

Module 2

Keanna

1. What it means to be political and in a political sphere
2. There has to be a friend and an enemy
3. Critique of liberalism - right after the enlightenment before ww1
4. He is a nazi
5. There is a connection to Nietzsche identity crisis
 - a. Because of liberalism, there was more globalization?
6. Liberalism puts the individual before the collective - divides a person's identity so they are not as involved in politics
 - a. Politics still happens they are just not as involved as there were before
 - b. Global economy - gives governments complete authority over you

Lecture

Smitt

1. Difficult
2. Don't need to get caught up in the little details
3. 1888-1985
4. Wrote an article in 1927 that became the foundation of this book
5. This book was published 1933
6. He joined the nazi party in 1933 and he became a nazi thinker for the party, disputes about how much he was a nazi
7. He was criticized by the party for some of his ideas
8. Why read Schmitt
 - a. Still an important theorist
 - b. He has had a recent renaissance amount leftist democratic theorists
9. Weimar republic was from 1919-1933
 - a. Revolution overthrows the kaiser and they form a liberal parliamentary government
10. Schmitt's critique of liberalism and parliamentary politics
 - a. Idea of autonomous and equal individuals with rights that cant be infringed on - liberalism
 - b. Smit things liberalism reduces politics to perpetual discussion or debate - undermines the decision-making abilities of the state
 - c. Schmitt is hobbsian - Hobbes believes that there should be an absolute sovereign to determine justice and keep everyone in check
 - i. Schmitt thinks that we need to have a decisive decision-maker
 - ii. Need someone to be able to declare a state of exception or emergency and rule during this time
 - d. He thinks that liberalism obscured existential nature
 - e. Liberalism reduces politics to ethics - individual rights that nobody can trample on
 - f. Liberalism also tends towards economism and technocracy - government focus on managing the economy and it manages the economy in a technological way - Schmidt critiques this

Problems of Understanding the Political

1. Politics and the political is poorly defined - and it is often defined in vs terms
 - a. We don't have a sense as to what it looks like
 - b. Term society also gets tossed in
2. We are dealing with the state that changes over time and through history
 - a. 19th century - night watchman state and its functions are limited to the protection of property and the nation itself - this neutralizes and depoliticized society so religion and morality is offloaded onto society
 - b. 20th century total or democratic state - seeks to reintegrate the private and the public - the society is integrated into the state - includes things like the welfare state
3. shifting definition of what is political what the state is and what it should do

Autonomous logic of the political

1. For Schmitt we need to specify what the political is
 - a. He is dealing with a non-feudal state, dealing with a centralized state
 - b. Dealing With a sovereign state - it is no longer under the power of the church, states are independent of other states
 - c. Overseas a specific body of people and can pass laws over them
2. The political contains an autonomous logic
 - a. Politics is separate from other fields
 - b. Morality distinguishes between good and evil
 - c. Aesthetics distinguishes between beautiful and ugly
 - d. Economics - profitable vs unprofitable
 - e. Religion - pious vs impious
 - f. The political distinguish between friend and enemy - it is tied to the existential modalities of community - self vs others
 - i. We define ourselves in opposition to others
3. The political is not the outcome of the moral aesthetic or economic
 - a. Friend enemy is a specific distinction - the others could play into it, but they could also not
 - b. Political is about friend enemy and those who can be mobilized on these bases
 - c. This mobilization can allow the state to go to war
 - d. Economic or religions can become political, but this does not necessarily occur, need more than that to be friend enemy
4. He says that this is not a normative evaluation but an objective statement
 - a. He is not arguing if it is good or bad, he is just saying how it is working now

Friend-Enemy Distinction

1. The political is about defining and distinguishing the friend from the enemy
2. Defines who is within the nation, and who lies outside of this
3. Enemies are the only people that we will go to war with potentially
4. Private or personal enmity is not political
5. The state can mobilize people for a war against a public enemy
6. Enemies are about collective enemies
7. Not every friend enemy distinction leads to war - but it has the potential to
8. Friend enemy distinction comes to permeate daily speech

- a. The way we operate in the world
 - b. It has a polemical meaning - a verbal argument
 - c. Polemic against someone else helps to define who we are
 - d. We do not have a static enemy
- 9. The friend-enemy distinction comes to occur in domestic politics
 - a. Polarization between the different political parties
 - b. If they mobilize different parties this could turn into civil war
 - c. Schmitt sees this as dangerous and destabilizing and enemies should be turned outwards not inwards
- 10. Despite Schmitt's language politics is not war
 - a. War is an ever-present possibility
 - b. The end of the conditions of war is the end of politics - if you don't have an enemy then who are you
 - c. Schmitt's examples - a passifit war against war would result in the elimination of the enemy
- 11. How do other conflicts become political
 - a. They have to group their members into a friend-enemy distinction and can mobilize their community towards war
 - b. The state is the one that centrally controls what you are willing to give life for

Critique of pluralism and humanism

- 1. Pluralism - people belong to multiple associations and each place demands on them
 - a. These associations have claims against the feudal state but this misunderstands the modern state
 - b. The state retains a political monopoly
 - c. Pluralism reduces the state to any other form of association and ignores its specificity
- 2. Remember the relationship between the political and the state
 - a. The state is a political entity who can determine who the enemy is and if they should go to war with them
 - b. Pluralism degenerates sovereignty but misunderstands sovereign command
 - c. The state has the sovereign command
 - d. Schmitt points out that if a state is no longer willing to go to war it is no longer politically - this is often the case when it has been incorporated into another state like when it is colonized
 - e. The state never has the power to give up the power of war as the state needs to retain a right to protect itself
- 3. For this to occur there must be many states
 - a. Need to have other states to define ourselves in opposition to
 - b. The world is a pluriverse - there are multiple sovereign states
 - c. There can never be a political entity that embraces all of humanity. Humanity implies that we are all part of one organism and there can be no enemy
 - d. Humanism is an excuse to go in and get rid of people that they declare to be non-human

- e. League of nation - proposes states and the political but tries to limit war and formalizes it

Schmitt's theory of human nature

1. Schmitt claims that anthropology and philosophy have a political significance
2. One side of theory that sees humans as dangerous and dynamic (open and indeterminate) and have the possibility to regressing back to violent and irrational groups
 - a. These are at the basis of theories that support authoritarian states
 - b. People are bad so we need a strong state to keep up all in line
 - c. Like hobbes
3. Other pole is the good conception of human nature - it is rational, humans are effectively good
 - a. These theories align themselves with anarchist theories
 - b. State is an infringement on humans naturally good nature
 - c. Like locke
4. Liberalism doesn't fit into these poles, but veres towards the good
5. There is a tension with liberal - they want the state, but it effectively neutralizes and depoliticise it as it acts as a nightwatchman state - not engaging in friend enemy
6. He says that all genuine political theories were towards human nature being bad
 - a. Anarchist political theories don't want a political so they are not
7. Schmitts hobbesianism - the political is rooted in violence and aggression

Schmitt's Critique of Liberalism

1. Schmitt argues that liberalism avoids or erases the political through neutralizations and depoliticization
 - a. The political is concerned with group identities and communities as the basis of the friend enemy distinction
 - b. Liberalism corevers this up through its inficualsims and through its anarchist like district of the state
 - c. Liberalism hollows out the state and moves towards the minimal state - it elevates ethics and economics
 - d. Liberalism sees individuals as private individuals
2. The privatization of the political is a demiliatrication and depoliticization of the state
 - a. State becomes subservient to the society and private realm
 - b. State is ruled by civil society as both economy and as public sphere
3. Is this the end of politics?
 - a. He sees in the emergence of the focus on the economy for a new political to arise
4. Even if we get a harmonious world, human nature is dynamic so it could regress into a violent nature and we could see a re emergence of politics
5. The state and politics cannot be exterminated

Schmitt and the Problem of the Political Imagination

1. Contributions
 - a. Returning to the concept of the political as a domain of human life
 - b. Thinking the specificity of the political and its nature
 - c. Mobilizing a particular notion of political existence and community

- d. Asks us to think about identity formation
- 2. Limitations
 - a. His ontology reduces politics to the friend enemy distinction - this carries threatening politics - potentially Nazi politics
 - b. Difference can be interpreted as lesser
 - c. His conception of human nature is potentially limited
 - d. His understanding of the political has potentially problematic outcomes

