**Interdisciplinary Programmes**

Academic year 2020-2021

**Contemporary Security Politics**

**IA097 - Spring - 6 ECTS**

Friday 10:15 – 12:00

## Course Description

Security rationales continue to gain popularity and political salience, and expand to new policy fields. Today they no longer merely guide defense and diplomacy, but also instruct domains such as migration, health, urban planning, cyberspace and maritime navigation. This course offers an introduction to contemporary security politics and analysis. Its analytical part presents an overview on central theoretical security studies frameworks, exposing students to different ways of conceptualizing threats and risks. Its thematic parts then look at a set of pressing current security topics. They familiarize students with central dynamics (actors, strategies, challenges etc.) in these highlighted subfields, and introduce theme-specific additional analytical tools. The course concludes with a focus on security's tense relations with democratic politics.

› **PROFESSOR**

Jonas Hagmann

Office hours

› **ASSISTANT**

Diego Soto Saldías

Office hours

## Syllabus

### Course organisation

The course is designed as weekly two-hour sessions, which consist of about an hour of frontal lecture, and about an hour of seminar-type reading discussion in which core aspects of the session are developed. The discussions are organised as two groups convening in different breakout rooms, led (alternating) by Dr. Jonas Hagmann and TA Diego Soto Saldías. The course is taught online for the time being, but may return to hybrid or normal classroom formats later in the semester.

### Course requirements

The final course grade is composed of a student's *class participation* grade, two short *discussion papers*, and a final *take home exam*.

*Class participation*: Students are expected to attend every class, to have done the required readings and to have prepared the session-specific discussion points (available on *Moodle*) in advance, and to participate actively in the discussions. 20% of the final grade.

*Discussion papers*: Students write two short (5 full pages, double spaced, author-date citation, bibliography not counting towards page limit) papers discussing all required *and* recommended readings of a week of their choice. The papers must *not* summarise readings, but offer reflection around them, i.e., attempt application to new empirical domains, develop an argument or offer additional avenues for discussion. Linking to texts beyond the reading list or – if possible – across course sessions is a plus. The papers must be submitted by email to Dr. Jonas Hagmann and TA Diego Soto Saldias *before* the class in which the topic is discussed. 20% of the final grade each.

*Take home exam*: The course concludes with a take home exam, given at the end of the last session. The modalities of the take-home exam are specified later in the course. 40% of the final grade.

## Course readings

Reading preparation is essential to this course. Students are expected to bring hardcopies or annotated electronic copies of the texts to class. Readings can be downloaded from the *Moodle* course platform. Hardcopies of listed books and chapters are blocked at the library.

## Curse overview

Links to the individual online teaching sessions are listed on *Moodle.* The two discussion groups will be formed after the second session (5 March).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **26 February** | 10:15-12:00 | Introduction and course organisation |
| **5 March** | 10:15-12:00 | Competing/evolving concepts of security |
| **12 March** | 10:15-12:00 | Risk and resilience syllogisms |
| **19 March** | 10:15-12:00 | Controlling instruments of violence |
| **26 March** | 10:15-12:00 | International interventions |

*Easter Break*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **16 April** | 10:15-12:00 | European border and police work |
| **23 April** | 10:15-12:00 | Global health security |
| **30 April** | 10:15-12:00 | Surveillance and control technology |
| **7 May** | 10:15-12:00 | Women/men, peace and security |
| **14 May** | 10:15-12:00 | Post-9/11 and global urban security politics |
| **21 May** | 10:15-12:00 | Securing the high seas |
| **28 May** | 10:15-12:00 | Cybersecurity |
| **4 June** | 10:15-<u>13:00</u> | Security politics against/with democracy |

## Course sessions

**Session 1: Introduction and course organisation**
26 February 2021

The introductory session sets out the *Zeitgeist* of security politics, its changing geography and main lines of enquiry in academic security studies. It clarifies the logistical issues of the course, notably its organisation and evaluation requirements.

Recommended readings
- David Baldwin (1997). The concept of security. *Review of International Studies* 23(1): 5-26.
- Fiona Adamson (2018). The changing geography of global security. In: *The Oxford Handbook of International Security*. Alexandra Gheciu and William Wohlforth, eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 319-333.


