



Wageningen School
of Social Sciences

Psychoanalysis and Political Economy

Coordination

Dr. Robert Fletcher (SDC)

Lecturers

Dr. Robert Fletcher (SDC)

Dr. Pieter de Vries (SDC)

Dr. Chizu Sato (SCH)

Dr. Jelle Behagel (FNP)

Dr. Yahya Madra (Drew University)

10-13 May 2017

**Course organised by the Wageningen School of Social Sciences (WASS),
Wageningen University**

Introduction and objectives of the course

The two-day intensive PhD workshop '*Psychoanalysis and Political Economy*' complements the international seminar on the same theme bringing together prominent scholars from around the world from 12-13 May in Wageningen, the Netherlands. The workshop will thus give motivated PhD students a solid foundation to participate in this seminar, from which they will emerge with an understanding of cutting-edge developments in this growing area of inquiry.

In recent years a growing group of researchers has asserted that understandings of political economic processes focused on logics of capital accumulation should be supplemented by consideration of the psychodynamic mechanisms that animate these processes. Political economy has been quite effective in critiquing neoliberal capitalism in terms of ecological, economic, and social unsustainability. Yet the effects of this critique have been limited, such that it now seems easier to imagine the end of the world via environmental apocalypse than the possibility of transforming the mode of production, as expressed in the neoliberal slogan TINA ('there is no alternative'). At the same time we can observe how foreclosure of the possibility of systemic transformation generates all kinds of anxieties and fears (food risks, terrorism, ecological disasters, precarity, etc.). Psychoanalysis thus supplements the critique of political economy by looking at the ways in which the "post-political" foreclosure of dissent produces phantasmatic objects (the Terrorist as well as biogenetic monsters, contagious diseases, and so forth). From a psychoanalytic perspective, this is the "return of the repressed" exposing our inability to face the inherent contradictions of neoliberal capitalism.

The PhD course aims to provide students with an advanced introduction to recent academic thinking on these two important areas of inquiry and their intersection. Two days of intensive coursework and discussions will lay the foundations for the capstone two-day seminar. In group discussions, we will aim to stimulate intellectual debate through various strands of argument and critique and contest these from various angles. In this way, the course also explicitly incorporates development of academic debating skills.

Target group and learning outcomes

The course "*Psychoanalysis and Political Economy*" is intended for PhD students across the social and environmental sciences, especially anthropology, geography, political science, sociology and development studies, with an interest in political ecology. In this course, we will move between close reading of texts, workshops, and discussion. Students following this course will not only learn about contestations in relevant themes and new dynamics in political ecology, but will also become part of and interpret these contestations.

Students participating in this course are expected to write a short statement (max. 1 page A4) to: i) introduce who they are in terms of disciplinary background and education ii); outline how they (intend to) engage with the two identified themes in political ecology (conflict, violence / capitalism and the environment); iii) outline questions or issues on

these themes with which they would like to engage; and iv) offer expectations from the course.

After successful completion of this course students will be able to:

- Demonstrate a thorough knowledge of new dynamics in psychoanalysis, critical political economy, and the intersections between these;
- Critically reflect on different approaches to these themes and how these are employed in social science research;
- Broadly understand some of the main contestations around these themes in relation to theoretical traditions, empirical emphases, and political projects;
- Formulate whether and how elements of these discussions and contestations could fit on and contribute to one's own research project;
- Engage in active learning, critical thinking and academic debating, especially by positioning oneself in (relation to) academic debates.

Assumed prior knowledge

MSc in social sciences: anthropology, geography, political science, sociology or development studies.

Course fees

For PhDs of WASS there is a fee of 200 euros. For all other participants and for staff members (fellows/post docs), there is a fee of 400 euros for the whole course (including drinks, lunches, and course materials).

Session Times/ Outline of the Course in Hours

The first week of this course entails self-study (1-9 May 2017). The students are expected to read the course-material and write a 3-4 page annotated bibliography or 'reflection document' on the readings and how these (potentially) relate to their own research. In the remaining days we will have lectures, group-work and discussions (10-13 May 2017).

Program

Date	Topic	Lecturer
Wednesday, 10 May	<u>Morning</u> : Introduction/Foundations	Robert Fletcher
	<u>Afternoon</u> : Deleuze, Guattari and beyond	Jelle Behagel
Thursday, 11 May	<u>Morning</u> : The Lacanian Left	Pieter de Vries
	<u>Afternoon</u> : Feminism and other engagements	Chizu Sato Yahya Madra
Friday, 12 May	International Seminar first day	All (Schedule at end of course guide)

Saturday, 13 May	International Seminar second day	All (Schedule at end of course guide)
---------------------	----------------------------------	---------------------------------------

(A detailed program including readings will be communicated later)

Teaching methods

The course offers combination of different educational activities:

- i) *Lectures* to introduce and explain new dynamics and theoretical approaches
- ii) *Self-study* to further develop the understanding of the new dynamics and theoretical approaches discussed.
- iii) *Assignments* that address contestations regarding the new dynamics and theoretical approaches and apply these to the student's own research:
 - a. *Personal statement* prior to course (1 page).
 - b. *Annotated bibliography/reflection paper* prior to class sessions (1500 words)
- iv) Plenary discussions of literature and assignments.
- v) *Final papers* by the participants reflecting on course material (2000 words)

Requirements and ECTS

3 credits (according to European Credit Transfer System).

Receipt of these credits requires completing all readings, attending all class sessions, and completing all written assignments as delated above.

Location

The sessions will be held in building "De Leeuwenborch", Hollandseweg 1 in Wageningen, The Netherlands. The exact rooms will be announced later.

