1. A Brief Introduction

Up until the 1950s, political anthropology was preoccupied with politics in non-Western societies, typically focusing on small-scale, local and regional social bodies, with an interest in questions of authority, coercion, order and stability. Initially there was a debate about whether one could even find either politics or power in non-state societies, as they apparently lacked centralized structures of control while possessing greater degrees of social equality. Kinship, custom, and contract were some of the dominant ways of understanding power in the so-called non-state, primitive societies. Since then, much has changed in political anthropology.

In contrast to earlier characterizations of stable, local social formations, seen as homogeneous wholes that seemingly existed free of the impact of forces such as colonialism, slavery and the world market, anthropologists have argued in recent decades for different ways of conceptualizing power and its presence. One way to reinterpret the presence of power in shaping local politics was to recognize the fact that the “remote” communities anthropologists had been studying were in fact incorporated into a global system of unequal power relations. Anthropologists became more explicit in their theorizing that they had never actually studied any “non-state society” ethnographically, because by the time they encountered these societies they had long been incorporated by local states, colonial administrations, and the broader forces of empire.

In addition, anthropology was critiqued, both from within the discipline and from without, as itself being the product of empire, a discipline that experienced its fruition in colonial settings, often directly or indirectly collaborating with colonialism itself. The anthropology of politics began to cross over into the politics of anthropology in new and interesting ways.

Another means of reworking the anthropology of politics and power was to take a new
look at the relationships structuring these local societies that typically were at the centre of their ethnographic studies. Some anthropologists began to argue that communities once portrayed as egalitarian, instead possessed some degree of internal inequalities in decision-making and unequal access to resources. Questions emerged as to which societies tended to be more egalitarian than others, especially by reference to the role of women, the sexual division of labour, and access to resources.

From the 1970s onward, new concepts came to dominate political anthropology. The most prominent have been ideology, hegemony, class, and power. Anthropologists now sought to uncover the ideological and social means by which some groups seek to attain or assert power as well as the resistance faced by such groups. (Nonetheless, the intellectual weight of the Enlightenment dominated all strands of political anthropology, right through to the present.)

Recognizing power operating at all levels is not necessarily an analytical panacea. Arguably we ought to be wary of overly conspiratorial notions of power as absolute, of institutions exercising total control, of persons as pawns or dupes. On the other hand, the other extreme might not be better, that being a view of persons as self-determining free actors, as all-knowing subjects that master their own destinies, in a situation that is shaped by mere coincidences and opportunities. The notion of cultures as living in a state of unceasing contestation, rife with conflict, unable to achieve stability and consensus, is also problematic.

Therefore given the various positions we will encounter on culture, power and anthropological understandings, you should be most alert and critical. In this course we will investigate various sources and expressions of power, as well as the ways in which anthropologists have sought to theorize and study power in ethnographic and theoretical terms. But in order to renew political anthropology, we will also study that which is not yet discussed by political anthropologists, or not discussed to a sufficient degree (see the next section).

For the purposes of this course, which is necessarily brief, the nation-state will be the largest unit of analysis, with discussion of the international system reserved for related courses taught by the same course coordinator.

2. Democracy, the State, and Movements

As seen in the foregoing paragraphs, the concept of “non-state societies” recurred continually in the early decades of political anthropology’s development. Increased attention and critique have been devoted to unveiling the extent to which early political anthropologists adopted models from their own societies, and the supreme political structure of the state, as a way of understanding all other societies. That is a Eurocentric
approach, and one that can, at times, place all societies on a single evolutionary line, each assumed to be at different stages of achieving “stateness”. The weight of the Enlightenment has left a deep imprint on all political anthropology, from the start to the present day. In trying to “make the strange familiar,” generations of political anthropologists simply adopted familiar assumptions, models, and concepts and applied them to all that was commonly deemed “strange” by the standards of their own society—hence, the ultimate point of reference, marked even in its absence, was the state, along with property and coercion. This mirrored what developed in wider discourses in modernization and development theories and policy circles in the West, where the persistence of traditional social forms was treated as a problem to be solved, and where new states were formed after colonial rule their “crises” were treated as if stemming from an inherent pathology.

