

Security, Culture, Power

Northeastern University
SPRING 2021

This course meets remotely over Zoom

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Course Number: INTL 3450
NU Flex classroom: Richards Hall 239
Office hours: Monday 1-3pm

COURSE DESCRIPTION

From gated communities to neighborhood watch groups, internet surveillance to counterterrorism operations, anti-refugee populisms to the proliferation of prisons, *security* increasingly permeates every aspect of modern life. As Joseph Masco has written: “*If you use a computer, phone, or credit card you are likely interacting with the security state and your records are likely to be stored for many years.*” How did we get here? And how should we understand security’s ubiquity? In this course we will explore security as a set of historical and contemporary phenomena. We will develop tools to critically understand and analyze what security *is* and how it *operates*. We will begin with theoretical readings on security from Foucauldian and Marxist approaches, critical security studies, critical race theory, feminist and queer theoretical approaches in order to theorize and grapple what security *does* in the world today. We will dig deep in the history of security, examining the logics of exclusion, enclosure, colonialism, racial and gendered subjugation and dispossession as pivotal for understating the logic of security in the modern world. This historical and theoretical grounding will then provide the foundation for examining important contemporary topics in security: prisons, policing, migration, empire, urban redevelopment, military bases, and the war on terror. Throughout the course we will read contemporary works by leading scholars of security and we will have the opportunity to discuss their work with them through guest speaker events.

Through the course, students will develop a critical analysis of how *power operates through security*, and how security in turn produce and reinforces structures of inequality, spatial segregation and violence. As such, the course offers a critical and interdisciplinary approach to the study of security. In dealing with questions of how security shapes cities, states, space and society from the cultural and psychological terrain of fear to the international terrain war, migration and transnational conflicts, students will analyze the politics, culture, geography and history of security as a major force shaping the contemporary world.

COURSE OBJECTIVES

- Students will gain a foundational understanding of major theories and theorists of security
- Students will gain familiarity with the *critiques* of dominant discourses of security.
- Students will learn to apply theoretical and historical readings and concepts to present day problems in security, war, terrorism, and international conflict.
- Students will hone their writing skills, and develop a practice of weekly critical writing alongside course readings
- Students will engage with leading scholars of security and their work, and will learn to situate these works within a broader literature on security
- Students will construct a scholarly book review of a recent work in security studies

READINGS

All readings will be made available on Canvas.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

There are four requirements for this course: (1) Class Participation, (2) Weekly Reading Responses, (3) one Keyword Paper, and (4) a Final Book Review.

1. Participation 20% [200 points]

This is a discussion-based seminar in which everyone is expected to participate in the conversation. For this reason, participation in class discussions is a major part of the grade for the course. Students are expected to come prepared, having read the material and prepared two questions or comments on the readings for the class. Each week we begin class by collecting a few of these questions and comments. This way we will cultivate a practice of critical reading, analysis, and collective conversation over the course of the semester structured around a set of questions and interests arising from students' own interests and concerns. Another major part of the participation grade is your preparedness for guest speakers: we will have a stellar list of visiting scholars speaking with us this semester –students should come prepared with questions for these speakers.

2. Reading Responses 30% [300 points]

Each week, students are expected to write a reading response of 600-1000 words. These responses are DUE by 9:30am on Wednesdays. There will be twelve (12) possible Reading Responses, you must complete at least ten (10) over the course of the semester (students who complete more than ten will receive extra credit). Responses should engage substantively with readings. This substantive engagement with the readings is a vital part of the seminar. By doing so students build a practice of engaging with texts through writing. This is an important intellectual practice for any scholar. And doing so helps students build an archive and record of their own ideas, critiques, and notes on texts which they can draw upon in the future. In class, we will collectively draw upon these Reading Responses in our discussions of the texts. And ultimately, these Reading Responses will be an important resource for students in composing their Final Book Review. I am asking for a specific format for these responses, so please include:

- a) a few sentence summary of the argument(s) being made in each book, article, or book chapter
- b) another few sentences (or so) explaining what makes the argument novel, important, and/or a contribution to the study of security, culture and power. Please pay attention whether the piece's novelty comes from the methods used, the question asked, the answers reached, or the analytic framework utilized.
- c) a brief comparison of how this piece differs from /builds on/ aligns with the other piece(s) read for the week. (Or for weeks when we are reading one author's book, please discuss the book chapters in relation to previous articles, theories, and frameworks that we have read together)
- d) And then, taking all of the pieces read for this week and identify the questions, thoughts, ideas, come to mind when you read all of the pieces together. This is the response, while the other pieces are the summary.

