CONTEMPORARY SECURITY

SSC 3051

UCM 2017-2018

COURSE OVERVIEW

Security Studies during the Cold War was a rather limited and narrow sub-field of International Relations mainly focusing on the state security and defining threat only in terms of military. By the end of Cold War period, new schools of thoughts have emerged in the field of Security Studies in parallel with the emergence of new kind of threats against human well-being and security. Today, Contemporary Security Studies consists of a large group of scholars, schools, approaches and understandings.

This course deals with a number of these schools and approaches. It starts with an introduction to the conventional security (Realism and Liberalism) and explains why these approaches are found unsatisfactory by the academic community at the beginning of the 1990s. Then it explains various theoretical positions from the constructivism to the Feminism (gender security), Green Theory (environmental security) and Post-Colonialism (security from non-Western perspectives). Then it introduces contemporary concepts like 'Securitization' which is developed by the Copenhagen school. Another relevant contemporary approach is called 'Human Security,' and the course explains the development of this concept. At the end, the course discusses

contemporary security issues such as security and technology, war against terror, border security and security and poverty.

Overall, this course aims at giving an idea to the students of International Relations how Security Studies has developed as a separate sub-field of International Relations.

COURSE OBJECTIVES

- To illuminate the main theoretical assumptions of the several approaches of Security Studies by placing the main focus on the more contemporary and critical ones.
- To explore the ways how contemporary or critical Security Studies challenge traditional security studies.
- To discuss in what ways contemporary security approaches compare and contrast with each other.
- To emphasize the empirical application and practical use of such approaches by discussing each approach with a relevant case study.

MANDATORY LITERATURE

- Columba Peoples and Nick Vaughan-Williams (2015), Second Edition, *Critical Security Studies: An Introduction,* Routledge;

- Articles (electronic journals, web links), additional book chapters (list of additional literature will be posted on student portal)

- Extra novels/non-fiction: 1984 by George Orwell, Murder in Semerkant by Craig Murray, Sozaboy by Ken Saro Wiwa, The Other Hand by Chris Cleave, People Like Us by Joris Luyendijk, Soccer Wars by Ryszard Kapuscinski, Year of Runaways by Sunjeev Sahota.

IMPORTANT: Literature list is posted on Student Portal and for every Task, please check that list to find the mandatory and recommended literature.

Recommended Movies, Documentaries, Games, Podcasts: In some tasks and in another document uploaded on student portal, we give a long list of recommended alternative resources such as series, games and movies. We highly recommend PODCASTS, such as **Security Dialogue and Foreign Policy podcasts** series. And documentaries from frontline or other sources. We hope that these articles and sources will be helpful in writing your papers for this course.

SCHEDULE OF TUTORIAL MEETINGS (POST-DISCUSSIONS)

Meeting 1: Introduction and Critical Theory

Meeting 2: Constructivism and Copenhagen School

Meeting 3: Post-Colonialism

Meeting 4: Post-Structuralism

Meeting 5: Feminism and Security

Meeting 6: Migration and Security

- **Deadline for Midterm Papers, 4 May**: Safe Assignment latest at 23:30

Meeting 7: Human Security, Development and (Securitisation of) Health

- **16 May: Trip to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Den Haag** (Attendance is not mandatory!)

Meeting 8: Terrorism and Homeland Security/War on Terror

Meeting 9: Technology, New Wars and Warfare in Cyber Age

Meeting 10: Environmental and Energy Security

- **Deadline for Book Analysis, 21 May**: Email them to your tutor latest at 17:30

Meeting 11: Discussing Books, reviews and security

Meeting 12: TBA

- **Deadline for Final Papers, 31 May**: Safe Assignment latest at 23:30

SCHEDULE OF LECTURES

Lecture 1, 10 April: Mapping Security Studies, Birsen Erdogan

Lecture 2, 17 April: Theories of Security Studies, Jay Hwang (Leiden)

Lecture 3, 01 May: Securitisation of Migrants and Migration, Richard Staring (Erasmus)

Lecture 4, 08 May: Critical Theories in Security Studies, Falk Ostermann (Giesen)

Lecture 5, 22 May: Critical Theories in Security Studies and Application, Benjamin Herborth (Groningen)

Lecture 6, 23 May: Discourse Analysis Presentations (analytical reports to be submitted on 24 May)

Please note that lectures are **compulsory to attend** (except extra lectures which can be scheduled in an unofficial time slot).

ASSESSMENT

Mid-term paper: %40

A class presentation or a shorter paper on class presentation or book analysis: %20

Discourse analysis (preferably in a team of 2 or 3): up to %40

Journal/diary: up to %40

(Students have to choose any midterm assignments which should constitute %40 of their grade!)

Final Paper: %40

Class participation: %20

Students are given **options** for their midterm assessments. We want to make the assignments chosen by the students in the midterm. They can decide according to their area of interest, skills and agenda. We have provided some suggestions above. But we are also open to other suggestions and different kind of assignments.

If students choose to submit a midterm paper or a book analysis, there are deadlines.

Alternatively, students may choose to make class presentations on a security matter explained with a theory. Presentation should be about the topic/theory of that particular tutorial meeting and it should contribute to the discussion in that meeting!

In one tutorial meeting, there will be only one presentation.

A **limited** number of students can do discourse analysis (of media, political speeches, practices, official texts so on). This is preferably a group assignment and the group will present their results in the last week in the lecture slot and submit their analytical reports/papers within 24 hours after the presentations.

All papers, presentations, analyses, journals and book reviews should have a theoretical analysis, an academic research question and a clear structure.

Students will submit an extensive final paper in the exam week. Final paper is to be submitted latest on **May 31.**

More information about the assignments is provided in the Student Portal under course material.

Class participation is essential in this course. Students are expected to come to the tutorials well prepared and they should actively participate to the discussions with substantive remarks, questions and arguments supported by the course literature. Class participation will weight 20 percent.

IMPORTANT: For the sake of planning and giving feedback to the students, tutors need to know what kind of midterm assignment a student wants to do. Please inform your tutor about the assignment you are intending to do and get confirmation from your tutor.

BOOKS and THEIR REVIEWS

We are recommending some books for our students to read before the end of the course (see the literature list above). Some of them are fictional books and some of them are non-fiction (journalistic). These books will provide an alternative account and view on conflicts, human

security and media. If they want, some students can write an analytical essay on one of the books (or two or three of them). Essays will be max. 2000 and they will weight 20 percent of their grade.

Please beware that all students will read at least one book even though they do not write an essay about it. The books will be discussed at the end of the course in the last tutorial meeting.

Tutors will post model book reviews on ELEUM, so students can take a look at them.

ATTENDANCE

Important: For the attendance to tutorials and lectures, UCM rules and regulations for attendance will be applied. If students miss more than allowed amount of meetings/lectures, they may be given a chance to write an extra assignment by the tutor and course coordinator. The content and type of the additional assignment will be decided by the tutor and tutor will inform the student about it. We highly recommend students to attend all tutorial meetings.

The study trip is not compulsory to attend!

For the resit exam, rules and procedures determined by the UCM Academic Rules and Regulations will be applied. These rules can be found in student`s or teacher`s handbooks. Details of the resit exam will be posted in resit week by the course coordinator.

