

HUMAN SECURITY

University of Massachusetts-Amherst | Department of Political Science

Course #: POLSCI 791-S

Term: Fall 2020

Day: Monday

Time: 2:30-5:00

Location: Taught Remotely

Instructor: Professor Charli Carpenter

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COURSE DESCRIPTION

Do human rights treaties improve human rights performance or simply provide language with which states can justify their poor behavior? Do the rules of war mitigate violent conflict or do they simply reflect the interests of powerful states? Do peace-keeping and humanitarian intervention save lives or are they mere normative smoke-screens for great power meddling in developing countries? To what extent do institutions and norms of human rights, international justice, pandemic response and conflict prevention fundamentally change the nature of the Westphalian system? And what does this system look like anyway from the perspective of those being 'secured'? More importantly, *how do we know?*

This course is an IR theory doctoral reading seminar focused on political science literature at the intersection of human rights and international security. Conventionally two distinct subfields within IR, an increasing literature has begun to blur this boundary as it keeps up with evolving global events, institutions and discourses. Topics to be covered will include human rights, humanitarian law, conflict prevention and peace-keeping; humanitarian action and intervention; humanitarian disarmament, poverty reduction and transitional justice. We will read literature at the intersection of qualitative and quantitative methods and critical / positivist epistemologies, and consider arguments across a range of schools of thought in international relations.

The course has a set of three-fold learning objectives. First, it is designed to familiarize students conceptually and substantively with **history, concepts and global policy processes** related to human rights and humanitarian affairs as they pertain to evolving conceptions of "international peace and security," broadly defined. Second, it will train students to **synthesize and critique**

literature in preparation for the type of writing expected on comprehensive exams. Third, students will learn to **design research projects** to attract external funding.

REQUIRED READINGS:

The reading load for this course is heavy – designed to help you absorb and evaluate book-length material in political science efficiently and with sufficient depth to do well on comprehensive exams and literature reviews. [Don't read every word](#) – but, don't fall into the trap of reading only superficially. Look to the *main points* of all the readings / similarities / contrasts among authors.

Required Readings are the minimum essential to do well in the class and will form the basis of class discussions and exercises. This is a book-a-week class meaning every week we will read a book that is either on the IR comp reading list or likely to be placed there in future on account of its importance to the discipline. In addition, most weeks there will be a couple of additional articlelength readings we will connect to the arguments in the book. You are expected to come to class having absorbed the basic substance of and prepared to **raise questions** re the required readings. ¹

Supplementary Readings are additional to the class readings for that week. They are not mandatory for all students, but will enhance your understanding of the material even if you simply find time to skim them. Non-superficial engagement with these readings in addition to the required readings on your cumulative written essays will earn you brownie points. Each student is responsible for choosing *two* heavy reading weeks in which they will identify appropriate supplementary readings (see below).

The following books are available used from Amazon.com and/or are on reserve. They will form our core reading list for the class. Students who send me their address by August will receive a free copy of *Lost Causes*.

Charli Carpenter, [Lost Causes](#). Cornell University Press 76756, 2014, (free! ☺)

D. Andersen-Rogers et al, [Human Security in Theory and Action](#), Rowman/Littlefield, 2018, \$37.00

Martha Finnemore / Michael Barnett, [Rules For the World](#). Cornell Uni Press 2005, \$16.80

Kathryn Sikkink, [Evidence for Hope](#). Cornell University Press, 2018, \$35.00

Kerry Crawford, [Wartime Sexual Violence](#). Georgetown University Press, 2017, \$29.26

Oona Hathaway / Steve Shapiro, [The Internationalists](#). Simon and Schuster, 2018, \$12.54

Bear Braumoeller, [Only The Dead](#), Oxford University Press, 2019. \$14.96

Janina Dill, [Legitimate Targets?](#) Cambridge University Press, 2019, \$22.86

¹ My usual no-laptops policy is obviously suspended for remote teaching! As such you can read online or offline, but you must have your materials (readings and notes) available in session. I recommend reading with a highlighter (to make visible the basic points for later re-skimming) and a pen (for writing comments/questions in the margins).

