Carleton University   Fall 2024
Department of Political Science
Carleton.ca/polisci/

Source: Detail from Jenny Holzer, *Xenon for Bregenz* (2004)

Instructor: William Walters	**Office Hours**: Mons 14.30 – 16.30pm or by appt.
Office: B753 Loeb [Sociology]	**Email**: william.walters@carleton.ca
Seminar: Thurs. 8.35 – 11.25am	**Location**: Check with Carleton Central

Prerequisite(s): fourth-year standing

DELIVERY FORMAT
In person (except week 13 on Zoom – see below)

COURSE THEMES AND OBJECTIVES
Political science focuses more on questions of publicity, transparency, citizenship and voice than it does on issues of secrecy, opacity, obfuscation and silence. This course will place these latter questions at the centre of our inquiry. If secrecy has been surprisingly marginal to political science, this perhaps reflects the ambiguous normative status of this category. How does secrecy shape power relations and politics? Is secrecy always a bad thing? Does secrecy have a history? Does the rise of the information society change the way states practice secrecy, and what does this mean for citizens? These are some of the questions we will address in the course. The course will focus primarily on the countries of the global North, but will also consider secrecy in contexts of authoritarian rule, and postcolonial democracies. Our approach will be interdisciplinary, drawing on some of the most insightful work on secrecy whether generated by political scientists, geographers, historians, artists or archive scientists. It will combine theoretical and empirical work: we will approach secrecy not as something generic but a mutable complex of practices, ideas, and experiences that are best understood through cases, issues, and contexts.

LEARNING OUTCOMES
By the end of the course students should be able to:
1.   better understand how secrecy shapes power and politics in liberal and illiberal regimes;
2.   identify key concepts, methods and cases that scholars have used to explore questions of secrecy;
3.   design and write a research proposal, and develop this into a final project, gaining skills and experience that could be used for work and especially for future applications for research funding (eg, OGS) and graduate school.

COURSE TEXTS

There is no textbook. All required readings will be available either through the regular journal links in the library catalogue, or as PDFs on ARES.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

1. Readings and videos. Before class you are required to do the required readings for each module. In addition, for some of the modules I will post on Brightspace short videos and links which you should also consult.

2. Seminar attendance and active participation (15%). You are expected to attend the weekly seminars and actively participate in the discussions. Your grade will reflect your attendance and the quality of your engagement with the diverse course materials.

3. Forum posts (15%). There are no formal student presentations of readings in class. Instead, we will use forum posts to shape classroom discussions. **During the course you are required to make a total of FIVE posts on the Brightspace forum.** At each class we will look back on posts from the past week. Posts should not be a precis of the reading. Instead, your post could take the form of: (a) a question or point of clarification about a particular reading (b) something you like about the reading and why (c) something you don't like and why (d) connections to other readings, events, current affairs etc or (e) A response to someone else's post. You will be graded on the quality of your overall contribution to the forums. LENGTH: posts can be anything from a couple of sentences to a couple of paragraphs. **TWO of your posts should be made before the start of reading week.**

4. Short Essay (20%). For this assignment you will write a short review essay on one week's theme where you **critically discuss the three readings PLUS one addition of your choice**. Your addition should be relevant to that week's theme. **You can choose from weeks 2, 3, 4 or 5**. Due: **October 11th, 11.59pm**. Word length: **1500 words** (the bibliography is additional to the word count). Upload via Brightspace. Use Word format (**not PDF**!) and name the file *Yourfamilyname_ShortEssay_PSCI4809*

5. Research proposal (10%). This will be a proposal for the final paper or short film/podcast. Guidelines for the proposal will be posted on Brightspace. Upload via Brightspace by **Nov 20 at 11.59pm.** Length: 500 words (exclusive of references, of which you should list at least 5 academic sources). Use Word format (**not PDF**!) and name the file *Yourfamilyname_ResearchProposal_PSCI4809*

6. Miniconference presentation (10%). This is a 10 minute presentation of your work in progress at one of the two miniconferences. It will build on the proposal and towards the final project. Students will be grouped into panels of three or four presenters. More details to follow on Brightspace. Miniconference I is online on **Nov 28** and II is in class on **Dec 5.**

7. *EITHER:* A Research Essay (30%). The paper will build on your proposal and presentation. Submit by: **Dec 6th, 11.59pm on Brightspace**. Length: **3000 words.** Use Word format (**not PDF**!) and name the file *Yourfamilyname_ResearchPaper_PSCI4809*

8. *OR:* Academic Podcast or Short Film (30%). Like the research essay, it will develop from your proposal. Submit by **Dec 6thth, 11.59pm on Brightspace** This should be approximately 10 mins in length. You should also upload your transcript showing all the sources you used. Further guidelines will be posted on Brightspace.

