

Sixteenth Annual York Centre for International and Security Studies Conference

SECURITY BEYOND THE DISCIPLINE: EMERGING DIALOGUES ON GLOBAL POLITICS

305 York Lanes | York University, Toronto | 19 – 20 March 2009

THURSDAY 19 MARCH 2009 ●●●●

9:00 – 9:15 Welcome Remarks | 305 York Lanes

Dr. Robert Latham, Director York Centre for International and Security Studies

9:15 – 10:45 Panel I: Knowledge Production, Discipline, and (In)Security | 305 York Lanes

Chair: Karine Côté-Boucher (Sociology: York University)

Anthropology and Security Studies: Reflections on an Encounter

Ariane Bélanger-Vincent (Anthropology: Laval University)

Anthropologists are increasingly solicited by the US military to participate in counter insurrection work in Afghanistan and Iraq. For instance, the Human Terrain System—based on the idea that “cultural knowledge” is useful to wage the so-called war on terror—incorporates anthropologists within combat units; anthropologists who have received military training, who wear military uniforms, and sometimes carry guns. On the other hand, some concerned anthropologists openly critique the militarization of their discipline. They are typically involved in critically informed research on the nuclear race, the military, international aid, or the practice of international relations. In this paper, I will first show how anthropologists have been linked to security matters at least since World War II. Second, I will highlight how the emerging critically informed research undertaken by anthropologists can contribute theoretically and methodologically to security studies, and ask if an encounter between disciplines can be profitable. Finally, I will illustrate the potential benefits of this encounter by drawing on my own research dealing with the “responsibility to protect;” particularly, the rationalities and informal power networks supporting this notion, its recognition and its current meaning within institutions.

Pedagogy, Story-telling, and Map-making: The World and Politics of Teaching World Politics

Véronique Aubry (Political Science: York University)

What are the conditions and the effects of the stories we tell about international relations and its academic discipline IR? What happens in the present when IR remembers itself? In this paper, I argue that despite the heterogeneity of disciplinary IR in terms of its various epistemological, theoretical, and political commitments, the different disciplinary voices of IR come together in the classroom to speak a disturbingly common and dominant pedagogical monologue about ir/IR and its Others. Specifically, I argue that IR speaks a pedagogic hegemonologue which is oriented toward the securing of an ontology of Empire (sovereignty, nation, property, state, market, security, order) against (O)ther ways of being and knowing world politics. Through a critical examination of IR syllabi, I show how a historical geography of Empire is secured and served as a prelude to our teaching and telling of ir/IR. I argue that this hegemonologue emerges from and is oriented to the reproduction of a systematic act of concealment: the suppression of people from the process and content of IR knowledge production, which allows the discipline to maintain and legitimize itself and its members, and to mask its complicity and investment in the reproduction of colonial patterns of domination.

'Instead of Rappers Glamourising Gun-Crime, it is Extremists Glamourising Terrorism:'

Surveillance, Diversity, and the Politics of Reading Bodies and/as Texts in Militarized Classrooms

Tina Virmani (Political Science: York University)

My presentation is concerned with the multiple and contradictory ways in which discourses of security, particularly those concerned with preventing terrorism and other forms of “extremist violence” intersect with questions of education and educational spaces. Specifically, I will examine these processes through a reading of “Preventing Violent Extremism: A Toolkit for Schools” (2008), recently published in the UK alongside the Ajegbo Report “Diversity and Citizenship: A Curriculum Review” (2007), which is repeatedly referenced in the former. The toolkit assigns educators the task of surveillance through development of the ability to recognize particular student narratives as “threatening” or “extremist”, and simultaneously, to foster respect and tolerance for a multiplicity of narratives through a diversification of the curriculum. Moreover, both reports share the objective of strengthening national belonging and identity as a means to counter terrorism. Reading these reports together, I discuss the ways in which they seem to de-stabilize rigid oppositions between a freedom loving West and a tyrannical East through positing strategies of reform aimed at the re-making of subjects into “critical thinkers”. I ask: what kinds of trajectories of learning are assumed to produce subjects who can reasonably judge between competing interpretations of the world? How are certain modes of knowing assumed to lead to violent extremism, while others are expected to foster tolerance and respect for “difference”? How can we understand the articulation of

such learning trajectories in which subjects move from ignorance to understanding against ongoing and more recent forms of surveillance in classrooms, in which particular marked bodies, and the sticking together of such bodies, produce narratives of self-segregation, danger and violence? I ask these questions to attend to how race and racialization are simultaneously embedded in structures of education and positioned as objects of knowledge, focusing on particular alignments of texts, reading strategies, bodies and inequalities.

