

HUMAN SECURITY

University of Massachusetts-Amherst | Department of Political Science

Course #: POLSCI 791-S

Term: Spring 2017

Day: Tuesday

Time: 10:00-12:30

Location: Machmer E-23

Instructor: Professor Charli Carpenter

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COURSE DESCRIPTION

Do human rights treaties improve human rights performance? Do the rules of war “matter” or do they simply reflect the interests of powerful states? Do peace-keeping and humanitarian intervention save lives? To what extent do institutions and norms of human rights, international justice and conflict prevention fundamentally change the nature of the Westphalian system? 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; and transitional justice.

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.” 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. Finally, students will learn to **translate social science research into policy-relevant arguments** that might conceivably impact political practice.

REQUIRED READINGS:

The reading load for this course is heavy. [Don't read every word](#). Instead, try to understand the *main points* of all the readings as well as similarities and contrasts between different authors.

Required Readings are the minimum essential to do well in the class and will form the basis of class discussions and exercises. You are expected to come to class having absorbed the basic substance of and prepared to raise questions about all the required readings. I don't allow laptops in class, so unless you have a tablet, you will need to **obtain hard copies** and **bring them to class**.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 read the supplementary readings, write a reaction paper analyzing these readings in relation to the required readings for the week, distributing their short essay to the class listserv by Sunday at 5pm, and launch the class discussion on Tuesday morning.

The following books are available used from Amazon.com and/or are on reserve. Students who come by my office on Tuesday Jan 17, 11:00-2:00 will receive a free copy of *Lost Causes*.

Charli Carpenter, [Lost Causes](#). Cornell University Press, 2014, \$24.95 (or free! ☺)

Andrea Schneider, [Humanitarian NGOs, \(In\)Security and Identity](#), Routledge Press, 2016, \$48.60

Stephen Hopgood, [The Endtimes of Human Rights](#), Cornell University Press, 2015, \$13.76

Severine Autessere, [Peaceland](#). Cambridge University Press, 2014, \$28.23

Tuba Inal, [Looting and Rape in Wartime](#). University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013, \$14.34

Kathryn Sikkink, [The Justice Cascade](#). W.W. Norton 2011, \$5.00

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

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.

ASSIGNMENTS

¹ Whether online or offline, I recommend reading with a highlighter (to make visible the basic points of the articles and books for later re-skimming) and a pen (for writing comments/questions in the margins).

Participation (30 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 classroom environment.²

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.*

Writing Assignments (70 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.³ Unless otherwise noted, all writing assignments must be brought to class 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.

Mini-Review-Essays (30 points). Students will prepare three short (1500-word maximum, or approximately 2-3 pages single-spaced) critical reactions to the readings. This "mini-review-essay" (and notes on each individual article you read) should also be archived as a set of notes that will help you study and prepare for comprehensive exams. Each is worth 10 points on your final grade.

Module One Essay (10 pts). First, at the end of the first module, students will submit a reaction to the first two weeks of readings. The goal of this exercise is *not* to summarize the various readings, but to demonstrate knowledge of the set of readings and respond to them

² At a subtle level, the latter involves 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.

³ 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.

by comparing, contrasting, or identifying cross-cutting themes or debates.

Supplementary Reading Essays (20 pts). Second, each student will sign up for two weeks to cover the supplemental readings for class, and prepare a short reaction essay briefly summarizing the pair of additional readings in relation to one another and in relation to the required readings for the week, concluding with some open questions to launch discussion. These memos will be distributed to the entire class by the Sunday at 5pm before the readings are due.

Term Writing Assignment (20 points). By Friday, February 15 at noon, students will submit *either* a proposal pitch for an essay at [Foreign Affairs](#), or a one-page letter of intent to write a [National Science Foundation](#) grant proposal, with an attached project summary. Either one of these assignments is worth 20 points and the final version is due in class on December 7.

Option 1: "Foreign Affairs"-Style Essay (20 pts). This option is required for MA or exchange students in the class, and strongly recommended for first year doctoral students. The purpose of this assignment is to a) develop mastery over a particular topic in the human security literature b) demonstrate the ability to summarize what is known by social scientists on that topic and c) practice communicating social science findings in the context of a policy-relevant argument in a style intelligible to lay readers and foreign policy elites. Early in the semester, students will be required to pick a human security topic of interest to them, develop a proposal for 3000-word "Foreign Affairs"-style essay on the topic, and write a proposal "pitching" the idea to the "editor," including a list of the specific empirical political science studies on which the argument is based. Emails should be addressed to "Charlie" Carpenter, Editor, *Foreign Affairs* at charlicarpenterfaeditor@gmail.com. Student's ability to earn complete credit for the assignment will depend on doing well at the "pitch" stage; students who do not advance beyond the pitch stage will have the opportunity to earn partial credit (15 points) by submitting a blog post version of their idea instead to the Monkey Cage editor, C. Carpentier. Either way, the student must also make a short, empirically informed presentation of the argument (8-10 minutes) at the end of the semester.