Late penalties: One half grade will be deducted for each day late. Hence, if your short essay #1 were submitted on Nov 16 instead of Nov 15, you would drop from, say, A to A-.

THEMES AND READINGS

1. Introduction (Sept 5)

- Walters, William (2021) *State secrecy and security: Refiguring the covert imaginary*: Routledge, 1-26.

2. Theoretical Perspectives on Secrecy and Politics (Sept 12)

- Fabbrini, Federico (2018) 'Courts and the politics of secrecy: national security, human rights and the importance of supranational oversight', *West European Politics* 41(4): 869-889.
- Broeders, Dennis (2015) 'The secret in the information society', *Philosophy and Technology* 29(3): 293-305.
- de Goede, Marieke (2020) 'Secrecy vignettes', in M. de Goede et al (eds) *Secrecy and methods in security research*, New York, Routledge, 261-272.

Further reading
- Moynihan, Daniel Patrick (1997) 'Secrecy as government regulation.' *PS: Political Science & Politics* 30(2): 160-165.
- Bratich, Jack (2006) 'Public secrecy and immanent security', *Cultural Studies* 20(4-5): 493-511.
- Balzacq, Thierry and Benjamin Puybareau (2018) 'The economy of secrecy: Security, information control, and EU-US relations.' *West European Politics* 41(4): 890-913.

3. Secrecy: Forms, Types, Family Resemblances (Sept 19)

- Thompson, Dennis (1999) 'Democratic secrecy.' *Political Science Quarterly* 114(2): 181-193.
- Roberts, Alasdair (2012) 'Open secrets and dirty hands'. In: Austin Sarat, Lawrence Douglas and Martha M. Umphrey (eds) *The secrets of law*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 25-45.
- Schweiger, Elisabeth (2022) 'Fighting silence: Covert warfare and the uphill battle against the unsaid', *European Journal of International Relations* 28(1): 110-130.

Further reading
- Stampnitzky, Lisa (2020) 'Truth and consequences? Reconceptualizing the politics of exposure.' *Security Dialogue* 51(6): 597-613.
- Bigo, Didier (2019) 'Shared secrecy in a digital age and a transnational world', *Intelligence and National Security* 34(3): 379-394.
- Walters, William (2019) 'Everyday secrecy: Oral history and the social life of a top-secret weapons research establishment during the cold war.' *Security Dialogue*. 51(1): 60-76.

4. Secrecy and the Colonial Archive (Sep 26)

- Anderson, David M. (2015) 'Guilty secrets: Deceit, denial, and the discovery of Kenya's "migrated archive"'. *History Workshop Journal.* 80(1): 142-160.
- Logan, Tricia (2018) 'Questions of privacy and confidentiality after atrocity: Collecting and retaining records of the residential school system in Canada.' *Genocide Studies International* 12(1): 92-102.
- Miyonga, Rose (2023) '"We kept them to remember": tin trunk archives and the emotional history of the Mau Mau war', *History Workshop Journal*, https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/dbad010 , 96 – 114.

Further reading

- Gilbert, Emily (2016) 'From declassified documents to redacted files: Tracing military compensation'. In: Alison Williams, Neil Jenkings, Matthew Rech, et al. (eds) *The Routledge companion to military research method*s. Routledge, 30-43.
- Hiribarren, Vincent (2017) 'Hiding the colonial past? A comparison of European archival policies' in J. Lowry (ed.) *Displaced Archives,* New York: Routledge, 74-85.

5. Truth-Telling (Oct 3)

- Cohen, Stanley (2001) 'Digging up graves, opening up wounds: acknowledging the past' in his *States of Denial,* Polity, 222-248
- Supernant, Kisha (2022) '"Every child matters": one year after the unmarked graves of 215 Indigenous children were found in Kamloops', *The Conversation*, May 26th. https://theconversation.com/every-child-matters-one-year-after-the-unmarked-graves-of-215-indigenous-children-were-found-in-kamloops-183778
- Walters, William (2014) 'Parrhesia today: drone strikes, fearless speech and the contentious politics of security', *Global Society* 28(3): 277-299.
- Chateauvert-Gagnon, Beatrice (2024) 'Speaking truth to power in a digital age: #MeToo as parrhesia', *Signs* 49(4): 831-857.

