WWS 403 (7)
Human Security: The Challenges of a Globalized Security Paradigm
Tuesdays, 7:30-10:00 PM
Fall 2019

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Office Hours: Wednesdays, 7:00-9:00pm, Frist Campus Center. Please sign up for office hour appointments online using http://wase.princeton.edu

> **Note that the time may vary based on schedule changes. Location will regularly be Frist (Outside of Café Viv), so that students will have access to food and drinks during our meeting, but this location may also vary based on schedule. Details on appointments will be posted on WASE.

Faculty Assistant: Please contact my faculty assistant, Chalise Mapp (cmmapp@princeton.edu), for any questions regarding access to assigned readings.

Course Description

In 1994, the United Nations Development Programme first developed the concept of "human security" in its annual *Human Development Report*, spearheading a fundamental shift in the conversation on international security. But what is "human security" and how does it relate to the traditional concerns of security policy? How has this paradigm shift from an emphasis on the security of the state to the security of people influenced the assessments and actions of political decision makers – if it has changed them at all? What role does the military play in this new paradigm, and what implications does this have for intervention, arms control, and other recurring challenges of the tumultuous foreign policy stage?

This seminar will begin by exploring the development of human security as a framework. We will explore the shift from the traditional security focus on defense spending and containment strategies during the Cold War to the global human security framework introduced in the 1980s and 1990s as the Soviet era came to an end. In light of international norms and rising nationalism, we will analyze how the growing focus on human security has impacted policy formulation and assessment. While considering what constitutes a "successful" human security strategy, we will examine the influence of international organizations, militaries, public opinion, and economic factors in shaping state decision-making and policy outcomes.

With the concept of human security touching on topics from health and human rights to military strategy and personal security, students will have the opportunity to choose their JP questions from a wide range of issue areas. Past students have written on a variety of topics, including North Korea, cybersecurity, the opioid epidemic, refugee repatriation, gun control policy, religion and nationalism, and maternal health in Africa. Seminar members will be challenged to consider pressing puzzles of foreign policy through the lenses of multiple countries and to apply relevant qualitative and quantitative analytical methods to produce in-depth findings and policy recommendations for a more secure future.

Policy Research Seminar Structure

The seminar section of WWS 403 is meant to introduce students to readings and help them develop substantive knowledge on a particular issue area, as well as to introduce them to empirical strategies for research on the seminar's topic. The work in the seminar makes up 60% of your final course grade for WWS 403.

Methods Lab Integration
The methods lab serves as a supplement to the substantive work in the seminar and is designed to offer further instruction on research methods needed to complete the JP (as well as skills that should be applicable to students' senior theses in the coming year). Students in WWS 403 (7) may choose either the Qualitative or Quantitative Methods sections for the lab, depending on the type of research approach that is most appropriate for their research question. You will have to do this by the third week of class. Students should discuss their methods lab choice with Dr. Holom prior to this date.

Junior Paper
While the course grade is made up of the seminar (60%) and methods lab (40%) grades, the junior paper will be graded separately, fulfilling the WWS junior independent work requirement. Please see the WWS Guide to Independent Work. The **JP draft is due on November 26th by class time, and the final paper is due on January 7th by 5pm**. Extensions are only granted by approval of the Dean of the student's residential college in cases of a family or health emergency. Extensions may or may not be subject to late penalties. Submit via email to bholom@princeton.edu.

Course Requirements for WWS 403 Seminar Grade (60% of Final Course Grade):

1. Participation in seminar discussion (25%)
2. Topic proposal paragraph due by class time on September 24th (10%)
3. Research design proposal due by noon on Friday, October 11th (10%)
4. Feedback on classmate's research design proposal due by class time on October 15th (10%)
5. Research proposal presentation on October 15th (5%)
6. Presentation on a UN Trust Fund for Human Security program on November 5th (15%)
7. Presentation of JP research findings during final two weeks of class (December 3rd/10th) (25%)

Late Assignments Grading Policy
All late assignments for the seminar are subject to a penalty of 1/3 letter grade per day late unless prior approval has been received for an extension. See the "Junior Paper" section above regarding the late policy for the final JP.

