

**COURSE SYLLABUS**  
**POLI 3440: The Politics of Fear**

**Department of Political Science**  
**Dalhousie University**  
**Winter 2013**

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**Department of Political Science**  
**Dalhousie University**

**Class Time:** Monday 1:25-4:25

**Location:** Tupper Theatre C

**Instructor:** Dr. Margaret Denike

**Office:** 362 Henry Hicks Administration Building

**Telephone:** (902) 494-6298

**Email:** [m.denike@dal.ca](mailto:m.denike@dal.ca) (Please use this Dal address, rather than the BLS or OWL system for any inquiries)

**Office Hours:** Monday 10-12, or by appointment

**Teaching Asst:** Kristian Rafuse

kristian.rafuse@dal.ca (All essay assignments are to be submitted electronically, and NOT in hard copy please, to this email address)

**COURSE DESCRIPTION:**

Focussing largely on post-9/11 US, this course will consider the instrumentality of fear and terror in public policy, and its role in fostering public opinion and managing social groups and populations. Drawing on interdisciplinary and theoretical analyses of sex and race discrimination, and working with documentary media, it will consider various ways in which sexual and racial politics are implicated in the production and proliferation of 'terror' in contemporary western societies, in practices perpetrated or sanctioned by both state and non-state actors. It will look at the recent discourses of terrorism and its representation in the media; philosophical considerations of anti-immigrant fear-mongering; and political analyses of the economy of "security" industries. It will also address the role of both state and corporate interest in disaster relief, epidemics, and other social crises.

**REQUIRED TEXTS:**

- Some of the course materials are available electronically, either through web links to library or internet resources (provided on the syllabus) or PDF documents available through the OWL Black System (WebCT). Many of the readings will be available in course reading package.

### **EVALUATION PROFILE:**

Participation:	10%		
Essay 1:	30%	(Max 2000 words)	Due Feb 4
Essay 2:	30%	(Max 2000 words)	Due Mar . 11
Test:	30%		Mar 25

### **Grading Profile:**

90-100 = A+	77-79.9 = B+	65-69.9 = C+	50-55.9 = D
85-89.9 = A	73-76.9 = B	63-64.9 = C	50 > F
80-84.9 = A-	70-72.9 = B-	60-62.9 = C-	

### **Participation:**

The preparation and participation of each and every student in the class discussions will determine the success of the course. Students are expected to attend every class, and to have completed the readings and given themselves time to think about them in advance of each class. The participation grade will be based on attendance; the completion of readings and preparation for discussion; and on the active, respectful participation in every seminar. Students are required to come to class with the reading for that week in hand, and to be ready to use the reading as a reference when answering questions about them. In advance of the classes, some discussion questions or other directions will at times be circulated by email, and students are expected to be prepared for these discussions and/or exercises.

### **Overview of Written Assignments:**

This course requires you to write two short essays that address the leading themes and concepts of this course (specifically: the politics of fear and its relation to one (or more of the following themes): nationalism, racism, Islamophobia, sexual politics, imperialism, capitalism, neoliberalism, criminal accountability; media studies; studies in affect or emotion, or neuropolitics), while drawing on a) several of the materials listed in the syllabus of this courses –a minimum of three of the articles); and, if appropriate b) additional materials, ideally from peer-reviewed, scholarly journals and related sources.

Think of these assignments as a challenge to demonstrate your mastery of the course materials and the questions that these materials give rise to.

Further instructions for each written assignment will be provided in class. The general objectives of these assignments are as follows:

- a) Concerning comprehension, breadth of the materials that you cover, and accuracy of content. One objective of these assignments is for you to demonstrate your understanding and thoughtful analysis of several of the readings that are listed on the syllabus for this course, while supplementing your discussion and analysis of these readings with appropriate additional scholarly resources. It is also designed to assist you in developing and/or demonstrating the skills and practices of clearly and accurately representing, documenting, contextualizing, and contrasting the ideas and arguments of other writers on a given topic.
- b) Concerning style: Another objective is for you to demonstrate your ability to develop and properly document a coherent argument in academic essay format, with attention to a clear introduction or outline; relevant paragraph development, and accurate referencing and citations.
- c) Concerning method/approach. Another specific objective of this assignment is for you to demonstrate your understanding and appropriate application of gender and/or race analyses, or analysis concerning capitalism and economic exploitation, and a consideration of their how such critiques (or those based on other grounds, such as religion, ethnicity, and nationality) are implicated in the way that fear has been deployed in the public domain.

