The Politics of (French) Crowds  
POLS 366 Advanced Topics in Theory, Media, and Method (3)

This course is designed to explore and build theories on the character and significance of crowds. “Crowd theory” has one of its origins in Gustave Le Bon’s book, *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind (La psychologie des foules, 1895)*, which examined crowd behavior in France. Recently, manifestations by les Gilets Jaunes, terrorist targets of crowds in France, anti-Semitic crowds in 2014, and other political manifestations of crowds in France suggest that crowd phenomena are still in need of political, sociological, cultural and historical understanding.

This course seeks
- to explain the varieties of sociological and social-psychological analysis of crowds, as well as the Nobel-winning work of Elias Canetti
- to gain insight into the French history of crowds focusing on several significant events: the French revolution, the history of anti-Semitic crowds in the late 19th through the 21st centuries, the events of May, 1968, and in post-colonial North Africa
- to link technological changes, such as digital media, to the self-understanding of crowds.

The course is discussion based. Students will be expected to read all materials assigned, and write an essay prior to nearly every class. Grading will be based on contributions to discussions and on the written essays. There will be no final examination.

Student Learning Outcomes
1. Comprehend and compare several competing theories of crowd behavior and the political and social implications of each.
2. Distinguish divergent types of crowds socially and politically significant in France, using Elias Canetti’s typology.
3. Comprehend and compare several periods of French history and the significance of crowds to related historical events.

Weekly readings and discussion

(1) Introduction

(2) The psychology of crowds I

(a) Reading: Gustave Le Bon, *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind* (selections)
→**Assignment:** Choose an assertion made by Le Bon (e.g., that personality disappears in a crowd, or that in a crowd reason is suspended, or some other) and write a short, single-page, single-space essay in which you evaluate his support for this claim and your assessment of its significance.

(5) **The psychology of crowds II**

(a) Reading: Freud, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* (selections)

→**Assignment:** Borrowing from Nietzsche, Freud argues for the herd instinct that helps explain group psychology. Write a short, single-page, single-space essay in which you explain how you understand this herd instinct, and what importance you give it for thinking about historical change.

(4) **The crowd in the French Revolution**

(a) Readings:


→**Assignment:** Take an incident of crowd behavior explored by Rudé or Lucas and explain what you see as the most significant political impact of this crowd for the French Revolution.

(5) **Crowds and Power: the contribution of Elias Canetti I**

(a) Reading: Canetti, *Crowds and Power* I

→**Assignment:** Canetti opens this segment of the book with the argument that the human fear of touch is a primal and universal truth. Write a short, single-page, single-space essay in which you explain what you think Canetti means by this, and how you evaluate this claim. Ask yourself, “Is he dangerously inflating the category of the ‘primitive’ in making this claim?”

(6) **Crowds and Power: the contribution of Elias Canetti II**

(a) Reading: Canetti, *Crowds and Power* II
Assignment: On page 206 and ff., Canetti contends that if power is based on prohibitions of metamorphosis and transformation, then transformation logically contends with power. Write a short, single-page, single-space essay in which you explain what you think Canetti means by relating crowds to power in this manner.

(7) Crowds and Power: the contribution of Elias Canetti III
(a) Readings:
(i) Canetti, Crowds and Power III
(ii) Catherine Malabou, “The Crowd”

Assignment: Choose your favorite concept that Canetti argues about crowds. Write a short, single-page, single-space essay in which you explain this concept, and evaluate its social or political significance while explaining why you find it so attractive.

(8) The authoritarian personality
(a) Readings
(i) Adorno, Theodor W., and Else Frenkel-Brunswik. The Authoritarian Personality. 1993. (Selections)

Assignment: Write a short, single-page, single-space essay in which you seek to draw connections between fascist authoritarianism in the early half of the 20th Century, and the current time. Two pages, single spaced.

(9) Mai 1968
(a) Readings
(iii) Film: Garrel, Les amants reguliers
Assignment: Choose a key sentence from the Feenberg reading, and another from Ross, and use these to help frame an essay about the film for this week. Ask yourself how a filmmaker and an author approach differently the same event. Two pages, single spaced.