Registration

Registration is possible electronically via the WASS courses page:

<http://www.wur.nl/en/Education-Programmes/PhD-Programme/Graduate-Schools/Wageningen-School-of-Social-Sciences/Courses/Registration.htm>

The maximum number of participants is set at 20, the minimum at 10.

Please make sure that you provide the most recent contact details so that in case of any changes you will be notified promptly. After your internet registration you will receive a short notification that your name has been registered. At least two weeks before the course you will receive a confirmation about the location and the schedule. WASS will also send an invoice to the address indicated in the registration form.

Please e-mail to Marcella.Haan@wur.nl in case you have not received the second confirmation two weeks before the course.

Cancellations

Cancellations may be made free of charge until 1 month before the start of the course. Cancellation fee of 100 % applies if participants cancel the course less than 1 month prior to the course. The organisers have a right to cancel the course not later than 1 month before the course starts. The participants will be notified of any changes at their e-mail addresses.

Further information

On course content please contact the course organiser, Dr. Robert Fletcher (SDC). He can be reached through mail at robert.fletcher@wur.nl

On WASS: www.wageningenur.nl/wass

For details about the logistics, accommodation, registration, fees, study materials, etc. please contact

Marcella Haan

Tel +31 317 484126

Marcella.haan@wur.nl

Contact addresses:

Wageningen School of Social Sciences

Wageningen University

Hollandseweg 1

6706 KN WAGENINGEN

The Netherlands

Useful information on accommodation for participants from outside Wageningen

Wageningen International Centre,
Hof van Wageningen: 75 euro for 1 person room, 98.50 euros for 2 persons room
(including breakfast) <http://www.hofvanwageningen.nl/>

Hotel de Wageningseberg: 62.50 euro 1 person room, 97.50 euro for 2 persons room
(including breakfast) www.wageningseberg.com

Hotel Nol in 't Bosch: 83,50 euro for 1 person room, 110 euro for 2 persons room,
also including breakfast; <http://www.nolintbosch.nl/>

Hotel de Nieuwe Wereld (Hotel School): 50-60 euro for a 1 person room.
<http://www.denieuwewereld.nl> (only in Dutch)

Bed&Breakfast De Heksenspeeltuin:
25 euro for a 1 person room
Eindhovenstraat 15, 6706JA Wageningen
Phone: +31 317-418161
E-mail: callyd@zonnet.nl
www.heksenspeeltuin.nl

Villaria Bed en Breakfast:
32-38 euro for a 1 person room
Nassauweg 21, 6703CG Wageningen
Phone: +31 317-419636
Email: villaria@hari.demon.nl

Ons Bakhuus Bed & Breakfast:
25 euro for a 1 person room
Dolderstraat 64, 6706 JG Wageningen
Phone.:+31 317-411994
E-mail: janny.wijbo@chello.nl

Knollywood Bed & Breakfast:
35 euro for a 1 person room
L. Roggeveenstraat 39, 6708 SL Wageningen
Phone: +31 317-420970
E-mail: Knollywood@hetnet.nl

De Herbergh Bed & Breakfast:
45 euro for a 1 person room
Generaal Foulkesweg 8, 6703 BR Wageningen
Phone: +31 317-410747
E-mail: glindenbergh@wanadoo.nl

Het Torentje Bed & Breakfast:
60 euro for a 1 person room
Nassauweg 19, 6703 CG Wageningen
Phone: +31 (0)6 55 802 865
e-mail: info@het-torentje.nl
website: <http://www.het-torentje.nl>

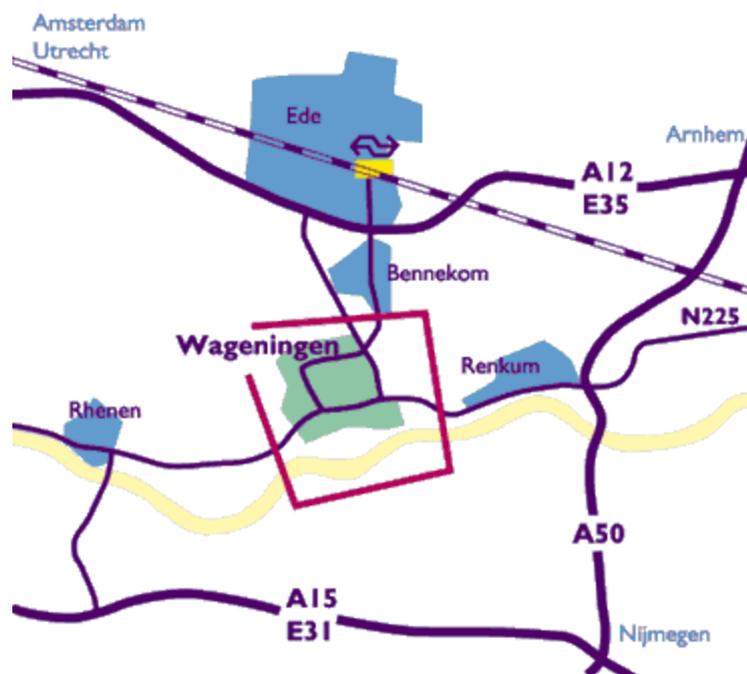
From Schiphol Amsterdam Airport to Wageningen

At the Airport you can buy a train ticket in the 'arrivals' area by the baggage claims. You will see the sign "Train tickets" near the exit. Then follow the signs 'Nederlandse Spoorwegen' (NS) or 'Trains and busses' to the railway station.

Purchase a one-way ticket to the Ede-Wageningen train station, this will cost €14,10 (plus a service charge if you buy the ticket at the ticket counter). It is also possible to buy the ticket from the ticket vending machines in the station.