The Security Discourse of Sovereignty Revisited: Emancipation, Contradiction, Incoherence

Liam P.D. Stockdale (Political Science: McMaster University)

Broadly, this paper attempts to fundamentally debunk the normative theoretical logic underlying the concept of sovereignty. Drawing upon the foundational precepts of Bodin and Hobbes, it is contended that sovereignty was conceived as an essentially emancipatory ideal, designed to “free” humanity from the dangers of the state of nature through the centralization of political and social authority within a particular space. It is argued that this emancipatory logic is flawed, however, as sovereignty’s practical implementation engenders its own set of pernicious effects stemming from the creation of an international order akin to the domestic condition which it purports to eliminate. It follows that thinkers such as Bodin and Hobbes failed to adequately theorize the potential implications—for both the global polity and the logic of sovereignty itself—of the anarchical international order that inevitably results from its implementation. Although this condition need not necessarily result in aggressive action by sovereign units, neither can this be adequately prevented due to the inherent freedom of action that is a central tenet of sovereignty. Moreover, it is argued that the maintenance of sovereignty requires its constant representation, which is achieved through the agency evinced by decision-making concerning international action. Through a discussion of purportedly emergent norms pertaining to international humanitarian imperatives, it is concluded that the freedom of (in)action immanent in sovereignty’s practice has resulted in both aggressive warfare and wilful inaction whose ultimate victims are the individual humans whose emancipation from danger sovereignty espouses to deliver. The fundamentally emancipatory logic upon which sovereignty is constructed is thus discredited, and its theoretical coherence as a principle that underwrites our contemporary conceptions and practices of politics and security breaks down.

11:00 – 12:30 Panel II: The Power of Subjection: Documenting and Disrupting Dominant Narratives | 305 York Lanes

Chair: Zubairu Wai (Political Science: York University)

White Like Ourselves

Maita Abola Sayo (Political Science: York University)

As regards the natives of these places, you will be wary that nobody vex and offend them; rather, treat them with great prudence as a people of great dignity, as it is being told that they are people of reason and pride and white like ourselves, because the higher their culture the better they become. (Instruction to Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, from the Royal Audiencia of New Spain, 1 September 1564)

My work attempts to historicize the constitution of the concept of “empire” through a study of the Philippine-American war of 1898. This war is significant as it marks the transition from the “old empire” (Spain) to the “new empire” (US). The Filipino nation was constituted at the cusp of these two colonial regimes. In the face of readings that insist upon a vertical reading of imperial power, my work aims to enunciate moments of horizontality within the colonial project. Moving away from postcolonial approaches that reify 19th century understandings of “race” and “whiteness”, my work attempts to complicate the stakes in reading archival documents in the present. Moreover, by unpacking the different levels of colonial administration, we can begin to make a case for a less monolithic vision of the “sovereign”. This means understanding that the institutions that facilitated empire-building are differentially situated and often fraught in crisis. By reading both along and against the archival grain, my work questions the epistemic ethnocentrism that surrounds the deployment of empire and examines the tensions that flash up in offering a different genealogy, a different “source” for an “original” reading.

Seeing Bodies: Collusion, Translucency

Naila Keleta Mae (Theatre Studies: York University) www.nailakeletamae.com

This research queries how those who occupy black, female, middle-classed, heterosexualized bodies in Canada “see” and are “seen” in performances of everyday life. In particular, this research contemplates the processes through which those who inhabit these bodies mobilize, distort and subvert repurposed colonial projects as they manipulate performances of invisibility and hypervisibility. Drawing from theorists in international law, feminist studies, critical race studies and performance studies, this paper theorizes collusion as a performance of seeing and not being seen and translucency as a performance of simultaneously seeing, not seeing, being seen and not being seen.

