# Critical Security Policy (615-003a)

# Natalia Umansky 2022-2023

**Time:** Tuesday 14:00 - 15:45 (AND-2-04) **Format:** Seminar

Instructor: Natalia Umansky Credits: 6.0

umansky@ipz.uzh.ch

https://nataliaumansky.github.io Term: Autumn

Office hours: available by appointment.

Office: AFL H349

# Module Description<sup>1</sup>

Traditionally, security policy has focused on war, strategy, deterrence, arms control, and alliances. However, modern phenomena, such as terrorism, the migrant 'crisis', climate change, disinformation, and movements like #MeToo and #BlackLivesMatter pose new security challenges that require novel policy solutions.

Delving into the critical security studies literature, this module invites students to consider security beyond warfare to question who or what is being secured for and by whom. The broad theoretical component of this course is enriched by a close examination of practical case studies and contemporary security dilemmas, challenging students to apply critical theories of international security to contemporary political events that affect their daily lives. Overall, students will recognize the various ways in which the 'critical turn' is different from mainstream security studies, outline and criticize critical theories of security, and apply critical theories of international security to political events and practical issues.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Several sections of this document build on James P Cross and Stefan Müller's syllabi and their excellent advice. I copied many sentences verbatim. I thank James and Stefan for allowing me to reuse and adjust their advice.

# Course Programme

20 September	Introduction and history of Security Studies
27 September	Realist Theories and the Rise of China
4 October	Liberalism, Institutions, and the European Union
11 October	Constructivism and Environmental Security
18 October	Securitization Theory and the Migrant 'Crisis'
25 October	Post-Structuralist Approaches and the Muhammad Cartoon Crisis
1 November	Human Security and COVID-19
8 November	Academic writing
15 November	Terrorism and the Women of ISIS
22 November	Feminist Security Studies and NiUnaMenos
29 November	Hashtag Activism and #BlackLivesMatter
6 December	Climate Crisis and #FridaysForFuture
13 December	Disinformation and @realDonaldTrump
20 December	Information war and the Russian invasion of Ukraine

# Learning Outcomes

# Knowledge and Understanding

Following this course students will develop a range of important transferable skills.

# Substantive Knowledge

By the end of the course, students should be able to:

- Gain knowledge of the different theoretical approaches in security studies.
- Understand the differences between the critical approach to security and the traditional readings.
- Outline and criticize critical theories of security, identifying distinct assumptions and claims and comparing and contrasting among them.
- Understand various ways of empirically examining critical security questions and policy solutions.
- Apply critical theories of international security to political events and practical dilemmas.
- Identify real-life examples and applications of critical theories of security.

# Skills (Intellectual and Transferable)

The course will encourage you to:

- Listen carefully and critically to orally-presented arguments.
- Ability to understand the scientific literature, and in particular to identify research puzzles and knowledge gaps.
- Make links between material presented at different times, on different issues.
- Construct persuasive written, and oral arguments supported by evidence, orally and in writing, about security issues from a critical perspective.
- Read critically and with a clearly defined purpose.
- Apply your theoretical knowledge to the real world.
- Prepare, articulate and defend answers to set questions.
- Formulate and ask your own questions about course material.

The written work in the course will require you to:

- Select relevant material from lectures, literature, news sources, and the web.
- Understand, analyse and assess that material.
- Produce a sustained, structured and informed answer.
- Write in a concise and cogent style.

# Assessment

# Grade Component Breakdown

- Continuous assessment 20%
  - Group seminar presentation 15%
  - Group seminar discussion 5%
- Final essay 80%
  - 1x essay question answered @ 80\%

## Group Seminar Presentation - 15%

In addition to the theory readings, there are weekly readings focused on particular case studies. The seminars will focus on discussing the practical case studies (listed on the syllabus) and linking them to the theoretical framework being discussed. Students can find study questions on the syllabus that will guide them in their analysis of the case studies. During the seminars, students will take turns in making group presentations, analysing and explaining the weekly case study assigned. Students are invited to research the case studies beyond the readings listed in the syllabus, but both the key and further readings should be consulted to prepare the presentations. Group presentations will last 15/20 minutes. Before the seminar, each group will be asked to submit their Power Point presentation and a short summary (2 to 3 pages long) of their presentation. Both documents will be shared with the class and published on OLAT.