3. Keyword Paper 20% [200 points]

The midterm paper for this course is a "Keyword Paper" DUE **Friday March 5th at 11:59pm.** Directions: choose 2-3 keywords the list below OR propose your own keywords chosen from the course readings. Students must submit a 1000-1400 words (total) defining these key words and concepts. You must reference particular passages and quotes from texts we've read (though avoid overly-lengthy block quotes). Secondly, in a few paragraphs please explain the importance or significance of each keyword or concept in relation to the broader themes the class. An excellent paper will bring in outside references and academic sources beyond the course material.

- Keywords may include (but are not limited to): *security space, panopticism, the anthropology of security, critical security studies, securitescapes, global militarized apartheid, carceral geographies, racial capitalism, surveillance, security urbanism, queer critique, dark matter, the security state.*

3. Final Book Review 30% [300 points]

For the final, students must write a Book Review (3000-4000 words). The book should be chosen from the list of "Books for Review" below, some of which we have will have read selections of in class. The review should draw on literature and concepts we have covered throughout the course. You should give an overview of the book, synthesize its main arguments, give a detailed chapter by chapter summary. The review should also situate the book within the broader literatures and debates in the study of security. Make use of the course material we have covered, and bring in external materials as needed. An excellent book review will also make an *argument* about the book (e.g. why it is novel or an important contribution, what its shortcomings are, how it challenges a particular set of beliefs or concepts with a given discipline, etc). This **Final is due by 5pm on April 19th.**

Books for Review

- Browne, Simone. 2015. *Dark Matter: On the Surveillance of Blackness*. Durham: Duke University Press.

- Mark Maguire and Setha Low. 2019. “Introduction” to *Spaces of Security: Ethnographies of Securityscapes, Surveillance and Control*. New York University Press: New York.
- Setha Low. 2004. *Behind the Gates: Life, Security, and the Pursuit of Happiness in Fortress America*. Routledge: New York.
- Caldeira, P.R. Teresa. 2000. *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation, and Citizenship in Sao Paolo*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Graham, Stephen. 2010. *Cities Under Siege: The New Military Urbanism*. London: Verso.
- David Vine. 2020. *The United State of War: A Global of America’s Endless Conflicts from Columbus to the Islamic State*. University of California Press.
- Catherine Lutz. 2001. *Homefront: A Military City and the American Twentieth Century*. Beacon Press: Boston.
- Katherine Verdery. 2018. *My Life as a Spy: Investigations in a Secret Police File*. Duke University Press.
- Masco, Joseph. 2014. *Theater of Operations: National Security Affect from the Cold War to the War on Terror*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Brett Story. 2019. *Prison Land: Mapping Carceral Power Across Neoliberal America*. Minnesota University Press. (Selections)
- Ruth Wilson Gilmore. 2007. *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California*. Berkeley: University of California Press
- Catherine Besteman. 2020. *Militarized Global Apartheid* Duke University Press.
- Khalili, Laleh. 2012. *Time in the Shadows: Confinement in Counterinsurgencies*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Noah Coburn. 2016. *Losing Afghanistan: An Obituary for the Intervention*. Stanford University Press. Stanford, California.
- Nazia Kazi. 2019. *Islamophobia, Race and Global Politics*. Rowman and Littlefield: Lanham, Maryland and London.
- Nikhil Pal Singh. 2017. *Race and America’s Long War*. University of California Press: Oakland, California.
- Omar Dewachi. 2017. *Ungovernable Life: Mandatory Medicine and Statecraft in Iraq*. Stanford University Press. Stanford, California.
- Trans and Queer Movement with Everything We’ve Got” in *Captive Genders: Trans Embodiment and the Prison Industrial Complex* Edited by Stanley and Smith. Oakland: AK Press.
- Marc Neocleous and George Rigakos. 2011. *Anti-Security*. Red Quill Press.
- Amar, Paul. 2013. *Security Archipelago: Human-Security States, Sexuality Politics, and the End of Neoliberalism*. Durham: Duke University Press.

