

PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL ANTHROPOLOGY:

Foundations, Debates and New Directions

ANG6274 - Wed per 5-7 (11:45a-2:45p)

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Class gmail: ang6274@gmail.com (principles)

This weekly graduate seminar is appropriate for incoming and advanced graduate students in anthropology and allied social science and humanities programs. Comparative case studies will be drawn from around the world and across time periods, including the contemporary US, Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin America. Course work will include short writing assessments, research proposals and analytic essays.

Course Themes and Topics

What are the foundations of a distinctively anthropological approach to politics, governance and public life? How has anthropology's theorization of the political emerged in conversation with (and in opposition to) the claims and approaches of other disciplines, whether political science, international relations, history, sociology, or philosophy? How does anthropology contribute to debates regarding which actions, events, contexts and attitudes count as political? What methodological insights does anthropology bring to the investigation and representation of political ideologies, institutions and behaviors? What new directions are these interdisciplinary questions and collaborations taking? How does anthropology treat the study of political life as an ethical endeavor involving specific research safeguards, protocols, and limitations?

Course topics include political culture, political affect, identity-politics, citizenship and social movements, states and statelessness, hegemony, resistance and subalterity, bio-politics and governmentality, ungoverned spaces and zones of exception, security and states of emergency, the public sphere and the politics of everyday life, militarization, thing-politics, and the political uses and perils of anthropological research.

CLASS ASSIGNMENTS AND REQUIREMENTS

Recommended Texts: You will be reading extensive selections from each of these texts and it is suggested that you acquire a print or electronic copy for your own use.

A. Sharma and A. Gupta, The Anthropology of the State: A Reader, Blackwell 2006.

M. Foucault, Discipline and Punish, Vintage. 1991.

B. Anderson, Imagined Communities, Verso. 2006.

K. MacLeish, Making War at Fort Hood, Princeton. 2013

G. Feldman, The Migration Apparatus, Stanford. 2012.

Electronic Reading and Resources:

To whatever extent possible, all other course readings will be available in electronic format on the course gmail account. ang6274@gmail.com (pw: principles)

You are expected to bring all readings for the week to class in print or electronic format.

Required readings may be subject to minor modifications based on the instructor's discretion

Assignments:

Weekly Quote Sheets (10 @ 1% ea. = 10%): You are required to come to class with three quotes from each of three readings of your choice from the weekly reading material. Please submit a copy to Dr. Chalfin at the beginning of class and email a soft copy to bchalfin@ufl.edu.

Reading Assessments (5 @ 8% ea = 40%): Provide a 2-3 page (750 word) assessment of the weekly reading responding to all or some of the discussion questions indicated in the syllabus. You may also raise additional questions and observations in a separate paragraph. You may select five weeks of your choice. Your assessment is due on the date the class is covering those readings. Ground your claims in concepts and examples from the class readings.

Fantasy Proposals (3 @ 5% ea = 15%): Provide a 2 page (500 word) mini research proposal drawing on the methods and themes raised in the course reading for the week. What questions would you like to explore, where, how, why? These are 'fantasy' project and are not constrained by expense, logistics or feasibility. Due on the date the class is covering those readings.

End of Term Analytic Essays (3 @ 8% ea = 24 %): These are take home essay exam of 1000 words each written in response to questions circulated by Dr. Chalfin. Questions will be distributed by November 17. Responses are due Dec. 10.

Class Participation and Attendance (6%): Attendance is mandatory. Unexcused absence will result in a grade reduction. Please feel free to communicate with Dr. Chalfin about any special needs or circumstances. Class participation will be measured in terms of quality of contribution to class discussion and ability to respond to the discussion questions indicated in the syllabus.

UF GRADING RUBRIC:

A	90-100
A-	88-89
B+	86-87
B	80-85
B-	78-79
C+	76-77
C	70-75
C-	68-69
D+	66-67
D	60-65
D-	58-59
E	57 & below

INFORMATION ON UNIVERSITY POLICY IS INCLUDED AT THE END OF THIS DOCUMENT.
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COURSE SCHEDULE:**8/27 Class 1. Introduction****9/3 Class 2. Politics: To have or have not?**

AR Radcliffe-Brown, "Preface." In African Political Systems, IAI, 1940, pp. xi-xxiii.

R. Lavenda and E. Schultz, Core Concepts in Cultural Anthropology, McGraw Hill, 2007, pp. 112-124

T. Lewellen, Political Anthropology, Bergin & Garvey, 1992, pp. 22-30

G. Silberbauer, "Political Process in G/wi bands," in E. Leacock and R. Lee (eds), Politics and History in Band Societies, Cambridge, 1982, pp. 23-35.

