the technical system of overland electrical transmission cables was implemented in a space that had its own self-organizing dynamic, a dynamic that at any time might change the links between the recursively integrated elements. As soon as the virtual ways of reacting by resilience are ignored, these become mutually activated until dissociation occurs. "The electrical grid is a volatile mix of coal, sweat, electromagnetic fields, computer programs, electron streams, profit motives, heat, lifestyles, nuclear fuel, plastic, fantasies of mastery, static, legislation, water, economic theory, wire and wood – to name just some of the actants" as Jane Bennet (2005, 448) points out: "There is always some friction among the parts, but for several days in August 2003, in the United States and Canada, the dissonance was so great that cooperation became impossible". The transition is characterized by the tension between latent contingency, resistivity and manifest

system failure." (ibid.). According to Holling and Meffe as well as Clausen the result is a societal conflict that fails to allow effective measures to be taken and thus leads to the inevitable disaster. The analogy ends with the strike of disaster and collapse.

alterity. The resilience of one component can always reduce the resilience of the others or even become their own negative resilience if the resilience in others is triggered (see Sondershaus/Moss 2014). **[31]** In the completion of dedifferentiation, resilience is required from every component in the context of all involved technical and non-technical heterogeneous components. Even the explanation of the event as a crisis, as a disaster, reveals itself then to be an expression of resilience that takes new paths because there is no longer any trust in any of the traditional patterns of interaction.

At the social level, the reactions of language-capable instances must be differentiated in order to understand the meaning of resilience in crisis situations. Self-assertion already expresses itself in many ways in the initial phase, and may retain a dedifferentiating context through multiple cultures of temporalized warranty. Both interobjective and intersubjective connecting points are recruited at all conceivable levels from the material to the mental, which in the worst case are supposed to become active in order to resiliently resist and bring under control the network of mutual resiliences. In this way experts start to simulate the event in the form of scenarios in order to estimate the course and damage, and in order to introduce counter-measures. Giving the impression that ignorance can be outwitted and locked in, the commentary can be found in the reactions of a potentially affected population to an event that is apparently bound to happen. This is called up, evoked, in order to tame it, whereby ritualized protection methods from provisional barricades to prayer are mixed with black humor and even with helplessness, because of a complete lack of forms and possibilities of expression. **[32]** Signs such as "Honk if you Hate Irene" (see Klüver 2011), which decorated boarded-up windows shortly before the storm of the same name appeared, prove themselves to be enunciations of self-assertion, a collectivizing echo of subjectifications in order to banish fright. Anticipating the failure of state reserve competencies, every honk constitutes a vector of resilience with which a space for solidarity is recruited. But the alignment of the recognition sign is not restricted to individual elements that are to be found among the changed circumstances. Barricade-building implies differentiation in the moment of dedifferentiation. In this way all elements obtain the capability of expression; the happening escalates to a "cacophony" (Callon 1991, 145), the components have become so excited that they threaten to throw off completely their mutually assigned functions.

If loss of function implies a shift in power, then the social actors attempt – at the latest at the moment of arising real-falsification – to bring to bear immediately actualized interpretative patterns in order to ascertain and manage the situation, and to reintroduce social order, because the

[31] This moment can already be found in Adger (2000), when he questions the linkage between ecological and social resilience. But this confrontation of varying resiliences does not appear in the foreground under the impression of linked social-ecological systems.

[32] Moreover, there are many practices that create meaning and expression in the form of rituals (Eyre 2006), narrations (Brown/Kulig 1996; Norris et al. 2008) or even humor (Bankoff 2007). But the collective expressions require a prior communitisation and social cohesion before the catastrophe (Eyre 2006; Aldrich 2012). If the collective expression fails, then this has effects on the social cohesion, as Kai T. Erikson (1976) shows in his study on the loss of community after the Buffalo Creek dam disaster in 1972.

interpretative patterns are based on a minimum of manageable consensus in reference to values, institutions and rules. At the same time, social acceptance of these new interpretative patterns is connected on the one hand with the negotiation of cause and the guilty ones and, on the other hand, with the promise of finding a solution to these same patterns in the face of the problem of survival. A classical, repeatedly applied and recurring schema is the interpretation of loss of order as a turnover into a natural state as described by Hobbes (2010), as a war of each against all. This schema's persuasive power was incisively used in the context of Hurricane Katrina, as social groups were divided in a political-aesthetical manner according to long-established elitist, racist and stratifying profiles and prejudices (Mann/Pass 2011; Tierney et al. 2006).