COURSE CONDUCT & EXPECTATIONS

1. My availability: I will available for “office hours” virtually, by appointment. My regular hours will be Mondays 1pm – 3pm. Please sign up here: <https://calendly.com/zoltan-gluck/prof-gluck-office-hours>

If you are unable to attend my office hours, please email me and we will find a time to meet that is convenient for you. I encourage all students to meet with me during the semester, although I strongly encourage you to do so if you are having any difficulties with the course.

2. Attendance: As a seminar course, attendance and participation matter. If you are going to be absent, you must email me before the class session. If you must leave a class session early, then please mention it to me before class begins. If you are aware that you will miss class because of religious holidays, please inform me in advance to avoid an unexcused absence.

3. Cell Phone and Computer Protocol: Turn off or put away all cell phones before coming in the classroom. (the same protocol applies for phones during digital class meetings over Zoom)

4. Plagiarism: I take plagiarism very seriously and will report any suspected cases. As noted on the library website, the NU Academic Integrity Policy defines plagiarism as "intentionally representing the words, ideas, or data of another as one's own in any academic exercise without providing proper citation." Examples of plagiarism include:

- Quoting someone's words from the Internet, a printed article, or an interview, without acknowledging the author.
- Copying part of the content of a work into one's own paper without citing the source.
- Copying or buying a paper and handing it in as one's own.
- Falsely creating a citation that doesn't exist.
- Failing to credit and cite someone else's thoughts or ideas when paraphrasing.
- Paraphrasing in a way that relies too heavily on another's language or syntax.

Avoid plagiarism by learning how to cite. When in doubt, ask for help. Become familiar with documentation guidelines, such as APA, MLA, etc. When quoting or paraphrasing ideas, theories, data or words that were created or authored by someone other than you, make sure that you both cite them in the text, and document them in the "works cited" or bibliography at the end of your paper.

5. Course Conduct and Community: We are a community of learners. Our class – whether on the ground or online – functions as a community, and as such, it's vitally important that our community be inclusive, welcoming and committed to dismantling systems of oppression such as racism, ableism, cissexism and others. Within this course, we will take a pluralistic approach to discussions, which is to say that all voices are welcome. This kind of learning environment features: open discussion; collective confrontation of difficult questions and controversial ideas; and respect for cultural and intellectual diversity. While it is sometimes appropriate to share our beliefs, personal experiences, and opinions, a goal in this course is to inform or support them through careful, thoughtful, and organized evidence-based thinking, research, writing, and presentations. Be respectful of one another. We will be having difficult conversations about topics that are sometimes challenging to discuss. We will therefore be adopting a practice of *generous reading* and *kindness* with one another as we grapple with these topics. Be kind when responding to your fellow classmates.

Mutual respect does not mean that you must agree—in fact, disagreement often fuels the best discussion—but rather that the terms of disagreement are centered around the material discussed rather than the individuals discussing them. Learning happens most effectively in classes where **mutual respect and a spirit of generosity is expected** and maintained. This involves regular attendance with preparation so one can participate in discussions effectively; turning in all assignments and doing so on-time; bringing a seriousness of purpose to your examination of the materials and issues; being an attentive listener when others are sharing ideas (including not doing other things on your computer or phone while others are speaking); being open to new ideas, evidence, arguments, and points of views; and being receptive to constructive feedback.