E. Wolf, "Facing Power, Old Insights, New Questions." In Pathways of Power: Building an Anthropology of the Modern World, California. 2001. pp. 383-397.

What do you consider the central questions of classic approaches to political anthropology? Do any of these approaches challenge the conventional wisdom, whether in terms of questions asked, case-studies examined, methods, or conclusions? Which lines of inquiry do you find the most interesting or suggestive?

9/10 Class 3. Culture and Power: Anthropology and New Nations

B. Anderson, "The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture," in Language and Power: Exploring Political Cultures in Indonesia, Cornell. 1990. pp. 17-76.

C. Geertz, "After the Revolution: the Politics of Nationalism," The Interpretation of Cultures, Basic, 1973. pp. 234-254.

B. Anderson, Ch. 1-4, 10, in Imagined communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, Verso, 1991/2006.

A. Gupta, "Imagining Nations" in Companion to the Anthropology of Politics, ed. D. Nugent. Blackwell 2004. pp. 267-281.

J. Kelly and M. Kaplan, "Nation and decolonization: toward a new anthropology of nationalism" Anthropological Theory, Dec2001, 1(4).

What is Anderson's thesis regarding culture and power? Can you trace the shifting concerns of anthropology's engagement with questions of the nation and nationalism? Why is Anderson central in these discussions? Have his insights been surpassed?

9/17 Library Resource Session:

9/24 Class 4. Hegemony, Ideology, Resistance and Sub-alterity

R. Williams, 1977, "Hegemony," in Marxism and Literature, Oxford. pp. 108-114.

D. Forgacs, The Antonio Gramsci Reader, NYU. 2000. pp. 189-200, 422-3, 429-30.

(also note <http://www.english.emory.edu/Bahri/hegemony.html>)

G. Smith, "Hegemony," in Companion to the Anthropology of Politics, ed. D. Nugent. Blackwell 2004. pp. 216-229

L. Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," in Lenin and Philosophy, Monthly Review Press, 1970 (available on-line or in Gupta and Sharma's Anthropology of the State: A Reader, pp. 86-110)

G. Joseph and D. Nugent eds., Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico, Duke, 1994. selections: Roseberry, W. "Hegemony and the Language of Contention," & Sayer, D. "Everyday Forms of State Formation..Hegemony'

S. Ortner, "Resistance and the Problem of Ethnographic Refusal." Comparative Studies in Society and History 1995. 37/1. Pp. 73-93.

Reflecting on Sub-altern Studies: Interview with Partha Chatterjee

http://www.culanth.org/curated_collections/6-subaltern-studies/discussions/14-reflecting-on-30-years-of-subaltern-studies-conversations-with-profs-gyanendra-pandey-and-partha-chatterjee

Optional: Hegemony and Culture in Historical Anthropology: A Review Essay on Jean and John L. Comaroff's "Of Revelation and Revolution" Sally Engle Merry The American Historical Review, Vol. 108, No. 2 (April 2003), pp. 460-470

How can we parse the distinctions between hegemony, ideology and culture? Or resistance, sub-alterity and counter-hegemony? How do these terms cluster, overlap, and move analysis in different directions?

10/1 Class 5. Public Sphere, the Commons and the Social Contract

J. Habermas, Sections I 1&2, II 4,5,6 and V 16, 17, in The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, MIT. 1991. Pp. 1-50 & 141-159

C. Calhoun. "Introduction," in Habermas and the Public Sphere, MIT, 1993. pp. 1-14

H. Arendt, "The Human Condition" and "The Public and Private Realm," in The Human Condition. Chicago. 1958. p. 7-77.

M. Hardt and A. Negri, "The Multitude of the Poor" in Commonwealth, Belknap. 2009. pp. 39-55.

B. Latour. "From Realpolitik to Dingpolitik or How to Make Things Public." In Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy, ed. by Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel. MIT. 2005. Pp. 14-43.

L. McLaughlin, "Feminism and the political economy of transnational public space." In Sociological Review. 2004. 52/s1. pp. 156-175.

<i>Possible guest lecture.</i>

Discuss the range of ways the public sphere or public realm is conceptualized in these works? Do different theorizations point out different political possibilities and features of public life? How firmly is the distinction between the public and private drawn? Do you consider this divide analytically productive? How might we move beyond it?