Lisa Howard. *Power in Peacekeeping*. Cambridge University Press, 2019, \$27.23
T. Alexander Aleinikoff / Leah Zamore. *The Arc of Protection*. 2019, \$13.99
Michelle Jurkovich, *Feeding the Hungry*, Cornell University Press, 2020, \$21.95
Maura Dowdy, *The Origins of the Syrian Conflict*. Cambridge University Press, 2020, \$29.99
Jamie Rowen, *Searching for Truth / Transitional Justice Movement*, Cambridge, 2018, \$38.98
Rajan Manon, *The Conceit of Humanitarian Intervention*. Oxford, 2018. \$20.53

GRADING

Your final letter grade is based on a 100 pt. scale. 93-100 = A; 90-92.9 = A-; 87-89.9 = B+; 82-86.9 = B; 80-81.9 = B-; 77- 79.9=C+; 72-76.9=C; 70-72.9 = C-; 60-69 = D; less than 60 = F. Only exceptional work will receive grades of an A- or higher, but it is expected that all doctoral students will cultivate the skills necessary to produce such work. These include completing the readings; coming to class prepared to provide incisive commentary on the readings; meeting writing deadlines with polished, concise, well-organized, spell-checked prose; synthesizing existing literature into original arguments rather than simply regurgitating them; and linking theories to real-world evidence in order to critically assess them. I will provide ample mentorship on all these skills as we go through the semester.

NOTE: PLAGIARISM WILL NOT BE TOLERATED ON ANY WRITTEN ASSIGNMENT.² PLAGIARIZED WORK OF ANY KIND WILL RESULT AT MINIMUM IN AN AUTOMATIC F FOR THE ASSIGNMENT.

ASSIGNMENTS

Participation (25 points): The class is a reading seminar and will be highly interactive: thirty percent of your grade will be based on the instructor's assessment of the quality of your participation. Attendance and engaged participation is essential both to your ability to absorb the information and to the effective functioning of the virtual classroom environment.³ All sessions as well as office hours will be held remotely by Zoom.

² Plagiarism means attempting to pass off someone else's research or writing as your own. It is very easy to catch plagiarists, and I love to do it, so don't risk your grade or your academic reputation. University of Massachusetts' plagiarism policy can be found at:

http://www.umass.edu/dean_students/codeofconduct/acadhonesty/

³ The latter involves not just contributing but also listening with respect while peers speak, responding thoughtfully but critically to their comments (aka providing constructive feedback), and providing space, leadership and encouragement for those less inclined to take initiative. At a more obvious and easily gradable level, it means not dominating the discussion, interrupting, or reacting disrespectfully to others' opinions you may not share.

It should go without saying that in a graduate seminar of this type it is vital to attend all sessions, and to communicate in advance with the instructor should you require an excused absence. Events such as deaths in the family, documented illness of oneself or one's child, or emergencies of similar gravity qualify for excused absences. It is also important to show up for section *prepared* to discuss the readings and link them to global issues.

Your participation grade also includes presenting your term project – and showing up to provide critical feedback on others' projects – at the end of the semester; as well as providing written peer feedback on a writing assignment draft once during the term. ***Class days missed without an excused absence will automatically be penalized by a reduction of five points off the final grade.***

This is a book-a-week class where we will read together each week a significant new work in the broad area of human security, consider its relevance in the context of a few canonical additional readings from the IR Comp list.

Writing Assignments (75 pts). Students will turn in three types of written assignments over the course of the term. Writing assignments are structured around one of three course objectives: to prepare students to successfully synthesize literatures and write in a style conducive to passing comps; and to develop the ability to communicate cutting-edge human-security-related research outside academic circles; and to begin thinking about how to develop research designs that will attract external grant funds for human security-related topics.⁴ Unless otherwise noted, all writing assignments must be uploaded to thfolder in hard copy at the start of class on the day they are due. ***I will not accept late or electronic assignments unless a student has an excused absence negotiated well in advance.*** All writing projects should be turned in spell-checked, proofread and with accurate citations.

Reaction Papers (30 points). Think of these as analytical notes for comps, and/or a mini-review essay. These papers (and notes on each individual piece you read) should also be archived as a set of notes that will help you study and prepare for comprehensive exams. The precise distribution of points across these assignments is TBA.

