

ANTHROPOLOGY

POLITICS. POWER AND LEGITIMACY

2nd year : Spring Term 2009

Course Lecturer

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Seminar Tutors

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OBJECTIVES

This course draws on political anthropology and social theory to explore what is for many anthropologists the central concept in the discipline: forms of power. In Western societies the term 'politics' tends to connote a quite narrow range of activities and institutions, typically those focused around parties, government and the state. We shall be using the term 'political' in a much wider sense, and linking it to the operations of power. Power is not a thing, but an aspect of a vast range of relationships from the most local to the global. There can be no neat boundaries around this field of study. Instead our intention is to explore the way the analysis of power has widened and deepened over the last fifty years, and to suggest continuity with economic and cultural processes that you are studying in other courses.

ORGANISATION

Politics, Power and Legitimacy is a 24 credit course taught in the Spring Term and examined by two 2,000 word coursework essays. Each week there will be a lecture given by Peter Luetchford. These will last roughly an hour, but the lecture room has been booked for two hours to allow space for discussion and to show films that relate to the topics under discussion. Each week there will also be a seminar of two hours, for 15-16 students, chaired by a graduate teaching assistant. There is a teaching pack with core readings that raise analytical issues and provide examples of uses made by anthropologists of the key concepts. 'Core' means a minimum you will need to read in any one week to keep up with the course and take part in seminar discussions. The first part of the course will give an overview of political anthropology and different approaches to, and uses of analyses of power. The second part examines various kinds of political movement.

Lectures: Mondays, Arts A001, starting at 4pm

NB The first lecture is on Monday January 11th.

LEARNING OUTCOMES

By the end of the course, a successful student should be able to:

1. Demonstrate an understanding of anthropological approaches to issues of power and legitimacy.

2. Show knowledge of theoretical issues concerning ideology and hegemony.
3. Be able to relate these theoretical concerns to an understanding of political processes in Asia, Europe, Africa and Latin America.

Background Texts for the course

Gledhill, J Power and its Disguises 2000 (second ed.)
Nash, J (ed) Social Movements: an anthropological reader 2005
Vincent, J (ed) The Anthropology of Politics 2002

Assessment and written work

100% Coursework = two 2000-word assessed essays, each weighted at 50%, to be **submitted to the Global Studies School Office (C168)** in weeks 5 and 10.

Week 5: Thursday 11th February 2010 by 4pm.

‘What do you think have been the most important theoretical insights in the analyses of power?’

Week 10: Thursday 18th March 2010 by 4pm

‘Provide an ethnographically based analysis of any one political movement’.

You must hand in two copies of all coursework

Please note the importance of deadlines: there are penalties for work submitted up to 24 hours late.

Please make sure that you have read and understood the rules on collusion and plagiarism in the Examination Handbook for candidates.

Part I: Conceptualising Power and Legitimacy

Week 1

An overview of politics and power

This week’s lecture gives you an overview of key stages in political anthropology

- 1) The emergence of political anthropology in the 1940s as a sub-field in British structural functionalism
- 2) Politics as competition and the emergence of actor-oriented approaches in the 1960s
- 3) Marxist approaches to political economy and ideology in the 1970s
- 4) The impact of feminism
- 5) The legacy of Weber: culture and power
- 6) Foucault and the analysis of discourses
- 7) New social movements

Out of this will emerge changing theorizations of power, and the widening and deepening of political anthropology from a sub-field into a central concern in the discipline. Seminars will be based around discussions and activities to explore different conceptualisations and nuances of power.

Core Readings

Eric Wolf 'Facing power' in American Anthropologist vol 92 (1990)
Stephen Lukes Power: a radical view (1974: pp 9-25)

Further Readings

Evans-Pritchard, E.E. The Nuer (1940: pp 34-38)
Asad, T. 'Market model, class structure and consent: a reconsideration of Swat political organisation' Man vol 7, no1, (1972)
Moore, H. Feminism and Anthropology (1988: Chapter 1)
Vincent, J. (ed) The Anthropology of Politics (2002: Introduction)
Gledhill, J. Power and its Disguises (2000: Chapter 1)
Cheater, A. The Anthropology of Power (1999)
Wolf, E. Envisioning Power (1999)

Week 2

Authority and Bureaucracy: Max Weber

Weber provides an historical framework that emphasises the cultural unification of the world. A major factor in this is a series of revolutions in religious thought (such as monotheism), leading to a universalizing concept of rationality, and the emergence of 'modernity' and industrial society. Weber distinguishes between force (*macht*) and authority (*herrschaft*). In this week we shall explore different kinds of authority and how these are made manifest in everyday life. Weber's approach to power is generally relativistic, in that it is understood in relation to the patterns of thought (or 'legitimate action') of different kinds of society.