Each student will be required to present at least once in the term. Students will be asked to sign up to a weekly presentation at the beginning of the term. Each group can hold a maximum of 2/3 students, and topics will be assigned on a first come first served basis.

# Group Seminar Discussion - 5%

The seminars will focus on in-class discussions. For that purpose, student participation will be graded by asking students to work in groups (maintaining the same groups assigned for the presentation) and propose **two** questions in reaction to their peers' seminar presentation. The questions should demonstrate thorough familiarity with the readings, provide thoughtful comments on the presentation, offer a critical discussion of the material, and aid the class discussion.

Groups will be asked to submit their questions at the end of each seminar. Questions will be graded at the end of the term based on their quality and improvement throughout the term.

# End of Term Essay - 80%

This examination will constitute 80% of your final mark and will take the form of an essay. Students will be allowed 20 days after receiving the exam instructions to submit their answers using OLAT.

There will be 6 essay questions and you have to answer 1 of them.

# Plagiarism

Although this should be obvious, plagiarism – copying someone else's text without acknowledgement or beyond 'fair use' quantities – is not allowed. Plagiarism is an issue we take very serious here in UZH.

Please familiarize yourself with the definition of plagiarism on UZH's website and make sure not to engage in it.

# Late Submission Policy

All written work must be submitted on or before the due dates.

When an extension is necessary, the student will need to contact our Prüfungs-delegierte Naome Czisch (pruefungen@ipz.uzh.ch) to apply for extenuating circumstances.

#### Grades

I am very happy to schedule 1:1 meetings to provide students with further feedback when required. However, students should be advised that grades will not be modified after they are released.

# **Essay Grading Rubric**

The following guidelines should be adhered to when writing your final essay:

## • Statement of Purpose/ Focus and Organisation - 40%

- The response is fully sustained and consistently and purposefully focused:
  - \* Claims are clearly stated, focused, and strongly maintained
  - \* Claims are introduced and communicated appropriately for the purpose, audience, and task
  - \* Alternate or opposing claims are clearly addressed
- The response has a clear and effective organisational structure creating unity and completeness:
  - \* A variety of transitional strategies is consistently used to effectively clarify the relationships between and among ideas
  - \* The progression of ideas from beginning to end is logical
  - \* The introduction and conclusion are effective for audience and purpose
  - \* Appropriate sentence structure variety produce strong connection between ideas

#### Evidence/Elaboration - 40%

- The response provides thorough and convincing support/evidence for the writer's claim that includes the effective use of sources, facts, and details. The response achieves substantial depth that is specific and relevant:
  - \* Claims are supported with relevant evidence from credible sources and clear reasoning
  - \* Use of evidence from sources is smoothly integrated, cited, comprehensive, and concrete
  - \* A variety of effective argumentative techniques is used
- The response demonstrates strategic use of language to produce clear communication:
  - \* Precise language clearly and effectively expresses ideas
  - \* The use of academic and domain-specific vocabulary is clearly appropriate for the audience and purpose

#### Editing Conventions - 20%

- The response displays adequate command of all grade level and preceding level conventions of writing:
  - \* Some errors in usage and sentence formation may be present, but no systematic pattern of errors is displayed
  - \* The use of punctuation, capitalisation, and spelling is adequate

# **OLAT**

Please make sure you have access to the module in OLAT as soon as possible. It is the student's responsibility to make sure that they are signed up to the module correctly and they know how to submit coursework through the appropriate OLAT assignment tab. If you have any issues with OLAT contact the IT Helpdesk to resolve the issue.