Here, the police institutions, in this case mainly the military and private military companies, took on the role of laying down a 'division of the sensual' (Rancière 1998) between those persons to be protected, who represent the social order, a white upper and middle class, and those to be combatted, the mostly black underclass supposedly threatening the social order, whose behavior is considered to be guided by a "looting instinct" (see Jacoby 2005). They were made an object of general suspicion in order to hold them in the established social coordinates of differentiation even in the course of the dedifferentiating event. They are to be subjected again to the order that has been called into question by the event, an order that is based on social differentiation. Resilience always contains the potentiality of alterity to use the situation in order to break out of the usual structures and to establish new ones leaving old boundaries and divisions behind. But the decisive characteristic in situations of resilience appears to be social equality, not anarchy. It is typical, that in contrast to the explanation of anomie perpetuated by the media – in the form of increasing criminality, massive rape and panic (Constable 2008; Barsky et al. 2006), triggered by "thugs' reign of terror" (Shin 2005, 7), of a "snake pit of lawlessness and anarchy" (Tierney/Bevc 2007, 41) –, the reactions are mostly marked by solidarity and mutual help and, as such, the social differentiation anchored in the old interpretative patterns no longer exists in the disaster situation (Dynes et al. 2007; Quarantelli 2008). **[33]**

With the claim of anomie, the police institutions attempt to legitimize themselves and to hide their own failure. However, this failure becomes even more obvious and also reveals itself as failure, the more resilience unfolds its impact in the sense of prosocial behavior (Quarantelli 2008) among those affected who have become autonomous. Resilience as a phenomenon can be an accusation

[33] In general, rules and norms of everyday life remain in effect in situations considered to be disastrous (Clarke 2002). Prosocial behavior predominates (Quarantelli 2008), because this is what is important beyond all fixations.

against the police institutions when spaces of possibility for survival under conditions of neglect, marginalization and the absence of state protection are created in a self-organizing fashion. The elites are in danger of losing their legitimacy, however, they have not only one, but rather a whole range of different possibilities for overcoming a crisis. Clausen (1994; 2003) differentiates four development paths. The failure to obtain expression and to overcome the catastrophe leads inevitably to downfall or to subjugation under another or a new order. The charismatic solution is based on traditional authority that understands how to found peace by taking advantage of luck and unorthodox means, an authority that for this reason is considered to be charismatic (Clausen 1994, 39). Even if this solution remains ambivalent, it is the most desirable, even if frequently bungled through the risk of abuse. The so-called professional-revolutionary solution is characterized by the ability of the professional elite to exercise self-criticism, in that they leave scope for alternatives, and space for 'outsider positions' within their own ranks, which are of course not really outsider positions, but basically only variations in the sense of resilience. To allow these, following the thoughts of Clausen, means a revolution, a paradigm upheaval (Clausen 2003). If, in this solution, you have the ambivalent situation where the path taken becomes dogma, then the result of this risk of dogmatism becomes clear with the restorative solution. It adheres tightly to the existing distribution of power and overcomes the symptoms only without being able either to comprehend the underlying dynamic of the accumulating, energetic resistance, or to submit to criticism. The restorative solution is based on a fortress mentality that has written itself as program and as an interpretative pattern into technology and society. Things are subjected to the control claim of a crisis management that, however, must fail given the resilient inaccessibility of things.

5.3. Resilience and Protest

The discursive understanding of resilience today corresponds mostly to restorative solution attempts in the face of a supposedly increasing susceptibility to crisis, a susceptibility that is based only on the concept of a permanent and extensive availability. In this context resilience becomes an all-embracing imperative of inclusion, a "closure of politics" (Grove 2013, 197) that not only excludes alternatives but also reduces change to a moment of preparedness (Lakoff 2007; Bröckling 2008) for all of society. The inherently positive connotations of resilience (Christmann et al. 2011) make it

difficult to talk about its negative effects, unwanted side-effects or the assertion of power positions (Coaffee et al. 2008; Hodson/Marvin 2008). Engle (2011, 651) **[34]** warns of a politicization of the concept for the purpose of legitimizing specific practices. He writes,

> "that widespread calls for increasing resilience in practice may miss the theoretically negative properties associated with a resilient state, such as the often used example of when oppressive but resilient government is able to persist and adjust to change and disturbance."