Option 2: Grant Proposal (20 pts): Doctoral students in the class may opt out of the policy-writing assignment in favor of writing a grant proposal. 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 an National Science Foundation Program they will submit to, and draft a letter of inquiry to the Program Officer for that program 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

January 31: Human Security: Paradigm Shift, Hot Air or Master Frame?

Polisci 791E Syllabus

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

Carpenter, ch. 1; Hopgood, ch. 1; Autesserre, ch. 1; Finnemore and Barnett, ch. 1; Sikkink, “Introduction”; Schneiker, “Introduction.”

President Trump, “[Inaugral Address](#)”

President Obama, “[Remarks by the President at the Acceptance of the Nobel Peace Prize](#)”

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

Jeffrey Isaac, “[The Politics of Global Disorder](#)”

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

February 7: Human Security Norms, IR Scholarship and Global Public Policy

Human Security Norms

Carpenter, Ch. 2; Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink, “[International Norm Dynamics and Political Change](#)”; Wendy Wong and Sarah Stroup, “[The Agency and Authority of International NGOs](#)”; Alexander Cooley, “[Authoritarianism Goes Global.](#)”

Theory / Policy Divide

Carpenter, Appendix, “Studying Transnational Spaces”

Bruce Jentleson and Ely Ratner, “[Bridging the Beltway-Ivory Tower Gap](#)”

Paul Avey and Michael Desch, “[What Do Policymakers Want from Us?](#)”

Marc Lynch, “[Political Science in Real Time: Engaging the Middle East Policy Public](#)”

Examples of Policy-Relevant Writing on Human Security:

Jon Western and Joshua Goldstein, “[Humanitarian Intervention Comes of Age](#)”

Friday, February 10: First Mini-Review Essay Due to Professor Carpenter, 3pm.

Essays should be a synthesized critical reaction to the introductions of all the books, plus *at least two* of the following: Paris, Finnemore/Sikkink, Cooley, and/or Wong/Stroup.

HUMAN SECURITY NORM DEVELOPMENT AND IMPACT

February 14: Human Rights Origins and Impact

Required:

Stephen Hopgood, ch 2-8

Thomas Risse, Kathryn Sikkink, and Stephen Ropp, [The Persistent Power of Human Rights, ch. 1](#)

Emilie Hafner-Burton and James Ron, ["Seeing Double."](#)

Amanda Murdie, ["Shaming and Blaming"](#)

MJ Peterson, ["How the Indigenous Got Seats at the UN Table"](#)

Supplementary:

Amanda Murdie, ["A Social Science of Human Rights: Some New Social Science"](#)

Christopher Farris, ["Respect for Human Rights Has Improved Over Time"](#)

February 21: Domestic Human Rights and Armed Conflict

Required:

Sebastian Rosato, ["The Flawed Logic of the Democratic Peace"](#) plus Doyle, Kinsella and Rosato, ["The Forum"](#) in APSR Vol. 99 Issue 3.

Bruce Russett, ["Bushwhacking the Democratic Peace"](#)

Fareed Zakaria, ["American Democracy Has Become Illiberal"](#)

Valerie Hudson and Andrea van den Boar, ["A Surplus of Men, a Deficit of Peace"](#)

Tim Peterson and Leah Graham, ["Shared Human Rights Norms and Military Conflict"](#)

Sobek, Abouharb and Ingman, ["The Human Rights Peace"](#)

Supplementary:

Mary Caprioli, ["Democracy and Human Rights v. Women's Security: A Contradiction?"](#)

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

Friday, February 15, 3pm: Deadline to Submit *Foreign Affairs* Article Pitch or NSF Project Summary

February 28: War Law: Origins and Impact

Required:

Sikkink, chapter 4; Inal, chapter 2-6

James Morrow, ["When Do States Comply with the Laws of War?"](#)

Helen Kinsella, ["Discourses of Difference"](#)

Bronwyn Leebaw, ["Scorched Earth"](#)

Geoffrey Wallace and Sarah Kreps, ["International Law, Military Effectiveness and Public Support for Drone Strikes"](#)