Key Due Dates
**Please consult the appropriate methods lab syllabus for lab assignment due dates

September 24th	Topic proposal paragraphs due via Blackboard by class time
October 11th	Research design proposals due via Blackboard by 11:59pm
October 15th	Brief research proposal presentation (5 minutes, in class). Feedback on paired classmate's proposal due by class time – will be discussed after their presentation.
October 22nd	Choice of UN Trust Fund for Human Security program presentation due by the end of the day
November 5th	Brief presentation on a UN Trust Fund for Human Security program (10 minutes, in class)
November 26th	Full JP draft due via email by class time
December 3rd/10th	Presentation of JP findings in class
January 7th	Final JP due via email by 5:00pm

Readings
There are no required textbooks for this course. All readings are available either through Blackboard under "Course Reserves" or in the physical course reserves at Stokes Library. Some books are available in their entirety through the library website.

Course and Campus Resources for Research
A guide to suggested data sources and a document of recommended additional readings will be posted on Blackboard within the first week of class. Students can also seek assistance from the Stokes Library staff, the PUL subject librarians, PUL Data and Statistical Services, the Program for Quantitative and Analytical Political Science, and WWS writing adviser Steve Frakt (sfrakt@princeton.edu).

Course Schedule
Below is the list of required readings, activities, and deadlines for each week of the course. Students are highly encouraged to explore additional materials from the recommended reading list (mentioned in "Course and Campus Resources for Research" above) and are also welcome to both suggest and discuss additional relevant readings that they locate through their independent research. As human security is a constantly developing field, discussion of current events and emerging issues within the context of our analyses is also very highly encouraged.

➢ Readings with this arrow symbol are those dedicated to research methods. We will be discussing these readings within the context of the week's substantive readings in order to begin thinking critically about research design.

Week 1 (September 17) What Defines "Security"?
During this week, we will be discussing the concept of "security" in policy and examining how the UNDP Human Development Report of 1994 sought to shift the security paradigm and re-focus foreign policy toward the populations of states, rather than the state structures themselves. Considering this within the historical context of the dissolution of the Soviet Union, we will critically analyze why and how this shift changed (or, perhaps, did not change) the international political arena.

Mathews, Jessica Tuchman (1989). "Redefining Security." *Foreign Affairs* 68 (2): 162-177. [16 pages]

United Nations Development Programme (1994). "Chapter 2: New Dimensions of Human Security." In *Human Development Report 1994*. Pages 22-45. Available online:
http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/255/hdr_1994_en_complete_nostats.pdf [24 pages] [Note: It is beneficial to read the whole document, but only Chapter 2 is required]

Rothschild, Emma (1995). "What is Security?" *Daedalus* 124 (3): 53-98. [46 pages]

Axworthy, Lloyd (2001). "Human Security and Global Governance: Putting People First." *Global Governance* 7 (1): 19-23. [5 pages]

➢ Selecting a Research Question: Booth, Wayne et al. (2008). Chapter 3 in *The Craft of Research*, 3rd ed. Pages 35-50. [16 pages]

[Page Total: 107 pages]

Week 2 (September 24) Human Security: Measurements and Definitions
This week, we will discuss further what the shift in thinking about "security" in foreign policy means and what types of factors play into the concept of "human security." Students should think critically about

how these definitions and measurements have evolved from and fit with earlier concepts of state security. We will also consider what role the concept of freedom plays in the definitions of security.
Due: Topic proposal paragraph due via Blackboard by class time. Students should sign up for office hours in the following weeks to discuss.

Sen, Amartya (1999). "Chapter 1: The Perspective of Freedom." In *Development as Freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pgs. 13-34. [22 pages]

King, Gary and Christopher JL Murray (2001). "Rethinking Human Security." *Political Science Quarterly* 116 (4): 585-610. [26 pages]

Paris, Roland (2001). "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?" *International Security* 26 (2): 87-102. [16 pages]

Acharya, Amitav (2001). "Human Security: East versus West." *International Journal* 56 (3): 442-460. [19 pages]

Alkire, Sabina. (2003). Sections 2, 4, and 5 in "A Conceptual Framework for Human Security." CRISE Working Paper. Pages 10-12, 23-40. Available online: https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:d2907237-2a9f-4ce5-a403-a6254020052d [21 pages]

➢ Steve Frakt (WWS Writing Adviser) will present on writing resources
➢ Conducting a Literature Review: Johnson, Janet B., Henry T. Reynolds, and Jason D. Mycoff (2015). "Why Conduct a Literature Review?" in Chapter 3 of *Political Science Research Methods*, 8th ed. CQ Press. Pages 82-102. [21 pages]

[Page Total: 125 pages]

Week 3 (October 1) INGOs, Advocacy Networks, and Change
This week we will be discussing how security regimes have and have not been shaped over time by the new conceptualizations of security, as well as what role international organizations and networks play in addressing issues under changing international norms.