Resit exam will be in the format of a paper or take-home exam.

Course Coordinator and Tutors

Coordinator : Birsen Erdogan birsen.erdogan@maastrichtuniversity.nl

Tutors : Birsen Erdogan birsen.erdogan@maastrichtuniversity.nl

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MEETING 1-TASK 1

Part I

Introduction

Literature: On the student portal

**Recommended**: Special Edition of *Security Dialogue*, 41:6, 2010.

Since we taught this course last year, unfortunately the world has not become a safer or more peaceful place. On one hand the situation between Russia and the US is still unpredictable. So is the US President Trump. The Syrian war went much worse with new actors joining in. Yemen is still not a safe place, nor is Afghanistan or Iraq. The fear of terrorism in Europe is a bit less but not over. Another sad reality that we do not talk much about is the fact that a great amount of people have been escaping from their war-torn or unsafe countries and trying to arrive Europe for a better future. We hope next year when we teach this course, we will have much less conflicts and more security for all.

But what is security? When we (everyone) talks about security, whose security is being talked about? What is a security issue? Are there objectively classifiable security issues or is it a matter of framing or constructing? Who decides what security is and how it can be achieved? Is it possible that one`s security might be a threat to the other one`s security?

Security Studies is not a homogeneous or monolithic area of research but rather an array of different schools and perspectives. We will get to know different perspectives and how each one of them answers above-mentioned questions. We will learn the academic ways they investigate, explain and understand security. And very importantly we will also discuss the differences between 'critical' and 'traditional' security approaches.

In this task, you are given some **learning goals**. Try to answer them based on the literature and discuss your answers in the post-discussion:

- What does security mean?
- Remember and discuss what security is according to mainstream IR theories like (neo)realism and liberalism.
- What are the strengths of mainstream approaches? What are their weaknesses?
- Is security unavoidably political because it is about real people and real policies? Can security be understood academically or intellectually?
- What is the brief history of Security Studies? What are major schools/theories and approaches (Mapping the Security Studies)?
- Define terms such as referent object, broadening, deepening and security as a derivative concept.
- What is the relevance of Cold War and September 11 in Security Studies?
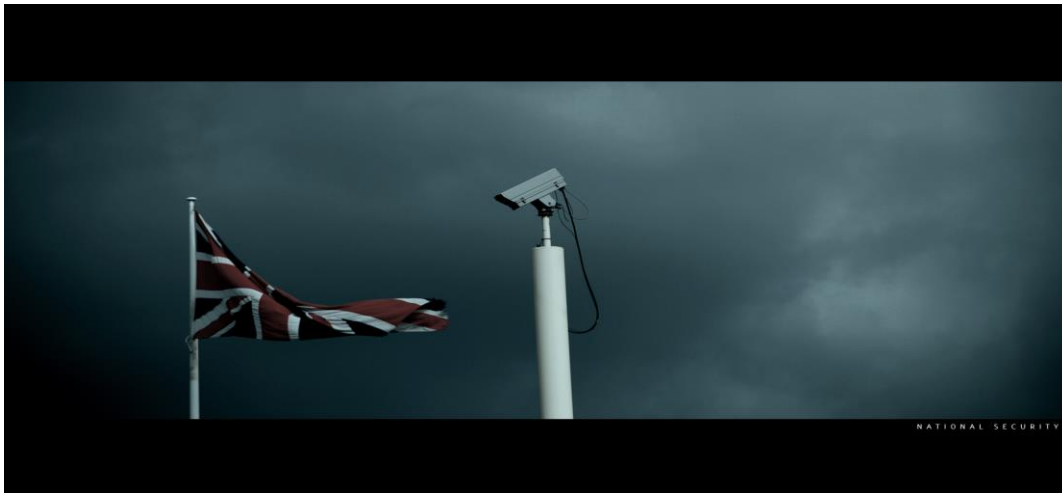
Part II

Critical Theory

Literature: On the student portal

Recommended: Security Dialogue Podcasts.

According to Ken Booth, 'security' is a derivative concept; one's understanding of what security is derives from one's political outlook and philosophical world view. The concept of security has different meanings for different groups. For a Palestinian, security would mean the establishment of a Palestinian state, whereas for an Israeli, security would mean the control over the Palestinian people and territory. Even in the same state, the understanding of security would be varied among domestic groups. Take the case of South Africa during the apartheid regime and how the meaning of security was different for the ruling whites and majority of blacks. This feature of security gives it an intersubjective meaning. It also requires the students of security to 'deepen,' 'extend' and 'broaden' the theories of security and its practices.

Critical Theory makes a distinction between problem-solving approaches and critical approaches. It also criticizes the state-centric perspectives of traditional theories. They try not only to deconstruct the given or naturalized concepts like state but they also reconstruct them.

According to Steve Smith, theories do not simply explain or predict but they also tell us what possibilities exist for human action and intervention. Following Smith`s comments about theories, critical theory claims to serve for emancipation. This is another difficult concept to define.

According to Vox, in order to understand Trump better we all should learn Frankfurt school (https://www.vox.com/conversations/2016/12/27/14038406/donald-trump-frankfurt-school-brexit-critical-theory). In this meeting, we will discuss the Critical Theory also known as Welsh school, its roots, its connection to Frankfurt school and Gramsci, its differences from Copenhagen school and its promises. Mind that there is a difference between critical theory (lower case) and Critical Theory (upper case).

Learning goals for this part are:

- What is Critical Theory (CT)? What are relevant schools and theories such as Frankfurt schools, Marxism and others?

- How is security defined in CT? Who is the referent object? Is security broadened?

- What are other key concepts and key ideas?

- How is it criticized?

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MEETING 2-TASK 2

Constructivism and Copenhagen School (Securitization Theory)

Literature: On the student portal

Buzan -one of the most well-known member of the Copenhagen school and Securitization theory- in a right way agreed that not everything should be a security issue. He said that there should be limits to the broadening of security studies. Inter-state war is traditionally a security issue but what about a hurricane or hunger or domestic violence?

Security can shortly be defined as an existential threat to survival of the referent object. But not everybody may agree with this definition. If our referent object is state, then the 'existential threat' to the state survival has to be identified.

According to the Securitization Theory (Copenhagen School), in the daily life, there are intersubjective processes and a socio-political context to define security issues (or existential threats). This process is called Securitization. Members of the Copenhagen School try to understand how, by whom and for whom security is constructed. With a very clear link to Constructivism, the Copenhagen School tries to analyse these intersubjective processes and speech acts.

Copenhagen School borrows many tools from Constructivism. For constructivists, security is a negotiated and contested concept. The meaning of the term depends on the social context and it may change. One ordinary issue can be constructed as a security issue, then it can be desecuritized again.

*Normally, s*imply having a darker colour or a name such as Mohammed does not make anyone an existential threat to a nation or a state. But that is *normally. Normally,* a bottle of water in front of you or in your bag is not a source of danger. But it can taken away from you at the airport.