Anti-Semitic crowds in France

(a) Readings:

Assignment: Le Bon, Adorno and Canetti discuss the significance of the Jew to right wing crowds. Use one of their theories to explain how anti-Semitism was manifest in the historical events covered by this week’s articles. Two pages, single spaced.

Crowds and colonialism

(a) Reading: Khalil, Andrea. Crowds and Politics in North Africa: Tunisia, Algeria and Libya. 1 edition. Routledge, 2014. SELECTIONS

Assignment: Khalil addresses gender directly; she is our first feminist. What do you learn about gender and crowds in her studies of N. African uprisings? Write two pages, single-spaced.

Crowds and democratic assembly


Assignment: Butler argues early in her book that bodies perform a right to appear (11). Write a short two-page essay in which you explore the power of this performativity and how it may transform the ways we look at crowds.

Digital Crowds

(c) Readings


**Assignment:** What difference does the internet make? Take two of this week’s readings and write a short two-page essay exploring how these authors think about what is particular about a digital crowd. Compare their ideas to at least one theory of the crowd that we have explored this semester.
### Student Learning Outcomes Assessment Rubric

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<tr>
<th>Learning outcomes</th>
<th>Below expectation</th>
<th>Meets expectation</th>
<th>Exceeds expectation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Comprehend and compare (in discussion and writing) several competing theories of crowd behavior and the political and social implications of each.</td>
<td>Inability to identify and write cogently about the central ideas of theories of crowd behavior</td>
<td>Able to understand and write coherently about theories of crowd behavior</td>
<td>Able to understand and write coherently about theories of crowd behavior and identify key debates within</td>
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<tr>
<td>Distinguish divergent types of crowds socially and politically significant in France, using Elias Canetti’s typology.</td>
<td>Inability to comprehend and write about more than two of Canetti’s crowd types.</td>
<td>Identification of more than two of Canetti’s crowd types in writing and discussion, and ability to match these to crowd events in France.</td>
<td>Identification of more than two of Canetti’s crowd types and the demonstrated ability to identify the degrees of fit in multiple crowd events in France.</td>
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<td>Comprehend and compare several periods of French history and the significance of crowds to related historical events.</td>
<td>Inability to identify, comprehend, and write about more than one period of French history and associate these with crowd events.</td>
<td>Identification of several periods of French history and demonstration of the significance (in writing and discussion) of different crowd events.</td>
<td>Demonstrated ability in discussion and writing of several periods of French history and the importance of crowd events to historical change in France.</td>
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Written Paper Evaluation Rubric

Performance Scale
3 .... Work is exceptional, excellent skills apparent
2 .... Work is competent, meeting minimum requirements; adequate skills apparent, but additional instruction/practice required.
1 .... Work is underdeveloped or incomplete.
0 .... Work is unacceptable.

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<td>Conclusion (closure)</td>
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Note: Act 208, effective July 1, 2016, mandates that faculty members are “responsible employees” for the purposes of Title IX. The template below has been revised to comply with Act 208.

SAMPLE TITLE IX SYLLABUS TEMPLATE

The University of Hawaii is committed to providing a learning, working and living environment that promotes personal integrity, civility, and mutual respect and is free of all forms of sex discrimination and gender-based violence, including sexual assault, sexual harassment, gender-based harassment, domestic violence, dating violence, and stalking. If you or someone you know is experiencing any of these, the University has staff and resources on your campus to support and assist you. Staff can also direct you to resources that are in the community. Here are some of your options:

If you wish to remain ANONYMOUS, speak with someone CONFIDENTIALLY, or would like to receive information and support in a CONFIDENTIAL setting, contact the confidential resources available here:

http://www.manoa.hawaii.edu/titleix/resources.html#confidential

[or]

If you wish to remain ANONYMOUS, speak with someone CONFIDENTIALLY, or would like to receive information and support in a CONFIDENTIAL setting, contact:

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender (LGBT) Student Services
Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex (LGBTI) Student Services strives to maintain a safe and inclusive campus environment that is free from harassment and discrimination. The office provides direct services to students of the University of Hawaii at Manoa to confidentially discuss or seek advocacy and support for mistreatment due to their actual or perceived sex, gender identity, gender expression, or sexual orientation.

