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 than in state-societies. 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 aware of the fact 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. As a consequence, theory in Political Anthropology began to change.

Anthropology was also critiqued, both from within the discipline and from without, as itself being the product of empire. Anthropology was increasingly revealed as 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. 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—please 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 mostly reserved for related courses taught by the same course coordinator.

Towards a Political Anthropology of Contemporary Societies

While this course values and often relies upon the early works that founded Political Anthropology, the intention is to update its compass and bring it closer to home. 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 four cornerstones of contemporary political life in our society: power and its guises; how people act and think politically; theories and practices of democracy; and, the power of the state.

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. Where new states were formed after colonial rule, their “crises” were frequently treated as if stemming from an inherent pathology divorced from colonial history.

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.

While the focus of this course is on understanding and explaining politics in our own society—in Europe and North America—we will also encounter cases in the lectures and readings that take us to Australia, Africa, the Caribbean, the Pacific, and South America.

Lectures and Readings

Once lectures are about to be given in class, a lecture outline will be posted on the course website under each session date—look for “Lecture Outline” to become a hyperlink, which will then open a PDF containing the lecture outline.

There is a single book to be acquired for this course:

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

You should also try to read more widely than the assigned readings alone, and one of the assignments for this course encourages you to do just that. In that regard, please see the *Bibliography* and *Resources* pages of the website.

Learning Objectives

Students are responsible for acquiring all course content, by attending lectures, taking careful notes, doing the assigned readings for the weeks they are assigned, and by asking questions.

Having completed this course, students should be able to productively apply a battery of concepts, theories, and questions, toward better understanding and explaining some of the major political problems of our time. Students should then be able to productively apply the knowledge gained to a variety of fields and activities in the coming years, whether it is journalism, a career in politics or the civil service, or a pursuit in business and international relations.

Responsibilities of the Course Director

One of the worries that has come to plague the director of this course is the recurring confusion between ideology and analysis. The course director is not a political activist, and thus his job is not to teach students *doctrine*; this is not a recruitment drive. The course director’s role is not to ensure unanimity, nor to censor and encourage reality-denial. Lectures should be informative and thought-provoking. Time should be allowed for as many sides of a debate as possible, even if strict “balance” is impossible. The course director will be available to students not just in class, but during office hours, and by e-mail. Grading is to be done consistently, according to reasonable standards, and without prejudice to any given student.

Responsibilities of the Students

Apart from acquiring course content as outlined above (plus see “How Not to Succeed in this Course” in a following section), students should always try to keep an open mind, and cultivate their curiosity. Students are not to engage in disrespectful or
disruptive behaviour in class, or be abusive to others. Students should especially never dismiss anything out of hand. This entire course is also a test of students’ judgment, and it is therefore vital that they show good judgment in every aspect of their participation in this course, but not to the detriment of a full exploration of the issues and questions raised in this course.

Assignments

1. **Mid-Term Exam (covering session A.1 through B.4):** worth 40% of the course grade. Assigned on October 14. Due on October 25.

2. **Short Essay (covering section C):** worth 25% of the course grade. Assigned on October 30. Due on November 9.

3. **Concept paper (for possible inclusion in the course encyclopaedia):** worth 25% of the course grade. Assigned as of Wednesday, September 4. Due on Wednesday, November 27.

4. **Participation in class:** worth 10% of the final course grade.

All assignments are to be submitted electronically to maximilian.forte@concordia.ca, as attached documents in an email message. Allowable file formats are restricted to .docx, .doc, or .rtf—no other file formats can be accepted. The preferred file format is .doc. All assignments should be sent by 10:00pm (22:00). Acknowledgments of receipt will be sent by 10:00am on the following morning. If you do not receive an acknowledgment, it means your paper was not received. Check your email for the acknowledgment. Normally, no early acknowledgments of receipt will be sent for papers that are submitted early. You will be notified in advance of the maximum word limit for each assignment.

