

GEOGRAPHY 252

**LIVING DANGEROUSLY:
DISPOSSESSION, INSECURITY, PRECARIETY & GEOGRAPHIES
OF CONTEMPORARY LIFE**



Instructor: Michael Watts
Location: 55A McCone Hall
Time: Wednesday 12.00-3.00pm
Office hours: Thursday 2.00-4.00pm, or by appointment

One of the distinguishing marks of contemporary capitalism, indeed modern life in general, is a deep and abiding sense of insecurity, uncertainty and risk. One of the defining qualities of the rise and hegemony of neoliberalism is the idea of living precarious lives: precarity, of living life on the edge. This is true at both ends of the global system: whether being part of what Michael Denning calls the wageless class in the slumworlds of the Global South or being homeless or a refugee in Germany or Stockton,

California. The realities of precarity – Guy Standing describing the breakdown of Western European social democracy referred to the rise of a “precarariat” who were denizens rather than citizens without the protections proscribed by full citizenship – has for the purposes of this class two aspects. One is an understanding of the political economy of the production and reproduction of insecure life: the body of work which has emerged for example around accumulation by dispossession (David Harvey) or the policy focus of say the World Bank (WDR 2011) on “new forms of violence” (militias, transnational gangs, terror) are examples. The other – its dialectical twin – is the way in which so much of life has become “securitized”: the new normal is a life in which virtually everything is a risk or threat and has become a security concern: the environment, diseases, immigration, climate, finance etc. The World Economic Forum produces an annual inventory of these risks: the World Bank, UNDP, the US government are all in the business of “risk management”. Security in short has become a defining aspect of modern liberal governance: its discourses, tactics, analytics and soon. Much of this – again whether we are talking about the Global North or South – has prescriptive aspects to it. None is more powerful than the set of ideas which point to how contingency and uncertainty as the nature of life itself which means that societies, communities, individuals need to see risk as a reality which is necessary to building “resilient lives”. Resiliency is now the watchword of our times: resilient families, resilient economies, community resilience and so on.

The focus of this seminar will be to explore this twofold aspect of the precarious nature of contemporary life and the forms in which the securitization of social life is promoted and achieved. One thread then will be the human geography of contemporary forms and regimes of dispossession. The word itself is an example of what Raymond Williams calls a ‘keyword’ related in complex ways to other keywords like property, ownership, foreclosure and expropriation (interestingly, William’s *Keywords* contains neither an entry for (dis)possession nor property). The renewed interest in primitive accumulation and its relation to the dynamics of neoliberalism – David Harvey’s notion of ‘accumulation by dispossession for example’ building upon the work of Hannah Arendt and Rosa Luxemburg - will be a point of reference for the seminar. Marx deployed the term primitive accumulation at the end of Volume I of *Capital* – he also laid out these ideas earlier in the *Grundrisse* – to refer to what we might call the preconditions, or conditions of possibility, for capitalist accumulation. Marx spends some time illustrating this process through the English enclosures, but his historical treatment clearly raises a number of other (and often larger) issues including the following:

- the enclosure of land and the freeing (and disciplining) of labor
- the development of private property and the role of law
- the criminalization of custom
- the attacks upon and character of various forms of commons and commoning
- the role of the state (and the law) in the transformation of relations of production and the accumulation of capital
- the relations between plunder and violence and capitalist accumulation
- imperialism as a form of capitalist dispossession
- the transition from feudalism to capitalism

- the agrarian question
- resistances to, and the politics of, anti-enclosure
- the relation between forms of dispossession and trajectories of capitalism (i.e. forms of accumulation by dispossession)

In this sense the field of what is being dispossessed and now is very broad. For example, the debate over finance capital and foreclosure, the dispossession of rights (homelessness and rights to the city), forms of displacement and dislocation both through violence and war but also through the effects of the humanitarian international and so-called ‘natural disasters’, and of course the growing centrality of ‘the wageless life’ (Michael Denning) and of the ‘precarious classes’ (Guy Standing) and radical forms of insecurity and ‘slow death’ (Lauren Berlant, Rob Nixon). One might invoke Edward Thompson and his work on the criminalization of custom, the Thatcherite disposition (privatization) of public housing, Naomi Klein’s work on ‘disaster capitalism’, or the ways in which ethnobotanical knowledge and practice is appropriated and redeployed by biotech companies. I want to interpret dispossession and resistance to dispossession (repossession) broadly – it certainly includes how new and uncharted commons are privatized in our epoch – but also to examine particular *spaces* of dispossession (the frontier, the ghetto, the enclave), and particular *expressive forms* of dispossession (homelessness, the disciplining of the poor, land grabs, unfree labor and so on). I’d like to work toward an understanding of what one might call *regimes of dispossession* (and repossession) and to grasp their dynamics, trajectories and forms of politics in the contemporary epoch.

I want in short to interpret dispossession quite broadly – in keeping with I think the multiple implications of primitive accumulation taken from Marx – as a way of thinking about the production of precarity and insecurity in different places at different moments (focusing in particular on what one might call the “neoliberal period”). Obviously one can be dispossessed in a variety of forms and modalities: one can be dispossessed of material objects, of property, of rights, of meanings and symbols, of identities and so on.

The second thread is to explore what one can call the ‘securitization of life’ as a form of governing. Security in this sense has a deep history as Foucault showed. I want to focus on recent history primarily and on how various problems and concerns becomes matters of security and the forms of governmentality which arise around securing life in the face of what are often now seen as “catastrophic threats” (what Ash Amin calls “catastrophism”). Securitization may of course speak to real and actual matters of public concern – the Paris attacks, drought in the West African Sahel, hurricane Katrina, transnational drug operations - but I want to focus on the ways in which, and the modalities of, securitization and what now passes as “building resilient lives” (the Rockefeller Foundation’s new initiative is “building resilience cities” and the Foundation’s President Judith Rodin has a new book on resilience). What type of governance, what sort of subjects, what sorts of practices are entailed in the liberal governance of managing populations in the face of radical threats?

Readings will include some or most of the following (the full course outline will follow shortly):

Joseph Masco, *The theatre of operations*. University of Chicago Press, 2015.
Kieran Milton, *Rebels in a rotten state*. Oxford University Press, 2015.
Louise Amoore, *The politics of possibility*. Duke University Press, 2013.
Laurence Ralph, *Renegade Dreams*. University of Chicago Press, 2014.
Jason de Leon, *Land of the open graves*. University of California Press, 2015.
Isabell Lorey, *State of Insecurity*, Verso, 2015
Brad Evans and Julian Reid, *Resilient Life*. Polity, 2014.
Laura Bear, *Navigating Austerity*, University of Chicago Press, 2015.
Rachel Heiman, *Driving after class*. University of California Press, 2015.
Teresa Gowan, *Hobos, Hustlers and Backsliders*. University of Minnesota Press, 2008.
Vadim Volkov, *Violent Entrepreneurs*. Cornell University Press, 2005.
Eyal Weizman, *Hollow Land*, London: Verso, 2010.
Judith Butler and Athena Athanasiou, *Dispossession*, Polity, 2012.
Wendy Brown, *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty*, Zone Books, 2010.

Articles will be archived on the class website on Bcourses in PDF format that can be downloaded.

Some materials (and most of the core monographs) are also on 2 hour reserve in the Earth Sciences Library and there are a list of books that I have placed on reserve including most of the key texts.

Requirements: this class will be run as a reading-intensive research seminar. Accordingly, it is critical that everyone come well-prepared for discussions. In virtue of the limits on the size of the seminar there will be no audits.

Each student will be expected to undertake the following:

(i) **To prepare a short one page critical commentary** on the week's core reading [the monograph or key articles under consideration for that week] and to circulate this electronically by the TUESDAY evening at 5pm (absolutely no later than 5 pm) prior to the WEDNESDAY class (a listserv and bCourses will be set up at the outset of the semester).

(ii) **To lead/chair one class discussion** (depending on enrollment this may be best undertaken in pairs or groups) which involves a short (5-10 minute) presentation of the key theoretical and conceptual issues in the readings pertaining to that week. In addition there will be some secondary readings that I would like groups – I shall break up the class into two or more groups – to read that will permit us to cover (albeit briefly) related materials and case studies that we do not have time to read collectively (see below).

(iii) **The submission of a paper/research proposal** to be handed in no later than May 15th. I am open to two broad sorts of submissions that in part depend upon where you are in your own graduate training. Some of you may wish to use the class to help you develop your dissertation prospectus or a draft of a preliminary research proposal in which you deploy some of the concepts and ideas we have been developing around an

empirical case or cases in which the dispossession or primitive accumulation themes has some bearing. There is a website that I developed while I was Director of IIS on campus devoted to the preparation of a proposal and can be loaded through my departmental website:

<http://iis.berkeley.edu/content/dissertation-proposal-resources>

In addition I shall be distributing a copy of a broadsheet [*The Art of Writing a Proposal*] prepared by the Social Science Research Council which is the best short discussion of how to structure a research proposal. At various points during the semester I shall discuss actual proposals and how to develop a compelling research question. I shall distribute my book chapter entitled "In search of the Holy Grail" on dissertation research at the beginning of the semester (it is available on the class website). Some of you may wish to make use of an excellent book: Michael Pryke et al., *Using Social Theory*. London, Sage, 2003.

Let me say that I strongly encourage ALL of you to take on the idea of a proposal WHATEVER your stage in graduate training: you CANNOT BEGIN TOO EARLY.

Others of you may wish to explore the key ideas in a paper that explores a particular case study or set of processes which can be productively explored from the vantage point of dispossession. This paper can take any form you wish and could be, if this makes sense for you, an annotated bibliography or a literature review. I happen to think you may get more out of exploring the concepts around a particular case or empirical issue.

Class Structure: I would like to run the seminar in the following way. The first period (1.5 hours) will be a discussion of the key reading/monograph for the week. This discussion will be led and chaired by 1-2 students (or more, depending on class size); it will involve an outline or of framing the book/articles and posing a key set of questions or provocations. **The framing part of the presentation should not take more than 10-15 minutes.** The student (s) are then responsible for chairing the subsequent discussion, i.e., trying as much as possible to provide some direction to the discussion. I expect that everyone will try to participate in the discussion. I shall make some observations but my input will be somewhat limited during this part of the class. At some point (there is no point in stopping the discussion at a specific time) we will take a coffee break. For the second period (an hour or so) I would like to focus on some of the secondary readings. You will see that every week – in part because of the scope of the class – there will be a number of substantive themes identified with other readings. Since it is impossible for everyone to read everything, I'd like to use the second part of the class for small groups who take responsibility for some of the readings to brief us on the readings. In this way we can hopefully extend the scope of our cases and discussions by sharing the work.

In addition, on occasion - for bodies of work that I am familiar with - I may give a mini-lecture. The function of this is to place our discussion and the monograph on a larger landscape of literatures, ideas, and theorizing about resources. The major function will be to situate our discussions and for us to provide something of a roadmap for related debates and literature.

In this way my hope is that we can explore in depth a monograph or a set of readings--research which has ethnographic, historical, sociological depth -- and build up a comprehensive sense of how the themes we address around enclosure, dispossession, privatization and primitive accumulation might constitute an emerging field and a powerful optic for social science.

The class will be run as a reading intensive research seminar. I expect that people read systematically (a monograph a week minimally) and participate in the seminar fully.

COURSE OUTLINE

I. FRAMINGS

Week 2 January 27th Primitive Accumulation , Accumulation by Dispossession and the Secret Life of Capital

(*) Karl Marx, *Capital*, Volume I, Part VIII, The So-Called Primitive Accumulation, Chapters XXVI-XXXIII, International Publishers, 1967. Pdf on Bcourses. (<https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/ch26.htm>)

Karl Marx, *Grundrisse*, Penguin, 1973, pp.459-516. (https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/Marx_Grundrisse.pdf - in this pdf version on Bcourses version it begins p.391.

(*) Rosa Luxemburg, *The Accumulation of Capital*, Section III, Routledge, 1913/2004. This is available online: <http://www.marxists.org/archive/luxemburg/1913/accumulation-capital/index.htm>, also pdf available see especially chapters 27, 28, 32.

(*) Hanna Arendt, *Imperialism*, Part II of Totalitarianism, New York, 1951, chapter 1. The Political Emancipation of the Bourgeoisie.

(*) David Harvey, *The New Imperialism*, Clarendon, 2003, chapter 4 (see also <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3a9TAbQHziQ> and a response by Robert Brenner and others published in *Historical Materialism*)

Michael Perleman, *The invention of Capitalism*, Duke University Press, 2000, chapters 1-3.

Massimo De Angelis, Separating the Doing and the Deed, *Historical Materialism*, 12, 2, 2004, 57-88 (you might also want to glance at his *Beginning of History*, Pluto, 2007, chapters 10 and 11.

Tom Brass , Unfree Labor as Primitive Accumulation? *Capital and Class*, 35/1, 2011, 23-38.

Stephen Hymer, Robinson Crusoe and the secret of Primitive Accumulation, *Monthly Review*, 1971.

Some empirical cases:

Michael Levien, Regimes of Dispossession, *Politics and Society* 41, 2013, 351-94

Gill Hart, Denaturalizing Dispossession, *Antipode*, 38/5, 2006.

Tania Li, Indigeneity, Capitalism and the Management of Dispossession, *Current Anthropology*, 51, 2010, 385-414.

Secondary Reading

Saskia Sassen, The savage sorting of winners and losers. *Globalizations*, 7/1, 23-50, 2010.

Werner Bonefeld, Primitive Accumulation and Capitalist Accumulation, *The Commoner*, 2001.

Jason Read, Primitive Accumulation, *Rethinking Marxism*, Summer 2002.

Mara Loveman, The modern state and the primitive accumulation of symbolic power, *American Journal of Sociology*, 110/6, 2005.

You might also peruse the Commoner website: <http://www.commoner.org.uk/>

Week 3 February 3rd Bare Life, A Precarity, Slow Death

(*) Judith Butler and Athena Athanasiou, *Dispossession*, Polity, 2012, chapters 1 and 2.

(*) Judith Butler, Precarious Life, Vulnerability and the Obligation of Cohabitation, *Journal of speculative philosophy*, vol. 26, no. 2, 2012, and the Analytics of Power (interview 2011). Chapters 1 and 5 of her *Precarious Life* (London, Verso, 2004) covers similar material.

(*) Laurent Berlant, *Slow Death in Cruel Optimism*, University of Chicago Press, 2011.

(*) Agamben, *Homo Sacer*. Stanford University Press 1998, Parts 2 and 3., and *State of Exception*, University of Chicago Press, 2005, chapter 1.

(*) Guy Standing, Tertiary Time, *Public Culture*, 25/1 2013 (and reply by Andrew Ross, Occupy, and the Wages of the Future)

Franco Barichesi, Precarity as Capture, unpublished paper, Ohio University, 2012.

Mike Denning, Wageless Life, *New Left Review*, 66, 2010.

Empirical Cases

Marcel Paret, Precarious Politics. *Social Problems*, April 2013.

Jamie Peck and Nik Theodore, Politicizing Contingent Work, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 111/4, 2012.

Kathleen Stewart, Precarity's Forms. *Cultural Anthropology*, 27/3, 2012.

Melinda Cooper, Workfare, Familyfare, Godfare, *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 111, 643-663, 2012.

Secondary Reading

Brett Neilson and Ned Rossiter, Precarity as Political Concept. *Theory, Society and Culture*, 25, 2008.

Nancy Fraser, A triple Movement, *New Left Review* 81, 2013.

Andrew Ross, The new geography of work, *Theory, Society and Culture*, 25, 2008.

Gregory de Paeter, Creative Economy and Labor Precarity, *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 35/4, 2011, 417-425.

Week 4 February 10th Security-Insecurity and Living Dangerously

(* Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population*, Palgrave, 2007 (Lectures 1-3).

(* Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics*, Palgrave, 2008 (Lecture 3 and Lectures 9 and 10 are worth reading too).

(* Isabell Lorey, *State of Insecurity*, London, Verso, 2015.

Michael Dillon, *The Biopolitics of Security*, Routledge, London, 2015, chapters 1-3.

Claudia Aradau and Res van Munter, *Politics of Catastrophe*, Routledge, London, 2012, chapters 5 and 6.

Brad Evans and Julian Reid, *Resilient Life*, Polity Press, London, 2014, chapters 2 and 4 (or the piece by Reid, The neoliberal subject, in *Revista Pleyade*, 2012, 143-165).

Case Studies

Amoore, Louise Risk, reward and discipline at work, *Economy and Society*, 33: 2, 174 — 196, 2004.

Filippa Lentzos & Nikolas Rose Governing insecurity: contingency planning, protection, resilience, *Economy and Society*, 38:2, 230-254, 2009.

M. Fourcade and Kiernan Healey, Classification Situations, *Accounting, Organizations and Society* 38, 2013, 559–572.

Secondary Reading

Wendy Brown, *Undoing the Demos*, Zone Books, New York, 2014, Chapter 2.

P. Dardot and C. Laval, *The New Way of the World*, London, Verso, 2013, chapter 9.

Mitchell Dean The Malthus Effect: population and the liberal government of life, *Economy and Society*, 44:1, 18-39, 2015.

Paul Rabinow and Nikolas Rose, Biopower today, *BioSocieties*, 2006, 1, 195–217

Michael Behrent, Liberalism without humanism, *Modern Intellectual History*, 6, 539-568, 2009.

II. SPACES

Week 5 February 17th The Frontiers-Borders

(*) Eyal Weizman, *Hollow Land*. Verso, 2007 (see also his Erasure: the conflict shoreline Stedl, 2014 and .

(*) James Ron, *Frontiers and Ghettos*. University of California Press, 2003, chapter 1.

(*) Wendy Brown, *Walled States, Waning Sovereignty*. Zone Books, 2011, chapters 1 and 2.

(*) S. Beretta and J. Markoff, Civilization and Barbarism, in Fernando Coronil and Julie Skurski (eds)., *States of Violence*, University of Michigan Press, 2006. (originally in *CSSH*, 20/4, 1978, pp.587-620).

Michael Watts, Frontiers: Power, Precarity and Insurgency at the Edge of the State, *World Development*, in press.

Talal Asad, Where are the margins of the State, in Veena Das and D. Poole (eds)., *Anthropology in the Margins of the State*, SAR Press, New Mexico, 2004.

Lund, Christian, Twilight Institutions, *Development and Change* 37(4): 685–705 2006.

Secondary Reading

Patrick Wolfe, After the frontier, *Settler Colonial Studies*, 1/1, 2-11, 13-52.

Chalfin, Brenda. *Neoliberal Frontiers*. University of Chicago Press, 2010.

Eisenberg, M. 2014 Frontier constellations. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 41/2, 157-182 (see also his working paper on vigilante justice).

Korf, B. T. Hagmann and M. Dovenspeck 2013 Geographies of violence and sovereignty, in B. Korf and T. Raemaekers (eds.), *Violence at the Margins*. London: Palgrave, 29-54.

Tim Raemaekers, The Central Margins Congo's Transborder Economy and State-Making in the Borderlands, *DIIS Working Paper* 2009:25

Anna Tsing, *Friction*. Princeton University Press, 2005, Chapters 1 and 2.

Kevin Wood, Ceasefire capitalism, *Journal of Peasant Studies* 38/4, 2011.

Jonathan Goodland, Frontiers and wars, *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 5/2, 2005.

Week 6 February 24th The Ghetto

(*) Laurence Ralph, *Renegade Dreams: Living through Injury in Gangland Chicago*. University of Chicago Press, 2014.

(*) Loic Wacquant, *Punishing the Poor: Neoliberal Government of Social Security*, Duke University Press, 2009, Chapters 1,2,3 and 6.

Alice Goffman, On the Run: wanted men in a Philadelphia ghetto, *American Sociological Review*, 74, 2003, 339-356 (see her controversial book of the same name).

Jacob S. Rugh and Douglas S. Massey, Racial Segregation and the American Foreclosure Crisis, *American Sociological Review* 2010 75: 629

Secondary Reading

Waverly Duck, *No Way Out: precarious living in the shadow of poverty and drug dealing*. University of Chicago Press, 2014 (see also *Becoming a drug dealer*, *Critical Sociology* 10, 2014).

Loic Wacquant, What is a Ghetto?, unpublished manuscript, University of California, Berkeley. 2003.

Loic Wacquant, Scrutinizing the Street, *American Journal of Sociology*, Volume 107 Number 6 (May 2002): 1468–1532

Week 7 March 2nd The Camp

(*) Erica James, *Democratic Insecurities*. University of California Press, 2010

(*) Eyan Weizman, *The least possible of all evils*. London, Verso, 2011, chapters 1 and 2.

(*) Fassin. D. Humanitarianism as a Politics of Life. *Public Culture*. 19(3). 2007. 499-31/3, 2009.

(*) Ophir, A, The politics of catastrophization, . In *Contemporary States of Emergency*. D. Fassin and M. Pandolfi, eds. Cambridge, MA: Zone Books. 2010.

M. Ticktin, Transnational Humanitarianism, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 2014. 43:273–289.

Secondary Reading

Ben Rawlence, *City of Thorns: Nine Lives in the World's Largest Refugee Camp*. London, Picador, 2015.

Calhoun, C. The Idea of Emergency. In *Contemporary States of Emergency*. D. Fassin and M. Pandolfi, D. Fassin and M. Pandolfi, eds. Cambridge, MA: Zone Books. 2010.

Branch, A. Against humanitarian impunity. *Journal of Intervention & Statebuilding* 2(2). 2008. 151-173 (see also his book *Displacing Human Rights*, Oxford University Press, 2011.)

Week 8 March 9th The Suburb

(*) Rachel Heiman, *Driving after Class: anxious times in an American suburb*. University of California Press, 2015.

(*) Carrie Lane. Man enough to let my wife support me. *American Ethnologist*, 36/4, 2009, pp.681-692 (and see her book *A Company of One*, Cornell University Press, 2011).

Arne Kalleberg, Precarious Work, Insecure Workers, *American Sociological Review*, 2009, 1-22.

Tayyab Mahmud, Debt and Discipline: Neoliberal Political Economy and the Working Classes, 101 *Kentucky Law Journal*, 1 2013.

Secondary

Allison Pugh, *The Tumbleweed Society*, ILR Press, New York, 2011

Culture and Organization Volume 19, Issue 4, 2013 Special Issue: Thirty Years After Hochschild's 'Managed Heart': Exploring the Commodity Frontier

III. FIGURES

Week 9 March 16th The Migrant-Refugee

(*) Jason de Leon, *The Land of the Open Graves*. University of California Press, 2015.

(*) Michel Agier, *On the Margins of the World*. Polity Press, London, 2008.

Z. Bauman, Reconnaissance wars of the Planetary Frontierland, *Theory Culture Society* 2002; 19; 81-97.

Secondary Reading

Thomas Nail, *The Figure of the Migrant*. Stanford University Press, 2015.

Patrick Honig, States, Borders and the State of Exception: Framing the Unauthorised Migrant in Europe, *Etnofoor*, Vol. 26, No. 1, Borders (2014), pp. 125-145.

Judy Fudge and Kendra Strauss, Migrants, Unfree Labour, and the Legal Construction of Domestic Servitude: Migrant Domestic Workers in the UK, in C. Costello and M. Freedland (eds), *Migrants at Work*. Oxford University Press, 2014.

Seth Holmes, *Fresh Fruit, Broken Bodies*. University of California Press. 2013.

Spring Break

Week 10 March 30th The Corporate Citizen

(*) Stuart Kirsch, *Mining Capitalism: The Relationship between Corporations and their Critics*. University of California Press, 2014.

M. Welker, Damani Partidge, Rebecca Hardin, Corporate Lives, *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 52, No. S3, 2011.

(*) Marina Welker, Corporate Security begins in the community, *Current Anthropology*, *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 52, No. S3, 2011.

(*) Jane Guyer, Blueprints, Judgment and Perseverance in a Corporate Context, *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 52, No. S3, 2011.

Rebecca Hardin, Concessionary Politics, *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 52, No. S3, 2011.

Secondary Readings

Marina Welker, *Enacting the Corporation*. University of California Press, 2014.

Alex Golub, *Leviathans at the Goldmine*. Duke University Press, 2014.

Week 11 March April 6th The Combatant

(*) Kieran Mitton, *Rebels in a Rotten State*. Oxford University Press, 2015.

Danny Hoffman, The Civilian target in Sierra Leone, *African Affairs* 103, 211-226, 2004 (see also his book *War Machines*).

(*) Jean Pierre-Chaveau and Paul Richards, West African Insurgencies in Agrarian Perspective, *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 8/4, 2008).

(*) Marielle Debos, Fluid Loyalties in a regional crisis, *African Affairs*, 107/427, 2011.

Secondary Reading

Mats Utas, *Sweet Battlefields*. PHD thesis, Uppsala, 2005.

Michael Watts, Blood Oil: Anatomy of an oil insurgency in the Niger Delta, *FOCAAL: European Journal of Anthropology*, 52/08, pp.18-38, 2011.

K. Peters and P. Richards, Rebellion and agrarian tensions in Sierra Leone. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, Vol. 11 No. 3, July 2011, pp. 377–395.

IV. CONDITIONS

Week 12 April 13th Homelessness

(*) Teresa Gowan, *Hobos, Hustlers and Backsliders*. University of Minnesota Press, 2008.

David Harvey, Right to the City, *New Left Review*, 53, 2008.

Don Mitchell, *The Right to the City*. Guilford Press, 2003, chapters 5 and 6.

Jeremy Waldron, Homelessness and Community, *Toronto Law Journal*, 50, 2002 (see also his Homelessness and the issue of freedom, *UCLA Law Review*, 1991/1992)

Secondary Reading

Philip Bourgeois, *Righteous Dopefiend*. University of California Press, 2009.

William Vollman, Homelessness in Sacramento, *Harpers*, March 2011.

Don Mitchell and Nik Heynen, The Geography of Survival and the right to the city, *Urban Geography*, 2009, 30, 6, pp. 611–632.

Davis, M. 2004 Planet of the Slums, *New Left Review* 25:5-34.

Week 13 April 20th Lawlessness-Thug Life

(*) Vadim Volkov, *Violent Entrepreneurs*, Cornell University Press, 2002.

(*) Anton Blok, *The Mafia of a Sicilian Village*. Harper and Row, 1974 chapters 1 and 5.

Michael Watts, Agrarian Classic, *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 43:1, 67-91

(*) Anthony Fontes, Extorted Life, forthcoming *Public Culture*.

Matthew Carlin (2012): Guns, Gold and Corporeal Inscriptions, *Third Text*, 26:5, 503-514

Nandini Sundar, Vigilantism, Culpability and Moral Dilemmas, *Critique of Anthropology*, Vol 30(1) 113–121 , 2010.

Teo Balve, Everyday State formation. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 2012, volume 30, pages 603 – 622.

Secondary Reading

Jacobo Grajales, The rifle and the title. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 38/4, 2011.

William Reno, Order and Commerce in turbulent areas, *Third World Quarterly* 25/4, 2004

Nicolas Rush, Rejecting Rights: vigilantism and violence in post-apartheid South Africa, *African Affairs*, 114/456, 341–360, 2015.

Week 14th April 27th Terror-Threat

(*). Joseph Masco, *The Theatre of Operations: National security Affect from the Cold war to the war on terror*. Duke University Press, 2014.

(*). Talal Asad, *On Suicide Bombers*, Columbia University Press, 2005, especially chapters 1 and 2.

(*). Eyal Weizman, *Matter against memory*, MIT, Boston Mass, 2014.

(*). RETORT, *Afflicted Powers*, London, Verso, 2005, Chapter 6.

Jonah Weiner, On prying eyes, *The New Yorker*, October 22nd 2012 (on Trevor Paglen).

Secondary Reading

Michael Dillon and Andrew Neal, *Foucault on Politics, Security and war*. Palgrave, London, 2011, chapters 2, 3, 8.

Week 15th May 4th We're Fucked: The Anthropocene

(*). Isabelle Stengers *In Catastrophic Times*. Meson Press, 2015.

(*). Uncertain Commons. *Speculate This*. Duke University Press, 2013.

Secondary Reading

Dipesh Chakrabarty, The climate of history: four theses, *Critical Inquiry*, Winter 2009.

Donna Haraway, Anthropocene, Capitalocene, Plantationocene, Chthulucene, *Environmental Humanities*, 6, 2015, 159-165.

Jason Moore, *Capitalism and the Web of Life*, London, Verso, 2015, chapter 7.

Anna Tsing, On Nonscalability, *Fuzzy Studies*, Part 3, 2012.

If we have time or energy.....Disciplining the Poor

(*). Joe Soss et al., *Disciplining the Poor*, University of Chicago Press, 2011

Stillman, Sarah Under civil forfeiture, *New Yorker*, August 13th 2013.

Paper due no later than at May 15th at 5pm in my mailbox in 501 McCone and a soft copy please to my email.