## **Schedule of Weekly Topics and Readings**

### **Weeks and Topics**

#### **1. Jan 7**

##### **Introduction and Overview of Topics and Readings**

##### **Preliminary discussion:**

Film resources for the first 3 weeks

- *Documentary: BBC: The Power of Nightmares* at: <http://topdocumentaryfilms.com/the-power-of-nightmares/> especially at 45 mins...
- *Documentary resource: Hijacking Catastrophe: 9/11*
- *Documentary: Century of the Self* (first 10 minutes, as an intro to Edward Bernays, Freud's nephew; the birth of public relations (at 28-30 minutes); the use of fear (of communism) to manipulate 'the masses' at 1:26:00: <http://topdocumentaryfilms.com/the-century-of-the-self/>
- *Documentary: The Culture of Fear*, available at: <http://topdocumentaryfilms.com/culture-of-fear/>
- *Documentary: A Virus Called Fear*: <http://topdocumentaryfilms.com/virus-called-fear/>
- YouTube Lecture: *The Psychology of Politics*. (Jan 2012) On the idea of emotions empowering political views: on how attitudes toward some issues can predict others; how conservatism is associated with a fear of uncertain): <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sus0-3upvuA&feature=g-vrec>
- *Documentary: weapons of Mass Deception*. At: <http://topdocumentaryfilms.com/weapons-of-mass-deception/>

#### **2. Jan 14**

##### **Theorizing Fear in Contemporary Western Societies**

- Frank Furedi. 2005. "The Politics of Fear," *Politics of Fear: Beyond Left and Right*. N.Y.: Continuum, pp.123-141.
- Brian Massumi, "Everywhere you want to be: Introduction to Fear," in Brian Massumi, ed., *The Politics of Everyday Fear*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993, pp. 3-37.
- Erich Goode and Nachman Ben-Yehuda, "Enter the Moral Panic," in *Moral Panics: The Social Construction of Deviance*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 22-33

##### *Reference:*

- Frank Furedi. 2005. "Politics is Lost for Words," *Politics of Fear: Beyond Left and Right*. N.Y.: Continuum, pp. 5-27. (ISBN: 0-8264-8728-9)
- Joanna Bourke, 2005. "Conclusion: Terror", *Fear: A Cultural History*. Emeryville, CA: Shoemaker & Hoard, pp. 357-391. (ISBN: 1-59376-154-6)
- Stanley Cohen. 1972. *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*.
- David L. Altheide. 2003. "Notes Towards a Politics of Fear," *Journal for Crime, Conflict, and Media* 1(1): 37-54 Available at:

<http://www.milkingtheherd.com/media%20clips/Notes%20Towards%20A%20Politics%20of%20Fear.pdf>

- David Altheide, “Terrorism and the National Security University” (available on YouTube)

### 3. Jan 21

#### **Fear Mongering, Myth-Making, and Capital Cashing in on the “Shock Doctrine”**

- Joseba Zulaika and William A. Douglass. “Waiting for Terror,” in *Terror and Taboo: the Follies, Fables, and Faces of Terrorism*. NY: Routledge, 1996, pp. 3-30 (plus notes, pp. 241-245)
- David Altheide. 2009. “Terrorism and the Politics of Fear,” in *Terror Post 9/11 and the Media*. NY: Peter Lang, pp. 42-63
- Klein, Naomi. 2007. “Blank is Beautiful; Three Decades of Erasing and Remaking the World, in *Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. NY: Metropolitan Books, pp. 3-21.
- Klein, Naomi. 2007. “Shock therapy in the U.S.A.: The Homeland Security Bubble,” in *Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. NY: Metropolitan Books, pp. 283-307.

#### Reference:

- Lisa Anderson, “Shock and Awe: Interpretations of the Events of September 11,” *World Politics*, Vol. 56, No. 2 (January 2004), pp. 303-325. Available through Project Muse.
- For a report on terrorist attacks (compiled through the ‘world-wide incidences of terrorism database’, with ‘terrorism’ defined in an exceptionally broad way broadest way, see: [http://www.nctc.gov/witsbanner/docs/2010\\_report\\_on\\_terrorism.pdf](http://www.nctc.gov/witsbanner/docs/2010_report_on_terrorism.pdf)
- For a current interview on the role of social media, western relationships with Islamic ideology; and the impossibility of an ‘us vs. them’ mentality that fuelled the war on terror, see: Interview by Tavis Smiley of the comparative religions scholar Reza Aslan: <http://www.pbs.org/wnet/tavissmiley/interviews/#top>