Translating Encounters: Acts of Production, Movement, and (In)Security

Melissa Autumn White (Women's Studies: York University)

This paper draws on my qualitative dissertation research and explores the affective interface between state recognition of, and migrants' accounts of, "queer intimacies." I am specifically interested in the political and emotional "economies of translation" at work in the production of the "proof of relationship" files that LGBT migrants create as a crucial aspect of their "same-sex" family class sponsorship claims. While these documents (I call them "intimate archives") tell fascinating stories about migration, they also gesture toward the negotiation of a complex set of social regulations around sexuality, gender expression, whiteness, and professionalism. At the heart of my work are questions around heteronormativity, the hyper-securitization of borders, broadly conceived (geopolitical, national, affective, epistemological, ontological, subjective), and the politics of yearning, desire, and feeling.

12:30 – 1:30 Lunch

1:30 – 3:00 Panel IIIa: (In)Security Beyond the State: New Frameworks, Threats, Conceptualizations (concurrent) | 390 York Lanes

Chair: Nori Onuki (Political Science, York University)

Human Security - Every Thing, Any Thing, or Nothing?

David Harries (Royal Military College)

Interpreting Humanitarian Practices of Arms Control and Disarmament

Ritu Mathur (Political Science: York University)

How to interpret humanitarian actors and their practices in the field of arms control and disarmament? In this paper I study how positivist and post-positivist approaches in International Relations address this question. I argue that a positivist approach with its understanding of actors and their practices with its dichotomy of sovereignty and anarchy constrains the humanitarian actors and their practices as "supplements" to state action in the field of arms control and disarmament. I suggest that a postpositivist approach enables a discourse that recognises humanitarian actors and their practices in the field of arms control and disarmament as "self-making in the register of freedom." I argue that with this approach it is possible to study the effects of particular practices on the actors themselves and on the field of arms control and disarmament.

New Threats for Canadian Security Strategy in the 21st Century: The Challenge of Information

Paul Mitchell (Military Plans and Operations: Canadian Forces College)

In the last decade, information and communication technologies (ICTs) have altered societies around the world. These developments have not gone unnoticed by the military. Indeed, in many ways, the military was the catalyst to establishing some of them, most notably with the initial development of wide area networked computer links that ultimately evolved into the modern Internet. In 1998, the US military promulgated its concept of "network centric warfare" which seeks to take advantage of the power ICTs bring to the battlefield. However, if we examine the social theories which underlie the putative "information age," we note that there are clear disjunctions between what is possible on the Internet, and on more restricted military networks. The Internet is an anarchical medium whereas military networks are far more centralized and controlled. While the military looks to the Internet for inspiration, it may be unable to recreate its essential creative and innovative aspects. This paper will examine these antinomies within the context of international security. While the military has often been the source for technological advancement, in the information age it may always be playing a game of catch up to the civilian sector. Second, it is likely that non-state actors will be able to make more creative use out of ICTs, with clear implications for irregular warfare and revolutionary activity. Finally, the information age may be one of reduced international cooperation despite the growing importance of online collaboration in the civilian sector.

Peacebuilding, State-building, R2P, and Empire-building: The Legitimacy of Liberalisation?

Michael Skinner (Political Science: York University)

This paper examines the question of whether the liberal conception of intervention as it has evolved into the peacebuilding/state-building practices conceived in the early 1990s and the Responsibility to Protect (R2P), which was unveiled 10 September 2001, can be considered legitimate beyond the liberal perspective from which they were conceived. Answering this question is of fundamental importance. If intervention is not considered

legitimate by those it directly impacts—those whom it supposedly helps—international actions will be resisted. An escalation of action, resistance, and reaction could have immense implications for human welfare. The post Cold War concept of peacebuilding, like the post 9/11 concept of state-building that succeeded it, were conceived with economic, political, and social liberalisation as the core tenets of both their practice and their measurement of success. Likewise, the architects of the R2P doctrine crafted a theoretical argument for international humanitarian intervention by basing themselves solidly within the liberal theoretical foundations of Just War Theory and Wilsonian liberal internationalism. However, this embedding in liberalisation practices and liberal theory fails to guarantee the legitimacy of international intervention among the many people of the world whose perspectives are formed beyond the liberal rubric.