Normally being a citizen of a Muslim country should not automatically make you a threat. Trump`s Presidential order is classifying citizens of certain countries automatically even though these citizens are not proven guilty of any particular crime (**Executive Order 13769**, titled **Protecting the Nation from Foreign Terrorist Entry into the United States)**. Normally, mosques or imams are not under surveillance because religion is a *private* matter. But now (after Paris, London and Brussels attacks and the fear of Islamic state) some European states are trying to control Islamic preachers and institutions with very strict (even discriminatory) measures. France and Belgium are increasing number of police and security checks tremendously. In Britain currently there are more anti-terrorism legislation than at the height of the threat of the IRA when 3,000 people were killed. The former London Mayor Boris Johnson, touted as a possible future prime minister, has gone further, suggesting that suspected fighters be presumed guilty until proved innocent and should be stripped of their citizenship.

Nowadays it is almost normal to see cameras everywhere and to accept the need to increase police officers without even questioning its efficiency.

A computer virus can be a security threat; a hacker can be a terrorist. Internet can be dangerous because it creates a free platform for the enemy to recruit supporters. Someone who speaks up about the Government`s widespread activities of surveillance and data control can be labelled as 'traitor'. A refugee can be potentially a criminal or an undercover Islamic state militant. A virus like ebola or a flood can be a matter for the army to deal with.

Normally some of these issues mentioned above are social, cultural, political, health, environmental or economic issues. And in democratic free societies, these issues should not be a source of insecurity and fear.

Do you think some issues are easier to securitize? Why isn`t hooliganism a security issue or animal rights activists are not terrorists? When does someone become a threat? If I start reading Koran, am I a potential security risk?

It is very important to note that if an issue is securitized, there are consequences or implications of it including more control, more surveillance and more emergency measures. Copenhagen School is not as normative as the Welsh School. However, the main normative part of Copenhagen School is about desecuriticizing of what was securitized.

Army soldiers from the 101st Airborne Division (Air Assault), who are earmarked for the fight against Ebola, is seen as training is conducted before their deployment to West Africa, at Fort Campbell, Kentucky October 9, 2014. The U.S. military is ramping up its response to the Ebola outbreak in West Africa, where it has already killed more than 3,400 people in Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea. (Harrison McClary/Reuters)

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MEETING 3-TASK 3

Post-Colonialism

Literature: On the Student portal

Recommended: Journal of Security Dialogue (for instance April 2018 issue is about Militarism)

According to Al Jazeera, famous Nigerian author Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie made some remarks in an event in France which caused a stir among the audience. To the interviewer "Caroline Broue's question as to whether there are bookstores in Nigeria Adichie replied, "I think it reflects very poorly on French people that you have to ask me that question." (https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/french-racism-anxiety-love-postcolonialism-180207061506901.html).

When we talk about international security, we tend to focus on the security of Western states or rivalry between great powers. Think about Cuban missile crisis. By the majority of decision-makers of that time and by scholars, during the whole crisis Cuba was perceived either a puppet state of Soviet Union or a simple location with no clear identity or history. We have learnt the Second World War from the perspectives of the allied states. What about the perspectives of Indians or Chinese or Ethiopians about this war? Somehow in the mainstream security studies, consciously or sub-consciously the experiences and considerations of the so-called 'Third World' are ignored. We talk a lot about North Korea and China and the US triangle but how much we know what South Koreans want for instance (https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/10/magazine/in-the-debate-over-north-korea-does-anyone-care-what-south-korea-thinks.html)?

Vast majority of conflicts and wars in the post-Cold War era have occurred in the Third World. However according to post-colonialists, traditional understandings of security are not sufficient to explain or to analyse these conflicts. Third World has unique dynamics and particular characteristics that separate it from the developed or Western world. Security analyses based on Westphalian model of state cannot be applied to the developing or formerly colonized world. For this aim, M. Ayoob developed the concept of Subaltern Realism to understand the Third World better.

Do you think that security studies are mainly occupied itself with Euro-centric analyses? Because if it is so, these security approaches are not only academically dominating the world of security studies but they might also have political implications and consequences in shaping the world, the conception of 'threat' and the referent object of security. Some post-colonial scholars claimed that the way September 11 and policies following it have been framed would not diminish the risk of terror or conflict but would increase it. In order to understand September 11, one has to detach her/himself from Euro-centric analyses and dichotomies and focus more on the other dynamics in the West and in the Middle East with a historical outlook.

More importantly, do you think the academia is mainly occupied by Western thinkers and we study and learn philosophies and methods developed by the Western scholars? If so, what does this tell us about the inclusiveness in the universities? Read this controversial comment here https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/01/2013114142638797542.html

Assignment: You can discuss the images, narratives and representations of the Third world or the developing world in the western media, movies/series and political spheres. Is it usually negative? Why are positive stories not very present in the media, whereas negative stories about the developing world, Africa and Middle East are more present?

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MEETING 4-TASK 4

Post-Structuralism

Literature: on the Student Portal

Post-structuralism offers us another perspective in analyzing the concept of Security. In this perspective, language, narratives, meanings and the relationship between power and truth become very relevant. Foucault, the famous French philosopher analysed the power as a relation between people. Foucault used the concept of pan-opticon to explain how people are disciplined by power. [1] But power is not always and necessarily repressive. Power can be freeing. Or rather it looks like it is freeing people. In this regard, new concepts like biopower are introduced by post-structuralists. For instance, practices like visas, border control, profiling, surveillance or bio-chips even birth control policies of states may look like increasing the security, safety and well-being of people. But are these kinds of methods used by power in a pan-opticon?

This reminds us of the well-known motto: Exceptional times call for exceptional measures. According to post-structuralists, big states like the USA construct their identity as super powers and they categorise certain dangers. USA determines when the exceptional time is or will be. Dangers in this discourse are not objective realities but merely constructions. Communism, anything alien, dirty, sick, other and subversive are the assigned characteristics to 'danger.' The discourse on American exceptionalism legitimizes practices like intervention, detention and torture.

International Political Sociology (IPS) has also borrowed many claims from post-structuralism and Foucault. Both schools use the similar methods and epistemology.   IPS claims to be reflexive. IPS is also multi-disciplinary since it is located in the intersection of IR, sociology, history, political theory, law and criminology.

Assignment: Pick up a speech, an image or a text and try to make a simple discourse analysis. In your analysis, answer questions like: Whose message is it, where is it published, who is the target audience, what is the text of the message, what is the subtext (is there a hidden meaning/message), what kind of values/life style is presented/glamorized, tools of persuasion, what groups does it empower, what groups does it dis-empower, what is NOT told in the image or story?

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[1] The **PANOPTICON** was proposed as a model prison by Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), a Utilitarian philosopher and theorist of British legal reform. The Panopticon ("all-seeing") functioned as a round-the-clock surveillance machine. Its design ensured that no prisoner could ever see the 'inspector' who conducted surveillance from the privileged central location within the radial configuration. The prisoner could never know when he was being surveilled -- mental uncertainty that in itself would prove to be a crucial instrument of discipline (retrieved from http://cartome.org/panopticon1.htm).