There are direct connections from Schiphol Amsterdam Airport to Ede-Wageningen every 30 minutes. Additionally, twice an hour there is a connecting service from Schiphol to Ede-Wageningen where you have to change trains in Utrecht. The destination boards on the platform will indicate the different stations where the train will stop. Check for the names Ede-Wageningen or Utrecht and board the train and when necessary change in Utrecht. The trip from Schiphol to Ede-Wageningen takes you a bit more than one hour.

For Dutch train connections use www.ns.nl, www.thalys.com, www.db.de



The train station is not located directly in Wageningen. This lack is fully compensated by fair means of transportation by buses and taxis. From railway station Ede-Wageningen you can take a taxi (approx.15 min.). Taxis leave at the north side of the station. You can also come by bus: line 52 (direction Wageningen/ Arnhem) departs from the north side of the station or bus line 88 (Valleilijn, direction Wageningen) leaves from the south side of the station. You have to purchase a ticket from the driver in the bus, which will cost about 2 euros.

12-13 May Seminar Programme:

Friday 12 May

9:00 – 9:30: Introduction/Organization

9:30 – 11:00: Paper Session I

Development and the Poor: Enjoy Your Symptom!

Ilan Kapoor, York University, Canada

Looking Awry at the Poor's Agency in Development Studies with Slavoj Žižek

Tara van Dijk, Maastricht University, Netherlands

From Ontology to Hauntology, Or 'How are Earth-beings'?

Pieter de Vries, Wageningen University, Netherlands

11:00 – 11:30: Coffee Break

11:30 – 13:00: Paper Session II

The Wound of Whiteness: Conceptualizing Economic Convergence as Trauma in the 2016 American Election

Maureen Sioh, DePaul University, USA

Loss of Sovereignty and Social Abjection: On the Melancholic Objects of Political Desire

Tereza Kuldova, University of Oslo, Norway

How is the personal political? Psychoanalysis, radical politics, and trauma

Jesse Proudfoot, Durham University, UK

13:00 – 14:00: Lunch Break

14:00 – 15:30: Paper Session III

Ours is Becoming the Age of Minorities': Deleuze/Guattari's Unexpected Dialectic of Political Subjectivation

Kai Heron, University of Manchester, UK

Anxious Subject: Political Transformation and the Politics of Race

Andreja Zevnik, University of Manchester, UK

Sexing Subjects and Rethinking Gender and Intersectionality in Feminist Political Ecology

Chizu Sato, Wageningen University, Netherlands

15:30 – 16:00: Coffee

16:00 – 17:00: Frist Day Wrap-up

Saturday 13 May

9:00 - 9:30: Coffee/Reorganization

9:30 - 11:00: Paper Session IV

The De-politicized Politics of the Anthropocene: An Immuno-biopolitical Fantasy
Erik Swyngedouw, University of Manchester, UK

How Nature Haunts Us: I Am a Red Parrot
Jelle Behagel, Wageningen University, Netherlands

Sustainable Fantasies? The End of Capitalism vs. the Sustainable Development Goals
Robert Fletcher, Wageningen University, Netherlands

11:00 – 11:30: Coffee

11:30 – 13:00: Paper Session V

Plasticlass Futures
Ayşem Mert, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, Germany

The politics of awakening
Japhy Wilson, University of Manchester, UK

Narcissism: Between Smith and Freud
Samo Tomsic, Humboldt University, Germany

13:00 – 14:00: Lunch

14:00 – 15:30: Paper Session VI

TBD

15:30 – 16:00: Coffee

16:00 – 17:00: Final Wrap-up

Paper Abstracts/Bios

Development and the Poor: Enjoy Your Symptom!
Ilan Kapoor, York University, Canada

The field of international development is premised on addressing poverty, particularly the needs of the poorest of the poor (the underclass, indigenous communities, subalternized women, racialized minorities, migrants, “untouchables”, slum-dwellers, etc.). A massive institutional apparatus exists — aid agencies, NGOs, government

departments — to cater to these needs and, as Foucauldians would have it, discipline and control the poor. But while Foucault emphasizes issues of governmentality, I want to draw on Lacanian psychoanalysis to zero in on the kernel of enjoyment involved in regulating the poor. Here, not only are the poor seen as symptoms of capitalist development — its rejects and disposables — but a whole economy of enjoyment is produced wherein the development industry, as well as the poor themselves, enjoy their symptom. The poor, in this sense, are what Lacan would call the *sinthome* of development, whose presence is what binds the massive institutional apparatus together, serving as its very *raison d'être*, yet whose absence would cause it to fall apart.

Ilan Kapoor is Professor of Critical Development Studies at the Faculty of Environmental Studies, York University, Toronto. His research focuses on postcolonial theory/politics, participatory development and democracy, and ideology critique (drawing on psychoanalytic Marxism). He is the author of *The Postcolonial Politics of Development* (Routledge 2008) and *Celebrity Humanitarianism: The Ideology of Global Charity* (Routledge 2013). He is currently writing a book on *Psychoanalysis and International Development* and editing a collected volume on *Psychoanalysis and the Global*.