## Part A) Background concepts

### Session 2: Competing/evolving concepts of security
5 March 2021

Security is an 'essentially contested concept' whose substantive focus broadened significantly since the 1980s. It can also be understood as a powerful agenda-setting device, multi-sited field of practice or larger political steering logic, however. This session addresses these competing concepts of security and sets out how they offer different perspectives on the politics of security.

Required readings
- Keith Krause and Michael Williams (2018). Security and 'security studies'. In: *The Oxford Handbook of International Security*. Alexandra Gheciu and William Wohlforth, eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 14-28.
- Stephen Walt (1991). The renaissance of security studies. *International Studies Quarterly* 35(2): 211-239.
- Tarak Barakawi and Mark Laffey (2006). The postcolonial moment in security studies. *Review of International Studies* 32(1): 329-352.

Recommended readings
- Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde (1998). Security analysis: conceptual apparatus. In: *Security: A New Framework for Analysis.* Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 21-48.
- Michel Foucault (1991). Governmentality. In: *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*. Gordon Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller, eds. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 87-104.
- Didier Bigo (2008). Globalized (in)security: the field and the ban-opticon. In: *Terror, Insecurity and Liberty: Illiberal Practices of Liberal Regimes After 9/11*. Didier Bigo and Anastassia Tsoukala, eds. London: Routledge, 10-48.
- *Visit* – Salvatore Vitale How to Secure A Country https://salvatore-vitale.com/#/project/how-to-secure-a-country


### Session 3: Risk and resilience syllogisms
12 March 2021

It also became popular to conceive security in new terms – most notably as 'risk' (potential catastrophic harm) and 'resilience' (emphasising the ability of systems to absorb adverse shocks, and re-establish). These encompassing re-framings of security politics engage different temporalities and rationalities, as they advance new ideas of who or what is to be protected and how.

Required readings
- Sabine Selchow (2014). Security policy and (global) risks(s). In: *The Handbook of Global Security Policy*. Mary Kaldor and Iavor Rangelov, eds. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 68-84.
- Christopher Daase and Oliver Kessler (2007). Knowns and unknowns in the 'war on terror': uncertainty and the political construction of danger. *Security Dialogue* 38(4): 411-434.

- Mikkel Rasmussen (2001). Reflexive security: NATO and international risk society. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 30(2): 285-309.

Recommended readings
- James Brassett and Nick Vaughan-Williams (2015). Security and the performative politics of resilience: critical infrastructure protection and humanitarian emergency. *Security Dialogue* 46(1): 32-50.
- Jon Coaffee and Pete Fussey (2015). Constructing resilience through security and surveillance: the politics, practices and tensions of security-driven resilience. *Security Dialogue* 46(1): 86-105.
- *Skim* – Council of Australian Governments (2011). *National Strategy for Disaster Resilience*. Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 19p.
- *Skim* – Buenos Aires Ciudad (2018) *Resilient Buenos Aires*. BsAs: City of Buenos Aires, 148p.
- *Watch* – How Cops Are Using Algorithms to Predict Crimes (Wired, 2018, 12mins) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7lpCWxlRFAw


## Part B) Actors and themes

### Session 4: Controlling instruments of violence
19 March 2021

As a means to manage weapons acquisition and use, 'arms control' is and remains the cornerstone of international security. This session looks at the growing complexity of the phenomenon, its expansion across new categories and gradual deepening. It discusses its function as a 'liberal form of militarism', and the ways in which civil society groups might push the regulation of instruments of violence.

Required readings
- Jennifer Erickson (2018). Arms control. In: *The Oxford Handbook of International Security*. Alexandra Gheciu and William Wohlforth, eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 399-414.
- Keith Krause (2011). Leashing the dogs of war: arms control from sovereignty to governmentality. *Contemporary Security Policy* 32(1): 20-39.
- Denise Garcia (2015). Killer robots: why the US should lead the ban. *Global Policy* 6(1): 57-63.
- Anna Stavrianakis (2016). Legitimising liberal militarism: politics, law and war in the Arms Trade Treaty. *Third World Quarterly* 37(5): 840-865.

