University of Waterloo
PSCI 681
Power Politics and World Order (Critical Security Studies)
Fall 2007
Graduate Discussion Session TBA

Veronica M. Kitchen
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Office: HH 312
Office Hours: Tuesdays, 1:30-4:00 pm. Students with class conflicts may make an appointment.

Contact Policy: The best way to contact me is by email or to come to office hours.

Pre-Requisites: Admitted as a graduate student. A strong background in International Relations is recommended.

Course Description: This course is a survey of the sub-field of critical security studies. The central questions of the course are: What is critical? What is security? Traditionally, the field of International Relations concerned itself with state security, and has studied it through realist and occasionally liberal, Marxist, and constructivist lenses. This course goes beyond this mainstream in two ways. First, we question whether the state is the appropriate (or only) referent object for security, and second, we use analytical models from outside the mainstream. The first part of the course reviews critical approaches to the study of international security, and the second part examines a range of issues including environmental security, public safety, cyber security, and counter-terrorism which might be considered non-traditional. This course is reading-, writing-, and discussion-intensive. Students will benefit from a background in International Relations and excellent critical thinking skills.

Laptops and Class Participation: The success of this seminar course relies on excellent discussions and intensive class participation. In order to facilitate the flow of discussion, I request that students not use their laptops to take notes (or do anything else) in seminar. If you have a valid reason for why you must use your laptop during your class, please speak to me.

Graduate Seminar: In addition to attending the discussion seminar, graduate students must attend a separate graduate discussion session to be scheduled the first week in class.

In addition to the undergraduate seminar readings, graduate students will read sections of the following books. These books will be on reserve at the library, but will *not* be ordered at the bookstore. If you wish to purchase these books (and they are all important works in the field) you should do so in the first week of class:

Peter Katzenstein, *The Culture of National Security* (Columbia UP, 1996)
Ken Booth, *Critical Security Studies and World Politics* (Lynne Rienner, 2005)
Mikkel Vedby Rasmussen, *The Risk Society at War* (Cambridge UP, 2006)
Lene Hansen, *Security as Practice* (Routledge, 2006)
David Campbell, *Writing Security* (University of Minnesota Press, 1992 / revised 1998 [either edition is fine])
Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, & Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Lynne Rienner, 1998)

The Fine Print

By registering in this course you agree to be familiar with and to abide by the University's policies on academic offences and plagiarism, as well as the expectations set out on the course website, on this syllabus, and on individual assignments.

All students registered in the courses of the Faculty of Arts are expected to know what constitutes an academic offense, to avoid committing academic offenses, and to take responsibility for their academic actions. When the commission of an offense is established, disciplinary penalties will be imposed in accord with Policy #71 (Student Academic Discipline). For information on categories of offenses and types of penalties, students are directed to consult the summary of Policy #71 which is supplied in the Undergraduate Calendar (section 1; on the Web at http://www.adm.uwaterloo.ca/infoucal/UW/policy_71.html). If you need help in learning how to avoid offenses such as plagiarism, cheating, and double submission, or if you need clarification of aspects of the discipline policy, ask your course instructor for guidance. Other resources regarding the discipline policy are your academic advisor and the Graduate Associate Dean.

Please see the course's ACE website for detailed class policies.

Evaluation

Critical Summary: 10%

> For one week, students will write a summary and critique of the readings. The summary and critique should identify major themes and questions of the topic area, outline the arguments presented in the readings, and analyse their strengths and weaknesses. This critical summary should be 5-8 pages (1200-1500 words). You must distribute it by email to all members of the class by 5pm the day before the class meets (as a word or pdf file). If you find yourself unable to meet your scheduled deadline, please speak with me ASAP so you can switch with another student. Late assignments will not be accepted. Students should read the critical summaries before class. Dates will be assigned the first day of class.

Research Paper: 50%

> This includes a research proposal which will not receive a formal mark. However, if your research proposal has not been approved by the instructor before you hand in your research paper, I will not mark your research paper, and you will receive zero on this assignment.

> The research proposal should include your research question, your proposed theory and methods, and a beginning bibliography. It should be no more than 2 pages double spaced. The research proposal is due in the UW-ACE drop box before the beginning of class October 3rd.

> The research paper should be 7000-10 000 words (25-30 pages) *including* all citations, notes, and the bibliography. The research paper is due in class November 28th .

> Extensions are not usually granted. Late assignments are penalized at the rate of 3% per day. Please see the course website for policies on late assignments, extensions, etc.