The Wound of Whiteness: Conceptualizing Economic Convergence as Trauma in the 2016 American Election **Maureen Sioh, DePaul University, USA**

In the dry prose of economist Anatole Kaletsky, “[T]here are several reasons to question the link between populist politics and economic distress” with regards to the trend now sweeping the Western world. In the wake of Donald Trump’s victory in the 2016 American Presidential election, political commentators struggled to explain the results. Two lines of reasoning coalesced into one narrative that, despite being contradicted by the data, was widely adopted by commentators on the right of the political spectrum and the mainstream left. This narrative asserts that Trump owed his victory to poor white male voters left behind by globalization who rallied to him because his opponent, and the left in general, had long abandoned them by prioritizing identity politics. Referencing statistical data from exit polls and textual analysis, I argue that identity politics was indeed central to the election outcome: it was ‘white masculinist identity’ politics constructing legal gains domestically by minorities and women and economic gains internationally by emerging economies, particularly in East Asia, as trauma. Thus, white rage was projected onto politically weaker Others rather than the real perpetrators of economic inequality. Building on Freudian trauma theory, Judith Herman’s seminal clinical research on complex trauma and Christopher Bollas’ research into psychopathology, I argue that white men, and indeed white women vis a vis racial minorities, construct the destruction of the normative social compact and consequent loss of racial privilege as trauma because it entails submission to humiliation and loss of status, experienced as a position of gendered subjectivity.

Maureen Sioh teaches in the Department of Geography at DePaul University in Chicago. She trained as a hydrologist and worked in East Asia and with First Nations communities in Canada on soil erosion and water pollution. But she always felt that,

as a scientist, she was asking the wrong questions, so she went back to the drawing board (academia). Since then, she has published on nature and postcolonial territorialization. Her current research focus is on anxiety and financial decision-making in emerging economies. Her book, "Haunted Choices: Postcolonial Trauma and Economic Decision-making in East Asia," is forthcoming.

Loss of Sovereignty and Social Abjection: On the Melancholic Objects of Political Desire

Tereza Kuldova, University of Oslo, Norway

We are currently experiencing a profound crisis of political imagination. Neoliberalism has been generating ever increasing amounts of population that feel disillusioned, angry, impoverished, devalued, lonely, insecure, hopeless, forsaken, and at general loss. The tyranny of the markets has resulted both in the reactionary rise of right-wing populism and in the weakening of the nation-state that has been emptied out. It could be argued that in their melancholia for the traditional world of security, community and solidarity, the right-wing supporters misrecognize their enemy and effectively replace the forces of global capitalism with the more tangible bodies of the immigrant Others. In the process, they become, to the cultural elites who know better and pride themselves on their moral high-ground, socially abject (racist, homophobic and so on) subjects, and yet, they bear their social abjection as a badge of honour and righteousness, as a sign that they are onto something. But we must ask: are we really dealing here with a case of a simple misrecognition, of a replacement of the real problem we are unwilling to acknowledge or deal with (capitalism) with a vicarious one (immigration)? Is it really the lost security, community and solidarity that is being mourned and resuscitated in the first place? And ultimately, is it really the obscenities of the right-wing populism that provoke us or is it something else? Grounded in ethnographic work with outlaw motorcycle clubs and their often right-leaning supporters, I will argue that what these 'revolting subjects' in fact sense as lost and what they are pathologically attached to in their melancholia, is political sovereignty. Effectively, what they wish to revive, albeit often inarticulately, is the political fiction of the autonomy of the political vis-à-vis the economic, i.e. the ability of the state to subsume and control the powers of capital. Is then not what is feared paradoxically the 'return of the repressed', namely the return of politics that comes as a shock to the pseudo-political technocratic order?

Tereza Kuldova is a social anthropologist and Researcher at the Department of Archaeology, Conservation and History, University of Oslo, and currently a Visiting Senior Researcher at the Department of Cultural and Social Anthropology, University of Vienna. She has studied the elite segment of the Indian fashion industry and relations of production. Currently she works on an individual research project 'Gangs, Brands and Intellectual Property Rights: Interdisciplinary Comparative Study of Outlaw Motorcycle Clubs and Luxury Brands' funded by the Norwegian Research Council. She is the author of *Luxury Indian Fashion: A Social Critique* (2016) and editor of *Fashion India: Spectacular Capitalism* (2013), *Urban Utopias: Excess and Expulsion in Neoliberal South Asia* (2017) and *Outlaw Motorcycle Clubs and Street Gangs: Scheming Legality, Resisting Criminalization* (forthcoming).

How Nature Haunts Us: I Am a Red Parrot

Jelle Behagel, Wageningen University, Netherlands

The Bororo is not a parrot, he does not try to mate with other parakeets (Percy, 1961, p.48)

Lacan's work on psycho-analysis has been highly influential on contemporary philosophy, not in the least because it re-thinks human subjectivity as characterised by a fundamental lack. According to Lacan, the subject becomes infused with a desire that it cannot satisfy: for it is a desire for completeness that can only be 'spectrally' satisfied, not through a full experience of bodily enjoyment. Some would argue that nature holds the antidote. Indeed, I argue that in our modern societies, nature functions as a mirror image for society: it offers society a mirror that shows it as a self-sufficient, function system. Examples are abound, from the 'primordial harmony' of Rousseau to today debates on socio-ecological systems, societies seek to find fullness and integration by appealing to nature. However, whenever society advances, nature retreats, as it immediately loses its quality of 'virginity' and 'primarily' once man steps foot in it. The argument of this paper is that societies' investment in nature to understand itself is increasingly coming back to haunt it, as nature is receding from our grasp in an ever accelerating pace. To make this argument, I identify some of the symptoms of receding nature and the haunting that replaces it. These include ever growing species databases – and 'DNA barcoding' with increasingly less human experience of these species and these species being increasingly under threat of extinction; increasingly detailed maps of the world's forests – consider Global Forest Watch – while efforts to halt forest deforestation and degradation continue to lose out to economic development; and designation of ever more protected areas while the ecosystems they are supposed to protect are dwindling. I conclude that the increased 'spectralisation' – or simply symbolisation – of nature gives us the fantasy of control over our societies, as the mirror image did for our body. Looking for a way out, I consider the claim of the Bororo people (indigenous from Brazil): I am a parrot (or at least I will be after this life and I was a fish before this one). That is to say, perhaps if society would have a less mirror-stage type of relation with nature, it would be healthier for both.

