INR 7687

Theoretical Approaches to Security Studies

Fall 2017

Instructor:	Michael Mousseau
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On Line:	Webcourses is UCF's online course management system which is accessed through my.ucf.edu and then the "Online Course Tools" tab.
Class meets:	Mondays 1:00 – 3:50 PM HPH 0305G.
Office Hours:	Mondays 12:00-1:00 & Tuesdays 12:00 to 3:00. If you can see me during my office hours you do not need to make an appointment.

UCF Catalogue Description: A survey of realist, liberal, constructivist, critical and other theories of international security.

Course Goals/Objectives: Promote understanding of the primary theoretical approaches in international security studies; introduce basic issues in social science research, including issues of philosophy of science and research design; get you started on your own research program.

Required Texts:

- Kenneth Waltz, *Man, the State and War: A Theoretical Analysis*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.
- Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*. Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., 1979.
- John Mearshimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. WW Norton, 2014 [2001].
- John A. Vasquez, *The Power of Power Politics: From Classical Realism to Neotraditionalism*. Cambridge Studies in International Relations, 2009.
- David A. Lake, *Hierarchy in International Relations*. Cornell University Press, 2011.

Supplemental texts: Books on reserve, in which only a chapter or three are assigned:

- Robert O Keohane., *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984.
- John Gerard Ruggie. *Constructing the World Polity*: *Essays on International Institutionalization*. Routledge, 1998.
- Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars*. Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Manus Midlarsky, ed., *Handbook of War Studies II.* Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 2003.
- John A. Vasquez, *The War Puzzle Revisited*. NY: Cambridge, 2009.

It is best to read the material for each week in the order listed.

Evaluation

3% Quiz to document academic activity for aid dispursement purposes. Due Friday August 25 at 11:59 PM on Canvas. 2-3 short-answer questions on the first week's topic on Basic Issues in Philosophy of Science.

28% Attendance and Participation. Assessment includes quality as well as quantity of questions and participation. Quality is indicated by the student's apparent awareness of the required reading material, relevance of questions to the topic at hand, and thoughtfulness of contributions. Please do not quote material at length: use your own words.

A	Contributed very well to discussion, with a clear understanding of the required readings and having thought deeply about them.
B	Contributed moderately to the discussion, with indications of at least fair awareness of the material and perhaps having thought about it.
C	Present but did not substantively contribute much or at all.
D	Not present

Within one week after each seminar you will find your participation grade either in your mailboxes or at the course web page on Webcourses@UCF. TIP: Arrive at each seminar with notes that outline the main points of each section of each reading. You might also identify themes in the readings and organize you thoughts about them. Remember that it is best to read the material for each week in the order listed.

44%. Two thought papers on the readings, 22% each. Each paper should address a single, focused question related with two to five readings, presenting a central argument answering the question posed. The issues can be theoretical or empirical. Drawing on my friend Jack Snyder's syllabus, topics "might address such issues as the deductive coherence of the theory, the relationship between the logic of a theory and the empirical methods used to test it, the repair of theories in light of testing, how agency is related to structure in the theory, the criteria used to evaluate theory, how change is theorized, the effectiveness of debates in assessing, refining, developing, and refuting theory, and so forth." Expected length 1-2000 words. Due electronically at midnight on Friday September 29 and Friday November 10.

25%. Final exam, taking the form of a proctored mock written candidacy PhD exam, answering one question raised in seminar. Open book on webcourses on December 9, time TBA.

Course Outline

I. Thinking Right and on the Level

1. **Core Assumptions in the Scientific Study of War**
    - Vasquez, *The Power of Power Politics*, chapter 1.
    - "A Bug in fMRI Software Could Invalidate 15 Years of Brain Research." http://www.sciencealert.com/a-bug-in-fmri-software-could-invalidate-decades-of-brain-research-scientists-discover.W