Module 3

Lecture - Power and Biopolitics

Re-thinking and challenging Schmitt

1. Last week we saw a specific reimagining of the political
 - a. Politics is separate from other spheres and is based on the friend enemy distinction
 - b. Sovereign determines who is friend and enemy
2. Different political imaginations
 - a. Thinking about the unimaginable
 - b. With Foucault and Agamben we are beginning to address the question of how subjects are controlled (and subjectivity) are produced and controlled
 - c. Foucault wants to challenge traditional conceptions of power - as something that is oppressive and interpret it into power produces subjects
 - d. Power produces out identities that can act in some ways but cannot act in others
3. Biopolitics - specific way that power operates and tries to control the body, life, and population
 - a. How does power manage the population and different demographics as well as you as a specific bio organism

Ideology

1. Foucault - 1926-1984
2. Joined the communist party but left in 1953
3. His ideas tried to escape the problems he saw in Marxism like economic reductionism
4. He tries to re-work ideology
5. Marxism divides society between the economic base and ideological superstructure
 - a. It is veiling what is happening
 - b. Covers up the truth creating a false consciousness
 - c. Reinforces the class structure
 - d. Power is controlled by a dominant class that also controls the state
6. 1960s Louis Althusser renovated the concept of ideology
 - a. Humans are abstract beings - we are only produced as actors or agents by the effects of ideology - ideology gives us our identity
 - b. Ideology preexists our entrance into the world - when we are born we are given an identity and become it
7. For Althusser ideology is productive
 - a. It produces subjects
8. Foucault dies on this idea but turns to the concept of power to separate his understanding from Marxist ones

- a. Power is productive and not primarily repressive
- b. Power is diffused rather than centralized
- c. Power operates through the eye/gaze which produces knowledge/discourse and in turn, produces subjects and subjectivities
 - i. Their knowledge and discourse are then projected onto you to create you as a subject

Power and Biopolitics

1. The body becomes the object of power - the management and administration of populations
 - a. Zoe - bare life - simple living, food, shelter
 - b. Bios - qualified life - like men in the polis, live in political community with rights beyond their mere existence
 - c. Bios is not reducible to Zoe - we often reduce groups to Zoe and this is inclusion and excursion
 - i. This means that bare life becomes political - controlling populations and their biological functions
2. Foucault - the shift to biopolitics is historical
 - a. Political communities focus on health, sanitation, increased birth rates, and they have questions of race - unhealthy bodies
 - b. Productive effects of power work on docile bodies - a passive body
3. Why the eye of power
 - a. The look
 - b. His first book is madness and civilization - how medical institutions try to define who is insane and who is not, a system of surveillance
 - c. Look at the way that medieval people look at patients
4. Bentham's panopticon - a model of a prison
 - a. Power designed to solve ideas of surveillance
 - b. A circle, in middle there is a guard tower
 - c. From the guard tower, you can see everything that is going on in the prison
 - d. The prisoners cannot see when they are being watched
 - e. The development of this marks a shift in how prisoners are treated
 - i. Previously dungeons were used - a dark dingy place where you were removed from society
 - ii. A shift from hiding people away to a system of surveilling people
 - iii. The old system of violence was inefficient
 - f. Modern regime - the eye of power is more subtle but is more intrusive
 - g. Move towards an architecture that allows for surveillance - someone is always watching and collective information about people
5. Idea - the system doesn't necessarily become a real thing, but symbolic of how society tries to restructure space and surveil people all the time
 - a. Architecture is supposed to make you feel small in old architecture
 - b. n=modern is split up for managing people and for surveillance
 - c. Architectural forms mean constant surveillance so we won't act in certain ways

6. Important to control people because there is a population explosion - too hard to punish the size of people especially as crime rates rise in cities
 - a. Control population to make it more productive
 - b. Want a population that can produce and is healthy
 - c. Cities have more diseases popping up
7. Bentham - diffusion of power between a different organization in society
 - a. Manage population and its health increases economic production
8. Changing nature of the system
 - a. Parts of society were closed off to lower ranks
 - b. Modern regime - want everything to be visible because of democracy everyone rules over themselves
 - c. Punishment is directed towards the soul - using violence is inefficient as there were too many people and too much leads to revolts, want to create subjects who won't commit crimes in the first place and are more likely to behave in the ways that are expected of you
 - d. For Bentham visibility necessitates permanent surveillance more efficient means of punishing and preventing law-breaking
9. Power gets internalized - no longer doing it because you have to, doing it because everyone can see you - interiorization of power, no longer need someone in charge of it
10. Where there is power there is resistance - there are constant challenges to the system
11. Rousseau - nobody should be talking about politics outside of the general public - society is now in power and needs to be transparent to itself

From Schmitt to Agamben

1. He is criticizing Schmitt
2. Schmitt
 - a. The autonomy of the political/politica
 - b. Subject formation based on us them and group dynamics
 - c. Never have a system in which we remove the other
 - d. Sovereign is who declares the state of exception - a state in which we suspend the law and legal norms
3. Agamben
 - a. Claims politics is predicated in the conflict between Zoe inclusion-exclusion nexus
 - b. When people are reduced to bare life genocide becomes possible because they are outside of legal norms so anything can be done to them
4. Homo Sacer - sacred man an old legal concept from Rome meaning set outside of the law and can be killed by anyone
 - a. It reduces them to bare life and then anything can be done to them
 - b. Politics is not just the inclusion of Zoe in politics but a situation in which the state of exception becomes the norm and bare life coincides with the political
 - c. People are excluded from legal exceptions

Schmitt - the exclusion is the norm

1. Camps existed both before and after the Nazis
2. The idea of internment was something built into the Weimar constitution

3. Schutzhaft - protective custody - the president may make decisions necessary to re-establish public security
4. Nazis did not create concentration camps or the state of exception
5. These same measures were used for colonizing purposes
6. Nazis didn't declare a state of emergency - not short lived - rights are permanently suspended
 - a. There are no laws in effect anymore
 - b. These people have no rights and become homo sacer
 - c. They are placed outside of the law
7. This becomes a state of willed exception

Juridico political structure of the camps

1. Ececuxton is one way that the suspension of their rights can take
2. It is a thing that is opened when the exception becomes the rule
3. They are spaces that people can be expelled to
4. They exist at the fringes of juridico political structure of the camps
 - a. They are on the outskirts of the country, often in Poland
 - b. These are spaces where people are not included in the law
5. Nuremberg laws - laws passed to take away the rights of Jewish and marginalized people
6. Laws are made up ad hoc
7. Sovereign becomes a loving law nobody can reject these
8. There are no laws governing the actions of those running the camps
9. Inhabitants of camp are reduced to bare life
 - a. No longer political animals with rights defending them
 - b. Confronted by totalitarian power over life
10. Camps make the unpolitical life political
 - a. Biopolitical life establishes this distinction including separating and isolating the Jewish body
 - b. Friend enemy is embodied in the question of the health of the body and includes the attempts to destroy threats to it

The Continuation of the camps

1. This logic is still alive today
 - a. Essence of camps isn't just genocide but is inclusion exclusion structure
2. State of exception is made permanent
3. Fact and law become indistinguishable
4. Life becomes the political unpolitical
5. This is tied to the nation state
 - a. Combination of
 - i. A determinate localization - land
 - ii. Determinant order - government
 - iii. Automatic rules for the inscription of life birth or the nation - who belongs and who doesn't
 - b. This comes into crisis in the modern state a crisis that founds the biological body, the state must protect the biological body
 - i. New rules of citizenship or denationalization

- ii. Camps as a mode of inclusion-exclusion
- 6. With modern politics the state comes to see itself as a biopolitical body
 - a. Uses methods of keeping populations out as well as naturalization and denaturalization
 - b. Incorporate some people and exclude others
 - c. Show division within modern societies is key to how they mobilize themselves

Module 4

Lecture - Theorizing difference 1 Sexuality and Gender

The Gaze, Discourse and the internal other

1. The gaze - everybody is watching everybody else
 - a. Purpose of surveillance is to collect data and knowledge and shape your actions
 - b. Idea comes from the panopticon
 - c. Produce efficient well-behaving prisoners
 - d. This happens in prisons and beyond that
2. Discourse is used to construct subjectivities
3. Incitement to speech - challenge repressive hypothesis, says that there has been a normalizing discourse, we are making it speak so we can control it
4. Internal other
 - a. Within the polity
 - b. How do we construct differences and hierarchical differences
 - c. How we construct secular and gender differences