Supplementary:

Dara Kay Cohen, ["Explaining Sexual Violence in Civil War"](#)

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

PROMOTING AND ENFORCING HUMAN SECURITY

March 7: INGOs, Advocacy Networks and Humanitarian Disarmament

Required:

Keith Krause, "[Transnational Civil Society Activism and International Security Politics](#)"
Charli Carpenter, ch 3 and 5; and *skim*: "[Rethinking the Political/ -Science-/ Fiction Nexus](#)"
Noha Shawki, "[Political Opportunity Structures and Transnational Campaigns](#)"
Matthew Bolton and Elisabeth Minor, "[The Discursive Turn Arrives in Turtle Bay](#)"
Margarita Petrova, "[Rhetorical Entrapment and Normative Enticement](#)"

Supplementary:

Denise Garcia, "[Humanitarian Security Regimes](#)"
Richard Price, "[Reversing the Gun Sights: Global Civil Society Targets Landmines](#)"

March 14: NO CLASS – SPRING BREAK

March 21: Humanitarian Action in World Politics

Required:

Finnemore and Barnett, chs 2 and 3
Andrea Schneider, ch 2-5
Alexander Cooley and James Ron, "[The NGO Scramble](#)"
Pearlman, "[Narratives of Fear in Syria](#)"
Neil Gabiam, "[Humanitarianism, Development and Security in the 21st Century](#)"
Maryam Deloffre, "[Global Accountability Communities](#)"

Supplementary:

Neil Narang, "[Assisting Uncertainty](#)"
Reed Wood and Emily Molino, "[Aiding Victims, Abetting Violence](#)"

March 28: Protecting Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons

Required:

Finnemore and Barnett, ch. 4
Alexander Betts, "[The Normative Terrain of the Global Refugee Regime](#)"
Phil Orchard, "[Protecting IDPs: Soft Law as a Norm-Generating Mechanism](#)"
Bank, Froelich and Schneider, "[The Political Dynamics of Human Mobility](#)"
Rebecca Hamlin, "[Illegal Refugees... Competing Policy Ideas](#)"
Roger Cohen, "[Broken Men in Paradise](#)"

Supplementary:

Sarah Kenyon Lischer, "[Collateral Damage](#)"
Daniel Krmaric, "[Refugee Flows, Ethnic Power Relations and the Spread of Conflict](#)"

April 4: Peace and Security Architecture

Required:

Autesserre, *Peaceland*, chs 2-7.

Alex Bellamy and Charles Hunt, "[21st Century UN Peace Operations](#)"

Erik Voeten, "[The Political Origins of the UNSC's Ability to Legitimize the Use of Force](#)"

Michael Barnett, Songying Fang and Christoph Zurcher, "[Compromised Peacebuilding](#)"

Pillinger, Hurd and Barnett, "[How to Get Away With Cholera](#)"

Helena Carrieras, "[Gendered Culture in Peacekeeping Operations](#)"

Supplementary:

Page Fortna and Lise Morje Howard, "[Pitfalls and Prospects in the Peacekeeping Literature](#)"

Lisa Hultman, "[Keeping Peace or Spurring Violence?](#)"

April 11: Humanitarian Intervention

Required:

Finnemore and Barnett, ch. 5

Ian Hurd, "[Is Humanitarian Intervention Legal?](#)"

Derek Averre and Lance Davies, "[Russia, Humanitarian Intervention and R2P in Syria](#)"

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

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

Betsy Jose, "[Civilians v. Chemicals](#)"

Supplementary:

Alex Bellamy, "[The Responsibility to Protect Turns Ten](#)"

Martha Finnemore, "[Constructing Norms of Humanitarian Intervention](#)"

April 18: NO CLASS

Deadline to Submit Draft Term Writing Projects

April 22: Politics of International Justice + Peer Feedback Day

Read Student Draft Projects – Peer Feedback Day in First Half

Other Required Reading:

Sikkink, ch 5-7

Jamie Rowen and John Hagan, "[Using Social Science to Frame International Crimes](#)"

Allison Danner and Erik Voeten, "[Who is Running the International Criminal Justice System?](#)"

Beth Simmons and Hyeran Jo, "[Can the International Criminal Court Deter Atrocity?](#)"

May 2: Conclusion: Studying Human Security

"Foreign Affairs" Essays / Grant Proposals Due.

Final Exam/Practice Comp Handed Out.

Required: Read the Concluding Chapters to All Your Books!

May 9: Final Exam/Practice Comp Due in Hard Copy to Dr. C's Mailbox by 3pm.