When social actors rely on strategies of decreed resilience, then these strategies threaten to transform themselves within political formations into 'authoritarian resilience' (Nathan 2003). There is no better example of this type than the political regime that repeatedly aligns its actions to the population's desire for change in order to prevent change and keep itself in power. If the desire for change within a portion of the population seeks forms of expression, subjectification, or even of alternative spaces for questioning established norms and values, spaces for freedom and protest, then the regime replies with restriction, control and repression, with a law without content, as Agamben notes with reference to Benjamin (Agamben 2005). The regime no longer understands law principally as a place of negotiation and dispute, where without the help and intervention of civil servants it would be left to the members of a society to discover the rules themselves in order to then either adapt their own behavior to them (Hart 2009) or to change the rules and laws. The regime sees the law merely as an instrument, and defines resilience as the preservation of the whole, of the population or of humanity, in whose name it claims to speak and for the benefit of whom all of its actions are concentrated. Here the regime sees itself as a central actor against a world of lawlessness and inhumanity, against which police measures must be brought to bear. However, these means are not applied solely by the state apparatus – in the form of the administration, the law and the police – with which the state simply forces society to accept the state order. Rather, according to Rancière (1999, 29), the police institutions decide – in a much more encompassing sense than a 'law' – how the bodies within an assemblage appear to one another sensually and whether they are perceptible to each other at all:

[34] See also Levin et. al 1998; Voss 2010; Gallopín 2006; Walker et al. 2004; Brand/Jax 2007.

> "The police is thus first an order of bodies that defines the allocation of ways of doing, ways of being, and ways of saying, and sees that those bodies are assigned by name to a particular place and task; it is an order of the visible and the sayable that sees that a particular activity is visible and another not, that this speech is understood as discourse and another as noise."

If the question of sensual division for protest and social movement has an essential meaning, then authoritarian resilience displays itself as a police category in a regime that strives to control perceptibility. Authoritarian resilience continually registers indications of change, sorting them and categorizing their appearances into those that are perceptible and those that are not, or those that are only a temporary disturbance of order, not to be considered as infiltration or even as a subversive retreat into the private sphere. The register is used to determine the state of society in order to introduce and justify defensive measures in the name of anticipated threats (Hempel et al. 2011). In this way attention is continually focused on rights to freedom, much less in order to restrict them as to organize them. Territory is subdivided into places where rights can be exercised and others where they cannot. Resilience in the sense of recursive self-assertion, established as freedom of expression, becomes a threat itself that must be enclosed.

With the means of authoritarian resilience, resilience becomes a control project striving to protect order in the name of the whole. Authoritarian resilience cannot be identified with negative resilience, which always means its own collapse. Authoritarian resilience cynically uses resilience as an assertion of its own freedom. It even creates its own stage for affective self-regulation, sports and entertainment in order to control the desire for change and in this way it prevents its own positions from being questioned (see Della Porta et al. 2006). If the regime is ready to repressively put down extensive forms of collective subjectification, then protest cannot be preempted when enclosure fails.

Protest forms under the principle indetermination of situations, and, as resistance, it makes for itself a path of subjectification with the goal of creating a collective anti-hegemonic stage (Della Porta et al. 2013) in order both to attack the power asymmetries of visibility and invisibility represented in symbolic order and to make itself visible and audible. Protest selects its space for expression exactly at that place where the individual parts are defined in 'divisions of the sensual' (Rancière 1998). "The uprising starts with a stroll", as one can read in Heiner Müller's *Hamletmachine* (2001, 305), and is therefore a spatial practice, a mapping of the terrain: "Against the traffic rules, during working

hours." Aesthetic-technical and socio-political-cultural subdivisions that have been stabilized in patterns of meaning or in discourse formation of everyday expectations must be broken up. Their policing is the first opponent, but at the same time it is also the precondition for and the background to the performability of protest in order to make the injustice of this order visible with the help of an enacted 'a-signifying rupture'. As an intended breakup, the interaction dynamic attempts to dismantle existing perspectives and moves them to alternative but unfamiliar and alien frames of reference. What has to be done is to break up the sensual composition of social space where "parties, parts or lack of parts have been defined" (Rancière 1998, 30), in order to open it as a place of confrontation and political negotiation. "Political activity is whatever shifts a body from the place assigned to or changes a place's destination", as Rancière (ibid.) says: "It makes visible what had no business being seen, and makes heard a discourse where once there was only place for noise".