Recommended readings
- Rebecca Johnson (2011). *Experts, Advocates and Partners: Civil Society and the Conference on Disarmament*. Geneva: UNIDIR, 10p.
- Keith Krause (2014). Transnational civil society activism and international security politics: from landmines to Global Zero. *Global Policy* 5(2): 229-234.
- Scott Sagan (2011). The causes of nuclear weapons proliferation. *American Review of Political Science* 14: 225-244.
- *Visit* – PRIO/Igarape Institute Mapping Arms Data http://nisatapps.prio.org/armsglobe/index.php
- *Visit* – GCSP DisarmApp/Disarmament Map https://www.disarmapp.com/disarmament-map/


### Session 5: International interventions
26 March 2021

Collective international stabilisation in a large sense – mediation, peacekeeping, security sector reform etc. – is another central tool of international security. The session looks at peacekeeping and security governance promotion as to cut into this wide-ranging topic, and it touches on the politics of 'diplomatic competence' in instances authorising collective interventions.

Required readings
- Renata Dwan (2014). The evolution of international peacekeeping. In: *The Handbook of Global Security Policy*. Mary Kaldor and Iavor Rangelov, eds. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 247-264.
- Peter Albrecht and Finn Stepputat (2015). The rise and fall of security sector reform in development. In: *Handbook of International Security and Development*. Paul Jackson, ed. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 150-164.
- Malte Brosig (2017). Rentier peacekeeping in neo-patrimonial systems: the examples of Burundi and Kenya. *Contemporary Security Policy* 38(1): 109-128.
- Vincent Pouliot and Rebecca Adler-Nissen (2014). Power in practice: negotiating the international intervention in Libya. *European Journal of International Relations* 20(4): 889-911.

Recommended readings
- Rita Abrahamsen and Adam Sandor (2018). The Global South and international security. In: *The Oxford Handbook of International Security*. Alexandra Gheciu and William Wohlforth, eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 382-396.
- Tarak Barakawi (2015). Diplomacy, war, and world politics. In: *Diplomacy and the Making of World Politics*. Ole Jacob Sending, Vincent Pouliot and Iver Neumann, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 55-79.
- Àlvaro de Soto (2014). Diplomacy and mediation. In: *The Handbook of Global Security Policy.* Mary Kaldor and Iavor Rangelov, eds. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 300-319.
- *Visit* – UN DPPA Field Missions Dashboard https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/field-missions-dashboard

**Session 6: European border and police work**
16 April 2021

Border management and transnational policing gained importance in the security field and turned into an interconnected field of practice in Europe. This session looks at this thematic nexus, with a special focus on the continent. It addresses its origins, function as a vector of European integration, link to new sets of professionals and technologies, and contradictory mobilisation of humanitarian logics.

Required readings
- Didier Bigo (2014). The (in)securitization practices of the three universes of EU border control: military/navy – border guards/police – database analysts. *Security Dialogue* 45(3): 209-225.
- Ruben Andersson (2016) Hardwiring the frontier? The politics of security technology in Europe's 'fight against illegal migration'. *Security Dialogue* 47(1): 22-39.
- Nina Perkowski (2018). Frontex and the convergence of humanitarianism, human rights and security. *Security Dialogue* 49(6): 457-475.

Recommended readings
- Anja Jakobi (2018). The crime scene: What lessons for international security? In: *The Oxford Handbook of International Security*. Alexandra Gheciu and William Wohlforth, eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 487-501.
- Andrew Neal (2009). Securitization and risk at the EU Border: the origins of FRONTEX. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 47(2): 333-356.
- Alexandra Hall (2017). Decisions at the data border: discretion, discernment and security. *Security Dialogue* 48(6): 488-504.
- *Visit* – FRONTEX Migratory Map https://frontex.europa.eu/along-eu-borders/

**Session 7: Global health security**
23 April 2021

Public health (and related themes such as biohazards, bioweapons and life sciences) used to be an unsteady companion of security politics before 2020. COVID-19 radically altered this situation, though it remains to be seen with what long-term effects. The session looks at the emergence of the agenda, foreign policy initiatives it motivates, and socio-technological assemblage on which it draws. It also discusses the contestation of health as security category and implicit North/South dynamics.