- Watch: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FpCrY7x5nEE
- *Suggested*:
    - Imre Lakatos, 1978 [1970]. "Falsification and the Methodology of Scientific Research Programs." In *Mathematics, Science and Epistemology: Philosophical Papers Volume* 1, ed. John Worrall and Gregory Currie. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 7 and 8 summarize Lakatosian methodology.
    - Larry Laudan, *Progress and its Problems : Towards a Theory of Scientific Growth*. Berkeley : University of California Press, 1978. Chapters 3 and 4 offer a concise coverage of the issues involving Popper, Kuhn, and Lakatos.
    - Colin Elman and Miriam Fendius Elman, "How Not to Be Lakatos Intolerant," *International Studies Quarterly* 46 (June 2002), pp. 231-262.
    - Jack S. Levy, "Counterfactuals, causal inference, and historical analysis", *Security Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (2015), pp. 378-402.
    - James Fearon, "Counterfactuals and Hypothesis Testing in Political Science," *World Politics*, January, 1991.

2. Spurious Correlations & Rational Choice in Security Studies

- "Spurious Correlations". http://www.tylervigen.com/spurious-correlations.
- Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*, chapter 1
- Stephen M. Walt, "Rigor or Rigor Mortis?: Rational Choice and Security Studies," *International Security*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Spring 1999).
- Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and James D. Morrow, "Sorting Through the Wealth of Notions," *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (Fall 1999).
- Lisa L. Martin, "The Contributions of Rational Choice: A Defense of Pluralism," *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (Fall 1999).
- Emerson M.S. Niou and Peter C. Ordeshook, "Return of the Luddites," *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (Fall 1999).
- Robert Powell, "The Modeling Enterprise and Security Studies," *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (Fall 1999).
- Frank C. Zagare, "All Mortis, No Rigor" International Security," *Internationalecurity*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (Fall 1999).
- Stephen M. Walt, "A Model Disagreement" International Security," *International Security*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (Fall 1999).

3. Levels of Analysis

- Kenneth Waltz, *Man, the State and War: A Theoretical Analysis*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.

II. Neo-Utilitarian Approaches in Security Studies

4. The Realist Paradigm

- Vasquez, *The Power of Power Politics*, chapters 2-8.
- Kenneth Waltz, *Theory of International Politics*. Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., 1979. Chapters 2-9.

5. Do Nations Balance?

- Vasquez, *The Power of Power Politics*, chapters 9 & 11.
- Kenneth N. Waltz, "Evaluating Theories," *American Political Science Review* 91:4 (December 1997): 913-917.
- Thomas J. Christensen and Jack Snyder, "Progressive Research on Degenerate Alliances," *American Political Science Review* 91:4 (December 1997): 919-922.
- Colin Elman and Miriam Fendius Elman, "Lakatos and Neorealism: A Reply to Vasquez," *American Political Science Review* 91:4 (December 1997): 923-926.
- Randall L Schweller, "New Realist Research on Alliances: Refining, Not Refuting, Waltz's Balancing Proposition" *American Political Science Review* 91:4 (December 1997): 927-930.
- Stephen M. Walt, "The Progressive Power of Realism" *American Political Science Review* 91:4 (December 1997): 931-935.
- Vasquez, *The Power of Power Politics*, chapters 13 & 14.

6. Do Nations Over Balance?

- Mearshimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, chapters 1, 2, & 5-10.
- Vasquez, *The Power of Power Politics*, chapter 12.

7. Neo-liberal Institutionalism

- Robert O Keohane., *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984. Pages 7-10, 48-65; 85-98, and 111-116. On reserve.
- G. John Ikenberry, *After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order after Major Wars*. Princeton University Press, 2000. Chapters 2 (on varieties of order), 3 (theory of political stability), and 7 (after the Cold War). On reserve.
- John J. Mearsheimer, "The False Promise of International Institutions," *International Security* 19: 3 (1994): 5-49.
- Robert O. Keohane and Lisa L. Martin, "The Promise of Institutionalist

Theory," *International Security* 20: 1 (Summer 1995): 39-51.

- *Suggested:*
    - Robert Axelrod, "The Emergence of Cooperation among Egoists," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 75, No. 2. (1981), pp. 306-318.
    - Robert Axelrod, *The Evolution of Cooperation.* New York: Basic Books, 1984.
    - Robert Jervis, *Perception and Misperception in International Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976.
    - Robert Jervis, "Cooperation Under the Security Dilemma," *World Politics* 30: 2 (January, 1978).
    - Joshua S. Goldstein and John R. Freeman, *Three-Way Street: Strategic Reciprocity in World Politics*. University of Chicago Press, 1990.