10/8 Class 6: Biopolitics and Governmentality

N. Rose, "Governing" In Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought, Cambridge. 1999. pp. 15-60.

M. Foucault, M. 1991, "Governmentality," in The Foucault Effect, ed, G. Burcheil, 1991. pp. 87-104. (Also In Sharma and Gupta Reader: pp. 131-143)

M. Foucault, M. Discipline and Punish, Vintage. 1991. selections.

P. Rabinow and N. Rose "Biopower Today," in *BioSocieties*. 2006/ 1. pp195-217.

T. Murray Li, "Practices of assemblage and community forest management." *Economy and society* 36, no. 2 (2007): 263-293.

N. Rose., 1996 "The Death of the Social? Re-figuring the territory of government," *Economy and Society*, 25/3, pp. 327-356.

J. Ferguson, 1994, "The Anti-politics Machine." In Sharma and Gupta Reader pp. 270-285

Optional: Trouillbt, M-R., 2001, "The Anthropology of the State in the Age of Globalization," *Current Anthropology*, 42/ 1: 125-138.

How would you define Governmentality? How does it relate to Biopower and Biopolitics? Do you consider these useful concepts for anthropology or other field-research based practices of political analysis?

10/15 Class 7 Transformations in Citizenship and Sovereignty: The Politics of the Governed and the Ungoverned

J. Painter, "Spaces of Citizenship," *Political Geography*. 1995. 14/2. pp. 107- 120.

E. Balibar, E. 2004, Ch. 3 "Droit de Cite or Apartheid." In *We, the People of Europe: Reflections on Transnational Citizenship*. Princeton. 2004. pp. 31-50.

V. Das and D. Poole. Ch. 1 "The State and its Margins" in *Anthropology at the Margins of the State*. SAR. 2004. pp. 3-33

P. Chatterjee, "The Politics of the Governed," in *The Politics of the Governed*. Columbia. 2004. pp. 53-78

J. Holston, Ch. 1 and Ch. 7 in *Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunctions of Identity and Modernity in Brazil* Princeton. 2008.

G. Agamben. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Stanford. 1998. Selections

Clunan, A. 2010. "Ungoverned Spaces: The Need for Reevaluation" in *Ungoverned Spaces: Alternatives to State Authority in an Era of Softened Sovereignty*. Stanford. 2010. pp. 3-13.

What sorts of questions emerge when anthropology engages with the theoretical perspectives of other fields, whether history, geography, philosophy or international relations? What is gained and what is lost? Is it possible to find a common language of inquiry and analysis or does an intellectual division of labor remain?

10/22 Class 8. Transnational Activism and the Rebirth of Identity Politics

J. Comaroff and J. Comaroff, 2009. Ch. 3. *Ethnicity Inc.* Chicago. pp. 22-59

S. Mahmood, Ch. 1 "The Subject of Freedom" in *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*. Princeton 2005.

Access on-line interviews with Saba Mahmood

M. DeLa Cadena, "Indigenous Cosmopolitics in the Andes: Conceptual Reflections beyond "Politics". Cultural Anthropology. 2010. 25/2. pp. 334-370.

C. Hale. "Activist Research v. Cultural Critique: Indigenous Land Rights and the Contradictions of Politically Engaged Anthropology" in Cultural Anthropology. 2006. 21/1. pp. 96 - 120

D. Goldstein, Ch. 2 "Getting Engaged." Outlawed: Between Security and Rights in a Bolivian City. 2013. pp. 35-75. (skim)

Are these worked marked by common findings or a common approach? How do they critique and redefine established categories and concepts? What questions or observations do they raise about the boundary and interface of activism, advocacy and research?

10/29 Class 9. Security, Science and Technology

H. Gusterson, Ch. 9 "The Virtual Nuclear Weapons Laboratory in the New World Order" in People of the Bomb: Portraits of America's Nuclear Complex. Minnesota, 2004. pp. 165-185

G. Feldman, Ch.4 "Border Control," Ch. 5 "Biometrics" and Ch.7 "When there is no there" in The Migration Apparatus. Stanford, 2012.

A Lakoff, "The Generic Biothreat, or How we became unprepared," Cultural Anthropology. 23/3, pp. 399-428

S. Collier, Vital Systems Security and the Government of Emergency. In Theory Culture and Society. 2014

A. Lakoff and S. Collier, 'Infrastructure and Event: The political technology of preparedness.' In Political Matters. ed B. Braun. Minnesota. 2010. Pp.243-266.

See also limn.it/issue/01/

Optional: "The Stuff of Politics: An Introduction" in **In Political Matters. ed B. Braun. Minnesota. 2010. pp. ix-xi**

Discuss the place of science and technology studies (STS) in anthropology's engagement with and critique of contemporary security trends? How does this approach incorporate or speak to other works and approaches in political anthropology? What are the implications for research findings as well as research methods?

