

Politics of Voice and Resistance

PS 5810 Senior Seminar
University of Utah
Summer 2007

Claudio A. Holzner
Office: 212G OSH
Email: claudio.holzner@poli-sci.utah.edu
Phone: 585-7988

Lectures: Tue. And Thursday 6-9pm in OSH 103
Office Hours: Wed. and Thursday 5-6 p.m.

A stupid despot may constrain his slaves with iron chains; but a true politician binds them even more strongly by the chain of their own ideas; it is at the stable point of reason that he secures the end of the chain; this link is all the stronger in that we do not know of what it is made and we believe it to be our own work; despair and time eat away the bonds of iron and steel, but they are powerless against the habitual union of ideas, they can only tighten it still more; and on the soft fibres of the brain is founded the unshakable base of the soundest Empires. (J. Servan, quoted in Foucault, p. 102-103)

What needs to be explained are the methods whereby "time and labor" can be extracted from bodies, when those modern bodies are not necessarily physically constrained, possess legal rights preventing exploitation, and are 'free' from direct forms of control" (McHoul and Grace p. 63)

This senior seminar explores two core puzzles in Political Science: why people endure grievances, and tolerate injustices without speaking up or voicing their discontent; and why at other times people find the courage to resist, speak out, or even rebel against injustices at great risk to themselves. To gain insight into these puzzles we will explore the ways that quiescence and rebellion, voice and resistance are related to power and power relations in societies. Some of the questions we will tackle include: How is power exercised? Does the way power is exercised differ over time and in different political systems? How does power constrain behavior, silence certain voices, and set boundaries on the kinds of political activities that are possible or desirable? If power works to develop and maintain the quiescence of the powerless, under what conditions can the powerless resist and challenge power? The course combines theoretical readings on the nature of power with empirical studies of participation and non-participation in different countries and time periods, including the American Civil Rights movement, squatter movements in authoritarian Peru, union activity in the United States, and non-violent resistance in India.

A central goal of this course is to give you the opportunity to explore the causes and consequences of political participation and of political movements in a significant research paper. You will have significant leeway in selecting your topic and cases, but the paper topic should relate to issues of political action and political participation. I must approve the final topic of your paper.

This is not a lecture class; it is a seminar. The basic philosophy behind each and every class session is that by discussing the material and sharing ideas, we make our individual and collective ignorance less. Because student participation is integral to the course, attendance is required and you are expected to have completed the readings before class and come prepared to actively contribute to our discussion. A critical attitude to the reading is expected; debate and argument are desired and encouraged.

ASSIGNMENTS AND GRADES

A core objective of this class is to improve your research and writing skills. One of the most effective ways to improve your writing is to rewrite papers, honing your ideas, argument and style with each draft. As such, all of your assignments will be written papers of various lengths, including several drafts of the final research paper.

- **Attendance and In-Class Participation (15%)**

- **In-Class Writing Assignments/Quizzes (10%)**

- **Research Proposal: Due May 25. (5%)**

The research proposal is a statement of the research question that you want to address in your seminar paper. It should be no longer than 1 double spaced page, consisting of two or three paragraphs. Though it is useful to describe your broad topic of interest, you should strive to come up with a very specific research question that you will seek to answer. The proposal should also clearly state how the topic is relevant for issues of power, political participation, social movements, and other topics covered in this class.

- **Literature Review: Due June 7 (10%)**

A literature review is a selective and critical discussion of the relevant research that deals with your research topic. Yours won't be the first attempt to answer the question (or a similar one) you posed in your research proposal, and it is important to both acknowledge and consider other scholars' efforts. The literature review provides you with an opportunity to familiarize yourself with this body of work, to critically assess other attempts to address your research topic, to better formulate your arguments (and counterarguments), and incorporate other people's insights. Your literature review should consist of a short discussion of at least four scholarly sources that directly pertain to your research topic, and should make clear which positions or approaches shed the greatest clarity on your question.

- **First Draft of Final Paper: Due no later than June 25 (20%)**
Submit the most complete draft of your seminar paper that you are able to provide, incorporating revisions of your research question and of your literature review. By this time you should have completed much of your library research and this draft should incorporate as much of your research and analysis as possible. This draft will not be graded, but you should make an appointment to discuss the draft and your progress toward the final paper. Though this draft will not be graded, it is to your advantage to turn in as complete and polished a draft as you can, since that will enable us to provide you with more detailed and constructive suggestions for improving your paper.
- **Final Research Paper Due no later than Monday, August 6 (40%)**
A 20-page research paper based on your independent research on a topic related to this course. This final draft of your research paper should incorporate revisions made in response to comments made by classmates and the instructor. The final paper should be typed using a standard 12-point font and 1 inch margins on all sides. Make sure you number your pages. Take special care to properly cite your sources, to use footnotes when appropriate, and to properly format your bibliography. **Final Papers Due August 3 by 4 pm.**

POLICIES AND PROCEDURES

Attendance

Since the purpose of meeting together is discussion, attendance is required. You will be allowed two absences (excused or unexcused) before your grade will suffer. Beginning with your third absence I will deduct a half letter grade (i.e. an A- will become a B+) from your participation grade.

Participation and Readings

If the class is to work, you must do all of the assigned readings before we meet for class. Some of the readings are quite difficult and complex, the authors' arguments subtle and the implications of their claims not always obvious. After completing each reading you should at a minimum be able to restate the main argument and how the author goes about convincing the reader of the argument. You should also strive to engage with the argument, deciding for yourself whether the claim is convincing, well supported, and useful for understanding real-life phenomena. You may not understand each piece when you first read through them. I have three suggestions in this regard: 1) Re-read the piece, 2) Re-read the piece, 3) Ask questions in class.