**1:30 – 3:00 Panel IIIb: Public Perceptions of Violence, (In)Security, and Legitimation
(concurrent) | 305 York Lanes**

Chair: Chris Hendershot (Political Science: York University)

The Archive(s) and The Victim as Witness

Carmen Sanchez (Political Science: York University)

This paper is concerned with the Western perception of the Soviet forced labour/concentration/death camps system known as the Gulag. The mention of the Gulag triggers little if any of the emotions generated by the evocation of nazi camps such as Auschwitz or Buchenwald. As noted by several authors, while symbols of Nazism and its mass murders fill us with horror and guilt, the symbols of Soviet totalitarianism make us laugh. One of the explanations for this difference of attention from the West is the absence of reliable research on the experiences of the Gulag. This paper is a critical investigation of the epistemological, ontological and methodological assumptions of this type of explanation, and an examination of some of the implications for ‘hearing’ the voices of victims of crimes which have entered the collective memory.

Political Cartoons, Domestic Dissent, and Security Policy Change

Ilan Danjoux (Centre for International Politics: University of Manchester)

This paper advocates the systematic analysis of editorial cartoons as a predictor of political violence. Generally dismissed as too simplistic to warrant serious investigation or too obvious to necessitate inquiry, media analysis of political cartoons has long suffered academic neglect. Upon closer examination, however, this medium grants scholars a unique insight into the domestic undercurrent of conflict change. A public opinion approach to security studies acknowledges that conflict originates as much from how a public feels about adversaries and their chances of victory as it does from the rational calculations of political leaders. The challenge in studying public support for policy is that it is rarely rationally calculated. Denied access to classified information and lacking military expertise, public opinion is prone to speculation and suspicion. Such an approach also recognizes that few political leaders risk implementing policy in the face of widespread opposition. Thus, while a discourse analysis of elite statements may effectively reveal the policy preferences of political leaders, it does not indicate the likelihood that these initiatives will be implemented. What distinguishes cartoon content is its ability to reveal the extremist opinions and accusations that influence political decision. Unrestricted by discursive reasoning and excused as satire, political cartoons convey the unfounded suspicions and prejudices of a population. Their reliance on visual symbolism makes them equally effective conduits of public mood, revealing how people feel about current events rather than what they think of them. Israeli and Palestinian editorial cartoons were used to test the cartoon’s effectiveness in anticipating political violence. Six newspapers were used in this investigation. The three Israeli newspapers were Haaretz, Maariv and Yediot Achronot. Palestinian papers included Al Quds, Al Ayyam and al Hayat al Jadeeda. The findings presented in this paper show that the 1200 Hebrew and Arabic language cartoons examined for this research accurately foreshadowed the 2001 collapse of the Oslo Peace Process and outbreak of the al Aqsa Intifada.

“...to fight freedom’s fight:”

State Rhetoric, Popular Culture and the Normalisation of the Security State in the “War on Terror”

Julian Manyoni (English: York University)

The paper is based on the premise that the “war on terror,” as a set of integrally related signifying practices, forms of knowledge, and social, security, and military institutions and practices, constitutes an entire discourse unto itself (and in the years since 2001 the dominant political discourse). The paper engages in an analysis of elements of one of the key discursive strategies that characterises the “war on terror;” the normalisation of, in Agamben’s words, “the techniques of security as a paradigm of governance”. The paper approaches this theme

from the perspective of Cultural Studies, examining the convergence of similar representational practices within official language and popular culture, and how they combine to produce hegemonic understandings of the security and military practices associated with the “war on terror” as constituting moral imperatives. Taking Agamben’s State of Exception as a starting point, the paper engages in a reading of the US television drama 24 alongside a discursive analysis of official communications of the Bush administration. It examines the way the “war on terror” is repeatedly represented through Christian tropes of martyrdom, sacrifice and redemption, and how these representations construct the primary combatants (“Americans” & “terrorists”) as embodiments of fundamental binary principles (good/evil, civilization/barbarism). The paper argues that the reduction of the protagonists to essential principles produces a primarily metaphysical rather than political understanding of the conflict, which allows the militarisation and securitisation of civil society to be understood as a necessary and desirable survival response that serves the biopolitical imperative to foster the life of the populace. The paper finishes by arguing that this trend within the dominant political discourse promotes the resurgence of a dangerous consequentialist moral logic and allows “freedom” to be recast as a product of the stark relations of domination that characterise the security state.