Jelle Behagel is assistant professor at the Forest and Nature conservation Policy Group (FNP) at Wageningen University. His expertise is in the democratic governance of nature as well as relations between political discourse and nature conservation practices. He is working on a personal project on the relations between Atlantic rainforest and source water protection in the Metropolitan region of São Paulo, together with partners at USP and Wageningen. He also supervises PhD-projects that focus on institutional translations of Sustainable Forest Management in Caatinga biome, Indigenous knowledge and land use practices in Acre, and the nature-society divide in Agro-ecology in Minas, amongst others. For this workshop, he is excited to be revisiting some ideas that he has held since doing his MSc-studies in philosophical anthropology and applying them to his current research interests.

Plasticlass Futures

Ayşem Mert, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, Germany

“... haunting is an emergent state: the ghost arises, carrying the signs [of repression]. The ghost demands your attention. The present wavers. Something will happen. What will happen of course, is not given in advance, but something must be done. I think this emergent state is also the critical analytic moment.” (Gordon, 2011)

Avery Gordon’s “Some Thoughts on Hauntology and Futurity” understands haunting as floating and indicative. It relates to the subconscious and reveals that which is covered up by the dominant (if not hegemonic) discourse. It refers to the subliminal crack in the otherwise smooth surface that every ideology aims to establish with its beatific/utopian side: A covering of the lack, a harmonious resolution to social antagonism, in sum, the promise of recapturing our lost/impossible enjoyment, provides the fantasy support for many of our political choices (Stavrakakis, 2005: 73 - 74). In this sense, haunting is the asking of a question –a pressing one, that can no longer be postponed. Every time the question pushed back to the subconscious the haunting returns as if to discover the same question all over again (hence it is emergent and hence it is the critical analytic moment for Gordon).

The discursive function of haunting is to undo the work of the myth. Equally subconscious in their operations, myths make us understand something while imposing it on us (Barthes, 1957). The very principle of myth is to transform history (an intersubjectively constructed narrative) into nature (an unquestionable reality) that justifies the inequalities and the dominations we experience. If haunting is the emergence of a tumultuous question, the myth is the preemptive answer provided in the existing social horizon. It preempts the (dislocatory) political challenges to the hegemonic system, supports and naturalises its basics so they cannot be challenged, or covers up inconsistencies and “direct attention away from equally valued but contradictory societal principles” (Yanow, 1992).

Inversely, myths shield us from total dislocation, a complete unravelling of meaning whereas haunting is the crack in the surface, revealing whatever myth is “covering up”. The fantasmatic allure (if not power) of the myth is what gets us politically involved, instead of becoming lost in the constant flux of social change –what Jason Glynos and David Howarth (2007) called the fantasmatic logic that explains political inertia or action.

In their description of capitalism Deleuze and Guattari describe its ‘dark potentiality’ which according to Mark Fischer (2009: 9-10) haunted all previous social systems as the abomination that the society should be guarded against. He illustrates this tenet of capitalism by comparing it to “the Thing in John Carpenter's film of the same name: a monstrous, infinitely plastic entity, capable of metabolizing and absorbing anything with which it comes into contact” (ibid). Much earlier, Marilyn Strathern (1992: 142-145) argued that plasticity *after Nature* generates the plasticclass, which conceals “the social division between those with flexibility and those without” (ibid: 142). In the intersection point of post-Nature and the end of history stands the concept of the Anthropocene. My contribution aims to study the historical development on the fantasy and concept of the Anthropocene, juxtaposing its scientific descriptions and narrations with its various visual representations, specifically:

- *Plastiglomerate*, a term for a new kind of stone of molten plastic and natural materials, proposed by geologist Patricia Corcoran, oceanographer Charles Moore, and artist Kelly Jazvac.
- *Welcome to the Anthropocene*, an animation film produced by Quebec-based non-profit organization Globaïa

- *Welcome to the Anthropocene: The Earth in Our Hands*, a major special exhibition created by the Deutsches Museum and the Rachel Carson Center in Munich.
- *The Plastic Madonna*, the 12-metre long 3D printed sculpture, placed on the beach at the Rio Olympics to draw attention to the influence of human behavior (in this case littering) on global oceans.

Through this juxtaposition it may be possible to understand the haunting and the myth generated by the concept of the Anthropocene. It would be possible to rethink modernist ontologies, and “direct our attention toward the end of what Whitehead (1920) called the bifurcation of nature, or the final rejection of the separation between Nature and Human that has paralyzed science and politics since the dawn of modernism” (Latour 2015).

Aysem Mert’s research focuses on global environmental politics, discourses of democracy, development and environment, as well as public-private cooperation. She uses interpretive methods (particularly discourse theory, ecocriticism, historical and narrative analyses) while drawing on political theory and philosophy to better understand contemporary perceptions of naturecultures and institutions of global governance.

How is the personal political? Psychoanalysis, radical politics, and trauma Jesse Proudfoot, Durham University, UK

The radical feminist declaration that ‘the personal is political’ has long been used by geographers to “reinterpret private experiences of exploitation and violence in a shared, social and political context” (Cahill, 2007: 268). In this paper, I consider the question of how the personal becomes political by drawing on two different approaches to the problems of injustice and trauma: radical politics and psychoanalysis. My argument is that the political is defined by a movement towards representation and generality, where particular experiences of trauma are connected to more general categories of injustice. In contrast, psychoanalysis is defined by an undoing of these same categories in an attempt to return a subject to the irreducible singularity of the experience of trauma. While politics holds out the possibility of solidarity and the production of class/race/gender consciousness by sharing one’s experience, psychoanalysis offers the potential for a subjective encounter with those aspects of trauma that resist representation: the insistent, nonsensical remainder that makes trauma so difficult to dislodge. In order to illustrate this opposition, I review a number of examples of personal trauma, including racist violence and everyday sexism, and highlight the uneasy process by which they are translated into the register of injustice. My argument is that such translations deserve scrutiny, firstly, because our categories of injustice often blind us to the highly particular ways that they are experienced, and secondly, because such blindness runs the very real risk of effacing trauma as it has been lived.