Further reading
- Alvinius, Aida and Alvita Holmberg (2019) 'Silence-breaking butterfly effect: Resistance toward the military within #MeToo', *Gender, Work and Organization* 26: 1255-1270.
- Taussig, Michael (1992) *The nervous system*, Routledge. (Read the section: 'The mothers of the disappeared: dialectics at a standstill'), 48-51.

6. Scandals, Leaks and Cover-Ups: How to Follow Secrecy in the Making (Oct 10)

- Paglen, Trevor (2010) 'Goatsucker: Toward a spatial theory of state secrecy.' *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 28: 759-771.
- Balmer, Brian (2004) 'How does an accident become an experiment? Secret science and the exposure of the public to biological warfare agents.' *Science as Culture* 13(2): 197-228
- Hilgartner, Stephen (2012) 'Selective flows of knowledge in technoscientific interaction: Information control in genome research.' *The British Journal for the History of Science* 45(2): 267-280.

7. Of Blackboxes and Big Data: Secrecy in a Digital Age (Oct 17)

- Potolosky, Matthew (2016) 'Whither secrecy?' *American Literary History* 28(4): 787-799.
- Pasquale, Frank (2016) 'Black box society: hidden decisions of big data', TV interview with Steven Pakin on TVO. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PDjgyTnzWuQ
- Zuboff, Shoshana (2016) 'The secrets of surveillance capitalism.' *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* March 5th

8. Fall Break – No Class (Oct 24)

9. The Aesthetics of Secrecy (Oct 31)

- Birchall, Clare (2014) 'Aesthetics of the secret.' *New Formations* 83(3): 25-46 [but only read up to p.37]
- Leone, Massimo. 2017. 'Silence propaganda: A semiological inquiry into the ideologies of taciturnity', *Signs and Society* 5(1): 154-182.

- Walters, William. 2024. 'The fabric of secrecy'. In *Tintin Wulia: Secrets*, Melbourne: RMIT Digital Catalogue, 17-20. Available at https://rmitgallery.com/digital/all/tintin-wulia-secrets-digital-catalogue/

10. Genealogies of State Secrecy: The Manhattan Project and the Birth of Declassification (Nov 7)

- Shapin, Steven (2021) 'Loose talk', *London Review of Books* 43(21), November 4th. https://www.lrb.co.uk/the-paper/v43/n21/steven-shapin/loose-talk
- Wellerstein, Alex (2022) *Restricted Data: The History of Nuclear Secrecy in the United States*, Chicago University Press, 158-171.
- US Army Service Forces (1946) 'Manual for the declassification of scientific and technical matters', May 1st, Oak Ridge: US Engineer Office, Manhattan District. [available via Brightspace].

Further reading:
- Siddiqi, Asif (2022) 'Atomized urbanism: Secrecy and security from the Gulag to the Soviet closed cities.' *Urban History*, 49: 190-210.

11. On Conspiracy Theory: Imagined Secret Societies? (Nov 14)

- Aistrope, Tim and Ronald Bleiker (2018) 'Conspiracy and foreign policy', *Security Dialogue* 49(3): 165-182.
- Prasad, Amit (2022) 'Anti-science misinformation and conspiracies: COVID-19, post-truth and science and technology studies (STS)', *Science, Technology & Society* 27(1): 88-112.
- Birchall, Clare and Peter Knight (2022) 'Do your own research: conspiracy theories and the internet', *Social Research* 89(3): 579-605.

12. Secret Subjects (Nov 21)

- Van Veeren, Elspeth (2019) 'Secrecy's subjects: Special operators in the US shadow war.' *European Journal of International Security* 4(3): 386-414.
- Maass, Peter. (2013) 'How Laura Poitras helped Snowden spill his secrets', *New York Times* August 13. www.nytimes.com/2013/08/18/magazine/laura-poitras-snowden.html?hpw
- Ellsberg, Daniel (2010) 'Secrecy and national security whistleblowing.' *Social Research* 77(3): 773-804.
- Mundy, Liza (2018) 'The women code breakers who unmasked Soviet Spies', *Smithsonian Magazine*, September. https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/women-code-breakers-unmasked-soviet-spies-180970034/

13. Miniconference I (Nov 28) - On Zoom since professor is delivering a lecture in Germany this week.

14. Miniconference II (Dec 5)

Appendix

Student Mental Health

As a university student, you may experience a range of mental health challenges that significantly impact your academic success and overall well-being. If you need help, please speak to someone. There are numerous resources available both on- and off-campus to support you. Here is a list that may be helpful:

Emergency Resources (on and off campus): https://carleton.ca/health/emergencies-and-crisis/emergency-numbers/