Core readings

Max Weber 'The Types of Authority', Section III in The Theory of Social and Economic Organization (1947: extracts)
Ammerman, N 'The Shepherd and His Flock: Authority, Structure, and Ritual' in Bible Believers (1987)
Ritzer, G. 'The Past, Present, and Future of McDonaldization: from the iron cage to the fast-food factory and beyond' in The McDonaldization of Society (2008: pp23-46)

Further Readings

Bloch, M 'Symbols Song and Dance and Features of Articulation: Is religion an extreme form of traditional authority?' in Ritual, History and Power, (1989)
Bloch, M. Political Language and Oratory in Traditional Societies (1975: Chapter 1)

- Cavalli, L. 'Charisma and 20th Century Politics' in Whimster, S. and S. Lash (eds) Max Weber, Rationality and Modernity (1987)
- Ferguson, J. 'The Anti-Politics Machine' chapter 9 in The Anti-Politics Machine: 'development', depoliticisation, and bureaucratic power in Lesotho (1994)
- Forbes, K. Bureaucratic Strategies of Exclusion: Land Use Ideology and Images of Mexican Farmworkers in Housing Policy', Human Organization, 66(2): pp. 196-210 (2007)
- Fozi, N. 'The Hallowed Summoning of Tradition: Body Techniques in Construction of the Sacred Tanbur of Western Iran' Anthropological Quarterly 80(1), 173-205 (2007).
- Geertz, C. 'Religion as a Cultural System' chapter 4 in The Interpretation of Cultures (1973)
- Giddens, A Capitalism and Modern Social Theory Part 3 (1971).
- Harding, S 'Speaking is Believing' in The Book of Jerry Falwell: fundamentalist language and politics (2000)
- Heyman, J. 'Putting Power in the Anthropology of Bureaucracy: the immigration and naturalization services at the Mexico-United States border', Current Anthropology, 36 (2): 261-287 (1995)
- Heyman, J. 'The Anthropology of Power-wielding Organizations', Human Organization, 63(4):487-500 (2004)
- Shipley, J. 'Comedians, Pastors and the Miraculous Agency of Charisma in Ghana' Cultural Anthropology 24 (3): 523-552 (2009)
- Vokes, K. Charisma, creativity, and cosmopolitanism: a perspective on the power of the new radio broadcasting in Uganda and Rwanda, JRAI 13(4): 805-824 (2007)
- Weber, Max 'Bureaucracy' in A. Sharma and A. Gupta (eds) The Anthropology of the State (2006)

Week 3

Hegemony and Resistance: Karl Marx

This week builds upon the legacy of Marx in thinking about power. We begin with ideology, and particularly the influence of Antonio Gramsci. Gramsci has been called a 'humanist Marxist'; he stresses human agency and cultural processes, and qualifies many of the more deterministic arguments within Marxist materialism. The reason for starting with Gramsci is that his work on ideology and hegemony opens up a whole series of questions about how power is exercised through coercion and consent (and combinations of the two). Within political anthropology these issues have emerged particularly in the study of resistance - broadly speaking the way in which people who are unwilling or unable to engage in direct confrontation, nevertheless contest oppressive social regimes. An important study of this kind was James Scott's analysis of Malaysian peasants, which engages with Gramsci's ideas throughout. Resistance studies boomed in the 1980s and 1990s, and included analysis of anti-colonial struggles, slavery and gender. They also ran into serious conceptual problems, as we shall see from Ortner's review.

Core Readings

- Scott, J Weapons of the Weak (1985: Chapter 8, extracts)
Ortner, S. "Resistance and the problem of ethnographic refusal" in Comparative Studies in Society and History (1995)
De Neve, G. 'Asking for and giving baki: neo-bondage, or the interaction of bondage and resistance in the Tamilnadu power-loom industry'. Contributions to Indian Sociology 33, 1&2, 379-406, (1999).

