

Seminar in Political and Social Theory: Power

2nd Term, Academic Year 2023-2024 Mondays, 13.00 – 15.00 (Seminar room 2, Badia)

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Description

This seminar introduces into the analysis of power in political and social sciences. There are many types of power analysis, as power is used in political theory / ontological assumptions, and in explanatory theories, where it can be a central component of theories of action or itself the aim of the analysis in theories of domination. Hence, power is used in political theory where it is often closely connected to the very understanding of politics or government (in its widest sense), as in the work of Hannah Arendt or Michel Foucault. It appears in political ontologies, such as Hans Morgenthau's realism, where the drive for power or domination is considered one of innate human drives. It is fundamental for certain theories of action, such as Robert Dahl's but also Steven Lukes', where power is a central causal factor to explain outcomes. In social theory, it is the issue to be explained, as in Pierre Bourdieu's theory of domination, based on different forms of capital, including symbolic capital and misrecognition. Finally, domination can be understood in the way discursive practices interact with social reality, when, as in Judith Butler's performative analysis of power, discourses help create the subjects they presuppose.

One of the main objectives of the course is to make the different types and domains of power analysis visible and to show the necessity yet difficulty of consistently connecting them. It will also accompany researchers in carrying out a power analysis of their choice. For achieving this, the seminar will only work with original texts (analyses and critiques in the secondary references), centered on particular power theorists in either social or political theory. Moreover, so there is researcher demand for it, a parallel and entirely voluntary ad hoc seminar can be offered that covers other thinkers (e.g. Max Weber) or themes (e.g. post-colonial power approaches).

The seminar is worth 20 credits.

Learning Outcomes

• Researchers will gain an understanding of power analyses across social and political theory

- As the meaning of concepts derives from the theories in which they are embedded, any conceptual analysis and critique is a form of theoretical translation. Accordingly, researchers will become aware of the ways such translations can be conducted
- Through the seminar readings, discussions, memos and their feedback, researchers learn to think their own research within and beyond power concepts and theories

Format and requirements

The class will be run as a seminar, where debate and discussion are the norm. Sessions 2-10 will be introduced by researchers who inform and guide the seminar debates. Researchers taking the seminar as elective are required to prepare 3 response memos (each 3-4 pages, double spaced) over the course of the 10-week term. The course convenor will provide individual feedback to each memo.

Schedule

Introduction Session 1 (8 Jan 2024). Analysing power in social and political theory

The community power-debate: Steven Lukes Session 2 (15 Jan 2024). Three dimensional power

Power analysis and modern "government": Michel Foucault

Session 3 (22 Jan 2024). Governing the modern self Session 4 (29 Jan 2024). Governmentality and biopolitics

Relational capital, misrecognition and domination: Pierre Bourdieu Session 5 (5 Feb 2024): Field theory as theory of action: Habitus and practices Session 6 (12 Feb 2024): Field theory as theory of domination: relational capitals and symbolic power

Politics beyond power: Hannah Arendt Session 7 (19 Feb 2024): Authority and freedom Session 8 (26 Feb 2024): Power and violence

Power and the politics of the performative: Judith Butler Session 9 (4 Mar 2024): Subjection and performativity Session 10 (11 Mar 2024): On non-violence

Seminars and Readings

Background readings for the entire seminar

- Allen, Amy. 2008. The Politics of Our Selves: Power, Autonomy and Gender in Contemporary Critical Theory. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Allen, Amy. 2016. "Feminist Perspectives on Power." *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Edward N. Zalta. <u>https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2016/entries/feminist-power/</u>.
- Anter, Andreas. 2012. Theorien der Macht. Zur Einführung. Hamburg: Junius Verlag.