3:15 – 4:45 Panel IVa: Spatiality, Epistemology, and the (Re)Production of Precarious Lives (concurrent) | 305 York Lanes

Chair: Heather Johnson (Political Science: McMaster University)

Un An de Vacances: the Lives of Japanese Working Holiday Makers in Toronto

Yukari Seko (Communication and Culture: York University/Ryerson University)

Canada’s recognition of Japan as a major ally on the global stage is seen in several domains, one of which is the preferential treatment extended to Japanese citizens through the reciprocal Working Holiday (WH) Program. Aiming to enhance cultural and educational ties, this youth exchange program provides participants from both countries with one-year open work permits allowing for the opportunity to pursue employment in the host country. Given a burgeoning popularity of this program among Japanese youth, in 2008 Canada has increased the Japanese WH Program quota to 10,000 per year, which doubles past quotas. Despite prosperous bilateral relations, however, little has been studied about what motivates Japanese youth to travel abroad, how they actually spend their “working holiday” in Canada, and what kind of role they play in the Canadian local economy. Focusing on the way in which Japanese WH participants live and labour in Toronto, this working paper explores the potential of human (in)security as an analytical framework for the Canada-Japan bilateral relationship. Preliminary interviews with Japanese WH participants in Toronto suggest that many of them leave home due to a sense of alienation and dissatisfaction, which is accompanied by a strong belief in English proficiency as an alternative way to climb the social ladder in Japan. At the end of the *vacances*, some achieve their “Canadian Dream” to return home with a proficiency in English or decide to stay in Canada to continue pursuing an alternative life. Others, however, find themselves in the role of expendable seasonal workers engaged in precarious labour, trapped by Japanese-related “ethnic” service sectors that facilitate the gastronomical, multicultural façade in the restaurant enclaves and tourist agencies in Toronto.

Gendered Construction of ‘Special Entertainment Streets’: The US militarism in Okinawa

Naoko Ikeda (Women’s Studies: York University)

The islands of Okinawa, the southernmost prefecture of Japan, have hosted approximately 75 percent of US bases stationed in Japan. Despite the abundance of literature on the strategic importance of Okinawa to US security policy in the Pacific regions, the socio-cultural impact of the base to the local community has largely been ignored, with some exceptions (See Takazato 1996; Enloe 2000; Alexander 2008). Such absence fails to address an intricate web of racialized and gendered violence, which the US military has been causing in the host society (Alexander 2). As part of my doctoral research, this short paper will draw on the often marginalized history of the US military occupation of Okinawa, that is, the establishment of the Special Entertainment Street (SEE) (*Tokuingai*) during the period of the US Central Administration in Ryukyu Islands’ occupation of the Okinawan islands. I will examine the debates involved in the process of designing and establishing the SEE in Okinawa by focusing on how competing and contradictory discourses of race, sexuality, and nation, have been mobilized to justify a systematic exploitation of working-class Okinawan women in the space of the “base town.” By drawing on the archives of the sex workers’ interviews, the public records, as well as my fieldwork research, I will argue that the lives and bodies of sex workers in American base towns has been, and is, at the center of the US military occupation of Okinawa, and the continuous militarization of security relations between the US and Japan.

3:15 – 4:45 Panel IVb: Environments of (In)Security (concurrent) | 390 York Lanes
Chair: TBD

Imagining Water Security: Freshwater and its Challenge to National Security

Andrew W. Reeves (Geography: University of Toronto)

The Canadian public's perceptions of freshwater have been misinformed by grossly inaccurate claims about abundance from government and media alike with serious implications for future environmental conflict and national security. The importance of water to maintaining life, economies, transportation systems, energy, and trade—the stuff of nations—is slowly turning American attention towards safeguarding the world's water supplies as it currently safe-guards oil. To appreciate why water will figure so prominently in future Canada-U.S. relations, I will look back to the heyday in Canada of planned bulk water exports to the United States through engineering mega-projects from the 1950s to 1980s in order to understand not only why water has become so contentious a resource, but why its scarcity may become a potential site for environmental conflict and a national security risk. I will then examine the evolution of freshwater in the Canadian psyche before situating the freshwater debate squarely within the realm of national security. While Simon Dalby writes that “it is necessary to link these matters of critical geopolitics with matters of critical ecopolitics,” (i) I would add the importance of matters that will be referred to here as critical heritage-politics: quite simply, the shifting politics of national heritage. Water's demand-induced scarcity will likely force Canada-U.S. water tensions to the forefront of their relations in the 21st Century, broadening each nation's definition of national security, and questioning the extent to which each nation will go to secure scarce water resources.