Keck, Margaret E. and Kathryn Sikkink (1998). Selections from "Chapter 1 – Transnational Advocacy Networks in International Politics: Introduction." *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Pgs. 8-29. [22 pages]

Shawki, Noha (2010). "Political Opportunity Structures and the Outcomes of Transnational Campaigns: A Comparison of Two Transnational Advocacy Networks." *Peace & Change* 35 (3): 381-411. [31 pages]

Carpenter, Charli (2014). "Chapter 3: A Network Theory of Advocacy 'Gatekeeper' Decision Making." In *Lost Causes: Agenda Vetting in Global Issue Networks and the Shaping of Human Security*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Pages 38-54. [17 pages]

Murdie, Amanda (2014). "Chapter 1: Introduction." In *Help or Harm: The Human Security Effects of International NGOs*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press. Pages 1-18. [18 pages]

Garcia, Denise (2015). "Humanitarian Security Regimes." *International Affairs* 91 (1): 55-75. [21 pages]

> ➤ Designing a Research Project: Johnson, Janet B., Henry T. Reynolds, and Jason D. Mycoff (2015). Sections of Chapter 6, "Research Design: Making Causal Inferences." In *Political Science Research Methods*, 8th ed. CQ Press. Pages 166-179, 188-209. [36 pages]

[Page Total: 145 pages]

Week 4 (October 8) War, Violence, and Soldiers
During this week, we will explore the role that human security plays in war, violence, and, particularly, in the recruitment of (non-traditional) soldiers. In examining what conditions lead a person to roles that propagate violence, we will also ask: In times of war and insecurity, what can traditional security forces do to help address and alleviate non-state security threats? What role do those security forces have in perpetuating those threats, and what should be prioritized to eliminate this possibility? What aspects of human security can state and non-state actors bring together within the traditional realm of "security" to encourage peace?

Pape, Robert A. (2005). "Chapter 10: The Demographic Profile of Suicide Terrorists." In *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*. New York: Random House. Pgs. 199-216. [18 pages]

Callaway, Rhonda L. and Julie Harrelson-Stephens (2006). "Toward a Theory of Terrorism: Human Security as a Determinant of Terrorism." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 29 (8): 773-796. [24 pages]

Achvarina, Vera and Simon F. Reich (2006). "No Place to Hide: Refugees, Displaced Persons, and the Recruitment of Child Soldiers." *International Security* 31 (1): 127-164. [38 pages]

Denov, Myriam S. (2006). "Wartime Sexual Violence: Assessing a Human Security Response to War-Affected Girls in Sierra Leone." *Security Dialogue* 37 (3): 319-342. [24 pages]

Gilmore, Jonathan (2011). "A Kinder, Gentler Counter-Terrorism: Counterinsurgency, Human Security and the War on Terror." *Security Dialogue* 42 (1): 21-37. [17 pages]

[FILM] *Beasts of No Nation*. Directed by Cary Joji Fukunaga. New York: Bleecker Street, 2015. ***Available on Netflix and through the library. Please watch on your own – we will be discussing, but not watching, this together in class.*

Please also visit:
Child Soldiers International (2018). "Child Soldiers World Index." Online: https://childsoldiersworldindex.org/ [No specific assigned reading – please just explore this resource and take note of any data that you find interesting]

Roméo Dallaire Child Soldiers Initiative (2018). Online: https://www.childsoldiers.org/ [Like the Child Soldiers Initiative assignment above, there is no specific reading – please just explore the website about what the Initiative does and what shapes their approach to change, and come prepared to both next week's breakfast and this week's class with questions and talking points]

> ➤ Seth Porter (Head of Stokes Library) will present on library resources

➢ Data Sources: We will discuss the list of data sources provided on Blackboard, as well as strategies for finding data sources that are not already listed. We will also consider what types of data are most suitable for different types of research questions.

[Page Total: 121 pages + film]

Due: By Friday, October 11th, at 11:59pm, students should submit their research design proposals via Blackboard. We will be discussing these in the research proposal workshop the following week.

Week 5 (October 15) Research Proposal Workshop

Breakfast with General Romeo Dallaire
Former Force Commander of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda
9:00-9:45am. Location TBD.
**We will adjust Week 6's seminar to account for the time spent at the breakfast.

During this week's class, students will give 5-minute presentations on their research proposal, followed by 10 minutes of feedback and discussion of their proposal. Students will have been assigned pairings prior to class and will be expected to comment on their partner's project as part of the workshop.