8. Bargaining and the Constructivist Critique

- Geoffrey Blainey, *The Causes of War*, Simon and Schuster, 1988. Chapter 8 on war as a bargain.
- Patrick James, *Crisis and War*, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988. Chapter 3 on crisis bargaining.
- James Fearon, "Rationalist Explanations for War," *International Organization* 49: 3 (Summer 1995): 379-414.
- Hein Goemans and Kenneth Schultz, *Aims, Claims and the Bargaining model*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Emilie M. Hafner-Burton, Stephan Haggard, David A. Lake and David G. Victor, "The Behavioral Revolution and International Relations," *International Organization*, Volume 71, Issue S1, April 2017, pp. S1-S31, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818316000400
- John Gerard Ruggie, 1998. *Constructing the World Polity*: *Essays on International Institutionalization*. Routledge. Pages 1-40 offer an overview of constructivism. On reserve
- Vasquez, *The Power of Power Politics*, chapter 10.
- *Suggested*:
    - Peter J. Katzenstein, Robert Keohane, and Stephen Krasner, "International Organization and the Study of World Politics," *International Organization* 52:4 (Fall 1998): 645-685.
    - Alexander Wendt, *Social Theory of International Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999. Chapters 1, 4, 6, and 7 on how state identities can change and affect the nature of the interstate system. On reserve.

- Alexander Wendt, "The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations Theory," *International Organization* 41, Summer 1987, 335-370.

III. Dyadic Sources of Insecurity

9. Democracy and War

- John R Oneal and Bruce Russett. 1999. "The Kantian Peace: The Pacific Benefits of Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations." *World Politics* 52 (October 1):1-37.
- Immanuel Kant, 1982 [1795]. *Perpetual Peace*. trans. and ed. Lewis White Beck. New York: Bobbs-Merrill: Indianapolis.
- Jack Snyder and Erica D. Borghard, "The Cost of Empty Threats: A Penny, Not a Pound," *American Political Science Review* 105: 3 (August 2011).
- Jameson Ungerer, "Assessing the Progress of the Democratic Peace Research Program," *International Studies Review* 14:1 (2012).
- Michael Mousseau, 2017. "Grasping the Scientific Evidence: The Contractualist Peace Supersedes the Democratic Peace", *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, published online before print: DOI 10.1177/0738894215616408.
- Allan Dafoe and James Lee Ray, 2017. "Democratic Peace Versus Contractualism," *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, published online before print: DOI 10.1177/0738894216683648.
- Alexander Downes. 2009. "How Smart and Tough Are Democracies?: Reassessing Theories of Democratic Victory in War." *International Security* 33(4): 9–51.
- *Suggested*:
    - Sebastian Rosato, "The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory." *American Political Science Review* 97: 4 (November 2003): 585-
    - Dan Reiter and Allan Stam. 2003. "Understanding Victory: Why Political Institutions Matter". *International Security* 28(2): 168–179.
    - Dan Reiter and Allan Stam. 2009. "Correspondence: Another Skirmish in the Battle over Democracies and War." *International Security* 34(2): 194–200.
    - Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, James D. Morrow, Randolph M. Siverson, and Alastair Smith, "Testing Novel Implications from the Selectorate Theory of War," World Politics 56 (April 2004): 363–88.
    - James Lee Ray, "War on Democratic Peace," *International Studies*

Quarterly (2013) 57, 198–200.
    - Allan Dafoe, John R. Oneal, and Bruce Russett, "The Democratic Peace: Weighing the Evidence and Cautious Inference," *International Studies Quarterly* (2013) 57, 201–214. Read only pp. 203-210.
    - Jack S. Levy "Domestic Politics and War," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18: 4 (Spring 1988): 653-673.
    - Michael C. Desch, "Democracy and Victory: Why Regime Type Hardly Matters," *International Security* 27: 2 (2002): 5-47.
    - Belgin San-Akca, 2014. "An Exploitation Theory of Democracies by Terrorists," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol 58, Issue 7.