Furthermore, module materials such as this syllabus and announcements made outside lectures shall be on OLAT. As such, OLAT is an important communication tool for the module.

## **Emails**

I will seek to reply to emails within the following 48 hours. However, this might not always be the case. Additionally, I will not reply to emails during the weekend or after working hours.

# Additional Covid-19 Guidelines

Covid-19 continues to pose a threat to our well-being and health. We all need to follow UZH's guidelines. If you are not feeling well, stay home! I will try to make all relevant materials available to everyone using OLAT: I will share the slides after each session and upload all seminar materials.

# **Course Reading**

# Required Readings:

The following texts shall be used extensively throughout the course, so it is recommended that they are purchased:

- Collins, A. (Ed.). (2016). Contemporary Security Studies. Oxford University Press.
- Cavelty, M. D., & Balzacq, T. (Eds.). (2016). Routledge Handbook of Security Studies. Routledge.
- Peoples, C., & Vaughan-Williams, N. (2020). Critical Security Studies: An Introduction. Routledge.

## Recommended Readings

The following books provide a general overview of the topics that will be covered in this module.

- Aradau, C., Huysmans, J., Neal, A., & Voelkner, N. (Eds.). (2014). Critical Security Methods: New Frameworks for Analysis. Routledge.
- Buzan, B., & Hansen, L. (2009). The Evolution of International Security Studies. Cambridge University Press.
- Stritzel, H. (2014). Security in Translation: Securitization Theory and the Localization of Threat. Springer.
- Buzan, B., Wæver, O., Wæver, O., & De Wilde, J. (1998). Security: A New Framework for Analysis. Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Huysmans, J. (2006). The Politics of Insecurity: Fear, Migration and Asylum in the EU. Routledge.
- Jackson, S. J., Bailey, M., & Welles, B. F. (2020). #HashtagActivism: Networks of Race and Gender Justice. MIT Press.
- Bennett, W. L., & Livingston, S. (Eds.). (2020). The Disinformation Age: Politics, Technology, and Disruptive Communication in the United States. Cambridge University Press.

In addition to these readings, students should keep up to date on current international security affairs by reading daily newspapers, or one of the many websites and podcasts devoted to international relations. This reading is essential as it will allow you to keep up to date with current affairs and identify potential encounter topics. These websites include the following:

- http://www.foreignaffairs.com
- https://internationalsecurityjournal.com/
- https://globalsecurityreview.com/
- https://wiisglobal.org/blog/
- http://blogs.lse.ac.uk
- https://www.chathamhouse.org/publications/the-world-today/2021-12
- IS: Off the Page podcast https://open.spotify.com/show/07jbtc4ZGP1W9MTJ4FKg1k
- Whiskey & International Relations Theory podcast https://open.spotify.com/ show/ORQnVzCiLWeZ49GC618N1d

# Detailed Course Programme

#### 20 September

## Introduction and history of Security Studies

#### Study questions

- What comprehends Security Studies?
- How can we define security?
- How has the Security Studies field developed over time? And how can we distinguish between traditional and non-traditional approaches?

## Key readings

- Collins, A. (Ed.). (2016). Contemporary Security Studies. Oxford University Press. Chapter 1.
- Peoples, C., & Vaughan-Williams, N. (2020). Critical security studies: An introduction. Routledge. Introduction.
- Buzan, B., & Hansen, L. (2009). The Evolution of International Security Studies. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.

#### Further reading

- Krause, K., & Williams, M. C. (1996). Broadening the Agenda of Security Studies: Politics and Methods. Mershon International Studies Review, 40(2), 229-254.
- Aradau, C., Huysmans, J., Neal, A., & Voelkner, N. (Eds.). (2014). Critical Security Methods: New Frameworks for Analysis. Routledge. Chapter 1.
- Cavelty, M. D., & Balzacq, T. (Eds.). (2016). Routledge Handbook of Security Studies. Routledge. Introduction.
- Walt, S. M. (1991). The Renaissance of Security Studies. International Studies Quarterly, 35(2), 211-239.
- Baldwin, D. A. (1997). The Concept of Security. Review of International Studies, 23(1), 5-26.
- Buzan, B., & Hansen, L. (2009). The Evolution of International Security Studies. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2.