***State and Capital Responses to Energy and Environmental Security Crises:
An Introduction to the Eco-Industrial Complex***

Robert MacNeil (Political Studies: University of Ottawa)

This paper aims to fill a large and rather debilitating gap in recent literature on energy and environmental security by refining and advancing the concept of state-initiated ‘industrial complexes’ in the United States. Specifically, it aims to better understand the state's potentially immense role in planning, funding, and regulating large sections of the domestic economy in response to climate change, and comprehend the implications of this development for neoliberal structure. Situating climate crisis within a broader framework of capitalist crisis theory, this paper argues that, contrary to wide-held belief on the left, the state's inevitable obligation to take on these seemingly contradictory roles does not necessarily represent a dire threat to the durability of neoliberal structure, nor does it presuppose more democratic or transparent forms of governance. Drawing on case studies from the modern military and prison-industrial complexes, this paper demonstrates the neoliberal state's capacity to plan and fund massive sections of the economy from above (especially industries which are critical for imposing and entrenching neoliberal structure) in a closed and opaque relationship with monopoly capital, which precludes an undermining of the rhetoric of the ‘absentee neoliberal state.’ Furthermore, through an examination of a variety of recently completed contracts between Washington and large-scale energy corporations, this paper attempts to demonstrate the early stages of an industrial complex in the environmental sphere.

FRIDAY 20 MARCH 2009 ●●●●

9:00 – 10:30 **Panel V: Intersections of Criminality, Carcerality, and Security
in the Canadian War on Terror | 305 York Lanes**

Chair: Karen Walker (Social and Political Thought: York University)

Bare Life and the Body:

Disrupting Sovereign Power and its (Re)productions Through a Reading of Afghan Detainees

Jessica Foran (Political Science: York University)

Canada's participation in the "war on terror" has relied on both unexceptional and increased amounts of incarceration and bodily violence. Considering Canada's handling of allegations of detainee mistreatment in Afghanistan, I trace how Afghan detainees are simultaneously spectacularized and made invisible through the mobilization of the Support Our Troops discourses. Reading the ways detainee and soldier bodies have become used by the Canadian state as moments in the "productive" (re)constitution of sovereign power, I explore how dominant theorizations of sovereignty problematically assume definitive inclusions and exclusions and rely on the body as an abstracted site of analysis. In order to disrupt this process and account for the shifts and redefinitions in Canadian sovereign power in the current moment, I push to reposition the materiality of the body as connected to ongoing practices of colonial and imperial violence.

Intelligence-led (In)justice:

Blurred Mandates and Legal Contortions in Canada's Security Certificate Regime

Mike Larsen (Sociology: York University)

Canada's immigration security certificate regime occupies a conceptual territory at the crossroads of systems and processes of security and justice. While ostensibly part of a preventative apparatus governed by the logics of (in)security and concerned with the curtailment of risky possible futures, in practice, certificates overlap in many ways with the traditional institutions of the criminal justice system. This paper draws on a trans-disciplinary theoretical framework to critically examine the implications of recent court rulings dealing with the intersection of intelligence practices/products and quasi administrative court proceedings. The paper begins with a brief overview and problematization of the role of intelligence (products and practices) in security certificate cases, and a discussion of relevant court decisions. In attempting to make sense of this complex phenomenon, I draw on and integrate concepts and resources from the sociology of law, critical criminology, and International Relations. The resulting eclectic framework highlights the tensions that exist between the logic of security and a substantive understanding of the rule of law. It also suggests a thematic convergence (in addition to the obvious shared interest in "security") between the literatures on pre-crime (Zedner 2006), counter-law (Ericson 2007), and the securitization of migration (Bigo 2002), around the concept of suspicion. The paper concludes by discussing the role that governing—and governing through—suspicion plays in contemporary (in)security politics, and by problematizing the logics of trust, distrust, and presumption that underpin the use of secret intelligence in courts (justice in camera).

