#### Spring Semester 2019-20

## UGED 2622/ANTH 2530

#### POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Monday 12.30-14.15 MMW 703

Professor Sealing Cheng (<u>sealing@cuhk.edu.hk</u>, NAH304) TA: Darren Fung (1155084467@link.cuhk.edu.hk)

This course interrogates the ideas of violence, human rights, and the assumed connection between the two through case studies from historical and current events. What is violence? What do we know about violence and how? Is violence an absolute concept or could it be contextual? In what context is violence legitimate and when is it not? How do state and non-state actors deploy violence? What are the diverse meanings of violence? Human rights have been presumed to be the remedy to violence, and have been especially championed by the international community since after the Second World War.

Are human rights a universal set of ideals or could there be a culturally diverse interpretation of human rights? What is the distinction between human rights and humanitarianism? Are human rights an effective instrument in addressing violence? What are the purposes and problems of the boom of humanitarian initiatives in the new millennium? Finally, what does our assumption of violence and human rights tell us about ourselves and our future?

## Learning Outcomes:

- 1. to understand and critically engage with concepts of violence and human rights;
- 2. to comprehend the complex meanings of violence within a web of power relations both historically and cross-culturally;
- 3. to analyze the ways current discourses of violence and human rights are specific to our historical moment through current world events;
- 4. to evaluate the effectiveness of the operation of current human rights interventions to remedy violence and humanitarian projects to stop human suffering;
- 5. to cultivate historical and cross-cultural sensitivity in understanding diverse human experiences, crucial to the facilitation of dialogues and collaboration in the advancement of transformative justice;

Please refrain from using any ELECTRONIC DEVICE including mobile phones, computers, tablets, etc in class. Please step out of the classroom to do so if need be. Thank you.

http://www.npr.org/2016/04/17/474525392/attention-students-put-your-laptopsaway?utm\_source=facebook.com&utm\_medium=social&utm\_campaign=npr&utm\_term=nprnews&utm\_ content=20170819

## Assessment:

**1. Tutorial participation and discussion (20%)** Students are expected to contribute to all class discussions by formulating their viewpoints and line of inquiry. Student participation is an important element in this course, thus assigned readings for the week are expected to be read prior to attending class. The class is a safe environment for the exchange of diverse ideas and debates. Respect for differences and intellectual rigor are important pedagogical goals: all opinions will be respected but all opinions must be defended.

You are expected to attend lectures and a minimum number of 7 tutorials to pass the course. Attendance sheets will be used and adequate documentation (doctor's certificate or counselling certificate) will be needed if you miss more than 3 tutorials, or you will gain 0 mark for tutorial participation.

**2. Leading tutorial discussion (10%)** Students will be divided into groups and be responsible for leading one tutorial discussion. Leading a tutorial means engaging with the readings, expanding on the topics at hand and formulating original questions to open up a space for dialogue. The point is to stimulate and invite tutorial participants to jointly interrogate particular issues that are of interest to the presenter and the class. Students are advised not to present a summary of the readings and leave it at that. You can bring in more materials, such as newspaper cuttings, pictures, video clips etc. You can use printed as well as online and web documents other than the readings to enrich the discussion. You are welcome but not required to discuss with me how you intend to proceed with the tutorial beforehand, unless you require special equipment for your presentation. Leading a tutorial means that you are in charge, be empowered and be creative.

**3. Mid-term Essay (1500 words) (30%)** The mid-term essay would be an analysis of the two films for Lecture 2. The question for the mid-term essay will be given out by the end of week 2. Students are required to submit the essay by **February 10 (Monday).** No late submission without adequate documentation (doctor's certificate or counseling certificate) or prior discussion with the lecturer will be accepted.

# 4. Choose only ONE of the following:

## a. Public Anthropology Project (40%) – Stories of Violence

Violence has been central to the recent controversies and public debates about the Anti-Extradition Movement, the Umbrella Movement, immigrants and refugees, and sexual violence etc. in Hong Kong. Using material from the course in a substantive and systematic manner, students design and carry out their own project (individually or as a group of no more than 3) to contribute to the current discussions amongst different communities at this particular historical moment – through stories of individuals or groups who have experience with violence.

