

POLS 5322

HUMAN SECURITY

Thursday 4pm-6:30pm in Oak 438

Dr. Evan Perkoski

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Office Hours: Tuesdays 1pm-3pm

Location: Oak Hall #409A

COURSE DESCRIPTION

For decades, civilians were overlooked in the study of international relations. They were aggregated away in favor of states; they were simultaneously spectators and hostages to nuclear bargaining; they were ancillary casualties of war; and they were resources to be controlled during insurgencies.

This course places civilians at the center of analysis, investigating key topics in international security from their perspective. Among other things, we will explore how and why civilians manage to overthrow autocratic regimes, why they are sometimes the targets of mass violence and how they can prevent it, how the civilian makeup of the armed forces influences battlefield efficacy, how civilians resist armed groups operating in their immediate vicinity, and how counterinsurgent and insurgent forces interact with civilians to gain information and exert control.

This seminar is designed for students pursuing master's and doctoral degrees. I therefore expect students to be familiar with basic concepts from political science, especially international relations, and research design. There is also a significant amount of reading each week that I expect students to read, outline, consider, and critique. Your objective should not be to simply get through this as quickly as possible.

READINGS

The vast majority of readings are available online via the UConn Library. While this includes most books, three must be purchased. Used versions of each are abundant.

1. Erica, Maria J. Stephan, and Maria Stephan. *Why civil resistance works: The strategic logic of nonviolent conflict*. Columbia University Press, 2011.
2. Kalyvas, Stathis N. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge University Press, 2006.
3. Kaplan, Oliver. *Resisting War: How Communities Protect Themselves*. Cambridge University Press, 2017.

In addition to the assigned readings, I strongly suggest that students follow current events. Throughout the course – and likely every class meeting – we will discuss newsworthy events that relate to the topic assigned on a given day. Therefore, I recommend reading the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *BBC*, or something similar.

COURSE ASSIGNMENTS

There are three grading components to this course:

1. Reading summaries and critiques – 25%

Students will be assigned to summarize five articles/books throughout the semester. For each, students will submit a one to two-page document to HuskyCT that is due before noon on days we have class. These documents should include a summary of the work and relevant discussion questions, and students will present their work (informally) in class. These documents will be available to the entire class to aid in our discussion and to aid in your studying for comprehensive exams. A schedule of assignments will be posted during the first week of class.

We will exchange reading summaries via Dropbox using this link: <https://bit.ly/humansec>

2. Participation and Attendance – 20%

Attendance and participation are critical to the success of this course. Students are expected to come to each class prepared, having completed the readings for that day, and ready to engage with the material. Students may meet with me throughout the course to assess their participation grade. Both unexcused absences and lack of participation will count against a student's grade.

3. Data presentation – 15%

Students will work in groups of three to identify, describe, and present new data sources in political science to the entire class. These sources can be either quantitative or qualitative, broadly related to our course, and released in the past 5 years. Each group will give a ten-minute presentation and prepare a one-page, written summary.

4. Short Research Paper – 40%

Students will write an original, abbreviated research paper (no more than 15 pages) on a topic related to our course. This is not intended to be a full research paper, but something that could form the basis of a thesis, dissertation prospectus, or journal article. Students might consider comparing and contrasting two cases, investigating why an event occurred, analyzing a data set, and so on. The paper should include an introduction, literature review, hypotheses, empirics, and a conclusion.

A research paper prospectus – an initial 3 page overview – is due roughly halfway through the semester on March 1st. We will not have class the week prior, so I expect students to utilize this time to design their research projects. The final paper is due on Monday, May 1st.

DEADLINES

Students should be prepared to submit assignments when they are due. Late papers will be penalized one full letter grade for every 24 hours after the deadline. Assignments submitted four days after the deadline will not be accepted. In the interest of fairness to all students, exceptions to these rules will only be granted in extreme circumstances. If such a situation occurs, student should reach out to me as early as possible to discuss alternative arrangements.

STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES

The University of Connecticut is committed to protecting the rights of individuals with disabilities and assuring that the learning environment is accessible. If you anticipate or experience physical or academic barriers based on disability or pregnancy, please let me know immediately so that we can discuss options. Students who require accommodations should contact the Center for Students with Disabilities, Wilbur Cross Building Room 204, (860) 486-2020, or <http://csd.uconn.edu>.

GRADE DISPUTES

In the event that a student wishes to dispute his or her grade on an assignment, the following procedure may be used. First, students must wait at least 48 hours after the assignment has been handed back. Second, students can email me to set up an appointment. This email should include a separate, typed summary of why they believe the grade is unfair. After meeting in person to discuss the assignment, I will then reevaluate the grade. However, revised grades may be higher or lower than the original, and this new grade will be final.

