

## International Relations/Political Science

Academic year 2019-2020

## Security Governance

### RI-SP106 - Printemps - 6 ECTS

Tuesday 14h15 - 16h00

## Course Description

Security institutions are manifold as they not only coordinate and regulate different issues but also have a different scope and actor compositions. In this course, we will look at different security institutions to gain a better understanding of what security means and how it is enacted. The course will also leave room for students to present their own research on the matter.

## > PROFESSOR

[Stephanie Hofmann](#)

[Office hours](#)

Wednesdays 4.30-6.30pm

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## > ASSISTANT

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## Syllabus

Security institutions are manifold as they not only coordinate and regulate different issues but also have a different scope and actor compositions. In this course, we will look at different security institutions ranging from nuclear nonproliferation to conflict mediation and crisis management institutions to gain a better understanding of what security means and how it is enacted. We will address questions such as: What actors are mostly involved in the issue area? What is at stake? What institutional design have actors adopted to act on a certain issue? Is there a propensity to spill-over into other issue areas? What are the main lines of contestation? The course will also leave room for students to present their own research on the matter.

### Course requirements consist of

- active *participation* in seminar discussions,
- **3 short memos**,  
Please submit a **2-3 pages long memo two days before** (Sunday 4pm) week 5, 8, 11. The memo should outline a research question (memo #1), argument(s) (memo #2), and research

design (memo #3), respectively. A discussant will be assigned to each memo. We will spend the class of these respective weeks to discuss each memo, which will serve as building blocks for the research paper.

- and a ***research paper***  
The format of the **paper is 25 pages** (excluding references), using both course materials and other sources. The paper will be evaluated based on (i) its clear statement of a research question and argument, (ii) the ability to use evidence, (iii) the presentation of counter-arguments, counterfactuals, etc. to support the main thesis. Evidence of **plagiarism** (including copying and pasting of text from the web) will result in a **failing** grade for the course. The paper is due on **June 6, 10pm CET**.

The final grade will be based on the following distribution: participation (20%) and research paper (80%). The memos will not be graded, but with each memo that will not be submitted on time, the grade of the research paper will be cut by 0.25.

## **Week 1. Introduction**

No readings.

## **Week 2. What is security governance?**

Krahmann, Elke. 2003. "Conceptualizing Security Governance." *Cooperation and Conflict* 38, 1: 5-26.

Schroeder, Ursula C., Fairlie Chappuis and Denis Kocak. 2014. "Security Sector Reform and the Emergence of Hybrid Security Governance." *International Peacekeeping* 21: 214-230.

Kavalski, Emilian. 2008. "The Complexity of Global Security Governance: An Analytical Overview." *Global Society* 22, 4:423-443.

Duffield, Mark. 2001. *Global governance and the new wars: the merging of development and security*. London: Zed Books, chapter 3, 44-74.

### Optional

Daase, Christopher and Cornelius Friesendorf. 2010. "Introduction: security governance and the problem of unintended consequences." In Daase and Friesendorf, eds. *Rethinking Security Governance. The problem of unintended consequences*. London: Routledge, 1-20.

Deborah Avant and Oliver Westerwinter. 2016. "Introduction: Networks and Transnational Security Governance." In *The New Power Politics: Networks and Transnational Security Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sperling, James and Mark Webber. 2014. "Security governance in Europe: a return to system." *European Security* 23, 2: 126-144.

## **Week 3. Nuclear governance**

Eilstrup-Sangiovanni, Mette. 2016. "Power and Purpose in Transgovernmental Networks: Insights from the Global Nonproliferation Regime." In *The New Power Politics: Networks and Transnational Security Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mallard, Gregoire. 2014. "Crafting the nuclear regime complex (1950-1975): dynamics of harmonization of opaque treaty rules." *European Journal of International Law* 25, 2: 445-472.

Sagan, Scott. 2009. "Shared responsibilities for nuclear disarmament." *Daedalus* 138, 4: 157-168. (FYI, this article resulted in a debate that can be found here <https://carnegieendowment.org/files/saganInside.pdf>).

Müller, Harald and Carmen Wunderlich. 2018. "Not lost in contestation: how norm entrepreneurs from norm development in the nuclear nonproliferation regime." *Contemporary Security Policy* 39, 3: 341-366.

## Optional

Way, Christopher and Jessica Weeks. 2014. "Making it personal: regime type and nuclear proliferation." *American Journal of Political Science* 58, 3: 705-719.

Sagan, Scott, Kenneth Waltz and Richard Betts. "A nuclear Iran: promoting stability or courting disaster?" *Journal of International Affairs* 60, 2: 135-150.

Norman, David. 2019. "Transnational civil society and informal public spheres in the nuclear non-proliferation regime." *European Journal of International Relations* 25, 2.