### 4. Jan 28

#### **Critical Responses to 9/11: Snapshots**

- Noam Chomsky, “How Should We Respond,” *Power and Terror: Post-9/11 Talks and Interviews*. NY: Seven Stories Press, 2002, pp.105-114. (ISBN: 1-58322-590-0)
- Interview With Noam Chomsky: for the film *Power and Terror, Power and Terror: Post-9/11 Talks and Interviews*. NY: Seven Stories Press, 2002, pp. 11-44.
- John Mueller, “Overreacting to Terrorism: The Terrorism Industry,” pp. 29-48 and “An Alternative to Terrorism Policy” pp. 141-171 in *Overblown: How Politicians the Terrorism Industry Inflate National Security Threats and Why we Believe Them*. NY: Free Press, 2006.
- Catherine MacKinnon, “Women’s September 11<sup>th</sup>: Rethinking the Law of Armed Conflict,” *Are Women Human? And Other International Dialogues*. Cambridge:

Harvard University Press, 259-278

Resources:

- Documentary Film: *Power and Terror*

**5. Feb 4 (Essay 1 due)**

**States of Emergency and Legal Exceptionalism  
When does International Law Apply?**

- Giorgio Agamben, "The State of Exception as a Paradigm of Government," *State of Exception*. Trans. Kevin Attell. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005. pp. 2-30.
- Michael Ratner and Ellen Ray, "Guantanamo and Rule by Executive Fiat," Chapter 1 in *Guantanamo: What the World Should Know*. White River Junction, Vermont: Chelsea Green Publishing, 2004, pp. 1-29.
- William Banks, "United States Responses to September 11," in Victor V. Ramraj, Michael Hor and Kent Roach, *Global Anti-Terrorism Law and Policy*. NY: Cambridge UP, 2005 pp. 490-510. (BLS)
- Military Order of November 13, 2001: Detention, Treatment and Trial of Certain Non-Citizens in the War Against Terrorism. Available at: <http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/eo/mo-111301.htm>
- Summary of the "Torture Memos". Available at: [http://www.lawofwar.org/Torture\\_Memos\\_analysis.htm](http://www.lawofwar.org/Torture_Memos_analysis.htm). See also the introduction to Karen J. Greenberg and Joshua L. Dratel, *The Torture Papers*, (a few pages excluded) at: [http://books.google.ca/books?id=fVD8aTISzD4C&dq=torture+papers&printsec=frontcover&source=bn&hl=en&ei=2fiMTPnSG8G78gbs-ty6CQ&sa=X&oi=book\\_result&ct=result&resnum=4&ved=0CCUQ6AEwAw#v=onepage&q&f=false](http://books.google.ca/books?id=fVD8aTISzD4C&dq=torture+papers&printsec=frontcover&source=bn&hl=en&ei=2fiMTPnSG8G78gbs-ty6CQ&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=4&ved=0CCUQ6AEwAw#v=onepage&q&f=false)  
See, in particular, the Memorandum for the President of Roberto Gonzales (January 25, 2002). At: <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB127/02.01.25.pdf>

Additional Resources:

- Carl Schmitt, "Definition of Sovereignty," from *Political Theology*. [1922]. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985, pp. 5-15.
- Oren Gross and Fionnuala Ni Aolain, *Law in Times of Crisis: Emergency Powers in Theory and Practice*; Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 2006, pp. ... (ISBN: 0-521-54123-9).
- International Committee of Jurists, *Assessing Damage, Urging Action: Report of the Eminent Jurists Panel on Terrorism, Counter-terrorism and Human Rights*. 2009. Available in pdf at: <http://ejp.icj.org/IMG/EJP-Report.pdf>, pp. 1-25.

**6. Feb 11**

**Guest Speaker: Gary Kinsman  
The Social Construction of Fear and Struggles of Resistance  
Homophobia, Nationalism, Homo-nationalism**

- Gary Kinsman and Patrizia Gentile, "From the Canadian War on Queers to the War on Terror: Resisting the Expanding National Security State," in Gary Kinsman and Patrizia Gentile, *The Canadian War on Queers: National Security as Sexual Regulation*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), pp. 429-458.
- Puar, Jasbir K. and Amit S. Rai, "Monster, Terrorist, Fag: The War on Terrorism and the Production of Docile Patriots," in *Social Text* 72, Vol. 20, No. 3 Fall 2002 117-148.