The Administration of Justice? Security Certificate Proceedings and Criminal Law Values

Graham Hudson (Osgoode Hall Law School)

The Supreme Court of Canada seems to be taking the international human rights (IHR) of refugees seriously. In a number of recent Charter cases, such as *Charkaoui v. Canada* and *Khadr v. Canada*, the Supreme Court has relied upon often non-binding international law to justify providing greater procedural rights to detainees held within an immigration and refugee law context. In like fashion, a number of legislative committees and civil society groups have utilized IHR to increase the persuasive authority of reports which have often been highly critical of Canadian national security policy. The government has responded by amending security certificate and detention provisions within the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act in order to comply with the Charter and, by inference, IHR. Optimistic observers see within these judgements and report evidence of a global rule of law, whereby various institutions and actors have facilitated the movement of human rights norms across national boundaries and, in so doing, collectively shaped public policy in the image of human dignity. I propose to critically evaluate this hypothesis and the theory upon which it rests. After identifying the impact which IHR norms have had upon judicial reasoning, I will argue that, despite appearances, there have been few changes to the operation of Canadian detention and deportation practices. I will also contend, however, that the significance of IHR may yet be glimpsed if we refine some of our standard research methodologies. If we are to make meaningful assessments

of whether IHR matters in the context of Canadian and global national security policy, we must look beyond the internal operations of authoritative decision-making and towards the full spectrum of legal process, in which a range of official and unofficial participants, perspectives and expectations systematically shape the formation and effectiveness of judicial prescriptions.

Securitizing Actors: Understanding the Role of Multiple Speakers in (De)Securitization

Geneviève Piché (Political Science: University of Ottawa)

In the proposed paper, I address the process of securitization of the US-Canada border. I argue that the Copenhagen School's securitization theory (Buzan, Waever, de Wilde, 1998) oversimplifies the process by which securitization is initialized, that is the securitizing move. I demonstrate that, rather than identifying a singular speaker and speech act performed, it is necessary to regard the securitizing move as a constantly evolving process by which varying actors interact creating a context in which an issue is (or is not) considered one of security. I apply this position to the case of the US-Canada border through an analysis of statements and publications presented by varying relevant actors in the United States during the key period leading up to the signing of the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America in 2005. I argue that a multiplicity of actors—including political leaders, academics, media, and private firms—participate in the continuing construction of the context in which the US-Canada border is increasingly regarded as a matter of security. This case serves to illustrate the complexity of the securitizing move and the importance of considering the impact of multiple discourses on the (de)securitization of issues. I argue, using the example of the US-Canada border, that the state remains an important actor in securitization, but must be considered a part of a larger, diverse grouping of actors participating in shifting or holding issues into (or out of) the realm of security.

10:45 – 12:15 VI: Roundtable: Prospects of Researching Security Beyond the Discipline | 305 York Lanes

Chair: Dr. Gerald Kernerman (School of Social Sciences: York University)

Dr. Stuart Schoenfeld, Associate Professor of Sociology, York University.

Dr. James Sheptycki, Associate Professor of Criminology, York University.

Dr. Colleen Bell, SSHRC Post-doctoral Fellow, University of Bristol.

Dr. Anna Agathangelou, Associate Professor of Political Science, York University.

12:15 – 1:15 Lunch

1:15 – 2:45 Panel VII: Aesthetics, Ethics, and Affect: (Re)Covering the Body and Navigating Complicities | 305 York Lanes

Chair: Lori Crowe (Political Science: York University)

Reworking Visuality:

Encountering Bodies of Contestation in La Pocha Nostra's Performance Divino Corpo

Emily Merson (Political Science: York University)

Many approaches to understanding global politics consider visuality to be a crucial mode of communication. However, while disciplinary approaches in International Relations consider vision to be separate from further senses, many interdisciplinary approaches emphasize that ways of seeing are inextricably related to touch, sound, smell and taste. By attending to the historically contingent material social relations through which productions of affect and visuality are produced, it becomes possible to recognize that claims to authority are made in the very naturalization of the positivist correlation of objectivity and vision as a disembodied means of accessing unmediated, universal truths. Specifically, by considering subjectivities to be relationally produced through processes of encounter, the assumed universal ideal of sovereign collective and singular bodies as pre-constituted, autonomous and rational in IR discourse can be troubled and recognized as a highly particular and problematic category of meaning. In this way it may become possible to attend to colonial, phallogocentric, hetero/homonormative and further relationships of power and violence that are subject to processes of normativization and marginalization or otherwise may not

be intelligible in imag(in)ings of global politics in academic knowledge production, popular culture and everyday practices. I will suggest that Michael Taussig's *My Cocaine Museum* offers such transformative potentials in alternative ways of seeing power and violence in relation to touch, sound, smell and taste through memory and performance.