Jesse Proudfoot is a COFUND Junior Research Fellow at Durham University, jointly based in the Department of Geography and the Centre for Medical Humanities. His research concerns drug addiction, drug policy, social marginalization, and radical politics through the lenses of psychoanalysis and ethnography.

Looking Awry at the Poor's Agency in Development Studies with Slavoj Žižek

Tara van Dijk, Maastricht University, Netherlands

This paper psychoanalyzes Development Studies' preoccupation with the agency of the poor leveraging Žižek's critique of ideology. Looking awry with Žižek shows how the operative fetishistic understanding of agency is at best inadequate in terms of Development's stated aims and at worst functions to sustain inequality and alienation. While most of this paper stays at a theoretical level, with particular attention given to issues of interpassivity, inherent transgression, and object causes of desire, empirical illustrations of these theoretical arguments are taken from my field work in India and my interactions with 'development professionals' over the years.

Tara van Dijk is currently a Lecturer of Globalization and Development at Maastricht University. She also works as a senior urban governance expert at the Institute of Housing Studies at Erasmus University Rotterdam. She will be starting her two-year Marie Curie Research Fellowship at Oxford University this September. Tara's research on the politics of urbanization in India analyses the contradictions between official urban interventions (programs, projects, policies and plans) targeting housing and urban infrastructure, and de facto modes of local governance, politics and livelihoods. Her engagement with Žižek, and the Lacanian Left more broadly, is focused on constituting a more reflexive Development Studies – by way of confronting and theorizing its fraught relationship with liberal capitalism that is expressed in the discipline's latent desires for capital minus its negative aspects (inclusive growth), liberalism without its exploitations and alienations (inclusive development), managed populism (participation), and politics without politics (good governance).

Ours is Becoming the Age of Minorities': Deleuze|Guattari's unexpected dialectic of political subjectivation

Kai Heron, University of Manchester, UK

This paper brings Deleuze|Guattari's ternary formula major/minor/minoritarian into proximity with the concerns of Lacanian psychoanalysis and political economy. More often than not this formula has been interpreted as a quasi-voluntarist practice of 'becoming-minoritarian', 'becoming-woman', 'becoming-animal' and 'becoming-revolutionary' as anti-representational and 'de-subjectifying' processes. In this paper I argue that because this reading overlooks the 'dialectical' character of Deleuze|Guattari's formula, it misses the mark in two important respects. Firstly, in over-emphasizing the 'subjective' pole of minorities, it omits its correlated 'objective' determinations. In contrast, Deleuze|Guattari are clear that post-Fordist capitalism contains an objective tendency to 'minorize' as much as it 'proletarianizes'. Secondly, prevailing readings of Deleuze|Guattari have delayed an investigation into how the formula of 'becoming-minoritarian' in and against a non-existent 'majority' resonates with the concerns of Lacanian inflected political theory and the role of the Other in the subject's enjoyment. By bringing these elements to the foreground I aim to demonstrate the applicability of this concept to contemporary theorizations of political resistance.

Kai Heron is a doctoral candidate in the Politics and International Relations Department at the University of Manchester. Kai's thesis expands and develops Deleuze/Guattari's concept of 'minorities' in the context of anti-fracking struggles in the United States. He maintains research interests in political resistance; psychoanalysis; Deleuze/Guattari; post-autonomism; communisation currents and value-form theory.

The De-politicized Politics of the Anthropocene: An Immuno-biopolitical Fantasy

Erik Swyngedouw, University of Manchester, UK

The staging of the Anthropocene inserts humans as active agents into what hitherto was largely understood as the de-humanized acting force of non-human dynamics. This opens up all manner of new possibilities, ranging from calls for a more modest and 'adaptive' human-nonhuman articulation to advocating geo-engineering and geo-management perspectives to manicure the dynamics of the earth system. Understood from the perspective of capital, an extraordinary new frontier is opening, this time in the name of saving not just humanity but the whole earth with it.

In the paper we argue that the notion of the Anthropocene provides for an apparently immunological prophylactic against the threat of an irredeemably external and revengeful nature, a more-than-human material acting that has Really leapt out of the bounds in which the Cartesian dualist 'mastery of nature' tried to cocoon it symbolically. The displacement of an external nature that struck back, because not properly attended to, to the reflexive and symmetrical Anthropocenic cosmology offers a renewed and utterly totalizing symbolization of humans' apparent desire to protect itself, to immunize itself from the vagaries of nature's acting without excess. Roberto Esposito's analysis of bio-political governmentality, enhanced by Frédéric Neyrat's psychoanalytical interpretation may help to elucidate this deadlock. We shall explore their contribution in light of the immunological promises of the Anthropocene.

Erik Swyngedouw is Professor of Human Geography at the University of Manchester, UK. He previously held a professorship at Oxford University. He is also visiting professor at the University of Ghent, Belgium. He has worked and taught in the USA, France, Belgium, Spain, Germany, Ecuador, and Greece. His research focuses on political ecology and political economy, with a particular interest in theorizing the society-nature articulation from a broadly historical-geographical materialist analysis. In addition, he has worked on urban socio-ecological dynamics, urban governance, politics of scale, and the geographical dynamics of advanced capitalist society. He has worked extensively on issues of water and water politics, and the political ecology of water and urbanization. Recent work focuses on the democratic politics and the strategies and tactics of new political movements, and the political ecology of desalination.