10. Economic and Territorial Challenges to the Democratic Peace

- Monica Diffy Toft, 2014. "Territory and War," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 51(2): 185-198.
- John Vasquez, N.D., "Analyzing Peaceful Dyads: A Territorial Perspective," *Foreign Policy Analysis* (forthcoming).
- Erik Gartzke. "The Capitalist Peace," *American Journal of Political Science* 51(2007): 166-191.
- Patrick J. McDonald. "The Purse Strings of Peace," *American Journal of Political Science* 51(2007): 569-582.
- Michael Mousseau, "The Democratic Peace Unraveled: It's the Economy", *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 57, No. 2 (May 2013), pp. 186-197.
- *Suggested*:
    - Michael Mousseau, "The Social Market Roots of Democratic Peace," *International Security*, Vol. 33. No. 44 (Spring 2009), pp. 52-86.
    - Norman Angell, *The Great Illusion: A Study of the Relation of Military Power in Nations to Their Economic and Social Advantage*. 3rd ed. New York: Putnam, 1911.
    - Robert O. Keohane and Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Power and Interdependence*. Glenview, Ill. : Scott, Foresman, 1989[1977]. Pages 3-60.
    - Erich Weede, *Economic Development, Social Order, and World Politics*. Boulder, CO: L. Rienner, 1996.
    - Bruce Russett and John R. Oneal, *Triangulating Peace: Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations*. New York, Norton, 2001.
    - Steven Miller and Douglas Gibler, "Democracies, Territory, and Negotiated Compromises," *Conflict Management and Peace*

Science 28 (July 2011): 261-279.
    - Michael Mousseau, "Globalization, Markets, and Democracy: An Anthropological Linkage", in *Globalization and Civilizations*, edited by Mehdi Mozaffari. London: Routledge (August 2002), pp. 97-124.
    - Nieman, Mark, "Moments in Time: Temporal Patterns in the Effect of Democracy and Trade on Conflict Model." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* (2015), doi:10.1177/0738894215570427.
    - Patrick J McDonald. *The Invisible Hand of Peace: Capitalism, the War Machine, and International Relations Theory*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
    - Benjamin O. Fordham and Katja B. Kleinberg. "How Can Economic Interests Affect Support for Free Trade?" *International Organization*, 66:2 (2012)
    - Gerald Schneider and Nils Petter Gleditsch, *Assessing the Capitalist Peace*, Routlege, 2013.

IV. Assorted Perspectives

11. Hierarchy in Global Security

- Robert Gilpin, *War and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1999, chapters 2-5.
- Jacek Kugler and Douglas Lemke, "The Power Transition: A Retrospective and Prospective Evaluation," in Manus Midlarsky, ed., *Handbook of War Studies II.* Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 2003. On reserve.
- Karen Rasler and William Thompson, "Global War and the Political Economy of Structural Change," in Manus Midlarsky, ed., *Handbook of War Studies II.* Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 2003. On reserve.
- David A. Lake, *Hierarchy in International Relations*, Cornell University Press, 2011. Entire
- *Suggested*:
    - Jack Levy & William Thompson, *The Arc of War: Origins, Escalation, and Transformation*. University of Chicago Press, 2011.
    - Patrick J. McDonald, "Great Powers, Hierarchy, and Endogenous Regimes: Rethinking the Domestic Causes of Peace," *International Organization* 69:3 (Summer 2015), 557-588.