Further Readings

Hegemony

- Adorno & Horkheimer 'The Culture Industry: enlightenment as mass deception' in Dialectic of Enlightenment (1972)
Asad, T. 'Anthropology and the analysis of ideology', Man 14 (1979: 607-627)
Abercrombie, Hill and Turner The Dominant Ideology Thesis (1980: chapters 1, 2 and 6)
Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, On Ideology (1978: see Hall's Introduction and essay on Gramsci)
Bloch, M Marxism and Anthropology (1983)
Crehan, K. Gramsci, Culture and Anthropology (2002: Chapter 5)
Forgacs, D. A Gramsci Reader (1988)
Gramsci, A. Hegemony, Intellectuals and the State (excerpt from Prison Notebooks), also in John Storey (ed) Cultural Theory and Popular Culture (1998: pp 210-216)
Marx and Engels Manifesto of the Communist Party
Nash, J. We Eat the Mines and the Mines Eat Us (1993: 2nd ed)
Roseberry, W 'Marx and Anthropology' Annual Review of Anthropology 26, (1997, pp 25-46).
E.P. Thompson Customs in Common (1991)
Walsh, D. (1993) "The Role of Ideology in Cultural Reproduction" pp 228-249 in Jenks, C. (ed) Cultural Reproduction (1993)
Williams, G. 'Power and Domination' chapter 5 in Williams, G. Struggles for an Alternative Globalization: an ethnography of counterpower in southern France (2008)
Williams, R. 'Hegemony.' In Keywords (1976)
Wolf, E Envisioning Power (1999)
Yanagisako, S. 'Producing Culture and Capital' in Producing Culture and Capital: family firms in Italy (2002)
Yelvington, K. Producing Power: Ethnicity, Gender and Class in a Caribbean Workplace (1995: Chapter 6)

Resistance

- Abu-Lughod, L. 'The Romance of Resistance: tracing transformations of power through Bedouin women' American Ethnologist 17(1). 1990.
Comaroff, J. Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance (1985)
Begona, A. 'Dirty protest: Symbolic Overdetermination and Gender in

- Keesing, R. Northern Ireland Ethnic Conflict' in Ethos, 22(2) (1995)
- Ong, A. Custom and Confrontation 1992 (Chapters 22-4)
- Storey, J. Spirits of Resistance and Capitalist Discipline: factory women in Malaysia (1987)
- Storey, J. 'Rockin' Hegemony: West Coast Rock and America's War in Vietnam' in John Storey (ed) Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: a reader (1994)
- Pelzer White, C. 'Everyday Resistance, Socialist Revolution and Rural Development: the Vietnamese Case' in J Scott and B Tria Kerkvliet (eds) Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance in South-East Asia (1986)
- Scott, J. Domination and the Arts of Resistance: hidden transcripts (1990)
- Smith, G. Confronting the Present. 1999 (chapter 3: Domination and Resistance re-examined)
- Taussig, M. The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America (1980)
- Williams, G. 'Cultivating Autonomy: power, resistance, and the French Alterglobalization movement' Critique of Anthropology 28: 63-86, 2008.
- Wolf, E. Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century 1969

Week 4

Discourse, Surveillance, Governance: Michel Foucault

Foucault, a controversial French historian and philosopher who died in 1984, started his research with work on French society in the 17th and 18th centuries, and with questions of a familiar Marxist or Weberian kind. As people were increasingly valued for their productive labour, what did society do with those who were unproductive? How did new forms of social control emerge in the modern state? But he rapidly broke with established ways of thinking about these issues. He rejected a Marxist conception of ideology and instead analysed *discourses*, one of the key terms in recent social science. Discourses are bodies of knowledge, ways of knowing, characteristic of particular social domains (such as criminality, health, gender, religion, race), and although the emphasis has often been on textual knowledge, they also include practices generated by this knowledge (in the prison system or the medical system). He also broke with familiar conceptualisations of power as a something group A exerts over group B. Instead power is portrayed as a force flowing within society which captures and shapes all those within its field. He is seen as having opened up new areas to critical analysis, especially those characteristic of the 'modern' state. He has emphasised 'micro-politics', the capillary nature of power, and the regimes by which we 'discipline' ourselves. At the same time there are strong reservations about his reification of power, and what many see as his pessimism about the possibility of human agency and resistance.

