

**Seventeenth Annual
York Centre for International and Security Studies Conference**

***New Directions: The Future of Canadian (In)Security
Studies***

519 York Research Tower
York University, Toronto
4-5 February 2010

Centre for International and Security Studies
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Thursday, 4 February 2010

9:00 – 9:15 Opening Remarks

519 York Research Tower

Robert Latham, Associate Professor, Political Science, York University;
Director, York Centre for International and Security Studies (YCISS)

David Mutimer, Associate Professor, Political Science, York University;
Deputy Director, Centre for International and Security Studies

Lori A. Crowe, Conference Co-Organizer, PhD Student, Political Science,
York University; Researcher, YCISS

Karen Walker, Conference Co-Organizer, PhD Student, Social and Political
Thought, York University; Researcher, YCISS

9:15 – 10:45 Panel I: Borders and Biopolitics: Reproducing Violence through Politics of Inclusion/Exclusion

519 YRT

Chair: Anna M. Agathangelou, Associate Professor, Political Science, York
University

The Biopolitical Governance of Alevism in Turkey

Baris Karaagac, Graduate Student, Political Science, York University

**Elizabeth Dauphinee, Assistant Professor, Graduate Program Director, Political
Science, York University**

Critical international relations literature has long recognized the relationship of violence between statism and communities whose identities and self-perceptions do not ‘fit’ easily into the nation-state formation (Walker, 1992; Campbell, 1992, 1998; Campbell and Shapiro, 1999; Burke 2006, Doty 2004, Orford 1999). The governance of those who do not meet politically reductionist criteria is premised upon the ability to make sense of ‘who they are’ within the confines of the normalizing nation-state (Dauphinee and Masters, 2006; Orford 2006, Isin and Rygiel 2006). This is of particular concern to questions surrounding biopolitical governance, because this form of governance is premised as much upon the maintenance and preservation of communities as it is on the question of who is not qualified for a properly political life (Agamben 1998). This paper focuses on the biopolitical governance of Alevism in Turkey. A group that is not purely ethnic, nor purely religious, nor purely political, the Alevis in Turkey are a heterodox collection of communities that are marked by ambiguity and ambivalence, both in intracommunal terms and in their relationship to the Turkish state.

After Intervention: Localizing Neoliberal In/Security in the Balkans

Konstantin Kilibarda, Graduate Student, Political Science, York University

Adnan Selimovic, Graduate Student, Political Science, York University

This presentation explores notions of security and insecurity in post-interventionist environments, asking what types of violence's are authorized by international organizations in the Balkans? The presentation explores two localized moments of neoliberal governmentality in the Bosnian city of Brcko and the Serbian capital Belgrade respectively, highlighting the relationship between structural adjustment, precarity, and dispossession. Selimovic examines the state of the social security programs in Brcko, presenting first hand experience of working in the central social security center of the district. Kilibarda similarly explores shifts in Belgrade's urban geography from one dominated by discourses of nationalist ethnic cleansing, to racialized forms of social-cleansing within the city's limits.

On Frontier(s) of Biometrics: Between Control and Resistance

Marie-Chantal Locas, Graduate Student, School of Political Studies, University of Ottawa

The border is a complex space where different types of power are simultaneously exercised. Through an analysis focusing on the growing use of biometric technologies for border controls between the United States and Mexico, this paper will demonstrate how the biometric border is situated within the context of a biopower specific of what Gilles Deleuze calls a "society of control". Here, my point is not to assert the obsolescence of the concepts of sovereign power and discipline, but rather to see how the notion of control has made their modes of action more complex. What this paper suggests is thus an examination of the transformations in the exercise of power which are involved in the emergence of a biometric border between the United States and Mexico in order to explore the possibilities of resistance vis-à-vis the way power now operates at the border.