#### 27 September

#### Realist Theories and the Rise of China

#### Study questions

- What are the different types of realist theories?
- What are their shared assumptions?

- How can we distinguish between the different realist approaches?
- How is power defined?
- What constitutes the security dilemma?
- What does the realist view say about China and it's role in the world order?

#### Key readings

- Collins, A. (Ed.). (2016). Contemporary Security Studies. Oxford University Press. Chapter 2.
- Mearsheimer, J. (2014). Anarchy and the Struggle for Power. The Realism Reader, 179.

- Kirshner, J. (2012). The Tragedy of Offensive Realism: Classical Realism and the Rise of China. European Journal of International Relations, 18(1), 53-75.
- Ikenberry, G. J. (2008). The Rise of China and the Future of the West Can the Liberal System Survive? Foreign Affairs, 87, 23.
- Lind, J. (2018). Life in China's Asia: What regional hegemony would look like. Foreign Affairs, 97, 71.
- Smith, M. J. (1986). Realist Thought from Weber to Kissinger. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press.
- Cavelty, M. D., & Balzacq, T. (Eds.). (2016). Routledge Handbook of Security Studies. Routledge. Chapter 1 & 36.
- Kennan, G. F. (1960). The Sources of Soviet Conduct by "X" (pp. 244-261). Columbia University Press.
- Waltz, K. N. (1979). Anarchic Structures and Balances of Power. 102-128. Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
- Mearsheimer, J. J. (2005). Better to be Godzilla than Bambi. Foreign Policy, (146), 47-48.
- Buzan, B., & Hansen, L. (2009). The Evolution of International Security Studies. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 4.
- Layne, C. (2002). The "Poster Child for offensive realism": America as a Global Hegemon. Security Studies, 12(2), 120-164.
- Elman, C. (2004). Extending offensive realism: The Louisiana Purchase and America's Rise to Regional Hegemony. American Political Science Review, 98(4), 563-576.
- Guzzini, S. (1992). The Continuing Story of a Death Foretold: Realism in International Relations/International Political Economy.

#### Liberalism, Institutions, and the European Union

#### Study questions

- What are the main characteristics of the liberalist orientation?
- Why are NGOs important?
- Why is liberalism optimistic about the possibilities for cooperation?
- How does liberalism explain the formation of the European Union?
- How has the liberalist reading developed over time?

#### Key readings

- Cavelty, M. D., & Balzacq, T. (Eds.). (2016). Routledge Handbook of Security Studies. Routledge. Chapter 2.
- Ruggie, J. G. (2002). Constructing the World Polity: Essays on International Institutionalisation. Routledge. Chapter 1.

- Cavelty, M. D., & Balzacq, T. (Eds.). (2016). Routledge Handbook of Security Studies. Routledge. Chapter 34.
- Jupille, J., & Caporaso, J. A. (1999). Institutionalism and the European Union: Beyond International Relations and Comparative Politics. Annual Review of Political Science, 2(1), 429-444.
- Haftendorn, H., Keohane, R., & Wallender, C. (Eds.). (1999). Imperfect Unions: Security Institutions Over Time and Space. 21-47. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Collins, A. (Ed.). (2016). Contemporary Security Studies. Oxford University Press. Chapter 3.
- Russett, B., Oneal, J. R., & Davis, D. R. (1998). The Third Leg of the Kantian Tripod for Peace: International Organizations and Militarized Disputes, 1950–85. International Organization, 52(3), 441-467.
- Stephen, B. (2005). Producing Security: Multinational Corporations, Globalization, and the Changing Calculus of Conflict.
- Jervis, R. (1978). Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma. World Politics, 30(2), 167-214.
- Adler-Nissen, R., & Gad, U. P. (Eds.). (2013). European Integration and Postcolonial Sovereignty Games: The EU Overseas Countries and Territories. Routledge. Chapter 16.