Barnes, Barry. 1988. The Nature of Power. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Clegg, Stewart R. 1989. Frameworks of Power. London et al.: Sage Publications.
- Fraser, Nancy. 1989. Unruly Practices: Power, Discourse and Gender in Contemporary Social Theory. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Hindess, Barry. 1996. Discourses of Power: From Hobbes to Foucault. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Jouvenel, Bertrand de. 1972 [1945]. Du pouvoir. Histoire naturelle de sa croissance. Paris: Hachette (orig. Genève: Le Cheval Ailé). Engl: On Power: The Natural History of Its Growth, Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1993 [1948].
- Morriss, Peter. 2002 [1987]. Power: A Philosophical Analysis. 2nd ed. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Wartenberg, Thomas E. 1990. *The Forms of Power: From Domination to Transformation*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Wrong, Dennis H. 1988 [1979]. Power: Its Forms, Bases and Uses. 2nd ed. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

For encyclopedia and handbooks, see

- Berenskoetter, Felix, and Michael J. Williams, eds. 2007. *Power in World Politics*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Clegg, Stewart R., and Mark Haugaard, eds. 2009. *The Sage Handbook of Power*. London et al.: Sage Publ.

Dowding, Keith, ed. 2011. Encyclopedia of Power. London et al.: Sage.

Haugaard, Mark, and Stewart R. Clegg, eds. 2012. *Power and Politics*. Vol. 4 vols, *Sage Library of Political Science*. London et al: Sage.

Introduction

Session 1 (8 Jan 2024). Analysing power in social and political theory

The concept of power is used in explanatory theories (prominently as either *explanans* or *explanandum*) and in political theories, where it is connected to the understanding of government, rule, political order, but also freedom and autonomy, among other things. The introductory seminar aims to make us aware of the various purposes and domains in which analyses of powers can be conducted.

• Readings

Guzzini, Stefano. 2016. "Power." In *Concepts in World Politics*, edited by Felix Berenskoetter, 23-40. London et al.: Sage.

The community power-debate: Steven Lukes

Session 2 (15 Jan 2024). Three dimensional power

Steven Lukes' discussion of the three dimensions of power provide an excellent entry, as his book summarises and criticizes the community power-debate in US political science in a way to connect both explanatory and political theory. The last two editions of the book also include his defense of his approach against his critics, as well as reflections on other power approaches. In this way, it allows to sketch out some of the important themes to be discussed when addressing power in the later seminars. For this reason, it makes sense to read the whole book already now. Yet, the presentation will be only about the "old" part, informed by his reply to his critiques.

• Readings

Lukes, Steven. 2021. Power: A Radical View. 3rd ed. London: Macmillan/Red Globe Press.

• Additional readings

By Lukes:

- Lukes, Steven. 1977. "Power and Structure." In his *Essays in Social Theory*, 3-29. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Lukes, Steven. 1979. "Power and Authority." In *History of Sociological Analysis*, edited by T. Bottomore and R. Nisbet, 633-76. London: Heinemann.
- Lukes, Steven, and LaDawn Haglund. 2005. "Power and Luck." *Archives européennes de sociologie* 15 (2): 45-66.

Lukes, Steven. 2021. "Power and Domination." Journal of Political Power 14 (1): 97-108.

On Lukes:

- Barry, Brian. 1989 [1987]. "The Uses of Power." In *Democracy, Power and Justice*, 307-21. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Gaventa, John. 1980. Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Hayward, Clarissa Rile. 2000. De-Facing Power. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Isaac, Jeffrey C. 1987. *Power and Marxist Theory: A Realist View*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Isaac, Jeffrey C. 1987. "Beyond the Three Faces of Power: A Realist Critique." Polity 20 (1): 4-31.
- Morriss, Peter. 2006. "Steven Lukes on the Concept of Power." *Political Studies Review* 4 (2): 124-35. (discussing the second edition)

Around the community power debate:

Bachrach, Peter and Morton S. Baratz. 1970. *Power and Poverty: Theory and Practice*. New York et al.: Oxford University Press.

Blau, Peter. 1964. Exchange and Power in Social Life. New York: Wiley.

- Dahl, Robert. 1961. *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Dahl, Robert A. 1968. "Power." In *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 12*, edited by David L. Sills, 405-15. New York: Free Press.
- Mills, C. Wright. 1956. The Power Elite. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Polsby, Nelson W. 1980. *Community, Power and Political Theory*. rev. ed. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- Riker, William. 1964. "Some ambiguities in the notion of power." *American Political Science Review*, 58 (2): 341-49.