Interior View of Cell House, new Illinois State Penitentiary at Stateville, near Joliet, Ill.—23
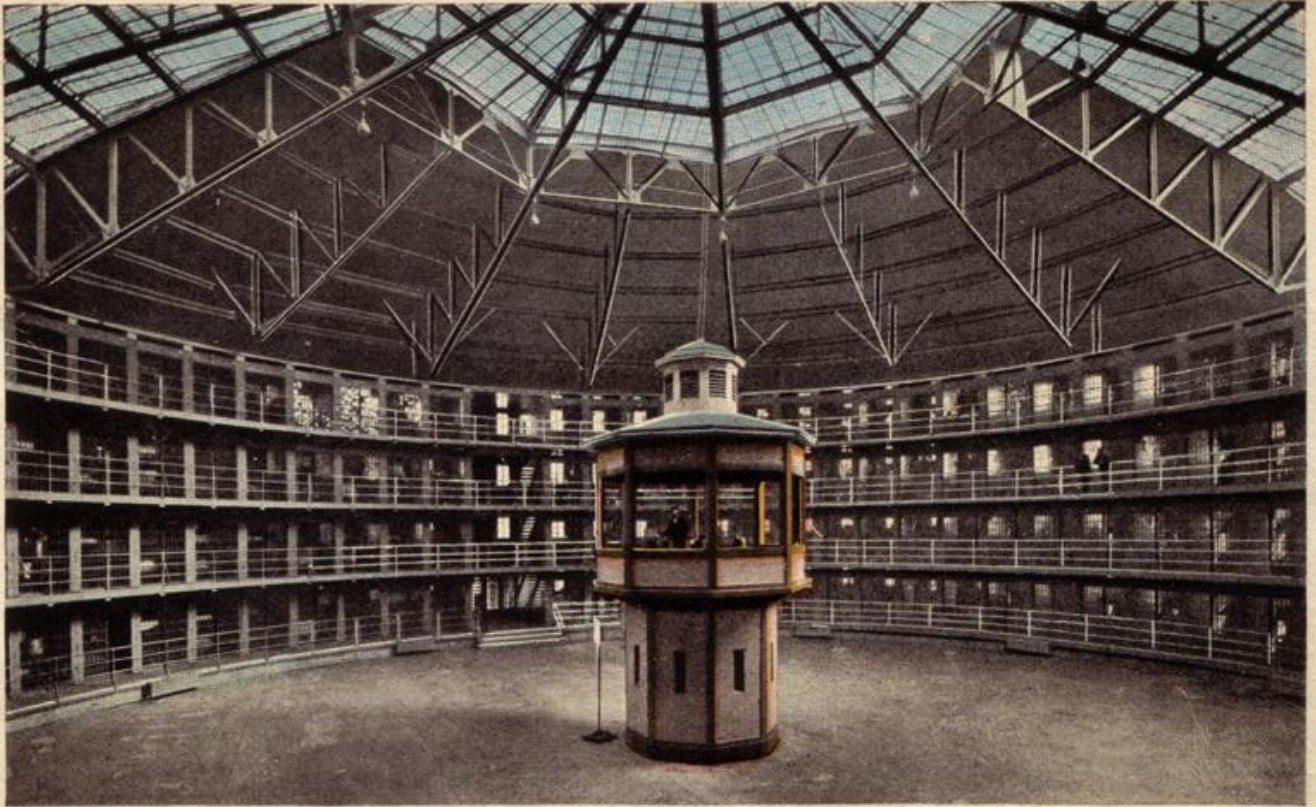
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MEETING 5-TASK 5

Feminism and Security

Literature: On the Student Portal

Recommended: **PODCASTS**: "Sweden`s feminist foreign policy," Karin Aggestam, Carnegie; "Embodied power: demystifying disembodied politics," Mary Hawkesworth, Critical Theory; "Women in military," SAGE.

Journals: Special issue of *Politics and Gender*, 7:4, 2011; Special issue of *Security Studies*, 18:2

For many years, security has been seen a terrain belongs to men only. Men were not the only powerful actors taking decisions but the very meaning of security was about being a rational, sovereign, disciplined, aggressive when necessary, powerful, deterrent state. But still many traditional theories claimed to be gender-neutral. Feminists do not agree with this. Not only women as decision-making agency but also the experiences of women are usually excluded from the mainstream accounts of security and its studies. It is strange that one talks about war-making but does not consider the gendered aspects of war or its effects on women and children.

Feminism looks at the concept of security from gendered lenses and tries to explain how women are affected by wars, violence and conflicts. Each feminist sub-school has its own explanations for the gendered hierarchies in International Relations. They also differ in their proposals to overcome these hierarchies.

Women are affected by wars in different ways, for instance as victims and as agents of war. Women can be peace activists or soldiers in wars and conflicts. Women can lose their lives due to the direct violence by armies, or their lives are dramatically affected by the side-effects of wars. Each woman has a different story to tell. Each experience is different. That's why according to some feminists, there is no general category of woman. However, one thing is clear that traditional concept of security and its practices do not eliminate or question the traditional gender roles for women. But either ignores or re-enforce them. In any case, feminist security scholars focus on the ways in which gender is constructed through security (and insecurity) and on the ways in which security constructed in through gender.

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MEETING 6-TASK 6

Migration and Security

Mandatory Literature for all: On the Student Portal

Recommended: Special Issue of *Security Dialogue* on Border Security as Practice, 45:3, 2014.
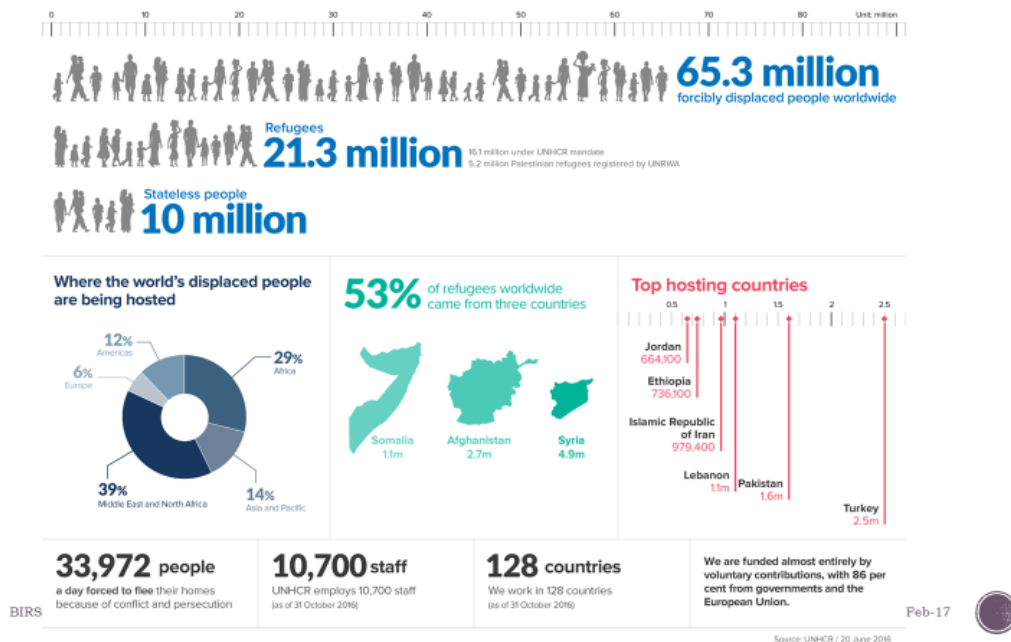
Web sites: https://www.liberty-human-rights.org.uk/human-rights/asylum-and-borders

Computer Game: Papers Please

Movie: Jimmie

THE CAMP

Figure data (UNHCR / 20 June 2016): 65.3 million forcibly displaced people worldwide; Refugees 21.3 million (16.1 million under UNHCR mandate; 5.2 million Palestinian refugees registered by UNRWA); Stateless people 10 million. Where the world's displaced people are being hosted: 29% Africa, 14% Asia and Pacific, 39% Middle East and North Africa, 6% Europe, 12% Americas. 53% of refugees worldwide came from three countries: Somalia 1.1m, Afghanistan 2.7m, Syria 4.9m. Top hosting countries: Jordan 664,100; Ethiopia 736,100; Islamic Republic of Iran 979,400; Lebanon 1.1m; Pakistan 1.6m; Turkey 2.5m. 33,972 people a day forced to flee their homes because of conflict and persecution. UNHCR employs 10,700 staff (as of 31 October 2016). We work in 128 countries (as of 31 October 2016). We are funded almost entirely by voluntary contributions, with 86 per cent from governments and the European Union. BIRS. Feb-17.

