Lecture 1

- "Neither the life of an individual nor the history of a society can be understood without understanding both" Mills
- The first lesson is the idea that the individual can understand her own experience and gauge her own fate only by locating herself within her period, that she can know her own chances in life only by becoming aware of those of all individuals in her circumstances
    - Ibid

TROUBLES VS. ISSUES

- 'The personal troubles of milieu' and 'the public issues of social structure'
- If structural changes potentially affect personal troubles, at what point do 'troubles' become or relate to systemic issues?
- Examples
    - Mental health issues
        - Now so much more prevalent, but affects the individual a great deal

POWER

- "The probability that one actor in a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability exists"
- Power is relational as "the social actor possesses power only in relation to others"
    - You only follow someone who is in power because you believe they are in power
- Assumed that power is:
    - Held by actors
    - Intentionally exercised
    - Necessarily manifest in conflicts
    - Directly observable
- Another definition of power
    - There are manifold relations of power which permeate, characterise and constitute the social body and these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated no implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse
        - Foucault

POWER AS A PROCESS

- Its bases and it exercises are always up for negotiation
- Weber's typology of power – **Class, Status and Party**
    - Categories that impact an individuals capacity to exercise power
- **Class**
    - Possession of or access to material resources
- **Status**
    - Access to cultural and social resources
- **Party**
    - Access to institutions and through collective organisation as another means to exercise power

Lecture 2 -
MATERLIALSIM

DEFINING MATERIALISM

- An examination of the underlying relationships that govern whether or not people can access things and control them… to measure how people's relationships to things shape their capacity to exercise and resist power

DETERMINANTS OF CLASS/POWER

- Central for a materialist understanding of class relations – ones access to, ownership of, and control of material resources directly affects ones power in society
- Do the rich have power because of their assets or have they acquired assets because they hold power?
    - This leads to meritocracy
    - The norm and the public believe that they have all these assets because they have power

MERITOCRACY VS. MATERIALISM

- Belief that people end up where they do entirely because of their own merit
- Materialists challenge this notion, arguing that life chances are shaped by the existing distribution of material resources in society or the class system to a much greater degree than we usually acknowledge

KARL MARX

- Offered an analysis and critique of early capitalism – during industrialisation in Europe
- Drive to satisfy *material needs* is central for understanding human social relations
- Throughout history key determinant of power related to access to the *means of production* – typically mediated by the owning classes

DOMINATION THROUGH MATERIALISM

- Ownership vs. non-ownership was central for Marx (and still relevant today) when examining who has power
- One's *relationship to the means of production* explains whether one is in a subordinate or dominant position in society

ROLE OF INSTITUTIONS

- Maintaining the power of the owning classes requires social institutions that reflect and sustain their power – forming the **super-structure**
    - Example
        - State, religion, family, education, law
- Methods for suppressing resistance or encouraging support of existing power relations
- The majority subordinate class believe that "power inequalities hat were manifested in social institutions and the ideologies hat sustained them were natural, commonsensical or at best unchangeable
- False consciousness?
    - In the end of the day, these institutions mask our view and we lose the sight of reality
    - One way to look at power deeper

MATERIALISM AND ESTRANGED LABOUR

- Marx's theory of alienation directly underlies a materialist understanding of disconnect with the means of production in 4 forms alienation from…
    1. Labour activity
    2. Product of one's labour
    3. Each other
    4. 'Species being' of oneself
- Example of working at Tim's and making a sandwich
    - Certain way to make one, assembly line
    - Do you get to talk to your co-worker about how frustrated you were with how many sandwich's you had to make
- So much does labour's realisation appear as loss of reality to the point of starving to death. So much does objectification appear as loss of the object that the worker is robbed of the objects most necessary not only for his (or her) life but for his work
    - Marx quote

'PEOPLE LIKE US' (2001) DOCUMENTARY

- Connecting material notions of class to the reality
- There are clear class divisions and how people identify themselves

LECTURE 3
THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS II

- Select one theme from the course
- Briefly summarize the selected literature, present your standpoint in relation to the theme and engage in a critical analysis using your own experience and other readings
- One possibility is to examine a contemporary issue that relates to the themes and reflect on how the readings may help us understand the issue in more depth

WHAT'S MISSING FROM MATERIALISM?

- Markers of status and social prestige
    - "Signs and symbols…chosen…or ascribed, like physical characteristics, or something in between, like dialect" influences one's ability to exercise power
- Role of **symbolic power**
    - Consideration of how cultural and social markers impact power relations
- Social stratification … **pp

CLASS

- "…The kind of chance in the market is the decisive moment which presents a common condition for the individuals fate" (Weber)
- "Market situation" as "class interest"

1. Distribution of property
   And
2. Structure of the economic order

STATUS

- "In contrast to classes, status groups are normally communities… of an amorphous kind" (Weber)
- Not necessarily connected to class situation- "both propertied and property less people can belong to the same status group, and frequently do with very tangible consequences"
- "Style of Life" over conditions of life?
    - Our needs and our material (conditions of life)

DISTINCTION BETWEEN CLASS AND STATUS

- "'Classes' are stratified according to their relations to the production and acquisition of goods; whereas 'status groups' are stratified according to the principles of their consumption of goods as represented by special 'styles of life'" (Weber)

