

POL 373H1F (Fall 2017): The Emotions and Political Theory

Lectures: Mondays 4 to 6 pm in UC 163.

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Office Hours: Mondays 2 to 4 pm in Sid Smith 3117

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Course Description:

Some suggest that the art of proper political thinking involves following reason over passion, but recent scholarship across the humanities and social sciences has revealed the multiple ways in which emotion can be recognised as an inescapable and key component of morality and good politics. Writers offering revisionist approaches to the history of political thought have come to recognise that many political theorists were more receptive to emotion as a positive political force than previously thought. Still, the theoretical challenge in coming to appreciate the emotions is how to weigh the importance of emotional capacity and subjective experience without coming to the position that all emotional accounts have immediate normative authority (i.e. my feeling it not only makes it so, but is the ultimate measure of what *should* be).

In this context, this course has two objectives. The first objective is to provide a broad overview of some of the key issues concerning the nature of the emotions and their place in political life, as presented in the history of political thought. The first few weeks of the course will allow students to see some of the historical development of competing models of the place of emotion in politics and to give us tools to develop a more sophisticated account of the emotional process and of its place in models of good citizenship.

A second objective is to raise questions concerning the role of specific emotions in contemporary liberal democracy. The latter part of the course is structured around a number of current debates among political and cultural theorists who take the emotions seriously.

Basic outline:

Introduction. What is an emotion? What is the place of emotion in political life? (three weeks)

Part I. The Emotions in history, theory and practice (three weeks):

- A. Ancient virtue theory
- B. The rise of the rational subject of liberal theory in Enlightenment thought
- C. Critical approaches to the centrality of the rational subject for normative accounts in political thought

Part II. Emotions and Politics in Contemporary Theory (seven weeks):

Introduction. Bringing the emotions back in to normative political thought

- A. Love and democratic citizenship
- B. Shame, society and the law
- C. Fear,
- D. Anger
- E. Courage

Assignments (instructions for each assignment noted below):

Reflection paper, 5 pp. due October 16 th	10%
Research essay, c. 10 pp., due November 28 th	35%
Exam (during December exam period)	35%
Participation in class and on Blackboard chat group	20%

Reflection Paper:

This paper is intended as a reflective and analytic exercise, rather than a research exercise. While this course is largely devoted to the question of the role emotions play in political theory, in other words, what is the place of emotions in our vision of what politics *should be*, part of the process in beginning to answer this question requires some understanding of how emotions actually function in politics as we know it and through this come to judge what promotes good politics and what doesn't. For this assignment you are *not* required to do extensive research with reliance on secondary sources, but you are asked to reflect on the features involved in an emotional appeal in politics of the two options identified below. What emotions are appealed to in your chosen texts/videos? How are those emotions appealed to? What are the thought processes and assumptions that underlie the appeal? Is it effective? Why or why not? From your analysis of a particular case, what sorts of tentative conclusions might you draw concerning both the effectiveness and the ethics of emotional appeal in political life. If you do choose to integrate references to secondary materials, please use standard bibliographic formatting to document your sources appropriately (Chicago, APA or MLA is fine).

Your paper will be graded according to criteria of organisation (not just introduction, body and conclusion but dealing with similar points/ observations/themes at the same point in the analysis and placing those themes in an order that allows for reasonable flow and development of an overall position in your paper), depth and insightfulness of the analysis (which may mean drawing meaningful comparisons between similar phenomena), and the overall quality of expression (style, spelling, grammar, etc.).

You have two options:

- 1) The first is to choose one speech delivered by President Trump at one of his recent rallies (Arizona and Phoenix come to mind, but you are not limited to those. Just make sure it is a speech delivered in 2017.) It would be helpful to find a video of the speech so that you will be able to replay it for the purpose of analysis. Analyse the speech according to the following guidelines and questions: 1) to what degree is emotion apparent as a strategy of persuasiveness in the speech (as opposed to or alongside rational argument or appeals to the character of the speech giver- what Aristotle calls *ethos* as noted in our readings)? Through what particular words or phrases or symbolism does this appeal to emotion reveal itself? At what point in the speech does this appeal to emotion come? Identify the emotions appealed to and in a few sentences try to analyse that emotion (e.g. is the emotion a mix of more basic emotions? If so, in what way? Is it oriented to the past, present or future, and if so, how exactly? Is it a mixture of pain and pleasure? If so, how?, etc This part of the exercise is to help develop your awareness of the often quite complex meaning and nature of political emotions.). 2) how does the speech giver's body language contribute or not to the emotional appeal? 3) judge the effectiveness of the appeal to emotion in terms of the particular emotion sought, the manner and the timing of the appeal to the emotion, and the overall persuasiveness of the speech. 4) from your observations in this particular case try to make more general observations concerning the effectiveness of emotional appeals in politics. Are there some emotions better suited to or more effective in politics? What can this study of emotion teach us about the place of emotions in politics and what their place should be?
- 2) The second option is to choose two examples of speeches, or fiery editorials/op-eds or monologues delivered or written in 2017 and in some position of opposition to President Trump, with reference to either his policies, his behaviour or both. (If you are choosing pieces of journalism I would prefer that you take them from either the *Washington Post* or *New York Times*, preferably the op-ed section where you can find a large variety of positions represented. If you do not take them from these sources please check in with me before you do. Whichever examples you choose please ensure that you cite your sources fully and appropriately.) Analyse the positions with reference to the following questions: 1) What emotions are appealed to in the pieces- do both draw from the same emotion?- and how is that done? What are the specific words and images that reveal the effort to elicit a particular form of emotional response on the part of the reader or viewer? In reflecting on the nature or essence of those emotions appealed to, how might you understand them in terms of a mixture of pain or pleasure or in terms of their combination of more basic emotions? 2) Judge the effectiveness of the appeal to emotion in the pieces (rather than the pieces as a whole). How much does the relative effectiveness of the appeal to emotion play into the overall effectiveness (or not) of the pieces? Does one of these pieces work better than the other and is this a result of its appeal to emotion? More generally, do some emotions lend themselves to more effective emotional appeal than others? 4) From your broad observations and comparisons comment more generally on the place that emotion should have in political argument. Does the effectiveness or lack of effectiveness of these appeals linked to emotion provide any more general insight on the place that emotions should have in politics?

Research essay:

Your essay should focus on a particular question related to the theme of the course and draw from scholarly sources in political theory and political science (check with me or with the TA if you are in doubt about what constitutes a scholarly source). In addition, it is strongly recommended that you approach this question through the study of the political theory of one or more thinkers, though you are not limited to thinkers on the course syllabus. I will provide a list of essay topics from which you should choose for your paper. Your paper should include a standard scholarly format for your references and bibliography.

Plagiarism is a serious offence and University policy on plagiarism will be strictly enforced. Materials discussing this policy will be made available on the course's Blackboard site and can also be consulted at <http://writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources> . Please keep all rough and draft work and hard copies of your essay until the final grades are posted. Dates due are noted above. A penalty of 2% a day (out of 100%) will be assigned to all late papers. This includes weekends. I can accept electronic submissions of your essays, but please follow up with a printed copy.

Turnitin.com:

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. This will be available via the Blackboard site for the course (details to follow). In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com website.

Participation:

Grades for participation will be determined in three ways, through the handing in of a question based on the reading, through active participation in class discussion and through participation in the chat function set up on Blackboard. The participation grade will reflect the student's quantity and quality of contributions to general class discussion both online and in class. To help facilitate discussion in class, students are asked to prepare a question based on the reading for that week to launch discussion, and that question will also be handed in at the end of class. Please sign up ahead of time for the week that you intend to prepare the question. You can sign up for the week of your choice on Blackboard although each week will be limited to seven students to ensure there will be questions ready to launch discussion throughout the term.

Accessibility Needs:

The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations for a disability, or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom or course materials, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible: <http://www.accessibility.utoronto.ca/> or accessibility.services@utoronto.ca .

Readings:

Weekly readings are noted below for the week they are assigned. All are available online on the Blackboard site.

Blackboard:

A Blackboard website for this course can be accessed through the university portal at portal.utoronto.ca. You will find there a digital copy of the syllabus, some links to required readings, lecture outlines, chatroom for the course as well as the schedule for signing up for the question assignment noted above. You can also download the Blackboard Mobile Learning App to access all your course information posted to Blackboard through your iPhone, iPad and Android devices.

Flipd:

During lectures and your regular study periods I recommend you use the app Flipd (or a similar app of the same type) so as to reduce the amount of distractions and to help you reach your goals. By restricting your online and phone usage to certain points in the day of your own choosing you will make more efficient use of your time. It can be downloaded for free.

Readings and assignments:

*Please note that this schedule of readings may be subject to some modification over the course of the term. Links to these readings can be found on the Blackboard site for the course.

Week 1 (September 11th) - Welcome to the course.

Week 2 (September 18th) - Introduction. What is an emotion and how do we begin to think about the place of emotion in moral and political life?

-Read:

- 1) Ronald de Sousa, "Emotion," Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. Available online at <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/emotion>. A link to this entry is available on the Blackboard site for the course.
- 2) Lisa Feldman Barrett. How Emotions are Made. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2017, chaps. 1 and 3. A link to this reading is available on the Blackboard site for the course.

Week 3 (September 25th) -Introduction, con't.

-Read:

- 1) Charles Montgomery, Happy City, Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 2013, chaps. 5 - 6.
- 2) Carol Graham, Happiness for all? (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press 2017), chap. 5.