#### Constructivism and Environmental Security

#### Study questions

- How can we distinguish constructivism from more traditional readings of security?
- What is the difference between conventional and critical constructivism?
- How does constructivism explain environmental security?
- Has the environment always been part of the security agenda? Why?

#### Key readings

- Collins, A. (Ed.). (2016). Contemporary Security Studies. Oxford University Press. Chapter 6.
- Hurd, I. (2009). Constructivism. In The Oxford Handbook of International Relations Oxford University Press.

- Haque, M. S. (2001). Environmental Security in East Asia: A Critical View. The Journal of Strategic Studies, 24(4), 203-234.
- Haas, P. M. (2002). UN Conferences and Constructivist Governance of the Environment. Global Governance, 8, 73.
- Collins, A. (Ed.). (2016). Contemporary Security Studies. Oxford University Press. Chapters 16.
- Peoples, C., & Vaughan-Williams, N. (2020). Critical Security Studies: An Introduction. Routledge. Chapter 1 & 8.
- Cavelty, M. D., & Balzacq, T. (Eds.). (2016). Routledge Handbook of Security Studies. Routledge. Chapter 20.
- Ide, T. (2016). Toward a Constructivist Understanding of Socio-Environmental Conflicts. Civil wars, 18(1), 69-90.
- Mathews, J. T. (1989). Redefining Security. Foreign Affairs, 68(2), 162-177.
- Mathews, J. T. (1990). Environment, Development, and International Security. Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 10-26.
- Huysmans, J. (2002). Defining Social Constructivism in Security Studies: The Normative Dilemma of Writing Security. Alternatives, 27(1), 41-62.
- Guzzini, S., & Leander, A. (2005). Constructivism and International Relations: Alexander Wendt and his Critics. Routledge. Chapters 1, 2 & 6.

#### Securitization Theory and the Migrant 'Crisis'

#### Study questions

- How can securitization be defined?
- Is there only one way securitization can be achieved?
- How can we distinguish between different readings of securitization?
- How does securitization explain the migrant "crisis"?
- Is there a "crisis"? Why?

#### Key readings

- McDonald, M. (2008). Securitization and the Construction of Security. European Journal of International Relations, 14(4), 563-587.
- Peoples, C., & Vaughan-Williams, N. (2020). Critical Security Studies: An Introduction. Routledge. Chapter 7.

- Colombo, M. (2018). The Representation of the "European Refugee Crisis" in Italy: Domopolitics, Securitization, and Humanitarian Communication in Political and Media Discourses. Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies, 16(1-2), 161-178.
- De Genova, N. (2018). The "Migrant Crisis" as Racial Crisis: Do Black Lives Matter in Europe?. Ethnic and Racial Studies, 41(10), 1765-1782.
- Buzan, B., Wæver, O., & De Wilde, J. (1998). Security Analysis: Conceptual Apparatus. Security: A New Framework for Analysis, 21-50.
- Umansky, N. (2022). Who gets a say in this? Speaking security on social media. New Media Society, 14614448221111009.
- Huysmans, J. (2000). The European Union and the Securitization of Migration. JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies, 38(5), 751-777.
- Gerard, A., & Pickering, S. (2014). Gender, Securitization and Transit: Refugee Women and the Journey to the EU. Journal of Refugee Studies, 27(3), 338-359.
- Collins, A. (Ed.). (2016). Contemporary Security Studies. Oxford University Press. Chapters 12.
- Cavelty, M. D., & Balzacq, T. (Eds.). (2016). Routledge Handbook of Security Studies. Routledge. Chapter 5.
- Aradau, C., Huysmans, J., Neal, A., & Voelkner, N. (Eds.). (2014). Critical Security Methods: New Frameworks for Analysis. Routledge. Chapter 3.