Political Communities of (In)Security and Canadian Minority Relations

Zeina Sleiman, Graduate Student, Political Science, McMaster University

This paper seeks to analyze the ways in which the politics of (in)security creates a boundary of exclusion within political communities of citizens and how it relates to the development of Canadian multiculturalism. It considers that the growing sense of insecurity, mostly created by an imaginary threat of immigration, or simply the unknown 'other', is utilized in unifying a people through exclusion. Through this framework, I analyze the recent call by the Muslim Canadian Congress (MCC) demanding that the government present a legislation to ban the wearing of the burqa (a full face veil) based on security interests. The paper focuses on the potential that the politics of (in)security has for shaping membership within political communities by creating a binary of inclusion/exclusion that calls for a critical perspective on the relationship between security, multiculturalism and the politics of recognition.

11:00-12:30 Panel II A (concurrent): Securitizing/(De)Securitizing Threat, Producing Insecurity: Regional Violence and the Dilemma of International Intervention

519 YRT Chair: Sergei Plekhanov, Associate Professor, Political Science

The Crisis in Thailand and Rising Insecurity in South-East Asia: Causes and Consequences

Mathew Morgan, Graduate Student, Political Science, York University

Thailand has been in a period of crisis since a military coup d'état removed the Prime Minister, Thaksin Shinawatra, from power in 2006. A revolving door of Prime Ministers and the mobilization of social strata that opposed and supported Thaksin's ouster have deeply destabilized the country. The instability in Thailand is now having regional ramifications as Thaksin forms increasingly close links with neighboring Cambodia, souring relations between the two countries. My presentation will examine the course of Thailand's crisis by employing Gramsci's concept of an organic crisis alongside the literature on states of exception.

Modern Day Piracy: Learning from the Barbary Campaign

Timothy O'Leary, Royal Military College of Canada

Piracy has fuelled the popular imagination from "The Pirates of Penzance" to "The Pirates of the Caribbean." A less romantic reality has become the norm off Somalia. How, in an age of satellite surveillance and jet aircraft, can ships of powerful nations fall victim to a scourge that has stalked the seas since before the Roman Empire? Along the Barbary Coast of Africa around the beginning of the nineteenth century western powers eliminated piracy in the region. In the modern age can lessons be taken from the past and applied to modern piracy off the Horn of Africa?

The Perception of Canadian Forces operating in Afghanistan – An Indigenous View

Arshad Khan Khalafzai, Graduate Student, Disaster and Emergency Management, York University

Pashtunwali is an exceptional Pashtuns' code of life, which has maintained balance in their society. Foreign interference and recent invasions/occupation of Afghanistan has created a situation wherein Pashtunwali - a centuries old way of life - can no longer be practiced. Without thorough understanding of Pashtuns' culture, traditions and their way of life (respecting Pashtunwali), it will be almost impossible to bring peace and stability in the country. Lack of knowledge of Canadian troops about Afghani culture, way of life and disrespect of the honor of Afghani people has significantly damaged the soft image of Canadians in the region. In the backdrop of Pashtunwali, there is an urgent need to review and revise Canadian foreign/defense policy in the region.

Security as Contentious Politics: the Case of the Lord's Resistance Army

Marek Brezezinski, Graduate Student, Political Science, Concordia University

Jeremy Speight, Graduate Student, Political Science, Concordia University

Since the 1980's, International Relations scholars have debated the appropriate reach of 'security' as an analytically useful concept. Alternatively, this paper examines how actors in international and domestic settings employ security discourses to either securitize or de-securitize political contests. This involves casting political contests in terms of existential threat to a given object, effectively removing those contests from the realm of politics and justifying actions beyond the scope of normal politics. Efforts to securitize the conflict in Northern Uganda are parts of larger discursive repertoires used by actors to politicize/depoliticize the conflict and exclude/include particular voices in peace negotiations.