Rather than focus exclusively on the “old classics” of political anthropology, and rather than limit ourselves only to what anthropologists have written (instead of what anthropology students need to know and consider), our work will focus on making what is familiar to us a little more “strange,” by posing questions that challenge routinely accepted “common sense” and by spotlighting the taken for granted ideas of political power. We do so by way of three “cornerstones” of contemporary political life in our society: the theories and practices of democracy; the power of the state; and, the character and work of movements in reinforcing, reforming, or dismantling the current system of political power.

One of the most common, taken for granted notions is that we live in a democracy, while many other people on this planet allegedly do not. Thanks to the dominant discourse of politics, propagated not just by members of the political class but by the mass media and even many academics, we are presented with a simple, stark dichotomy: there are democracies, and their opposite, “dictatorships” and “tyrannies”. This new orthodoxy is built on the bones of a much older one: a world divided between the “civilized” and the “barbarians” or “savages”. In contrast to the now conventional regimes of truth establishing the legitimacy and superiority of “our system,” raised as exceptional and unassailable, we will be considering other alternatives.

Seeing that the state has been such a dominant conceptual framework in political anthropology, it now seems appropriate to examine and question how the state works in our own society, rather than continue using it as a lens to understand all other social formations of the past. The state as a political model that is considered “normal” and indispensable, is an idea that can be found in use by politicians and policy-makers in the West today who class other societies as either “failed states” or “weak states” with “lawless” regions, as if such notions were unproblematic. In our time and in our societies (North America, Europe), the state has become even more prominent as a force of domination, surveillance, and militarization. Some activists, in turn, either seek to “smash the state” or to “rescue” it by transforming its role in society. As the central
institutional mode by which political power is organized in our society, either way we cannot escape the state. Having said that, we always risk essentializing “the state” as if it were, everywhere and always, the same phenomenon marked by specific traits.

Outside of the state and its entrenched political parties, we frequently hear of “civil society” and “new social movements,” as other sources of political action that sometimes advance their own theories of political power. One of the aims of this course, albeit far too brief, is to get a handle on what these phenomena entail, how we think about movements and what they mean, and where movements fit within our political system.

Case studies for this course will be drawn primarily from Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, Europe and North America.

3. About the Lectures and the Readings

This is a significantly revised version of a standard course in political anthropology that has been taught for several years by the current course coordinator. Rather than simply delete all material dealing with the early, dominant, or “classic” concerns of political anthropology, such material will tend to appear in lectures, when appropriate as background. The assigned readings are new, for this course, and are meant to reflect the key questions and problems outlined in the last section above. Discussions will focus on what we learn from the readings. The two exams for this course will be based on a mix of both the readings and the lecture material.

Once lectures are about to be given in class, a lecture outline will be posted on the course website—look for the date of a session to become a hyperlink, which will then open a PDF containing the lecture outline.
4. Course Requirements, Grading, and Policies

Graded Course Components

- 1st exam = 30%
- 2nd exam = 30%
- Final paper = 25%
- Participation = 15%

Total = 100%

Schedule of the Assignments

Please send all of your assignments, by the assigned time on the assigned date, to maximilian.forte@concordia.ca. Please note that the only the following formats can be accepted: doc, .docx, .rtf, or .odt. Acknowledgments of receipt will be sent by email three hours after the deadline has passed (and not before) – if you do not receive an acknowledgment, it means your assignment was not received, or not received on time, or not attached to your email, and that your grade automatically becomes zero.

February 14, 2018 → 1st exam is assigned by email.
February 28, 2018 → 1st exam is due by email.

March 21, 2018 → 2nd exam is assigned by email.
March 31, 2018 → 2nd exam is due by email.

April 4, 2018 → In-class exercise on which the final paper is to be based.
April 14, 2018 → Final paper is due by email.

Overview of the Assignments

The two exams in this course are take-home, essay exams. You must keep up to date with all of the classes and readings, or you will find that meeting the submission deadline for the exam to be much more difficult. Each exam will consist of addressing one question, for which you will have no more than 1,000 words for an answer.