The goal of the project is to make anthropology relevant in the public sphere. How can anthropologists do more than just participate and observe? How can anthropology publicly engage with contemporary issues to make a difference in the broader world? How do we explain different forms of violence and how they are experienced, represented, and, if possible, redressed?

The project can take a variety of forms, including oral narratives, theater scripts, film, photography, installation, poetry, etc.

You are encouraged to discuss ideas with me at any time but not later than **February 14**. A written paper describing and analyzing the activities involved should be about 2,000 words in length, no more than 3,000 words. **Due on April 24.** 

# b. Response to The Act of Killing (40%)

# Respond to the screening of *The Act of Killing* (Joshua Oppenheimer 2012) on March 23 – with a set of guided questions as suggestions.

**Due on April 14.** No late submission will be accepted without prior approval and adequate documentation. Penalties will be imposed. This should be about 2,000 words in length, no more than 3,000 words.

# c. Take-home Exam (40%)

**Complete a take-home exam.** The questions for the take-home exam will be given on the last day of class. **Due on April 14.** No late submission will be accepted without prior approval and adequate documentation. Penalties will be imposed.

## Plagiarism

Students are required by university policy to submit all papers to VeriGuide (the Chinese University Plagiarism Identification Engine System). Please check the website <a href="http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/policy/academichonesty/">http://www.cuhk.edu.hk/policy/academichonesty/</a> for more information on how to submit papers through VeriGuide.

## **Course structure**

The course is divided into three parts.

<u>Part I</u> offers a conceptual introduction that will provide students with the tools to analyze issues of violence and human rights in the world today.

Part II considers through empirical studies the agents and structures of violence.

<u>Part III</u> draws on anthropological as well as multidisciplinary works from a global perspective to interrogate the formulation of violence and human rights and humanitarianism as its alleged solution.

\* Readings with an \* are optional.

## Part I: Toward a cross-cultural understanding of violence and human rights

## W1 (6 Jan) Can violence be apolitical? Can human rights be wrong?

Žižek, S. (2008) "The Tyrant's Bloody Robe", in S. Žižek, Violence, London, Profile Books: 1-7.

## W2 (13 Jan) The politics of representation – Violence and Rights

Lukes, S. (2004) [1974] Power: A Radical View. London: Palgrave Macmillan. (Excerpts)

Kleinman, A. and Kleinman, J. (1996) "The Appeal of Experience; The Dismay of Images: Cultural Appropriations of Suffering in Our Times," *Daedalus*, 125(1): 1-23.

Parkinson, J. and George-Cosh, D. (2015) "Image of Drowned Syrian Boy Echoes Around World", *The Wall Street Journal*, 3 September, available at: http://www.wsj.com/articles/image-of-syrian-boy-washed-up-on-beach-hits-hard-1441282847

## W3 (20 Jan) Violence as a spectrum and knowledge production

Said, E. W. (2007) "Introduction", in Said, E. W., *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. London: Penguin Books.

Scheper-Hughes, N. and Bourgois, P. (2003) "Introduction: Making Sense of Violence", in N. Scheper-Hughes and P. Bourgois (eds.), *Violence in War and Peace*, London: Blackwell. pp. 1-31.

\*Narayan, U. (1997) "Restoring History and Politics to 'Third-World Traditions': Contrasting the Colonialist Stance and Contemporary Contestations of Sati", in U. Narayan, *Dislocating Cultures: Identities, Traditions, and Third-World Feminism.* London: Routledge. pp. 41-80.

Jan 27 Chinese New Year

# W4 (3 Feb) Human rights as cultural practice

Goodale, Mark. (2006). Introduction to "Anthropology and Human Rights in a New Key". *American Anthropologist* 108(1):1-8.

Sidhva, Shiraz. (2019). "Interview: "Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im: On human rights, the secular state and Sharia today"

https://en.unesco.org/courier/2019-1/abdullahi-ahmed-naim-human-rights-secular-state-and-sharia-today

Rosenblum, P. (2002) "Teaching Human Rights: Ambivalent Activism, Multiple Discourses, and Lingering Dilemmas," *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, 15: 301-315.