#### Reference

- Bruce Burgett, "Sex, Panic, Nation," *American Literary History*, vol. 1, Spring 2009, pp. 67-86. Available at: [http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.library.dal.ca/journals/american\\_literary\\_history/v021/21.1.burgett.pdf](http://muse.jhu.edu.ezproxy.library.dal.ca/journals/american_literary_history/v021/21.1.burgett.pdf)
- Leti Volpp, "The Citizen and the Terrorist." *UCLA Law Review* 49, no. 5 (June 2002) 1575-600.
- CBC News, "Indepth: Racial Profiling" May 26, 2005. [http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/racial\\_profiling/](http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/racial_profiling/)

#### 7. Feb 18

##### **Fear and Contagion: Racism and Public Policy National Identity and Racial Purity**

- Ladelle McWhorter, "A Genealogy of Modern Racism," Chapter 2 of her book, *Racism and Sexual Oppression in Anglo-America: A Genealogy*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2009.
- Sherene Razack, "Race thinking and the Camp", *Casting Out: The eviction of Muslims from Western law and Politics* (University of Toronto Press, 2008).
- Anna Pratt and Sara K. Thompson, "Chivalry, 'Race' and Discretion at the Canadian Border," *British Journal of Criminology*. Vol 48, No. 5 pp. 620-639. Available through EBSCO Host at: <http://ejcontent.ebsco.com/ContentServer.aspx?target=http%3A%2F%2Fbjc%2Eoxfordjournals%2Eorg%2Fcgi%2Freprint%2F48%2F5%2F620%2Epdf>

#### Additional Resources

- Kent Roach, "Canada's Response to Terrorism," in Victor V. Ramraj, Michael Hor and Kent Roach, eds. *Global Anti-terrorism Law and Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 511-533.
- Reem Bahdi, "No exit: Racial Profiling and Canada's War against Terrorism," 41 *Osgoode Hall Law Journal*, Summer/Fall 2003.
- Kevin R. Johnson, "Racial Profiling after September 11: The Department of Justice 2003 Guidelines," 50 *Loyola Law Review*, pp. 67-88.
- Chapter 5: Preventative Mechanisms," International Committee of Jurists, *Assessing Damage, Urging Action: Report of the Eminent Jurists Panel on Terrorism, Counter-terrorism and Human Rights*. 2009. Available in pdf at: <http://ejp.icj.org/IMG/EJP->

[Report.pdf](#), pp. 91-118.

**8. Feb 25 Spring break. No class**

**9. March 4**

**Guest Speaker: Frank Harvey**

**The Homeland Security Dilemmas National Security Threats and the Terrorism Industry**

- The Homeland Security Dilemma: Imagination, Failure and the Escalating Costs of Perfecting Security. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*. Volume 40 / Issue 02 / June 2007, pp 283-
- Frank Harvey, debate on Canada-US border security with David T. Jones in *International Journal*. Spring 2012; Vol. 67, No. 2  
<http://internationaljournal.ca/post/26182981113/volume-67-issue-2-a>

**10. Mar 11 (Essay 2 due)**

**Neuroscience, Neuropolitics, and Emotion**

- Brian Massumi. 2005 "Fear, The Spectrum Said," *Positions* 13:1 (Spring), pp. 31-48
- Tim Dagliesh, Barnaby Dunn, and Dean Mobs, 2009. "Affective Neuroscience: Past, Present, and Future," *Emotion Review* 1:4, pp. 355-368
- William Connolly, "The Media and Think Tank Politics" and/or selections on affect studies from the *Affect Theory Reader*

Resources:

- How People are Manipulated by Fear and Propaganda (Youtube, 5 mins):  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H86-JN2sRXQ&feature=fvwp&NR=1>
- Edward Bernays and the Art of Public Manipulation (youtube, 9 mins):  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qiKMmrG1ZKU>

**11. March 18**

- Ann Kaplan, 2008. "Global Trauma and Public Feelings: viewing images of catastrophe," *Consumption, Markets and Culture*, 11:1, pp. 3-24.
- William Connolly, "The Evangelical Capitalist Resonance Machine," *Political Theory* 33:6 (December 2005), pp. 869-886
- Thomas Dumm, "Telefear: Watching War News" in Brian Massumi, ed., *The Politics of Everyday Fear*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993, pp. 307-319

**12. March 25 Test**

**13. April 1**

**Accountability under Domestic and International Law**



- Nasser Hussain and Austin Sarat. 2010. "Introduction: Responding to Government Lawlessness: What does the Rule of Law Require?" In Austin Sarat and Nasser Hussain, eds. *When Governments Break the Law: The Rule of Law and the Prosecution of the Bush Administration*, NY: New York University Press, pp. 1-36.
- Materials on the work of Francis Boyle, and Lawyers Against War, using international law to pursue and indictment against Bush.: "Bush to the Hague": Available at : <http://www.bushtothehague.org/>
- Lawyers against the War: letter campaign to Canadian MPS to ban Bush's entry to Canada (under intl law): Available at: [http://www.lawyersagainsthewar.org/letters/LAW\\_letter\\_re\\_George\\_Bush\\_20110825.pdf](http://www.lawyersagainsthewar.org/letters/LAW_letter_re_George_Bush_20110825.pdf)

### **April 8**

- **Public Hearings on State Responses to 9/11: Discussion**