- Week 4 (October 2nd) -I A. Ancient virtue theory and the importance of emotion in the long history of political thought
- Read:
- 1) Aristotle, On Rhetoric. A Theory of Civic Discourse trans. George A. Kennedy. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991, Book 1 chaps. 1 to 8 and Book 2 chaps. 1 to 11.
- Week 5 (October 9th) - no class- Thanksgiving
- Week 6 (October 16th) - **Reflection Paper Due (5pp.). See above for details**
- I.B, The Enlightenment turn and the rise of the rational subject of liberal theory
- Read:
- 1) Descartes, The Passions of the Soul. (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1989), pp. 33-49.
- 2) Krista K. Thomason, "A Good Enough Heart: Kant and the Cultivation of Emotions," Kantian Review, 22.3 (September 2017), pp. 441-462. Accessible through online journals on the library website and at the following link: <https://www-cambridge-org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/core/journals/kantian-review/article/good-enough-heart-kant-and-the-cultivation-of-emotions/ADEEC7C4943F24DADCEFD654E0EA2F/core-reader>
- Week 7 (October 23rd) I. C. Critical approaches to the idea of the liberal subject as rational
- Read:
- 1) Mandeville, The Fable of the Bees and Other Writings, ed. E. Hundert, (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1997), pp. 19-73.
- 2) Rousseau, "Essay on the Origin of Languages," In Collected Writings of Rousseau, vol. 7. Trans. John T. Scott. (Hanover: Dartmouth College Press, 1998) pp. 289-332
- Week 8 (October 30th) II. Bringing the emotions back in to modern political thought: Love and Democratic Citizenship
- Read:
- 1) Jennifer Nedelsky, "The Multidimensional Self and the Capacity for Creative Interaction," Laws Relations (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 158-174 and 189-99..

2) Michael Hardt, "For Love or Money," Cultural Anthropology, November 2011, Volume 26 (Issue 4), pp. 676-682. Access through the U of T portal or by clicking on the following link:
http://getit.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/oneclick?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2004&ctx_enc=info%3Aofi%2Fenc%3AUTF-8&rft_id=info:sid/summon.serialssolutions.com&rft_val_fmt=info:ofi/fmt:kev:mtx:journal&rft.genre=article&rft.atitle=For+Love+or+Money&rft.jtitle=Cultural+Anthropology&rft.au=Hardt%2C+Michael&rft.date=2011&rft.issn=0886-7356&rft.eissn=1548-1360&rft.volume=26&rft.issue=4&rft.spage=676&rft.externalDocID=R04704617

3) Martha Nussbaum, Political Emotions. Why Love Matters for Justice (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), chap. 1, pp. 1-24.

4) Rebecca Solnit, "Icebergs and Shadows," In Encyclopedia of Trouble and Spaciousness (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 2014), pp. 133-141.

Week 9 (November 6th) -Fall Break- no class

Week 10 (November 13th) -II. Shame, Society and the Law

Read:

1) Martha Nussbaum, "Shaming Citizens?" In Hiding from Humanity. Disgust, Shame and the Law (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004), chap. 5, pp. 222-279.

2) Julien Deonna, Raffaele Rodogno and Fabrice Teroni, In Defense of Shame (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), chaps. 4 and 7.

Week 11 (November 20th) - II. Fear

-Read:

1) Corey Robin, "Introduction," Fear. The History of a Political Idea (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 1-25.

Week 12 (November 27th) -II. Anger

-Listen/Read:

1) Guest Martha Nussbaum on Anger (Parts One and Two) on the Partially Examined Life, a podcast on Soundcloud. Part One released 30 July 2016. Accessible through the following link:

<https://soundcloud.com/partially-examined-life> (look for podcasts from the summer of 2016).

2) James Jasper, "Constructing Indignation: Anger Dynamics in Protest Movements," Emotion Review 6.3(2014), pp. 208-213. Available on the UTOR library site or click on the following link:

http://journals1.scholarsportal.info.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/details/17540739/v06i0003/208_ciadipm.xml

3) Rebecca Solnit, "Facing the Furies" Harpers Magazine, May 2017. Accessible through the following link:

<https://harpers.org/archive/2017/05/facing-the-furies/>

4) short clip from a twitter feed:

<https://twitter.com/nickconfessore/status/900398543831261184>

Week 13 (December 4th)

-*** Final Paper Due- 10 pp- see above for details

II. Courage

-Read:

-1) Jason Scorza, "The Ambivalence of Political Courage," The Review of Politics 63.4(2001), pp. 637-662. Available on the UTOR library site or click on the following link:

<http://journals1.scholarsportal.info.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/browse/00346705/v63i0004/>

Week 14 (December 7th)

- Question and answer/discussion session.

Final Exam in the December exam period.