12. Domestic-International Linkages

- Immanuel Wallerstein, "The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 16: 4 (September 1974): 387-415.
- Michael Mousseau, "Market Civilization and its Clash with Terror," *International Security*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Winter 2002-03), pp. 5-29.
- Tim Krieger and Daniel Meierrieks, "The Rise of Capitalism and the Roots of Anti-American Terrorism", *Journal of Peace Research* 52:1 (2015): 46–61.
- Peter Gourevitch, "The Second Image Reversed: The International Sources of Domestic Politics," *International Organization*, 32, Autumn 1978, pp. 881-911.
- Zeev Maoz and Belgin San-Akca, 2012. "Rivalry and State Support of Non-State Armed Groups (NAGs), 1946–20011," *International Studies Quarterly*, Volume 56, Issue 4, 1 December 2012, Pages 720–734.
- *Suggested*:
    - John A. Hobson, *Imperialism: A Study*. Library of Economics and Liberty, 1902. Retrieved October 28, 2010 from the World Wide Web: http://www.econlib.org/library/YPDBooks/Hobson/hbsnImp.html.
    - Vladimir Lenin, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*. Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1970 [1917].
    - Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political And Economic Origins Of Our Time*; foreword by Joseph E. Stiglitz ; introduction by Fred Block. Beacon Press, 2001.
    - Johann Galtung, "A Structural Theory of Imperialism." *Journal of Peace Research,* 8: 2 (1971): 81–117.
    - Andre Gunder Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment," *Monthly Review* 18 (1966).
    - James A. Caporaso. (editor) "Dependence and Dependency in the Global System," special issue, *International Organization* 32:1 (Winter 1978).
    - Jack L. Snyder, "Anarchy and Culture: Insights from the Anthropology of War," *International Organization* 56:1 (Winter 2002).
    - Daniel Meierrieks. "Rooted in Urban Poverty? Failed Modernization and Terrorism," *Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy* 18:3 (2012).
    - Charles Boehmer and Mark Daube, "The Curvilinear Effects of Economic Development on Domestic Terrorism," *Peace Economics Peace Science and Public Policy* Peace, Vol. 19, No 3 (November 2013): 359–368.

- North, Douglass C., John J. Wallis, and Barry R. Weingast. *Violence and Social Orders: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting Recorded History*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009, selected chapters.
- Alexander Gerschenkron, *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective*, Harvard University Press, 1962. ch. 1.

13. Human Security

- Dalby, Simon. 1992. 'Ecopolitical discourse: 'environmental security' and political geography', Progress in Human Geography, 16: 503-22.
- Roland Paris, "Human Security: Paradigm Shift or Hot Air?", *International Security*, Volume 26, Issue 2, Fall 2001, pp. 87-102.
- Valerie M. Hudson, Mary Caprioli, Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill, Rose McDermott and Chad F. Emmett, "The Heart of the Matter: The Security of Women and the Security of States," *International Security*, Volume 33, Issue 3, Winter 2009, pp. 7-45
- Geoffrey Swenson, "Why U.S. Efforts to Promote the Rule of Law in Afghanistan Failed," *International Security*, Volume 42, Issue 1, Summer 2017, pp. 114-151. Posted Online August 02, 2017, doi: 10.1162/ISEC_a_00285.
- Jacqueline L. Hazelton, "The "Hearts and Minds" Fallacy: Violence, Coercion, and Success in Counterinsurgency Warfare," *International Security,* Volume 42, Issue 1, Summer 2017, pp. 80-113. doi: 10.1162/ISEC_a_00283
- Emilie Hafner-Burton, "Sticks and Stones: The Efficacy of Human Rights 'Naming and Shaming,'" *International Organization* 62:4 (2008).

14. Thinking Big and Small

- Nils Petter Gleditsch, Steven Pinker, Bradley A Thayer, Jack S Levy, William R Thompson, The Forum: The Decline of War, *International Studies Review*, Volume 15 Issue 3 (2013), pp 396-419.
- Ron P Smith. "The Economic Costs of Military Conflict", *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 51, 2 (2015): pp. 245-256.
- David A. Lake, "Theory is Dead, Long Live Theory: The End of the Great Debates and the Rise of Eclecticism in International Relations," *European Journal of International Relations* 19 (2013), pp. 567-587.
- James Fearon and Alexander Wendt, "Rationalism v. Constructivism: A Skeptical View," *Handbook of International Relations* (2002 ed.), eds. Walter

Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse, and Beth Simmons.

- John Gerard Ruggie, "International Regimes, Transactions, and Change: Embedded Liberalism in the Postwar Economic Order," *International Organization* 36:2 (Spring 1982).
- Andrew Moravcsik, "Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics," *International Organization* 51 (4), 513-53.
- Philip A Schrodt, "Seven Deadly Sins of Contemporary Quantitative Political Analysis," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol 51, Issue 2, 2014