Core Readings

- S. Hall (ed) Representation: Cultural Representation and Signifying Practice (pp 42-54 on Foucault) (1997)

- Foucault, M. Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison (Part 3, Chapter3: Panopticism)
- Foucault, M. The Will to Knowledge: history of sexuality.1 (Part 2, Chapter 1. 'The Incitement to Discourse')

Further Readings

- Devine, J 'Can Metal Detectors Replace the Panopticon?' Cultural Anthropology Vol. 10, No. 2 (1995)
- Diamond, I and L. Quinby (eds) Feminism and Foucault. Reflections on Resistance (1988)
- Foucault, M. 'Two Lectures' in Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977 (1980)
- Foucault, M. 'Method' in The Will to Knowledge: history of sexuality volume 1 especially 'Method' pp 92-95 (1978).
- Hardt & Negri Empire (2000) especially pp. 23-41 'Biopolitical Production'.
- Kaplan, M. 'Panopticon in Poona: An Essay on Foucault and Colonialism'. Cultural Anthropology 10(1):85-98 (1995)
- Merquior, J. Foucault 1985
- Miller, J The Passion of Michel Foucault (1990)
- Mitchell, T. 'Everyday metaphors of power' in Theory and society, 19, (1990).
- Rabinow, P. The Foucault Reader
- Sangren, P. 'Power against Ideology: A critique of Foucaultian usage', in Cultural Anthropology, vol 10, no. 1 1995
- West, H. & T. Sanders (eds) Transparency and Conspiracy: ethnographies of suspicion in the new world order (2003)
- Wilson, R. 'Surviving State Terror' chapter 7 in Maya Resurgence in Guatemala (1995)

Week 5: Essay

'What do you think have been the most important theoretical insights in the analyses of power?'

Part II: Political Movements

Week 6

Nations and States

The nation-state is a political form which contrasts in a number of ways with earlier polities: in the importance given to political boundaries, in the emergence of a universalizing concept of citizenship, and in the bases for political legitimacy. It is the dominant political form of the modern world, but its origins are disputed. Gellner claims that the nation-state is a product of industrialism and emerges first in Europe, Anderson points to the anti-colonial struggles of Latin America. Nationalism is a shorthand term for a complex set of political processes, including those which either 'naturalize' or contest what

constitutes a nation's culture (who is English?). The readings focus on the 'everyday' or 'banal power' of nationalism in everyday life, and the problematic relation between cultural groups and political units (nations and states).

Core Readings

- Billig, M. 'Remembering Banal Nationalism' in Banal Nationalism (1995)
- Gupta, A. 'Blurred Boundaries: the discourse of corruption, the culture of politics, and the imagined state' American Ethnologist 22(2) pp. 375-402 (1995)

Further Readings

- Anderson, B. Imagined Communities (1983)
- Balakrishnan, G. & B Anderson (eds) Mapping the Nation. (1996)
- Das, V. and Poole, D. Anthropology in the Margins of the State (2004)
- Eriksen, T.H. Ethnicity and Nationalism: anthropological perspectives (1993) chapter 6.
- Gellner E. Nations and Nationalism (1983)
- Hall, J. The State of the Nation (1998)
- Hobsbawm, E. & R. Ranger (eds) The Invention of Tradition (1983)
- Malkki, L 'National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of National Identity among Scholars and Refugees' Cultural Anthropology 7(1):24-44 (1992).
- Rai, S. & Lievesley, G. Women and the State (1996)
- Sharma, A & A. Gupta (eds) The Anthropology of the State: A Reader (2006)
- Yuval-Davis, N & F. Anthias (eds) Women-Nation-State (1989)