The repressive hypothesis

1. Foucault is challenging the repressive hypothesis
2. Repress - held back
3. Before the Victorian era, there was a permissive take in terms of sexuality - people could talk about it
4. The Victorian era includes the rise of Victorian bourgeois society - sexuality is repressed, taboo, can't talk about it
5. Liberation from this repression involves talking about sex to normalize it
6. Foucault challenges the idea that there was a repression of sex - turn to the economy of sexuality
 - a. logic and rules that govern and structure sex
7. Did we really repress sex, and what was the purpose of doing this
8. Three questions
 - a. Is repression an established fact - or have we started to talk about it more
 - b. Is power only or primarily exercised by means of repression - he doesn't think that is the case, power is also productive and produces behaviours
 - c. Has there been a break between the era of repression and the discussion of it - does talking about sex regulate it
9. His goal is to understand the workings of power
 - a. Power involves knowledge production - the social construction of reality including subject positions
 - i. Power wants to know how things behave so that it can control them more
 - b. Forcing people to talk about sex and sexuality so that it can be controlled

- i. How is it being spoken about, what terms are being used, and how does this construct a common sense
- ii. Who is being forced or invited to speak
- iii. Understand the positions and viewpoints from which they speak - who is in a position of power, power is not centralized, priests start making people confess to things
- iv. The institutions that promote people speaking about it
- c. People are subjected to psychiatry

The Explosion of Discourse

1. Foucault's observation
 - a. Over the last 300 years rather than repression you find an explosion of discourses about it
2. The role of confession
 - a. In the middle ages - questions were vague and roundabout
 - b. Over time - more detail especially with sins of the flesh, not just acts but desires and thoughts too, the thought is a sin as well, need to understand these
 - c. Priest as micropower
 - d. Also an emergence of scandalous literature but this was oriented toward pleasure, not suppression, this was different from the role of confession
 - i. Two different ideas - the pleasure that goes into these acts is the old way
 - ii. The new way is the confession where they try to control it
3. New economy of sexuality - new rules and laws that administer it
 - a. It becomes a police matter - cannot do whatever it wants, needs to be administered and managed
 - b. Population becomes a new concern - need more people as they are producing more, need a big population to produce
 - i. Concern with population, death rates, birth rates, fertility, contraceptives
 - c. Sex needs to be used in a useful way to create a larger population
 - d. Limit sex to heterosexual sex for reproduction - manpower means wealth
4. Characteristics of power
 - a. Power becomes dispersed
 - b. Comes from multiple institutions, not just the state
 - c. Power is hierarchical - power from above trying to construct their behaviour
 - d. Normalization - the construction of norms, what is normal, what is deviant
 - i. Identity is tied to what is outside
 - ii. Creation of what is licit, illicit/legal and illegal
 - e. Multiple - coming from all directions not just centralized
5. Previously accepted social acts lead to new responses

Production of sexualities

1. Normalization of security
 - a. Focused on heterosexual sex
 - b. Shift to proliferation of peripheral sexuality - focus moves to children, insane, homosexuals and pervert

- i. These people start speaking about their practices so that it can be better understood
- 2. Change in sexual regime and mode of power
 - a. Dislocation of the sources/discipline to entirely new tactics - instead of punishment look to medicine and control - don't want to hide it, want to know about it so that these people can be eliminated from public
 - b. Incorporation of perversions and a new specification of individuals - at a certain point laws like sodomy go from applying to all, to just homosexual men, people start to become homosexuals, not just a person that has sex with the same gender
 - i. Rather than just engaging in acts, these become part of their entire life history
 - ii. Understanding people who they are because of their history, and their acts become who they are
 - c. Perpetual spirals of power and pleasure - voyeuristic element - power wants to listen to people talking about their sex, and people who have it want to talk about it
 - d. A sexual saturation - we get an explosion of sexual types
 - i. Family becomes a place where there is surveillance of sexuality
 - ii. Find out how things happen to prevent them from occurring
 - iii. The victorian era produced these discourses so there is a proliferation of it

Synthesizing Foucault's theory of power

1. Power is exercised from innumerable points in the interplay between non-egalitarian and mobile relations
2. Power is not merely a superstructure - it is contained within and helps to produce these relationships, it is not external - critique of Marx
3. Power isn't subject to a binary of ruler/ruled but comes from below as well - your resistance is also a form of power
4. Power is intentional and non-subjective - it has a purpose and a system despite its diffuse and non-possessioned character
5. Where there is power there is resistance - where there is a power relationship there is a possibility of resistance

After Break Lecture

Gender Race and Political Theory

1. Gender and race are often excluded from political theory altogether, often deal with neutral conceptions of humans, or women are explicitly excluded

The Emergence of the Category of Gender

1. Gender is a new concept that emerged in the mid 20th century
 - a. Use the word women, instead of gender
 - b. When you write about women specifically then you accept the binary
 - c. Gender wants to look at them as relational
 - d. The study of women involves men
2. Gender is a social category imposed on a sexed body

3. There is no specific or definitions of gender
4. Axis and inequality, gender, class and rich, the problem is that while class has a dominant definition, there is no specific definition for gender and race

3 approaches to gender

1. Patriarchy school
 - a. Subordination comes through the male need to dominate, and institutions reflect that
 - b. Variation 1 - men need to dominate because they are excluded from the processes of reproduction - they don't bear children, so they assert dominance by becoming head of the household
 - i. Liberate through exposing the patriarchal system, or through creating new reproductive technologies
 - c. Variation 2 - Male domination comes from the sexual objectification of women, liberation comes through consciousness-raising
 - i. Women are objectives and passive, while men are active
 - ii. Free women through consciousness-raising - make people aware of the conditions that they are in so that they have a shared sense of oppression
2. Problems with the patriarchy school
 - a. Focuses only on the gender system
 - b. There are inequalities that are not just rooted in patriarchy
 - c. Treat the body as universal and makes history peripheral
 - d. Gender domination is only coming from men, so the gender binary is maintained
3. Marxist feminism
 - a. Avoids ahistorical approach
 - b. Wants to understand historical changes
 - c. Willing to accept that gender changes over time
 - d. Not everything is reduced to gender system - rooted in the economic system
 - e. Talk about a system of production and a system of reproduction as being separate
 - f. There is a patriarchal system of reproduction
4. Problems
 - a. Economically reductive, only looks at class foundations
 - b. Gender is determined from the outside
5. Psychoanalytic feminism
 - a. Focuses on construction of identity (childhood) how our identities are shaped and formed
 - b. Formative experiences happen in childhood, these play into what type of person you are going to come
 - c. Anglo-American school of object relations - gender is formed from relations that children experience in the family
 - i. Children become who their parents are
 - d. Lachanian school - focus on symbolic (phallus and oepedial relations) gender is formed through symbolic relations, the phallus in the family is the father and the

power he holds, father is trying to avoid losing power leading to conflictual and dynamic relations in the family

6. Problems

- a. Object relations - too narrow of a focus, only focus on the family and fails to explain dynamic relation between family and other institutions
- b. Lacanian - the focus is on the individual subject in the family, every family is supposedly shaped the same way and this is too narrow

Scott's conception of gender

1. She wants to avoid problems in other schools

- a. Think about historical analysis and how things change
- b. Analysis that looks to liberation and emancipation - gender can change in the past and present

2. Scott's approach to gender is

- a. Not concerned with causality, gender is overdetermined - gender comes from different places that cannot be separated, doesn't just come from capitalism or the family comes from many different things, so just don't be concerned about causation
- b. Focused on how things have occurred, rather than why - how has gender changed rather than why has it changed
- c. Avoid overly micro perspective, or overly macro perspective - look at how it is produced as individuals and institutional context
- d. Think about power differently - think about it like Foucault
- e. Objects come together in a way that gives them meaning
- f. Social field of force - field of contestation, gender is not just there, there are conflicts over it and resistance to it

3. Scott's definition of gender has two central points

- a. Gender is a constitutive element of social relations based on perceived differences between sexes
 - i. Representations of power and the organization of social relationships are co-determining
- b. How are women represented in culture - Mary and Eve, archetypes that involve how we think about gender
 - i. How do they construct what we think of women
- c. Focus on normative claims contained within the symbolic - what are the value judgements that we are supposed to take from this
- d. Need to deconstruct static binaries to show that gender is a fluid concept
- e. Women aren't always portrayed as being one single thing, there are different dynamics
- f. Understand how gender is constructed outside of family relationships, gender is shaped in other places like school and the economy
- g. Subjective identity - how is gender taken up, internalized and challenged
- h. This theory can also be used to understand race and class - looking at archetypes, normative planes, where they are shaped, can be done for any category

4. Gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power
 - a. Gender is a primary field within which or by means of which power is articulated
 - b. Gender is used to put people down - like using gendered slurs
 - i. Totalitarian governments use languages of masculinity
 - c. Politics wants to construct the way that gender works
 - i. Men are at the top and this constructs how women are at an inferior position
 - d. Binary opposition and social process of gendered relationships become part of the meaning of power itself
 - e. Undermine the system that subordinates women