PARTY

- "Their action is oriented toward the acquisition of social 'power', that is to say, toward influencing a communal action no matter what its content may be" – as a social blub or the state
- "…Only possible within communities that are societalized, that is, which have some rational order and a staff of persons available who are ready to enforce it"

RELATING SYMBOLIC AND MATERIAL POWER

- "How does the negotiation of cultural and social power compare with material accounts? How are cultural and social power exercised, and by whom?" (S & R)
- Critiques as well as extensions of Marx's original work offer methods of examining symbolic power in relation to material power

HEGEMONY AND COUNTER-HEGEMONY

- **Hegemony**
    - The dominance of ideology and culture by an elite group to the point that few alternatives exist or can be imagined
- **Counter-Hegemony**
    - The ability to launch oppositional views that challenge existing power holders. An alternative ideology and cultural understanding that challenges the existing and dominant power holders

ANTONIO GRAMSCI

- Examined the "apparent indifference of the working class" ad theorised that "their lack of concern was cultivated by bourgeois-led state officials who exercised power through cultural as well as political institutions" (S & R)
- He found that culture was key to understanding how hegemonic ideologies were maintained
- Role of schools, religious institutions and media **pp

METHODS FOR RESISTING HEGEMONY

- Production of counter-hegemonic positions "by laying claim to alternative cultural and social markers that reconfigured and challenged the hegemony of elites
- The problem?
    - Ivory tower intellectuals who were unable to connect with the majority of people
- **'Organic Intellectuals'**
    - As the hope for making "arguments that were embedded within mass culture to challenge the hegemonic power of dominant groups"
    - Examples
        - Malcolm X as a leader

POWER REVISITED

- "Power is not only about class, it is about shaping and controlling the culture in which class operates"
- **The Frankfurt School**
    - Group of scholars who developed critical social theory, specifically as extension and critique of traditional Marxism
- Horkheimer and Adorno argued that "the production of culture had become a total power in the modern age"

LECTURE 5
THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS II

- Take the article and connect it to a current event
    - Easiest way

POSITIONING THE PUBLIC AS CONSUMER

- "Modern culture may be sold as something that is multi-faceted and that liberalizes individual interests, in reality people have little incentive to or lack the ability to engage culture or… to resist the interests of dominant elites." (S&R, 51)
- Question of who sells the products rather than what they are – according to Horkheimer & Adorno, this is central to understanding power relations

MANUFACTURING CONSENT

- Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky (1988)
- **Propaganda Model**
    - Various information "filters" act as a way to control the information the public consumes
        - Monopoly
        - Primacy of profit
        - Reliance on "experts"
        - Use of 'flak' or negative info
        - Propagation of a national ideology

CONSUMER CHOICE AND FREEDOM

- "Consumer 'choice' is thus an illusion created by powerful elites and the implication is that most people are largely duped and controlled by dominant power holders, especially the most materially advantaged" (S&R, 59)

PSYCOANALYISIS AND PROPAGANDA

- **Century of the Self**

EVERYDAY POWER/RESISTANCE

- Beyond *economic capital*, role of social and cultural capital – "everyone holds *some* power *sometimes*"

- Capital as money – “the unseen *value* we place on the different currencies or symbolic markers that we call money”

LECTURE 6
THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS III

EVERYDAY POWER/RESISTANCE

- Beyond economic capital, role of social and cultural capital – "everyone holds some power sometimes"
- Capital as money – "the unseen value we place on the different currencies or symbolic markers that we call money"

CULTURAL CAPITAL

- **Embodied State** – "… in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body"
    - Aspects that are part of who we are
    - Dynamic
- **Objectified State** – "in the form of cultural goods… which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories…"
    - We objectify things
- **Institutionalized State** – "a form of objectification which must be set apart because… it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee"

SOCIAL CAPITAL

- "The aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a double network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the world" Bourdieu

BEYOND A ZERO-SUM GAME

- "The concepts of cultural and social capital can help conceptualize power as less a zero-sum game and more as a situation in which power is distributed, held, and exercised more democratically." (S&R)
- Consider how these concepts offer tools to interpret collective action and social movements – moments where power is challenged and resisted

CULTURAL CAPITAL AS DOMINATION?

- Knowledge of sports as cultural capital
    - In many spaces, considered as a norm, yet creates spaces of inclusion/exclusion
- Co-worker socializing – 'happy hour'
    - Another example of power relations due to cultural capital
- Other examples?
    - Makeup
        - Guys wearing makeup
        - Girls and the level of makeup
    - TV shows
        - Watch it one night, and everyone wants to talk about it the next day
    - Language
        - Want to talk and speak following the current trend, but someone may have no idea what the new lingo and works actually mean

ROLE OF SOCIAL NETWORKS

- Quantity over quality
    - According to Granovetter
        - "There is more benefit in maintaining weak ties than strong ones"
        - "People who are able to extend their networks and tap into a wide range of social groups and situations are more successful in landing jobs than those who have a few very strong ties with other people"
- Robert Putnam argued that there is a "connection between membership in voluntary organizations like social clubs and bowling leagues, enhanced social capital, and political participation"