Week 6 (October 22) Democracy: Necessary for Security?
This week, we will turn to the relationship between democracy and human security. We will first consider how democratic institutions affect the adoption and implementation of human security-motivated policies at the domestic level, asking: Is democracy necessary for a high level of human security? How can we best measure this? We will then discuss how democratic values drive the adoption of a human security-focused framework for foreign policy, asking: Under what conditions do democratic states pursue human security-focused policies? Are democracies more likely to pursue these policies than authoritarian states?

By the end of the day, students should have discussed either in person or via email which program from the UN Trust Fund for Human Security (https://www.un.org/humansecurity/) they want to cover for their short presentation on November 5th. We do not want any overlap, so the program choices will be approved on a first-come, first-serve basis.

Risse-Kappen, Thomas (1991). "Public Opinion, Domestic Structure, and Foreign Policy in Liberal Democracies." *World Politics* 43 (4): 479-512. [34 pages]

Przeworski, Adam, Michael E. Alvarez, José Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi (2001). "Conclusion." In *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Pgs. 269-278. [10 pages]

Miguel, Edward, Shanker Satyanath, and Ernest Sergenti (2004). "Economic Shocks and Civil Conflict: An Instrumental Variables Approach." *Journal of Political Economy* 112 (4): 725-753. [29 pages]

Kaldor, Mary, Mary Martin, and Sabine Selchow (2007). "Human Security: A New Strategic Narrative for Europe." *International Affairs* 83 (2): 273-288. [16 pages]

Walzer, Michael (2011). "On Humanitarianism: Is Helping Others Charity, or Duty, or Both?" *Foreign Affairs* 90 (4): 69-80. [12 pages]

Norris, Pippa (2012). "Chapter 7: Peace" *Making Democratic Governance Work: How Regimes Shape Prosperity, Welfare, and Peace*. Cambridge University Press. Pages 164-184. [21 pages]

[Page Total: 122 pages]

Fall Break – No Class (October 29)

Week 7 (November 5) UN Trust Fund for Human Security: Analyzing Current Programs
During this week, students will act as policy analysts and give short 10-minute presentations on one of the programs listed on the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security website (https://www.un.org/humansecurity/) as if they were members of a UN team studying the impact (potential or actual) of the programs and making recommendations for future action.

The presentation should not only highlight what the program is/was and how it is/was addressing the issue of human security, but it should also place that program within the context of the country in which it is/was being conducted. Students are expected to provide a brief analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the program, connecting it to the discussions we have had about both conceptual and methodological concerns throughout the semester. They should also provide some short recommendations on how to either improve the existing program or conduct a more "effective" program based on the methods employed or the context within which the program took or is taking place. [Note: Students should be careful to clearly define what they understand to measure "effectiveness"]

These presentations are an opportunity for students to demonstrate what they have learned both about the challenges of human security policy as an issue area, and about the standards of rigorous research methods thus far. It is a chance for them to complete and receive feedback on a smaller analysis as practice prior to completing the larger JP projects. Students may choose a program that is closely related to their JP topic if they wish, but this is not required.

Feedback and discussion will follow each presentation.

Week 8 (November 12) Health and Demographics
During these final weeks, we will turn to specific issue areas within human security policy. We start with an examination of health and healthcare, which has long been argued to have a strong influence over long-term development outcomes. We will consider here how the security realm, even through a traditional national security lens, can be closely connected with health and well-being. We will ask: Under what conditions does population health impact security? And under what conditions do security issues impact health? What values of the human security framework promote the prioritization of health and healthcare? What are the possible policy options to address health as a security threat?

Goldstone, Jack A. (2002). "Population and Security: How Demographic Change Can Lead to Violent Conflict." *Journal of International Affairs* 56 (1): 3-21. [19 pages]

Cincotta, Richard P., Robert Engelman, and Daniele Anastasion (2003). "Chapter Seven: Interactions of Demographic Stress Factors." *The Security Demographic: Population and Civil Conflict after the Cold War*. Washington, D.C.: Population Action International. Pgs. 70-77. [8 pages]

Farmer, Paul (2003). "Chapter 9: Rethinking Health and Human Rights: Time for a Paradigm Shift." In *Pathologies of Power: Health, Human Rights, and the New War on the Poor*. Pages 213-246. [34 pages]

Petryna, Adriana (2004). "Biological Citizenship: The Science and Politics of Chernobyl-Exposed Populations." *Osiris* 19: 250-265. [16 pages]

McInnes, Colin (2006). "HIV/AIDS and Security." *International Affairs* 82 (2): 315-326. [12 pages]

Heymann, David L., *et al* (2015). "Global Health Security: The Wider Lessons from the West African Ebola Virus Disease Epidemic." *The Lancet* 385 (9980): 1884-1901. [18 pages]