Weekly Reaction Papers (20 pts). In 10 of the 14 weeks, students must turn in a short (1pg) critical reaction to the book being discussed for the week. In your reaction papers, include a short description of the argument, a statement of what you think the book is doing theoretically and where you think it is weak, whether you think the argumentation is internally and externally valid and where it could be improved, and what methodological, ethical or substantive questions it leaves unaddressed that you would want to see authors further explore. In your reaction papers, focus on the book. Unless you are lead author, it is

⁴ One of the skill-sets required for responsible IR scholarship in the twenty-first century is the ability to communicate research findings to practitioners. This is not always easy given the linguistic and sociological divide between researchers and policy-makers, but given that human security is a policy domain as well as an analytical sub-field we are required to develop and hone these skill-sets.

not necessary to critically analyze the adjacent articles, although it is useful if you reference how those articles connect to the book being discussed, and you would be wise to make notes of each article as well for your comprehensive exams. These reaction papers are due no later than each Sunday by 5. They are graded primarily for comprehension, writing quality and evidence of critical thinking and will be assessed as a group twice throughout the semester.

Supplementary Reading / Mini-Review-Essays (10 pts). Second, students will take turns identifying two additional readings each week either from the comp list or from recent issues of the following journals: *International Organization, International Studies Quarterly, Journal of Global Security Studies, International Security*. This student should read this set of articles closely, write a short (2-pg) reaction essay analyzing these readings in relation to the required readings for the week (books and articles), distribute their short essay to the class listserv by Sunday at 5pm, and be prepared to launch the class discussion with summary of the materials and a few open questions. Because of the greater thought and labor required for this, each of these assignments is worth 5 points and will be graded on synthetic writing quality as well as content.

Term Writing Assignment (25 points). All students must complete a term writing project on a research topic of their choice designed to make an original contribution to knowledge in the area of human security. By **September 17**, each must turn in either a conference abstract outlining their topic, or a one-page letter of intent for a grant proposal. The final version is due on the second to last day of class.

Option 1: Research Paper. Doctoral or Masters students may write an original research paper that includes an original question, a literature review, and original research designed to answer the question. Masters students may elect to write a review essay instead of conducting primary research. Doctoral students electing this option must have a project the original research for which can be undertaken and completed in a single semester, building on earlier work, and should aim to produce a paper of appropriate quality to submit to a political science conference and/or submit to a journal. Doctoral students electing this option must present a clear roadmap for their project (question, significance, methodology, data, expected finding) by week three of the class.

Option 2: Grant Proposal: In lieu of a research paper, doctoral students in the class may elect (and are encouraged) to write a grant proposal to a major funder with a research design for a major study in the area of human security, broadly defined. The purpose of this assignment is to a) identify and articulate a novel research problem in human security b) communicate its theoretical or empirical significance by describing what is already known on the topic and what we still need to know and c) to outline a research design capable of exploring the question and d) to build career skills in grant-writing. To this end, students will *not* conduct primary research but rather will craft a request for external funding in

support of a future project. Early in the semester, students must identify a topic of interest and a funder they will submit to (as a default, the NSF Dissertation Award Competition) and draft a letter of inquiry to the Program Officer attached to a one-page draft project summary. The grant proposal itself must include the revised one-page summary, a project narrative of no more than 10 single-spaced pages, and a budget/budget justification. This option is strongly recommended for doctoral students in their second year or beyond. You must meet with me early in the semester to create a timeline for success.

Practice Comp Essay (20 points). The final assignment for the semester is to write a “practice comp” over a human-security related question. The question will be written to simulate a comprehensive exam question and the answer is expected to respond cumulatively to the readings covered in the course. Students will have one week (over finals) to complete their essay.

TENTATIVE READING LIST

INTRODUCTION

August 24: Human Security: Paradigm Shift, Hot Air or Master Frame? Andersen-Rogers and Crawford, *Human Security in Theory and Action*, ch 1 and 2 Finnemore and Barnett, *Rules for the World*, ch. 1 and 2.