In the writing of this course manual, President Trump`s executive order to ban people coming from certain countries in order to protect the US citizens from terrorism had entered into effect (see some reactions here: https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/oct/23/dumbledore-army-donald-trump-travel-ban-legal-battle-mike-wishnie; http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2017/02/trump-executive-order-hurt-refugees-170211142100912.html or http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2017/02/trump-muslim-ban-exception-history-170209115112220.html).

On another note, Europe is trying to recover from its own 'migration crisis' after some heated years. EU is back to the fortress mentality with so-called 'deals' with controversial governments, stricter border controls, legislations what violate international rules, norms and agreements, increased securitisation of migration and rise of fear-mongering and populism (see http://amsterdamlawforum.org/article/view/41/71).

Read this excerpt below:

"A German newspaper recently released a forty-eight-page document that identifies the names and details of the 33,293 people who have died while trying to reach the shores of Europe between 1993 and 2017, most of whom drowned in the Mediterranean Sea. The document seeks to include every incident in that period of people fleeing oppression, violence, and poverty in their home countries. The data is imperfect and its impact is questionable, but it is important in presenting the question of migration, and more specifically, violence in migratory transit, as long predating the increased exposure it has received in the past four years. While current migration flows should be understood as continuities of broader constrictive migration patterns determined by Euro-American colonialism and empire, what does need to be further scrutinized and highlighted is how the framework of securitization has come to dominate current conceptions of global migration." (for the whole article visit

http://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/34701/Security-for-Whom-Unpacking-the-Gendered-Impact-of-EU-Securitized-Migration).

When we are having this pre-discussion, there is a family or a woman with child moving from one country to another for various reasons. Currently 3 per cent of the world's total population is in transit from one state to another.

The UN refugee agency reported today on World Refugee Day that the number of refugees, asylum-seekers and internally displaced people worldwide has, for the first time in the post-World War II era, exceeded 50 million people (http://www.unhcr.org/53a155bc6.html). In the end of 2014, 59 million people were displaced (another record) according to the United Nations (http://www.unhcr.org/558193896.html)

The term migration has different meaning and connotations. The meaning of the migrant was different in the 1950s and 1960s. Then it became something else in the 1970s and in the 1990s. With the September 11, the securitization of migration was complete. Now the US President can freely talk about building a wall against a nation.

In the western states, coming from another culture can be perceived as a potential threat. Nowadays hundreds of asylum seekers are dying in the sea trying to reach Europe. Or states taking 'militarized' measures to stop the transit of people far from their territory (Spain, Italy Portugal sending boats to the Western coast of Africa). Some countries near conflict zones receive millions of asylum seekers and refugees. Whereas Europe is trying to close its seas, its borders, its gates to those. Unfortunately because of some repeating images, bad memories of near part have been refreshed in some minds: Europe of barbwires, fences, walls, thousands tucked into trains, gas bombs, people who are numbered or profiled, categorized and then put detention centres and camps (read this comment here about Derrida and migrants in Germany https://politicaltheology.com/what-would-derrida-do-about-the-incidents-in-cologne/)…

If you are from outside of the EU, you know about the hurdles of getting a visa. Maybe you also met some 'illegal' migrants somewhere in Europe. Jeff Huysmann, Claudia Aradau and Didier Bigo study the securitization of migration in Europe extensively from a Foucauldian or sociological or feminist perspective. Bigo for instance emphasizes the connection between Europeanization (the EU level security apparatus), technology (surveillance systems, biometric analysis, etc), states' national security apparatus (police, army and various ministries) and people in move (see this controversial report here https://theconversation.com/electronically-monitoring-migrants-treats-them-like-criminals-90521).

Nowadays, more and more people study border security critically. A very interesting study by Agamben and Bigo, refers to the concept of 'ban-opticon,' inspired by Betham`s pan-opticon that we have discussed in a previous tutorial. In ban-opticon, we have lives that are abandoned. They are banned from judicial and political structures. They are subject to them but do not benefit from any of the rights of the citizen. One immediately thinks of the detainees in Guantanamo Bay. These detainees are stripped off from any rights given to prisoners of war in Geneva Conventions. They have almost no status. Or Australia is sending asylum seekers to offshore processing centres in Nauru and Papua New Guinea almost completely ignoring the international law on the

refugee protection.[2] See this critical report here https://theconversation.com/why-the-us-and-britain-are-not-democracies-71745

Hardin dilemma:

Titanic again?

- Garrett Hardin (1974): If we divide the world crudely into rich nations and poor nations, two thirds of them are desperately poor, and only one third comparatively rich, with the United States the wealthiest of all. Metaphorically each rich nation can be seen as a lifeboat full of comparatively rich people. In the ocean outside each lifeboat swim the poor of the world, who would like to get in, or at least to share some of the wealth. What should the lifeboat passengers do?

- First, we must recognize the limited capacity of any lifeboat....

- So here we sit, say 50 people in our lifeboat. To be generous, let us assume it has room for 10 more, making a total capacity of 60. Suppose the 50 of us in the lifeboat see 100 others swimming in the water outside, begging for admission to our boat or for handouts.

- ...Since the boat has an unused excess capacity of 10 more passengers, we could admit just 10 more to it. But which 10 do we let in? How do we choose?

BIRSEN ERDOGAN

13-Feb-17

Assignments: Discuss the western centric narratives and images in the news especially about security, terror and migrants. Bring examples positive examples or examples of increasing securitization in the Netherlands, Belgium, Canada, Australia and Germany (or other countries) especially after Charlie Hebdo and Paris attacks and with the rise of right wing populism. See for instance: http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/jan/23/uk-counter-terrorism-powers-review-watchdog

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[2] http://m.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-19240306

MEETING 7-TASK 7

Human Security, Development and (Securitisation of) Health

Literature: On the Student Portal

Human security as a concept attracted the attention of many academicians and also politicians. There is also a close link between the concept of Human security and Humanitarian Intervention or Responsibility to Protect (R2P) doctrine. Some governments such as Canada, Norway, Japan and the Netherlands are involved in human security network.