11:00 – 12:30 Panel II B (concurrent): Global Health and Environmental (in)Security and Surveillance: Interrogating the Relationship between Geopolitics and Biopolitics

524 YRT Chair: Elizabeth Lunstrum, Assistant Professor, Department of Geography and YCISS

Global Health (In)Security and the H1N1 Pandemic

Katrina Kyselytzia, Graduate Student, Political Science/International Relations, University of Alberta

This paper will examine the concept of global health security by analyzing the 2009 H1N1 pandemic. The Canadian, Mexican and WHO responses will be explored as case studies to define the current state of global health insecurity. In the last decade, we have witnessed pandemics such as SARS, Avian flu and H1N1. Our world is becoming increasingly vulnerable to global health insecurities. How can we combat these insecurities and how does securitization affect our understanding of global health? This paper will argue that in order to address these issues more emphasis needs to be placed on global health governance and our global health system needs to be strengthened.

Environmental Peacemaking and the Securitization of the Environment: Peace Parks in Southern Africa

Thomas Abeling, Graduate Student, Political Science, York University

Although transboundary protected areas are merely a new phenomenon in nature conservation, the concept of "peace parks" has received increasing attention over the last decade. In the field of security studies, this notion is framed by the concept of "environmental peacemaking". By asking how environmental cooperation can contribute to the prevention of violent conflicts, this concept portrays the environment as an opportunity rather than a threat. The goal of this paper is to show some of the problematic implications of implementing environmental peacemaking through peace parks.

The Militarization of Climate Change

Emily Gilbert, Canadian Studies Program & Geography, University of Toronto

Climate change is increasingly being presented as a pressing security issue, and hence in need of immediate attention. Yet while the securitization of the debates has helped draw some attention to urgent environmental issues, significant problems arise when these issues are taken up by the military, as they have been in the United States and Australia. This paper will drawing upon work in geopolitics and environmental security, and the rich literature arising out of Canada in these areas, to critically examine these problems, and the ways that the concept of threat is being reconfigured, while new forms of violence and insecurity are made possible.

Surveillance Anatomy: Disease, Space and Power in Global Health Security

Gabriel Blouin Genest, Graduate Student, School of Political Science, University of Ottawa

Historically, political responses toward diseases and pandemics were usually made through a similar logic of interaction with differences, otherness, and immigration. The virus has in this way “becomes one of the master metaphors of the early twenty-first century” (Zerner, 2005:175-6), stimulated by a “contagion-anxiety” (Bashford and Hooker, 2001) and finding echoes in media, popular cultures and arts (Ingram, 2008). Despite those interesting findings, the implantation of an epidemic and disease surveillance structure on the global scale by the World health organization (WHO), and the ensuing real time cartography of infections and risks, remained almost unquestioned. The general objective in this paper is consequently to establish a critical engagement with the question of how geopolitics interact and interfere with biopolitics, using the global health surveillance modifications introduced by the 2005 International health regulations (IHR) as a case-study.

12:30-1:30 Lunch

**1:30 – 3:00 Keynote Roundtable on the Future of Critical Security Studies in
Canada**

519 YRT Introductions: David Mutimer, Associate Professor, Political Science, York
University; Deputy Director, York Centre for International Security Studies

David Mutimer, Deputy Director, YCISS, York University

Barbara Falk, CFC Department of Defence Studies

Mark Salter, School of Political Studies, University of Ottawa

Miguel Larrinaga, School of Political Studies, University of Ottawa

Mark Neufeld, Deputy Director, Centre for the Study of Global Power and
Politics, Trent University

Elizabeth Dauphinee, Department of Political Science, York University

Peter Nyers, Associate Professor, McMaster University

Canadian security/(in)security and defense in theory and practice has been challenged, re-defined and re-imagined in the changing political and theoretical global environment in the last decade. These shifts require a dialogue on recent turns in the field and innovative and multidisciplinary approaches that call into question traditional understandings of security. These challenges have been taken up by growing numbers of scholars within Canada indicating that we may have reached the point at which a distinctive Canadian voice in security studies may be emerging.

This roundtable brings together distinguished scholars and practitioners working in the area of Critical Security Studies to discuss new approaches, critiques of existing approaches and future directions for the field, both theoretically and regarding the practical development of this area of research.