It also involves being cognizant of trying to **avoid replicating systems of privilege and oppression within our class community**. While disagreement and passionate debate are encouraged, you must always remain respectful during class discussions. Diverse opinions and experiences are welcome and encouraged. There is however a very hard line: under no circumstances will any hate speech, racism, sexism, classism, homophobia, transphobia, islamophobia or other forms of denigration of social groups be tolerated. If any class discussion or comments by fellow students have made you feel uncomfortable, please do contact me after class or during office hours. Ultimately, this is a discussion-based seminar and relies on the good will of and solidarity between class participants. By following these general guidelines for course conduct, my hope is that we will foster deeper conversations and a sense of collectivity as we navigate important and complex social problems.

As a general rule, **behaviors and activities that are problematic in classroom meetings are problematic as well in online and hybrid contexts**. This includes things like using disrespectful language, inviting others to class without permission, recording class without permission, having conversations with other people while class is going on, dressing inappropriately, checking your phone/texting/browsing websites during class, carrying weapons, etc.

Some things that are particular to online meetings are muting your mic when you are not speaking, keeping your camera on when possible (and when it does not compromise privacy – Note: I'm actually very understanding on this point – so just let me know if for any reason you need to attend class without your camera on), and not using distracting or inappropriate backgrounds. Please also try to **provide yourself with the best learning environment that you can under the circumstances**. If there are any challenges or barriers to your being successful in this class due to its format or your situation, please let me know.

It is also important to remember that we are meeting online and in hybrid formats because **these are challenging and transformative times**. We are all trying to do the best we can under non-ideal circumstances full of uncertainty. We are all of us learning how to do this in real time. We need to be generous and understanding with each other.

COURSE SCHEDULE

Week 1. Introductions

- January 20th** *NO CLASS MEETING*
- January 21st** First Class Meeting 10:30am – 11:35am

Week 2. Theoretical Approaches to Security I: Foucauldian and Marxist Approaches

Readings:

- Neocleous, Marc. 2008. *The Critique of Security*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's Uni. Press. (Chapter One)
- Foucault, Michel. 2004. *Security, Territory, Population*. Translated by Graham Burchell. New York: Picador. (lecture one pgs.16-38)
- Foucault. 1975. "Panopticism" in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Penguin Book. Pp. 195-228.

Further Reading:

Hall, Stuart, John Clarke, et al. 1978. *Policing the Crisis*. London: Macmillan Press.

- January 25th** Available for individual meetings
- January 27th** Reading Responses Due 9:30am
- January 28th** Class Meets 10:30am – 11:35am

Week 3. Theoretical Approaches to Security II: Critical Security Studies and Critiques

Readings:

- Buzan, Barry, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde. *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (Chapter 2)
- Hansen, Lene. (2000) The Little Mermaid's Silent Security Dilemma and the Absence of Gender in the Copenhagen School. *Millenium* 29:285-306.
- Tarak Barkawi and Mark Laffey. 2006. "The Postcolonial Moment in Security Studies" *Review of International Studies* 32(2) pp. 329-352

Further Readings

- Nordstrom, Carolyn. (1999) Visible Wars and Invisible Girls, Shadows Industries, and the Politics of Not-Knowing. *International Feminist Jour'l of Politics* 14-33.

- February 1st** Available for individual meetings
- February 3rd** Reading Responses Due 9:30am
- February 4th** Class Meets 10:30am – 11:35am

Week 4. Intersectional Approaches: Blackness, Subalterneity and Queer Critiques

Readings:

- Browne, Simone. 2015. *Dark Matter: On the Surveillance of Blackness*. Durham: Duke University Press. (Introduction & Chapter 1)
- Hagen, Jamie J. (2016) “Queering Women, Peace and Security” *International Affairs* 92(2): 313-332.
- Jo Sharp, “A subaltern critical geopolitics of the war on terror: Postcolonial Security in Tanzania” *Geoforum* 42(3): 297-305.

Further Reading:

- Nordstrom, Carolyn. (1999) Visible Wars and Invisible Girls, Shadows Industries, and the Politics of Not-Knowing. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 1:14-33.
- Puar, Jasbir. 2007. *Terrorist Assemblages*. Duke University Press.