The rupture cannot be left to chance. What is needed is the singled-out moment of maximum visibility. For the vector of the protesting protagonist there is no hope of success, "if he is not immediately supported by others who have come for the same reason" (Boltanski/Thévenot 2006, 231). Protest always appears as an aesthetic-political phenomenon, even as performative image politics. The act of expression creates a situation of uncertainty, maybe even danger, challenging convention to react with repressive measures, either as the indignation of passers-by or as a police reaction. The group does not fit in with the expected appearance of passers-by and is identified with rule infraction. The everyday order threatens to disavow the performance as noise, as a temporary disturbance. For this reason, it is even more important to demonstrate its repressive grammar, to expose the order itself as being one of injustice, and to formulate an alternative. Understood as resilience, protest itself needs a 'body repercussing', which, comparable to a real echo, is both reflexive and expressible. In order to change an everyday social situation into protest it is necessary to have the resonance and solidarity of a collective that is united in the demand for emancipation in the face of a certain injustice (Williams 2004). If protest appears as a social and collective phenomenon, then it creates a space of equality that brings together entities under the perspective of recognition and alterity.

At the level of social conflict and political confrontation, resilience contains a moment of criticism. In the context of an expression event such as protest, resilience can even be comprehended as the capability of society for dissent and critique. The dissociation of the existing truth order through a systematic breakup turns into the occasion for change and thus for renewed association. In this way

protest attempts to write signs into the socio-spatial arrangements, to mark change and to repair the rupture. If the protest itself postulates a different or new order through new contexts or frameworks in the sense of Goffman (Benford/Snow 2000), then it thwarts equality from the beginning onward in the name of the postulated alterity which had originally constituted the protest, the demonstration. It is a paradox inherent in political action that protest can always confirm equality, as Rancière says, but can never set up or even prescribe it without again partitioning space and thus establishing an order of meaning, even if this order is different from the first. Like resilience, equality proves to be a threshold phenomenon beyond grasp. If, under adverse conditions, equality appears to accompany resilience and displays itself in collective avowals of solidarity, then it is possible that the connection between them arises from their individual proto-social relationship to change and alterity. This cannot be symbolically understood except in its most radical appearance as both the virtual and real identity of all entities. If forms of protest start to become institutionalized, to become movements, then their meaning – "assuming they survive" (Rucht 2004) – is in creating spontaneous, non-institutionalized practices of political confrontation and thus repeatedly introducing equality into the existing order as a statement of radical alterity to the status quo. In this sense equality highlights the openness of the order and social movements show themselves to be spaces where resilience is expressed.

6. Conclusion

While other concepts are already fading away, new ones must be added to the glossary of the present – and resilience and vulnerability would surely be among them. A mainstream has developed from a conceptual niche existence and this gives resilience the status of a new leading category for societies which see themselves faced increasingly with uncertainty, fragility and susceptibility to failure. The battle cry of the present is 'Think resilience!'. Political and strategic interests have long since become involved in concept building. "In our fast-moving, global economy, resilience is a quality that all metropolitan areas need in order to thrive [...] Metropolitan areas that have become 'locked-in' to one economic trajectory or governing paradigm will soon find themselves left behind." (Swanstrom 2008, 1f.) Looking at the present discourse on resilience, one gets the impression that the original phenomenon of why systems, against all expectations, do not collapse, has retreated

into the background. Replaced by a normative, political program of decree, resilience today appears as a metaphor, as a "boundary object" (Brand/Jax 2007; Kaufmann 2012; Norris et al. 2008) that communicates various understandings and meanings of heterogeneous actors in such a way that a unified or deep understanding is no longer necessary. The focus is placed rather on the desire to control, which is now operating under the name of resilience. This is a resilience which at the same time serves to communicate an ignorance that, on the one hand, justifies actions or denounces non-action and, on the other hand, is always able to free itself of taking on any responsibility at all. "Whoever communicates ignorance", according to Luhmann (1998, 91), "is excused" (by the very fact of his ignorance). If instrumentalization implies closure, then work on the concept can largely be halted – resilience no longer proves to be an object of knowledge, but is transformed into a variable that can be statistically manipulated, whose organization and management can be controlled. Indicators of resilience are generated from which the probability of persistence and survival in relation to populations can be derived, and this can eventually be used to introduce corresponding measures to increase resilience. The focus lies here in the statistical conception and construction of population (including regulated forms of self-organization) and in the question as to what parameters of a population's survival should be used and which ones can be omitted. What is constructed here at the same time is the object of the intervention, an object that is to be controlled using strategies of resilience.

