

CARLETON UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

ANTH 4215C/5708U — WINTER 2023
LIBERALISM, RACE, AND EMPIRE

Instructor: Jean-Michel Landry
Office Hours: Tuesday 3:00-4:00 (or by appointment)
Email: jean-michel.landry@carleton.ca

Class Location: Loeb A715
Class Time: Tuesdays 11:35-14:25

Method of Delivery: In person

Description and Objectives

Liberalism has dominated the Western political imagination for more than two centuries. Its values and aspirations (e.g., individual freedom, market competition, juridical equality) are now enshrined in our constitutions, and have been exported around the globe as necessary components to a healthy political life. But liberalism shapes our thinking as much as of our laws. As a normative framework for politics, it structures the ways we reflect on problems of race and coloniality today. It underlies the questions we raise, orients the answers we give, and informs how we respond to everyday events.

This seminar is a semester-long attempt to explore, and confront, the limits that liberal thought poses to our political imagination—especially as it regards to issues of race and coloniality. We will begin our discussion by examining (with Marx) the peculiar kind of equality that liberalism seeks to offer, and (with Foucault) the forms of discipline that it prescribes. Next, we will turn our attention to the historical relationship between liberalism and colonialism, trying to understand how liberal advocates of freedom came to support a project of racial subjugation such as European colonial rule. The second half of the semester will be devoted to contemporary debates. We will consider the forms of hierarchies and processes of exclusion operative through the liberal politics of tolerance, recognition, and secularism.

Ethics and Politics of this Course:

I consider this course as an opportunity to forge a community of learning together. Forging such a community involves that we acknowledge, respect and take advantage of the multifaceted diversity that composes this class. This class will be socially, racially, religiously, and economically diverse. We will also read the course materials differently, and hopefully disagree on several points. But we will approach these disagreements as opportunity to listen to, and learn from, one another. No prejudicial comments or behaviors will be tolerated.

Carleton University acknowledges the location of its campus on the traditional, unceded territories of the Algonquin nation. In doing so, Carleton acknowledges it has a responsibility to the Algonquin people and a responsibility to adhere to Algonquin cultural protocols.

Readings:

All other course materials are available as PDF on ARES. This course is based on a collection of original texts.

Course Requirements & Methods of Evaluation (for master and 4th-year students):

>> **3 or 4 Response Papers (20%)** Over the semester students will write response papers (400-500 words) that engages the required readings (master students will write four, 4th-year students will write three). Each response papers must be uploaded on CuLearn the Friday before the class for which the engaged readings were assigned. Response papers are not summaries; they are occasions to develop one's thoughts and questions about the texts assigned for a particular week. Below are three approaches meant to help you write effective reading responses.

A) Interpretive Response. Choose a passage, a concept, or an argument from one of the assigned texts. Consider the following questions as you write:

1. What does the author is trying to accomplish with this passage/concept/argument?
2. Are there any alternative readings or interpretations of this passage/concept/argument
3. What other excerpts of the text support my interpretation?

B) Comparative Response. Compare two authors you read in this class on a concept, an argument, or a theme.

C) Connective Response. Consider how would an author (e.g., Karl Marx, Wendy Brown, Elizabeth Povinelli) would respond to an issue of your choice that is not directly addressed in the assigned reading.

D) Critical Response. You may wish to criticize or argue against the authors. You may argue that the author's work has an inconsistency, or that it fails to offer a convincing explanation. But the evidence for such an argument needs to be in the text.

>> **Class Presentation (15%)**. Each student will be responsible for delivering a fifteen-minute presentation on the topic for one particular week. Following your presentation, you are required to come up with a question that will contribute to lead a class discussion.

On the first day of class you will be asked to sign up for your preferred week (you will be asked to rank your favorite three) and I will do my best to build a schedule that accommodates everyone's preferences.

>> **Reflection paper on Charles Hirschkind talk (15%)**. On March 23rd, 2023, World-renowned anthropologist Charles Hirschkind will come give a talk on campus. At home, students will write a 500-word reflection paper on his talk.

>> **Final Paper (40%)**. Students are expected to write a final research paper (15-20 pages for

master students; 12-15 for 4th year students) on an issue related to the themes of the course. You are encouraged to be creative in your choice of topic and may consult with me in case of doubt. You may opt to submit a section of your thesis that engages with the course materials as long as you have not submitted it previously in another course or to your committee members.

Proposal (5%)

Proposals (2 pages, including a bibliography) are due on February 28th. The purpose of the proposal is to identify the feasibility of the project, and ensure that students began working on their final project early in the term.

Paper presentation (10%)

Students will present their final research project at a “mini-conference,” scheduled on April 4th, and are invited to use this opportunity to get feedback on their project, before their final submission. You will present your paper in a panel format (along with 2 or 3 peers) and answer questions from other students. You are encouraged to use this opportunity to discuss any unresolved questions/issues you may have with the paper, and to make final revisions to it based on the comments received.