**Take-Home Essays**

The **mid-term exam** and the **short essay** are take-home exercises. You must keep up to date with all of the classes and readings, or you will find that meeting the submission deadline will be a difficult challenge. Assignments sheets will be circulated, via email, in advance, and these will indicate the word limit and formatting requirements.

**Guidelines:**

- 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 same format as you see under Sessions in this syllabus.

THE CONCEPT PAPER

The concept paper is based on your selecting one from the list provided on the course website. Your aim is to produce a kind of genealogy of the concept: try to find when it first emerged in anthropology, what meanings it has had, what debates and discussions have surrounded the concept, how the concept is used, how prominent it has been, whether it is still an influential concept, and the key authors and works that best represent the use of the given concept. This is not work that can be done in a few days before the assignment is due. Think of it as an archaeological investigation, which will take you through journal articles and books in the library collection. The final product should read like an encyclopedia entry. Your work on this should be slow and steady throughout the semester. Please be mindful of Concordia’s policies on plagiarism. Depending on the quality of papers submitted, some of the work may be selected for inclusion on the course website’s encyclopaedia section (but only with the knowledge and written permission of the students whose work has been selected).

Here are some important points that you should remember when preparing your concept paper:

a) You should consult and use other encyclopedias and reference works in developing your encyclopedia entry.

b) You should read original sources, when possible, and not quote material that is quoted in works by others.

c) There is no “argument” to be presented—your task is simply to outline the emergence, development and applications of a concept.

d) There is no need for an introduction—simply start with when the concept first emerged—and no need for a conclusion.

e) Your prospective encyclopedia entry should not arbitrarily abridge, truncate or interrupt the chronology of the use of the concept.

f) Do not refer to yourself in this entry (for example, “I think...,” “I believe”).

g) There should be a basic analysis and discussion of changes in the use of the concept (if any), differences in the way the concept is used by various authors, and any of the acknowledged limitations of the concept as discussed in the works of others. There is little or no room for personal opinion here, as it is not relevant to the task.
h) For references, try using APA format, as it is one of the clearer and easier to follow options.

i) Finally, you must exclusively focus on how the concept is used by anthropologists, and when the concept first emerged in anthropology.

The maximum length for the concept paper, excluding references, should not exceed a maximum of 2,000 words—the paper can of course be shorter.

Researching Concepts:
- See the list of concepts (on the course website) and make a choice. If you prefer, you may suggest a concept to research that is not included in the list, but please consult first with the course coordinator—and make sure in advance that it is a concept that has been used by anthropologists.
- You may use assigned reading material, as part of your research, if it is useful and appropriate.
- Start by searching for your assigned/chosen concept in basic reference works in anthropology, such as:
  - Online: International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences
  - Online: Encyclopaedia Britannica online
  - Online: Wikipedia (be careful to verify sources, use mostly for leads to other resources)
  - Online: Online Etymology Dictionary

- Search anthropology journals for where your chosen concept appears the most (examine top results), by using journal databases to which our library subscribes, such as JSTOR, EBSCO (Academic Search Complete), and Wiley-Blackwell.
- Search the course bibliography for volumes that may deal with your concept. Most of the items listed can be found in the Concordia library.

To cite sources, please use the following format:
- APA CITATION STYLE GUIDE

- Finally, 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.
Course Policies

No Late Work is Acceptable

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 extreme circumstances.

Otherwise, no late work is accepted in this course. No technical reasons are acceptable for late work, therefore identify alternatives that might be needed to complete and submit an assignment.

Incomplete grades (INC) are not granted in this course, under any circumstances.

Attendance
Every semester there is a minority of students who believe that a course can be taken as if it were a correspondence course, or an online course. Instead, regular attendance at lectures is critical to passing this course, and to avoid unnecessary failures the following policy will be strictly enforced:

In cases where a student is noticed as being absent for most or all of the classes, the student will receive a failing grade for the course. Also, see the section below titled, “How Not to Succeed in this Course”.