Nationalist Movements

- Bowman, G. 'Xenophobia, fantasy and the nation: the logic of ethnic violence in former Yugoslavia', in V. Goddard, JR Llobera and C Shore (eds) The Anthropology of Europe (1994)
- Comaroff, J. Ethnicity, nationalism and the politics of difference in an age of revolution', in E. Wilmsen and P, McAllister (eds) The Politics of Difference (1996)
- Fuller, C, and V. Benei (eds) The everyday state and society in modern India (2001)
- Hansen, T. B. The Saffron Wave: Democracy and Hindu Nationalism in Modern India. (1999).
- Munasinghe, V. "Nationalism in Hybrid Spaces: The Production of Impurity out of Purity." American Ethnologist 29(3): 663-92. (2002).
- Pratt, J. Class, Nation and Identity (2003)
- Scott, D. 'The demonology of nationalism: on the anthropology of ethnicity and violence in Sri Lanka' Economy and Society, 19 (4) 1990, 491-510
- Van de Port, M. 'It takes a Serb to know a Serb', in Critique of Anthropology 19(1) 1999: 7-30

'Long-distance' Nationalism

- Anderson, B. 'Long-Distance Nationalism: world capitalism and the rise of identity politics' Wertheim Lecture, Holland, (1992) (http://www.iias.nl/asia/wertheim/lectures/WL_Anderson.pdf)
- Bernal, V. 'Eritrea Goes Global: Reflections on Nationalism in a Transnational Era' by in *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Feb., 2004), pp. 3-25.
- Schiller, G. & G. Fouron 'Long-distance nationalism defined' in Georges Woke up Laughing: long distance nationalism and the search for home (2001). Also in Joan Vincent (ed.) The Anthropology of Politics
- Verdery, K. 'Transnationalism, Nationalism, Citizenship, and Property: Eastern Europe since 1989' American Ethnologist, Vol. 25, No. 2 (May, 1998), pp. 291-306
- Doane, M. 'The Resilience of Nationalism in a Global Era: megaprojects in Mexico's South' in June Nash (ed) Social Movements: an anthropological reader (2005)

Week 7

The Politics of Culture

This week we will explore how culture itself has become a resource and consider how it is politicised in struggles to define and represent groups and to achieve political objectives. As communities and individuals have become aware of the value of culture as a commodity with the advent of cultural/ethnic tourism so people themselves appear to be self consciously constructing, using and representing their own 'culture' to generate political leverage. In discussing this issue we shall interrogate the notion of culture itself and link it to both rights based advocacy and power struggles. In most cases what is being presented is a version of culture that appears coherent, unchanging and homogeneous.

Key Readings:

- Conklin, B.. 'Body paint, feathers, and vcrs: aesthetics and authenticity in Amazonian activism' American Ethnologist 24, no. 4: 711-737 (1997)
- Errington, F. & Gewertz, G. 'The individuation of tradition in Papua New Guinean Modernity' American Anthropologist Vol 98 (1) (1996)

Further Readings:

- Adams, K, 'Ethnic Tourism and the renegotiation of Tradition in Tana Toraja (Sulawesi, Indonesia)' In Ethnology, Vol 36(4) (1996)
- Baumann, G. Contesting Culture (1996)
- Bovin, M. 'Nomadic Performance: Peculiar Culture? "Exotic" Ethnic Performances of Wodaabe Nomads of Niger', in F Hughes-Freeland and M. Crain (eds.) Recasting Ritual: Performance, Media, Identity (1998)
- Briggs, C. 'The politics of discursive authority in research on the invention of Tradition' Cultural Anthropology 11, 4. (1996)
- Bruner, E.M & Krishenblatt-Gimblett, B 'Maasai On The Lawn: Tourism Realism in East Africa'. In Cultural Anthropology 9 (4) (1995)

- Clifford, J 'Identity in Mashpee' in The Predicament of Culture. (1988)
- Cowan, J. M-B Dembour and R. Wilson (eds) Culture and Rights (introduction)
- Greenwood, D. 'Culture by the Pound: an Anthropological Perspective on Tourism as Cultural Commoditization'. In Smith, V (ed) Hosts and Guests: the Anthropology of Tourism (1989)
- Handler, R Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec (Especially chapters 1, 3, 6). (1988)
- Erikson, P. 'A-Whaling We Will Go: Encounters of Knowledge and Memory at the Makah Cultural and Research Center.' Cultural Anthropology 14(4): 556-583 (1999).
- Stanley, N. Being Ourselves for You: the Global Display of Culture (1998)
- Stolcke, V 'Talking Cultures: New Boundaries, New Rhetorics of Exclusion in Europe' In Current Anthropology. 36(1) 1-23 (1995).
- Sylvain, R "'Land, water, and truth": San identity and global indigenism' American Anthropologist 104(4): 1074-1085 (2002)
- Tilley, C 'Performing Culture in the Global Village' In Critique of Anthropology 17(1) 67-89, (1997)
- Taylor, C. 'The Politics of Recognition' In Gutmann, A (ed) Multiculturalism (1994)
- Turner, T. 'Representing, Resisting, Rethinking: historical transformations of Kayapo cultures and anthropological consciousness' In Stocking, G (ed) Colonial Situations. (1991)
- Wallerstein, I 'Culture as the Ideological Battleground of the Modern World System'. In Featherstone, M. Global Culture. (1990)
- Wilson, R 'The Politics of Culture in Post-Apartheid South Africa'. Ch10 in Fox and King (eds) Anthropology Beyond Culture (2002)
- Wright, S. 'The politicization of culture' In Anthropology Today 14 (1) (1998)