Come to class prepared to participate. As you do the reading, jot down questions that you have about terminology, about the argument, etc. to share with us. It is likely others have similar questions. These questions can form the basis of a healthy participation. On occasion I will also provide questions for you to think about as you read each piece. Try to formulate answers to these questions before class.

Extensions and Make-Ups

Extensions will not be granted. The due dates for each assignment are stated on the syllabus, which allows you to plan ahead. Late papers will be penalized by a half-grade each day they are late.

Academic Dishonesty

Don't even think about it. If I suspect that you have plagiarized a paper or cheated on an assignment I will follow university procedures to the letter. Dishonesty has no place in the classroom, or in research. If you are not sure what constitutes plagiarism or a violation of academic honesty, consult the student handbook or ask! For more information on the University of Utah's policies pertaining to Academic Misconduct and Dishonesty see pages 11-14 of the 2002-2004 General Catalog and in the electronic Policy and Procedures Manual at <http://www.admin.utah.edu/ppmanual/8/8-10.html>

Plagiarism is defined as the "use of another person's ideas or expressions in your writing without acknowledging the source. Plagiarism constitutes intellectual theft."

The University of Utah Department of Political Science seeks to provide equal access to its programs, services and activities for people with disabilities. If you will need accommodations in this class, reasonable prior notice needs to be given to the instructor and to the Center for Disability Services, <http://disability.utah.edu/> 162 Olpin Union Bldg, 581-5020 (V/TDD) to make arrangements for accommodations. This information is available in alternative format with prior notification.

REQUIRED BOOKS

The following books are available for purchase at the bookstore and for consultation at the Reserve Desk. Feel free to shop around the on-line sources for better deals.

Foucault, Michel. 1979. *Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of the Prison*. Translated by A. Sheridan, New York: Vintage Books

Gaventa, John. 1980. *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Payne, Charles M. 1995. *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

COURSEPACK READINGS

In addition to the required books, you are required to do the readings in the course pack (marked by a CP in the syllabus). I have placed three copies of the coursepack on reserve at the Marriott Library for your convenience. Although you will be able to check it to do the readings, I strongly recommend each of you to check out a copy and make photocopies of the entire coursepack at the beginning of the semester. In consideration to your classmates, please return the coursepack to the Reserve Library as soon as you are done with it, and do not alter the order of the readings: leave it as you found it.

SCHEDULE OF READINGS

1. May 15: Introductions, Political Action, Political Quiescence

- Begin reading ahead for May 17 when there is quite a bit of reading.

2. May 17: Citizens and the State: Power and resistance

- Martin Luther King Jr. "Letter from a Birmingham Jail." (CP)
- Foucault pp. 3-6, all of Ch. 2 (pp. 32-69)
- Dalton, Dennis, ed. 1996. Excerpts from *Mahatma Gandhi: Selected Political Writings*. Pp. 71-83 (On Civil Disobedience and Letter to Lord Irwin) (CP)
- M.K. Gandhi. 1961. *Non-Violent Resistance* (excerpts). (Beginning with "How to work non-cooperation.") and excerpts from *Civil Disobedience and Violence*. (CP)
- Navarro, Marysa. "The Personal is Political: Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo," ch. 7 from Eckstein's *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*. Berkeley: California University Press. (CP)

3. First and Second Faces of Power

5/22 *Economic Inequality and Power*

- "Income Inequality in the United States: 1913-1998," (data tables). (CP)
- Piven and Cloward: "Low income people and the political process." pp. 271-285. (CP)
- Tarrow, Sidney, *Power in Movement*, Ch. 2: "Modular Collective Action," pp. 29-42. (CP)
- McAdam, Doug. 1982. *Political Process and the Development of the Black Insurgency*, Ch. 1-2: pp 5-35. (CP)
- Scott, James. *Weapons of the Weak*. Ch. 1-2 (CP)
- Garretton, Manuel. "Popular Mobilization and the Military Regime in Chile," ch. 8 from Eckstein's *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*. Berkeley: California University Press. (CP)

5/24 Second Face of Power

- "Two Faces of Power," Bacharach and Baratz (CP).
- "Neoliberalism and the transformation of Rural Society in Chile," chapter 3 from Marcus Kurtz's *Free Market Democracy and the Chilean and Mexican Countryside*, pp 51-98.
- Piven and Cloward: "Movements and Dissensus Politics" pp. 286-305. (CP)
- Tarrow, "Framing Contention," Ch. 7 of *Power in Movement*. (CP)

Research Proposal Due 5/25

4. Power and Powerlessness in the United States

5/29 *Power and Powerlessness*
- Gaventa Ch. 1-4

5/31 *Power and Powerlessness*
- Gaventa Ch. 5-10

6/5 *I've Got the Light of Freedom*
- Ch. 1-7

6/7 Lit Review Due, No Readings

Project Presentations: 5 minutes each

6/12 *I've Got the Light of Freedom*
- Ch. 8-14

6/14 Foucault pp. 3-103, 126-131. The passing of torture and the emergence of "lenient" controls

6/19 Foucault pp. 135-228. Disciplinary Power

6/25 Monday June 25: Draft of Final Paper Due!

*Provide a self-addressed and stamped envelope with the paper.

7/1 - 8/3 Paper Consultations by appointment.

8/6 **FINAL DRAFT OF PAPER DUE BY 4 pm.**