Final research project (25%)

Students are invited to use the written and verbal feedback received by their peers & instructor to rework their project (and thus should submit their graded first draft with their final submission). The final research project should engage a topic relating to the themes of the course (the subject needs prior approval through submission of the proposal; in order to change their topic, students must consult with me). The criteria used to grade the final paper include: 1) quality of analysis and engagement with the literature (i.e. topic is treated fully, convincingly, with supportive evidence); 2) clarity of thesis and well-articulated argument; 3) critical reflection and original thought; and 4) overall writing style. The final research paper is due April 12th.

>> *Weekly participation in class discussion (10%)* Students are expected to come well prepared for class discussion and to participate in an informed and engaged way, which means that prior to the beginning of each class, you are expected to complete the required readings and bring questions, insights as well as points for discussion and debates. Punctuality, regular attendance, informed participation, active listening, meaningful contributions, openness to challenging taken-for-granted assumptions, and respect for different opinions are expected during the discussion periods in order to create a mutually supportive and respectful learning environment.

Class Schedule:

WEEK 1: INTRODUCTION (January 10th)

[No reading assigned]

WEEK 2: THE LIBERAL IMAGINARY (January 17th)

Required

Manent, Pierre

1995, *An Intellectual History of Liberalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
(Chapter 1: pp. 3-9)

Fukuyama, Francis

1989, The End of History? *The National Interest* (16): pp. 3-4.

Freeden, Michael

2015, *Liberalism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
(chapters 1)

Ryan, Alan

2007, Liberalism. In *A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy*.
London: Blackwell (pp. 360-380).

Hobsbawm, Eric

1994, *Age of Extremes. The Short Twentieth Century. 1914-1991*. London: Abacus.
("The Century: A Bird's Eye View III": pp. 12-17).

Suggested

Wolin, Sheldon

2004, *Politics and Vision. Continuity and Innovation in Western Political Thought*.
Princeton: Princeton University Press. (chapter 9)

WEEK 3: DEPOLITICIZING INEQUALITY (January 24th)

Required

Marx, Karl.

1978 [1843], "On the Jewish Question," in *The Marx-Engels Reader*. R. C. Tucker, ed.
New York: W. W. Norton & Cie. (pp. 26-52).

Brown, Wendy.

1994, "Rights and Identity in Late Modernity: Revisiting the 'Jewish Question'" in
Identity, Politics and Rights. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. pp. 90-108.

WEEK 4: LIBERAL (AND COLONIAL) DISCIPLINES OF POWER (January 31st)

Foucault, Michel

1995 [1975], *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage. (Part
Three, chapter 3: "Panopticism," pp. 195-228)

Mitchell, Timothy

1988, *Colonizing Egypt*. Berkeley: University of California Press. (pp. 63-94)

Suggested

Bentham, Jeremy

1969, "Panopticon Papers." In *A Bentham Readers*. M. Petermarck. New York: Pegasus.

Deleuze, Gilles

1992, "Postscript on the Societies of Control." *October* (59): 3-7.

Orwell, George

2002 [1952], "Such, Such Were the Joys." In *Essay*. London: Penguin.

WEEK 5: LIBERALISM AND IMPERIALISM (February 7th)

Required

Mehta, Uday Singh

1997, "Liberal Strategies of Exclusion." In *Tensions of Empire. Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*. F. Cooper and A. L. Stoler, eds. Berkeley: University of California Press. (pp. 59-80).

Suggested

Mehta, Uday Singh,

1999, *Liberalism and Empire. A Study in Nineteenth-Century British Liberal Thought*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

WEEK 6: COLONIAL PROMISES OF FREEDOM (February 14th)

Required

Lowe, Lisa.

2015, *The Intimacy of Four Continents*. Duke: Duke University Press. (selection TBA)

>> READING WEEK – NO CLASS ON FEBRUARY 21ST <<

WEEK 7: TOLERANCE AS A TECHNOLOGY OF RULE (February 28th)

Required

Brown, Wendy

2006, *Regulating Aversion. Tolerance in the Age of Identity and Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (chapters 1 & 3)

Suggested

Locke, John

1689 [1990], *A Letter Concerning Toleration*. Amherst: Prometheus.

McClure, Kirstie

1990, "Difference, Diversity, and the Limits of Toleration." *Political Theory* 18(3): 361-391.

WEEK 8: "THE CUNNING OF RECOGNITION" (March 7th)

Required

Povinelli, Elizabeth

2002, *The Cunning of Recognition. Indigenous Alterities and the Making of Australian Multiculturalism*. Durham: Duke University Press (intro & chapter 1)

Suggested

Gluckman, Max

1940, "Analysis of a Social Situation in Modern Zululand." *Bantus Studies* 14(1).

