Interdisciplinary Programmes

Academic year 2021-2022

Contemporary Security Politics

IA097 - Spring - 6 ECTS

Friday 10:15 – 12:00

Course Description

Security rationales gain popularity and salience, and they continue to expand into new policy fields. Today, security rationales 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 dynamics (actors, strategies, challenges etc.) in these 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

Version of 30 January 2022

Course organisation

The course is designed as weekly two-hour sessions. These consist of about one hour of frontal lecture, and about one hour of seminar-type discussion in which core aspects of the session are developed. The course is currently scheduled for hybrid teaching (VC links for online access on *Moodle*). It might be transposed into pure on-site or online teaching later in the semester.

Course requirements

The final course grade is composed of four evaluation items: *Class participation*, an *input talk,* a *discussion paper* 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.

Input talk: Each student gives an in-class input talk to kick off the seminar discussion (10mins max.). The input must be grounded in the required *and* recommended readings of the session. It must *not* offer a summary of readings, but provide a reflected and principled answer to a session discussion point (taken from the list on *Moodle*). It is essential to respect the time limit, and to have presentation aids set up *before* the start of the session with the help of the TA. It is a plus to bring illustrations, and to use visual, audio or other presentations aides (slides, flipcharts, clips etc.). There can be *two* talks (on different discussion points) per session. It is possible that two students team up for an input talk (the time limit extends to 12mins max. in this case). Instead of an input talk, students may write two discussion papers. Students email their 1st and 2nd choices for talks, or their preference for two short papers, to the TA prior to Session 2. 20% of the final grade (same grades for co-presenters).

Discussion paper(s): All students write one short (5 full pages, double spaced, author-date citation, bibliography not counting towards page limit) paper discussing all required *and* recommended readings of any week of their choice (*except for the session on which they give an input talk*). The paper 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. As per above, students may choose to write two discussion papers (on any two different session of the course). All papers must be submitted by email to the lecturer *and* the TA *before* the class in which the topic is discussed.

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

25 February	10:15-12:00	Introduction and course organisation
4 March	10:15-12:00	Security, what do you mean?
11 March	10:15-12:00	Risk and resilience thinking
18 March	10:15-12:00	Controlling instruments of violence
25 March	10:15-12:00	International interventions
1 April	10:15-12:00	European border and police work
8 April	10:15-12:00	Global health security

Easter Break

29 April	10:15-12:00	Surveillance and control technology
6 May	10:15-12:00	Women/men, peace and security
13 May	10:15-12:00	Post-9/11 and global urban security politics
19 May	16:15-18:00	Securing the high seas

| **27 May** | 10:15-12:00 | Cybersecurity |
| **3 June** | 10:15-13:00 | Security politics against/with democracy |

Course sessions

Session 1: Introduction and course organisation
25 February 2022

This introductory session sets out the *Zeitgeist* of security politics, its historical background, changing geography and main lines of enquiry in academic security studies. We also clarify the logistical issues of the course here, notably its organisation and the 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.
- Barry Buzan (1984). Peace, power and security: contending concepts in the study of international relations. *Journal of Peace Research* 21(2): 109-125.
- *Listen* – War (Edwin Starr, 1970, 4mins) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zJOLH8WfCaY
- *Listen* – Police state (Pussy Riot, 2017, 3mins) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oaZl12Z5P7g

Part A) Background concepts

Session 2: Security, what do you mean?
4 March 2022

Security is (arguably) an 'essentially contested concept', and a concept that (in the view of most) was expanded significantly since the 1980s. Security can also be understood in alternative terms, however, such as a deontic agenda-setting device, a socio-political field of practice, or an overarching steering logic. This session addresses these competing understandings of security, and it 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.
- 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.

Recommended readings
- Marlies Glasius (2008). Human security from paradigm shift to operationalization: job description for a human security worker. *Security Dialogue* 39(1): 31-54.
- 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 thinking
11 March 2022

It is one thing to advance different views on security. Another move is to conceptualise danger(s) in again different terms – most notably as a risk (or potential catastrophic harm), or through the notion of resilience (emphasising the ability of systems to absorb shocks and re-establish). These re-framings of security 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.
- Claudia Aradau (2014). The promise of security: resilience, surprise and epistemic politics. *Resilience* 2(2): 73-87.

Recommended readings
- Mikkel Rasmussen (2001). Reflexive security: NATO and international risk society. *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 30(2): 285-309.
- Christian Fjäder (2014). The nation-state, national security and resilience in the age of globalisation. *Resilience* 2(2): 114-129.
- Cabinet Office (2020). *National Risk Register: 2020 Edition.* London: UK Government – *read* chapters 1-3, *skim* chapter 4.
- *Skim* – Buenos Aires Ciudad (2018). *Resilient Buenos Aires*. BsAs: City of Buenos Aires, 148p.
- *Watch* – From risk to resilience (United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction, 2021, 3mins) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9ChAjcuCsXc

Part B) Actors and themes

Session 4: Controlling instruments of violence
18 March 2022

To manage the acquisition and use of weapons, 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 how civil society groups may push the regulation of instruments of violence, and arms control's function as a 'liberal form of militarism'.

