THE GRADUATE INSTITUTE GENEVA

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INSTITUT DE HAUTES
ÉTUDES INTERNATIONALES
ET DU DÉVELOPPEMENT

GRADUATE INSTITUTE
OF INTERNATIONAL AND
DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

International Relations/Political Science

Academic year 2020-2021

Critical Security Studies

RI-SP080 – Autumn - 6 ECTS

Tuesdays: 10:15 to 12:00 (S6)

Course Description

This seminar is oriented around the production of an original research paper, and will examine a selection of issues in security studies from a critical perspective. The seminar does not deal directly with "classical" issues (such as causes of war, deterrence, arms control or alliance theory), but does presume background knowledge of them. Instead, it deals with contemporary themes and issues such as "securitization," biopolitics, networks of risk, the performance of security, and societal security. Issues are selected to illustrate a particular concept or method, and while not comprehensive, the seminar is broad enough to allow students to explore a range of conceptual and practical issues for their research papers, within different critical approaches to contemporary security challenges.

Note: you must have taken International Security or have my permission to enroll in this course.

> **PROFESSOR**

Krause Keith
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Office Hours:
8th floor, petale 2, CCDP
Tuesdays, 14:30 – 16:00
(or by appointment)

> **ASSISTANT**

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Syllabus

Introduction

This seminar is oriented around the production of an original research paper, and will examine a selection of issues in contemporary security studies from a broadly critical perspective. The seminar does not deal directly with the "classical" issues (such as causes of war, deterrence, arms control or alliance theory), but does presume background knowledge of them. Instead, it deals with contemporary themes and issues such as "securitization," biopolitics, networks of risk, the performance of security, and societal security. Issues are selected to illustrate a particular concept or method, and while not comprehensive, the

seminar is broad enough to allow students to explore a range of conceptual and practical issues for their research papers, within different critical approaches to contemporary security challenges.

Full participation is expected of students in the seminar. This includes reading <u>all</u> the required readings (and this is a heavy reading course), as well as being prepared to discuss them critically.

Final grades will in part be determined by the level and quality of seminar participation. Simple attendance will not be sufficient for a good participation grade. Readings are *not* introductory-level, and presume some familiarity with main theoretical developments in International Relations.

For those who want overviews of critical approaches to security studies, I recommend:

> Karin Fierke, <u>Critical Approaches to International Security, second edition</u>.
> Colomba Peoples and Nick Vaughan-Williams, <u>Critical Security Studies: An Introduction.</u>
> Ken Booth, ed., <u>Critical Security Studies and World Politics</u>
> J. Peter Burgess, ed., <u>The Routledge Handbook of New Security Studies</u>.
> Laura Shepherd, ed. <u>Critical Approaches to Security</u>.
> Claudia Aradau et al, eds. <u>Critical Security Methods, New Frameworks for Analysis</u>.
> The Routledge book series on <u>Critical Security Studies</u>.
> The journal <u>Critical Studies on Security.</u>

These will not substitute for the course readings, but can bring you somewhat "up to speed."

Assignments

Note: the final distribution of the assignments and readings may depend on the number of students enrolled in the course.

There are two written assignments for this course. The first is an eight-page "research prospectus" (instructions will be offered later) for a research project that will (once appropriately trimmed down) form the basis for the individual research paper. This assignment will be due on **19 November.**

The main focus of this seminar is on the individual research paper, which will account for 50 percent of your final grade. The research paper must be an empirically-grounded, theoretically-informed, exploration of a particular case study or set of cases relevant to the theme of this course. It cannot be a mere review of theoretical literature, or simply a narrative account of a particular case. It must have an argument, a conceptual framework, an empirical "field" (case or cases, or data, etc.), and a coherent research strategy or method that is broadly "critical."

A draft of the paper must be submitted by 8 December, by email to me and the course TA; these drafts will be circulated to all students in the seminar for discussion. The draft papers will be presented in a "conference format" during a "critical security studies workshop," which will be scheduled for two or three sessions, during the ten days of the

semester and in supplementary sessions, most likely scheduled during the period 10-18 December. I will provide written comments on the draft paper, but no grade.