CRITIQUES

- Putnam argues that *bridging social capital* "fosters the formation of broad and inclusive associations" while *bonding social capital* "holds the risk of over insularization, which can foster societal fragmentation rather than unity" (S&R)
- Significant assumptions regarding the use of social capital for economic advancement and often minimizes the values of strong-tie relationships

"WHY THE REVOLTION WILL NOT BE TWEETED" MALCOLM GLADWELL

- "Where activists were once defined by their causes, they are now defined by their tools"
- Distinction between high-risk, "strong-tie" vs. "weak-tie" activism – impact on the commitment and motivation for political engagement

    - Liking a picture on FB and protesting on the street are two very different things
        - Weak-tie vs. strong-tie
- Example of Mississippi Freedom Summer Project 1964

PRESENTATION OF SELF

- Beyond knowledge and use of social networks – who can "lay claim to them"?
    - Example
        - When you leave university can you show that you are actually a university student? Can you portray your power and status when you're in a different space?
- Relational nature of cultural and social markers – a question of performances, dramaturgy, according to Goffman
- *Emotion Work* as presented in Arlie Hochschild's work on flight attendants

POWER THROUGH PERCEPTION

- "The ability to convince an audience of a presentation of self in a given role in the front stage is what yields power and allows individual to draw on different forms of cultural and social capital"
- How we are expected to perform, how we are able to perform, and how we choose to perform
    - Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus, capital, and field*

SEMIOTICS AND DISCOURSE

- "How elements of the cultural, social, political and economic world are transformed into symbolic or discursive form when they are transmitted"
- Stuart Hall examined how meanings are assigned to language – and how power is expressed through language
- Meanings assigned to words
    1. Dominant or Hegemonic reading
    2. Negotiated reading
    3. Oppositional Reading
- Opportunity for agency – "one of the most significant political moments… is the point when events which are normally signified and decoded in a a negotiated way begin to be given an oppositional reading. Here the 'politics of singification' – the struggle in discourse -

LECTURE 6
THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS III

HABITUS

- "…Systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposes to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations, which can be objectively 'regulated' and 'regular' without in any way being the product of obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them and, being all this, collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor"
    - Bourdieu

SOCIAL FIELD THEORY

- How does habitus, field and capital interact in various social relations?

CULTURE JAMMING

- "…Playing with existing dominant media and cultural symbols to impart subversive or alternate meanings to them" (S&R, page 73)

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS & RESISTANCE

- Materialist approaches
    - Political economy
    - Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT)
    - Collective Behaviour Theory
    - Relative Deprivation Theory
- Non-material approaches
    - New Social Movements (NSM)
    - Collective identity
    - Frame analysis

DEFINING SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

- "They are collective efforts, of some duration and organization, using non-institutionalized methods to bring about social change"
- "Conscious concerted and sustained efforts by ordinary people to change some aspect of their society by using extra-institutional means"
- Remember the danger that 'one may see social movements everywhere'!

RMT

- "There is always enough discontent in any society to supply the grass-roots support for a movement if the movement is effectively organized and has at its disposal the power and resources of some established elite group"
- Need resources to express our anger
- Civil Rights Movement for an example
- Resources are central to this approach; includes tangible (funding) and intangible assets (Commitment of participants)
    - Moral resources
    - Cultural resources
    - Social-organizational resources
    - Human resources
    - Material resources

RMT KEY TERMS

- **Social Movement**
    - A set of opinions and beliefs in a population which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of a society
- **Countermovement**
    - A set of opinions and beliefs in a population opposed to a social movement
- **Social Movement Organization**
    - A complex or formal organizations which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or a countermovement and attempts to implement those goals
- **Social Movement Industry**
    - Comprises of all the SMOs who broadly share a social movements goal
- **Social Movement Sector**
    - Includes all the SMIs in a society, inclusive of all social movements

NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY/ APPROACHES

- NSM theory merged in Europe independently of North American Theories
- Emphasis on movement that emerged during 'post-industrial'/'advanced capitalist' society
    - Example – peace, environment, gay and lesbian, student, and women's movement
- Concern with the defence of the 'lifeworld' – 'sphere of life not governed by instrumental, economic concerns but where real debate and communication create normative consensus'

COLLECTIVE IDENTITY AND SOLIDARITY

- **Collective Identity**
  - The sense of shared experiences and values that connects individuals to movements and gives participants a sense of 'collective agency' or feeling they can effect change through collective action"
- Not a static process – constantly changing. Melucci (1988) presents a framework to understand how social movements emerge from the initial construction of 'cognitive frameworks' and 'social relationships'
- **Solidarity**
  - Central for sustaining any movement once a formation of a collective identity emerges, social movement agents must work to maintain and build solidarity among participants

NSM THEORY AND SOCIAL CHANGE

- Shift in understanding how to effect social change – material and symbolic
- Opportunity to between understand motivation, participation and repertoire formation in social movements
- Not limited to contemporary movements- issues of culture and identity can be analysed in any instance of collective action
- Provides opportunities for activists to better understand their own movements and innovative ways to effect social change

LECTURE 7
INSTITUTIONS, THE STATE AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS I

INSTITUTIONS AND POWER RELATIONS

- "What else can social actors use as means of acquiring power besides the material, cultural, and social capital that they possess?" (S&R)
- Institutions set "the bounds of social interactions, the 'rules' and guidelines that govern the manner in which social relations unfold, and by delimiting the choices of action available to people at any given time and place"

HOW INSTITUIONS WIELD POWER

- State, religion, media, education, family
- From a Marxist perspective, dominated and used by owning classes to maintain class structure
- Institutionalist approach argue that they "order people's behaviour in enduring ad relatively predictable ways" – even on those who wield material, cultural or social power
- "… Individual advantage does not give a person licence to ignore the institutions ordering a society"

HOW DO INSTITUTIONS CHANGE

- Often, they are long-lasting and durable – though examples of significant changes in social institutions throughout history
    - Example: industrialization and the workplace, family institutions
- Have you witnessed institutions in your everyday lives change?

THE STATE

- "… The only institution whose leaders and personnel have the legal right to tax you, to assault you through its police and military, to permit or force you to commit murder if they conscript you into the armed forces and send you to war, to legally detain you in prison, and in some places event o kill you by means of capital punishment" (S&R)

WEBER'S MODEL OF BUREAUCRACY

- Modern bureaucracy operates with the following expectations:
    1. Ordered by rules – laws or administrative regulations
    2. Office hierarchy – "clearly established system of super and sub-ordination in which there is a supervision of the lower offices by the higher ones"
    3. Written documents – and "segregates official activity from the sphere of private life"
    4. Office management presupposes specialization and a clear division of labour
    5. Official activities demand "the full working capacity of the official"
    6. Reduction to rules as a method for function

BUREAUCRATIC ORGANIZATION AS DOMINANT

- Officials loyalty determined through "impersonal and functional purposes"
- Bureaucratic organization as supreme over pre-modern methods of organization – "purely technical superiority"
- Capitalist market economy "demands that the official business of public administration be discharged precisely, unambiguously, continuously and with as much speed as possible"
- "Objective discharge of business primarily means a discharge of business according to calculable rules and without regard for persons"

PERFECT BUREAUCRACY

- … As the absence of humanity
- "When fully developed bureaucracy also stands in a specific sense, under the principle of *sine ira ac studio*. Bureaucracy develops the more perfectly, the more it is 'dehumanized', the more completely it succeeds in eliminating from official business love, hatred and all purely personal, irrational, and emotional elements with escape calculation" (Weber)
- "The more complicated and specialized modern culture becomes, the more its external supporting apparatus demands the personally detached and strictly objective expert"

INDISPENSABLE NATURE OF BUREAUCRACIES

- "Where administration has been completely bureaucratized, the resulting system of domination is practically indestructible"
    - Weber says it's pretty much impossible to get rid of bureaucracies

- "The material fate of the masses depends upon the continuous and correct functioning of the ever more bureaucratic organizations of private capitalism, and the idea of eliminating them becomes more and more utopian"
- Due to impersonal character, rationalized inner structure and control over communications

POWER POSITION OF BUREAUCRACY

1. The political irrelevance of functional indispensability
2. Administrative secrecy
3. Ruler's dependence on the bureaucracy

DISENCHANTMENT OF MASS SOCIETY

- "The fate of our times is characterized by rationalization an intellectualization and, above all, by the *disenchantment* of the world" (Weber)
- For Weber, bureaucracy and rationalization combined to produce as "iron cage"
- "Complete identification and fulfilment of authentic human needs are possible only under the condition of transcending manipulation by both the modern market economy and by bureaucratic authority" (Markovic)

LECTURE 9
INSTITUTIONS, THE STATE AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS II

STATE AND VIOLENCE

- Single consistent aspect of states in history is their "monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory"
- Tendency towards more violence in states that contain 'weak' or 'oppressively strong' state institutions
- Where does Canada fit on the spectrum?
    - Canada isn't as violent as other states
    - Strong state institutions, but opportunities to citizen participation?

USE OF THE WAR MEASURES ACT

- First adopted in 1914 and continues in force through 1920 – during WWI
    - Internment of Canadians of German, Ukrainian, and Slavic descent
- During WWII – 1939-1945
    - Internment of Japanese Canadian confiscation of their property
- October Crisis in 1970 – in response to kidnappings by the FLQ, PM Pierre Trudeau instituted the act and stationed armed soldiers and military vehicles in Montreal

VIOLENCE AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

- Tactic escalation resulting in violence – by the Sate and/o the public
    - Aboriginal protest – example: 1990 Oka crisis
    - Quebec Sovereignty
    - Global Justice Movement – example: G20 protests

STATE VIOLENCE AND ITS SOURCES

- "… The permission to use violence as a means of dominating power negotiations is, in a sense, granted to state leaders by the state institutions themselves"
- *Genocide* – "… the purposeful and systematic elimination, by murder or other means, of a group of people identified by another as being somehow distinct"
- *Democracy and state institutions* as the facilitators of genocide – according to Mann

LIBERAL DEMOCRACY AND VIOLENCE

- Democratic state institutions"… Do no always foster peace by permitting everyone access to the state so they can resolve group conflicts in an orderly manner"
- According to Mann: "The dominant Western system of liberal democracy has made sacred a majoritarian and territorial form of sovereignty. It has often added a high degree of state centralization… These qualities have never been good at dealing with spatially concentrated minorities"
- Thus, for Mann, the problem lies with the state institutions and their administration rather than issues of racism, xenophobia, etc.

STATE INSTITUTIONS, POWER AND RESISTANCE

- Role of institutions in shaping "challenges to power" and their influence on "people and movements dedicated to resisting existing power arrangements"
- *Party Power* – "at type of power that comes from the capacity of a group **to pursue a goal** in circumstances characterized by what Weber called an 'existing dominion' or some **existing social order**"
- Political Parties, Interest Groups, Social Movements – varying degrees of engagement with the "existing social order"

DYNAMICS OF 'PARTY POWER'

- Role of *institutional context* in a party's mobilizing efforts – tactics, demands, organization
- "How the state institutions configure, enhance, or delimit the aims, actions, and potential of these groups and whether and how their actions in turn come to refashion existing state institutions"

find more esources at oneclass.com

LECTURE 10
INSTITUTIONS, THE STATE AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS II

THE *CITIZENSHIP REGIME* AND THE STATE

- "… The people who control states decide, through state institutions, who is a citizen of the territory and who is not"
- *Citizenship Regime*
    - "It encompasses the institutional arrangements that guide the decisions made by state officials about policy, expenditures, and governance of the populace"
- What claims are considered *politically legitimate* and who is a 'proper' citizen
- Beyond just written policies, encompassing how we relate to each other in our everyday life

CONSTITUTION ACT, 1982

- Establishment of *individual rights* (S&R)
    - S. 15 protects equality – prohibits discrimination based on race, nationality, ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability
    - S. 16 protects language rights of Francophones and Anglophones
    - S. 25 protects past Aboriginal treaties
    - S. 35 defines Aboriginals as a national minority with 'special rights'
- Effort to "accommodate its multicultural and multinational character"

MULTICULTURALISM ACT 1971

- "Canada affirmed the value and dignity of all Canadian citizens regardless of their racial or ethnic origins, their language, or their religious affiliation. The 1971 Multiculturalism Aboriginal peoples and the status of Canada's two official languages"

STRENGTHENING CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP ACT, 2015

- The *Strengthening Canadian Citizenship Act (SCCA)* introduces new grounds for revocation of citizenship and provides for a streamlined revocation process. Previously, the citizenship revocation process generally involved three steps
    - The Minister, the Federal Court, and the Governor in Council
- Under the new revocation process, the Governor in Council will no longer have a role except for some transitional cases
- The new process has two decision-making streams:
    - The vast majority of revocation cases will be decided by the Minister

- Certain complex cases will be decided by the Federal Court

TYRANNY OF RIGHTS?

- Brewster Kneen's (2009) analysis challenges the rights discourse – especially in relation to food systems
- "Humans … are the only organisms to come up with the idea of a right to food which transforms a human necessity into a legal claim to be granted by some authority"
- Putting oneself into a "position of dependency on agencies and institutions" has led to social relations mediated by market economies and the state

RESPONSIBILITIES VS. RIGHTS

- Replacing *responsibilities* with *rights* has "served the wealthy and powerful well by providing an appearance of moral principle – right to life, right to food, right to land – while obscuring the lack of concrete action to address the subject of the rights claim, thus leaving intact the structures of power" (page 2-3)
- Initial usage of 'rights' was more similar to 'responsibility' – though shift to a culture of individualism during the enlightenment has lead how we understand 'rights' today

POLITICAL OPPURTUNITIES

- *Political Opportunity*
  - **"**The changing conditions that 'open up' or 'close' the existing political order and provide people with the inspiration or grievance or 'space' to take action on an issue of importance to them"
- The American Civil Rights Movement - not simply grievances and organizations, rather political opportunities that contributed to its emergence and success
- Decline of the Global Justice Movement – post 9/11/2001, "a 'closing' of the political climate in the US that affected its progress independently of any changes internal to the movement

POLITICAL PROCESS THEORY (PPT)

- Emphasis on interactions between social movement agents and the state; as well as role of political opportunities in mobilization
- "PPT includes a complex array of 'political' or power-related phenomena that operate together to affect social movement activities and outcomes"

CRITIQUE OF PPT

- "Political and economic structures of society are viewed as determining, while culture is treated as separate from structure and secondary in importance"
- "PPT remains conceptually muddled insofar as political process theorists have been unable to reach agreement about the definitions of its basic concepts"
- "Language of causal structures" encourages development of "universal theory or model of social movements"

MULTI-INSTITUIONAL APPROACH

- "…Society is composed of multiple and often contradictory institutions" (Armstrong and Bernstein)
- "Our model views the nature, power, logic, and centrality of states as historically variable and a question for empirical investigation"
- A multi-institutional politics approach moves **beyond understanding power as vested primarily in the state**. Society is viewed as composed of **multiple and contradictory institutions** with each institution viewed as mutually constituted by classificatory systems and practices that concretize these systems. Movements may target a diverse array of institutions (both state and non-state), and seek both material and symbolic change"

AGENCY VS. STRUCTURE

- Struggle for social movement theories to holistically examine contentious events
- Institutionalism as a response to overemphasis of "agency approaches to social phenomena"
- How can we overcome determinism in either direction when examining social movements?

CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

- Over-emphasis on the *state*
- Anthropocentric
    - Focus on social relations, ignores interactions with non-humans (animals, environment, technology)
- Missing methods for examining new forms of political engagement and social movements

ASSUMPTIONS OF SOCIOLOGY

- Interested in studying "interactions among people and the social processes that they create, sustain, and respond to" – thus a social lens rather than an internal one

- Missing the question of how the "things we are mad of, the things we use and interact with, and the things that structure the world" are in fact producing the power relations and social issues we are examining"
- "… Instead of asking who holds and challenges power, we should be asking what shapes power"

KEY QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

- How does space (its production and consumption) influence power relations in everyday life?
- By examining knowledge production and discourse can we locate the methods in which power is challenged and reproduced?

LECTURE 13
BUILDING A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

DEFINING POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

- Definition has ranged from engagement with the formal political process (early 1950s) to a broader understanding to suggest "democracy is not confined to politics and economics but is needed as well in the organization and relations of social and cultural life" (Burt, 2002)
- "Expressive dimension of participation" – relates "to one's sense, either real of imaginary, of the potential impact of an action on public policy"

C.B. MACPHERSON'S FOUR MODELS

- **Protective Model**
  - "Participation occurs primarily through voting and is primarily a means of both protecting citizens from arbitrary rule and ensuring the election of responsible trustees"
- **Developmental Democracy**
  - "Citizens have a direct interest in government"
  - "A means to self-improvement and provides citizens with an essential connection to their government
- **Equilibrium Model**
  - "A pluralist model, where elites compete for votes at election time and elected representatives balance competing claims of interest groups"
- **Participatory Democracy**
  - "Decisions are made and evaluated by the people most likely to be affected by their outcome"
  - "Freedom for political action is a priority" and decision making is centered around "**issues rather than personalities**"

FORMS OF PARTICIPATION

- Voting, campaign activity, holding political office, contacting public officials for individual goals, communal activity, political protest
- According to Mishler (1979), less than one third of Canadians participated in anything other than voting and less than 1% in more "demanding activities"
- "Far from being products of man's intrinsic apathy, as elitist theories frequently imply, the relatively low levels of citizen participation in Canada appear to be **consequences of complex sets of individual motivations or attitudes whose origins can be traced to a series of individual social and economic experiences**

associated with the nature of the times in which the individual was reared and the individual's current position in society

DEMOCRACY – CONCEPTUAL CONCERNS

- An "inherently debatable and changeable idea" deserving careful consideration
- An open question, rather than a fixed condition that exists or not
- Laxer – "the appetite for democracy arises not from political theory but from tangible needs of millions of people"
- Traditional notions vs. 'democracy from below' – how can we re-invigorate connections between them?

DEMOCRACY IN EVERYDAY LIFE

- Work, school and everywhere else – how we engage with out everyday experiences of 'democracy' (or the lack of it) impacts out expectations of electoral politics
- Challenges in practising democracy in everyday life leads to questions of how to practice it on a larger scale
- "… It is perhaps right that the question of how and where democracy might be practised should be solved democratically in the realm of action rather than theoretically in a book"

DIFFERING PERSPECTIVES ON VOTING AS DEMOCRATIC PARTICPATION

- Voting as a 'highly ritualized process' serves as a reminder of the form of democracy we live in
- On one hand – "… protected by the individualised privacy of the voting booth and the high seriousness of the procedures that ensure only eligible voters participate and elections take place in an environment free of influence and coercion"
- OR on the other hand – "… a reminder of both who is excluded from active democratic participation and the individualize passivity of the act of marking an 'x' or pulling a lever to select among narrowly constrained choices"

REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY

- Is representation necessary for contemporary democracies? Many argue it is inevitable due to practical realities of mass society – "it is impossible for everyone to be in the same place at the same time, making decisions collectively"

- "Political representation excludes almost all of a nation from the institutions that 'democratically govern it' – this 'paradox' of contemporary democracies creates significant challenges
- Where does self-government, referendums, and other methods fit into mainstream democracy?

POLITICAL PARTIES AND MOVEMENTS

- The role of political parties, social movements and other 'non-formalized' networks in challenging and transforming the State
- "Parties create opinion as much as they represent it; they form it by propaganda; they impose a prefabricated mould upon it"
- According to Weldon, the role of social movements is central for representing the 'excluded' – can the development of movements be a solution to "the deepest, most persistent problems of representation?"

WHO'S IN, WHO'S OUT?

- "How can a representative genuinely represent the interests of both wealthy landlords and homeless people, both of whom live in that representative constituency?"
- *Choice* as a "false impression of unity among populations with contradictory interests"
- *Descriptive Representation* – whether "a representation body is … an accurate correspondence or resemblance to what it represents"
    - How well does this address representation of traditionally marginalized and dispossessed groups?

MAJORITY PRINCIPLE

- "Turns politics into a zero-sum game competition for power rather than a means of including everyone in the process of governance"
- Risk of institutions upholding "forms of privilege and work against more inclusive forms of representation" – thus Dovi argues for a 'strategic use of *exclusion* for democratic ends'

LECTURE 14
BUILDING A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

LEGACY OF COLONIALISM AND DEMOCRACY

- "Even if representative bodies become more reflective of the diverse populations over which they rule, this would not change the fact that some of the most reversed representative democracies … are European settlements on indigenous land that many aboriginal peoples claim was never willingly surrendered to the colonizers"

"TRUSTEE" VS "DELEGATE" MODEL

- **Trustee Model of Representation**
  - "Those selected to make decisions must ultimately have the capacity to overrule the populace"
- **Delegate Model of Representation**
  - **"**The representative is to advocate for the views of the electors"
- Do you agree that at "representative's unbiased opinion, his mature judgement, his enlightened conscience should never be sacrificed to the shims and personal desires of individual electors"? – How is Burke's vision achievable?

SELF-RULE AND DEMOCRACY FROM BELOW

- "Sovereignty cannot be reversed… any law which the people has not rectified in person is void; it is not law at all. The English people (who live under representative democracy) believes itself to be free; it is gravely mistaken; it ****pp

DEHUMANISING EFFECTS OF REPRESENTATION

- According to Marx, having "control over the productive powers of our species" is central – by relying on a small group of elites to make decisions for us, the we are "depriving most people of the chance to take part in the activities that make us human"
- **pp

PARIS COMMUNE OF 1871

- Established a system of collective self-rule
  - Government positions paid at a workers wage
  - Representatives could be recalled and replaced by electors anytime
  - Only legitimate force by the National Guard (a genuine peoples army)

- Arguably, the revolt “temporality overthrew hierarchies of gender, class and religion”

OTHER EXAMPLES OF DELEGATE SYSTEMS

- Labour Unions
    - Shop stewards and role of rank-and-file membership directly involved in decision making activities
    - Bureaucratic structures and professionalization has hindered this significantly (See Camfield)
- Council Democracy
    - “Mass meetings at the level of the workplace, school, or neighbourhood elect delegates to local councils, which then elect delegates to regional councils”

IMAGINING A GENUINE SELF-GOVERNING DEMOCRACY

- “If the new social order is to be genuinely transformative, it follows that there is a strict limit on how much you can say about it right now. We can, after all, describe the future only in terms drawn from the past or present would have us straining at the limits of our language”

-

LECTURE 15

EDUCATION AS "AN ACT OF DEPOSITING"

- Fundamentally narrative – "involves a narrating Subject (the teacher) and patient, listening objects (the students)"
- "Words are emptied of their concreteness and become a hollow, alienated, and alienating verbosity"
- "Narration… turns students into 'containers', into 'receptacles' to be 'filled' by the teacher. The more completely she fills the receptacles, the better a teacher she is. The more merely the receptacles permit themselves to be filled, the better the students they are"

THE FUCTION OF THE 'BANKING' METHOD

- Production of adaptability – "the more students work at storing the deposits entrusted to them, the less they develop the critical consciousness which would result from their intervention in the world as transformers of that world" (Freire, p. 73)
- Subject/object relationship in education – and our examination of the world
- "… The educators role's is to regulate the way the world 'enters into' the students" – "and since people 'receive' the world as passive entities, education should make them more passive still, and adapt them to the world" – "well suited to the purposes of oppressors whose tranquility rests on how people fit the world the oppressors have created and how little they question it"

ADAPTING TO OPPRESSION?

- "Education as the exercise of domination stimulates the credulity of students, with the ideological intent (often not perceived by educators) of indoctrinating them to adapt to the world of oppression" (Freire)
- How can we pursue 'authentic liberation' if the banking-method used in education is our primary method for schooling?

PROBLEM-POSING EDUCATION

- "… Responding to the essence of consciousness – intentionality – rejects communiqués and embodies communication" (Freire)
- "… Breaks with the vertical patterns characteristic of banking education … through dialogue, the teacher-of-the-students and the students-of-the-teacher cease to resist and a new term emerges: teacher-student with students-teacher"
- "… People develop their power to perceive critically *the way they exist* in the world *with which* they find themselves; they come to see the world **PP

PROCESS OF HUMANIZATION

- "Problem-posing education affirms men and women as being in the process of *becoming* – as unfinished, uncompleted being in and with a likewise unfinished reality"
- "Whereas the banking method directly or indirectly reinforces men's fatalistic perception of their situation, the problem-posing methods presents this very situation to them as a problem"
- "The pursuit of full humanity, however, cannot be carried out in isolation or individualism, but only in fellowship and solidarity; therefore it cannot unfold in the antagonistic relations between oppressors and oppressed"

- POWER AND RESISTANCE IN EVERYDAY LIFE

ORDINARY SUFFERING

- While it connects to *la grande misère*, consider *la petite misère* as "ordinary suffering" – "relative misery, poverty and suffering"
- How do we understand ordinary (or everyday) misery/suffering/poverty as it connects to material and systemic poverty/suffering? Do you agree with the distinction presented by Bourdieu?