Required readings
- Simon Rushton (2011). Global health security: security for whom? Security from what? *Political Studies* 11(59): 779-796.
- Lorna Weir (2014). Inventing global health security, 1994-2005. In: *Routledge Handbook of Global Health Security*. Simon Rushton and Jeremy Youde, eds. London: Routledge, 18-31.
- Christian Enemark (2017). Ebola, disease-control, and the Security Council: from securitization to securing circulation. *European Journal of International Security* 2(2): 137-149.
- Stefan Elbe (2010). Haggling over viruses: the downside risks of securitizing infectious disease. *Health Policy and Planning* 25(6): 476-485.

Recommended readings
- Jarett Blanc, Frances Brown and Benjamin Press (2020). *Conflict Zones in the Time of Coronavirus: War and War by Other Means.* Washington DC: Carnegie, 6p.
- Maha Yahya (2020). *How the Pandemic Is Amplifying the Impact of Conflict in Syria.* Washington DC: Carnegie, 2p.
- Stefan Elbe (2014). The pharmaceuticalisation of security: molecular biomedicine, antiviral stockpiles, and global health security. *Review of International Studies* 40(5): 919-938.
- *Skim* – Europol (2020). *How COVID-19-Related Crime Infected Europe During 2020.* The Hague: Europol, 22p.
- *Visit* – Georgetown University Global Health Security Costing Tracker https://tracking.ghscosting.org
- *Visit* – UN Habitat COVID-19 Readiness and Response https://unhabitat.citiiq.com


**Session 8: Surveillance and control technology**
30 April 2021

Surveillance refers to the organised observation of behaviour, destined to protect, care or control. As knowledge production and treatment practice, it connects particularly directly to security technology. This session looks at sensing and registration devices that observe and systematise human action, and thus make security interventions possible, both in and beyond Europe.

Required readings
- Kevin Haggerty and Richard Ericson (2000). The surveillant assemblage. *British Journal of Sociology* 51(4): 605-622.
- Andrea Purdekova (2011). 'Even if I am not there, there are so many eyes': surveillance and state reach in Rwanda. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 49(3): 475-497.
- Steven Feldstein (2019). The global expansion of AI surveillance. *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Working Paper*, 36p.

Recommended readings
- Özgün Topak (2019). The authoritarian surveillant assemblage: Authoritarian state surveillance in Turkey. *Security Dialogue* 50(5): 454-472.
- Hidefumi Nishiyama (2018). Crowd surveillance: the (in)securitization of the urban body. *Security Dialogue* 49(3): 200-216.
- Stuart Thompson and Charlie Warzel (2019). How to track President Trump https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/12/20/opinion/location-data-national-security.html

- *Visit* – New York Times (2019). How China turned a city into a prison: a surveillance state reaches new heights https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/04/04/world/asia/xinjiang-china-surveillance-prison.html?action=click&module=RelatedLinks&pgtype=Article

**Session 9: Women/men, peace and security**
7 May 2021

Gender-blind analyses of contemporary security politics offer simplistic accounts of the field. This session draws on feminist security studies to apprehend how masculinised privileges and inequalities (re-)produce violence, and how gender mainstreaming efforts instruct security policy agendas.

Required readings
- Laura Sjoberg (2018). Feminist security and security studies. In: *Oxford Handbook of International Security*. Alexandra Gheciu and William Wohlforth, eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 45-60.
- Cynthia Cockburn (2010). Gender relations as causal in militarization and war. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 12(2): 139-157.
- Nicola Pratt (2013). Reconceptualizing gender, reinscribing racial-sexual boundaries in international security: the case of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. *International Studies Quarterly* 57(4): 772-783.