Ruzicka, Jan. 2018. "Behind the veil of good intentions: power analysis of the nuclear non-proliferation regime." *International Politics* 55: 369-385.

## **Week 4. Military alliances**

Henke, Marina. 2019. "Buying Allies: Payment Practices in Multilateral Military Coalition-Building." *International Security* 43, 4: 128-162.

Kim, Claudia. 2019 (online first). "Military alliances as a stabilizing force: US relations with South Korea and Taiwan, 1950s-1960s." *Journal of Strategic Studies*.

Fang, Songying, Jesse Johnson and Brett Ashely Leeds. 2014. "To concede or to resist? The restraining effect of military alliances." *International Organization* 68, 4: 775-809.

Walt, Stephen. 2009. "Alliances in a Unipolar World." *World Politics* 61, 1: 86-120.

## Optional

Benson, Brett and Joshua Clinton. 2016. "Assessing the variation of formal military alliances." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60, 5.

Morrow, James. 1991. "Alliances and Asymmetry: An Alternative to the Capability Aggregation Model of Alliances." *American Journal of Political Science* 35, 4: 904-933.

Leeds, Brett, Jeffrey Ritter, Sara Mitchell and Andrew Long. 2002. "Alliance treaty obligations and provisions, 1815-1944." *International Interactions* 28, 3: 237-260.

Pouliot, Vincent. 2010. *International security in practice: the politics of NATO-Russia diplomacy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Eznack, Lucile. 2011. "Crises as Signals of Strength: The Significance of Affect in Close Allies' Relationships." *Security Studies* 20,2: 238-65.

## **Week 5. Research question**

- Please circulate your 2-3 pages memo on your research question two days before class (Sunday at 4pm).
- Please read all the memos before class.

- Assigned discussants will start off the conversation.

## **Week 6. Conflict prevention and mediation**

Beardsley, Kyle, David Cunningham, and Peter White. 2017. "Resolving civil wars before they start: the UN Security Council and Conflict Prevention in self-determination disputes." *British Journal of Political Science* 47, 3: 675-697.

Lanz, David and Pring, Jamie and von Burg, Corinne and Zeller, Mathias. 2017. "Understanding Mediation Support." *swisspeace report*, <https://edoc.unibas.ch/56416/>

Iji, Tetsuro. 2017. "The UN as an International Mediator: From the Post-Cold War Era to the Twenty-First Century." *Global Governance* 23, 1: 83-100.

Carnegie Commission. *Preventing Deadly Conflict*, 1997, [https://www.carnegie.org/media/filer\\_public/b2/0e/b20e1080-7830-4f2b-941051c14171809b/ccny\\_report\\_1997\\_ccpdc\\_final.pdf](https://www.carnegie.org/media/filer_public/b2/0e/b20e1080-7830-4f2b-941051c14171809b/ccny_report_1997_ccpdc_final.pdf).

### Optional

Ackermann, Alice. 2003. "The Idea and Practice of Conflict Prevention." *Journal of Peace Research* 40, 3: 339-347.

Beardsley, Kyle, David Cunningham, and Peter White. 2019. "Mediation, Peacekeeping, and the Severity of Civil War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 63, 7: 1682-1709.

White, Peter B., David E. Cunningham and Kyle Beardsley. 2019. "Chapter 13: The United Nations Security Council and conflict prevention in self-determination disputes." In Jonathan Wilkenfeld, Kyle Beardsley and David Quinn, eds. *Research Handbook on Mediating International Crises*, 167-182.

Juncos, Ana and Steven Blockmans. 2018. "The EU's role in conflict prevention and peacebuilding: four key challenges." *Global Affairs* 4, 2-3: 131-140.

Lindskov Jacobsen, Katja and Troels Gausla Engell. 2018. "Conflict prevention as pragmatic response to a twofold crisis: liberal interventionism and Burundi." *International Affairs* 94, 2: 363-380.

Lanz, David. 2017. "Ten Recent Developments in Peace Mediation." *Perspektive Mediation* 14, 3: 146-152.

Piiparinen, Touko. 2008. "The Rise and Fall of Bureaucratic Rationalization: Exploring the Possibilities and Limitations of the UN Secretariat in Conflict Prevention." *European Journal of International Relations* 14, 4: 697-724.

## **Week 7. Crisis management**

Fortna, Page. 2004. "Does Peacekeeping Keep Peace? International Intervention and the Duration of Peace after Civil War." *International Studies Quarterly* 48, 2: 269-92.

Paris, Roland. 2010. "Saving liberal Peacebuilding." *Review of International Studies* 36: 337-365.

Bellamy, Alex J. and Paul D. Williams. 2005. "Who's Keeping the Peace? Regionalization and Contemporary Peace Operations." *International Security* 29, 4: 157–95.