Class Participation: 30%

>Students will be expected to participate actively in seminar discussions as well as the graduate discussion session. Please see the course website for the class participation guidelines and rubric.

Conference-Style Presentation and Discussion: 10%

>Students will present a draft of their final paper to their peers during the final part of the class. They will also act as discussant for another student's research paper.

Schedule of Classes

Part I: Approaches

September 12 What is Critical? What is Security?

Richard Ullman, "Redefining Security*" International Security* 8(1) Summer 1983 p. 129-153

Steve Smith, "The Contested Concept of Security" in Ken Booth, *Critical Security Studies and World Politics*, p. 27-62 (35 pages)

Stephen Walt, "The Renaissance of Security Studies" *International Studies Quarterly* 35 (June 1991), p.211-239).

Rens van Munster, "Security on a Shoestring: A Hitchhiker's Guide to Critical Schools of Security in Europe" *Co-operation and Conflict* 42(2) p. 235-243.

James Der Derian / Watson Institute for International Security Global Security Matrix, www.globalsecuritymatrix.org (read the boxes)

Karin Fierke, *Critical Approaches to International Security*, Blackwell 2007, esp. Ch 1 & 2.

Supplementary:

Ken Booth, *Critical Security Studies and World Politics* Lynne Rienner, 2005

Keith Krause & Michael C. Williams *Critical Security Studies: Concepts and Cases* Routledge, 1997

September 20: The Copenhagen School

Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, & Jaap de Wilde *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* 1998, Ch. 2 "Security Analysis: Conceptual Apparatus" p. 21-47

Holger Stritzel, "Towards a Theory of Securitization: Beyond Copenhagen" *European Journal of International Relations* 13(3) p. 357-383.

Bill McSweeney, 'Identity and Security: Buzan and the Copenhagen School', Review of International Studies, vol.22, no.1, 1996, p. 81-93.

Barry Buzan & Ole Waever, 'Slippery? Contradictory? Sociologically Untenable? The Copenhagen School Replies', Review of International Studies, vol.23, no.2, 1997 p. 241-250.

Michael Williams, 'Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics', International Studies Quarterly, vol.47, no.4, 2003, 511-532.

Supplementary:

Barry Buzan, Ole Waever, & Jaap de Wilde *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* 1998, Ch. 1

September 26:

Constructivism and Security

Peter Katzenstein, *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*, Preface, Ch 1 (Introduction) and Ch 2 (Norms, Identity, and Culture in National Security). On reserve at the library and available as an e-book at http://www.ciaonet.org/book/katzenstein/

Human Security

UNDP Human Development Report 1994, Chapter 2 "New Dimensions of Human Security" Available Online at http://hdr.undp.org/reports/global/1994/en/

David Bosold & Sascha Werthes, "Human Security in Practice: Canadian and Japanese Experiences" *Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft* 5(1), 2005 p. 84-101.
Available online at http://www.fes.de/IPG/arc_05_set/set_01_05d.htm

Roland Paris, "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?" *International Security* 26(2) Fall 2001 p. 87-102

Supplementary

1. Human Security

Canada, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, "Freedom From Fear: Canada's Foreign Policy for Human Security" (21 pages)
Available online at http://pubx.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/00_global/Pubs_Cat2.nsf/56153893FF8DFDA285256BC700653B9F/$file/Freedom_from_Fear-e.pdf

Canadian Consortium on Human Security / DFAIT, "Human Security for an Urban Century", 2006
Available online at
http://humansecurity-cities.org//sites/hscities/files/Human_Security_for_an_Urban_Century.pdf

2. Constructivism and Security

Richard Price, "Reversing the Gun Sights: Transnational Civil Society Targets Landmines" *International Organization* 52(3) July 1998, p. 613-644

Nina Tannenwald, "Stigmatizing the Bomb: Origins of the Nuclear Taboo" *International Security* 29(4) 2005, p. 5-49.

Richard Price and Peter Andreas, "From War Fighting to Crime Fighting: Transforming the American National Security State" *International Studies Review* 3(3) Fall 2001, p. 31-52

Emanuel Adler and Michael Barnett, *Security Communities*, Cambridge UP, 1998

October 3: Gender

J. Ann Tickner, *Gendering World Politics* Ch. 1: "Troubled Encounters: Feminism Meets IR" and Ch. 2 "War, Peace and Security" p. 36-64.

Lene Hansen , "The Little Mermaid's Silent Security Dilemma and the Absence of Gender in the Copenhagen School" *Millennium* 29(2) 2000, p. 285-306.