Stoppino, Mario. 2001. Potere e teoria politica. 3rd ed. Milano: Giuffrè Editore.

Power analysis and modern "government": Michel Foucault

For decades, Michel Foucault has been one of the most influential thinkers of *pouvoir*, which does however not stand for agential power (*puissance*) but for "government" in the traditional philosophical sense, that is, the origin and nature of political order. Confronted with the conservative paradox of how more individual freedom can produce more order, his approach historically retraces the discursive formations constituting "normal" modern European subjectivities. He conceptualises power as a diffuse mechanism operating through self-disciplining individuals and a governmental logic that orders the life of people (biopolitics), asking us to theoretically "behead the King" for understanding power as political order "beyond the state".

Session 3 (22 Jan 2024). Governing the modern self

• Readings

- Foucault, Michel. 1975. Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison. Paris: Gallimard, Part I, chap. 1 (pp. 9-35) and Part III, chap. 3 (pp. 197-229). Engl. Edition: 1995. Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison, New York: Vintage, Part 1, chap. 1 (pp. 3-31); Part 3, chap. 3 (pp. 195-230).
- Foucault, Michel. 1976. Histoire de la sexualité, 1. La volonté de savoir. Paris: Gallimard, Section III and IV, 1&2 (pp. 71-135). Engl. Edition : 1978. The History of Sexuality, Volume I: An Introduction. New York: Vintage (pp. 53-102).

Session 4 (29 Jan 2024). Governmentality and biopolitics

- Readings
- Foucault, Michel. 1976. Histoire de la sexualité, 1. La volonté de savoir. Paris: Gallimard, Section V (pp. 175-211). Engl. Edition : 1978. The History of Sexuality, Volume I: An Introduction. New York: Vintage (pp. 133-158).
- Foucault, Michel. 2004 [1978]. "Leçon du 1^{er} février 1978." In Sécurité, Territoire, Population. Cours au Collège de France, 1977-1978, 91-118. Paris: Le Seuil. Engl. Edition: Foucault, Michel. 1991. "Governmentality." In The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality, edited by Graham Burchell, Collin Gordon and Peter Miller, 87-104. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Foucault, Michel. 1983 [1982]. "The Subject and Power." In *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, 2nd ed., edited by Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, 208-26. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

• Additional readings

As short introduction:

- Lindgren, Sven-Åke. 2000. "Michel Foucault." In *Classical and Modern Social Theory*, edited by Heine Andersen & Lars Bo Kaspersen, 294-308. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Abélès, Marc. 2008. "Michel Foucault, l'anthropologie et la question du pouvoir." *L'Homme* 2008/3-4 (No. 187-188): 105-22.
- Allen, Amy. 2002. "Power, Subjectivity, and Agency: Between Arendt and Foucault." *International Journal of Philosophical Studies* 10 (2): 131-49.
- Borch, Christian. 2005. "Systemic Power: Luhmann, Foucault, and Analytics of Power." Acta Sociologica 48 (2): 155-67.
- Butler, Judith. 2002. "Bodies and Power, Revisited." Radical Philosophy 114 (Jul/Aug): 13-19.

Dean, Mitchell. 1999. Governmentality: Power and rule in modern society, London: Sage.

- Dreyfus, Hubert L. and Paul Rabinow. 1983 [1982]. *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*. 2nd ed. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Falzon, Christopher, Timothy O'Leary, and Jana Sawicki, eds. 2013. A Companion to Foucault. Oxford et al.: Blackwell.

- Fraser, Nancy. 1981. "Foucault on Modern Power: Empirical Insights and Normative Confusions." *PRAXIS International* (3): 272-87.
- Gordon, Colin. 1991. "Governmental rationality: an introduction." In *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, edited by Graham Burchell, Collin Gordon and Peter Miller, 1-52. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Joseph, Jonathan. 2010. "The Limits of Governmentality: Social Theory and the International." *European Journal of International Relations* 16 (2): 223-46.
- Koopman, Colin. 2015. "Two Uses of Michel Foucault in Political Theory: Concepts and Methods in Giorgio Agamben and Ian Hacking*." *Constellations* 22 (4): 571-85.
- Luxon, Nancy. 2013. Crisis of Authority: Politics, Trust, and Truth-Telling in Freud and Foucault. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McNay, Lois. 1992. Foucault and Feminism: Power, Gender and the Self. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Nichols, Robert. 2014. *The World of Freedom: Heidegger, Foucault, and the Politics of Historical Ontology*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Oksala, Johanna. 2005. Foucault on Freedom. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Reed, Isaac Ariail. 2013. "Power: Relational, Discursive, and Performative Dimensions." *Sociological Theory* 31 (3): 193-218.
- Sawicki, Jana. 1991. Disciplining Foucault: Feminism, Power, and the Body. New York and London: Routledge.
- Taylor, Charles. 1984. "Foucault on Freedom and Truth." Political Theory 12 (2): 152-83.

For biographical background (written from a scholar and friend)

Éribon, Didier. 2011 [1989]. *Michel Foucault*. 2nd revised ed. Paris: Flammarion. Engl. Edition: Éribon, Didier. 1991. *Michel Foucault*. Translated by Betsy Wing. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Relational capital, misrecognition and domination: Pierre Bourdieu

With Pierre Bourdieu, the analysis of power returns to social theory. He combines a theory of social and symbolic action with a theory of domination. As a result, his overall analysis of domination relies on both the theoretical project of field theory – the triangle of field, habitus and practices – and his analysis of capitals constituted through relations in various fields. In a reconceptualisation of both Weber and Gramsci, Bourdieu understands domination through both the competition and redefinition of the field-specific hierarchy of effective capitals, and the often symbolic mechanisms of acceptance by which the logic of actual rule functions for being misrecognized.

Session 5 (5 Feb 2024): Field theory as theory of action: Habitus and practices

• Readings

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1980. *Le sens pratique*. Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, chapters 3-8 (pp. 87-232). Engl. Edition: 1990. *The Logic of Practice*, Cambridge: Polity Press (pp. 52-134).

Session 6 (12 Feb 2024):

Field theory as theory of domination: relational capitals and symbolic power

- Readings
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1994. Raisons pratiques. Sur la théorie de l'action. Paris: Éditions du Seuil (pp. 53-57, 99-133, 175-213). English edition: 1998. Practical Reason. On the Theory of Action. Stanford: Stanford University Press (pp. 31-63, 92-123). The first chapter in this book is a short and excellent summary of La distinction which is a study of social stratification in France.

- Bourdieu, Pierre. 2001. Language et pouvoir symbolique. 2nd rev. ed. Paris: Seuil, Deuxième Partie, 1-2 (pp. 155-186), Troisième Partie, 1 (pp. 201-212). Engl. Edition: 1991. Language and Symbolic Power. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press (pp. 105-126, 163-70, plus endnotes).
 - Additional readings