Module 4

Lecture - Theorizing difference 1 Sexuality and Gender

The Gaze, Discourse and the internal other

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 - i. Power wants to know how things behave so that it can control them more
 - b. Forcing people to talk about sex and sexuality so that it can be controlled
 - i. How is it being spoken about, what terms are being used, and how does this construct a common sense
 - ii. Who is being forced or invited to speak
 - iii. Understand the positions and viewpoints from which they speak - who is in a position of power, power is not centralized, priests start making people confess to things
 - iv. The institutions that promote people speaking about it
 - c. People are subjected to psychiatry

The Explosion of Discourse

1. Foucault's observation
 - a. Over the last 300 years rather than repression you find an explosion of discourses about it
2. The role of confession
 - a. In the middle ages - questions were vague and roundabout
 - b. Over time - more detail especially with sins of the flesh, not just acts but desires and thoughts too, the thought is a sin as well, need to understand these
 - c. Priest as micropower
 - d. Also an emergence of scandalous literature but this was oriented toward pleasure, not suppression, this was different from the role of confession
 - i. Two different ideas - the pleasure that goes into these acts is the old way
 - ii. The new way is the confession where they try to control it
3. New economy of sexuality - new rules and laws that administer it
 - a. It becomes a police matter - cannot do whatever it wants, needs to be administered and managed
 - b. Population becomes a new concern - need more people as they are producing more, need a big population to produce
 - i. Concern with population, death rates, birth rates, fertility, contraceptives
 - c. Sex needs to be used in a useful way to create a larger population
 - d. Limit sex to heterosexual sex for reproduction - manpower means wealth
4. Characteristics of power
 - a. Power becomes dispersed
 - b. Comes from multiple institutions, not just the state
 - c. Power is hierarchical - power from above trying to construct their behaviour
 - d. Normalization - the construction of norms, what is normal, what is deviant
 - i. Identity is tied to what is outside
 - ii. Creation of what is licit, illicit/legal and illegal
 - e. Multiple - coming from all directions not just centralized
5. Previously accepted social acts lead to new responses

Production of sexualities

1. Normalization of security
 - a. Focused on heterosexual sex
 - b. Shift to proliferation of peripheral sexuality - focus moves to children, insane, homosexuals and pervers
 - i. These people start speaking about their practices so that it can be better understood
2. Change in sexual regime and mode of power
 - a. Dislocation of the sources/discipline to entirely new tactics - instead of punishment look to medicine and control - don't want to hide it, want to know about it so that these people can be eliminated from public
 - b. Incorporation of perversions and a new specification of individuals - at a certain point laws like sodomy go from applying to all, to just homosexual men, people start to become homosexuals, not just a person that has sex with the same gender
 - i. Rather than just engaging in acts, these become part of their entire life history
 - ii. Understanding people who they are because of their history, and their acts become who they are
 - c. Perpetual spirals of power and pleasure - voyeuristic element - power wants to listen to people talking about their sex, and people who have it want to talk about it
 - d. A sexual saturation - we get an explosion of sexual types
 - i. Family becomes a place where there is surveillance of sexuality
 - ii. Find out how things happen to prevent them from occurring
 - iii. The Victorian era produced these discourses so there is a proliferation of it

Synthesizing Foucault's theory of power

1. Power is exercised from innumerable points in the interplay between non-egalitarian and mobile relations
2. Power is not merely a superstructure - it is contained within and helps to produce these relationships, it is not external - critique of Marx
3. Power isn't subject to a binary of ruler/ruled but comes from below as well - your resistance is also a form of power
4. Power is intentional and non-subjective - it has a purpose and a system despite its diffuse and non-possessed character
5. Where there is power there is resistance - where there is a power relationship there is a possibility of resistance

After Break Lecture

Gender Race and Political Theory

1. Gender and race are often excluded from political theory altogether, often deal with neutral conceptions of humans, or women are explicitly excluded

The Emergence of the Category of Gender

1. Gender is a new concept that emerged in the mid 20th century
 - a. Use the word women, instead of gender

- b. When you write about women specifically then you accept the binary
 - c. Gender wants to look at them as relational
 - d. The study of women involves men
- 2. Gender is a social category imposed on a sexed body
- 3. There is no specific or definitions of gender
- 4. Axis and inequality, gender, class and rich, the problem is that while class has a dominant definition, there is no specific definition for gender and race

3 approaches to gender

- 1. Patriarchy school
 - a. Subordination comes through the male need to dominate, and institutions reflect that
 - b. Variation 1 - men need to dominate because they are excluded from the processes of reproduction - they don't bear children, so they assert dominance by becoming head of the household
 - i. Liberate through exposing the patriarchal system, or through creating new reproductive technologies
 - c. Variation 2 - Male domination comes from the sexual objectification of women, liberation comes through consciousness-raising
 - i. Women are objectives and passive, while men are active
 - ii. Free women through consciousness-raising - make people aware of the conditions that they are in so that they have a shared sense of oppression
- 2. Problems with the patriarchy school
 - a. Focuses only on the gender system
 - b. There are inequalities that are not just rooted in patriarchy
 - c. Treat the body as universal and makes history peripheral
 - d. Gender domination is only coming from men, so the gender binary is maintained
- 3. Marxist feminism
 - a. Avoids ahistorical approach
 - b. Wants to understand historical changes
 - c. Willing to accept that gender changes over time
 - d. Not everything is reduced to gender system - rooted in the economic system
 - e. Talk about a system of production and a system of reproduction as being separate
 - f. There is a patriarchal system of reproduction
- 4. Problems
 - a. Economically reductive, only looks at class foundations
 - b. Gender is determined from the outside
- 5. Psychoanalytic feminism
 - a. Focuses on construction of identity (childhood) how our identities are shaped and formed
 - b. Formative experiences happen in childhood, these play into what type of person you are going to come
 - c. Anglo-American school of object relations - gender is formed from relations that children experience in the family

- i. Children become who their parents are
 - d. Lachanian school - focus on symbolic (phallus and oedipal relations) gender is formed through symbolic relations, the phallus in the family is the father and the power he holds, father is trying to avoid losing power leading to conflictual and dynamic relations in the family
6. Problems
- a. Object relations - too narrow of a focus, only focus on the family and fails to explain dynamic relation between family and other institutions
 - b. Lacanian - the focus is on the individual subject in the family, every family is supposedly shaped the same way and this is too narrow

Scott's conception of gender

1. She wants to avoid problems in other schools
 - a. Think about historical analysis and how things change
 - b. Analysis that looks to liberation and emancipation - gender can change in the past and present
2. Scott's approach to gender is
 - a. Not concerned with causality, gender is overdetermined - gender comes from different places that cannot be separated, doesn't just come from capitalism or the family comes from many different things, so just don't be concerned about causation
 - b. Focused on how things have occurred, rather than why - how has gender changed rather than why has it changed
 - c. Avoid overly micro perspective, or overly macro perspective - look at how it is produced as individuals and institutional context
 - d. Think about power differently - think about it like Foucault
 - e. Objects come together in a way that gives them meaning
 - f. Social field of force - field of contestation, gender is not just there, there are conflicts over it and resistance to it
3. Scott's definition of gender has two central points
 - a. Gender is a constitutive element of social relations based on perceived differences between sexes
 - i. Representations of power and the organization of social relationships are co-determining
 - b. How are women represented in culture - Mary and Eve, archetypes that involve how we think about gender
 - i. How do they construct what we think of women
 - c. Focus on normative claims contained within the symbolic - what are the value judgements that we are supposed to take from this
 - d. Need to deconstruct static binaries to show that gender is a fluid concept
 - e. Women aren't always portrayed as being one single thing, there are different dynamics
 - f. Understand how gender is constructed outside of family relationships, gender is shaped in other places like school and the economy
 - g. Subjective identity - how is gender taken up, internalized and challenged

- h. This theory can also be used to understand race and class - looking at archetypes, normative planes, where they are shaped, can be done for any category
- 4. Gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power
 - a. Gender is a primary field within which or by means of which power is articulated
 - b. Gender is used to put people down - like using gendered slurs
 - i. Totalitarian governments use languages of masculinity
 - c. Politics wants to construct the way that gender works
 - i. Men are at the top and this constructs how women are at an inferior position
 - d. Binary opposition and social process of gendered relationships become part of the meaning of power itself
 - e. Undermine the system that subordinates women