Citing Sources
For the mid-term exam and short essay, when you refer to any ideas, information or quotes that you acquired from the assigned readings, simply end the sentence in which the material appears with a reference in brackets, as follows: (Smith, 92)—where Smith is the surname of the author, and 92 is the page number on which the material appears. Do not formally cite lecture notes. No bibliography is needed, unless you use sources in addition to those assigned—in that case a bibliography should appear at the end of your essay. Do not use footnotes or endnotes.

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

On plagiarism, you must read: http://www.concordia.ca/students/academic-integrity/plagiarism.html
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.

- All assigned readings are mandatory, and represent a minimum amount of reading needed to succeed in this course. In some of your written assignments, you are required to apply what is 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). You should also be asking questions in class any time that material presented or assigned as reading is not clear to you.
**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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<th>Grade</th>
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<td>“Excellent”</td>
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<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>85-89</td>
<td>“Excellent”</td>
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<td>A-</td>
<td>80-84</td>
<td>“Very Good”</td>
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<td>B+</td>
<td>77-79</td>
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<td>B-</td>
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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.*

**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.
Please check your email as late as two hours before the start of class to ensure that the class has not been cancelled for that day.

Otherwise, 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.
Schedule of Lectures & Readings

Outline:

A. Introduction
A.1 — A Short History of Political Anthropology
A.2 — Defining Politics and Power
A.3 — Political Formations

B. On Being Political and Becoming Politicized
B.1 — Apathy: Not Being Political?
B.2 — Movements, Leaders, and Followers
B.3 — Agency, Structure and Practice
B.4 — Ideology, Mystification, and Fetishism

C. Democracies
C.1. — Diverse Histories: Democratizing the Study of Democracy
C.2. — Democratic Elitism and Revolutionary Alternatives

D. The State
D.1. — State Formation and War
D.2. — State Domination and Governmentality
D.3. — Imperialism and the Corporate-Oligarchic State
D.4. — Secrecy: The Relationships between Information and Power

A. INTRODUCTION

Session 1: Wednesday, September 4, 2019
A.1 — A Short History of Political Anthropology

Recommended Optional Reading:

Handout (online): The Three Major Theoretical Perspectives in Political Anthropology
Session 2: Wednesday, September 11, 2019
A.2—Defining Politics and Power

Required Reading:


Monday, September 16, 2019:
• Last day to add fall-term and two-term courses.
  • Deadline for withdrawal with tuition refund (DNE) from fall-term and two-term courses.

Session 3: Wednesday, September 18, 2019
A.3—Political Formations

Required Reading:

B. ON BEING POLITICAL AND BECOMING POLITICIZED

Session 4: Wednesday, September 25, 2019
B.1—Apathy: Not Being Political?

Required Reading:
Session 5: Wednesday, October 2, 2019

B.2—Movements, Leaders, and Followers

Required Reading:


Session 6: Wednesday, October 9, 2019

B.3—Agency, Structure and Practice

Required Reading:


Monday, October 14: Thanksgiving Day — University closed
Session 7: Wednesday, October 16, 2019

B.4—Ideology, Mystification, and Fetishism

Required Reading:


Optional:


C. DEMOCRACIES

Session 8: Wednesday, October 23, 2019

C.1.—Diverse Histories: Democratizing the Study of Democracy

Required Reading:


Session 9: Wednesday, October 30, 2019

C.2. — Democratic Elitism and Revolutionary Alternatives

Required Reading:


Monday, November 4, 2019:
  • Last day for academic withdrawal (DISC) from fall-term courses.

D. The State

Session 10: Wednesday, November 6, 2019

D.1. — State Formation and War

Required Reading:


Session 11: Wednesday, November 13, 2019
D.2. — State Domination and Governmentality

Required Reading:


   - 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 12: Wednesday, November 20, 2019
D.3. — Imperialism and the Corporate-Oligarchic State

Required Reading:


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

Session 13: Wednesday, November 27, 2019
D.4. — Secrecy: The Relationships between Information and Power

Recommended Optional Reading:
