# PHIL 835: The Political Philosophy of Power

Spring 2023 Tuesdays, 3pm Baker 145C

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### **Course Description**

This is a seminar in the social and political philosophy of power. We will explore the nature of power through a variety of lenses and across a variety of contexts. Topics will include the nature of political power; instrumental vs. structural power; oppression, domination, and powerlessness; market power; linguistic and conceptual/ideational power; and the interrelations between forms of power.

#### **Required Texts**

Course readings will be sent via email no later than the Wednesday before each class meeting.

#### **Course Requirements**

- Short Response Pieces 25% 6 short response pieces, with the lowest grade dropped. No longer than 3 double-spaced pages, the goal of the response piece is not expository but analytical. Argue for a thesis, raise an objection, or clarify a point that you think is important and interesting. Short response pieces are due **no later than 8am on the day of class**, and may (will) be used during class discussion. Each student must turn in **at least one response piece during each of the months** Feb, Mar, Apr.
- Conference Paper & In-Class Presentation 30% A conference-length (~3000 words) paper which you will present in class on a week of your choosing. Papers must be distributed to all members of the group **no later than 8pm the night before** your presentation. Participants are expected to read each other's papers and come to class ready to give constructive feedback.
- Conference Paper Re-Write 35% A revision of your presented paper in light of our discussion on your presentation day and my comments. All students will have at least two weeks to complete their revisions.
- In-Class Participation 10% Please complete all readings before class & come to class prepared to contribute to discussion. In particular, be prepared to explain the major theses of assigned readings, the arguments for those theses, and to critically evaluate those arguments. Each week, one participant will be responsible for leading our discussion by providing a critical précis of the reading and raising a few interesting points for discussion. Discussion leaders are encouraged to use their short response pieces as jumping-off points for discussion.

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#### **Policies**

Late short response pieces are not accepted. I have a zero-tolerance policy for cheating: any student found to have plagiarized on any assignment will receive a failing grade for the entire course, and all available institutional penalties will be sought.

These are strange and difficult times. If you encounter unexpected difficulties – of any kind – during this semester that you think will impact your ability to complete the work, please talk to me **sooner rather than later**. I will work with you to find a solution.

If you wish to request an accommodation due to a documented disability, please notify me and contact Disability Resources at: <a href="mailto:access@andrew.cmu.edu">access@andrew.cmu.edu</a> or 412-268-2013 as soon as possible.

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#### **Outline of Topics & (Tentative) Schedule of Readings**

## I: Establishing Common Background

### 1<sup>st</sup> Meeting (17 January)

Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels (1848). "Bourgeois and Proletarians" and "Proletarians and Communists", Parts I & II of Manifesto of the Communist Party, Marx & Engels Collected Works, Volume 6. Lawrence & Wishart.

Hannah Arendt (1958). Prologue and selections from "The Human Condition," ch. 1 of *The Human Condition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

# 2<sup>nd</sup> Meeting (24 January)

Michel Foucault (1975). "The Means of Correct Training" and "Panopticism," chs. 2 & 3 of Part Two, Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison. New York: Vintage Books.

# 3<sup>rd</sup> Meeting (31 January)

Amy Allen (1999). "Feminist Conceptions of Power" and "The Genealogy of Power: Foucault," chs. 1 & 2 of *The Power of Feminist Theory*. Boulder: Westview Press.

# 4<sup>th</sup> Meeting (7 February)

Hannah Arendt (1958). Selections from "Action," ch. 5 of *The Human Condition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hannah Arendt (1970). Selections from ch. 2 of On Violence. New York: Harvest/HBJ.

Amy Allen (1999). "The Power of Solidarity: Hannah Arendt" and "A Feminist Conception of Power," chs. 4 & 5 of *The Power of Feminist Theory*. Boulder: Westview Press.

#### 5<sup>th</sup> Meeting (14 February)

Kwame Ture and Charles V. Hamilton (1967). "White Power: The Colonial Situation" and "Black Power: Its Need and Substance," chs. 1 & 2 of *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation*. New York: Vintage Books.

Charles Mills (2003). "White Supremacy as Sociopolitical System: A Philosophical Perspective." White Out: The Continuing Significance of Racism. A.W. Doane and E. Bonilla-Silva, eds. Routledge: 35-48.

## II: (Re)Framing Power I: The Faces of Power

#### 6<sup>th</sup> Meeting (21 February)

Robert A. Dahl (1957). "The Concept of Power," Behavioral Science 2(3): 201-215.

Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz (1962). "Two Faces of Power," *American Political Science Review* **56**(4): 947-952.

Steven Lukes (1974). Power: A Radical View. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

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# 7<sup>th</sup> Meeting (28 February)

John Gaventa (1980). "Power and Participation" and "The Case of a Central Appalachian Valley," chs. 1 & 2 of *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley.* Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Clarissa Hayward (1998). "Defacing Power," Polity 31(1): 1-22.

# III: (Re)Framing Power II: Domination & Empowerment

### 8<sup>th</sup> Meeting (14 March)

- Pamela Pansardi (2012). "Power to and power over: two distinct concepts of power?" Journal of Political Power 5(1): 73-89.
- Arash Abizadeh (2021). "The Grammar of Social Power: Power-to, Power-with, Power-despite, and Power-over," *Political Studies*, epub ahead of print.
- Mark Haugaard (2012). "Rethinking the four dimensions of power: domination and empowerment," *Journal of Political Power* **5**(1): 33-54.

### 9<sup>th</sup> Meeting (21 March)

- Iris Marion Young (1990). "Five Faces of Oppression," ch. 2 of *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Frank Lovett (2010). "Social Relations and Dependency," ch. 2 of *A General Theory of Domination & Justice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

# 10<sup>th</sup> Meeting (28 March)

Frank Lovett (2010). "The Imbalance of Power Conception" and "Arbitrariness and Social Conventions," chs. 3 & 4 of *A General Theory of Domination & Justice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

## IV: Linguistic & Ideational Power

## 11<sup>th</sup> Meeting (4 April)

Miranda Fricker (1998). "Rational Authority and Social Power: Towards a Truly Social Epistemology." *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* **98**: 159-177.

Miranda Fricker (2006). "Powerlessness and Social Interpretation." Episteme 3(1-2): 96-108.

Tommie Shelby (2003). "Ideology, Racism, and Critical Social Theory." *Philosophical Forum* **34**(2): 153-188.

# 12<sup>th</sup> Meeting (11 April)

- Karl Marx (1844). "Estranged Labour," from Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844, Marx & Engels Collected Works, Volume 3. Lawrence & Wishart.
- John Gaventa (1980). "The Impact of Industrial Power: The Shaping of a Company Valley" and "The Impact of Unionism: The Rise and Quelling of Protest, 1929-1933," chs. 3 & 4 of *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley.* Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

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#### V: Global & Market Power

# 13<sup>th</sup> Meeting (18 April)

- G. John Ikenberry and Charles A. Kupchan (1990). "Socialization and Hegemonic Power," *International Organization* **44**(3): 283-315.
- Henry Farrell and Abraham L. Newman (2020). "Weaponized Interdependence: How Global Economic Networks Shape State Coercion." *International Security* **44**(1): 42-79.

# 14<sup>th</sup> Meeting (25 April)

- Doris Fuchs (2013). "Theorizing the Power of Global Companies," *The Handbook of Global Companies*, J. Mikler, ed. Malden: Wiley Blackwell. 77-95.
- Amy Kapczynski (2022). "The Political Economy of Market Power in Pharmaceuticals," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law,* epub ahead of print.

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