Carol Cohn, "Sex and Death in the Rational World of Defense Intellectuals" *Signs* 12(4) Summer 1987, 687-718.

Katharine H.S. Moon, *Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in US-Korea Relations* Columbia UP, 1997. Also available online at http://www.ciaonet.org/book/moon/index.html; Intro and one substantive chapter

Supplementary:

Claire Turenne Sjolander, Heather Smith, and Deborah Stienstra Feminist Perspectives on Canadian Foreign Policy

Part II: Issues

[We will also continue, however, with our discussion of approaches during the graduate session]

October 10:

Critical Security Studies (CSS) and Emancipation

Ken Booth, *Critical Security Studies and World Politics,* Part 3 (Emancipation) Ch. 8-10.

Failed States

Mohammed Ayoob, Inequality and Theorizing in International Relations: The Case for Subaltern Realism" *International Studies Review* 2002, p. 27-48.

Deborah Avant, "NGOs, Corporations and Security Transformation in Africa*" International Relations* 21(2) 2007, p. 143-161.

Supplementary:

Rita Abrahamson and Michael C. Williams, "Securing the City: Private Security Companies and Non-State Authority in Global Governance*" International Relations* 21(2) 2007, p. 237-253

Mohammed Ayoob "Subaltern Realism: International Relations Theory Meets the Third World" in Stephanie Neuman, *International Relations Theory and the Third World*, p. 31-54

Mark Duffield, *Global Governance and the New* Wars (2001) ch. 2, "The Merging of Development and Security" p. 22-43. (21 pages)

Foreign Policy Failed States Index, 2007 (8 pages) Available online at:
http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story_id=3865&page=1

October 17:

Identity and Post-structuralism [if you are writing the critical summary this week, focus on the Campbell reading]

David Campbell, *Writing Security*, Introduction, 2,3,4,5.

Please complete supplementary readings on counterinsurgency, nation building, and homeland security per your interests.

Supplementary:

James Dobbins, *The Beginner's Guide to Nation Building*, especially chapters 1 and 2. Available Online at: http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/MG557/

Conrad C. Crane and W. Andrew Terrill, Reconstructing Iraq: Insights, Challenges and Missions for Military Forces in a Post-Conflict Scenario, Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College. Read report and skim Appendix A. (72 pages) Available online at
http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/PUB182.pdf

Kalev Sepp, "Best Practices in Counterinsurgency" Military Review May-June 2005, p. 8-12. (4 pages)

Brigadier Nigel Aylwin-Foster, Changing the Army for Counter-Insurgency Operations Military Review May-June 2005 p. 2-15

 Anja Dalgaard-Nielsen, "Culture of Co-operation? Civil-Military Relations in Danish Homeland Security" Danish Institute for International Studies Working Paper 2006/2

Available online at http://www.diis.dk/sw18911.asp

John L. Clarke, *Armies in Homeland Security: American and European Perspectives*

October 24:

Identity: Discourse Analysis Methods

Lene Hansen, *Security as Practice,* Introduction and Part I (1-87) and Ch. 7 (Humanitarian Responsibility vs. Lift and Strike)

Bially Mattern, J. (2005). "Why 'Soft Power' Isn't So Soft: Representational Force and the Sociolinguistic Construction of Attraction in World Politics." *Millennium* **33**(3): 583-612.

Milliken, J. (1999). "Intervention and Identity: Reconstructing the West in Korea." In *Cultures of Insecurity: States, Communities, and the Production of Danger.* J. Weldes, M. Laffey, H. Gusterson and R. Duvall. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press**:** 91-117.

Supplementary

Bially Mattern, J. (2005). *Ordering International Politics: Identity, Crisis, and Representational Force.* New York, Routledge.

Larsen, H. (1997). *Foreign Policy and Discourse Analysis.* London, Routledge.

Waever, O. (2002). "Identity, Communities and Foreign Policy: Discourse Analysis as Foreign Policy Theory." in *European Integration and National Identities.* L. Hansen and O. Waever. London, Routledge**:** 20-49.

October 31: Environment & Energy Security

Simon Dalby, *Environmental Security* (2002) Ch. 2 and 3.