STUDENT CONDUCT AND ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

All students are expected to act in accordance with the [Student Conduct Code](#) as well as the [Guidelines for Academic Integrity](#) at the University of Connecticut.

I expect students to take this course seriously and to behave in a mature, appropriate manner during class. Students are allowed to use laptops and tablets for note-taking *only*. It is very obvious when students are distracted by other activities, and if students are caught repeatedly abusing this privilege then they will lose the ability to use their devices in class.

COMMUNICATION POLICY

The best way to contact me is via email. I will try to respond to all emails within 24 hours, but do not expect a reply within 12 hours or outside of normal business hours. Therefore, if you have questions leading up to an assignment deadline, make sure to reach out to me well in advance.

Week 1, January 19: Introduction.

1. Paris, Roland. "Human security: paradigm shift or hot air?" *International Security* 26, no. 2 (2001): 87-102.

Week 2, January 26: The Evolution of International Security.

1. Mearsheimer, John J. "Structural realism." *International relations theories: Discipline and diversity* 83 (2007): 77-94.
2. Wendt, Alexander. "Anarchy is what states make of it: the social construction of power politics." *International Organization* 46, no. 2 (1992): 391-425.
3. Jacobs, Lawrence R., and Benjamin I. Page. "Who influences US foreign policy?" *American Political Science Review* 99, no. 1 (2005): 107-123.
4. Krause, Keith. "Transnational civil society activism and international security politics: From Landmines to Global Zero." *Global Policy* 5, no. 2 (2014): 229-234.
5. Posen, Barry R. "The security dilemma and ethnic conflict." *Survival* 35, no. 1 (1993): 27-47.
6. Evans, Gareth, and Mohamed Sahnoun. "The responsibility to protect." *Foreign Affairs* (2002): 99-110.

Week 3, February 2: Nonviolent Resistance.

1. Chenoweth, Erica, Maria J. Stephan, and Maria Stephan. *Why civil resistance works: The strategic logic of nonviolent conflict*. Columbia University Press, 2011.
2. Thurber, Ches. "Ethnic barriers to civil resistance." *Journal of Global Security Studies* 3, no. 3 (2018): 255-270.
3. Dorff, Cassy. "Violent and nonviolent resistance in contexts of prolonged crisis: the civilian perspective." *Journal of Global Security Studies* 4, no. 2 (2019): 286-291.
4. Stephan, Marie. "Why support for Syria's nonviolent fighters is key to ending the war." *Waging Nonviolence*, 2017. <https://wagingnonviolence.org/2017/04/support-nonviolent-fighters-syria/>

Week 4, February 9: Violent Resistance

1. Lewis, Janet I. *How Insurgency Begins: Rebel Group Formation in Uganda and Beyond*. Cambridge University Press, 2020. Available online.

2. Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. "Ethnicity, insurgency, and civil war." *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 1 (2003): 75-90.
3. Kalyvas, Stathis N. "'New' and 'old' civil wars: a valid distinction?." *World Politics* 54, no. 1 (2001): 99-118.
4. Humphreys, Macartan, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. "Who fights? The determinants of participation in civil war." *American Journal of Political Science* 52, no. 2 (2008): 436-455.

Week 5, February 16: Organizing Resistance.

1. Shapiro, Jacob N. *The Terrorist's Dilemma*. Princeton University Press, 2013. Chapters 1, 2, and 4. Available online.
2. Loken, Meredith. "Noncombat Participation in Rebellion: A Gendered Typology." *International Security* 47, no. 1 (2022): 139-170.
3. Weinstein, Jeremy M. "Resources and the information problem in rebel recruitment." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 49, no. 4 (2005): 598-624.
4. Yasmeen Serhan. "The common element uniting worldwide protests." *The Atlantic*, November 19, 2019. <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2019/11/leaderlessprotests-around-world/602194/>

Week 6, February 23: No Class.

**March 1st: Research paper prospectus due to Husky CT.

Week 7, March 2: Conflict dynamics

1. Kalyvas, Stathis N. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge University Press, 2006.
2. Balcells, Laia. "Rivalry and revenge: Violence against civilians in conventional civil wars." *International Studies Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (2010): 291-313.
3. Ahmad, Aisha. "The security bazaar: Business interests and Islamist power in civil war Somalia." *International Security* 39, no. 3 (2014): 89-117.
4. Stewart, Megan A. "What's so new about the Islamic State's Governance?" *Washington Post*, October 7, 2014.

5. Jacqueline L. “The Hearts and Minds Fallacy: Violence, Coercion, and Success in Counterinsurgency Warfare.” *International Security* 42, no. 1 (July 2017): 80–113.
6. Kydd, Andrew H., and Barbara F. Walter. “The strategies of terrorism.” *International Security* 31, no. 1 (2006): 49-80. *Just focus on what the different strategies are.*

Week 8, March 9: Policymaking.