Recommended readings
- Aiko Holvikivi and Audrey Reeves (2020). Women, peace and security after Europe's 'refugee crisis'. *European Journal of International Security* 5(2): 135-154.
- Victoria Basham (2018). Liberal militarism as insecurity, desire and ambivalence: gender, race and the everyday geopolitics of war. *Security Dialogue* 49(1-2): 32-43.
- Henri Myrttinen, Lana Khattab and Jana Naujoks (2016). Re-thinking hegemonic masculinities in conflict-affected contexts. *Critical Military Studies* 3(2): 103-119.
- *Skim* – Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2017). *Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy: Examples from Three Years of Implementation.* Stockholm: Government Offices of Sweden, 20p.
- *Visit* – UN Women Global Database on Violence Against Women https://evaw-global-database.unwomen.org/en
- *Watch* – Pray the Devil Back to Hell (2008, 72mins) https://vimeopro.com/graduateinstitutelibrary/contemporary-security-politics Password "IA097"


**Part C) Sites and spaces**

**Session 10: Post-9/11 and global urban security politics**
14 May 2021

With the *Urban Age*, cities (re-)emerge as central sites of international security. In Western cities, the problem of terrorism is a particularly strong driver for militarised and architecture-assisted handlings of populations and milieus. The session first looks at the fortification of Western cities, to then embrace a more global perspective on the contemporary politics of urban security management.

Required readings
- Stephen Graham (2012). When life itself is war: on the urbanization of military and security doctrine. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 36(1): 136-155.
- Jeremy Nemeth and Justin Hollander (2010). Security zones and New York City's shrinking public space. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 34(1): 20-34.
- Mona Fawaz, Mona Harb and Ahmad Gharbieh (2012). Living Beirut's security zones: an investigation of the modalities and practice of urban security. *City & Society* 24(2): 173-195.

Recommended readings

- Jo Beall, Tom Goodfellow and Dennis Rodgers (2013). Cities and conflict in fragile states in the developing world. *Urban Studies* 50(15): 3065-3083.
- Paul Cozens and Terence Love (2015). A review of the current status of crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED). *Journal of Planning Literature* 30(4): 393-412.
- Jonas Hagmann (2017). Security in the society of control: the politics and practices of securing urban spaces. *International Political Sociology* 11(4): 418-448.
- *Skim* – Home Office (2014). *Protecting Crowded Places: Design and Technical Issues*. London: HM Government, 56p.
- *Skim* – VPUU (2014). *Violence Prevention Through Urban Upgrading: A Manual for Safety as a Public Good*. Cape Town: VPUU, 108p.
- *Visit* – Igarape Institute City Fragility http://fragilecities.igarape.org.br
- *Browse, read and listen* – Chicoco Live From Port Hartcourt Waterfront https://chicoco.fm


## Session 11: Securing the high seas
21 May 2021

Maritime security is a buzzword with multiple meanings, ranging from the projection of strategic military power to the management of 'nuisances of all sorts' – pirates, migrants, environmental hazards or the illegal exploitation of natural resources. The session unpacks the concept and focuses on the case of Somali piracy.

Required readings
- Sarah Percy (2018). Maritime security. In: *The Oxford Handbook of International Security*. Alexandra Gheciu and William Wohlforth, eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 607-621.
- James Kraska (2016). Tyrants, terrorists, and traffickers in the ungoverned oceans. *SAIS Review of International Affairs* 36(1): 87-96.
- Currun Singh and Arjun Singh Bedi (2016). War on piracy: the conflation of Somali piracy with terrorism in discourse, tactic, and law. *Security Dialogue* 47(5): 440-458.