But this not only turns resilience itself into another contemporary control project. If it is seen to be globally manageable, it becomes a universal category whose availability through knowledge ownership not only supposedly decides over the ability to transform and survive, but also, by conveying the impression of order in the middle of a dynamic world that is becoming increasingly more dynamic, understands how to transform society's confusion in the face of an increased vulnerability to crisis into acceptance of and arranging oneself with it. It is basically an authoritarian concept that justifies itself through the monopoly of truth provided by scientific knowledge. The governance of resilience, decreed and managed in this way, presents itself as the rescuing helmsman in a world perceived as being principally chaotic, in which all of society's positions, representations and authorities have paradoxically become highly questionable. If divergences become public – such as those pertaining to employment statistics and reports on poverty – then these can become the impulse for strategic adaptation or the loss of legitimation. If they lead to public protest as an

expression of social movements, then a compulsion exists to integrate the impulses of change or to delegitimize the protest itself through various means, as the protest zones show in an inimitable way. Resilience, zoologically domesticated and enclosed in reservations, can show itself from time to time in a controlled manner, whereby enclosing it in this way also makes it possible to practice coping with situations of uncertainty in order to be able to cope with any catastrophes that may occur. Taking this into consideration, the question arises as to whether resilience cannot be approached from the opposite direction, from the direction of alterity and transformational capability, which would take account of the originally observed phenomenon called resilience. At the same time, this would mean not retreating behind a postulate of an ecologization of thought and constructing new points of invariance, from which the communicability of ignorance is again undone through causality-oriented concepts of reality. Such contemplation probably always starts with the situative openness of order, the "unlicensed difference" (Bauman 1992, xvi) that has always been a thorn in the side of thinking on security, and a legitimizing trigger for action to absorb additional zones of liberty. Because, before resilience can arise, it needs contingency and insecurity, therefore uncertainty about the future and not knowing how and in what direction a social situation will develop. If transformation is accompanied at all times by ignorance, then resilience arises precisely out of this not knowing whether one will survive uncertainty and gains additional energy from this ignorance. Thus, laying out a pathway of individuation, of subjectification, of expression and of emancipation from an existing, situatively dynamic social constellation. Their collected heterogeneous entities can be either absorbed or ignored – or they can be affected by its heterogeneity, assuming a readiness for alterity and deviation. But the relationship between forces is always important, whether the existing order, the closure or the existing circular consensus of power can be broken.

A sociology of expression then, which resilience can be seen to be an element of, always begins at the level of individual subjective expression, but relates this immediately to the social conditions of its emergence and examines them critically in terms of the free zones of prescribed allocations of meaning, where the suppressed becomes expressible, the unheard becomes audible and in this way nonsense becomes real alterity. The view is thus redirected towards the social conditions of perception. But at the same time, because of the spaces of alterity, the expression event itself comes into the focus of observation. And in this place of focus, the practices of temporalized subjectivity become visible, that is, the temporary and the reparative in crisis situations, through which the social sense

for survival asserts itself as the negotiation of not yet knowable meaning which, however, in the old Socratic tradition, becomes as it were the most noble evidence of society's ability to transform itself. The expression event determines the repertoire of the temporary, and includes the possibility of both the failure and success of its limited use in situations of dissent, of discord between perfectly heterogeneous actors such as rivers, landscapes, cities, electrical power plants, etc.

The repertoire of the temporary is always the framework for alterity's latitude, a space of manifold expression, where resilience can emergence. It must be emphasized that this latitude is not restricted to human actors or things but, within an ecologization, is extended to all thinkable ecological, social and mental entities in their recursive integration. In this way a technical artefact can free itself from its assigned action context, as in the case of the "pillar" in Heinrich von Kleist's (1985, 145) short novel *The Earthquake in Chile*, in order to unpredictably become an acting subject. It shows itself, in contrast to an at one time rigidly set definitive of realized statics and architecture, as an interim provision, as a temporary solution to save life which, considering the permanence of transformation, is always to be found at the threshold of other assignations, at the threshold of forms that already exist virtually, but not yet actually, whose social meaning however remains completely undetermined and which shows itself as part of a non-predictable, unattainable ignorance.

A sociology of expression would therefore also mean, as Latour (1991) suggests, granting to things themselves both voice and resilience. The idea of a 'parliament of things' seems to be less absurd than it might at first appear, and displays itself in the way those things continually create expression, if they leave their assigned functionality and free themselves from their assigned context. Then perhaps the things themselves will 'protest' in a virtual parliament and demand a change of current 'object politics' that continually denies them the status of agency and reduces them to accessible assets. The capability of things for dissent is articulated in the form of disturbances, accidents and disasters (Voss 2008) that define the conflict lines of protest. Understood as an expression of resilience, protest itself becomes the precondition for the prevention of collapse.

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