1. Trachtenberg, Marc. “Audience costs: An historical analysis.” *Security Studies* 21, no. 1 (2012): 3-42.

The following are brief responses to Trachtenberg’s article.

2. Schultz, Kenneth A. “Why we needed audience costs and what we need now.” *Security Studies* 21, no. 3 (2012): 369-375.
3. Slantchev, Branislav L. “Audience cost theory and its audiences.” *Security Studies* 21, no. 3 (2012): 376-382.
4. Levy, Jack S. “Coercive threats, audience costs, and case studies.” *Security Studies* 21, no. 3 (2012): 383-390.
5. Gartzke, Erik, and Yonatan Lupu. “Still looking for audience costs.” *Security Studies* 21, no. 3 (2012): 391-397.
6. Trachtenberg, Marc. “A Comment on the Comments.” *Security Studies* 21, no. 3 (2012): 405-415.

And skim the following.

7. Bell, Mark S., and Kai Quek. “Authoritarian public opinion and the democratic peace.” *International Organization* 72, no. 1 (2018): 227-242.
8. Kreps, Sarah and Sarah Maxey, “Americans feel a moral obligation to help humanitarian victims (like those in Syria) with military force,” *Monkey Cage*, April 10, 2018. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/04/10/americans-feel-a-moral-obligation-to-help-humanitarian-victims-like-those-in-syria-with-military-force/>
9. Matanock, Ali M. “Paramilitary groups helped storm the Capitol. Here’s what we know about armed groups and politics.” *Monkey Cage*, January 24, 2021. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/01/24/paramilitary-groups-helped-storm-capitol-heres-what-we-know-about-armed-groups-politics/>

Week 9, March 23: New Data in Political Science Presentations.

1. No reading.

Week 10, March 30: Military Performance.

1. Lyall, Jason. *Divided armies: Inequality and Battlefield Performance in Modern War*. Princeton University Press, 2020. Available online.
2. Grauer, Ryan, and Michael C. Horowitz. "What determines military victory? Testing the modern system." *Security Studies* 21, no. 1 (2012): 83-112.
3. Spindel, Jennifer, and Robert Ralston. "Taking social cohesion to task: Perceptions of transgender military inclusion and concepts of cohesion." *Journal of Global Security Studies* 5, no. 1 (2020): 80-96.
4. Hubbard, Ben, and Eric Schmitt. "Military Skill and Terrorist Technique Fuel Success of ISIS." *New York Times*, August 27, 2014. <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/28/world/middleeast/army-know-how-seen-as-factor-in-isis-successes.html>

Week 11, April 6: Genocide and Mass Violence.

1. Downes, Alexander B. "Desperate times, desperate measures: The causes of civilian victimization in war." *International Security* 30, no. 4 (2006): 152-195.
2. Valentino, Benjamin. "Final solutions: the causes of mass killing and genocide." *Security Studies* 9, no. 3 (2000): 1-59.
3. Leader Maynard, Jonathan. "Rethinking the role of ideology in mass atrocities." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26, no. 5 (2014): 821-841.
4. Cohen, Dara Kay. "Explaining rape during civil war: Cross-national evidence (1980–2009)." *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 3 (2013): 461-477.
5. Autesserre, Séverine. 2019. "The Crisis of Peacekeeping: Why the UN Can't End Wars." *Foreign Affairs* 98. <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/crisis-peacekeeping>

Week 12, April 13: Resisting Violence.

1. Kaplan, Oliver. *Resisting War: How Communities Protect Themselves*. Cambridge University Press, 2017.
2. Finkel, Evgeny. "The phoenix effect of state repression: Jewish resistance during the Holocaust." *American Political Science Review* 109, no. 2 (2015): 339-353.

3. Parkinson, Sarah Elizabeth. "Organizing Rebellion: Rethinking High-Risk Mobilization and Social Networks in War." *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 3 (August 2013): 418-432.
4. Foley, Michael W., and Bob Edwards. "The paradox of civil society." *Journal of Democracy* 7, no. 3 (1996): 38-52.

Week 13, April 20: Refugees and Forced Migration

1. Greenhill, Kelly M. *Weapons of Mass Migration*. Cornell University Press, 2010. Available online.
2. Schon, Justin. "Motivation and opportunity for conflict-induced migration: An analysis of Syrian migration timing." *Journal of Peace Research* 56, no. 1 (2019): 12-27.
3. Gibney, Matthew J. "Kosovo and beyond: popular and unpopular refugees." *Forced Migration Review* 5, no. August (1999): 28-30.

Week 14, April 27: <i>To Be Determined.</i>

1. Students get to elect a topic for this week's discussion.