The politics of awakening

Japhy Wilson, University of Manchester, UK

What does it mean to wake up? This is the question posed by Mladen Dolar, in a manuscript entitled *The Riskiest Moment*, which has yet to be completed. Drawing on the work of Kafka, Proust, and Freud, Dolar identifies the moment between sleep and waking life as a space between two dreams, which is both filled with creative possibilities and prey to ideological seductions. In this paper, I transpose Dolar's question from the realm of art and philosophy to the register of the political. The space identified by Dolar is reinterpreted as a place of Real utopias, which fleetingly emerge through the shattering of symbolic orders, and swiftly disappear beneath the 'wake-up calls' of new utopian fantasies. Yet, as Dolar notes, the 'ontological opening' revealed in such moments 'introduces a rift that displaces all such wake-up calls'. Furthermore, in its determination to preserve our sleep against such elements, the dream machine of ideological state apparatuses can produce a Real so intense that it shatters the very fantasy that it was seeking to sustain, returning us to the uncanny moment of a real awakening. This utopian dialectic is explored through the case of the Citizens' Revolution in Ecuador, which combined a call to awaken from the 'long dark night' of neoliberalism, with a promise of a post-neoliberal world in which 'dreams are converted into reality'. This curious mix of metaphors betrays an attempt to close the gap between the Real that announced itself in the neoliberal nightmare, and the waking life of a post-neoliberal fantasy fueled by the magic of petrodollars. This vanishing space contained the ineradicable presence of a Real utopia...

Japhy Wilson is Lecturer in International Political Economy at the University of Manchester. His research concerns the entanglement of space, power and ideology in the politics of development. He is the author of *Jeffrey Sachs: The Strange Case of Dr Shock and Mr Aid* (Verso 2014), and co-editor with Erik Swyngedouw of *The Post-Political and Its Discontents: Spaces of Depoliticization, Spectres of Radical Politics* (Edinburgh University Press 2014).

Sustainable Fantasies? The End of Capitalism vs. the Sustainable Development Goals

Robert Fletcher, Wageningen University, Netherlands

Various commentators assert that we are approaching the "end times" of capitalism in that the system's inherent social and environmental contradictions are intensifying to the point that they can no longer be resolved or displaced for much longer. Yet at the same time the international community is optimistically embarking on a bold new phase of economic regeneration grounded in the United Nations' post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which promise to "end all poverty everywhere" through "sustained, inclusive, and sustainable development." From a Lacanian perspective, the SDGs can thus be understood as the latest and most ambitious in a long line of fantasies claiming that capitalism's contradictions can be resolved from within. In this way, I contend, the SDGs function as a form of disavowal in which capitalism's inherent unsustainability is simultaneously acknowledged and denied. In this presentation, I outline the various dimensions of this fantasy and how it seeks to obfuscate contradictions in its own vision of implementation. I suggest that such fantasies of sustainability can also be seen to function as (temporarily) "sustainable fantasies" in the sense that they effectively defer the necessarily acknowledgement of the demand for the dramatic system change that will ultimately be required to achieve a truly sustainable society.

Robert Fletcher is Associate Professor in the Sociology of Development and Change group at Wageningen University in the Netherlands. His research interests include conservation, development, tourism, climate change, globalization and resistance and social movements. He is the author of *Romancing the Wild: Cultural Dimensions of Ecotourism* (Duke University, 2014) and co-editor of *NatureTM Inc.: Environmental Conservation in the Neoliberal Age* (University of Arizona, 2014).

From Ontology to Hauntology, or ‘how are earth-beings’?

Pieter de Vries, Wageningen University, Netherlands

This article engages with the explosion of debate in studies on indigeneity spurred by what has been denominated (T)he (O)ntological (T)urn. From TOT’s perspective the encounter with the indigenous Other is characterized by its radical difference/alterity, and the precept of TOT is that this Otherness has to be respected as such. Along with TOT a new kind of politics – political ontology - has been espoused that argues that we are living at the end of a modernist historical formation grounded in a dualist ontology that rests on the distinction between human and non-human, spirit and matter, culture and nature. This new epoch manifests itself in the surge of interest in the political potentiality of what de la Cadena denominates “nonrepresentational, affective interactions with other-than-humans” manifested in the renewed visibility of earth-beings (e.g. the Pachamama) and indigenous demands that they be accepted as legitimate political actors in environmental struggles in the Andes. Political ontology argues for a cosmopolitics that paves the way for the cohabitation of different worlds in an agonistic pluriverse in which earth practices and beings can have a place. TOT has been critiqued for being methodologically flawed and for its political ambiguity. While agreeing with this critique I argue that attending to the disruptive potential of earth-beings is of key importance for an emancipatory politics in the Andes. I draw upon Žižek’s ontology of the non-all and Badiou’s ontology of subtraction to interrogate the emancipatory possibilities of earth-beings as agents of possibility. First I argue that we need to shift the discussion from ontic to ontological question, from ‘what kind of beings are earth-beings’ to ‘how are earth-beings’. Doing so, it becomes possible to envisage earth-beings as spectral virtual entities, in between spirit and substance, inhabiting the realm of the ‘not yet’; in effect, as beings that herald the possibility of thinking something truly new. This, in short, means that ontology (the science of being) in order to be politically effective must be supplemented by hauntology (the science of ghosts). In the second part of the article I apply hauntology to analyse what Andeans call ‘obritas’, small objects of development, that operate as phantasmatic entities that spur indigenous people not to compromise their desire for the common of community.