Recommended readings
- Christian Bueger (2015). What is maritime security? *Marine Policy* 53: 159-164.
- Ioannis Chapsos and Paul Holtom (2015). Floating armouries in the Indian Ocean. *Small Arms Survey Research Notes* 52: 1-4.
- Sarah Percy (2016). Counter-piracy in the Indian Ocean: a new form of military cooperation. *Journal of Global Security Studies* 1(4): 270-284.
- Sarah Percy and Anja Shortland (2013). Contemporary maritime piracy: five obstacles to ending Somali piracy. *Global Policy* 4(1): 65-72.
- *Skim* – European Union (2014). *European Union Maritime Security Strategy.* Brussels: Council of the European Union, 16p.
- *Visit* – CNN (2020). Stopping Somalia's pirates by building a fishing industry https://edition.cnn.com/2020/01/07/business/somali-piracy-fair-fishing-intl/index.html
- *Visit* – International Chamber of Commerce Live Piracy Map 2020 https://www.icc-ccs.org/index.php/piracy-reporting-centre/live-piracy-map/piracy-map-2020
- *Visit* – Marine Traffic Global Ship Tracking https://www.marinetraffic.com
- *Watch* – South China Sea: "Leave immediately and keep far off" (BBC, 2017, 2mins) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dodbqgKn8js
- *Watch* – Floating arsenals battle pirates on High Seas (WSJ, 2015, 5mins) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IXI4DT6d6Bs


## Session 12: Cybersecurity
28 May 2021

Cybersecurity pinpoints highly heterogeneous activities around (ab)uses of digitised information, and it includes operational and strategic logics that differ qualitatively from other domains. The session reviews forms of harm associated with cyber, the web's infrastructural legacy and reliance on public-private partnerships, and the links between cyber and national security more generally.

Required readings
- Myriam Dunn Cavelty (2018). Cyber-security. In: *Contemporary Security Studies.* Alan Collins, ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 410-426.
- Erica Borghard and Shawn Lonergan (2017). The logic of coercion in cyberspace. *Security Studies* 26(3): 452-481.
- Thomas Rid and Ben Buchanan (2015). Attributing cyber attacks. *Journal of Strategic Studies* 38(1-2): 4-37.
- Alexander Lanoszka (2019). Disinformation in international politics. *European Journal of International Security* 4(2): 227-248.

Recommended readings
- Russouw von Solms and Johan van Niekerk (2013). From information security to cyber security. *Computers & Security* 38: 97-102.
- Ioannis Agrafiotis et al. (2016). Cyber harm: concepts, taxonomy and measurement. *Saïd Business School WP* 2016(23) → pages 27-42 especially.
- Xymena Kurowska and Anatoly Reshetnikov (2018). Neutrollization: industrialized trolling as a pro-Kremlin strategy of desecuritization. *Security Dialogue* 49(5): 345-363.
- *Skim* – Swiss Federal Council (2018). *National Strategy for the Protection of Switzerland Against Cyber Risks.* Bern: Swiss Confederation, 32p.
- *Visit* – Kaspersky Cyberthreat Real-Time Map https://cybermap.kaspersky.com
- *Visit* – CFR on Foreign Relations Cyber Operations Tracker https://www.cfr.org/cyber-operations/


**Session 13: Security politics against/with democracy**
4 June 2021

Security is widely seen as an exceptional, elitist and exclusive kind of politics that stands in tense relations with (ideals of) democratic policy-making, and thus requires reformulation or even rejection. This concluding – longer – session engages security politics' actual and possible relations with democratic rule. It is also used to revisit and clarify key concepts/themes addressed during the semester, and to present the final take home exam.

Required readings
- Claudia Aradau (2004). Security and the democratic scene: desecuritization and emancipation. *Journal of International Relations and Development* 7(4): 388-413.
- Hendrik Hegemann (2018). Toward 'normal' politics? Security, parliaments and the politicisation of intelligence oversight in the German Bundestag. *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 20(1): 175-190.
- Chris Rossdale (2016). Activism, resistance and security. In: *Ethical Security Studies: A New Research Agenda.* Jonna Nyman and Anthony Burke, eds. London: Routledge, 201-215.

Recommended readings
- Andrew Neal (2012). Normalization and legislative exceptionalism: counterterrorist law-making and the changing times of security emergencies. *International Political Sociology* 6(3): 260-276.
- Mike Slaven and James Heydon (2020). Crisis, deliberation, and Extinction Rebellion. *Critical Studies on Security* 8(1): 59-62.

- Lene Hansen (2012). Reconstructing de-securitisation: the normative-political in the Copenhagen School and directions for how to apply it. *Review of International Studies* 38(4): 525-546.