Module 6

Lecture - Before Break

1. Have until sat at 10 am for paper
2. Office hours extended 10-12

Police and the Politics of Resistance

From the Unimaginable to Re-imagining Politics

1. The dynamic relationship between existing, unimaginable and what might be
 - a. Dystopia as the condition of possibility for utopia - or thinking politics otherwise
2. Thinking about what is imaginable, think about what is currency existing and how we might get past it
3. Think beyond the given
4. Ranciere has a theory of the democratic imagination
 - a. Challenges what we take to be democracy and politics today
 - b. He thinks that we have oligarchy today
 - c. There is a fundamental division between the governed and the government
 - d. For him, democracy is an action that attempts to verify equality by undermining hierarchy
5. Politics disputes an existing exclusion
 - a. Some people are considered to be a part of the political community with a real say, and others are not
 - b. They exist, but they have a subordinate role - like women in ancient Greece
6. How do we understand this exclusion
 - a. Those excluded did not have reason and Aristotle says that they couldn't speak
 - i. They couldn't discuss politics and how to live the good life
 - b. Differentiates humans from animals is their capacity for language/logos/logic
 - c. Logos is different from phonos - which is sound and speech not driven by logic but driven by the body and bodily needs
 - d. There is an exclusion from politics for people that do not have logos

- e. Politics is the partitioning of the perceptible - division of what can and cannot be seen/heard
 - i. Women exist but they lack speech so they shouldn't be seen/heard
 - ii. Slaves also have this
- f. For him, politics always involves these exclusions and the hierarchical ordering
- 7. Ranciere
 - a. Politics doesn't happen after we figure out who has speech and language, politics is the debate over who has speech
 - b. Politics is a dispute over who is going to be included in politics

The Plebs and Aventine Hill

- 1. Plebs are the common people of Rome - they are not slaves, but they are not aristocracy either
- 2. The lower classes in Rome were poorly treated and they are pushed into debt and had no right to speak
- 3. Patricians look at them like animals - they are devoid of logos
- 4. The plebs leave Rome in a general strike
- 5. He re-reads this against what Roman historians said at the time
 - a. They said it was a power play without meaning
 - b. He says that it was an attempt to assert their political capacity
 - c. They don't count, because they are unable to speak about themselves
- 6. Once they leave the city they organize themselves into a Roman city
 - a. This shows that they have the capacity, and are not mindless, speechless beings
 - b. They send a representative to the plebs - once they send a rep they have lost, this is a form of recognizing them and acknowledging that they are a party that can be talked to and have conversations with
- 7. Politics is a litigious attack on the lack of resistance enacted by those excluded from logos
 - a. A legal attack launched by those who are excluded
 - b. Politics is conflict over the existence of a common stage and those on it
 - c. Challenge to the partitioning of the perceptible - plebs are trying to challenge this partitioning and that they need to be seen and heard

The Political Logic of Police

- 1. There are two logics of politics - but only one is politics
- 2. What masquerades as politics is what the patricians do and this is called police
 - a. Women and slaves are not political beings because of their role - women reproduce so they don't have reason, slaves are strong-bodied who don't have reason either
 - i. Put in their place based on their purported nature
 - b. Gives to each what is due based on their nature
 - c. Voting is expressing displeasure and pleasure in politics, it is not having a say
- 3. Police creates this hierarchical exclusion order
 - a. Not a police with bandage and gun, it is a broader system of order
 - b. Law orders how we partition
 - c. Like Foucault's multiple spheres- it comes from multiple places

- d. Creation of ways of being, acting and speaking - what you can see and do
- e. Policing is a rule of governing the way that bodies appear and speech is distributed
- f. Reducing subjects to being seen or heard, or not seen or heard, what is their value based on what you do or who you are
- g. Political things are changable, natural things are beyond our control
- 4. Do we live under a police order or not
 - a. Are we controlled in terms of what we can do or say
 - b. Ex. we talk about the TikTok girl that disappeared but there is not a conversation about MMIWG
 - c. Politics is about the assertion of equality and the attempt to break it down

Lecture - After Break

The Logic of Politics

1. Politics is anti-police and it challenges the partitioning of the perceptible
 - a. Putting bodies in their place creates a smooth functioning society - the body-head metaphor
 - b. Politics disrupts this harmony
 - c. Any social order is contingent - it doesn't have to be that way, challenging contingencies is challenging things that are seen as natural
 - d. Politics is a rupturing of the order
 - e. Democracy is the assertion of a part by those who have no part
2. Caveat - politics is tied to the police
 - a. Politics only has meaning as a resistance to the perception of power
 - b. Politics is tied to the resistance to the hierarchical order imposed
3. Democracy isn't a form of regime or government it is an action where people try to oppose the exclusion of someone
 - a. Politics is an-arche - arche means order or a founding principle, and is some people are excluded from politics
 - i. Trying to break the founding principle and declare an order of equality
 - b. Politics brings together two realms to expose a wrong - bring together the included and excluded
4. Not all resistance is not politics
 - a. Politics is challenging the perception of the perceptible
5. A strike
 - a. Rights of man declaration declares we are equal but the workforce is unequal
 - b. Declaration declares us equal political citizens, but we are unequal in social outcomes
 - c. Workers can make a strike political when they use the rights of citizens to challenge the relationship between private and public
6. Women's liberation movement
 - a. Women are supposed to be household managers - used to declare their political incapacity
 - b. Women's role in taking care of children contradicts that - in charge of raising future citizens

Politics as Creative Subjectification

1. Politics is a process of deidentification and subjugation
2. The categories you are divided into are part of the police order
3. Disidentification - challenging the identity you are interpolated with by power - challenging identity imposed on you that allows you to be excluded from politics
4. Subjectification - producing a new subjectivity for yourself that asserts your equality with everyone else
5. Twofold contestation - challenge identity imposed - open up a new form of mobilization
6. In declaring subjectification - challenge subordination to mobilize, challenge inequalities within-subject group as well as it is heterogenous - there are different people within the category even if they share similar traits
7. Example - August Blanqui
 - a. Took part in revolutions and then went to jail
 - b. As he is being interrogated the magistrate asks about his profession and he answers that he is the proletariat
 - i. This is not a profession
 - ii. He says that it is the profession of 30million french men
 - iii. He id disidentified from his profession
 - iv. He does not have political rights, and by uniting them under the label he is trying to draw out this exclusion and explain the need to include them in politics as a class of people who have been excluded
 - c. Politics is made up of miscounts - people that were not included
8. What shape does reconciliation of the wrong take
 - a. He doesn't see that every act is politics
 - b. Though litigious wrong is not a lawsuit that can be settled or mediated, it can only be processed
 - i. The entire field of experience must be re-ordered
9. Those who were invisible are now visible, and we can see the problems with excluding them
10. Politics for him is not about power relationships, and power isn't everywhere - a shot a Foucault

Seminar

1. Read the handmaids tale over reading week
2. The movie and the tv show are different - don't write on these for the final essay
3. Cut off the last week of classes - work on the essay
4. He will update the TBA week

Module 8

Lecture

From Dystopia to Utopia

1. What is the political imagination
 - a. Involves thinking, and re-thinking not only what the political is, but thinking and rethinking what is political and what politics might be
 - b. Thinking something more than the given
 - c. Moving from the unimaginable to the acts of the imagination

- d. Not just asking what structures we exist in now - also look at where they might possibly go as well - extreme examples of what might happen if politics is pushed to the extreme
 - e. Talk about how to re-make the world politically
- 2. Definition of utopia
 - a. What is possible
 - b. Not real, or couldn't be achieved
 - c. Often wouldn't want it to exist
- 3. Often used in pejorative sense
 - a. Example: plato's Kallipolis
 - i. Class system
 - b. Critique of the eternal utopia - closed and static, requires violence and the suppression of dissent and individuality
- 4. Image of utopia comes from critics of change
 - a. Emerges in 1849 after totalitarianism
 - i. Bunch of working class revolutions against the aristocratic regime
 - ii. Utopians are trying to resist the possibility of change
- 5. History of Utopia calls into question the myth of eternal utopia
 - a. More - the good place, and the no-place
 - b. Plato to present - utopia has retained and ability
 - c. Goal is often to critique the current conditions
- 6. "Persistent utopia" plays on and embraces this ambiguity
 - a. Keep striving for it
 - b. Striving for justice and freedom - constantly pops up and changes, each era dreams a new version of itself
 - c. Internalization of the critique of utopia that it is attentive to temporality and the dialectic of emancipation (new forms of domination, or continued forms of domination, are constantly created)
- 7. Persistent utopia designates a number of things
 - a. A blueprint isn't necessarily being created
 - b. Need to inspire the demands for change
 - c. Utopia is an attempt to realize the unrealizable
 - d. Continue to strive for something different, but we change what we are striving for, and we never know what the end point is
- 8. Anti-utopian utopia
 - a. Idea that we can never change
 - b. Effectively saying that the present is now perfect, and we need to stop striving for difference
 - c. TINA - there is no alternative
- 9. Why the Utopian conversion
 - a. Conversion to the possibility of something else by suspending or belief or allegiance to the existing system, distancing ourselves from the present
 - b. Conversion away from something and our attachment to the present - start to think about what might be possible beyond the existing world