Dan Deudney, "Environmental Security: A Critique" in *Daniel Deudney and Richard Matthew, Contested Grounds*, p. 187-219

Robert McLeman and Barry Smit, "Climate Change, Migration and Security" CSIS Commentary no. 86. Available online at http://www.csis-scrs.gc.ca/en/publications/commentary/com86.asp

David L. Goldwyn, "Energy Security: The New Threats in Latin America and Africa" *Current History* Dec 2006, p. 441-446

Supplementary

Simon Dalby, *Environmental Security*, (2002) Ch. 7 "Ecological Metaphors of Security" and 8 "Ecology and Security Studies" p. 123-162

Thomas Homer-Dixon, "Thresholds of Turmoil" in Deudney & Matthew, p. 61-90

Thomas Homer-Dixon, *Environment, Scarcity and Violence*, 1999.

David Goodstein, *Out of Gas*, W.W. Norton & Co., 2004 Ch 1 (The Future) and Ch. 2 (Energy Myths and a Brief History of Energy), p. 23-56

21 Solutions to Save the World: Peak Oil *Foreign Policy* May / June 2007. Available online at: http://www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story_id=3794&print=1

Philippe le Billon "The Political ecology of war: natural resources and armed conflict" *Political Geography* 20(2001) p. 561-584.

November 7:

Risk Society

> Wallander, C. and R. O. Keohane (1999). "Risk, Threat and Security Institutions". *Imperfect Unions: Security Institutions Over Time and Space*. C. Wallander, H. Haftendorn and R. O. Keohane. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 21-47.

> Mikkel Vedby Rasmussen, *The Risk Society at War,* Intro, Ch. 2 & 4

Public Health

> Jordan S. Kassalow, *Why Health is Important to US Foreign Policy*, Milbank Memorial Fund Report Available online at: http://www.milbank.org/reports/Foreignpolicy.html

> Robert Ostergard, "Politics in the Hot Zone: AIDS and National Security in Africa" *Third World Quarterly* 23(2) 2002, p. 333-350.

> Supplementary:

> Andrew Price-Smith, "Ghosts of Kigali: infectious disease and global stability at the turn of the century" *International Journal.* (54) 3 Summer 1999. p. 426-442.

> Jeremy Youde, "Enter the Fourth Horseman: Health Security and International Relations Theory" *Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations*, Winter/Spring 2005, p. 193-208. Available online at http://www.ciaonet.org/coursepack/cp08/cp08g.pdf

> Stephen S. Morse, "SARS and the Global Risk of Emerging Infectious Diseases" CIAOnet Case Study, January 2006, Available online at http://www.ciaonet.org/casestudy/case004/case004.html

> Stefan Elbe, "Should HIV / AIDS be securitized? The Ethical Dilemmas of Linking HIV/AIDS and Security" *International Studies Quarterly* 2006 (50) p. 119-144.

William F. Foege, "Arms and Public Health: A Global Perspective" in Barry S. Levy and Victor W. Sidel, *War and Public Health*, 1997 p. 3-11

Ulrich Beck, *World Risk Society*

November 14: Networks and Cybersecurity and Student Presentations

Frontline Documentary *Cyberwar* (52 mins) Available online at
http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/cyberwar/view/

Johan Erikkson & Giampiero Giacomello, "The Information Revolution, Security, and International Relations: (IR)relevant theory?" *International Political Science Review*, 27(3) 2006, 221-244 (23 page)

Matt Bishop and Emily Goldman, "The Strategy and Tactics of Information Warfare" *Contemporary Security Policy* 24(1) 2003 p. 113-139

Glance at the following websites, to get an idea of what's out there:

The Citizen Lab, University of Toronto http://www.citizenlab.org/
Information Warfare Monitor http://www.infowar-monitor.net/
Info-Tech-War-Peace, Brown University http://www.watsoninstitute.org/infopeace/index2.cfm

Supplementary:

Johan Erikkson. (2001b) Cyberplagues, IT and Security: Threat Politics in the Information Age. *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management* 9: 211-22.

Deibert, Ronald J., and Stein, Janice G. (2003) "Social and Electronic Networks in the War on Terror." In *Bombs and Bandwidth: the emerging relationship between technology and security*, edited by R. Latham, pp. 157-174. New York, NY: The New Press.

November 21: Student Presentations

November 28: Conclusion: Whither critical security? / Student Presentations

Johan Eriksson, "Observers or Advocates? On the Political Role of Security Analysts" Co-operation and Conflict 34(3), p. 311-330.

James J. Wirtz, The Return of Strategy, Strategic Insights Jan 2006 (5 pages) Available online at
http://www.ccc.nps.navy.mil/si/jan03/strategy.asp