I Am War

Sanja Dejanovic (Political Science: York University)

By inviting a refreshing look at the politics of the body, the affective turn in the social sciences and humanities allows us to rethink ontology. Explorations on affectivity, such as those of Gilles Deleuze, Brian Massumi, and Michael Hardt, primarily return to works by Baruch Spinoza to reconceptualise the body as radically open and leaky. That is, rather than being a self-contained and bounded entity, an affectively animated economy reconfigures the body as in a constant state of disequilibrium, remaking, and becoming. Presumably because it is an uncharted terrain by language, affectivity is, then, optimistically conceived of as opening an uncorrupted site from which critical thinking and politics can be realized. This space has appeared as an uncorrupted one particularly because affectivity, as Antonio Negri argues, is anti-dialectical, and constructs an artifice of a neutral force that is outside of discourse. By engaging with the mentioned themes and thinkers, this paper problematizes this “new” opening for ethical and political projects, primarily by considering how affectivity, images of suffering, and the body, intersect in control societies. Such an exploration permits me to demonstrate how both imperialist and anti-imperialist projects are energized by an affectively driven economy of attention to suffering. More specifically, the author shows how the ethical and political power to act is envisioned by referencing the affectively “moved” body, which reproduces an affectively driven economy in control societies.

The Abu-Ghraib Series: Torture, Aesthetics, and Normativizing Practices of Empire

Arthur Imperial (Political Science: York University)

The paintings of Botero's Abu-Ghraib series depict lush scenes of torture: voluptuous pastel bodies dripping, hanging, poked and prodded by mysterious hands entering from off the frame. While gaining critical acclaim for such an explicit stance against the atrocities of the US military, I read Botero's work as an example of Empire's ability to appropriate potentially radical acts by dissenting subjects. Unsurprisingly, Botero and subsequent art critics engage in a form of aestheticism, deploying liberal-humanist discourses that promote the capacity of art to connect with the pain of tortured victims. I argue that these paintings engage in a similar violent circulation of affect produced by the proliferation of the original photos in lieu of critical readings which expose the real destructive materiality of US Empire. By drawing on theories of torture by Foucault and Scarry, I question how “the viewer” relates to images of docile bodies in pain: how are we also tortured, seduced into confession? How does Empire re-purpose affect and manage our (western) gaze? Reading affect as a strategy of Empire, I want to discuss how we can re-conceptualize power, complicity and visibility towards possible alternative and politicizing modes of relating, seeing and acting as the privileged viewer.

Circulation Anxieties, Affective Contagion, and War Spectatorship

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The hyper-saturation of war images on the internet has generated an information economy in which graphic and violent image/narratives produced by US soldiers have themselves become a form of currency. But somewhere between the vast visual display of “shock and awe” that marked the commencement of the Iraq War, the first-person-shooter Marine Corps “Youtube” videos from Fallujah, and the “war atrocity” photographs hosted on “shock sites” and anti-war websites, the banality of war images and information seems unreliable and unenlightening. While the internet circulation of information about the Iraq War has generated various anxieties and provoked certain policies on media (self-)censorship, the excess of information has, ironically, not necessarily produced more informed spectators. In this essay, I break from a number of common prejudices about contemporary Information and Communications Technologies (ICT): that information is merely the content of a communication; and that “information” is nothing other than a disembodied mode (or form) of representation. Instead, I analyze ICT, more specifically the internet, as “affective media.” My theoretical framework is in part guided by Brian Massumi's (2005) proposition that in the context of post-9/11, ICT has become part of a “system assemblage” (Deleuze) instrumental to the modulation and calibration of public fears, insecurities, and anxieties. For Massumi, the body is integral to this system assemblage: it is the site of (re)production for public conventions and practices aimed to regulate affective responses and to consolidate and align affect that, as Sara Ahmed argues (2004), is productive of subjects. My essay aims to address the following questions: what kinds of subjects are being (re)fashioned in the contemporary matrix of war spectatorship? How is the intensity of embodied affectivity reproduced through (and how does it reproduce) race, gender, and sexuality? Are the bodily emotions, sensations, and feelings associated with violence and war always already captured, or at the very least brokered, by the state and by capital?

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