Week 8

New Social Movements

New Social Movements is a general term for a heterogeneous group of protest movements, developing new political strategies and resisting co-option by mainstream political parties and the state. They also involve the construction and articulation of 'new' social identities, based around cultures and common interests. Their rise is often attributed to the practical and theoretical failings of class action and class narratives, and by some to the end of any Enlightenment-derived vision of progress, whether Marxist or Liberal. The main sources are either for Latin America (especially Escobar), or Europe. We look at a range of examples of NSMs, for example, those based around gender and those more attuned to class issues – broadly defined – in urban and rural contexts.

Core Reading

Edelman, M. 'Social Movements: changing paradigms and forms of Politics' in Annual review of Anthropology, 2001, pp 285-317

Background Readings

- Boggs, C. Social Movements and Political Power (1986)
- Brass, T. 'Moral Economists, Subalterns, New Social Movements' in Journal Of Peasant Studies vol. 18, no. 2. (1991)
- Edelman, M. 'When Networks Don't Work: the rise and fall and rise of civil society initiatives in Central America'
- Escobar, A. 'Culture, Practice and Politics. Anthropology and the study of social movements' in Critique of Anthropology 12 (4). (1992)
- Escobar, A. & Alvarez, S. The Making of Social Movements in Latin America (chapters 1, 2, 5, 18) (1992)
- Foweraker, J. Theorizing Social Movements(1995)
- Gledhill, J. Power and Its Disguises (chapter 8) (2000)
- Grey, S. & M. Sawyer Women's Movements (2008)
- Hale, C. Cultural Politics of Identity in Latin America, in Annual Review of Anthropology pp 567-590 (1997)
- Hobson, B. Recognition Struggles and Social Movements (2003)
- Melucci, A. Nomads of the Present (1989)
- Scott, A. Ideology and Social Movements (1991)
- Slater, D. New Social Movements and the State in Latin America (1985)
- Tarrow, S. Power in Movement (1994)
- Touraine, A. The Voice and the Eye (1981)
- Critique of Modernity (especially Part III, chapter 2) (1995)

Women's Movements

- Banaszak, L.A., Beckwith, K. & Rucht, D. Women's movements: facing the reconfigured state (2003)
- Conger Lind, A. 'Power, Gender and Development: popular women's organizations and the politics of needs in Ecuador' in A. Escobar and S.E Alvarez (eds) The Making of Social Movements in Latin America (1992)
- Hobson, B. Recognition Struggles and Social Movements (Chapters 4,7, 8) (2003)
- Kapusta-Pofahl, K. 'Cinderella Goes to Market: Citizenship, Gender and Women s Movements in East Central Europe' Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Europe (2)1: 32-33 (2002)
- Lesser, J. 'Engendering Democracy in Brazil: Women's Movements in Transition Politics' The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology, Volume 4, Issue 1: 23-23 (1992)
- Nash, S. Social Movements: an anthropological reader (Chapters 15,16,17) (2005)
- Stephen, L. Women and Social Movements in Latin America (1997)

Rural Movements

- Edelman, M. 'When They Took the "Muni": political culture and anti-austerity protest in rural northwest Costa Rica' American Ethnologist, Vol. 17, No. 4 (Nov., 1990), pp. 736-757
- Edelman, M. Peasants Against Globalization (especially pp 15-20 and conclusion) (1999)