If you do not present a draft on the scheduled date, you will receive a zero grade on the research paper. In other words, although the draft itself receives no grade, if you do not submit and present a paper in the seminar you will fail the course. A final grade will be given to the final, revised, paper which is due on **Monday, 4 January 2021.**

Each student will also be responsible for presenting and critiquing one other student's paper during the workshop; this will form part of your final grade.

Participation in class	20%
Research Prospectus (eight pages), due 19 November	20%
Paper presentation and critique	10%
Final paper (about 25 pages), due 4 January 2021	50%

Readings

The required readings will be made available via Moodle. You must do the readings to participate in (or do well in) the course, and consider printing those that are most relevant to you.

Finally, some sessions of the seminar may have to be rescheduled or reoriented to accommodate changing teaching circumstances or unavoidable commitments on my part. I will provide as much warning as possible for this.

Introduction: Disciplining the Discipline (15 September)

Philippe Bourbeau, "A Multidisciplinary Dialogue on Security," in Philippe Bourbeau, ed., Security: Dialogue Across Disciplines, 1-21.

Jonathan Herington, "Philosophy: The Concepts of Security, Fear, Liberty, and the State," in Philippe Bourbeau, ed., Security: Dialogue Across Disciplines, 22-44.

Pascal Vennesson, "Is Strategic Studies Narrow? Critical Security and the Misunderstood Scope of Strategy," Journal of Strategic Studies 40:3 (2017), 358-391.

Mark Neocleous and George S. Rigakos, "Anti-Security: A Declaration," in Mark Neocleous and George S. Rigakos, eds., Anti-Security, 15-21.

Discussion Questions:

What are the strengths and weaknesses of the mainstream definition of security?
How and why (or why not) should we broaden the concept of security?

Towards Critique (22 September)

Keith Krause and Michael Williams, "Politics and Method in Neorealist Security Studies," Mershon International Studies Review, 40:supplement 2 (October 1996), 229-254.

C.A.S.E. Collective, "Critical Approaches to Security in Europe: A Networked Manifesto," Security Dialogue, 37:4 (December 2006), 443-487.

Christine Sylvester, "Anatomy of a Footnote," Security Dialogue, 38:4 (2007), 547-558.

Columba Peoples and Nick Vaughan-Williams, Critical Security Studies: An Introduction, 1-13.

Mark Salter and Can Mutlu, Research Methods in Critical Security Studies, 1-23.

Discussion Questions:

What is "critical" about critical approaches to security studies?
What are the main obstacles to, or weaknesses of, "critique"?

On Method and Research (29 September)

Laura Shepherd, ed. Critical Approaches to Security. See discussion question below.

Mark Salter and Can Mutlu, Research Methods in Critical Security Studies. See discussion question below.

Claudia Aradau et al, eds., <u>Critical Security Methods, New Frameworks for Analysis</u>. See discussion question below.

Lauren Wilcox, "Securing Methods, Practicing Critique: A Review of Methods and Critical Security Studies", <u>International Studies Review</u>, 18:4 (2016), 702-713.

Discussion Questions:

What is a critical methodology?
Discuss and be prepared to present two (or three) methodologies that would be suitable for your research project and justify the choices. You may select from those presented in the Shepherd, Salter and Mutlu, or Aradau et al, volumes.

Security and "Securitization" Theory (6 October)

Thierry Balzacq, "A Theory of Securitization: Origins, Core Assumptions, and Variants," in Thierry Balzacq, ed., <u>Securitization Theory: How Security Problems Emerge and Dissolve</u>, 1-30.

Stefano Guzzini, "Securitization as a Causal Mechanism," <u>Security Dialogue</u>, 42:4-5 (2011), 329-341.

Adam Côté, "Agents without Agency: Assessing the Role of the Audience in Securitization Theory," <u>Security Dialogue</u>, 47:6 (2016), 541-558.

Eric Van Rythoven and Jarrod Hayes, "Securitization Forum: Introduction and Setting the Scene," 2015. http://duckofminerva.com/2015/09/securitization-forum-introduction-and-setting-the-scene.html

Juha Vuori, "Illocutionary Logic and Strands of Securitization: Applying the Theory of Securitization to the Study of Non-democratic Political Orders," <u>European Journal of International Relations</u>,14:1 (2008), 65-99.

Mona Kanwal Sheikh, "Recursion or Rejection? Securitization Theory Faces Islamist Violence and Foreign Religions," <u>Global Discourse</u> 8:1 (2018), 26-38.

Discussion Questions:

How – and by whom – are issues "securitized"?
What are the limitations of securitization theory? Can they be overcome?

Securitization Theory Applied: Migration and Security (13 October)

Jef Huysmans, "European Integration and Societal Insecurity," in Jef Huysmans, <u>The Politics of Insecurity</u>, 63-84.

Thomas Diez and Vicki Squire, "Traditions of Citizenship and the Securitisation of Migration in Germany and Britain," <u>Citizenship Studies</u>, 12:6 (December 2008), 565–581.

Georgios Karyotis, "Securitization of Migration in Greece: Process, Motives and Implications," International Political Sociology, 6 (2012), 390-408.

Anthony Messina, "Securitizing Immigration in the Age of Terror," World Politics, 66:3 (July 2014), 530-559.

Philippe Bourbeau, "Migration, Exceptionalist Security Discourses, and Practices," in Philippe Bourbeau, ed., Handbook on Migration and Security, 105-124.

Vicki Squire, "Governing Migration through Death in Europe and the US: Identification, Burial and the Crisis of Modern Humanism," European Journal of International Relations, 23:3 (2017), 513-532.

Discussion Questions:

What are the various ways in which migration can be argued to threaten security (societal or otherwise)?

Biopolitics and Security (20 October)

Michel Foucault, Society Must be Defended, lectures at the Collège de France, 17 March 1976, 239-264.

Roxanna Sjöstedt, "Health Issues and Securitization: The Construction of HIV/AIDS as a US National Security Threat," in Thierry Balzacq, ed., Securitization Theory: How Security Problems Emerge and Dissolve, 150-169.

Stefan Elbe, "AIDS, Security, Biopolitics," International Relations, 19:4 (2005), 403-419.

Melissa Curley and Jonathan Herington, "The Securitisation of Avian Influenza: International Discourses and Domestic Politics in Asia," Review of International Studies, 37:1 (2011),141-166.

Mark Salter, "The Global Visa Regime and the Political Technologies of the International Self: Borders, Bodies, Biopolitics," Alternatives, 31:2 (2006), 167-189.

Discussion Questions:

In what ways do global public health policies represent an exercise of biopolitics (or not)? Does the securitization of public health issues advance or hinder the development of appropriate responses to the problem?

(In)security Practices (27 October)

Didier Bigo, "Pierre Bourdieu and International Relations: Power of Practices, Practices of Power," International Political Sociology, 5:3 (September 2011), 225–258.

Didier Bigo, "When Two become One: Internal and External Securitizations in Europe," in Morten Kelstrup and Michael C. Williams, ed., <u>International Relations Theory and the Politics of European Integration: Power, Security, Community</u>, 171-203.

Rita Abrahamsen and Michael C. Williams, "Security beyond the state: Global security assemblages in international politics," <u>International Political Sociology</u>, 3:1 (2009), 1-17.

Jef Huysmans, "What's in an Act? On Security Speech Acts and Little Security Nothings," <u>Security Dialogue</u>, 42:4-5 (2011), 371-383.

Mark Salter and Can Mutlu, <u>Research Methods in Critical Security Studies</u>, 85-104.

Vincent Pouliot, "The Logic of Practicality: A Theory of Practice of Security Communities," <u>International Organization</u>, 62 (Spring 2008), 257-288.

Discussion Questions:

What is a "field" in international security? A habitus?
How does the "Parisian School" differ from the "Copenhagen School"? Are these two approaches to securitization reconcilable?

Actor-Network Theory (3 November)

Bruno Latour, "On Actor-Network Theory: A few Clarifications," <u>Soziale Welt</u> (1996), 369-381.