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.
- Denise Garcia (2015). Killer robots: why the US should lead the ban. *Global Policy* 6(1): 57-63.
- Keith Krause (2014). Transnational civil society activism and international security politics: from landmines to Global Zero. *Global Policy* 5(2): 229-234.
- Anna Stavrianakis (2016). Legitimising liberal militarism: politics, law and war in the Arms Trade Treaty. *Third World Quarterly* 37(5): 840-865.

Recommended readings
- Keith Krause (2011). Leashing the dogs of war: arms control from sovereignty to governmentality. *Contemporary Security Policy* 32(1): 20-39.

- Rebecca Johnson (2011). *Experts, Advocates and Partners: Civil Society and the Conference on Disarmament*. Geneva: UNIDIR, 10p.
- 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

Session 5: International interventions
25 March 2022

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.
- Cedric de Coning (2019). The future of UN peace operations: principled adaptation through phases of contraction, moderation, and renewal. *Contemporary Security Politics* 42(2): 211-224.

Recommended readings
- 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.
- 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.
- 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
- *Visit* – UNSCdeb8 https://unscdeb8.ethz.ch

Session 6: European border and police work
1 April 2022

Border management and transnational policing gained importance in the security field and turned into an interconnected field of practice. This session looks at this thematic nexus, with a special focus on the European continent. It addresses its origins, function as 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.
- Alexandra Hall (2017). Decisions at the data border: discretion, discernment and security. *Security Dialogue* 48(6): 488-504.
- 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.
- Ruben Andersson (2016) Hardwiring the frontier? The politics of security technology in Europe's 'fight against illegal migration'. *Security Dialogue* 47(1): 22-39.
- Andrew Neal (2009). Securitization and risk at the EU Border: the origins of FRONTEX. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 47(2): 333-356.
- *Visit* – FRONTEX Migratory Map https://frontex.europa.eu/we-know/migratory-map/

Session 7: Global health security
8 April 2022

Public health – and related themes such as biohazards, bioweapons and the life sciences – used to be an unsteady companion of security politics before 2020. COVID-19 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
- Stefan Elbe (2010). Haggling over viruses: the downside risks of securitizing infectious disease. *Health Policy and Planning* 25(6): 476-485.
- Christian Enemark (2017). Ebola, disease-control, and the Security Council: from securitization to securing circulation. *European Journal of International Security* 2(2): 137-149.
- Craig Albert, Amado Baez and Joshua Rutland (2021). Human security as biosecurity: reconceptualizing national security threats in the time of COVID-19. *Politics and the Life Sciences* 40(1): 83-105.
- 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.

Recommended readings
- Sara Davies (2008). Securitizing infectious disease. *International Affairs* 84(2): 295-313.
- Simon Rushton (2011). Global health security: security for whom? Security from what? *Political Studies* 11(59): 779-796.
- Maha Yahya (2020). *How the Pandemic Is Amplifying the Impact of Conflict in Syria.* Washington DC: Carnegie, 2p.
- *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
29 April 2022

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.

- 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.
- Francisco Klauser (2021). Policing with the drone: towards an aerial geopolitics of security. *Security Dialogue* (online first): 1-16.
- 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
6 May 2022

Androcentric analyses ignore the heavily gendered dimensions of security politics, and thus provide simplistic accounts of the field. This session draws on feminist security studies to apprehend how masculinised narratives and privileges can (re-)produce violence, and how gender mainstreaming efforts instruct security policy agendas in their own power-laden ways.

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.
- Henri Myrttinen, Lana Khattab and Jana Naujoks (2016). Re-thinking hegemonic masculinities in conflict-affected contexts. *Critical Military Studies* 3(2): 103-119.

Recommended readings
- 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.
- Katharine Wright and Annika Bergman Rosamond (2021). NATO's strategic narratives: Angelina Jolie and the alliance's celebrity and visual turn. *Review of International Studies* 47(4): 443-466.
- *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
13 May 2022

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.
- Jo Beall, Tom Goodfellow and Dennis Rodgers (2013). Cities and conflict in fragile states in the developing world. *Urban Studies* 50(15): 3065-3083.
- Jonas Hagmann (2021). Globalizing control research: the politics of urban security in and beyond the Alaouite Kingdom of Morocco. *Journal of Global Security Studies* 6(4).

Recommended readings
- 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.
- 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.
- *Skim* – Home Office (2014). *Protecting Crowded Places: Design and Technical Issues*. London: HM Government, 56p.
- *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
19 May 2022

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.
- UNODC (2021). *Pirates of the Niger Delta: Between Brown and Blue Waters*. Copenhagen: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, 90p – *read only the executive summary, p7-9.*

- 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* – International Chamber of Commerce Live Piracy Map 2021 https://www.icc-ccs.org/index.php/piracy-reporting-centre/live-piracy-map/piracy-map-2019
- *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
27 May 2022

Cybersecurity encompasses heterogeneous activities around (ab)uses of digitised information, and 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.
- Ilina Georgieva (2019). The unexpected norm-setters: intelligence agencies in cyberspace. *Contemporary Security Policy* 41(1): 33-54.
- 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
3 June 2022

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.

<u>Required readings</u>
- 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.

<u>Recommended readings</u>
- 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.