- Baele, S. J., & Sterck, O. C. (2015). Diagnosing the Securitisation of Immigration at the EU Level: A New Method for Stronger Empirical Claims. Political Studies, 63(5), 1120-1139.
- Balzacq, T. (2008). The Policy Tools of Securitization: Information Exchange, EU Foreign and Interior Policies. JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies, 46(1), 75-100.
- Balzacq, T. (Ed.). (2010). Securitization Theory: How Security Problems Emerge and Dissolve. Routledge.
- Balzacq, T. (2015). The 'Essence' of Securitization: Theory, Ideal Type, and a Sociological Science of Security. International Relations, 29(1), 103-113.
- Huysmans, J. (2011). What's in an Act? On Security Speech Acts and Little Security Nothings. Security Dialogue, 42(4-5), 371-383.
- Huysmans, J., & Buonfino, A. (2008). Politics of Exception and Unease: Immigration, Asylum and Terrorism in Parliamentary Debates in the UK. Political Studies, 56(4), 766-788.
- Stritzel, H. (2011). Security, the Translation. Security Dialogue, 42(4-5), 343-355.
- Stritzel, H. (2014). Security in Translation: Securitization Theory and the Localization of Threat. Springer.
- Wæver O., (1995) Securitization and Desecuritization. In: Lipschutz RD (ed.) On Security. New York: Columbia University Press, 46-86.

#### Post-Structuralist Approaches and the Muhammad Cartoon Crisis

#### Study questions

- In what was are traditional readings of security limited?
- What are the different aspects that post-structuralism brings to the study of security?
- What is the relation between discourse and practice in producing security?
- Can security be produced through non-discursive practices?
- Why is the Muhammad Cartoon crisis a good example of post-structuralism?
- How do Post-Structural approaches explain the Muhammad Cartoon crisis?

#### **Key Readings**

• Peoples, C., & Vaughan-Williams, N. (2020). Critical security studies: An introduction. Routledge. Chapter 6.

• Hansen, L. (2011). The Politics of Securitization and the Muhammad Cartoon Crisis: A Post-Structuralist Perspective. Security Dialogue, 42(4-5), 357-369.

- Hansen, L. (2011). Theorizing the Image for Security Studies: Visual Securitization and the Muhammad Cartoon Crisis. European Journal of International Relations, 17(1), 51-74.
- Agius, C. (2013). Performing Identity: The Danish Cartoon Crisis and Discourses of Identity and Security. Security Dialogue, 44(3), 241-258.
- Cavelty, M. D., & Balzacq, T. (Eds.). (2016). Routledge Handbook of Security Studies. Routledge. Chapter 6.
- Wullweber, J. (2013, September). The Molecular Practices of Security: Thinking Security Bottom-Up. In 8th Pan-European Conference on International Relations, Warsaw (pp. 18-21).
- Wilmott, A. C. (2017). The Politics of Photography: Visual Depictions of Syrian Refugees in UK Online Media. Visual Communication Quarterly, 24(2), 67-82.
- Balzacq, T., Léonard, S., & Ruzicka, J. (2016). 'Securitization' Revisited: Theory and Cases. International Relations, 30(4), 494-531.
- Booth, K. (1991). Security and Emancipation. Review of International Studies, 17(4), 313-326.
- Campbell, D. (1992). Introduction: On Dangers and Their Interpretation. Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity, 11-12.
- Mustapha, J. (2013). Ontological Theorizations in Critical Security Studies: Making the Case for a (Modified) Post-Structuralist Approach. Critical Studies on Security, 1(1), 64-82.
- Browning, C. S., & McDonald, M. (2013). The Future of Critical Security Studies: Ethics and the Politics of Security. European Journal of International Relations, 19(2), 235-255.
- Hansen, L. (1997). A Case for Seduction? Evaluating the Poststructuralist Conceptualization of Security. Cooperation and Conflict, 32(4), 369-397.
- Collective, C. A. S. E. (2006). Critical Approaches to Security in Europe: A Networked Manifesto. Security Dialogue, 37(4), 443-487.
- Aradau, C. (2010). Security that Matters: Critical Infrastructure and Objects of Protection. Security Dialogue, 41(5), 491-514.
- Hansen, L. (2000). The Little Mermaid's Silent Security Dilemma and the Absence of Gender in the Copenhagen School. Millennium, 29(2), 285-306.