Excerpts from Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948

## Part II Agents and Structures of Violence

## W5 (10 Feb) "The Banality of Evil"?: On Agents and Structures of Violence

Farmer, Paul. 2004. "An Anthropology of Structural Violence." Current Anthropology 45(3):305-325.

Fassin, Didier. 2018. "A moral interpretation of police deviance." In Karpiak, Kevin G. & William Garriott (eds). *The Anthropology of Police*, pp. 175-188. London: Routledge.

Samira Bueno & Graham Denyer Willis. 2019. "The Exceptional Prison." Public Culture 31 (3): 645-663.

\* Arendt, Hannah. 1970. Excerpts from On Violence, pp. 44-46. Orlando: Harvest Books.

\* Ralph, Laurence. 2018. "The Black Box of Police Torture." In Karpiak, Kevin G. & William Garriott (eds). *The Anthropology of Police*, pp. 188-208. London: Routledge.

\* Tahir, Madiha. 2019. "Violence Work and the Police Order." Public Culture 31 (3): 409-418.

\* Martin, Jeffrey. 2018. "Police Culture: What it is? What it does? And what we should do with it?" In Karpiak, Kevin G. & William Garriott (eds). *The Anthropology of Police*, pp. 34-53. London: Routledge Kane,

\* Stephanie C. "The Art of Torture and the Place of Execution: A Forensic Narrative." *Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 35 (1): 53-76.

# Extra Credit Option: Judith Farquhar's Keynote Lecture, Feb 15-6 Precarious Asia, 500 word response

#### W6 (17 Feb) What does State Violence look like?

Graeber, David. 2012. "Dead zones of the imagination: On violence, bureaucracy, and interpretive labor." *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 2 (2): 105–28

Puar, Jasbir. 2017. "Disabled Diaspora, Rehabilitating State." In *The Right to Maim: Deblility, Capacity, Disability*, pp.127-154. Durham: Duke University Press.

\*Stein, F. (2016) Anthropology, Brexit and Xenophobia in Europe. https://politicalandlegalanthro.org/2016/06/28/anthropology-brexit-and-xenophobia-in-europe/

\*Hochschild, A. (2016) "I spent 5 years with some of Trump's biggest fans. Here's what they won't tell you." *Mother Jones*, Sep/October, 2016. http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2016/08/trump-white-blue-collar-supporters

http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2010/08/trump-white-blue-collar-supporters

\*Stoller, P. (2016) Revisiting the Anthropology of Trump and the Power of Culture. <u>http://www.huffingtonpost.com/paul-stoller/revisiting-the-anthropolo\_b\_12891694.html</u>

## W7 (24 Feb) The Violence of Exclusion: The case of refugees in Hong Kong

Fassin, Didier. 2011. "Truth Ordeal: Attesting Violence for Asylum Seekers," pp.109-129. In *Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of the Present.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Malkki, Liisa. 2008. "Speechless Emissaries: Refugees, Humanitarianism, and Dehistoricization." *Cultural Anthropology*, 11(3):377-404.

\* Ip, Iam-Chong. (2015) "Politics of Belonging: a study of the campaign against mainland visitors in Hong Kong." *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 16(3):410-421.

\* Garrett, D. (2013) "Visualizing Protest Culture in China's Hong Kong: Recent Tensions over Integration." *Visual Communication* 12(1):55-71. http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1470357212447910

\*Vecchio, Francesco and Beatson, Cosmo. (2013) 'Resisting government labelling and engaging the community: The 'March For Protection' in Hong Kong', *Oxford Monitor of Forced Migration*, 3(1), 24-29.

\* Greenberg, Ela. 2009. "'The King of the Streets': Hip Hop and the Reclaiming of Masculinity in Jerusalem's Shu'afat refugee Camp." *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication*. 2 (2):231-250.

## W8 (2 Mar) Sexual violence in conflicts

Oosterhoff, P. (2004) "Sexual Torture of Men in Croatia and Other Conflict Situations: An Open Secret", *Reproductive Health Matters*, 12(23): 68-77.