Roland Paris, [“Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?”](#)

Lee Ann Fujii, [“Research Ethics 101”](#)

Miriam Sweeney, [“How to Read for Grad School”](#)

Stephen Pinker and Andrew Mack, [“Why the World Is Not Falling Apart”](#)

August 31: Human Security Norms, Actors and Networks

Carpenter, *Lost Causes*, chs 1, 2, 3, Conclusion, Methods Appendix and at least one case study.

Wendy Wong and Sarah Stroup, [“The Agency and Authority of International NGOs.”](#)

APSA Ethics Committee, [APSA Principles and Guidance for Ethics in Human Subjects Research.](#)

Carpenter, [“You Talk About Terrible Things so Matter-of-Factly In This Language of Science”](#)

Andersen-Rogers and Crawford, *Human Security in Theory and Action*, ch 3

HUMAN SECURITY NORM DEVELOPMENT AND IMPACT

Friday, September 18, 3pm: Deadline to Submit NSF Project Summary or Letter of Intent.

September 7: Ending the Scourge of War I

Required:

Oona Hathaway / Steve Shapiro, [The Internationalists.](#)

Dan Altman, [“The Evolution of Territorial Conquest After 1945”](#)

Roland Paris, "[The Right to Dominate](#)"

Neta Crawford "Native Americans and the Making of International Society" (handout)

Supplementary:

Christopher Hobson, "[Democratic Peace: Progress and Crisis](#)"

Neta Crawford, *skim* "[A Security Regime Among Democracies](#)"

September 14: Ending the Scourge of War II

~~*Discussion Leader: Kevin Muir*~~

Guest Speaker: Bear Braumoeller

Bear Braumoeller, [Only The Dead](#),

Tanisha Fazal, "[Dead Wrong](#)"

Supplementary: TBA

September 21: Human Rights: Origins and Impact

Discussion Leader: Catie Fowler Required:

Required:

Kathryn Sikkink, *Evidence for Hope*.

Zoltan Buzas, "[Is the Good News About Law Compliance Good News About Norm Compliance?](#)"

Andersen-Rogers and Crawford, *Human Security in Theory and Action*, ch 4 *skim* Emilie Hafner-Burton and James Ron, "[Seeing Double](#)."

Supplementary:

Milli Lake, "[Organizing Hypocrisy](#)"

Fernando G. Nuñez-Mietz, Lucrecia García Iommi, [Can Transnational Norm Advocacy Undermine Internalization? Explaining Immunization Against LGBT Rights in Uganda](#)

September 28: Humanitarian Law

Discussion Leader: Jenna Norosky

Required:

Janina Dill, [Legitimate Targets?](#) Parts 1, 3, 4 and skim over Part 2.

Andersen-Rogers and Crawford, *Human Security in Theory and Action*, ch 8

Supplementary:

Helen Kinsella and Giovanni Mantilla, "[Contestation Before Compliance](#)"

Tanisha Fazal and Brooke Greene, "[A Particular Difference](#)"

PROMOTING AND ENFORCING HUMAN SECURITY

October 5: Peacekeeping

Guest: Retired Lt. Col. Edward Carpenter

Discussion Leader: Catie Fowler

Required:

Finnemore and Barnett, chapter 5

Lisa Howard. [Power in Peacekeeping](#), read preface, Ch1 and Ch5 and theory portions of each case study chapter; skim case studies.

Andersen-Rogers and Crawford, *Human Security in Theory and Action*, ch 6 and 7

Supplementary:

Marisella Rodriguez and Brandon J Kinne, [Blue Helmets, Red Flags](#)

Kathleen Jennings, [Conditional Protection? Sex, Gender and Discourse in UN Peacekeeping](#)

October 12: Protecting Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons

Discussion Leader: Isabelle Frechette

Required:

T. Alexander Aleinikoff / Leah Zamore. [The Arc of Protection](#), chs. TBA

Finnemore and Barnett, *Rules for the World*, ch. 4

Ron and Cooley, "[The NGO Scramble](#)"

Phil Orchard, "[Protecting IDPs: Soft Law as a Norm-Generating Mechanism](#)"

Supplementary:

R. Adler-Nissen et al, "[Images, Emotions, International Politics: The Death of Alan Kurdi](#)"

Caroline Wanjiku Kihato, Loren B. Landau, [Stealth Humanitarianism](#)

October 19: Humanitarian Intervention

Discussion Leader: Jenna Norosky

Required: Rajan Manon, [The Conceit of Humanitarian Intervention](#).