#### 1 November

#### **Human Security and COVID-19**

#### Study questions

- How can human security be defined and how is it different from other security issues?
- What is the relationship between health and human security?
- What lessons can be learnt from the securitization of health?
- What are the ethical shortcomings of securitizing health issues?
- What lessons can be learnt from the securitization of HIV/AIDS? Can they be applied to the Covid-19 pandemic?

#### Key readings

- Cavelty, M. D., & Balzacq, T. (Eds.). (2016). Routledge Handbook of Security Studies. Routledge. Chapter 22.
- Elbe, S. (2006). Should HIV/AIDS be Securitized? The Ethical Dilemmas of Linking HIV/AIDS and Security. International Studies Quarterly, 50(1), 119-144.

- Albert, C., Baez, A., & Rutland, J. (2021). Human Security as Biosecurity: Reconceptualizing National Security Threats in the Time of COVID-19. Politics and the Life Sciences, 40(1), 83-105.
- Naz, F., & Joseph, G. K. Human Security Framework for COVID-19 Management. The COVID-19 Pandemic is a Battle for Science, 107, 37.
- Bajpai, K. (2003). The Idea of Human Security. International Studies, 40(3), 195-228.
- Hatcher, W. (2020). A Failure of Political Communication not a Failure of Bureaucracy: The Danger of Presidential Misinformation During the COVID-19 Pandemic. The American Review of Public Administration, 50(6-7), 614-620.
- Newman, E. (2001). Human Security and Constructivism. International Studies Perspectives, 2(3), 239-251.
- Davies, S. E. (2008). Securitizing Infectious Disease. International Affairs, 84(2), 295-313.
- Peoples, C., & Vaughan-Williams, N. (2020). Critical Security Studies: An Introduction. Routledge. Chapters 9 & 10.
- Collins, A. (Ed.). (2016). Contemporary Security Studies. Oxford University Press. Chapters 10, 15 & 25.

- Elbe, S. (2010). Pandemic Security. In The Routledge Handbook of New Security Studies (pp. 175-184). Routledge.
- Elbe, S. (2011). Pandemics on the Radar Screen: Health Security, Infectious Disease and the Medicalisation of Insecurity. Political Studies, 59(4), 848-866.
- Evans, J. (2010). Pandemics and National Security. Global Security Studies, 1(1), 100-9.
- Heisbourg, F. (2020). From Wuhan to the World: How the Pandemic will Reshape Geopolitics. Survival, 62(3), 7-24.
- Johnson, T. (2020). Ordinary Patterns in an Extraordinary Crisis: How International Relations Makes Sense of the COVID-19 Pandemic. International Organization, 74(S1), E148-E168.
- Koblentz, G. D. (2010). Biosecurity Reconsidered: Calibrating Biological Threats and Responses. International Security, 34(4), 96-132.
- Milani, C. R. S. (2020). COVID-19 Between Global Human Security and Ramping Authoritarian Nationalisms. Geopolítica (s), 11, 141–151.
- Peterson, S. (2002). Epidemic Disease and National Security. Security Studies, 12(2), 43–81.

#### 8 November

#### Academic Writing

Key readings

- Dunleavy, Patrick (2014). How to Write Paragraphs in Research Texts (Articles, Books and PhDs). url: https://medium.com/advice-and-help-in-authoring-a-phd-or-non-how-to-write-paragraphs-80781e2f3054.
- Heard, Stephen B. (2016). The Scientist's Guide to Writing: How to Write More Easily and Effectively Throughout Your Scientific Career. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- King, Gary (2006). "Publication, Publication". PS: Political Science Politics 39 (1): 119–125.