11/4 Class 10. War, Militarization, Affect, Body Politics

C. Tilly. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime," in Bringing the State Back In. D. Rueschmeyer et al eds., Cambridge. 1985. pp. 167-91.

A. Giddens, The Nation-State and Violence, California. 1987. pp. 22-31, 103-116, 222-254.

C. Lutz, C. Making War at Home in the United States: Militarization and the Current Crisis. American Anthropologist. 2002, 104 (3): 723-35. (*or "Militarization" In Sharma and Gupta Reader: pp. 291-309)

K. MacLeish, Chs. 1,2,4 in Making War at Fort Hood: Life and Uncertainty in a Military Community. Princeton, 2013.

N. Chagnon, Ch. 6 "Yanomamo Warfare" in The Yanomamo, pp. 185-206 (skim)

In what ways are anthropologists in conversation with claims about violence and warfare from other disciplines? Are anthropologists simply illustrating the contentions of other scholars and fields or they complicating and deepening them? Among other things, how are anthropologists bringing issues of affect and embodiment into discussions of militarization. What does this imply about the value of ethnography in comprehending the human experience of violence and militarization?

11/12 Class 11. Politics and Ethics of Anthropology

D. Price, D. Weaponizing Anthropology: Social Science in Service of the Militarized State. Counterpunch. 2011. selections

N. Whitehead Ch. 1 in Virtual War and Magical Death, ed N. Whitehead and S. Finnstroom, Duke. 2013, pp. 26-44.

K. Fosher, "Yes, both, absolutely," pp. 261-270 and R. Davis, "Cultural Sensitivity in a Military Occupation," pp. 297-310 in Anthropology and Global Counterinsurgency, Chicago. 2010.

AAA Ethics Codes: 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, 2000s. (Review 3 codes)

What are the central ethical debates raised by the conduct of anthropological research in the context of war? Has the discipline changes its view of the ethics of these activities over time? Is it possible to understand programs such as the Human Terrain System as a form of 'Engaged Anthropology' or are there different issues at stake? What recommendations would you make regarding future revisions of the AAA Ethics Code?

11/19 Class 12 Individual meetings (ASA meetings)

NO CLASS 11/26 THANKSGIVING HOLIDAY

NO CLASS 12/3 (AAA Meetings)

12/10 Class 14 Final Discussion and Presentations

All work is due by this date.

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UNIVERSITY POLICY:

The following information is provided in conformance with University Policy:

1. Policy related to class attendance, assignments, and other work:

Requirements for class attendance, make-up exams, assignments, and other work in this course are consistent with university policies that can be found in the online catalog:
<https://catalog.ufl.edu/ugrad/current/regulations/info/attendance.aspx>.

2. Accommodations for students with disabilities: Students requesting classroom accommodation must first register with the Dean of Students Office. The Dean of Students Office will provide documentation to the student who must then provide this documentation to the Professor when requesting accommodation. Upon receipt of documentation, the Professor will grant the accommodation. Students with disabilities should follow these procedures as early as possible in the semester.

3. Online course evaluation process: Students are expected to provide feedback on the quality of instruction in this course based on 10 criteria. These evaluations are conducted online at <https://evaluations.ufl.edu>. Evaluations are typically open during the last two or three weeks of the semester, but students will be given specific times when they are open. Summary results of these assessments are available to students at <https://evaluations.ufl.edu/results>

4. Religious Observances: Students seeking modification of due dates for class participation, assignments, and exams for religious reasons (e.g., holiday observances) should contact the Professor and request this modification.

5. Academic Honesty: UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge that states, "We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honor and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code. On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied:

"On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment."

The Honor Code (<http://www.dso.ufl.edu/sccr/process/student-conduct-honor-code/>) specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. Furthermore, you are obligated to report any condition that facilitates academic misconduct to appropriate personnel. If you have any questions or concerns, please consult with the instructor. Instances of dishonesty include conducting unauthorized research on the internet and failing to cite sources of information on any work submitted, as well as unauthorized collaborating with students or others to determine the answers on assignments and exams.

6. Counseling and Emergency Services

- **the University Counseling Center, 301 Peabody Hall, 392-1575**
<http://www.counseling.ufl.edu/cwc/Default.aspx>
- **Student Health Care Center, 392-1171**
- **Career Resource Center, Reitz Union, 392-1601**
- **Center for Sexual Assault/Abuse Recovery and Education (CARE), Student Health Care Center, 392-1161**
- **University Police Department 392-1111 (non-emergency);**
- **CALL 9-1-1 for emergencies**