Pugh, Michael. 2004. "Peacekeeping and critical theory." *International Peacekeeping* 11, 1: 39-58.

### Optional

Autesserre, Severine. 2017. "International Peacebuilding and Local Success: Assumptions and Effectiveness." *International Studies Review* 19, 1: 114-132.

Call, Charles T. and E.M. Cousens. 2008. "Ending Wars and Building Peace: International Responses to War-torn Societies." *International Studies Perspectives* 9, 1: 1–21.

Wilén, Nina. 2010. "A hybrid peace through locally owned and externally financed SSR-DDR in Rwanda?" *Third World Quarterly* 33, 7: 1323-1336.

Johansson, Karin and Lisa Hultman. 2019. "UN peacekeeping and protection of sexual violence." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 63, 7.

Miller, Benjamin. 2000. "Explaining Variations in Regional Peace. Three Strategies for Peace-making." *Cooperation and Conflict* 35, 2: 155-192.

Adler-Nissen, Rebecca, and Vincent Pouliot. 2014. "Power in practice: Negotiating the international intervention in Libya." *European Journal of International Relations* 20, 4: 889–911.

Williams, Paul. "Paying for AMISOM: Are Politics and Bureaucracy Undermining the AU's Largest Peace Operation?" IPI Global Observatory. <http://theglobalobservatory.org/2017/01/amisom-african-union-peacekeeping-financing/>.

Leander, Anna. 2005. "The Power to Construct International Security: On the Significance of Private Military Companies." *Millennium -Journal of International Studies* 33, 3: 803–825.

### **Week 8. Argument**

- Please circulate your 2-3 pages memo on your argument / alternative arguments two days before class.
- Please read all the memos before class.
- Assigned discussant will start off the conversation.

### **Week 9. Counter-terrorism**

Karlsrud, John. 2019. "From liberal peacebuilding to stabilization and counterterrorism." *International Peacekeeping* 26, 1: 1-21.

Wilner, Alex. 2011. "Deterring the undeterrable: coercion, denial and delegitimization in counterterrorism." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 34, 1: 3-37.

Boyle, Michael. 2010. "Do counterterrorism and counterinsurgency go together?" *International Affairs* 86, 2: 333-353.

Foley, Frank. 2009. "Reforming counterterrorism: institutions and organizational routines in Britain and France." *Security Studies* 18, 3.

### Optional

Byman, Daniel. 2006. "Remaking alliances for the war on terrorism." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 29, 6: 767-811.

Boutton, Andrew. 2014. "US foreign aid, interstate rivalry, and incentives for counterterrorism cooperation." *Journal of Peace Research* 51, 6.

Clapham, Christopher. 2002. "The Challenge to the State in a Globalized World." *Development and Change* 33, 5: 775-795.

### **Week 10. Arms control and disarmament**

Avant, Deborah. 2016. "Netting the Empire: Relationships and US Roles Governance Small Arms and Military and Security Services." In *The New Power Politics: Networks and Transnational Security Governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Krause, Keith. 2002. "Multilateral diplomacy, norm building and UN conferences: the case of small arms and light weapons." *Global Governance* 8, 2: 247-263.

Petrova, Margarita. 2018. "Weapons prohibitions through immanent critique: NGOs as emancipatory and (de)securitising actors in security governance." *Review of International Studies* 44, 4: 619-653.

Bull, Hedley. 1976. "Arms control and world order." *International Security* 1, 1: 3-16.

### Optional

Erickson, Jennifer. 2013. "Market imperative meets normative power: human rights and European arms transfer policy." *European Journal of International Relations* 19, 2.

Knight, W. Andy. 2010. "Linking DDR and SSR in post-conflict peace-building in Africa: an overview." *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations* 4, 1: 29-54.

McFate, Sean. 2010. "The link between DDR and SSR in conflict-affected countries." *USIP Special Report*, [https://issat.dcaf.ch/mkd/content/download/3092/26362/file/The%20Link%20Between%20DDR%20and%20SSR%20in%20Conflict-affected%20Countries%20-%20USIP,%20McFate%20\(2010\).pdf](https://issat.dcaf.ch/mkd/content/download/3092/26362/file/The%20Link%20Between%20DDR%20and%20SSR%20in%20Conflict-affected%20Countries%20-%20USIP,%20McFate%20(2010).pdf)

Goldblat, Jozef. 2000. "The conference on disarmament at the crossroads: To revitalize or dissolve?" *The Nonproliferation Review* 7, 2: 104-107.

Petrova, Margarita. 2016. "Rhetorical Entrapment and Normative Enticement: How the UK Turned from Spoiler into Champion of the Cluster Munition Ban." *International Studies Quarterly* 60, 3: 387-399.