By Bourdieu

- Bourdieu, Pierre, avec Loïc J.D. Wacquant. 1992. *Réponses. Pour une anthropologie réflexive*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil.
- Short introductions
- Callewaert, Staf (2000) 'Pierre Bourdieu', in *Classical and Modern Social Theory*, edited by Heine Andersen & Lars Bo Kaspersen, 309-325. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Leander, Anna. 2008. "Thinking Tools: Analyzing Symbolic Power and Violence." In *Qualitative Methods in International Relations: A Pluralist Guide*, edited by Audie Klotz and Deepa Prakash, 11-27. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Leander, Anna. 2010. "Habitus and Field." In Blackwell: International Studies Compendium Project / Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies, edited by Robert A. Denemark, 3255-70. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell. DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.013.51
- Bigo, Didier. 2011. "Pierre Bourdieu and International Relations: Power of Practices, Practices of Power." *International Political Sociology* 5 (3): 225-58.
- Brubaker, Rogers. 1985. "Rethinking Classical Theory: The Sociological Vision of Pierre Bourdieu." *Theory and Society* 14 (6): 745-75.
- Butler, Judith. 1999. "Performativity's Social Magic." In *Bourdieu: A Critical Reader*, edited by Richard Shusterman, 113-28. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Cohen, Antonin. 2011. "Bourdieu Hits Brussels: The Genesis and Structure of the European Field of Power." *International Political Sociology* 5 (3): 335-39.
- Dalton, Benjamin. 2004. "Creativity, Habit, and the Social Products of Creative Action: Revising Joas, Incorporating Bourdieu." *Sociological Theory* 22 (4): 603-22.
- Go, Julian. 2013. "Decolonizing Bourdieu: Colonial and Postcolonial Theory in Pierre Bourdieu's Early Work." *Sociological Theory* 31 (1): 49-74.
- Guzzini, Stefano. 2000. "A Reconstruction of Constructivism in International Relations." *European Journal of International Relations* 6 (2): 147-82.
- Guzzini, Stefano. 2013. "Power: Bourdieu's Field Analysis of Relational Capital, Misrecognition and Domination." In *Bourdieu in International Relations: Rethinking Key Concepts in IR*, edited by Rebecca Adler-Nissen, 79-92. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Knafo, Samuel. 2016. "Bourdieu and the Dead End of Reflexivity: On the Impossible Task of Locating the Subject." *Review of International Studies* 42 (1): 25-47.
- Krais, Beate. 2006. "Gender, Sociological Theory and Bourdieu's Sociology of Practice." *Theory, Culture & Society* 23 (6): 119-34.
- Krause, Monika. 2018. "How Fields Vary." The British Journal of Sociology 69 (1): 3-22.
- Leander, Anna. 2011. "The Promises, Problems, and Potentials of a Bourdieu-Inspired Staging of International Relations." *International Political Sociology* 5 (3): 294-313.
- McNay, Lois. 1999. "Gender, Habitus and the Field: Pierre Bourdieu and the Limits of Reflexivity." *Theory, Culture & Society* 16 (1): 95-117.
- Medvetz, Thomas, and Jeffrey J. Sallaz, eds. 2018. *The Oxford Handbook of Pierre Bourdieu*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mukerji, Chandra. 2014. "The Cultural Power of Tacit Knowledge: Inarticulacy and Bourdieu's Habitus." *American Journal of Cultural Sociology* 2 (3): 348-75.

- Reckwitz, Andreas. 2002. "Toward a Theory of Social Practices: A Development in Culturalist Theorizing." *European Journal of Social Theory* 5 (2): 243-63.
- Scheer, Monique. 2012. "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and Is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuian Approach to Understanding Emotion." *History and Theory* 51 (2): 193-220.
- Shusterman, Richard, ed. 1999. Bourdieu: A Critical Reader. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Steinmetz, George. 2006. "Bourdieu's Disavowal of Lacan: Psychoanalytic Theory and the Concepts of 'Habitus' and 'Symbolic Capital'." *Constellations* 13 (4): 445-64.
- Steinmetz, George. 2022. "The Algerian Origins of Bourdieu's Concepts and His Rejection of Social Reproductionism." *Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia* LXIII (2): 323-48.
- Wacquant, Loic J. D. 1989. "Towards a Reflexive Sociology: A Workshop with Pierre Bourdieu." Sociological Theory 7 (1): 26-63.
- Yacine, Tassadit. 2004. "Pierre Bourdieu in Algeria at War: Notes on the Birth of an Engaged Ethnosociology." *Ethnography* 5 (4): 487-509.

Politics beyond power: Hannah Arendt

Hannah Arendt turns the realist tradition on its head. Although power is always about politics, politics is not always about power. In her re-conceptualisation, political theory turns to a distinction between power and violence as a way to distinguish

Session 7 (19 Feb 2024): Authority and freedom

- Readings
- Arendt, Hannah. 1968. "What is authority?" In *Between Past and Future: Eight Exercises in Political Thought*, 91-141. New York et al.: Penguin Books.
- Arendt, Hannah. 1968. "What is freedom?" In *Between Past and Future: Eight Exercises in Political Thought*, 143-71. New York et al.: Penguin Books.