10. Tutorial texts don't aim to provide a blueprint but aim to educate desire - Miguel Abensour

11. Two sites of utopias persistence

- a. An ontological site (the "Not-Yet")
- b. An ethical site (the "never-again")

Bloche and the Ontological Site

1. Ontology - a theory of being or existence
 - a. Utopia persists because of the emerge of the nature of being
 - b. being/existence can refer to individuals, society, or things
 - c. There are often claims that this is what human nature is, or things cannot get better or change
2. Bloch - being is haunted by potential/Becoming
 - a. We are in a processes of change at all times
 - b. What you are going to become isn't pre-determined either
 - c. Becoming = process, possibility and potential
 - d. Open metaphysics = there is more to the world than we can see, there is something underlying it, indeterminate with no telos or endpoint
 - e. You can become something else - but this is structured by existing reality
 - f. Presence is limited by theory of Identity ($A = A$ and, therefore, A does not $= X$)
 - g. We are what we are, we can never become something else

The Not and the Not Yet

1. The now currently is empty, but it can be filled up
2. Ferments - something else grows within it
3. The present has potential beyond itself, it has potential but it hasn't been realized yet
4. Potential is not predetermined, it has the possibility of changing over time
5. Feel emptiness and want to become something
6. Have to transform your presence into something and escape the nothing/lack of potential
7. There is a drive to find something
8. Not is tied to not having it right now, nothingness is accepting that you are never going to get it, accepting where you are and not trying to transcend it
9. The not is the origin of everything
10. The nothing is something definite
11. Not is afraid of being empty - it is always trying to become something
12. You are constantly becoming something, becoming a that rather than a nothing, but there is always a surplus
13. Things are constantly being re-made, like how france is on its 5th republic
14. The lack constantly comes back up, and you have to try to constantly fill it
15. Every change could potentially be the last one
16. Utopias need to constantly reinvent themselves, it is always incomplete but we are always striving for it
17. Society is always dreaming, but we repress these dreams, and then they re-occur throughout history
18. There is no end of history, there is always flux and there is always a not-yet that we haven't reached

Indigenous Struggles and Radical Imagination

1. Europeans are imprisoned by presence - cant get beyond their current state of seeing indigenous societies as inferior and trying to get them to conform to european society
2. Europeans see indigenous societies as other, and by doing this we assert our dominance over them
3. Can't have reconciliation until europeans distance themselves from the colonial imagination
4. Problem is that we haven't changed the way that we think about Indigenous Peoples
5. Need to dispense of the colonial mindset that we have held up until now

Module 9

Lecture - Utopian Conversion II: Ethics of the Never-Again

1. Papers due next Saturday at 10 am
2. Make sure to have a thesis statement - more than restating the topic
 - a. Not so much an argument, but trying to show something
3. Intro
 - a. Introduce topic and argument
 - b. Why care? Why is it an issue
 - c. Don't be very general - not its been important since time immemorial
4. Have a hook
 - a. Be creative, can use a quote
5. Include a conclusion
 - a. Wrap it up
 - b. Don't have to just re-state intro, but can
 - c. Draw a larger conclusion
6. Every reference should have a page number on it
 - a. In-text or footnotes
7. No class-wide extension can email individually
8. Take home comes out the week of the class class

From Ontology to Ethics

1. Last week
 - a. Different ideas of utopia
 - b. Persistent utopia - inspiring someone to think beyond the given, and embrace possibilities of other worlds
 - c. Desire changes and is insatiable
 - d. Dialectic of emancipation - new forms of domination are always being created
 - e. Utopian conversion - not naturally, have to be converted to it, convert away from the present to see what else is possible
 - f. Fear of the void
2. This week
 - a. Talk about utopia coming from ethics
 - b. Utopia is temporarily situated
 - c. Ontology - not yet
 - d. Ethics - never again - ethical obligation to never let something like the holocaust happen again

3. Levinas

- a. Tries to respond to the holocaust
- b. Look at the roots of the holocaust and see it as coming from the roots of western thought
- c. Philosopher and Talmudic scholar
- d. Move from ontology and epistemology to ethics
 - i. Move from the study of being and a study of knowledge
- e. Epistemology - the imposition of what you already know on it

4. History of philosophy

- a. Consciousness colonizes the world
- b. Turns it into a subject
- c. Epistemology synthesizes it into a single thing
- d. Philosophy synthesizes what happens and turn it into what it already knows so that nothing is outside of it or surprising
- e. Odysseus (totalizing thought) and Abraham (alterity)
 - i. Odysseus is the epitome of western thought
 - 1. Confronts foreign things, but doesn't care about them, they are just impediments
 - 2. Fear of the foreign
 - ii. Opposite is Abraham
 - 1. God commands him to leave and go to places he doesn't know, don't return home, but find something new
- f. Western philosophy is always striving for the closure of meaning, totalizing philosophy
- g. Examples
 - i. Colonialism - encounter people that are not like themselves and try to destroy their culture through genocide and assimilation
 - ii. Totalitarianism - government controls everything through force, tossed in jail or labour camps if you speak against it, purify against the other
- h. Bloch - both think we are constrained by ideology and the presence

5. Critique of totality and an attempt to come to grips with alterity

- a. Alterity - otherness or the quality or state of being radically alien to the conscious self or a particular cultural orientation
- b. Ipseity - selfhood, individual identity
- c. Wants to think a philosophy that starts with the other
- d. Gets this from Rosenzweig thoughts on death
 - i. Death creates anxiety about the unknown
 - ii. We are afraid of change
 - iii. Helps us to break with sense of self and understand something other

Ethics as First Philosophy

- 1. In western philosophy, ethics is a second philosophy
 - a. After epistemology and ontology
 - b. If consciousness comes to know the world how do we know that anyone is a subject as well

- i. How do you know that other people are more than objects
 - ii. You can only think your own existence
- 2. Ethics must be first philosophy to avoid totalling
 - a. Can only ever objectify them through epistemology and ontology
 - b. Subjectivity is secret as it is a private affair - only I know how I think, everyone else's subjectivity is not known
 - c. Have to start from the irreducibility of the other - cant reduce them to an object
 - d. My actions are always something related to something else
 - e. Obligation to the other person that proceeds obligation to yourself
 - f. Intersubjectivity - breaking down society into multiple parts and not thinking about it as a homogenous thing
- 3. Potential justification for society
 - a. Limit potential destructive natures of people - negative understanding of people
 - b. Society has milts on what you owe to other people, don't have to do everything for everyone, just something
 - c. Limited forms of ethics are ethical if you don't do bad things, or if you do the bare minimum

Face as the Marker of Alterity

- 1. Face as the marker of distance
 - d. Something beyond knowledge - think beyond the face as an object
 - e. The face is self-signifying - ethical demand within itself
- 4. The face is the essence of the human
 - a. Face puts on a mask, covers up what is there, hide humanity
 - b. How people distance themselves from each other
 - c. Mask tries to hide vulnerability
 - d. Face is generally the only thing you don't cover up, part people see of you
 - e. Destitute - poverty in the face, see things in face that you don't want other things to see
 - f. Face exposes invites violence, but also demands that you don't kill it
- 5. Face is the social relation
 - a. Face exposes us to other people
 - b. Hard to not respond to someone when you are alone with them
 - c. Sociality is primordial
- 6. Face is infinite
 - a. Each face challenges who you are
 - b. Infinity of faces you encounter

After Break Lecture

Infinite demand responsibility for/to the Other

- 1. We have a responsibility to/for the other
 - a. By act of a child's face and looking at it you have an obligation and it demands that you act
 - b. Face contains poverty, vulnerability and suffering
 - c. Act in the world to try to alleviate suffering
- 2. Responsibility is imposed on us by the other

- a. Since the other looks at you, you are responsible for it
 - b. Other is higher than us, and commands you, no reciprocity
 - i. Commands to not let you die, and not kill
 - ii. Not an idea of the duty you have to each other
 - c. The face doesn't have to do anything, it doesn't matter to you what their obligations are
 - d. Worry about what you are supposed to do, not what they are doing
3. Potential objection, overly benevolent
- a. We are acculturated into social relations and may not live up to or recognize our obligation
 - b. We are born into established conventions (decency)
 - i. Reducing other people to the same
 - ii. Help people out because they will help you
 - iii. Responsibility is a higher order of ethics
 - c. Face calls for responsibility and violence
 - i. We don't always recognize other people as human
 - ii. If you don't recognize people as humans then you are able to kill them - Agamben