As the name suggest, individual is the referent object of the concept of Human Security. However, it is not that easy to define the approach, its methodology and its policy implications. As we can see, the concept is very related to the protection of human rights. But the world community (both academic and political) does not agree on what the undeniable rights of an individual are. For instance, is there a right to development? The more we deepen and expand

the rights of individuals, the more practical (and also theoretical) problems we can have. Some claim that there should be some boundaries of human security.

For a person coming from an underdeveloped country, security can be a lot about food, work and health. Whereas for the defense ministers of states, security is about the protection of borders by increasing the defense budget at the expense of spendings on education and health.

In practice, we see both a narrow definition of human security and a broad definition of it. This is very similar to measurement of development or economic well-being. We have traditional narrow measurement techniques for development based on GDP. Nowadays we have also more extensive and sophisticated measurement techniques such as measuring human well-being and happiness. And interestingly, there is a very close relationship between human security and development.

Another problem with the concept of Human Security is the relationship between human security and state. Some claim that state by nature is an anti-thesis or a counter-force for the security of individuals. This depends a bit on how critically one perceives human security and states.

From a more critical perspective, Human Security is also applicable to the Foucault's concept of bio-politics. Measuring human security can be very much about measuring some technical indicators about health or education. Refugees for instance are measured in numbers and some technical data, if they are not completely ignored. An alternative to this has been proposed by some feminists. Feminism is indeed very much in peace with the idea of individual security. However, it is also very critical about the current practices and policies.

Health is directly related to human security and her/his well-being. However, is health a security matter? This is controversial. For some, the spread of epidemics or diseases can also be considered a security matter. The US government sent more than 4000 troops to the Ebola nations. Discourses of Zika are interestingly similar to any security discourse about an enemy or threat. Already since the 1990s, we have been witnessing trends to securitize this matter. Health can be seen as a matter of human security or bio-security. It can also be seen as a matter of 'state' security. After September 11, we have for instance a threat of 'bio-terrorism.' Foucault`s concepts of biopolitics and disciplinary power are quite relevant here. Are populations measured in statistics for their physical characteristics, genes, their proneness for diseases and well-being? Does this lead to the misuse of this knowledge and data? Is this measurement 'completely objective'? Does this give extra power to the government over our bodies and reinforce certain categories such as racial or economic classes?

WORLD'S WORST INDUSTRIAL DISASTER: 29 YEARS ON

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MEETING 8-TASK 8

Terrorism and Homeland Security/War against Terrorism

Literature: On the Student Portal

Recommended Journal: The journal of Critical Studies on Terrorism

According to Critical Terrorism Studies (CTS), the term 'terrorism' is highly political. Nelson Mandela was once a 'terrorist.' So were Menachim Begin, Sean McBride and Yassir Arafat. Ironically all thee four men won Nobel peace prize!

The referent object of terrorism is also controversial. According to Noam Chomsky, the US has become a terrorist state.

Mainstream terrorism studies will give some definitions of terrorism together with appropriate responses to it. These texts are quite different than critical terrorism studies. You can read for instance the recommended Williams chapters to compare them to the chapter in People`s book.

As a very good example of CTS (see the CHALLENGE Project Didier Bigo and others) is trying to understand in what ways individual freedoms and liberties have been affected by the

proliferation of discourses about insecurity and new techniques of control and surveillance in the EU. Please visit the webpage of the project before post-discussion.[3]

Unfortunately, not only in the EU, but also in different parts of the world, individual liberties have been restricted for security reasons after September 11. The whole atmosphere in many countries has been highly securitized. The term homeland security in the US context is not new. However, the agency responsible for it has been established after September 11. Now this agency is called Department of Homeland Security (DHS). Please take a look at the webpage.[4] This department deals with a broad range of issues from Cyberspace security to immigration. They support different campaigns such as "If you see something, say something" and citizencorps for Neighborhood watch.[5] These efforts have been intensified with the 2001 US Patriotic Act. According to the Homeland Security Advisory System, since September 11 attacks, the level of significant risk for a terrorist attack has not been lowered beyond the yellow level. This practically means that situation has not been 'normalised' in the US since 2001. UK Counter-Terrorism Act is another controversial legal document with many implications on the lives of people. In Europe, there are some recent legislations and changes taking place to prevent or counter terrorism.

As an interesting development, Mattis said that terrorism is not a biggest national security threay anymore but revisionist powers like China and Russia are (http://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-42752298). Going back to the Cold War realist logic does not mean that militarization and high-level surveillance will be less. They can be much more and doneto an unpredictable degree.

It is debatable how far these measures are useful, productive and fruitful. One may claim that at the face of such a horrifying threat a government should do everything possible in its capacity. On the other hand, one may also argue that governments but especially Western governments have to keep up to its fundamental principles.

Assignment: Check the websites of Homeland Security, Citizencorps, Neighborhood Watch or similar ones. Also make a research about the new proposed or passed legislations in European states in the recent times about terrorism, extra ordinary powers/measures, internet freedoms, personal data protection, so on.
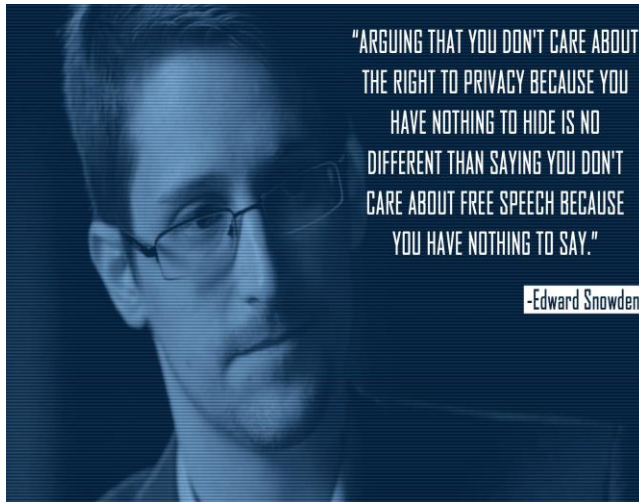
Movies: Citizen Four, Snowden, The Road to Guantanamo, 5 Jahre Leben, Zero Dark Thirty also see a comment by Mark Levine here:http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/01/201311212126424914.html

TV Series: 24, Homeland (for a comment about Homeland see http://www.newrepublic.com/article/books-and-arts/107910/stop-calling-homeland-the-anti-24#)

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[3] For the Project: http://www.libertysecurity.org/module/ For reports visit http://aei.pitt.edu/7404/2/7404.pdf and http://aei.pitt.edu/12224/1/1905.pdf

[4]   http://www.dhs.gov/

[5]   http://www.citizencorps.gov/

"ARGUING THAT YOU DON'T CARE ABOUT THE RIGHT TO PRIVACY BECAUSE YOU HAVE NOTHING TO HIDE IS NO DIFFERENT THAN SAYING YOU DON'T CARE ABOUT FREE SPEECH BECAUSE YOU HAVE NOTHING TO SAY."

-Edward Snowden

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MEETING 9-TASK 9

Technology, New Wars, Warfare in Cyber Age and Surveillance

Literature: Student portal

Recommended: Special issue of Security Dialogue on Securitization of Visual Culture, 38:2, 2007 or Security Dialogue Special Issue on Securing with Algorithms 2017 February.