The final paper is based on an in-class exercise, which you should attend in order to complete the final paper (the course reserve will be available to students who cannot attend). In the final paper your task is to make use of anything, or even everything, that you have learned in this course (do not use materials external to this course) in order to come up with your own analysis of what you witnessed during the in-class exercise.
The nature of the exercise will be announced at the start of the session for which the exercise is scheduled. There will be no discussion in class after the exercise is complete.

Your analysis will need to be coherent and well-structured, logical, and persuasive. Do not try to execute a “data dump” of all course contents—not that you will have enough space to do so since the maximum length for the final paper should not exceed a maximum of 1,000 words, not including the list of works cited. Do not use footnotes in this paper.

This is an advanced seminar, and it should go without saying that active and regular participation is a prerequisite for a higher level of educational achievement. Shyness is not an acceptable excuse—this seminar will demand that you challenge your habits of silence, if necessary. Regular attendance is a basis for being able to participate, but is not sufficient in and of itself. Come to each session, having done the assigned readings for the week, with your questions and comments. Asking for clarification, offering an opinion—these should come easily to you, and are a fundamental part of what constitutes participation in this seminar. In all cases, please be respectful toward others in this seminar, and avoid inter-personal aggression, mockery, and other forms of hostile or invidious behaviour that could seriously undermine your standing in this course, and perhaps in this university.

*Please note* that there is an exception to the above policy—non-attendance will matter in cases where a student is absent for most or all of the classes. In such cases, the student will receive a **failing grade** for the course. To be clear: while attendance will have no bearing on the final grade—non-attendance will. Attendance is understood to be the very basic minimum activity of taking a course. Also, see the section below titled, “How Not to Succeed in this Course”.

**How (Not) to Succeed in this Course**

- Students will receive a failing grade for this course if they choose to treat it as a “distance education” or “correspondence course,” in other words, by missing most or all classes. If you plan to be away for half or more of the classes in this course, please drop the course before the drop deadline passes.
- All assigned readings are mandatory, and represent a minimum amount of reading needed to succeed in this course. In each of your written assignments, you are required to apply what you have learned in class from lectures and assigned readings, and to show evidence of having covered these materials by using one’s judgment in selectively applying them where they are most appropriate.
- As with any course, the rule of thumb is that at a minimum one should be doing three hours of work for each hour spent in class, each week. One should thus budget for between seven and nine hours of study for this course, each week, beyond class
time.

- It is usually not advisable to avoid taking notes, assuming you will remember everything, or that all that is needed is what is on the lecture slides (which are *not* lecture notes, they are outlines). A lack of verbal participation in class, coupled with not taking notes, usually indicates that a student has effectively ceased to follow the course, and this inevitably makes an impression on the course director when it comes to grading work.

Extensions and Incompletes

**Extensions are not taken by students, under any circumstances.** An extension can only be granted by the course coordinator, in advance of the due date for an assignment, and only under either extreme or special circumstances. Extreme circumstances only include severe illness that occurred for most of the duration of the assignment period itself, pending the provision of documentation, or a death in the immediate family (parents or siblings). Special circumstances include students with documented learning disabilities—however, as the exams are not written in class, an allowance of only one extra day to submit the work will be granted.

Incomplete grades are not granted in this course, and no student should expect to receive an INC notation.

There is one major exception to these policies: *in the event of a major public health crisis, or events beyond the University’s control, alternative course requirements and grading policies will be developed and used.*

*Please do not call the Department’s main office for course-related inquiries.*

Guidelines and Resources Necessary for Assignments

**For the take-home papers:**

- Use assigned readings and lecture notes.
- Lecture notes do *not* need to be cited as such in your essay. Omit references to “class notes” and “lectures,” as well as discussions.
- When quoting material from assigned readings, simply end the sentence in which the material appears with a basic reference in parentheses, like this: (Smith, 92). That is the surname of the author, and the page number where the material appears. *Be careful to note that editors of collections with multiple authors, are not to be cited as if they were authors.*
- *Only* if you decide, on your own initiative, to quote items that were not assigned, should you provide a formal list of References at the end of your essay. Please keep
in mind that citing outside sources will not, in and of itself, warrant a boost in your grade. When preparing the list of References, follow the basic format shown below.