Other as Event or Epiphany

- 1. We don't always live up to responsibilities
 - a. Other is an epiphany that surprises and breaks from your day-to-day life
 - b. Treating people with decency doesn't fundamentally challenge the way you act
 - c. Realizing the other person
- 2. Ethical demand has to be recognized to be answered
 - a. Think outside the box and in ways that rupture relationship

Never Again and Utopia

- 1. Last week
 - a. Critique of utopia is a totalitarian process, persistent utopia challenges this
 - b. He says that we need to think outside the box
 - c. Avoid totalitarianism and colonialism
 - d. The face represents a permanent breach, and there is no end to it
- 2. Utopian conversion
 - a. Utopia is a search for alterity
 - b. Other converts to dual alterity, responsibility for them turns me away from the present
- 3. Relation to a persistent utopia
 - a. Face as an ethical demand is infinite
 - b. Persistence
 - i. Many or an infinity of others
 - ii. Ethics as first philosophy acknowledges alterity against totalizing thought
 - c. Never-again - being held hostage by the other imposes the necessity of utopia of persistent avoidance of totalitarianism

Omelas

- 1. Fable or a parable

2. Two interpretive readings
 - a. Dystopian rejection of the utopian ideal - no matter how perfect a society is someone is always going to suffer for it
 - b. Story about utopia and our need for it
 - i. People who walk away are the heroes of the story - can't stand the idea of the child
 - ii. The ones who stay are the heroes - the ones who stay can try and change things

Module 11

Take Home

1. No class next week
2. Take home posted
3. Due april 12th at noon
4. Citation not needed for lectures
5. Parables - what do you think that the text means
 - a. Not necessarily what you think the author meant in writing it
6. First person is fine, just not every sentence

Lecture

Utopian Practices

1. Realism - not trying to change the world, just go with it
2. Marcuse - is human nature just evil and involving aggression, not necessary naturally aggressive this is a result of the conditions of capitalism, also an ingrained morality that we can re-activate, can challenge existing structures
3. Virno - human nature isn't fixed, it is dangerous as it is open, we are constantly innovating in the way we live, radical potential can allow us to challenge the structures, exodus - leaving the conditions that limit what politics can do
4. M and V are looking at macro level structures
 - a. Looking for revolutionary forces
 - b. Looking at larger structures
5. This week
 - a. Bay - temporary autonomous zones of possibility, not permanent zones, operate at micro/local levels
 - b. Mbembe - decolonization and a postcolonial utopia, looks at future possibilities

Interstitial Utopias

1. He wrote a series of zines or pamphlets that he put out
2. Talks about pirate utopias
 - a. Information network of pirates
 - b. Argument is that they are anti-capitalists - communal share of wealth, taking property from rich people on ships
 - c. Developing an information network, and a series of hideouts
 - d. These hideouts are intentional communities - designed utopias, live together, draw up principles to live by like hippie communes
3. Islands in the net - bruce stirling
 - a. Written in the context of the cold war

- b. Experiments in living, anarchist and green zones
 - c. Pockets of this experimental living
- 4. Medieval assassins
 - a. Enclaves where people can hide out
 - b. Act against the governments of all nations
- 5. Common about these utopias
 - a. Protected areas against dominant ideas
 - b. Strong community with shared beliefs
 - c. Resisting power
 - d. Covertly attacking power
 - e. Interstitial spaces - in between spaces, living in between cracks of society where they are not noticed and can have different principles
 - f. Creation of spaces of freedom/autonomous zones
 - g. Open up new places and forms of living
- 6. Bey wants to challenge the pessimism that confronts macro level changes
 - a. Challenges the idea that we will never be free until everyone is free
 - b. Bey embraces micro-level forms of freedom and resistance
 - c. Freedom in pockets of society
 - d. Not everyone needs to get on board with it
- 7. Temporary autonomous zone
 - a. Not necessary permanent change
 - b. Autonomos - free zone not controlled by other people
 - c. Zone - a physical space that people can go to, also a time where there is a breach
 - d. Not a blueprint model, and idea - can happen in different ways and feed into different needs, improvised form of resistance
 - e. Think about it through persistent utopia

Uprising not revolution

- 1. Temporary
 - a. Revolutions and dialectic of emancipation - "How is it that 'the world turned upside-down' always manages to Right itself?" - turn the hierarchies upside down, but these hierarchies recreate themselves
 - b. State centric focus - he thinks the state is an oppressive organization, revolution is always a fight over state power, not to overthrow state power
 - c. Rather than choosing to either stay and accept domination or overthrow domination and become domination they can leave - leaving is TAZ
 - d. Taz - uprising not revolution, temporary abridgement
- 2. Critique - turning to uprising or insurrection rather than a full revolution
 - a. The goal isn't a failed revolution, it's a permanent change
 - b. Critique is that we want something with duration, want a permanent change
 - c. Bay accepts this but
 - i. Revolutions have never really achieved these things anyways - never achieved a stateless state

- ii. Revolution is bound to be crushed nowadays - capital and the state have so much power that any attempt at change will be crushed quickly
- 3. Taz isn't a replacement for other modes of politics, just add to these
 - a. Gesture that retains invisibility - if you can't see it you can't control it, avoids the state and capital
 - b. Like a guerilla operation - liberates a certain area - like whack a mole with the state
 - c. Avoids the problems of revolution because you have to wait for it and have to have a large group wanting it
 - d. TAZ allows you to create a small bit of freedom before the state can crush it, but don't have to wait for everyone to get on board
 - e. Prefigurative politics - start a form of a new society before that new society exists
 - f. Exploits intersitices where the state can't find it

Content of the TAZ

- 1. Uprising as an epiphany - not just a day to day it is the peak that changes you and shows new possibilities
- 2. What is the content of the TAZ
 - a. Model of collective action - modeled on the "band" (abundance, open to affinity - as long as you are part of the cause, horizontal - all equal) rather than a nuclear family (scarcity, closed, hierarchy)
 - b. festive/a festival - holiday breaks with time and hierarchy, saturnalia - the people on the bottom could treat the upper class how they wanted, a place where hierarchies are overthrown and you have a festive mood where normal times are a break, refuses the commodified festival version
 - c. Shaped by psychic nomadism - come from a particular worldview, nomadism - wandering, spontaneous, looking for these spaces where you can break from the norm and the modernist project - idea that there is a singular march of history, says we don't have a specific end, we can innovate and create all sorts of things, constant looking for people who are like us

The Colonial Imagination

- 1. Contemporary cameroonian philosopher
- 2. Post colonialism as an utopia
- 3. Underlying commonality of colonialism
 - a. Sorts humans into groups - who counted and the rest
- 4. Europeans represented as the last man
 - a. Lazy and only concerned with their own survival, nihilistic
 - b. They don't live under the system that they say they do
 - c. They treat the colonized poorly despite saying that they live under a just system of good laws
 - d. Feel that they need to spread their system to the world
 - e. These last men are beyond morality
 - f. Ingrained sense of worthlessness among the colonized

Decolonial Utopia

- 1. Colonization inspired modes of resistance

- a. Used violence to purge out of sense of worthlessness
 - b. The colonized “began to speak various languages in place of one single language” - recuperate culture and roots and resisting the european imposition
 - c. Move from monologue to dialogue - capable of speak, not just animals with noise
 - d. Constitutes and “Event” - emergence of something new, breaks with the norm
- 2. Draws from two anti-colonial thinkers
 - a. Fanon: decolonization as “leaving the ‘dark night’ before life” - escape
 - b. Cesaire: colonized had a desire “for a more brilliant sun and purer stars” - leave imposed darkness, recuperate who they are
- 3. What does decolonization involve
 - a. Turning one's back on europe - moving away from monologue, reach a cosmopolitanism that embraces different cultures and ways of being
 - b. Universal caravan - trying to bring in different people and have a diversity of cultures and experiences within it
- 4. Turning from europe inaugurates the event
 - a. “On the horizon was the reversal of the old bonds of subjection and a new place in the time and structure of the world” - no longer are they a subject, this ruptures the structure of the world
 - b. Decolonization has to be done through potentialization - creating distinct from structures that try to inhibit us

Colonial Imagination Redux

- 1. Decolonization projects happen in the 50s and 60s
- 2. Is there really a decolonial project today - has it actually happened, or do we have to take up this project once again
- 3. Colonialism has be reimposed and we need to decolonize again
- 4. We continue to live in colonial mitys
 - a. The myth of the west as history makers - rehabilitation of the old colonial imagination
 - b. Might is right - the west imposes their desires on everywhere else
 - c. Block possibility of justice and reparation - no acknowledgement of what has happened