WEEK 9: RACE, RIGHTS, AND RECOGNITION (March 14th)

Required

Coulthard, Glen Sean

2014, *Red Skin, White Masks. Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*.
Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press (selection TBA)

Suggested

Fanon, Frantz

1986 [1952], *Black Skin, White Marks*. London: Pluto Press. (Chapter 7: 163-173)

WEEK 10: RACISM AND LIBERALISM (March 21st)

Required

Anderson, Mark

2019, *From Boas to Black Power. Racism, Liberalism, and American Anthropology*.
Stanford: Stanford University Press. (Chapter 1 and conclusion)

The Economist,

2021, "Race in America. Leader and Special Report" *The Economist*, May 22nd
2022 (pp. 11; 3-12 of the special report).

Suggested

West, Cornel

2001, *Race Matters*. Boston: Beacon Press (introduction and chapter 1).

WEEK 11: SECULARISM, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND EMPIRE (March 28th)

Required

Mahmood, Saba

2006, "Secularism, Hermeneutics, and Empire: The Politics of Islamic Reformation."
Public Culture 18(2): 323-347.

Asad, Talal

2003, "Redeeming the "Human" Through Human Rights." In *Formations of the Secular*.
Stanford: Stanford University Press. (pp. 127-158).

Suggested

Brown, Wendy

2012, *Civilizational Delusions: Secularism, Tolerance, Equality. Theory and Event* (15): 2.

Brown, Wendy

2006, *Regulating Aversion. Tolerance in the Age of Identity and Empire*. Princeton:
Princeton University Press. (chapters 6 & 7)

WEEK 12: MINI-CONFERENCE (April 4th)

In accordance with the Carleton University Undergraduate Calendar Regulations, the letter grades assigned in this course will have the following percentage equivalents:

A+ = 90-100	B+ = 77-79	C+ = 67-69	D+ = 57-59
A = 85-89	B = 73-76	C = 63-66	D = 53-56
A - = 80-84	B - = 70-72	C - = 60-62	D - = 50-52
F = Below 50	WDN = Withdrawn from the course		DEF = Deferred

Academic Regulations, Accommodations, Plagiarism, Etc.

University rules regarding registration, withdrawal, appealing marks, and most anything else you might need to know can be found on the university's website, here: <https://calendar.carleton.ca/undergrad/regulations/academicregulationsoftheuniversity/>

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request, the processes are as follows:

For students with disabilities: The Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) provides services to students with Learning Disabilities (LD), psychiatric/mental health disabilities, Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), chronic medical conditions, and impairments in mobility, hearing, and vision. If you have a disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact PMC at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation. If you are already registered with the PMC, contact your PMC coordinator to send me your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term, and no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with me to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Please consult the PMC website for the deadline to request accommodations for the formally-scheduled exam (if applicable).

*The deadline for contacting the Paul Menton Centre regarding accommodation for December examinations (Fall) is **November 11, 2022** and for April examinations (Winter) is **March 15, 2023**.

For pregnancy: Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For accommodation regarding a formally-scheduled final exam, you must complete the Pregnancy Accommodation Form ([click here](#)).

For religious obligations: Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details [click here](#).

For survivors of sexual violence: As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and where survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: <https://carleton.ca/equity/sexual-assault-support-services>

For student activities: Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation will be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. <https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>

Student Mental Health

As a University student you may experience a range of mental health challenges that significantly impact your academic success and overall well-being. If you need help, please speak to someone. There are numerous resources available both on- and off-campus to support you. Here is a list that may be helpful:

Emergency resources (on and off campus): <https://carleton.ca/health/emergencies-and-crisis/emergency-numbers/>

Carleton resources:

- Mental Health and Wellbeing: <https://carleton.ca/wellness/>
- Health & Counselling Services: <https://carleton.ca/health/>
- Paul Menton Centre: <https://carleton.ca/pmc/>
- Academic Advising Centre (AAC): <https://carleton.ca/academicadvising/>
- Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS): <https://carleton.ca/csas/>
- Equity & Inclusivity Communities: <https://carleton.ca/equity/>

Off campus resources:

- Distress Centre of Ottawa and Region: (613) 238-3311 or TEXT: 343-306-5550, <https://www.dcottawa.on.ca/>
- Mental Health Crisis Service: (613) 722-6914, 1-866-996-0991, <http://www.crisisline.ca/>
- Empower Me: 1-844-741-6389, <https://students.carleton.ca/services/empower-me-counselling-services/>
- Good2Talk: 1-866-925-5454, <https://good2talk.ca/>

- The Walk-In Counselling Clinic: <https://walkincounselling.com>

Plagiarism

The University Academic Integrity Policy defines plagiarism as “*presenting, whether intentionally or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.*” This includes reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source. Examples of sources from which the ideas, expressions of ideas or works of others may be drawn from include but are not limited to: books, articles, papers, literary compositions and phrases, performance compositions, chemical compounds, artworks, laboratory reports, research results, calculations and the results of calculations, diagrams, constructions, computer reports, computer code/software, material on the internet and/or conversations.