Taleb, Ziyad Ben, Raed Bahelah, Fouad M. Fouad, Adam Coutts, Meredith Wilcox, and Wasim Maziak (2015). "Syria: Health in a Country undergoing Tragic Transition." *International Journal of Public Health* 60 (1): 63-72. [10 pages]

Sands, Peter, Carmen Mundaca-Shah, and Victor J. Dzau (2016). "The Neglected Dimension of Global Security—a Framework for Countering Infectious-Disease Crises." *New England Journal of Medicine* 374 (13): 1281-1287. [7 pages]

[Page Total: 124 pages]

Week 9 (November 19) Migration: The Security of Migrants, Refugees, and Host Populations
This week, we will explore the challenges of migration, examining the security of refugees, migrants, and host communities. While we will consider these issues in a broad sense, we will also look at the specific obstacles surrounding the Syria crisis and how it impacts the region. We will consider what lessons can be taken from various instances of immigration and refugee crises and applied globally, and how we can build frameworks for future crisis responses.

> ***Dinner with Staffan De Mistura***
> ***Former UN Special Envoy for Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Lebanon***
> ***6:30-8:30pm. Location TBD.***
> ****We will continue our discussion afterwards, but we will adjust class time to end at 9:30pm to account for the early start.**

JP Draft Due by Class Time.

Adelman, Howard (2001). "From Refugees to Forced Migration: The UNHCR and Human Security." *International Migration Review* 35 (1): 7-32. [26 pages]

Jacobsen, Karen (2002). "Livelihoods in Conflict: The Pursuit of Livelihoods by Refugees and the Impact on the Human Security of Host Communities." *International Migration* 40 (5): 95-123. [29 pages]

Ruhs, Martin (2010). "Migrant Rights, Immigration Policy and Human Development." *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities* 11(2): 259-279. [21 pages]

Berti, Benedetta (2015). "The Syrian Refugee Crisis: Regional and Human Security Implications." *Strategic Assessment* 17 (4): 41-53. Available Online: https://www.inss.org.il/he/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/systemfiles/SystemFiles/adkan17_4ENG_7_Berti.pdf [13 pages]

Weinthal, Erika, Neda Zawahri, and Jeannie Sowers (2015). "Securitizing Water, Climate, and Migration in Israel, Jordan, and Syria." *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics* 15 (3): 293-307. [15 pages]

Karakoç, Jülide, and Fulya Doğruel (2015). "The Impact of Turkey's Policy toward Syria on Human Security." *Arab Studies Quarterly* 37 (4): 351-366. [16 pages]

[Page Total: 120 pages]

Week 10 (November 26) The Environment
This week, we will be discussing the role of the environment in security policy. We will examine how the environment relates to security, and whether this relationship changes when looking through the lens of traditional national security frameworks as opposed to more recently developed human security frameworks. We will ask: Under what conditions do environmental variables impact human security? How can foreign policy influence security outcomes that are connected to environmental factors? What is the direct and indirect impact of these policies on human security in the long term?

Levy, Marc A. (1995). "Is the Environment a National Security Issue?" *International Security* 20 (2): 35-62. [28 pages]

Myers, Norman (2002). "Environmental Refugees: A Growing Phenomenon of the 21st Century." *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, *Series B: Biological Sciences* 357 (1420): 609-613. [5 pages]

United Nations Security Council (2007). Press Release. "Security Council Holds First-Ever Debate on Impact of Climate Change on Peace, Security, Hearing over 50 Speakers." S/C 9000. 5663rd Meeting (AM & PM). 17 April. Available Online: https://www.un.org/press/en/2007/sc9000.doc.htm [approx. 26 pages] [You do not need to read this in detail – Skim through the statements to get an idea of the positions and concerns of different countries' representatives]

Barnett, Jon and W. Neil Adger (2007). "Climate Change, Human Security and Violent Conflict." *Political Geography* 26 (6): 639-655. [17 pages]

Dalby, Simon (2009). "Chapter 2: Securing Precisely What? Global, Environmental, and Human Security." In *Security and Environmental Change*. Polity Press. Pages 36-55. [20 pages]

Godfray, H. Charles J., *et al* (2010). "Food Security: The Challenge of Feeding 9 Billion People." *Science* 327 (5967): 812-818. [7 pages]

[Page Total: 103 pages]

Week 11 (December 3) Student Presentations of JP Findings.

Week 12 (December 10) Student Presentations of JP Findings.

Final Junior Paper Due Tuesday, January 7th at 5:00pm.