- ***Carleton Resources:***
  - Mental Health and Wellbeing: https://carleton.ca/wellness/
  - Health & Counselling Services: https://carleton.ca/health/
  - Paul Menton Centre: https://carleton.ca/pmc/
  - Academic Advising Centre (AAC): https://carleton.ca/academicadvising/
  - Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS): https://carleton.ca/csas/
  - Equity & Inclusivity Communities: https://carleton.ca/equity/

- ***Off Campus Resources:***
  - Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region: (613) 238-3311 or TEXT: 343-306-5550, https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/
  - Mental Health Crisis Service: (613) 722-6914, 1-866-996-0991, http://www.crisisline.ca/
  - Empower Me: 1-844-741-6389, https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-services/
  - Good2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, https://good2talk.ca/
  - The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: https://walkincounselling.com

Requests for Academic Accommodation

Deferred final exams, which must be applied for at the RO, are available ONLY if the student is in good standing in the course. The course outline must stipulate any minimum standards for good standing that a student must meet to be entitled to write a deferred final exam.
You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request, the processes are as follows:

Academic consideration for medical or other extenuating circumstances: Please contact your instructor if you are experiencing circumstances that (a) are beyond your control, (b) have a significant impact your capacity to meet your academic obligations, and (c) could not have reasonably been prevented. Decisions on academic consideration are in your instructor's discretion; they will be guided by the course learning outcomes and the principle of good faith. Please see here for more details. For considerations relating to course work, your instructor may request that you complete the Self-Declaration form. To apply for a deferral of your final exam, you must submit

the Self-Declaration form to the Registrar's Office no later than three days after the scheduled examination or take-home due date.

Pregnancy accommodation: Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For accommodation regarding a formally-scheduled final exam, you must complete the Pregnancy Accommodation Form (click here).

Religious accommodation: Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details click here.

Accommodations for students with disabilities: If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation, or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, reach out to your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. For more details, click here.

Accommodation for student activities: Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and to the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom. Reasonable accommodation will be provided to students who engage in student activities at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more information, please click here.

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: students.carleton.ca/course-outline.

Sexual Violence Policy

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated. Survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support.

Academic Integrity

Academic integrity is an essential element of a productive and successful career as a student. Carleton's [Academic Integrity Policy](#) addresses academic integrity violations, including plagiarism, unauthorized collaboration, misrepresentation, impersonation, withholding of records, obstruction/interference, disruption of instruction or examinations, improper access to and/or dissemination of information, or violation of test and examination rules. Students are required to familiarize themselves with the university's academic integrity rules.

Plagiarism

The Academic Integrity Policy defines plagiarism as "presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one's own." This includes reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else's published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one's own without proper citation or reference to the original source. Examples of sources from which the ideas, expressions of ideas or works of others may be drawn from include, but are not limited to: books, articles, papers, websites, literary compositions and phrases, performance compositions, chemical compounds, art works, laboratory reports, research results, calculations and the results of calculations, diagrams, constructions, computer reports, computer code/software, material on the internet and/or conversations.

Examples of plagiarism include, but are not limited to:

- Any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else;
- Using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, paraphrased material, algorithms, formulae, scientific or mathematical concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- Using another's data or research findings without appropriate acknowledgement;
- Submitting a computer program developed in whole or in part by someone else, with or without modifications, as one's own; and
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another's work and/or failing to use quotations marks.

Use of Artificial Intelligence

Unless explicitly permitted by the instructor in a particular course, any use of generative artificial intelligence (AI) tools to produce assessed content (e.g., text, code, equations, image, summary, video, etc.) is considered a violation of academic integrity standards.

Procedures in Cases of Suspected Violations

Violations of the Academic Integrity Policy are serious offences which cannot be resolved directly with the course's instructor. When an instructor suspects a violation of the Academic Integrity Policy, the Associate Dean of the Faculty conducts a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student. Penalties are not trivial. They may

include a mark of zero for the assignment/exam in question or a final grade of "F" for the course. More information on the University's Academic Integrity Policy can be found at: https://carleton.ca/registrar/academic-integrity/.

Intellectual property

Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

Submission and Return of Term Work

Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline. The departmental office will not accept assignments submitted in hard copy.

Grading

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Carleton E-mail Accounts

All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton University e-mail accounts and/or Brightspace. As important course and university information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton University email accounts and Brightspace.

Carleton Political Science Society

The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. By hosting social events,

including Model Parliament, debates, professional development sessions and more, CPSS aims to involve all political science students at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through our networking opportunities, academic engagement initiatives and numerous events which aim to complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit us on Facebook https://www.facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety/.

Official Course Outline

The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.