3:10-4:40 Panel III: A Market for Security: Expanding, Confining and Privatizing Capitalist Social Relations

519-YRT Chair: Sébastien Rioux, Graduate Student, Political Science, York University

Bandwagoning with the US: Canada and the Geopolitics of Expanding Capitalism during the Global War on Terror

Michael Skinner, Graduate Student, Political Science, York University

The war fought today in Afghanistan and beyond is part of a long and complex geopolitical struggle for control of Eurasia. Since a royal charter was first granted to the British East India Company to set up shop at the beginning of the 17th century, this geopolitical struggle became evermore deeply rooted in the globalising expansion of the social relations of capitalism. Afghanistan's strategic position as a central beachhead for further economic expansion into Eurasia is a primary reason the United States and its closest allies – an emerging *Empire of Capital* – now want, in the best case scenario, to establish liberal order here, or at the very least, in the worst case scenario, deny control to any competing state or alliance. The “Bush Doctrine” articulated in the US National Security Strategy (2002; 2006) claims free trade is a “moral principle” and defines the economic freedom it engenders for some as “real freedom”. Pre-emptive warfare exercised to secure this “real freedom” is central to this doctrine. The Obama administration is strengthening this doctrine. Likewise, successive Canadian governments led by Chrétien, Martin, and Harper chose to not only bandwagon with the US in support, but to also badger other NATO states to do the same.

Towards a Feminist Political Economy of Capitalism and Carcerality

Genevieve Le Baron, Graduate Student, Political Science, York University

Adrienne Roberts, Graduate Student, Political Science, York University

This paper assesses carceral institutions and the social relations surrounding them in the United States in terms of their constituent role in the functioning and reproduction of capitalism in the neoliberal period. Highlighting the interplay between the state's exertion of more directly coercive forms of power and market relations of confinement, the paper develops the concept of carcerality to capture the matrix of carceral relations that underpin the market by shaping individual and collective action and agency. Documenting key trends associated with prisons, debt prisons, and carceral relations surrounding the household, the paper challenges critical political economy's tendency to reproduce liberal representations of the market wherein capitalism appears to be reproduced through people's voluntary involvement in an autonomous marketplace rather than through the coercive apparatuses and social relations of domination that the market requires to recreate its neutral and natural appearance.

Deconstructing the Rise of 'Private Security' and Military Corporations
Chris Hendershot, Graduate Student, Political Science, York University

This presentation contends that the emergence of a multi-billion dollar corporate security sector over the last decade does not represent a troubling privatization of security insofar as security, especially since at least 1776 in the United States, has been bought, sold, produced and consumed by both not-for-profit and commercial actors as a thoroughly private good. Conceptualized as such, the significance of the rise of private security and military corporations (PSMCs) rests on how PSMCs are a product and productive of a market for security that proffers security as the natural guarantor of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Friday, 5 February 2010

9:00 – 10:30 Panel IV: Disrupting the Popular Imaginary: Traumatic Heroism, Colonial Vampirism and Lyrical Discourses

519 YRT Chair: Arthur Imperial, Graduate Student, Political Science, YCISS

With Us or Against Us? Culture, Terror, and Civilizational (Re)Presentations

Derek Maisonville, Graduate Student, Political Science, York University

Drawing on growing trends in International Relations research that examines identity and discourse through cultural products, this paper enquires about the ways (re)presentations of the 'War on Terror' construct and reify distinct civilizational bounds. Insofar as Western discourses surrounding said 'war' rely on a civilizational rather than national division, this paper will focus on discourses that perpetuate this divide. I will examine varied pop-cultural products in order to assess how popular imaginaries are shaped by such discourses and the role they play in legitimizing military incursions. Whether supportive or critical of Western mobilization, it is maintained that such (re)presentations re-construct specific parameters of civilizational division that serve as foundational premises for the re-performative constitution of cultural difference. Accordingly, it is maintained that even critical narratives often mandate positivist-inspired assessments and incursions. It is further maintained that policy is informed not only by the viewing public, but also by practitioners who are themselves consumers of cultural products and who may have, in turn, internalized such theoretical foundations in ways that inhibit truly discordant narratives from challenging the hegemonic frame. This paper explores the politics of security and defence by considering the ways in which our imaginaries are framed as well as examining ways to conceive of difference beyond standard dichotomous modes of theorizing identity.