Examples of plagiarism include, but are not limited to:

- any submission prepared in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, paraphrased material, algorithms, formulae, scientific or mathematical concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings without appropriate acknowledgement;
- submitting a computer program developed in whole or in part by someone else, with or without modifications, as one’s own; and
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s work and/or failing to use quotations marks.

Plagiarism is a serious offence that cannot be resolved directly by the course’s instructor. The Associate Dean of the Faculty conducts a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They can include a final grade of “F” for the course.

Pandemic Measures

It is important to remember that COVID is still present in Ottawa. The situation can change at any time and the risks of new variants and outbreaks are very real. There are [a number of actions you can take](#) to lower your risk and the risk you pose to those around you including being vaccinated, wearing a mask, staying home when you’re sick, washing your hands and maintaining proper respiratory and cough etiquette.

Feeling sick? Remaining vigilant and not attending work or school when sick or with symptoms is critically important. If you feel ill or exhibit COVID-19 symptoms do not come to class or campus. If you feel ill or exhibit symptoms while on campus or in class, please leave campus immediately. In all situations, you should follow Carleton’s [symptom reporting protocols](#).

Masks: Masks are no longer mandatory in university buildings and facilities. However, we continue to recommend masking when indoors, particularly if physical distancing cannot be

maintained. We are aware that personal preferences regarding optional mask use will vary greatly, and we ask that we all show consideration and care for each other during this transition.

Vaccines: While proof of vaccination is no longer required to access campus or participate in in-person Carleton activities, it may become necessary for the University to bring back proof of vaccination requirements on short notice if the situation and public health advice changes. Students are strongly encouraged to get a full course of vaccination, including booster doses as soon as they are eligible and submit their booster dose information in [cuScreen](#) as soon as possible. Please note that Carleton cannot guarantee that it will be able to offer virtual or hybrid learning options for those who are unable to attend the campus.

All members of the Carleton community are required to follow requirements and guidelines regarding health and safety which may change from time to time. For the most recent information about Carleton's COVID-19 response and health and safety requirements please see the [University's COVID-19 website](#) and review the [Frequently Asked Questions \(FAQs\)](#). Should you have additional questions after reviewing, please contact covidinfo@carleton.ca.

Winter 2023 Dates and Deadlines	
January 2, 2023	Deadline for course outlines to be made available to students registered in full winter and early winter term courses.
January 4, 2023	University reopens.
January 9, 2023	Winter term begins. Full winter and early winter classes begin.
January 20-22, 27-29, 2023	Full fall and late fall term deferred final examinations will be held.
January 31, 2023	Last day to withdraw from full winter courses with a full fee adjustment. Withdrawals after this date will result in a permanent notation of WDN on the official transcript.
February 17, 2023	April examination schedule available online.
February 20, 2023	Statutory holiday. University closed.
February 20-24, 2023	Winter break, no classes.
March 15, 2023	Last day for academic withdrawal from full winter, late winter, and fall/winter courses. Last day to request Formal Examination Accommodation Forms for April full winter, late winter, and fall/winter final examinations to the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities. Note that it may not be possible to fulfil accommodation requests received after the specified deadlines.

March 29, 2023	Last day for summative tests or examinations, or formative tests or examinations totaling more than 15% of the final grade, in full winter term or fall/winter undergraduate courses, before the official April final examination period (see examination regulations in the Academic Regulations of the University section of the Undergraduate Calendar/General Regulations of the Graduate Calendar).
April 7, 2023	Statutory holiday. University closed.
April 12, 2023	<p>Winter term ends.</p> <p>Last day of full winter, late winter, and fall/winter classes. Classes follow a Friday schedule (full winter and late winter courses).</p> <p>Last day for final take-home examinations to be assigned, with the exception of those conforming to the examination regulations in the Academic Regulations of the University section of the Undergraduate Calendar/General Regulations of the Graduate Calendar.</p> <p>Last day for handing in term work and the last day that can be specified by a course instructor as a due date for term work for full winter and late winter courses.</p>
April 13-14, 2023	No classes or examinations take place.
April 15-27, 2023	Final examinations in full winter, late winter, and fall/winter courses will be held. Examinations are normally held all seven days of the week.
April 27, 2023	All final take-home examinations are due on this day, with the exception of those conforming to the examination regulations in the Academic Regulations of the University section of the Undergraduate Calendar/General Regulations of the Graduate Calendar.
May 19-31, 2023	Full winter, late winter, and fall/winter deferred final examinations will be held.