February 8th Available for individual meetings

February 10th Reading Responses Due 9:30am

February 11th Class Meets 10:30am – 11:35am

Week 5. Anthropological Approaches to Security [Dr. Mark Maguire]

Readings:

- Maguire, Mark, Catarina Frois and Nils Zurawski. 2014. *The Anthropology of Security: Perspectives from the Frontline of Policing, Counter-terrorism and Border Control*. Introduction. Pps. 1-23.
- Mark Maguire and Setha Low. 2019. “Introduction” to *Spaces of Security: Ethnographies of Securityscapes, Surveillance and Control*. New York University Press: New York.
- Goldstein, Daniel. 2010. “Towards a Critical Anthropology of Security” *Current Anthropology* 51(4) 389-411.

Further Reading:

- Low, Setha. 2003. *Behind the Gates: Life, Security, and the Pursuit of Happiness in Fortress America*. New York: Routledge.
- Ghertner, D. Ahser, et al 2020. *Futureproof*: Duke University Press.

February 15th Available for individual meetings

February 17th Reading Response Due 9:30am

February 18th Class Meets 10:30am – 11:35am -- Guest Speaker Dr. Mark Maguire

Week 6. Urban Security and Insecurity

Readings:

- Zoltán Glück. 2017. "Security Urbanism and the Counterterror State in Kenya" *Anthropological Theory* 17 (3), 281-296.
- Wangui Kimari & Peris Jones. "Security Beyond the Men: Women and their everyday security apparatus in Mathare, Nairobi" *Urban Studies* 56(9): 2019.
- Fawaz, Mona, Mona Harb, and Ahmad Gharbieh. 2012. "Living Beirut's Security zones: An Investigation of the Modalities and Practices of Urban Security." *City and Society* 24(2): 173-195.

Further reading:

- Caldeira, P.R. Teresa. 2000. *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation, and Citizenship in Sao Paolo*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Graham, Stephen. 2010. *Cities Under Siege: The New Military Urbanism*. London: Verso.
- Hoffman, Danny. 2007. "The City as Barracks: Freetown, Monrovia and the Organization of Violence in Postcolonial African Cities." *City and Society* 22(3): 400-428.

February 22nd Available for individual meetings

February 24th Reading Responses Due 9:30am

February 25th Class Meets 10:30am – 11:35am

Week 7. Forever War: Empire, Bases and the War on Terror – [Dr. David Vine]

Readings:

- David Vine. 2020. *The United State of War: A Global History of America's Endless Conflicts from Columbus to the Islamic State*. University of California Press. (Selections)

Further Readings:

- David Vine. 2015. *Base Nation: How US Military Bases Abroad Harm America and the World*. Metropolitan Books: New York.
- Catherine Lutz. 2001. *Homefront: A Military City and the American Twentieth Century*. Beacon Press: Boston.

March 1st Available for individual meetings

March 3rd Reading Responses Due 9:30am

March 4th Class Meets 10:30am – 11:35am -- Visit by Dr. David Vine

****MIDTERM – KEYWORD PAPER DUE, March 5th midnight****

Week 8. Studying Security States: Surveillance Regimes – [Dr. Katherine Verdery]

Readings:

- Katherine Verdery. 2018. *My Life as a Spy: Investigations in a Secret Police File*. Duke University Press. (Selections)
- Katherine Verdery. 2019. “Comparative Surveillance Regimes: A Preliminary Essay” in *Spaces of Security* (Eds Low and Maguire) NYU Press. Pgs: 57-77.

Further Reading:

- Masco, Joseph. 2014. *Theater of Operations: National Security Affect from the Cold War to the War on Terror*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Arendt, Hannah. 1948. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. San Diego: Harcourt.

March 8th Available for individual meetings

March 10th Class Meets 10:30am – 11:35am -- Reading Responses Due 5pm

March 11th Class Meets 10:30am – 11:35am -- Guest Speaker Dr. Katherine Verdery

Week 9. Beyond the Prison: Carceral Geographies of Security [Dr. Brett Story]

Readings & Film:

- Brett Story. 2019. *Prison Land: Mapping Carceral Power Across Neoliberal America*. Minnesota University Press. (Selections)
- ***Watch:** *The Prison in Twelve Landscape* Directed by Brett Story

Further Reading:

- Ruth Wilson Gilmore. 2007. *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California*. Berkeley: University of California Press
- Jordan Camp and Christina Heatherton . 2016. *Policing the Planet: Why the Policing Crisis led to Black Lives Matter*. Verso.