Persistence of decolonial utopias

- 1. New era of critical thinking
 - a. Thinking past common sense and current understandings of the world
 - b. Recognises that it is one movement, rather than universal - not looking for the only way that things can be, recognizing that is it place and time specific
 - c. We are always searching for something, but never at home, never the end of everything
- 2. On the politics or the goal of action
 - a. Humanity is not a given, it is a creation over the course of struggles
- 3. Three questions need to be asked
 - a. We need to be free from both the past and future
 - i. Focus on the present
 - ii. The future isn't closed, many avenues we can go

- b. Turning away from europe - europe is stuck in their ways, what do they actually believe in

Module 10

Lecture

1. Don't have class the last week of classes
2. Take home talk about next week
3. Fill out the course evaluation

Politics and Human Nature

1. Schmitt- human nature is false central
2. Classical political theory talks about what human nature is like, less common in contemporary
3. All political theories assume a type of human nature
4. Anarchist - human nature is essentially good, don't need a strong state, state is often seen as the corrupting force
5. Authoritarian theories - human nature is inherently bad, need strong centralised power
6. Readings challenge Schmitt's account
 - a. Marcuse - utopian possibilities emerge through reactivation of original sociality, we are shaped by the horrors of capitalism and by our own desires and need to produce, human tendency that leads to solidarity
 - b. Virno - dangerousness of human nature holds out utopian possibilities, humans are effectively dangerous/open/undetermined, inherent possibilities can always challenge instituted orders
7. Neither reading argues that human nature is good, argue that human nature is open and malleable, can be shaped

Liberation from affluent society

1. Marcuse's context
 - a. Writing in the 60s
 - b. Explosion of opposition to capitalism
 - c. Student movements challenging things, trying to institute a new society
 - d. Emergence of national liberation movements in the global south
 - e. Emergence of black power movement
 - f. Tries to understand why this is happening
 - g. Sees capitalism as an inherently exploitative system that exploits, controls and manages the population, capitalism shapes the population's needs
 - h. The opposition is coming from new places - traditionally came from workers' movements, but now coming from other areas
2. Opposition to capitalism is coming from affluent societies
 - a. This is contrary to Marx's prediction - workers would be made poorer and poverty drove them into revolution
 - b. Soviet union is mirroring capitalism, driven by growth models
 - c. Marcuse - cruel affluence and a system of false needs
 - i. Consumer society, but this doesn't make us free
 - ii. Total administration - capitalism runs your life, don't have a choice

- iii. Pushing poverty and violence into the global south, allows the north to develop
- iv. False needs - things you don't actually need but feel you do, but to get these you need to work more
- d. Need for qualitative, not quantitative change - change the way of life, not the number of goods you are consuming, overthrow capitalism and the systems it produces

Capitalism as Second Nature

1. Marcuse's understanding of capitalism
 - a. A commodity structure - something that can be bought and sold
 - b. Co-dependent increase of production and exploitation - produce more and more goods, but to do this need to increase the exploitation that is taking place
 - c. Permeation of the totality of society by the commodity form - you become a commodity and see other people as commodities as well, they are competitors with you on the market
 - d. Growth transcends needs, but needs are perpetuated by waste, destruction and management - make needs grow
2. Management as
 - a. A social control - managed economy
 - b. Biological management - management of human nature, create needs in system, competition becomes natural that we do it repetitively
3. None of this is natural
 - a. Human nature is malleable
 - b. The possibility of changes is repressed because we internalise the system
 - c. Consuming more or differently doesn't change the system
4. Capitalism develops into a second nature
 - a. We internalise the system
 - b. This behaviour becomes so natural to us that it appears to be our inherent nature
5. Genuine liberation requires the transformation of values and second nature
 - a. Obscene is something that is projected at its enemies
 - b. The system itself is what is really obscene

A biological foundation for solidarity

1. Transformation requires a change in values
 - a. Before we are socialised there is a natural disposition to morality, we are naturally aggressive but we can direct it into socially acceptable behaviours so we can live together
 - b. Instinctual solidarity among all human beings - sympathy, there with you, we act in ways that show our connection with other people
2. Potential objection - we are social creatures
 - a. However, this takes the second nature and purports it to be our first nature
 - b. Human nature is produced and changeable
 - c. Need to reactivate social drive at the core of societies
 - d. There are examples of people willing to risk their lives for others

Prospects of Transformation

1. We need to have a change in values and challenge the ingrained human nature
2. Problems with traditional Marxist approach
 - a. The society of the 50s and 60s have challenged this - working-class integrated into the system
 - i. Society is relatively affluent, and are living fairly well
 - ii. Working-class is integrated into the system
 - iii. It still has the capacity to overthrow the system but does not have a revolutionary consciousness
 - iv. Revolutionary groups are integrated and can become catalysts for change - black population, students, third world
3. Biological change is the key to social change
 - a. Currently oriented to reproducing the system
 - b. Need new biology to change system, new system to change biology
 - c. Maybe we could use technology in different ways
4. Challenge Marx
 - a. Marx - realm of necessity vs realm of freedom
 - b. Marcuse - changes in uses of technology could change relationships to work, and open up realm of freedom, change the way we think about work so it's not just drudgery
5. Closing lines
 - a. If you were free from capitalism you might do all sorts of things with your life

Virno

1. Challenges schmitts take on human nature and politics
 - a. If human nature is good there should be no state
 - b. If human nature is bad there should be a strong state
 - c. Virno - dangerous human nature against the state
2. Why this argument
 - a. Avoid essentialism - avoid saying there is a fundamental essence of something
 - b. Rejects that human nature is just bad or good
 - c. We are open, unstable and dangerous

The dangerous animal

1. Virno
 - a. Avoid simplistic moralising - we can't ignore the evil in the world
 - b. Machiavelli - humans can break out of their social situation and regress back to evil
 - c. Freud
 - i. Institutional orders compel us to act in certain ways
 - ii. Humans are naturally aggressive, treat others as objects for our own satisfaction
 - iii. Abolition of private property will make human nature good
 - d. Virno is a bit of a critique of Marcuse, says that we are always unstable even without capitalism
 - e. We are characterised by potential
2. Accepts Schmidt's premise but rejects the conclusion

- a. We don't have to presuppose human nature being meek and good to see the possibility for it arising up against capitalism
- 3. Human nature is dangerous because it is open
 - a. Human nature is unpredictable
 - b. It wants to resist attempts to be imposed upon
- 4. Key traits of human nature for Virno
 - a. Ability to speak/the language faculty - language is the ability to do something and challenge what is going on
 - b. Instinctual non-specialization - instincts are open and get specialised in specific environment
 - c. Neoteny - retention of earlier changes of development - don't get rid of old natures and desires and they can return
 - d. As a result of these traits, humans lack a single environment
 - e. Attempts to sublimate human nature soothe danger, but it can also increase the risk as those traits come out in other ways
- 5. We are still capable of doing terrible things to each other, capable of being aggressive towards other human beings
 - a. We can't not recognise the humanity of others
 - b. We tend to negate other people, but we can negate the negation

Politics and Ambivalence

- 1. Dangerous doesn't just mean evil, also have the capability to do good things as well
 - a. Dangerous means openness and potential (unstable)
 - b. Potential can be directed at the state
- 2. Human nature is ambivalent
 - a. Not inherently good or evil
 - b. Can also result in the abuse of power and torture
 - c. But it can also allow "for the invention of works councils or of other democratic organisms based on that typical political passion that is friendship without familiarity"
 - i. Create institutions with other people without maybe knowing them
 - d. Creating distance
 - i. Institutions protect us only if they allow for innovation and constant progress
- 3. Institutions must allow us to negate the negation
- 4. Humans are capable of evil and virtue
 - a. Necessitates a new language
 - b. Ambivalence - can go back into a danger to each other
 - c. Oscillation - always a swing between recognizing the humanity of others and not recognizing them
 - d. We are never going to get an endpoint

Exodus

- 1. Evade accepting or denying the sovereignty of the pharaoh, they leave instead
 - a. Rather than taking power and oppressing someone else they decide to leave and not oppress someone

- b. Can look for something else
 - c. Challenging the nature of power and political structures, refusing to accept how they work and choosing something else
- 2. Exodus involves a new geometry of hostility
 - a. Schmitt- hostility emerges in the friend-enemy distinction
 - b. Virno - hostility is directed against the state, opening up the possibility of solidarity acting in concert through defection
- 3. Isn't the end or realisation of utopia
 - a. Aggressiveness directed at the state helps us to leave, but then it gets directed at other people, and it is just directed at people within our own tribe
 - b. Isolate between violence against other people and trying to work with other people as well