Traumatic Heroism: Canadian War Films and the 'New' Nationalist Idiom

Neil Shyminsky, Graduate Student, Social and Political Thought, York University

My paper examines the dialogue that exists between *Shake Hands with the Devil* (2007) and *Passchendaele* (2008), discussing their disagreement with regard to "failed" or wounded soldiers and PTSD, and specifically situating *Passchendaele* as a response to *Shake Hands* and a critique of its hero and peacekeeping practice in general. I suggest that *Shake Hands* speaks to the 'old' Canadian nationalist idiom of benevolence and guilt, albeit with some ambivalence, while *Passchendaele* rejects it outright. I will consider what idea of nation or nationalism, their knowledge's and affect, they posit as wounded and how they go about recuperating those injuries.

Twilighting the World: Racial Relations in a Vegetarian Vampires World

Carmen Sanchez, Graduate Student, Political Science, York University

Over the past year, there has been a revival of the vampire genre in popular culture with series such as the *Vampire Diaries* and *True Blood*. Arguably, however, the most successful

work in this revival has been the books and ensuing movies of the Twilight saga about the love story between a human teenage American girl and a 100 year-old teenage vampire. Much of the criticisms that have already been addressed to this work have focused on the gender roles and dynamics that are normalized through this story. I am, however, in this paper more interested in exploring the racial underpinning of its narrative. In particular, by focusing on the role given to Aboriginal characters, I want to argue that Twilight contributes to legitimize and perpetuate a colonial/nizing liberal world order.

Peripheral Sounds, Peripheral Spaces: Imagining the Politics of the City as City

Katherine Mac Donald, Graduate Student, Geography, York University

Through the discourse of Brazilian political hip hop, Agamben's concepts of abandonment, bare life and the camp will be explored against the background of the favela as a space of exception. It is suggested that the violence permeating within and without the borders of the favela can be overcome through a different imagining of politics, specifically cultural-politics, reversing the trend of camp to city, and ushering in a re-conception, or a re-territorialization of city to camp.

**10:45 – 12:15 Panel V A (concurrent): Jurisprudential Borders and Political Logics:
The Limits of 'Security' in Canadian Law**

519 YRT

Chair: James Sheptycki, Professor of Criminology, York University

Shifting Sovereignty: Gauging the Borders of Canadian (In)Security Post Charkaoui

Irina Ceric, Graduate Student, Graduate Program in Law, York University

The jurisprudential borders of Canadian national security shifted with the landmark Supreme Court decision striking down the security certificate procedure. *Charkaoui v. Canada* suggests an emerging theoretical understanding of human and Charter rights as demarcated by the increasingly shifting conceptions of sovereignty. Where previous national security cases involving rights claims by non-citizens were predicated on state sovereignty as the right to exclude, *Charkaoui* and cases involving the role of Canadian state actors abroad gives rise to the prospect of the Charter operating to both delineate and maintain the limits of state sovereignty within and beyond national borders.

The Charter and Security of the Person: What do the Rights of the Accused Mean after R. v. Grant?

Vanisha H. Sukdeo, Graduate Student, Graduate Program in Law, York University

The most critical issue in criminal law today is the muting of accused persons' rights by the Supreme Court. Recent decisions like *R. v. Grant* say that the accused's rights were not breached, even though he was arbitrarily stopped by police, due to the seriousness of the charge, which justified the breach. While Charter rights are subject to limits, the reason behind accepting evidence gathered from an arbitrary search is hard to explain. This paper

will demonstrate that the Charter, originally implemented to protect the security of the person, has recently been used to weaken those same rights.