Cameron Miyamoto
Queen Lili‘uokalani Center for Student Services 211
2660 Campus Road
Hilo, HI 96722
(808) 956-9250
www.manoa.hawaii.edu
http://manoa.hawaii.edu/

Office of Gender Equity
The Office of Gender Equity offers direct services to victims and survivors of sexual harassment and sexual assaults. Brief descriptions of services offered are available here.

James Friedman
Queen Lili‘uokalani Center for Student Services 210
2660 Campus Road
Hilo, HI 96722
(808) 956-9460
email: gender@hawaii.edu
www.manoa.hawaii.edu/gender equality
Prevention, Awareness, and Understanding (PAU) Violence Program
Prevention, Awareness, and Understanding (PAU) Violence Program exists to inspire, educate, and empower students and campus communities to build safe living-learning environments and interpersonal violence, and encourage holistic well-being in ways that are supportive, collaborative, student-centered, and strengths-based. PAU Violence program staff provides direct services to all University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa students including crisis response, safety planning, academic support, and referrals to campus and community resources.

Jennifer Barnett
Leslie Cablingbang
Queen Ulu Okalani Center for Student Services 211
2600 Campus Road
Honolulu, HI 96822
(808) 956-8059
uhmsec@hawaii.edu

Student Parents At Mānoa (SPAM)
Student Parents At Mānoa (SPAM) works to increase the visibility of and resources for student parents at UH Mānoa as they pursue education while parenting. SPAM staff provide advocacy, support, and referrals for pregnant and parenting students to help them succeed in their educational goals.

Teresa Bill
2600 Campus Road
Queen Ulu Okalani Center for Student Services 211
Honolulu, HI 96822
(808) 956-8059
gedc@hawaii.edu
http://manoa.hawaii.edu/studentparents/

Counseling and Student Development Center (CSDC)
The Counseling and Student Development Center (CSDC) offers support to UHM students, staff, and faculty to assist with personal, academic, and career concerns. All services are confidential and most are free of charge for Mānoa students. They also offer free consultation to faculty and staff on personal and student-related issues as well. CSDC office hours are from 8:00 a.m. to 4:30 p.m., Monday through Friday. They also offer immediate walk-in appointments for urgent or emergency/crisis services during their regular daily hours.

Queen Ulu Okalani Center for Student Services 312
2600 Campus Road
Honolulu, HI 96822
(808) 956-7927
uhmsec@hawaii.edu
www.manoa.hawaii.edu/counseling

University Health Services Mānoa (UHSM)
The University Health Services Mānoa (UHSM) is staffed by physicians, nurse practitioners, nurses, and other support staff, and offers a wide range of medical services and programs to UH Mānoa students, with many of the services also available to UH Mānoa faculty and staff and students from other UH campuses. Services include general medical care on a walk-in basis; women’s health, sports medicine, psychiatry, and dermatology clinics by appointment; pharmacy and clinical laboratory; and student training, employment and volunteer opportunities.

1710 East West Road
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822
Honolulu, HI 96822
(808) 956-9665
www.hawaii.edu/uhsm/

If you wish to REPORT an incident of sex discrimination or gender-based violence including sexual assault, sexual harassment, gender-based harassment, domestic violence, dating violence or stalking as well as receive information and support, contact:

Dee Uwono
Director and Title IX Coordinator
Hawai‘i Hall 124
2500 Campus Road
Honolulu, HI 96822
As a member of the University faculty, I am **required to immediately report** any incident of sex discrimination or gender-based violence to the campus Title IX Coordinator. Although the Title IX Coordinator and I cannot guarantee confidentiality, you will still have options about how your case will be handled. My goal is to make sure you are aware of the range of options available to you and have access to the resources and support you need.

For more information regarding sex discrimination and gender-based violence, the University’s Title IX resources and the University’s Policy, Interim EP 1.204, go to: [http://www.manoa.hawaii.edu/titleix/](http://www.manoa.hawaii.edu/titleix/)

*(Updated August 2016)*