DISCLAIMER AND CHALLENGES

- "How can we not feel anxious about making private words public, revealing confidential statements made in the context of relationship based on a trust that can only be established between two individuals?"
- "The analysts' intrusion is as difficult as it tis necessary. It must proclaim itself openly and yet strive to go unnoticed"
- "On the one hand, the discussion must provide all the elements necessary to analyze the interviewees' positions objectively and to understand their points of view, and it must accomplish this **without setting up the objectivizing distance that reduces the individual to a specimen in a display case"**

"SIMPLE JUXTAPOSITION…"

- "… To bring out everything that results when different or antagonistic visions of the world confront each other – that is, certain cases, the *tragic consequences* of making incompatible points of view confront each other, where no concession or compromise is possible because each one of them is equally founded in social reason"
- *Positional Suffering* – appears "entirely relative" viewed through the macrosm, compared to "real" suffering

EFFECTS OF 'ORDINARY SUFFERING'

- "… Using material poverty as the sole measure of all suffering keeps us from seeing and understanding a whole side of the suffering characteristic of a social order which, although it has undoubtedly reduced poverty overall (though less than often claimed) has also multiplied the social spaces (specialized fields an subfields) and set up the conditions for an unprecedented, development of all kinds of ordinary suffering"
- Importance of recognising 'ordinary suffering'/symbolic violence

SITE PLACE AND SOCIAL SPACE

- "The site can be defined absolutely as the point in *physical space* where an agent or a thing is situated, 'takes place', exists … a position, a rank in an order"
- "The place occupied may be defined as the extent, surface and volume that an individual or a thing occupies in physical space, its dimensions… its bulk"
- *Social Space* as "defined by the mutual exclusion (or distinction) of the positions that constitute it… as a juxtapositional structure of social positions"

SPACE, HABITUS, AND DOMINATION

- "The ability to dominate space, notably by appropriating (materially or symbolically) the rare goods (public or private) distributed there, depends on the capital possessed""
- "If the habitat shapes the habitus, the habitus also shapes the habitat, through the more or less adequate social usages that it tends to make of it"
- "At the risk of feeling themselves *out of place*, individuals who move into a new space must fulfill the conditions that the space tactically requires of its occupants"

RECLAIMING SPACE IN EVERYDAY LIFE

- As a method to examine collective (an individual) forms of resistance
- Arguably, this is a *tipping point* that may occur when we product spaces in different ways the dominant discourse presents – see Henri Lefebvre (1991)
- What are some examples of groups using the reclamation of space as a means for social change?

THE POLICY OF SPACE & DE-LEGITMISING EFFECTS

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FINAL EXAM REVIEW
Tuesday December 8, 2015

- Room 201

- 40 multiple choice, 5 fill in the blank, 5 true/false (50 marks)
  - **Overview of Political Sociology**
    - Didn't lecture in class
  - **Building a Democratic Society**
  - **Schooling and Social Inequality**
    - Ivan Illich, Paulo Ferrari
    - Deschooling, Banking Method
  - **"Occupy" and Prefigurative Politics**
    - Matt James
  - **Power and Resistance in Everyday Life**
    - Bourdieu
    - Weight of the World
    - Way that space operates and reclaiming space
- Two essay questions, choose 1 (20 marks)
- Key terms are important
- **Essay 1**
  - I could choose a social movement theory and find critiques and scholars who critiqued that theory
  - 800 words
  - Throughout the course, we have reviewed various theoretical traditions within political socio. Please choose one of the traditions discussed and include the following:
    - Summary of the theory – classical and contemporary scholars relevant, key terms and definitions
    - Application of the theory – how does the theory offer an understanding of political participation within state institutions and in everyday life?
    - Critiques – what are the primary critiques of the theory presented?
      - Key scholars that spoke to the theory
      - Weber and Foucault and how they critiqued Marx
  - Example – Marxism
  - Stick to the course material, but you can pull other resources to supplement
  - Include citations where you can
    - If you cite outside the course material, maybe add at the end where it came from

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        - Try to remember the years
    - Memorize scholars and what they say
    - Use the whole course to answer the essay questions
- **Essay 2**
    - One of the themes that emerged during the course relates to the opportunities for individual and collective agency/resistance. For this essay, you must select one social institution (example – education, government, media, arts, prisons, means of subsistence, etc.) that you believe could be changed to improve democratic participation. Your essay must include the following components
        - Description of the specific area you are addressing – what does it currently look like in the context you have chosen? (Be specific)
        - Forms of inequality/injustice that are prevalent – what are the current problems facing the sector you have selected?
        - Imagining alternatives – using materials from the course, what would you propose as a method for resolving the issues facing the particular institution? Outline the details and be creative in your analysis.

<u>Theories that could work for Essay 1</u>

- Materialism
- Class, Status, Party
- Hegemony and Counter-Hegemony
    - Gramsci
    - Cultural, influenced by Marx
    - Critique – lack of organic intellectuals
        - How do you foster and get organic intellectuals?
        - How do we identify them?
    - Maybe use Michael Mann and Herman and Chomsky as a scholar who creates this tradition
- Everyday Life/Power – Social and Cultural Capital
- Social Movement Theory
- Institutions and Power Relations
- PPT
    - Political opportunity
    - Events in Paris that has created a whole array of new political opportunities
    - Critique – overemphasis on state we can forget that people have a political agency
        - Very broad conceptual term
        - How do we define what is political opportunity?
- Space, Habitus and Domination