Applying a Politico-Aesthetic Theory to a Legal Analysis of Security Certificates

Sarah Hamilton, Graduate Student, Graduate Program in Law, University of Toronto

The Canadian national security certificate scheme underwent further, radical shifts in 2009. Federal court judges, who had previously upheld the regime and had more recently released detainees on conditions, began to relax those conditions in early 2009 and finally quashed two certificates in late 2009 (Charkaoui and Almrei). I ask what allowed this shift, using a critical security studies/politico-aesthetic theory methodology (Massumi, Agamben, Butler), and propose that it occurred through a mechanism of state-craft called "affect." Finally I suggest that the tactics of the security certificate scheme are being re-articulated into "normal" immigration law, where they almost certainly do not belong.

10:45 – 12:15 Panel V B (concurrent): Defense and Disarmament: Assessing the State of Nuclear Disarmament and Space-based Weapons
524 YRT

Chair: Martin Shadwick, Defense and Security Policy expert, Political Science, York University, YISS

Effects Based Approach to Nuclear Weapons

Ritu Mather, Graduate Student, Political Science, York University

This paper focuses on how non-state actors have made transgressions in the field of arms control and disarmament by articulating an effects based approach to addressing the problem of nuclear weapons. This paper traces the emergence of the effects based approach by taking an inter-disciplinary approach to the fields of humanitarianism, arms control and disarmament. It studies the implications of effects based approach in regulating and prohibiting nuclear weapons. It further explores possibilities of effect based approach to regulating and prohibiting other weapons.

Incorporating Identity and Discourse: Analyzing North Korea's Nuclear Proliferation

Steve Haarink, Graduate Student, Political Science/International Relations, McMaster University

The dominant Western narrative, implicitly drawing from rationalist-utilitarian assumptions, has consistently misrepresented North Korea's behaviour as both aggressive and irrational. This paper applies a rule-oriented constructivist framework to situate North Korean behaviour within the US-North Korea language game, North Korea's domestic politics and the (narrow) American policy debate concerning North Korea. In the context of these three language games, North Korea's behaviour (particularly its nuclear proliferation) can be understood as simultaneously rational and perilous. The solution is political and economic engagement with North Korea, which would provide the Kim dynasty with less dangerous methods of communicating with the international community.

Arctic Sovereignty and Beyond: Securing Canada's Northern Satellite Systems

Francois Nadeau, Graduate Student, Political Science, Carleton University

Space is on the verge of becoming a fourth military environment for warfare and this will have major implications on Canada's plans to assert its Arctic sovereignty. Policy makers are increasingly utilizing satellite imagery to monitor Canada's vast Arctic terrain and maritime approaches. Yet this growing dependence on satellite technology will render Canada's military operations up North increasingly susceptible to anti-satellite attacks as satellites become potential targets in future conflicts. Asserting Canada's sovereignty up North may therefore come at the cost of supporting American space-based defence initiatives because the security of Canadian satellites may inevitably depend on such weapon systems.

Failed and Fragile Aid: The Impacts of Canada's 'Security Development Nexus' Post 9-11

Joseph McDonald, Graduate Student, Public Affairs/Political Science, Carleton University

Given the inherent dynamism of any foreign expeditionary endeavor, official development assistance since 9/11 has shown a marked evolution from a policy focused on poverty reduction toward one centered on mitigating the threat of international terrorism. It is the contention of this assertion that demands the question: what has been the result of the 'security-development' nexus on longer-term development goals, particularly in "failed" and "fragile" states? It is argued throughout that the Canadian aid agenda to reduce poverty in "failed" and "fragile" states has been superceded by national security interests and is not a sufficient policy for poverty reduction.