To cite sources, please use the following format:

➔ **APA CITATION STYLE GUIDE** or the style used in the course syllabus itself (in which case you can simply copy and paste the item into your bibliography).

➢ Have a look at our library’s **How to Guides** for any resources that might possibly assist you, and visit Concordia’s page on **Avoiding Plagiarism**.

**Academic Integrity and Avoiding Plagiarism**

First, students are required to read and follow Concordia University's policies on Academic Integrity. See: [https://www.concordia.ca/students/academic-integrity.html](https://www.concordia.ca/students/academic-integrity.html)

Second, read, follow, and if having any difficulty, ask questions about this university's policy on Plagiarism. See: [http://www.concordia.ca/students/academic-integrity/plagiarism.html](http://www.concordia.ca/students/academic-integrity/plagiarism.html)

**How work is graded**

For all work done in this course you will receive a numerical grade which will be converted to a letter grade when final grades are processed. To translate numbers into letter grades, please consult the following chart, copied directly from a faculty handbook in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. It is vital that you understand that the characterizations below (i.e., “excellent”) are central in guiding the instructor’s evaluation of the quality of a paper.

Work that covers all of the basics, in a reasonably competent fashion, without major flaws, is deemed “satisfactory.” Work that has few flaws, and shows an advanced understanding, writing and research ability is deemed “very good.” Work that leaves little room for improvement (within the context of expectations of a 400 level course), demonstrating that the student has taken considerable initiative, showing sophisticated understanding and ability, is deemed “excellent.”

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<td>C+</td>
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5. Other Policies and Resources for Students

Announcements, E-Mail Use

In the event of an unscheduled cancellation of a class, the appropriate notice is posted by the University on its website. See the “Class Cancellations” link on www.concordia.ca. In addition, digital billboards on campus will announce the cancellation. You will also be notified by email.

For the duration of this course, please check your email at least once each week, and look for any messages that begin with the course number.

Having said that, please ensure that you have the right email address entered in your MyConcordia student profile. That is the same email address to which course messages are sent.

Disclaimer

In the event of extraordinary circumstances beyond the University’s control, the content and/or evaluation scheme in this course is subject to change.

Improving Students’ Academic Experience

The University offers many services that can help students. To improve students’ ability to succeed in their courses, get the most out of the university experience, and ensure their success in completing their degree, it is strongly recommended that you make a note of the following list of services:

- **Advocacy and Support Services**: [http://supportservices.concordia.ca/](http://supportservices.concordia.ca/)
- **Student Transition Centre**: [http://www.concordia.ca/extended-learning/stc/](http://www.concordia.ca/extended-learning/stc/)
- **Access Centre for Students with Disabilities**: [http://supportservices.concordia.ca/disabilities/](http://supportservices.concordia.ca/disabilities/)
- **The Academic Integrity Website**: [http://www.concordia.ca/programs-and-courses/academic-integrity/](http://www.concordia.ca/programs-and-courses/academic-integrity/)
- **Health Services**: [http://www-health.concordia.ca/](http://www-health.concordia.ca/)
6. Required Texts

*Please read the following carefully:*

A variety of types of readings are used for this course, from journal articles and single chapters, to whole books. In the case of journal articles and single chapters, these are made available to you for free, online only—either via your Concordia library account, or from other sources.

Items such as journal articles and single chapters are listed under specific dates in the schedule of sessions (see the sidebar on the course website). What follows is the list of required book-length works alone.

**Assigned Books:**

   - Available in the Concordia Bookstore, and on Reserve in Webster Library
   - Also available for free (as podcasts only) — listen online: *see the course website.*

   - Available in the Concordia Bookstore, and on Reserve in Webster Library
   - Also available for free (as a PDF) at: *see the course website.*

   - Available for free at: *see the course website.*

   - Available *only* through the Concordia Bookstore, and on Reserve in Webster Library

*All other course readings, as explained above, are available either through your Concordia Library account and/or from other sources online. In all cases these items are available as downloadable PDFs.*
7. Schedule of Lectures & Readings

(Please consult the course website regularly in the event of any changes to the schedule: http://politicalanthro.wordpress.com/schedule/)

Primary Topic Areas:
I   Problems in/with Political Anthropology
II  Apathy
III  The Question of Democracy
IV  The State
V   Movements and Practice
VI  Secrecy