- Farmer, P. 'On Suffering and Structural Violence: a view from below' in J. Vincent (ed) The Anthropology of Politics (2002)
- Starn, O. 'I dreamed of foxes and hawks': Reflections on peasant protest, new social movements, and the rondas campesinas of Northern Peru', in A. Escobar and S.E Alvarez (eds) The Making of Social Movements in Latin America (1992)
- Peet & Watts (eds) Liberation Ecologies: environment, development, social movements (1996)
- Abelmann, N. 'Reorganising and Recapturing Dissent in 1990s South Korea: the case of farmers' in R. Fox and O. Starn (eds) Between Resistance and Revolution (1997)

Urban Movements

- Bennett, V. 'The Evolution of Urban Popular Movements in Mexico Between 1968 and 1998' in A. Escobar and S.E Alvarez (eds) The Making of Social Movements in Latin America (1992)
- Burdick, J. 'Rethinking the Study of Social Movements: the case of Christian base communities in urban Brazil' in A. Escobar and S.E Alvarez (eds) The Making of Social Movements in Latin America (1992)
- Díaz Barriga, M. 'Necesidad": Notes on the Discourses of Urban Politics in the Ajusco Foothills of Mexico City' American Ethnologist Volume 23, Issue 2: 291-310 (1996)
- Hamel, P. Lustiger-Thaler, H. & Mayer, M. Urban movements in a Globalising World (2000)
- Kasmir, S. 'Activism and Class Identity: the Saturn auto factory case' in J. Nash (ed) Social Movements: an anthropological reader (2005)
- Weatherford, J. 'Struggle of the Poor: Neighborhood Organization and Clientelist Practice in a Quito Squatter Settlement' American Anthropologist, Volume 100, Issue 2: 542-543 (1998)

Week 9

Transnational Movements

Alongside the 'place-based' social movements examined last week there have been growing mobilisations around various aspects of globalisation. In this final week we look at examples of such politics. We consider a number of different cases: Islam and particularly the issue of women's rights; struggles against neo-liberal capitalism, and particularly the effects of trade policies in forcing open new markets to competition and corporate control. This latter is a movement (or 'movement of movements') against certain forms of globalisation, under the banner 'another world is possible'. What kinds of politics are these and what sorts of alliances are established, on what basis and how? What is the role of concepts like democracy and (neo-)liberalism in such movements?

Core Reading

- June Nash 'Introduction: Social Movements and Global Processes' in J. Nash (ed) Social Movements: an anthropological reader (2005)

Transnational Islam

- Allievi, S. & Nielsen, J. Muslim networks and transnational communities in and across Europe (2002)
- Mandaville, P. 'Muslim Transnational Identity and State Responses in Europe and the UK after 9/11: Political Community, Ideology and Authority' Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 35 (3): 491-506 (2009)
- Toth, J. 'Local Islam Gone Global: the roots of religious militancy in Egypt and its transnational transformation' chapter 6 in June Nash (ed.) Social Movements: an anthropological reader (2005)
- Grillo, R. Islam and Transnationalism' Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 30(5): 861-878 (2004)
- Huntington, S. The Clash of Civilizations and the remaking of world order (1996)
- Said, E. (2001) The Clash of Ignorance (<http://www.mediamonitors.net/edward40.html>)
- The 9/11 Commission Report, The Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States (2004)

Feminisms and Rights

- Abu-Lughod, L. 'Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and Its Others.' American Anthropologist 104(3):783-790 (2002)
- Ahmed, L. Women and Gender in Islam (1992)
- Amiri, R., Hunt, S. and Sova, J. 'Transition within Tradition: Women's Participation in Restoring Afghanistan'. Sex Roles, 51(5/6): 283-291 (2004)
- Barakat, S. & G. Wardell. 'Exploited by Whom? An Alternative Perspective on Humanitarian Assistance to Afghan Women.' Third World Quarterly. 23(5): 909-930 (2002)
- Binion, G. 'Human Rights: a feminist perspective' Human Rights Quarterly 17(3):509-526 (1995)
- Kapur, R. 'The Tragedy of Victimization Rhetoric: Resurrecting the "Native" Subject in International/Post-colonial Feminist Legal Politics' Harvard Human Right Journal, 15: 2-37. (2002)
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Week 10 essay

Provide an ethnographically based analysis of any one political movement