Pastoralist Somali farmers stand beside their cattle in the market of Dhobley in Somalia on August 11, 2011. © AFP

Somali victims of US drone strike take legal action against The Netherlands

Two Somali victims of a US drone strike take legal action against the Netherlands. In January 2014, both men were hit by an American missile and lost two young daughters. One nomad lost his leg and their livestock was mostly annihilated. The Somalis and their lawyers hold the Netherlands co-responsible for the attack by the Americans, they said to reporters of De Volkskrant.

Door: Huib Modderkolk, Maud Effting 28 november 2015, 02:00

To begin with, it is important to discuss what war is and what the philosophy behind it is actually.

At the end of the 1990s, a group of scholars claimed that the time of old wars were over and a new era has started with 'new' kind of wars. These new wars have characteristics which are quite different than the Clausewitzian or Realist wars.

Guardian on February 12, 2018 reported that according to a draft Homeland Security report all Sunni Muslim immigrants in the USA would be subject to long-term surveillance.

In the same report, Guardian continued that:

Internal documents obtained from the FBI and DHS last year also showed how the agencies are surveilling the Movement for Black Lives, bringing into mind tactics of Cointelpro, an FBI program which secretly and illegally conducted surveillance on the civil rights movement in order to disrupt Americans' ability to organize politically. (see here https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/feb/12/government-spying-immigrants-america)

One cannot help and wonders: are new wars against citizens of free and democratic countries?

With the beginning of the 21st century, a new term has entered into the security studies: Postmodern wars (or Western way of wars). These wars can be defined as high reliance on technology and increased means of destruction without inflicting harm on the one's own army. Nowadays, a war plane can be controlled in Washington and it drops bombs over the targets in Yemen or Afghanistan. Result is zero casualties for the US army. If we look at the wars that US was involved in the last 50 years, maybe we can see the trend from traditional warfare then to the modern wars and finally to the post-modern ones.

High-tech wars of Western states have also another characteristic that makes use of media. Big television corporations and new way of war-reporting may make us spectator to a war from our living rooms. The use of media, images and journalistic techniques is also another controversial element in these wars.

There are some arguments favouring the use of high-technology in military. However, there are also controversies around them.

James Der Derian studied extensively on 'virtual wars.' Virtual wars according to him do not simply reflect the reality but they do *create* it. Der Derian claims that in these wars, "distance between here and there, near and far, fact and fiction" collapses. Like this, wars become safer, easier and deathless (at least no death from 'our' side). If the difference between simulation and reality breaks down, then we do not experience the horrors of war but war becomes just a video-game. It is dehumanized. The use of drones is a good example of this (see http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-21176279 or read this heart breaking story here: http://www.volkskrant.nl/buitenland/somali-victims-of-us-drone-strike-take-legal-action-against-the-netherlands~a4196845/

Feminists and critical security scholars have also made contributions to the study of technology and security. And from a post-colonial analysis, on one hand Western governments invest in the most improved and advanced technologies in their armies. On the other hand, if 'enemy' states

do the same, Western leaders say: "they should be stopped or controlled" and "technology gets out of control." US can have nuclear weapons but North Korea cannot.

However, do more guns provide more security? What is missing in many debates structural issues and violence such as this one: https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/jun/09/the-counted-police-killings-us-vs-other-countries. Some governments want to spend even more on security and defense. But is this really necessary (see https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/01/the-tragedy-of-the-american-military/383516/ and https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/feb/09/senate-budget-deal-us-military-spending).

How much is spent to defense in a relational perspective and how much could have been spent for health or education for instance? How much arms and weapons do Western states export to countries with civil wars or totalitarian system (see very interesting research done by Anna Stavrianakis and others about the UK arms exports and its huge impact here https://www.forumarmstrade.org/anna-stavrianakis.html or read this report about the Syrian civil war and US and European arms sales to the Middle East here http://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/33857/What-the-West-Owes-Syrians-US-and-European-Arms-Sales-to-the-Middle-East-2011-2014).

What is even more striking that the symbiosis between technology and security affects us, normal individuals with surveillance cameras, biometric ID cards, fingerprint datasets, facial recognition systems. Going back to the report mentioned at the beginning of the task, in hyper securiticised times, everyone is potentially guilty, everyone can be subject to surveillance, can be stripped off their rights and everyone is potentially no one. Students may guess what the Foucauldian scholars think about these developments.

Can you sacrifice your freedom for 'security'? Snowden answered this question clearly:

"I grew up with the understanding that the world I lived in was one where people enjoyed a sort of freedom to communicate with each other in privacy, without it being monitored, without it being measured or analyzed or sort of judged by these shadowy figures or systems, any time they mention anything that travels across public lines."

  Edward Snowden

I HAVE A GUN IN ORDER TO PROTECT MYSELF FROM BAD GUYS WITH GUNS.

The agency's exact budget is a government secret, but estimates put it around $10 billion per year. Although not all of that is devoted to surveillance, it's reasonable to conclude that something in the ballpark of $5 billion goes to fund NSA data gathering each year. This may not be the clear-cut biggest Big Data application (Google's revenue was $66 billion last year, for example), but it's substantial, focused and paid for by the public. We ought to discuss what we're getting for the money. http://www.forbes.com/sites/metabrown/2015/08/27/nsa-mass-surveillance-biggest-big-data-story/2/#5fe08f4317c8

Under this blanket order, the NSA collects data on 3 billion phone calls per day. The NSA collects over 200 million text messages per day. http://www.mintpressnews.com/15-facts-about-the-nsas-domestic-spying-program/203014/
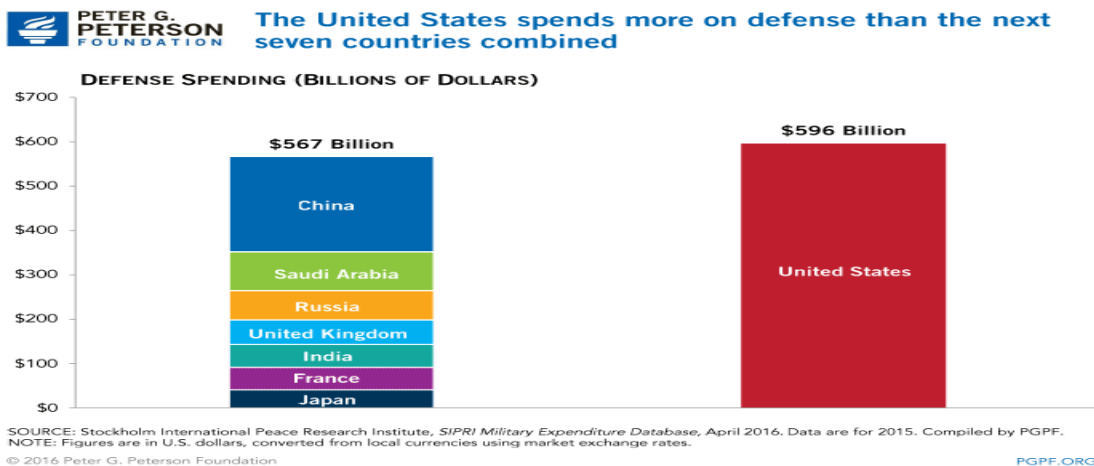
TV Series, Movies, Books: Black Mirror, Minority Report, Children of Man, Elysium, In Time, Snowpiercer, The Trial, 1984, Fahrenheit 451, Dark City, Snowden, DerDerian documentaries (Project Z), Control Room, Terms and Conditions Applied, Citizen Four, Our Eyes in the Sky, The Final Year (a documentary about Obama and his foreign policy team)