Session 8 (26 Feb 2024): Power and violence

- Reading
- Arendt, Hannah. 1969. *On Violence*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World. (Also part of Arendt, Hannah. 1969. *Crises of the Republic*. San Diego et al.: Harcourt Brace and Co., pp. 103-198).
 - Additional readings
- Allen, Amy. 1999. "Solidarity after Identity Politics: Hannah Arendt and the Power of Feminist Theory." *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 25 (1): 97-118.
- Ashcroft, Caroline. 2018. *Violence and Power in the Thought of Hannah Arendt*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Benhabib, Seyla. 1996. The Reluctant Modernism of Hannah Arendt. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publ.
- Bernstein, Richard J. 2013. "Hannah Arendt: On Violence and Power." In *Violence: Thinking without Banisters*, 78-104. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bernstein, Richard J. 2018. Why Read Hannah Arendt Now? Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Frazer, Elizabeth, and Kimberly Hutchings. 2008. "On Politics and Violence: Arendt Contra Fanon." *Contemporary Political Theory* 7 (1): 90-108.
- Habermas, Jürgen. 1977. "Hannah Arendt's Communications Concept of Power." *Social Research* 44 (1): 3-24.
- Honig, Bonnie, ed. 1995. *Feminist Interpretations of Hannah Arendt*. University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Isaac, Jeffrey C. 1992. Arendt, Camus, and Modern Rebellion. New Haven, London: Yale University Press.

Isaac, Jeffrey C. 1993. "Situating Hannah Arendt on Action and Politics." *Political Theory* 21 (3): 534-40.

Klausen, Jimmy Casas. 2010. "Hannah Arendt's Antiprimitivism." Political Theory 38 (3): 394-423.

Owens, Patricia. 2017. "Racism in the Theory Canon: Hannah Arendt and 'the One Great Crime in Which America Was Never Involved'." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 45 (3): 403-24.

Parietti, Guido. 2017. "Arendt on Power and Violence." In *The Anthem Companion to Hannah Arendt*, edited by Peter Baehr and Philip Walsh, 197-220. Anthem Press.

Patrick, Hayden., ed. 2014. Hannah Arendt: Key Concepts. Abingdon: Routledge.

Penta, Leo J. 1996. "Hannah Arendt: On Power." *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy* 10 (3): 210-29.

Ricoeur, Paul. 2010. "Power and Violence." Theory, Culture & Society 27 (5): 18-36.

Strong, Tracy B. 2012. *Politics without Vision: Thinking without a Banister in the Twentieth Century*. Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press.

Volk, Christian. 2015. "Towards a Critical Theory of the Political: Hannah Arendt on Power and Critique." *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 42 (6): 549-75.

Power and the politics of the performative: Judith Butler

Session 9 (4 Mar 2024): Subjection and performativity

Readings

Butler, Judith. 1999 [1990]. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. 2nd ed. New York & London: Routledge, pp. vii-xxvii, 3-44 (a bit quicker to reach 33-44), 171-190.

Butler, Judith. 1997. *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 1-30.

Butler, Judith. 2010. "Performative Agency." Journal of Cultural Economy 3 (2): 147-61.

Session 10 (11 Mar 2024): On non-violence

Readings

Butler, Judith. 2020. *The Force of Non-Violence: An Ethico-Political Bind*. London, New York: Verso, pp. 1-26, 103-150, 185-204.

• Additional readings

Allen, Amy. 1998. "Power Trouble: Performativity as Critical Theory." *Constellations* 5 (4): 456-71.

Bartelson, Jens. 2018. War in International Thought. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Butler, Judith, and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. 2007. *Who Sings the Nation-State? Language, Politics, Belonging*. London, New York, Calcutta: Seagull Books.

Benhabib, Seyla, Judith Butler, Drucilla Cornell, and Nancy Fraser. 1995. *Feminist Contentions: A Philosophical Exchange*. New York, London: Routledge.

Disch, Lisa. 1999. "Judith Butler and the Politics of the Performative." *Political Theory* 27 (4): 545-59.

Nussbaum, Martha C. 1999. "The Professor of Parody: The Hip Defeatism of Judith Butler." *The New Republic*, 22 February 1999.

Webster, Fiona. 2000. "The Politics of Sex and Gender: Benhabib and Butler Debate Subjectivity." *Hypatia* 15 (1): 1-22.