12:15 – 1:00 Lunch

1:00 – 2:30 Panel VI : Theorizing Violence and Affect, Interrogating Disappearing Corporealities

519 YRT Chair: Lori A. Crowe, Graduate Student, Political Science, York University

'You Don't Care About Me': Relational (Fore)Closure and the Case of Omar Khadr

Jessica E. Foran, Graduate Student, Political Science, McMaster University

In July 2008 videotapes were released of the then sixteen-year-old Omar Khadr being interrogated over several days while detained at Guantanamo Bay. After being accused of crying to avoid interrogation by a Canadian Security Intelligence Service official Khadr sobs the words, "You don't care about me." In conjunction with offering a fleeting glimpse into the (regulation of the) humanity of detainees by way of exposing vulnerability, emotion and the desire to be cared for, this paper considers how these words disrupt myths of Canadian identity and offer broader insight into Canada's relationship to detainees within the "war on

terror.” This paper argues that differing claims made in the name of American and Canadian sovereignty have worked alongside the hyper-visualization of Khadr’s body as either ‘innocent child,’ or ‘monster terrorist.’ Simultaneously subjecting his body to abstraction and intense scrutiny, this asymmetrical relation can be read through the colonizing logics of paternalistic love and/or disciplinary bondage. In each case intimacy, desire, and vulnerability reinforce ideas of ‘possession’ to both foreclose and produce certain possibilities for action by both the Canadian government and pro-repatriation organizations.

Embodying Ongoing Histories: Theorizing Sovereignty, Canadian Citizenship and Violence in International Relations

Emily Merson, Graduate Student, Political Science, York University

The affective turn importantly recognizes how claims to abstract, disembodied ways of knowing have dominated theorizations of social relations by privileging a rational thinking mind over an irrational feeling body. Yet dominant approaches in the affective turn problematically frame ‘the body’ as a universal, undifferentiated, sovereign register for feelings. I argue that it is necessary to understand affect as embodying ongoing histories, by attending to how surfaces and boundaries of singular and national bodies, as well as capacities for feeling, movement and alignment, are embodied and shaped by the historically situated, particular encounters through which they emerge. In this approach I consider three relationships between sovereignty and recognition in International Relations.

Lady Fortuna: Time, Sexual violence and corporeality in Machiavelli

Jessica Parish, Graduate Student, Political Science, York University

Metaphors of femininity and sexual violence figure centrally in Machiavelli’s writings. This paper reads three texts – The Prince; The Discourses and the Mandragola – in order to distinguish between historical women and ‘woman’ as abstraction, in relation to Machiavelli’s treatment of time as the history of events. I argue that virtù is a political and bodily state associated with the ancients, to be recovered. At the same time, this ‘recovery’ depends upon the literal destruction and figurative obfuscation of fleshed and symbolic female bodies, respectively. Consequently, fleshed women and the time of daily life cannot figure in Machiavelli’s political writings. Rather, they remain locked in the death-time of Machiavellian history.

Veiled Insecurities: A case study on the headscarf debate and gendered violence in Turkey

Hulya Arik, Graduate Student, Geography, York University

Asking a woman to take off her headscarf is same as asking her to take off her panties”, said consultant to the PM, regarding the ban on Muslim women's headscarf in Turkey. This statement summarizes how women’s bodies became a matter of public discussion within the conflict between Islamism and secularism in Turkey. As both ideologies hold women as markers of norms of sexuality and gender, their conflict is materialized on women’s bodies. However, the meanings that veiling/not-veiling conveys on the female body go unattended.

Interwoven with references to female sexuality and honor, this paper shows that the headscarf issue constructs the female body as the scale through which politics can talk and enables gendered violence through an hegemonic patriarchal discourse.

The Sadist, the Soldier and the Female Body: A Contemporary Analysis of the Canadian Armed Forces

Vanessa Brown, Graduate Student, Political Science, York University

Often political theory dismisses Sadism as a form of violence that exists on a micro level between two or a few individuals. This representation of sadism underestimates its possible effectiveness when it is applied on a larger scale. This paper will contend, using empirical evidence, that the female body is asymmetrically targeted in the systemic imposition of sadist violence within the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF). The paper will contend that sadist forms of violence in particular are utilized to maintain the status quo of the political, social and institutional hierarchy of the CAF.