Yang, H. (1997) "Re-membering the Korean Military Comfort Women", in E. H. Kim and C. Choi (eds.) *Dangerous Women: Gender and Korean Nationalism.* London: Routledge. pp: 118-135.

\*Hayden, R. (2000) "Rape and Rape Avoidance in Ethno-National Conflicts: Sexual Violence in Liminalized

States", American Anthropologist, 102(1): 27-41.

Relevant International Documents: Geneva Convention, Security Council Resolution 1325; Security Council Resolution 1820. (Excerpts)

In-Class Screening: Trailer of *Silence Broken* (1999) by Daisil Kim-Gibson.

## March 9-11 Meetings on Public Anthropology Project

#### Part III Violence and its Remedies: Interrogating Human Rights and Humanitarianism

#### W9 (9 Mar) Solving the Problem of "Sex trafficking" and neoliberalism

Cheng, S. and Kim, E. (2014) "The Paradoxes of Neoliberalism: Migrant Korean Sex workers and 'Sex Trafficking'", *Social Politics*, 21(3): 355-381.

IRIN (2013) "Analysis: Sex Workers Bear Brunt of War on Trafficking", *Humanitarian News and Analysis*, available at: http://www.irinnews.org/report/98689/analysis-sex-workers-bear-brunt-of-war-on-trafficking.

In-class screening: Becky's Journey (2013) by Sine Plambech

Watch Online Video: Paradoxes of Neoliberalism, available at: http://vimeo.com/72002039

#### W10 (16 Mar) The Violence of Humanitarianism

Riina Yrjöla. 2009. "The Invisible Violence of Celebrity Humanitarianism: Soft Images and Hard Words in the Making and Unmaking of Africa." *World Political Science Review* 5(1):1-22.

Redfield, Peter. 2006. "A less modest witness: Collective advocacy and motivated truth in a medical humanitarian movement, "*American Ethnologist* 33(1): 3-26.

\*Ticktin, Miriam. 2006. Where ethics and politics meet: The violence of humanitarianism in France. *American Ethnologist* 33(1):33-49.

## W11 (23 Mar) Screening The Act of Killing (Joshua Oppenheimer 2012)

## 12.30-3.15 pm

## At NAH401

Readings:

Galuh Wandita, "PREMAN NATION: Watching The Act of Killing in Indonesia," *Critical Asian Studies* 46.1 (2014): 167-170.

Gerry van Klinken, "No, The Act Of Killing Is Not Unethical," Critical Asian Studies 46.1 (2014):176-178.

## W12 (30 Mar) Creative Resistance

Grillo, Laura. 2018. "Introduction", An Intimate Rebuke: Female Genital Power in Ritual and Politics in West Africa. Durham: Duke University Press

Lee Seung-Ook, Sook-Jin Kim, Joel Wainwright. 2010. "Mad cow militancy: Neoliberal hegemony and social resistance in South Korea." *Political Geography* 29 (7): 359-369.

\*Ai, Weiwei. 2017. "Introduction" in Steve Crawshaw (ed.) *Street Spirit: The Power of Protest and Mischief.* London: Michael O'Mara Books

## **Recommended Readings:**

D'Costa, Bina. 2017. *Children and Violence: Politics of Conflict in South Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sima Shakhsari, Minoo Moallem. 2019. "Whose Revolution? A Reflection on The Iranian Uprisings", KOH Journal. <u>https://kohljournal.press/Whose-Revolution</u>

Bhattachargjee, Anannya. 2006 (1997). "The Public/Private Mirage: Mapping Homes and Undomesticating Violence Work in the South Asian Immigrant Community. In *The Anthropology of the State*, pp. 337-355. Oxford: Blackwell.

Juchou, Mirelle. 2019. "How Dreams Change Under Authoritarianism". *New Yorker*. Nov 7. <u>https://www.newyorker.com/books/second-read/how-dreams-change-under-authoritarianism</u>

Mbembe, Achille. 2006. "The Banality of Power and the Aesthetics of Vulgarity in the Postcolony." In *The Anthropology of the State*, pp. 381-400. Oxford: Blackwell.