## **Week 11. Research design**

- Please circulate your 2-3 pages memo on your research design (sources, methods, etc.) two days before class (Sunday 4pm).
- Please read all the memos before class.
- Assigned discussant will start off the conversation.

## **Week 12. Security-development nexus**

World Development Report. 2011. "Conflict, Security, and Development"  
<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/4389>.

Krause, Keith and Oliver Jütersonke. 2005. "Peace, security and development in post-conflict environments." *Security Dialogue* 36, 4: 447-462.

Stern, Maria and Joakim Oejendal. 2010. "Mapping the security-development nexus: conflict, complexity, cacophony, convergence?" *Security Dialogue* 41, 1.

Smith, Michael E. 2013. "The European External Action Service and the security-development nexus: organizing for effectiveness or incoherence?" *Journal of European Public Policy* 20, 9: 1299-1315.

### **Optional**

International Peace Academy. 2006. "Security-development nexus: research findings and policy implications, security-development nexus program report." <https://issat.dcaf.ch/Learn/Resource-Library2/Policy-and-Research-Papers/Security-Development-Nexus-Research-Findings-and-Policy-Implications-Security-Development-Nexus-Program-Report>

Bisca, Paul. 2018. "Development for security: Lending for peace?"  
<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/future-development/2018/04/20/development-for-security-lending-for-peace/>

Chandler, David. 2008. "Review Essay: Human Security: The Dog That Didn't Bark. *Security Dialogue*." 39, 4: 427-438.

Chandler, David. 2007. "The security-development nexus and the rise of 'anti-foreign policy.'" *Journal of International Relations and Development* 10: 362-386.

## **Week 13. Cyberspace**

Grigsby, Alex. 2017. "The End of Cyber Norms." *Survival* 59, 6: 109-122.

Barrinha, Andre and Thomas Renard. 2017. "Cyber-diplomacy: the making of an international society in the digital age." *Global Affairs* 3, 4-5: 353-364.



Pawlak, Patryk. 2019. "The EU's Role in Shaping the Cyber Regime Complex'." *European Foreign Affairs Review* 24, 2: 167–186.

Kurowska, Xymena. 2019. "The politics of cyber norms: Beyond norm construction towards strategic narrative contestation." <https://eucyberdirect.eu/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/xymena-kurowska-politics-of-cyber-norms-march-2019-eucyberdirect.pdf>.

Vavra, Shannon. 2019. "The UN passed a resolution that gives Russia greater influence over internet norms." *Cyberscoop*, <https://www.cyberscoop.com/un-resolution-internet-cybercrime-global-norms/>

Sherman, Justin and Mark Raymond. 2019. The UN passed a Russia-backed cybercrime resolution. That's not good news for Internet freedom." *Washington Post*, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/12/04/un-passed-russia-backed-cybercrime-resolution-thats-not-good-news-internet-freedom/>

Prince, Todd. 2019. "US concerned Russia-backed UN resolution will hurt online freedom." *Radio Free Europe*, <https://www.rferl.org/a/us-russia-internet-un/30335318.html>

Peters, Allison. 2019. "Russia and China are trying to set the UN's rules on cybercrime." *Foreign Policy* <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/09/16/russia-and-china-are-trying-to-set-the-u-n-s-rules-on-cybercrime/>

### Optional

Pawlak, Patryk. 2016. "Capacity Building in Cyberspace as an Instrument of Foreign Policy." *Global Policy* 7, 1: 83-92.

Segal, Adam. 2014. "Holding the Multistakeholder Line at the ITU." CFR Cyber Brief, October 21.

Pawlak, Patryk. 2016. "Confidence-Building Measures in Cyberspace: Current Debates and Trends." In Anna-Maria Osula and Henry Roigas, eds. *International Cyber Norms*. Tallinn: NATO CCD COE Publications, [https://ccdcoe.org/uploads/2018/10/InternationalCyberNorms\\_Ch7.pdf](https://ccdcoe.org/uploads/2018/10/InternationalCyberNorms_Ch7.pdf).

Carrapico, Helena and Andre Barrinha. 2018. "European Union cyber security as an emerging research and policy field." *European Politics and Society* 19, 3: 299-303.

Pawlak, Patryk and Antonio Missiroli. 2019. "Introduction: Trends, Patterns and Challenges for International Cooperation in Cyberspace." *European Foreign Affairs Review* 24,2: 125–133.

Eistrup-Sangiovanni, Mette. 2017. "Why the World Needs an International Cyberwar Convention." *Philosophy and Technology* 31, 3.

Ansorge, Josef Teboho. 2011. "Digital power in world politics: databases, panopticons and Erwin Cuntz." *Millennium-Journal of International Studies* 40, 1: 65-83.

Watch this symposium: <https://www.cfr.org/event/great-power-competition-and-cyber-conflict>

### **Week 14. Conclusions**