Matthew Krain, "[International Intervention and the Severity of Genocides and Politicides](#)"

Alex Kuperman, "[The Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention](#)"

Roland Paris, "[Structural Problems with R2P](#)"

Andersen-Rogers and Crawford, *Human Security in Theory and Action*, ch 5

Supplementary:

Patrick Quinton-Brown, "[The South, the West and the Meanings of R2P in History](#)"

Aning and Edu-Afful, "[African Agency in R2P](#)"

Elinor Buys and Andrew Garwood-Gowers, "[The \(Ir\)Relevance of Human Suffering](#)"

October 26: Civil Resistance and Civilian Self Protection

Discussion Leader: Kevin Muir

Guest: Erica Chenoweth

Required:

Erica Chenoweth, *Civil Resistance: What Everyone Needs to Know*

Betsy Jose and Peace Medie, "[Understanding Civilian Self-Protection in Conflicts](#)"

Supplementary:

Ches Thurber, "[Ethnic Barriers to Civil Resistance](#)"

Alexandr Marsavelski, et al. [Did Nonviolent Resistance Fail in Kosovo?](#)

Emily Rhoades and Rebecca Sutton, [The Self-Protection of Civilians in the South Sudan](#)

November 2: Justice After Mass Atrocities

Discussion Leader: Jaeye Baek

Required:

Jamie Rowen, [Searching for Truth in the Transitional Justice Movement](#)

Karen Alter, Emilie Hafner-Burton and Laurence Helfer, "[Judicialization in IR](#)"

Kelebogile Zvogbo, "[Human Rights v. National Interests: Shifting US Opinion on the ICC](#)"

McAllister, Jacqueline R., 2020, "[Deterring Wartime Atrocities](#)"

Supplementary:

Dancy, Geoff, 2018, "[Deals with the devil? conflict amnesties, civil war, and peace.](#)"

Loken, M., Lake, M. and Cronin-Furman, K., 2018, "[Deploying Justice](#)"

ISSUES IN HUMAN SECURITY

November 9: Gender and Security

Discussion Leader: Imtashal Tariq

Required:

Kerry Crawford, [Wartime Sexual Violence](#).

Elisabeth Prugl and J. Ann Tickner, "[Feminist IR: Some Research Agendas...](#)"

Andersen-Rogers and Crawford, *Human Security in Theory and Action*, ch 10

Supplementary:

Dara Kay Cohen, [Explaining Rape during Civil War: Cross-National Evidence \(1980-2009\)](#)

Maria Eriksson Baaz, Maria Stern, [Why Do Soldiers Rape?](#)

Karen Johansson / Lisa Hultmann, [UN Peacekeeping and Protection from Sexual Violence](#).

November 16: Economic Security – Food and Health

Discussion Leader: Kevin Muir

Required:

Michelle Jurkovich, [Feeding the Hungry](#), chs. TBA

Supplementary:

Martha Finnemore / Kathryn Sikkink, "[International Norm Dynamics / Political Change](#)"

Jennifer Clapp, [World Hunger and the Global Economy: Strong Linkages, Weak Action](#)

November 23: Climate Security

Discussion Leader: Jaeye Baek

Required:

Maura Dowdy, [The Origins of the Syrian Conflict](#).

Andersen-Rogers and Crawford, *Human Security in Theory and Action*, ch 11

Supplementary:

Mitchell, Ronald B and Carpenter, Charli. "[Norms for the Earth](#)"

McDonald, Matt, 2018, "[Climate change and security: towards ecological security?](#)"

November 30: Student Presentations

December 2: Review / Recap

Finnemore and Barnett, *Rules for the World*, Conclusion

Amitav Acharya, "[Ideas Shift: How Ideas from the Rest are Re-shaping World Order](#)"

Forum, "[Power and Rules in the Profession of International Studies](#)"

December 4: Practice Comp Due by 3pm.