Web pages, interesting reads: https://www.opendemocracy.net/opensecurity-projects/future-under-surveillance; http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/jan/24/justify-gchq-mass-surveillance-european-court-human-rights; http://www.bigbrotherwatch.org.uk/2014/07/civil-society-briefing-data-retention-investigatory-powers-bill/; http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/aug/03/us-led-air-strikes-on-isis-targets-killed-more-than-450-civilians-report?CMP=share_btn_fb ;http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/20/world/middleeast/united-states-war-game-sees-dire-results-of-an-israeli-attack-on-iran.html?_r=2&pagewanted=all&
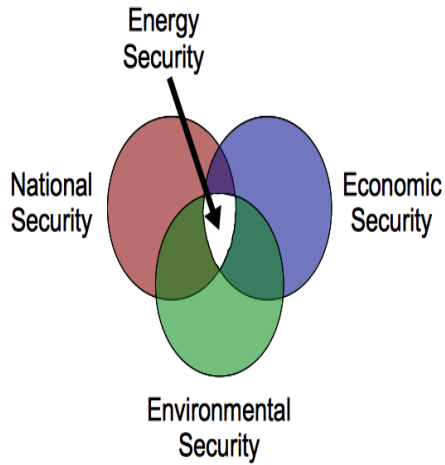
NGOs: EDRI, Open Democracy, Open Rights Group, Big Brother Watch, Liberty, Privacy International, Article 19, IFEX, IFF

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MEETING 10-TASK 10

Environmental Security and Energy Security

Literature: On the Student Portal

Environmental degradation and climate change are alarming and they are both non-reversible. Especially UN warns member states about the future of our earth. Already some governments prepared reports on 'climate wars.' There are more and more studies about scenarios of possible environmental wars.

However it is highly debatable whether there is a link between environmental problems and conflicts.

Critical security scholars claim that environmental issues should not be securitized at all. They have several strong arguments to support their thesis. For this purpose they advocate the greening of critical security studies.

According to many, the link between energy and security is less problematic. There is nowadays a growing scholarly field called Energy Security, whose research interest is mainly petroleum and the dependence of West on it.

As one can imagine, this is a field where the benefits of oil corporations and governments become very inter-linked. Moreover, since a large amount of world oil is in the less developed countries, we have also social and political issues like rights of indigenous people, bad governance and controversial policies of corporations and governments.

We need oil at the moment. That is for sure. But at the expense of what? And what are we capable of doing in order to get it cheap and on time?

DAY BY DAY, RIVER BY RIVER, FOREST BY FOREST, MOUNTAIN BY MOUNTAIN, MISSILE BY MISSILE, BOMB BY BOMB - ALMOST WITHOUT OUR KNOWING IT, WE ARE BEING BROKEN.
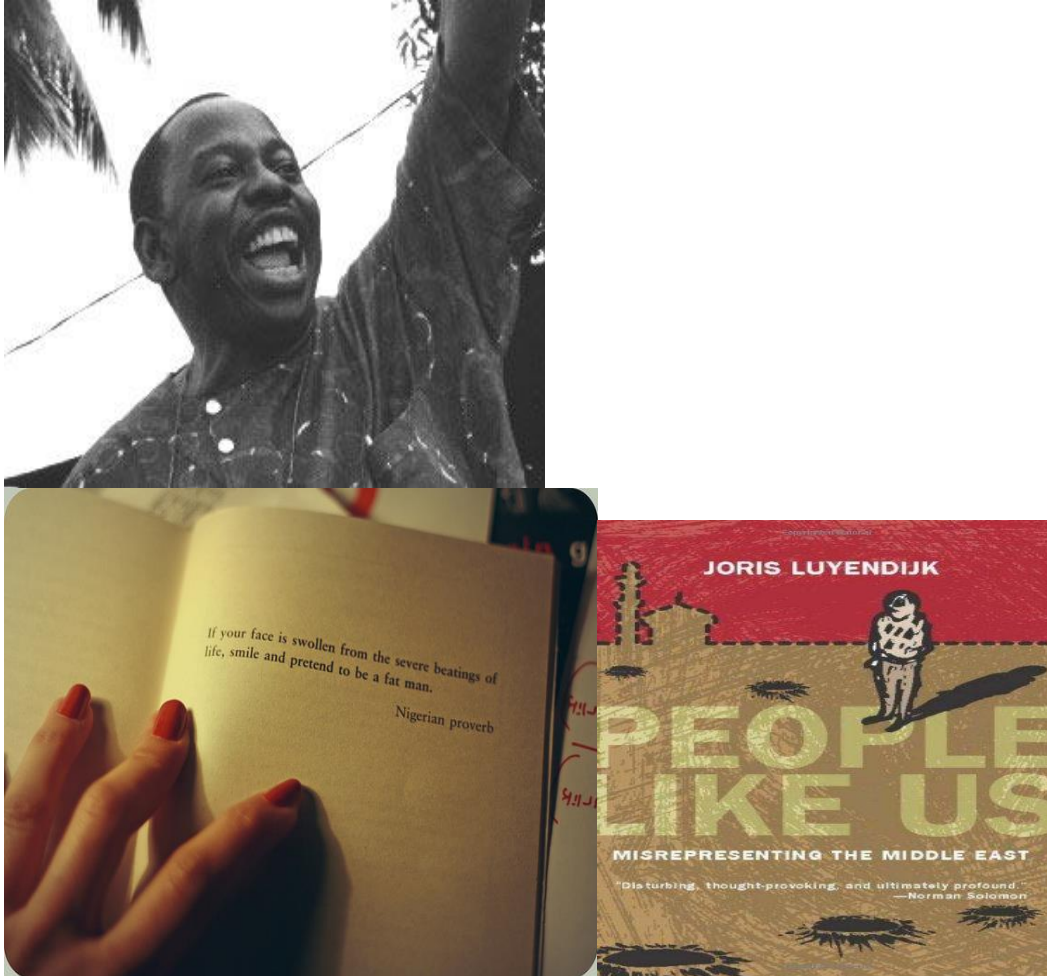
ARUNDHATI ROY:

Friendly reminder:

This is the only home we have.

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MEETING 11-TASK 11

Discussing Books and Security

Literature: Fiction And non-fiction books

In this tutorial, we ask students to discuss the novel/book they chose to read. Based on the books, students will analyse the meaning of security according to individuals. Experiences that the main characters in each book went through will be reflected and the possible security theories will be incorporated to this discussion.

Students will also use this meeting as an opportunity to discuss the contemporary security in general.

WE ALMOST CAME TO THE END OF THIS COURSE. THANK YOU FOR TAKING IT AND FOR YOUR VALUABLE CONTRIBUTIONS. I HOPE YOU ENJOYED IT AND YOU FOUND IT USEFUL. WISH YOU SUCCESS IN YOUR EXAMS AND A WONDERFUL SUMMER HOLIDAY ☺