Session 1: Wednesday, January 10, 2018
Politics and Power; Problems in/with Political Anthropology

Required Reading:

Handout (online): The Three Major Theoretical Perspectives in Political Anthropology

Session 2: Wednesday, January 17, 2018
Conceptualizing Power

Required Reading:


Monday, January 22, 2018
- Last day to add winter-term courses.
- Deadline for withdrawal with tuition refund from winter-term courses.
Session 3: Wednesday, January 24, 2018
Political Apathy

Required Reading:

Session 4: Wednesday, January 31, 2018
Reclaiming Theories of Democracies: Multiple and Non-Liberal Alternatives

Required Reading:


Session 5: Wednesday, February 7, 2018
The Problem of Democracy: Libya, Cuba, the US

Required Reading:


  Chapter 1: Democracy and U.S.-Centrism, 2-13
  Chapter 2: Democracy in the U.S., 14-44
  Chapter 3: Exploring Democracies in Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador, 45-74

Recommended Reading:

Session 6: Wednesday, February 14, 2018
Cuba, Elections, Democracy, and Democratization

Required Reading:


Chapter 5: Democracy, Elections and the New State, 91-115
Chapter 7: Elections in Contemporary Cuba, 146-194
Chapter 8: The ANPP and the Municipality: Functioning Between Elections, 214-227
Chapter 9: The Future of Democratization: Facing the Tests, 228-232

Assignment: The first exam will be assigned on February 14, 2018 – check your email and/or the course website for the assignment sheet.

Monday, February 19, 2018: Mid-term break begins.
Sunday, February 25, 2018: Mid-term break ends.

Session 7: Wednesday, February 28, 2018
The State: Emergence

Required Reading:


Assignment: First exam due via email at maximilian.forte@concordia.ca, in .rtf., .docx., or .odt format only, by 6:00pm (18h00) on February 28, 2018.

Session 8: Wednesday, March 7, 2018
The State: Regimes of Domination

Required Reading:

Michel Foucault, Chapter 5: Governmentality, pp. 131-143, from: Sharma, Aradhana, and Gupta, Akhil (Eds.). The Anthropology of the State. Oxford, UK: Blackwell. [see the course website]


- Part 1. State Projects of Legibility and Simplification, pp. 9-10
- Chapter 1: Nature and Space, pp. 11-52.
- Chapter 10: Conclusion, pp. 342-358.

*Session 9: Wednesday, March 14, 2018*

**The State: Militarism, National Security, Imperialism**

*Required Reading:*

“Militarization,” by Catherine Lutz (Ch. 20 in the *Companion to the Anthropology of Politics*). [see the course website]

“War Making and State Making as Organized Crime,” by Charles Tilly. [see the course website]


*Monday, March 19, 2018*

- Last day for academic withdrawal from two-term and winter-term courses.
Session 10: Wednesday, March 21, 2018
The State: Globalization, Oligarchy, Violence

Required Reading:


Kapferer, Bruce. (2005). New formations of power, the oligarchic-corporate state, and anthropological ideological discourse. Anthropological Theory, 5(3), 285-299. [see the course website]

➤ The second exam will be assigned on March 21, 2018 – check your email and/or the course website for the assignment sheet.

Session 11: Wednesday, March 28, 2018
Movements, Leaders, and Followers

Required Reading:


Recommended Reading:


➤ Assignment: Second exam due via email at maximilian.forte@concordia.ca, in .rtf, .doc, .docx, or .odt format only, by 10:00am (10h00) on March 31, 2018.
Session 12: Wednesday, April 4, 2018
In-Class Exercise

The final paper is based on the exercise that takes place in class on this date.

➢ The final paper will be assigned on April 4, 2018—check your email and/or the course website for the assignment sheet. Also, see the syllabus for more details.

Session 13: Wednesday, April 11, 2018
WikiLeaks and Anthropology on Secrecy and Power

Required Reading:


Recommended Reading:


➢ Assignment: Final paper due via email at maximilian.forte@concordia.ca, in .rtf, .doc, .docx, or .odt format only, by 10:00am (10h00) on April 14, 2018.