#### 15 November

#### Terrorism and the Women of ISIS

Study questions

- Why are there so many different definitions of terrorism?
- What problems can this cause?
- Who decides what is radical/extreme?

- Do preventative measures work? Do they go too far?
- Why would women join a group that is violent against women?
- How are women in ISIS framed?
- What does this tell us about how women, particularly Muslim women, are viewed?
- Are women as capable of being violent as men?

#### Key readings

- Peoples, C. Vaughan-Williams, N. (2020). Critical Security Studies: An Introduction. Chapter 14.
- Crenshaw, M. (1981). The Causes of Terrorism. Comparative Politics. 13(4), 379-399.

- Loken, M. Zelenz, A. (2017). Explaining Extremism: Western Women in Daesh. European Journal of International Security. 3(1) 45-68.
- Nuraniyah, N. (2018) Not Just Brainwashed: Understanding the Radicalisation of Indonesian Female Supporters of the Islamic State. Terrorism and Political Violence. 30(6) 890-910.
- Lennard, N. (2017). The Term 'Terrorism' is a State Weapon. The Nation. https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/the-term-terrorism-is-a-state-weapon/
- Abu Lughod, L. (2002). Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and its Others. American Anthropologist. 104(3) 783-790.
- Chatterjee, D. (2016) Gendering ISIS and Mapping the Role of Women. Contemporary Review of the Middle East. 3(2) 201-218.
- Gentry, C.E. Sjoberg, L. (2015) Beyond Mothers, Monsters, and Whores: Thinking About Women's Violence in Global Politics. Zed Books.
- Henshaw, A. (2016) Where Women Rebel: Patterns of Women's Participation in Armed Rebel Groups 1990-2008. International Feminist Journal of Politics. 18(1) 39-60.
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#### 22 November

## Feminist Security Studies and NiUnaMenos

# Study questions

- What does a gender approach mean for the referent object of security? How is it affected?
- Is there only one feminist approach to security? How do they differ?
- How did the NiUnaMenos movement position women as a novel referent object? Was it successful?
- Which feminist approach better explains the development of the NiUnaMenos movement?

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#### 29 November

#### Hashtag Activism and #BlackLivesMatter

Study questions

- What does hashtag activism entail?
- Within which Security Studies school can we locate hashtag activism?
- How does hashtag activism construct the referent object and audience?
- Who can engage in hashtag activism? Is it restricted only to celebrities?
- How is a narrative constructed? Are there more than one frames at play?

- How was social media employed to include race in the security agenda in the case of #BlackLivesMatter?
- Why do we say that Twitter is a public sphere? Why is this important for Security Studies and discourse formation?

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#### 6 December

#### Climate Crisis and #FridaysForFuture

#### Study questions

- Is #FridaysForFuture an exceptional case of hashtag activism?
- How is it different from other movements such as #MeToo or #BlackLivesMatter?
- In what ways has it been successful?
- What are it's limitations?
- Has it achieved the political change that it strives for? To what extent?

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#### 13 December

## Disinformation and @realDonaldTrump

Study questions

- How is disinformation defined?
- Through which Critical Security Studies schools can we analyse disinformation?
- What is the link between disinformation and international security?
- Is disinformation a novel threat?
- Should Security Studies be further deepened and widened to include disinformation as an object of analysis? Why?
- What role does social media play in the spread of disinformation?
- Many people are worried about "fake news". What do we mean by fake news? What role does "fake news" play?
- Why has Trump been placed at the center of modern disinformation analysis? What is his role in the spread of disinformation?

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#### 20 December

#### Information War and the Russian Invasion of Ukraine

#### Study questions

- Are information wars a new kind of threat?
- How does social media contribute to this type of warfare?
- Who are the actors involved? Is it just the state?
- What role does the media play?
- What does the case of Ukraine tell us about the threats posed by mis/disinformation?

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