2:45 – 4:15 Panel VII: Revisiting Security Practices and Discourses and Addressing the Challenges of Alternative Approaches

519 YRT

Chair: Mark Busser, Graduate Student, Political Science, McMaster University

Cold CASE: A Manifesto for Canadian Critical Security Studies

Mark B. Salter, School of Political Studies, University of Ottawa

Miguel de Larrinaga, School of Political Studies, University of Ottawa

Critical security studies is a growing area of interest that brings together a variety of disciplines and theoretical approaches to bear on the ubiquitous deployment of security discourses and practices in the post-9-11 world. This article maps scholars working in Critical Security Studies in Canada and addresses the potential of collaborative spaces for research of this community, particularly in contradistinction to the Paris and Copenhagen schools, as set out by the c.a.s.e. collective. After a series of loosely-connected workshops and roundtables held over the past two years, an emergent network of Canadian critical security scholars have self-identified that share a critical sensibility, despite methodological pluralism, and this article sketches a genealogy of this sensibility in the Canadian context. This genealogy – much to our surprise – presented a far deeper and wider community than our initial suspicions of the “usual suspects” and points to a particular dynamic. We argue that the Canadian critical security sensibility is characterized by three concerns, within a number of issue clusters: interdisciplinarity and concerns with practices and discourses of security outside the state and outside the inter-state system; methodological pluralism; epistemological sensitivity to the important role of knowledge in the creation of security. . . Important issue clusters include: a concern with the post-colonial, particularly First Nations;

environmental and ecological security, a network of issues surrounding the border, refugees, immigration, and multiculturalism; questions of governance, risk, and organization; human security and development.

On Orthodoxy, Military Methods, and the Critique of War

Neil Balan, Sessional Instructor, Theoretical Humanities/War & Political Violence, St. Peter's College and University of Saskatchewan

A brief examination of the 'biopolitical' revolution in military affairs, which is directly affecting how military organs wage expeditionary wars under the sign of counterinsurgency. Using the Canadian Forces deployment to Afghanistan, I argue this biopolitical revolution is worth reading less as a response to specific military needs in Afghanistan and more as change fertilized by the historically- contingent biopolitical ways of rule in the domestic enclosures of neoliberal-democratic states.

Revisiting Security: Theoretical Re-Framings

Felix Grenier, Graduate Student, School of Political Studies, University of Ottawa

In the last decades, new theoretical perspectives have been produced to criticize traditional and 'hegemonic' frameworks of analysis in IR and security studies. While recognizing the achievements of this critical movement, we have concluded that the reconstruction process has not received enough attention. Few approaches have been proposed that could stand as a legitimate and coherent alternative research program. Thus, the disciplinary debates are still conducted in reference to the past paradigm. Responding to this, my paper will expose some theoretical propositions that could help (re)construct an alternative research program to support researches, representations and new teaching models in IR.

Make Intelligence, Not War: Reframing Security with Antidiplomacy

Lesley Copeland, Graduate Student, Political Science, Carleton University

How can intelligence's place in security be understood –sabotage or surveillance ? This paper adds complexity to the dichotomy of intelligence's passive and active functions. It argues that alternatively, intelligence can be seen as playing an important role in constructing an ontology of security for the state. Intelligence creates a portrait of the world and the state's interests in it. While it does not wholly create the ideas of the 'threats' a nation believes it faces, intelligence draws on articulations from an intelligence 'imaginary'. This work is situated through Der Derian's exploration of intelligence in Antidiplomacy, and Weldes and Muppidi's work on the security imaginary heuristic.

4:15 – 5:15 Concluding Discussions, and a few Provocations...

519 York Research Tower

Where do we go from here?

Maita Sayo, Graduate Student, Political Science, York University

Abhinava Kumar, Graduate Student, Political Science, York University

Chris Hendershot, Graduate Student, Political Science, York University

Arthur Imperial, Graduate Student, Political Science, York University

An innovative student led participatory discussion in which Conference participants can discuss themes, ideas, individual panels/papers from the Conference, ask questions, and rouse discussion on any variety of Conference topics or topics that did not emerge. Beginning with some provocations from burgeoning scholars at York, this discussion aims for open dialogue on the future of security studies.

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