March 15th Available for individual meetings

March 17th Reading Responses Due 9:30am

March 18th Class Meets 10:30am – 11:35am -- Guest Speaker Dr. Brett Story

Week 10. Security Apartheid: Race, Migration and Militarization [Dr. Catherine Besteman]

Readings:

- Catherine Besteman, *Militarized Global Apartheid* Duke University Press: 2020 (Selections)
- Vine, David. “US-led Wars have Displaces 37 million people” *The Guardian*
<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/sep/18/us-wars-iraq-george-w-bush>

Further Reading

- Khalili, Laleh. 2012. *Time in the Shadows: Confinement in Counterinsurgencies*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Noah Coburn. 2016. *Losing Afghanistan: An Obituary for the Intervention*. Stanford University Press. Stanford, California.

March 22nd Available for individual meetings
March 24th Class Meets 10:30am – 11:35am // Reading Response Due 9:30am
Guest Speaker – Dr. Catherine Besteman
March 25th *NO CLASS MEETING*

Week 11. Islamophobia, Race and Empire [Dr. Nazia Kazi]

Readings:

- Nazia Kazi. 2019. *Islamophobia, Race and Global Politics*. Rowman and Littlefield: Lanham, Maryland and London.

Further Reading

- Nikhil Pal Singh. 2017. *Race and America's Long War*. University of California Press: Oakland, California.
- Omar Dewachi. 2017. *Ungovernable Life: Mandatory Medicine and Statecraft in Iraq*. Stanford University Press. Stanford, California.

March 29th Available for individual meetings
March 31st Class Meets 10:30am – 11:35am -- Reading Responses 9:30am
April 1st Class Meets 10:30am – 11:35am -- Guest Speaker Dr. Nazia Kazi

Week 12. Policing, Militarization & the Security State [Dr. Manissa Maharawal]

- Manissa Maharawal. 2017. “Black Lives Matter, Gentrification and the Security State in the San Francisco Bay Area” *Anthropological Theory* 17 (3), 338-364.
- Gilmore, Ruth Wilson and Craig Gilmore. 2008. Restating the Obvious. In Sorkin, Michael. *Indefensible Space*. Chapter Pps. 114-162.
- Lepore, Jill. 2020. “The Invention of the Police.” *New Yorker*, July 13. Pgs. 1-20.

Further Reading

- Keeanga-Yahmatta Taylor. 2015. *From Black Lives Matter to Black Liberation*. Haymarket Books.

April 5th Available for individual meetings
April 7th Reading Responses Due 9:30am
April 8th Visit with Dr. Manissa Maharawal

Week 13. Against the Security State: Abolition, Uprising, Alternative Futures

- Marc Neocleous and George Rigakos. 2011. “Anti-Security: A Declaration” in *Anti-Security* (eds) Neocleous and Rigakos. Red Quill Press.
- Dean Spade, Morgan Bassichis, Alex Lee “Building an Abolitionist Trans and Queer Movement with Everything We’ve Got” in *Captive Genders: Trans Embodiment and the Prison Industrial Complex* Edited by Stanley and Smith. Oakland: AK Press.
- Catherine Lutz. “US Bases, Empire, and Global Response” In *Militarization: A Reader:* (pp.344-347)
- Rebecca Solnit. “Hope in the Dark: Untold Histories, Wild Possibilities” In *Militarization: A Reader* (pp.350-355)

Further Readings

- Amar, Paul (2013) “The Archipelago of New Security State Uprisings” in *Security Archipelago: Human-Security States, Sexuality Politics, and the End of Neoliberalism*. Durham: Duke University Press.

April 12th Available for individual meetings
April 14th Reading Responses Due 9:30am
April 15th Final Class Meets 10:30am – 11:35am

****Final Book Review, Due Monday April 19th at 5pm****