Anthony Amicelle, Claudia Aradau, and Julien Jeandesboz, "Questioning Security Devices: Performativity, Resistance, Politics," <u>Security Dialogue</u> 46:4 (2015), 293-306.

Mark Salter, "Security Actor-Network Theory: Revitalizing Securitization Theory with Bruno Latour," *Polity*, *51:*2 (2019), 349-364.

Marieke de Goede, "The Chain of Security," <u>Review of International Studies</u>, 44:1 (2017), 21-42.

Claudia Aradau. 2010. "Security that Matters: Critical Infrastructure and Objects of Protection," *Security Dialogue*, 41, 5, 491-514.

Discussion Questions:

Pick an object (or two) and explain how it can be studied as part of an actor-network of security.

Performing Security (10 November)

Judith Butler, "Performative agency," <u>Journal of Cultural Economy</u> 3:2 (2010), 147-161.

Judith Butler, Frames of War, 1-32.

Luiza Bialasiewicz, David Campbell, Stuart Elden, Stephen Graham, Alex Jeffrey, and Alison J. Williams, "Performing Security: The Imaginative Geographies of Current US Strategy," Political Geography 26:4 (2007), 405-422.

Alex Jeffrey, The Improvised State: Sovereignty, Performance and Agency in Dayton Bosnia, 1-40.

Marijn Hoijtink, "Performativity and the Project: Enacting Urban Transport Security in Europe," Critical Studies on Terrorism, 8:1 (2015), 130-146.

Steven Caton and Bernardo Zacka, "Abu Ghraib, the Security Apparatus, and the Performativity of Power," American Ethnologist 37:2 (2010), 203-211.

Discussion Questions:

Pick a security issue, and design three "frames" (grounded either in historical or contemporary accounts) that would alter security policies and practices. Discuss the implications of each frame.

Assignment: Research Prospectus (due 19 November)

Note: there is no class meeting this week but I am available for a group discussion for those who wish to discuss their research project.

Anthropology of Security (24 November)

Limor Samimian-Darash and Meg Stalcup, "Anthropology of Security and Security in Anthropology: Cases of Counterterrorism in the United States," Anthropological Theory 17:1 (2017), 60-87.

Mark Salter, "Imagining Numbers: Risk, Quantification, and Aviation Security," Security Dialogue, 39:2-3 (2008), 243-266.

John Gledhill, "Securitization, Mafias and Violence in Brazil and Mexico," *Global Discourse* 8:1 (2018), 139-154.

Mona Fawaz, Mona Harb and Ahmad Gharbieh, "Living Beirut's Security Zones: An Investigation of the Modalities and Practice of Urban Security," *City & Society* 24:2 (2012), 173-195.

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

Mark Salter and Can Mutlu, Research Methods in Critical Security Studies, 51-80, 105-108.

Discussion Questions:

How do the concepts of "risk" and "threat" differ in their practical implications for politics and policies?
Where is agency located in "security assemblages"?

Security, Emancipation, Critique (1 December)

Richard Wyn Jones, "On Emancipation: Necessity, Capacity, and Concrete Utopias," in Ken Booth, ed., <u>Critical Security Studies and World Politics</u>, 215-233.

Columba Peoples, "Security after Emancipation? Critical Theory, Violence and Resistance," <u>Review of International Studies</u>, 37 (2011), 1113-1135.

Nik Hynek and David Chandler, "No Emancipatory Alternative, No Critical Security Studies," <u>Critical Studies on Security</u>, 1:1 (2013), 46-63.

Christopher Browning and Matt McDonald, "The Future of Critical Security Studies: Ethics and the Politics of Security," <u>European Journal of International Relations,</u> 19(2), 235-255.

Bruno Latour, "Why has Critique Run Out of Steam? From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern," <u>Critical Inquiry</u> 30:2 (2004), 225-248.

Discussion Questions:

What does "emancipation" practically mean – in world politics and security studies?
Has critical security studies "run out of steam"?

8 December – research paper drafts due

Presentation of research paper drafts (10-18 December)

Note – there will be at least three, and most likely four, presentation sessions scheduled around these dates, depending on the number of students enrolled.

4 January 2021 – Final paper due