Narcissism: Between Smith and Freud

Samo Tomsic, Humboldt University, Germany

The paper will examine the (neo)liberal assumption, according to which man is a narcissistic animal. From the psychoanalytic perspective this "hypothesis" grounds what one might call the capitalist theory of the subject. But the hypothesis itself is

built on shaky ground. It becomes all the more unsustainable once the problematic of pleasure enters the (political-economic) picture. The talk will first return to Adam Smith, whose *Wealth of Nations* already offers valuable material for questioning the "narcissistic hypothesis". In the second step, the paper will turn to the psychoanalytic critique of narcissism in order to pinpoint the displacement that Freud's notion of pleasure introduced to the field of political economy.

Samo Tomsic is researcher at the Humboldt University in Berlin. He obtained his PhD in Philosophy at the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia. His research areas comprise psychoanalysis, structuralism, epistemology, contemporary French philosophy and German idealism. Recent publications include "The Capitalist Unconscious: Marx and Lacan" (Verso, 2015) and co-edited volumes "Jacques Lacan Between Psychoanalysis and Politics" (Routledge, 2016) and "Psychoanalysis: Topological Perspectives" (Transcript, 2016)

Anxious Subject: Political transformation and the politics of race
Andreja Zevnik, University of Manchester, UK

Today – arguably – we live in times of great political uncertainties and anxieties, which recently culminated in the elections of Donald Trump in the USA or Brexit; or more widely in the rise of the far-right parties and racist extremist ideologies. In explaining current events, political analysis, it seems, gives greatest attention to the role of emotions and affects. The experience of uncertainty, anxiety in these uncertain times drives citizens to seek explanations, security or certainty; it is for these experiences, as theories of emotions suggest, that subjects, states turn to racist, anti-immigrant discourses.

This paper counters this narrative. It looks at how anxiety works as a force of mobilisation in the context of political transformation. Jacques Lacan said that anxiety is different from fear; if fear has an object, the object of anxiety is not missing but it is somewhat ungraspable to subject's conscious. While on the one hand subjects might identify fear through the presence of a threat, the experience of anxiety is linked to something more tangible yet in turn much more fundamental to subject's existence. In the introductory seminar 'On the Names of the Father' Lacan clearly states that "Anxiety is an affect of the subject", it is a moment when the subject encounter the desire of the Other, and it is a signal. This intervention takes anxiety as an affect of the structure – the structure of the subject. It proposed to read Lacan's seminar on *Anxiety* by particularly devoting attention to subject's responses to the desire of the Other and how those come to shape (social/subject's) fantasies. The affect of anxiety is thus not an external experience but the condition of subject's existence and as such directs, shapes and conditions subject's (re)actions. In this way the affect of anxiety is fundamental to the understanding of political transformation, revolution and action, in particular in relation to the contemporary black radical politics and Black Lives Matter initiatives, the context this paper proposes to address.

Andreja Zevnik is a Lecturer in International Politics at the University of Manchester. Her research is inspired by psychoanalysis, continental philosophy and aesthetic politics and mainly focuses on the production of subjectivity in acts of resistance. Her most recent project examines how the experience of anxiety alters forms of political participation and political transformation; and how it produces different political/resisting subjectivities and moulds new political realities. She is

particular interested in the varied struggles associated with the civil rights movement in the US and the various *BlackLivesMatter* initiatives. She recently published a monograph entitled *Lacan, Deleuze and World Politics: re-thinking the ontology of the political subject* (Routledge, 2016) and is a co-editor of *Jacques Lacan Between Psychoanalysis and Politics* (with Samo Tomšič; Routledge 2015), *Lacan and Deleuze: a disjunctive synthesis* (with Bostjan Nedoh, Edinburgh University Press 2017) and *Politics of Anxiety* (with Emmy Eklundh and Emmanuel-Pierre Guittet, Rowman&Littlefield International, forthcoming 2017).

Sexing subjects and rethinking gender and intersectionality in feminist political ecology

Chizu Sato, Wageningen University, Netherlands

Over the last decade in the field of feminist political ecology the insights provided by Butler's theorization of gender as performative acts taken together with the use of intersectionality have advanced our understanding of the co-constitution of subjectivities and environment in place and space. However, the conceptualization of gender and subjectivity remains challenging. As pointed out by Nightingale (2006, 2011) in her examination of the subjectivities enacted at the intersection of the power laden relations of gender and caste in a Nepali community forestry context, subjectivities are said to be contradictory: they partly reinforce what they seek to transform. Recognizing that how we theorists conceptualize our object shapes what we can know, this paper re-reads the apparent contradiction found by Nightingale in light of a fundamental psychoanalytic insight regarding sexual difference. As articulated by Copjec (1994), sexual difference is not a construct of historically variable discursive practices. Recognizing sexual difference as not belonging to the same set as, for example gender and other historically constructed differences (e.g., caste), makes it possible to conceive of sexual difference as distinct from yet simultaneously in interaction with those other differences. Locating sexual difference in relation to those other differences enables us to rethink gender and intersectionality and opens up a new terrain within feminist political ecology that may make it possible to better understand and thus identify better strategies to transform the mechanisms by which inequalities are produced.

Chizu Sato teaches in the Sociology of Consumption and Households group, Wageningen University. Her research interests lie in the areas of transnational feminist studies, Marxian theory, and international development studies with a focus on the intersections of women, empowerment and development. Her current research on this intersection incorporates insights from diverse and community economies, feminist political ecology and Lacanian psychoanalysis.